Fall 2004

Interracial dating among college students: Cultural norms and partner violence

Carolyn Field
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Interracial dating among college students: Cultural norms and partner violence

Abstract
This study examines three important issues for race relations in the United States today using a sample of college students: interracial dating patterns, attitudes towards interracial dating, and dating violence among same-race versus interracial couples. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, African American/White couples make up less than 1 percent of all married couples in the U.S. Rates of intermarriage for Hispanics and Asians in the U.S. are much higher. Using a sample of college students (N = 1174) from two Historically Black Universities and three Predominantly White Universities, results indicate that attitudes towards interracial relationships differ by race, but not by gender. The results on cultural norms reveal that African American/White relationships are less approved of than Asian American/White relationships and that overall, the African American students were more opposed to interracial dating and marriage than the other racial/ethnic groups. These results reveal a high amount of professed acceptance of interracial dating, but very low rates of interracial dating or marriage among the students. African Americans also indicated that their parents would disapprove much more so than the parents of students in the other racial/ethnic groups. Further, those students at Historically Black Universities are less approving of interracial dating and marriage than the students at Predominantly White Universities. These results suggest support for Andrew Hacker’s theory that American society is separated primarily along Black and White lines. This study also examined dating violence among interracial student couples relative to same-race couples. The results indicate that there is more severe partner violence at Historically Black Universities than at the Predominantly White Universities, however they also indicate that interracial couples and Black/White couples are not at an increased risk for violence.

Keywords
Education, Social Sciences, Black Studies

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INTERRACIAL DATING AMONG COLLEGE STUDENTS: CULTURAL NORMS AND PARTNER VIOLENCE

BY

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B.A., Minnesota State University at Moorhead, 1994
M.A., Kansas State University, 1998

DISSERTATION

Submitted to the University of New Hampshire
in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in
Sociology

September, 2004
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26 July 2004

Date
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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my husband, David Cosey, who has helped me, grown with me, and encouraged me every step of the way. I dedicate this dissertation as well to the rest of our family, especially my parents, Michael and Diane Field, who never doubted I would finish this journey. To my brother Josh for his great advice, company and proofreading and to my sister, Valerie, for sparking many of the ideas behind this dissertation with accounts of her work with battered women over the years.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I first and foremost thank Dr. Murray Straus and everyone at the Family Research Laboratory for their guidance and support throughout this project. Dr. Straus has been an extremely dedicated and inspiring dissertation advisor since the day I came to him with the idea for my topic. Thanks also to my other committee members, Dr. David Finkelhor, Dr. William Harris, Dr. Lester Fisher, and Dr. Heather Turner, for all of their excellent ideas and input.

Further, I also acknowledge the many International Dating Violence Study Consortium members who assisted in the collection of the data for this project. The Principal Investigators who contributed data to this dissertation include Dr. Murray Straus at the University of New Hampshire, Dr. Sandra Alvarez at Indiana State University, Dr. Linda Berg-Cross at Howard University, Dr. Alan Bougere at Jackson State University and Dr. Douglas Brownridge at the University of Manitoba. As part of the International Dating Violence Study, the collaboration of researchers was vital to the success of this project.

I would also like to thank Deena Peschke and Lynn Beaver for all their help on this project and all of my efforts at the University of New Hampshire. Thanks also to Kobie Conrath, Lee Musante and Amanda Howerton for their emotional and intellectual support. Further, I would like to thank Derek Bowen, Sarah Savage, and Dr. Larry Hamilton for helping it all come together in the end, after many years of work.
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ABSTRACT

INTERRACIAL DATING AMONG COLLEGE STUDENTS: CULTURAL NORMS AND PARTNER VIOLENCE

by

Carolyn Field

University of New Hampshire, September, 2004

This study examines three important issues for race relations in the United States today using a sample of college students: interracial dating patterns, attitudes towards interracial dating, and dating violence among same-race versus interracial couples. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, African American/White couples make up less than 1 percent of all married couples in the U.S. Rates of intermarriage for Hispanics and Asians in the U.S. are much higher. Using a sample of college students (N=1174) from two Historically Black Universities and three Predominantly White Universities, results indicate that attitudes towards interracial relationships differ by race, but not by gender. The results on cultural norms reveal that African American/White relationships are less approved of than Asian American/White relationships and that overall, the African American students were more opposed to interracial dating and marriage than the other racial/ethnic groups. These results reveal a high amount of professed acceptance of interracial dating, but very low rates of interracial dating or marriage among the students. African Americans also indicated that their parents would disapprove much more so than the parents of students in the other racial/ethnic groups. Further, those students at Historically Black Universities are less approving of interracial
dating and marriage than the students at Predominantly White Universities. These results suggest support for Andrew Hacker’s theory that American society is separated primarily along Black and White lines. This study also examined dating violence among interracial student couples relative to same-race couples. The results indicate that there is more severe partner violence at Historically Black Universities than at the Predominantly White Universities, however they also indicate that interracial couples and Black/White couples are not at an increased risk for violence.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Dating and marital relationships between African Americans and Whites have been a taboo in the United States throughout our history. Marriages between Whites and African Americans have been illegal in many states and rare in every state, but are increasing in number steadily since the 1960s. Upswings in African American/White marriages may reflect a change in values regarding race and marriage in the United States. Interracial socializing, friendship and dating and marriage are often used in Sociological research as measures of the level of integration or assimilation for minority groups into the larger culture. With ever increasing rates of intermarriage between Blacks and Whites in this society, it is important to understand the impact of attitudes towards interracial relationships on relationship quality for the interracial couples. If society disapproves strongly of interracial marriage between Blacks and Whites, that may put Black/White couples at risk for discrimination from outsiders, or at risk of stress that could affect their health and the interactions within the relationship.

Even in the 21st century, popular films such as Monster’s Ball (2002) reflect our nation’s continuing discomfort with the idea of a White man dating an African American woman. This movie arguably portrays this type of intimate relationship as inherently exploitive, and the press and others, such as Angela Bassett, have blasted Monster’s Ball for the prejudiced message (Wickham 2002). In Monster’s Ball, the African American
woman is a widow whose husband was executed in Texas, and she later falls into an intimate relationship with the White security guard who was in charge of the execution of her husband. Even after she realizes the role her White boyfriend played in her husband’s death, she stays with him. The power differential appears to be similar to the exploitive relationship of the slave owner to the slave. Hence, even popular culture seems to exhibit a complex and ideologically torn or confused stance towards Black/White relationships.

Interracial dating or marital relationships will be referred to as interracial relationships or cross-group relationships (abbreviated as CGR) throughout the entirety of this document. These terms are used interchangeably throughout. Although the term CGR could refer to differences in religion or even caste in some societies, for the purpose of this research the cross-group reference is made to self-identified racial or ethnic identity. Interracial couples are increasing in number in the United States. According to the U.S. Census (Statistical Abstract of the United States 2003), there were over 1.6 million interracial married couples in the United States in 2002, and the number of Black/White interracial couples in the United States has increased by over a million between 1980 and 2002. The impact of an interracial or cross-group relationship (CGR) on human interaction and relationship quality or satisfaction is an important issue to an understanding of race relations in the United States today. Shibazak and Brennan (1998) found in their study of 100 University of Texas, Austin students that 44 were involved in cross-group relationships. They found that students in CGRs had, on average, lower self esteem than the students in same-race relationships. Those in CGRs also reported less identification with members of their own race/ethnicity and less societal approval of their
relationship. These issues, as well as other issues such as perceived prejudice, uneven power differentials, and stress, may make interracial or inter-ethnic relationships potential precursors to conflict and/or partner violence.

The issue of racial composition in partner relationships is important due to the very real possibility that an interracial relationship is experienced as a chronic stressor by those in the relationship. Especially if families and peers do not approve of the interracial union, the couple may experience social isolation. Further, individuals in interracial relationships may report more chronic stress than those in same-race relationships due to various obstacles they face during the course of their non-normative relationship. Real and perceived racial prejudice or public disapproval could possibly be experienced as a chronic stressor in our racially charged society. As Cornell West argues, "race matters" in American society even if we would like to believe we are an egalitarian society (2001).

The issue of interracial dating and marriage may be a quite different issue for African Americans in the United States as compared to some other minority groups. Andrew Hacker argues in *Two Nations: Black and White, Separate, Hostile, Unequal* (1992) that the current American racial climate consists of African Americans versus all others. This bold assertion makes it clear that many issues of historical importance have created, perhaps, an African American underclass that suffers from disadvantages other groups have been able to more easily overcome. Perhaps it is easier for other minority groups to assimilate in the United States. Certainly, interracial relationships between Whites and Asians are extremely common compared to those between White and African Americans. This pattern in dating and marriage could suggest support for Hacker’s idea
that American society is separated by color lines that are primarily just Black and White. Along similar line, Nathan Glazer argues in *We Are All Multiculturalists Now* (1998) that assimilation of African Americans into American society has largely been a failure. He views interracial marriage as a barometer of assimilation in the United States and comments on how Asian Americans and Hispanic Americans have much higher rates of intermarriage with Whites, evidence of their assimilation into the dominant Eurocentric American culture. Yet, he comments that the same evidence of assimilation cannot be as easily found for African Americans. “Blacks stand apart, with very low rates of intermarriage rising slowly. They stand apart too in the degree of residential segregation (120).” He follows that statement with another bold assessment, “Thirty years of effort, public and private, assisted by antidiscrimination law and a substantial rise in black earnings, have made little impact on this pattern (120).” This study proposes to examine this issue by comparing the attitudes towards Black/White CGRs to those towards Asian/White CGRs. If the assertions of Hacker and Glazer are correct, student norms will reveal more objection to Black/White unions than Asian/White relationships.

This study will examine three important aspects of interracial relationships using a large sample of undergraduate students in sociology and psychology classes. The first aim is to examine the extent of cross-group dating and marital relationships among University students. The second purpose of this study is to examine student attitudes towards interracial dating, as well as to capture their perceptions of their parent’s attitudes towards interracial dating and marriage. The third goal is to study dating violence among African-American/White interracial couples in comparison to same-race couples.
RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1) What are the attitudes and norms of today’s college students regarding the acceptability of interracial relationships?

2) What is the racial distribution of dating and marriage among today’s college students?

3) Does partner violence vary depending upon the racial composition of the couple?

4) Are African American/White relationships and/or interracial relationships more likely to involve physical aggression than same-race relationships?

HISTORY OF INTERRACIAL RELATIONSHIPS IN THE UNITED STATES

The history of interracial relationships in the United States is important to an understanding of current cultural norms regarding this type of union. With the U.S. history of slavery, race relations began with an extremely uneven power structure, yet historians remark that interracial unions between Whites and Blacks were documented during the days of slavery (Porterfield 1978). Yet, beginning with Maryland in 1661, laws were put in place to make interracial unions between Whites and Blacks illegal. By 1920, 30 states had prohibited marriages between Whites and African Americans, and this remained constant for many years. Further, 15 states also had statutes which prohibited Asians from marrying Whites. The only states that have not ever prohibited interracial marriage are New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey,
In 1967, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the laws banning interracial marriage.

For much of U.S. history, the idea of a Black/White union was ludicrous, criminal and morally repugnant. Roberts (1994) explains the concept of the sexual taboo that grew out of slavery days, making CGRs between Blacks and Whites forbidden socially long after it has been declared acceptable legally.

The taboo on sexual relations between black men and white women remained powerful in most areas of the South throughout the first half of the twentieth century. It was widely believed that the only possible sex relationship of this type was rape, for it was thought to be unimaginable for a white woman to willingly endure the embrace of a Negro. Black men were extremely wary of even innocent contact with white women for severe punishment, even death, might result from glancing at, touching, or neglecting to observe the required deference toward a woman of the dominant race. (35)

Roberts goes on to explain that despite the overall taboo against interracial relationships in the history of the South, behind closed doors the actions of Slave owners and after emancipation, employers of African Americans, behaved in a quite different manner. Roberts refers to the “causal” relationships between White men and their servants, slaves or employees of color as an inherently unequal, exploitative instances of interracial mingling. “Black men were powerless to protect their wives, sisters, or daughters from the sexual demands of white men. There was little opportunity for black women to find employment other than in domestic service, where the probability of receiving sexual proposals from white men in the household was an occupational hazard (35).” In fact, Roberts even suggests that this behavior was so endemic to the African American/employer relationship during the 1930s in Mississippi that “many or most white youths began their sexual experience with black girls, and many had no sexual
intimacy with white women before they were married (35).” Of course, although these kinds of relationships were largely hidden from the public and known to be taboo, there were often the resulting mixed race off-spring to provide evidence of this racial intermixing.

Apparent trends in census estimates suggest that the age-old beliefs in endogamous marriage are declining in this country. This research allows an examination of this issue from the perspective of the youth in American and a Canadian universities. Asking students how they view interracial relationships is perhaps the most direct way to uncover current attitudes towards this historically taboo practice.

According to Census data, in 1980 there were only 167 thousand Black/White marriages in the United States (2003). By 2002, that number had risen to 395 thousand, an increase of 228 thousand as compared to the 1980 figure. Yet by recent estimates, less than 1 percent (.68%) of all marriages in the United States are a Black/White interracial couple. The rare nature of Black/White marriage is even more pronounced for Black female/White male couples. Approximately 71% of all Black/White marriages recorded by the Census bureau in the U.S. involved a Black husband and a White wife (U.S. Census Bureau 2003). Even so, we must also keep in mind that statistics on marriage may not be the most accurate measure of the number of interracial couples in the United States today. Evidence suggests that the number of unmarried couples who live together is increasing. According to the U.S. Census figures, unmarried couples made up 9.1% of the 60 million households surveyed in 2000. Further, they found that about 6% of married couples were interracial while nearly 12% of the unmarried living partners were
mixed race couples (Marquis 2003). Hence, we may expect to find more interracial
couples in the general population than in official marriage statistics.

CULTURAL NORMS ABOUT INTERRACIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Interracial marriages between African-Americans and Whites are the rarest type
of interracial union in the United States, while Asian/White marriages are the most
common. In general, research on attitudes about interracial marriage has found that it is
not accepted by the majority of Americans. The Gallup poll has been used for years as a
barometer of American racial attitudes. In fact, 1991 was the first time (since 1968 when
they first began asking) more Americans approved of interracial marriage than
disapproved (Gallup, Jr. and Newport 1991). In their sample of 990 Americans eighteen
years of age and older in 1991 they had 303 black respondents, 650 white respondents,
and 36 of other racial/ethnic groups. Overall, in the 1991 sample 48% said they
approved when asked “Do you approve or disapprove of marriage between blacks and
whites?” Further, 42% said they disapprove of such marriage and 10% said they have no
opinion on the matter. This is not an overwhelming majority of approval, suggesting that
interrace marriage between blacks and whites was still very controversial in the early 1990s.
Clearly, the attitudes towards Black/White marriage are changing in America, but the
attitudes seem to suggest that it is still a controversial topic at best and perhaps still taboo
in many people’s minds and social circles.

Disapproval of interracial marriage and dating can potentially cause strife for the
parent-adult child relationship, especially for those in African American/White
relationships in the United States. A recent survey (Kaiser 2001) found that among those
in interracial unions, disapproval by their parents was most common among the African American/White couples. Using telephone surveys of 540 Americans in interracial relationships, they found that 65% of the African American/White couples reported their parents initially had a problem with their relationship. For interracial relationships between Asians and White, 24% reported initial disapproval by parents.

This section will present previous research on attitudes towards interracial relationships. First, there is a brief description of the attitudes of the general population towards interracial relationships. Second, the studies of attitudes towards interracial relationships among college and high school students are presented. Table 1.1 displays a summary of the most important findings of empirical research on attitudes towards CGRs in the United States today. I searched the Sociological Abstracts and PsychInfo data bases for empirical studies of attitudes towards interracial relationships from 1990-present. A few of the studies (Kaiser 2001; Todd and McKinney 1992) actually asked about dating behavior or willingness to date a person of another race in the future in order to measure norms and attitudes simultaneously. Several qualitative studies with people in interracial relationships as their sample of interest (e.g. McNamara, Tempenis, and Walton 1999; St. Jean 1998; Kalmijn 1993) have also been conducted on the topic of attitudes towards interracial relationships in the United States, but these are not included in Table 1.1 since they are not empirical in nature. Further, the data bases turned up several unpublished doctoral and masters’ theses on the subject of current issues regarding interracial relationships, but I was not able to get access to these and even after several years, the authors have not published their reports (e.g. LaTaillade1994; Welborn 1994; Kreider 2000). It is not clear whether these graduate student projects have not been accepted for
publication or whether their authors have not tried to submit them for publication. Yet, it is clear that in Sociology and Psychology departments across the United States, issues related to interracial relationships have become a popular area of research.

The first half of Table 1.1 lists studies that have used samples that are somewhat representative of the general population in the United States. The second half of Table 1.1 lists the studies on attitudes and behavior of high school or college students. An examination of the literature summary in Table 1.1 reveals some interesting patterns in past research. It seems that in the past, Whites have been found to be more disapproving of interracial relationships than African Americans (Knox et al. 2000; Mills et al. 1995; Gallup Jr. And Newport 1991; Paset and Taylor 1991). Further, studies have found that men tend to be more approving of interracial relationships than women (Mills et al. 1995; Todd and McKinney 1992). Previous research has also noted that interracial relationships tend to be more strongly disapproved of by those in the South (St. Jean and Parker 1995; Gallup Jr. and Newport 1991; Paset and Taylor 1991) those who are not very well educated (St. Jean and Parker 1995; Wilson and Jacobson 1995; Gallup Jr. And Newport 1991; Paset and Taylor 1991) and those who are older (St. Jean and Parker 1995; Wilson and Jacobson 1995; Todd and McKinney 1992; Gallup Jr. and Newport 1991). Further, Mill et al. (1995) found that most college students in their study indicated that their parents would disapprove of them dating interracially, regardless of the students' age, race or gender. In this chapter, I will briefly describe some of these previous studies and discuss the implications of their findings for this study.
PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON ATTITUDES TOWARDS INTERRACIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Norms Among General Population

One study of American attitudes towards interracial marriage found that they are viewed most unfavorably by African American women (Paset and Taylor 1991). Paset and Taylor used a sample of 50 White women and 50 African American women between the ages of 18 and 23. They were asked to rate their attitudes about interracial marriage using a 10 point Likert scale response format. Respondents were asked to indicate whether or not their response was negative or positive to the following: “What is your attitude toward a man of your race marrying a woman of a different race,” and “What is your attitude toward a woman of your race marrying a man of a different race?” They found that the White women tended to cluster at the end of the scale most favoring interracial unions, whereas the African American women tended to fall at the other end of the spectrum, expressing their objection to interracial marriage. This suggests that African American women do not approve of African Americans marrying outside of their race. Yet, this study does not specify the racial composition of the hypothetical interracial relationships. There could potentially be differences in the levels of approval of interracial relationships which are mediated by the racial composition of the couples in question. The African American women may have rated their attitudes more negatively about a White/African American than about other types of unions with other minority groups.

The article by Gallup Jr. and Newport (1991), “For First Time, More Americans Approve of Interracial Marriage than Disapprove,” makes the social significance of their
findings about American attitudes quite clear in the title. This report, as mentioned in
earlier, discusses results to one Gallup poll question throughout many decades. The
Gallup question Gallup Jr. and Newport focus on in this study is, “Do you approve or
disapprove of marriage between blacks and whites?” They found that the percentage of
Americans who indicated approval rose somewhat sharply between 1968-1978 and
continued to increase at a slightly slower rate between 1978-1991. Nevertheless, it was
not until 1991 that the percentage of Americans who approved was higher than those who
disapproved. They also found in the Gallup polls over a series of years (1968, 1972,
1978, 1983, and 1991) that approval of White/Black intermarriage was consistently much
higher for Blacks than for Whites. Although they did not perform statistical tests to see
whether or not these differences were statistically significant, the numbers speak for
themselves. For instance, in the 1983 poll, only 38% of Whites agreed with the
statement, compared to 76% of Blacks. In 1991, a similar difference is found by race. In
that year’s poll, 44% of Whites indicated approval and 70% of Blacks said they approved
of Black/White marriage. It is interesting here to note that the percentage of Blacks
approving apparently declined between the 1983 and 1991 surveys. They also found,
similar to many other studies, that young, highly educated people held the most liberal
attitudes towards interracial marriage. This study also found that when examining the
1991 trends, those who do not reside in the South have more liberal attitudes towards
interracial relationships, suggesting the importance of regional culture in shaping
attitudes and norms. They say also, “In contrast, approval is lowest among older
Americans, those with less than college education and people residing in the South (60).”
Yet, this study does not use statistics to better understand these trends and the authors do not discuss the social implications of any of their findings.

St. Jean and Parker (1995) found that overall, African American women disapprove of laws banning interracial marriage. In this study, the General Social Survey data from 1987 and 1991 on interracial unions are used for analysis. In the GSS survey there are only two questions related to interracial relationships: “How about having a close relative or family member marry a Black person?” and “Do you think there should be laws against marriages between (Negroes/Blacks) and Whites?” St. Jean and Parker found some interesting differences between the attitudes of the older and younger African American women. Although most of the women did not favor the laws banning interracial marriage, those African American women over the age of 35 tended to favor laws banning interracial unions slightly more than their younger counterparts. Further, African American females who earned less than $15,000 a year favored laws banning intermarriage more than their more wealthy counterparts. Moreover, those African American women who were most religious, lived in rural areas, and who lived in the deep south tended to most strongly disfavor intermarriage.

Wilson and Jacobson (1995) explored the potential predictor variables of different attitudes towards interracial marriage. Using GSS data from 1972-1989, Wilson and Jacobson examined the impact of age, sex, religious orientation, social class, occupation and education on attitudes towards intermarriage between Whites and African Americans (the GSS attitude questions are only about White/Black unions). The results indicated that those who approved of interracial marriage between Whites and African Americans tended to be young (21-29), college educated, without strong religious convictions, upper
class and in business or professional occupations. No significant gender differences were
found and they did not look at the issue of race in determining attitudes towards
intermarriage between Whites and African Americans. They also did not take into
account the potential impact of geographical region on people's attitudes towards African
Americans. Perhaps racism and disapproval of miscegenation are more prominent in the
South, in part, as a consequence of the historical roots of slavery.

Another study by St. Jean (1998) suggests a more complicated picture of African
American women's attitudes toward interracial unions than that suggested by St. Jean
earlier examination of attitudes towards interracial marriage. He points out that the GSS
includes only two questions about interracial issues, and they do not speak directly to
people's attitudes towards interracial marriage. St. Jean argues that disapproving of anti-
miscegenation laws does not necessarily mean acceptance of interracial marriage. St.
Jean favors focus groups and reports the results of focus groups with 11 interracial
couples. A majority of the couples told stories of public scrutiny such as stares and rude
comments by strangers. Also, many of the couples experienced concern on the part of
their White in-laws that any children would be dark, expressing a negative connotation to
this concern with darkness and skin color. St. Jean also found that African American
females seem more undecided about Black/White unions than disapproving. Further, he
detected some resentment on the part of African American men over the issue of White
men marrying African American women.

In summary, the body of literature suggests that the union of African
American/White couples remains non-normative by contemporary U.S. societal
standards. Further, the literature suggests that those who are most approving of
inter racial marriage between Whites and African Americans tend to be young, college
educated, without strong religious convictions, upper class and in business or
professional occupations. Also, there is evidence to suggest that those who may be most
likely to oppose interracial unions may be African American women, highly religious,
and of low socioeconomic status.

Further, St. Jean’s (1998) study of focus groups suggests that African
American/White couples do face some scrutiny and disapproval of the relationship on the
part of White in-laws. None of the studies I found examine the issues of norms and
attitudes towards African American/White relationships and Asian American /White
relationships simultaneously. Further, many of the studies on attitudes towards
inter racial relationships do not differentiate between different types of interracial
relationships in their survey questions. This means they do not take into account the
possibility that there are potentially stronger social taboos against some types of
inter racial relationships (African American/White) than others (such as Asian
American/White), as suggested by the extreme disparity between the interracial marriage
rates for Whites with African Americans, as opposed to other minority groups in the
United States today.

Further, many studies that have used General Social Survey data are problematic.
The GSS includes only two questions in this area, which is clearly inadequate for making
overall assessments about the influence of cultural norms on interracial dating and
marriage today.

Norms Among College and High School Students
Martelle (1970) distributed a questionnaire to 182 high school students to compare the acceptance of interracial marriage between White and African American students. Results revealed that African Americans' attitudes were significantly more favorable than those of the White students. Further, the males tended to favor interracial marriages slightly more than the female students.

Sones and Holston (1988) surveyed 120 students between the ages of 18 and 23 at a southern university. Sones' developed the Interracial Marriage Attitude Scale, which asks respondents to rate their reactions towards interracial unions between many different racial compositions (the racial categories included White, Asian, Hispanic, Polynesian, Iranian and Black). The respondents were asked to indicate their level of acceptance on a 7 point scale from “totally acceptable” to “totally unacceptable.” They also used the Tolerance and Sociability Scales of the California Psychological Inventory to discern the tolerance of diversity of each respondent. They found that the more tolerant the attitudes of the respondent, the more liberal their attitudes towards interracial marriage of all types. The results further indicated that intermarriage of Whites with Blacks or Iranians was strongly disapproved of by the college students at this southern university. The authors suggest that this prejudice may have been exaggerated in this sample due to the geographical region and also to hostility between the U.S. and Iran in the 1980s politically charged climate.

In a 1995 survey administered to 68 male and 74 female college students, Mills et al. (1995) examined attitudes toward interracial dating and the level of acceptance of interracial relationships by the students’ family members. The results revealed that both the males and females held negative attitudes towards interracial relationships. Also,
African Americans held more positive attitudes towards interracial relationships than did the White students. A study conducted even as far back as 1970 (Martelle) found that African American high school students were more accepting of interracial relationships than their White counterparts, so apparently this has not changed much since then. The results of Mills et al.’s research also indicated that the females were less accepting of interracial friendships and romantic relationships than were the males. Finally, both the African American and White respondents indicated that their family reaction to interracial relationships would be negative. Overall, these studies seem to indicate that for these younger populations, interracial relationships are more commonly accepted, but that overall, African American/White unions are not highly accepted by college students or the general population.

Although the previous research on the acceptance of interracial relationships has included some methodologically sound studies with very interesting findings, most have neglected many of the issues this study includes. For instance, these studies of high school and college student samples do not compare levels of acceptance between different types of interracial relationships, and some do not specify by race which kinds of interracial unions they are asking about. Further, this study investigates any discrepancies between the students’ beliefs and what they perceive as their parent’s attitudes towards interracial unions of two types (White/African American and White/Asian American). Most important of all, this study provides current data on college student attitudes and behaviors regarding interracial marriage and dating.
A review of previous research on attitudes towards interracial relationships and interracial dating behaviors among Americans have revealed some interesting patterns. Findings of previous research seem to suggest that those with the most open attitudes towards interracial relationships tend to be highly educated, young, middle to upper class minorities who reside in the North and do not hold extremely strong religious convictions. This means that those who have held the most negative attitudes towards interracial relationships have tended to be older, relatively uneducated individuals who are White, live in the South and are highly religious.

HYPOTHESES ABOUT CGR NORMS

1. The younger the respondent, the more likely they are to express approval of interracial unions. This hypothesis is based on research (Gallup Jr. And Newport 1991; Wilson and Jacobson 1995) findings that those who tended to approve of interracial marriage were those who are young. Further, since recent research (Kaiser 2001) has found that approval of interracial relationships has increased over the years, the youth of this society may have more open views about interracial unions than did their parent’s generation.

2. Approval of interracial marriage and dating is lower for African American/White unions than for Asian American/White unions for both the students and their parents. Rates of intermarriage between Whites and Asian Americans are much higher in this country than rates of intermarriage between Whites and African Americans (U.S. Census Bureau 1997). I expect to find attitudes about interracial dating and marriage in line with the tendency for people to avoid Black/White marriages. It has also

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been found that parental approval is higher for Asian American/White unions than for African American/White interracial relationships (Kaiser 2001). Therefore, I expect to find that the students will indicate more parental disapproval of African American/White relationships than for Asian American/White relationships.

3. Approval of interracial relationships is lower among African American women than African American men. Previous research has found some evidence that African American women are more opposed to interracial unions than their male counterparts (Passet and Taylor 1991; Rosenblatt et al. 1995)

4. Approval of interracial relationships is lowest among Whites. This is based on the results of a recent U.S. survey (Kaiser 2001) where it was found that 53% of Whites approved of interracial relationships, as compared to 77% of Blacks, 68% of Latinos, and 67% of Asians. Further, Gallup Jr. and Newport (1991) found a similar trend that held steady for all the years they examined between 1969 and 1991.

5. Approval of interracial relationships will be lower for those in same-race relationships. This hypothesis is based on the idea that they have chosen their current partner within their own racial lines, so this perhaps is indicative of a hesitancy to date outside their own race. This hesitancy may be based on overall negative attitudes towards interracial relationships.

6. Approval of interracial relationships will be lower at Historically Black Universities than at Predominantly White Universities. This hypothesis is based on the idea that HBUs have unique histories that encourage African American pride, perhaps making dating or marrying outside the majority unpopular at such institutions. M.
Christopher Brown II and James Earl Davis (2001) suggest that the HBU is a symbol and source of social capital (social wealth or riches) for African Americans.

RACE AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

The social psychological perspective of race focuses on the racial consciousness and cultural norms around race in society. Race is viewed as a product of psychology more than a biological difference. In other words, the color of one’s skin is not the important issue, the important issue is the way people react to you based on the color of your skin.

From a social psychological perspective, racism is important for an understanding of stratification and race relations in United States history. In Stewart Tolnay’s The Bottom Rung (1999), the historical roots of the African American Southern farm family are traced, from slavery to the northern migration. The “bottom rung” of society was their place in the social strata, but family survived as a social institution despite their great economic and human rights disadvantages. Some would argue that African Americans are still in many ways on the bottom rung of society. Whether measured by income inequality, political and corporate representation, or college attendance, African Americans are disadvantaged in many ways in comparison to Whites in this society.

Orlando Patterson’s Rituals of Blood (1998) examines the social psychological consequences of slavery in the United States. Patterson argues that centuries of economic deprivation and oppression have caused cultural patterns in marriage and
family relations that serve to reinforce their problematic social situation in this society. Patterson further examines the ways in which the cultural patterns can mean self-destructive tendencies in African American community relationships. "Afro-American men and women of all classes have a terribly troubled relationship. Slavery and the system of racial oppression engendered it, and poverty, economic insecurity, and lingering racism sustain it" (167). Patterson, similar to Tolnay, traces the roots of current day problems for African Americans to the system their ancestors endured, and the crippling economic and psychological scars the legacy of slavery left behind.

Further, social psychological researchers have examined the potential effects of perceived discrimination on human psychological adjustment (Clark et al. 1999: Taylor and Turner 2002). Researchers have explored stress as a factor contributing to partner violence (Linsky, Bachman and Straus 1995; Linsky and Straus 1982; Seltzer and Kalmuss 1988; Straus 1980). Straus (1980) looked at the effect of stressful life events on husband-wife assault. His data indicated that the more stressful life events, the higher the rate of husband-wife assault. This study seeks to determine if the same relationship between stress and violence holds for dating partners in interracial relationships. Stress has also been related to the experience of racism (Adams 1990; Brown et al. 1999; Clark et al. 1999; Swim and Stangor 1998), and this idea can be extended to assess the degree to which the experience of racism causes stress in an interracial relationship. Further, the idea of social exclusion as a traumatic social experience (Swim and Stangor 1998) could be important in the examination of stress and its potential role in aggression.
Rosenblatt and Tubbs (1998) have framed the issue of interracial dating and marriage in the United States as a potentially traumatic experience for some, which they describe as including a series of potential losses. In an examination of interviews conducted by Karis and Powell (Rosenblatt, Karis and Powell 1995) with 21 African American/White couples in the Minneapolis-St. Paul metropolitan area, they found that cross-group relationships between Whites and African Americans in American society today can result in the experience of many losses for the individuals in those relationships in both social and psychological ways. Rosenblatt and Tubbs describe the ways in which the stories told in these 21 interviews resounded themes of social and psychological distress they term as “loss” time and time again. The kinds of losses the interracial couples reported experiencing included the loss of friends and family relationships, the loss of racial or ethnic identity, the loss of freedom as a result of police discrimination, the loss of status in the community and the loss of security that comes with the fear that one’s children are or may be the targets of racist discrimination. One White woman who was married to an African American man expressed her concern about region and regional cultures by saying, “We can’t live wherever we want, like some people can (130).” This represents another kind of loss of freedom; a loss of freedom represented by cultural norms that serve as restrictions for certain kinds of behavior in certain geographical areas. Certainly it makes sense that an African American/White couple may consider the level of KKK activity in a particular area before considering moving there. Yet, this type of regional culture consideration may extend to the everyday activities and lifestyles of interracial couples. If living in an area with much overt racism, an interracial couple may become isolated due to the fear of
being seen together, stared at or harassed in public. Individuals in African American/White relationships must consider racial attitudes and regional culture in planning their everyday activities. This is the loss that comes with needing to protect one’s self and family from certain areas of the United States or elsewhere that may not be safe for interracial couples to live or visit for a vacation. In summary, Rosenblatt and Tubbs describe the experience of African American/White interracial couples in terms of losses. Yet their sample is not a nationally representative sample and in fact cannot even be used, they readily admit, to generalize about the population of Minneapolis-St.Paul interracial couples’ experiences. Nevertheless, their insights into these 21 interviews do shed light on some unsolved issues regarding the social psychological experience of dating or marriage between African Americans and Whites in the United States today. If the experience is full of loss and stress for some, does this then affect interaction in partner relationships to the point where discord or violence may arise?

RACE AND STRESS

Stress is defined by Pearlin (1989) as anything that disrupts a living organism’s ability to live and adapt in their environment. In an examination of race and stress in American society, the social and historical context must always be considered and kept in mind. When it comes to interracial relationships, the stressor may be quite tangible in people’s lives, especially if they experience direct social stigmatization, or social or family disapproval that may take more passive forms such as social exclusion. Allison (1998) argues that people who are members of “oppressed” groups are vulnerable to the prejudices and stereotypes of the majority population. He discusses the many ways in
which “... individuals’ experiences of stress as the result of prejudice based on membership in a specific social or demographic category associated with oppression” can impact their lives and cause human suffering (1998:146). He, like many current day researchers, assumes that stress can be felt in both psychological and physical ways that are harmful to human health.

In essence Allison (1998) points out that stress can be important in oppressed groups for four main reasons. First of all, people in oppressed or minority groups may have experiences with major episodes of discrimination. Second, there may be certain stressors that are linked intrinsically with membership in the oppressed group (such as poor living conditions for example). Third, due to their social status, members of oppressed groups may be exposed to unique life events or traumas that those in the majority group do not commonly experience. And fourth, due to the indirect or secondary impacts of discrimination in society, members of minority groups may be exposed to overall greater stress over time.

The stress literature differentiates between chronic and acute stressors. A chronic stressor is repeated or consistent for an extended period of time; an acute stressor is a shock or emergency in one’s life which causes temporary stress. Seltzer and Kalmuss (1988) found that the most likely perpetrators of spouse abuse were those with low incomes who had been exposed to family violence during childhood, and had experienced acute stress as adults.

According to Leonard Pearlin’s (1989) “stress process model,” there is a three step process to a person’s reaction to stress. First, the person is exposed to a stressor. Second, the person is exposed to potential buffers which serve to lessen the severity of
any negative reactions to the stress. Buffers are those mediating variables which include coping techniques and social support. A person faced with severe stress and a lack of buffers can suffer deleterious psychological or even physical effects. Potential buffers in a person’s life to help them deal with stress include financial stability, family support and social contacts such as friends or helpful peer networks at work.

In the *Handbook for the Sociology of Mental Health* (1999) Brown et al. state: “We believe that racial discrimination is inherently stressful, partly because of the immutability of phenotypic characteristics and the salience of the identities that are often the basis of exclusion and maltreatment (174).” Racial discrimination still affects people’s lives in the United States every day. Studies have found that both intragroup and intergroup racism have negative impacts on the psychological well-being of many African Americans (Ayres 1991; Hughes and Hertzel 1990; Keith and Herring 1991; Kinder and Mendelberg 1995; Kirschenman and Neckerman 1991). Racial discrimination is a common experience for African American/White interracial couples in the United States today (Rosenblatt, Karis and Powell 1995). Brown et al. also point out that the stressful experiences encountered in life, including discrimination, may be handled differently by different races and ethnic groups. When and where discrimination is perceived, whether stress is the result, and how the stress is perceived and coped with can all differ by race or ethnicity. Further, access to coping mechanisms such as social services, family support or a sufficient income can differ based on race and ethnic group.

Clark et al. (1999) also propose that racism is a stressor for African Americans. They argue with their “biopsychosocial” theory that racism, as well as perceived racism, has harmful physical, social and psychological outcomes for minorities. They suggest
that further research should be conducted on the relationship between perceived racism and many maladies including such conditions as hypertension, cardiovascular disease, infant mortality, cancer, depression, anxiety disorders, and substance abuse. Further, they suggest more research needs to be conducted regarding the particular causes of the psychological stress response to racism. In other words, does the stress response vary depending upon the setting of the racism or the duration? The "biopsychosocial" model of the response to racism is important to the issue of cross-group relationship conflicts since individuals in these relationships can be victims of real or perceived discrimination as a couple which may then affect the quality of the relationship.

Williams, Spencer and Jackson (1999) found that a strong sense of group identity is important as a buffer for stress experienced from racism by African Americans. In their study of 520 Whites and 586 African Americans in the Detroit metropolitan area in 1995, they found that group identity is a buffer that may shield African Americans from negative health consequences that could otherwise result from the experience of discrimination. Implications for those in interracial relationships could be negative as other research indicates that those in interracial relationships report less family acceptance (Mills et al. 1995) of their relationships from parents and report that they feel less overall acceptance of their relationship from society (Shibazaki and Brennan 1998). Williams et al. also examined this finding from the perspective of stressful life experiences in general and made an important connection between the experience of discrimination and overall stress in daily life that may be important to an examination of CGRs. “A given stressful discriminatory experience must be understood in the light of ongoing stress, since the presence of baseline levels of stress can potentially exacerbate
the health consequences of race-related stress (94).” In other words, racial discrimination in general or in an interracial relationship can be viewed as both a chronic and an acute stressor. The overall effect of discriminatory experiences on the psychology of the individual may be additive. Further, stressors could mix and combine to make a racist or discriminatory experience seem even more stressful than perhaps it normally would to that individual on another day or at another time or place. Williams et al. argue, “... the stress of racial discrimination may overlap with and trigger other stressors that at face value may not appear to be race-related (94).” The stress of a discriminatory experience can add onto the stress of other life events, making for a potentially volatile or health threatening situation.

Taken together, the social psychological perspectives of race and stress leads to some interesting insights. Racism is a particularly insidious stressor for African Americans in this society (Clark et al. 1999; Williams et al. 1999). From a social psychological perspective, being in an interracial relationship is also a potential stressor. Some studies have in fact found evidence that those in interracial relationships may suffer from external stressors such as disapproval from family and friends which leads to isolation from these potential sources of support (Root 1992; Welborn 1994) while other studies suggest that family and peer approval increase over time (Root 1996). Yet, a study by LaTaillade (1999) found that those in interracial relationships did not differ significantly from those in same-race relationships in levels of family and friend support. Yet LaTaillade did find that there was a significant association between reported experiences of covert discrimination and partnership in an African American/White interracial relationship. For instance, LaTaillade found that 89% of the males in African
American/White relationships reported experiences of covert discrimination as compared to only 15% of African American men in same-race relationships. No significant differences were found between groups for experiences of overt and institutional discrimination though. In summary, the idea that dating outside one's race can result in real or perceived prejudice and/or discrimination in this society is not new or surprising. Yet, the face validity of this statement is still debated today and there is mixed research support for such an assertion.

Some research also suggests that issues of prejudice and discrimination in the United States may vary by region. Aside from the issue as to whether or not views of race differ between the North and the South today, there is also the issue of smaller regional variations in norms and attitudes towards race relations. Taylor (1998), for instance, found that the higher the population of African Americans in a particular region, the higher the average prejudicial and racist attitudes held by the Whites surrounding them. With an examination of GSS data from 1990, Taylor examined the attitudes of Whites only in her study. She examined responses to questions about "anti-black prejudice" as well as many questions measuring the respondents' opposition to equal opportunity programs and aid for minorities. The results revealed that those regions with the largest percentage of African Americans were also the regions that tended to have elevated levels of anti-African American sentiment. They also found that there was no statistically significant difference in this regional variation of attitudes between those in the South and those in the North. The implications of these findings on research about attitudes towards interracial relationships is clear; region and population variations are issues that must be taken into account when examining attitudes about race.
issues. This study will partially accomplish this task by examining the difference in attitudes towards CGRs in the North versus the South. Yet, this study does not allow an examination of any smaller regional variation in attitudes or norms about CGRs. (The questionnaire used for this study does not ask respondents their region of origin. Region is only measured by the location of the institutions of higher learning each participant was attending at the time of the survey.)

Knowledge or awareness of negative social perceptions, stigmas or stereotypes of minorities and interracial couples impacts the social psychological experience of the relationship for both the minority and majority group members (Lewandowski and Jackson 2001; Frankenberg 1993). Ruth Frankenberg (1993) examined the attitudes of White women towards race and interracial dating in her book, *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness*. Although her study used a snowball sample of only a dozen White women, and the results are not in any way representative of the national population, she brings up some interesting issues that may have implications for this and future research on interracial relationships. She suggests that White women in America often have and/or are aware of very negative stereotypes of women who date or marry interracially. Further, she also suggests that for White women who are in interracial relationships, the experience of racism is often a new and eye-opening experience after beginning the relationship. She also describes what she terms a "rebound effect" in which White women experience racism through their husbands' or boyfriends' experiences of racism. When the minority husband or boyfriend experiences a hurtful or traumatic discriminatory experience, the White female in the relationship also feels the psychological and social effects.
Perhaps in cases where the interracial relationship is a combination of two minority group members, this social psychological feeling of being different, stared at, or stereotyped in some way may result in an even more pronounced feeling or perception of discrimination or marginality. In the most extreme cases of family or friend disapproval, a lack of social support or contact with family or friends can translate into fewer buffers from stressors. On the other hand, perhaps much social support from family and friends can buffer the potential negative effects of social disapproval of the interracial union. Also, it is likely that the stress of being in an interracial relationship can intensify based on the local cultures’ level of disapproval, the socioeconomic status of the people in the mixed relationship, and the racial distribution of the local population, but these issues would require further study to be fully understood.

In summary, the underlying theoretical assumption for this study is that being in an interracial relationship is still largely against the norm in this society and therefore can be considered what I would term a “discrimination-based stressor,” regardless of the couple’s real or perceived experiences of overt or covert racism. As stated by W.I. Thomas, “When people define situations as real, they become real in their consequences.” In other words, if someone perceives discrimination or prejudice, the experience is just as real for them psychologically as if real discrimination had actually taken place. Dating and marriage between African Americans and Whites in this society has historically been taboo, and even today this kind of partner selection is against the normative patterns of marriage and dating in this society.
COLLEGE STUDENT DATING VIOLENCE

College student dating violence has been a recognized problem in recent years. Sugarman and Hotaling (1989) found in their review of dating violence studies that partner violence rates among American youth ranged between 20% to 40% across many studies. This study contributes to this body of research by providing current data on a diversified group of college students. Further, this study allows comparison of rates of partner violence between Historically Black Universities (HBUs) and Predominantly White Universities (PWUs). Nevertheless, it is important to review a few other current estimates of the prevalence of college student dating violence in order to compare them to my study results.

Using a modified version of the Conflict Tactic Scale, Shook et. al. (2000) examined both physical and verbal aggression among college students (395 females and 177 males). They found that 21% of college students in their sample admitted to using physical force in a relationship in the past year. Although they found no significant gender differences for verbal aggression against a partner, they did find that females were significantly more likely to report using physical aggression against their partner than males.

In the early 1990's Smith et al. (2003) administered 5 surveys during the 4-year college period for two classes of University of North Carolina women (n=1569). Using a modified version of the CTS, they collected information on the adolescent and college physical victimization of these women in intimate relationships. They found that 42.9% of the women reported experiencing some kind of physical aggression at the hands of a partner during high school. For the first year of college, 27.2% reported experiencing
dating violence and for the second year, 24.3% reported dating violence victimization. In the third year of college 24.3% of women were victimized by physical aggression, and the prevalence for the college seniors was 18.6%. Overall, 77.8% of the college women reported experiencing dating violence at some time in their lives. Smith et. al. examined the relationship between adolescent victimization to college victimization and found that those women who experienced violent victimization during adolescence were at a greater risk for re-victimization during their freshman year. Also, for each subsequent year, those college women who had experienced violence remained at greater risk for violence than those who had never experienced relationship violence. Overall, Smith et. al. conclude that adolescent dating violence is a serious problem that oftentimes follows individuals into their college years. They suggest a need for early intervention during the high school years in order to curtail violent relationships during college years and adulthood.

Clearly, as seen in the rates of college student dating violence in these studies, partner violence among college students is a formidable problem in the United States today. The studies of college student dating violence consistently find a sizeable minority of students who have this problem in their relationships, and certainly the college student culture of drinking and dating may exacerbate the potential for dating violence within this age group. The previous studies on college student dating violence have not examined the issue of race and interracial relationships, and this study will fill that gap in the research. Further, previous researchers have not taken regional issues into account. They have not considered that higher rates of college student dating violence may be found in the South (or in large cities or some small regions such as ethnic
enclaves) due to cultural beliefs regarding the acceptability of violence as an appropriate means of settling conflicts (Fox and Levin 2001). This research seeks to help fill this gap in the research.

THEORIES OF PARTNER VIOLENCE

The investigation of race patterns in violence against dating partners will include various explanations that previous research has found to be correlated with partner violence: stress, power and status differentials in the structure of the relationship, criminal history, and regional subcultures of violence. Stress has already been examined above in the context of social psychology and race. Below is a discussion of the previous research findings on the relationship of power and status differentials in relationships, and regional subcultures of violence to partner violence.

Partner Violence and Cross-Group Relationships

In beginning my research into the impact of interracial relationships on partner violence, I was immediately struck with the realization that this topic has been neglected in the literature to date. One study did address this issue (Hamby and Bushman 1996) but it was based on a clinical sample of only 20 women (all White women in a predominantly White New England community, but 40% had African American partners) and it was never published. Nevertheless, Hamby and Bushman examined differences in reports of partner violence between those in same-race relationships and those women who were in relationships with African American men. The main issue they wanted to examine was the role of male dominance in their relationships with their male abusers.
They used a Dominance Scale to measure three aspects or types of behavior which may be displayed by a dominant personality; authority, restrictiveness and disparagement. They found that there were differences in the association between dominance and violence for the two groups. For the women in the same-race relationships, the husband’s restrictiveness was significantly related to physical assault. For the women who were in relationships with African American men, the man’s sustained authority was significantly related to physical assault of the woman. In other words, there was a difference in which type of overtly expressed male dominance in a relationship is related to the propensity to a physical assault.

Hamby and Bushman offer many useful interpretations of their findings. First of all they suggest that, “... the social realities of prejudice probably influence the nature of mixed-race relationships (10).” Further, they give an explanation as to why the issue of Dominance may be different for African American men in relationships with White women.

... European American females may be more culturally empowered, in most social interactions, than African American males. Thus, some individuals in that form of interracial relationship may feel more of a need to emphasize the authority of the husband to counteract the force of the dominant culture. Authority focuses primarily on the forms of dominance associated with social roles, and thus this may be the form of dominance most associated with violence for relationships that confront unique social role pressures. (Hamby and Bushman 1996)

Hamby and Bushman’s study (1996) is the only study I located which actually examined the role of interracial relationships in partner violence. Unfortunately, this study involves a small clinical sample of women who have experienced partner violence. This study
does not give any estimation, therefore, as to whether or not being in a cross-group relationship predisposes one to a higher chance of violence.

**Feminism and Status/Power Differentials**

From a feminist perspective, violent crime is usually an issue of power and masculinity. According to Department of Justice statistics, in 1996 men were responsible for 90% of the murders, 90% of the physical assaults, and 99.8% of the rapes in the United States. Similarly, the recently highly publicized school shootings reveal the same gender relationship . . . they are almost always committed by boys, although this gender discrepancy is usually ignored by media reports (Katz 1999). Similarly, partner violence is seen by some feminists as an issue of men exerting power and force over women as well as an issue of control and power struggles in the relationship. Yet, there is much evidence to conclude that when it comes to violence in the family and intimate relationships, it is not only the domain of men. In families and other similarly intimate situations, such as dating, violence at the hands of women has frequently been self-reported (Straus 1999; Straus 1997). Nevertheless, traditionally feminists have argued that partner violence is used by men in an attempt to gain control (Pence and Paymar 1986).

Researchers have used a variety of techniques to measure the effect of status differences between partners in a marriage (Becker 1973; Blood and Wolfe 1969; Hornung and McCullough 1981; Smith 1987). For instance, Blood and Wolfe (1969) found that African American families tended to have a wife-dominant power structure compared to White marriages of a similar blue-collar economic status. Further, Hornung and McCullough (1981) found that status inconsistency, measured in terms of
educational and occupational attainment, was an important variable in the explanation of life and marital dissatisfaction for men and women alike, but in different circumstances. Specifically, Hornung and McCullough note that, “Men find marriage to an “overeducated” woman stressful, while achievement oriented women find marriage to an “overeducated” husband to be satisfying” (138). Perhaps due to traditional gender role socialization, men may feel unsatisfied if they are not as educated or as employable as their wives.

The issue of power differentials between men and women as a factor in the causation of partner violence has been examined by many researchers (Douglas 1991; Hamberger, Lohr and Bonge 1994; McCloskey 1996). Harriet Douglas (1991) examines the issue of partner violence from an “empowerment-based approach.” She argues that violence between intimates is an issue of an imbalance of power. She argues that shifts or changes in the power balance between intimates can lead to instances of violence, especially if combined with external stressors such as work or financial problems. Shifts in the power balance could include financial or social aspects of power. McCloskey (1996) examined the financial power issue in intimate relationships with data collected through interviews with 365 battered and non-battered women. Results revealed that income disparity in favor of the woman was a predictor of men’s frequency and severity of physical abuse towards their wives. Findings suggest, then, that income disparity, perhaps as much or more than overall poverty, may be a causal factor in partner violence.

Hamberger, Lohr and Bonge (1994) also examined the issues of power and control in their research using court-referred participants (75 females and 219 males) who had been involved in some kind of intimate partner or domestic violence incident.
The main purpose of their research was to decipher the difference in the purpose of violence for men versus women. Using data from intake interviews, the conflict tactics scale, and feedback given during treatment and planning session, they analyzed gender differences in the purpose of their violent actions. Their findings supported their hypotheses and supported the idea that partner violence is a power and control issue for many. They found that women’s basic intent was self-defense but the expression of negative emotions, demands for attention, and revenge for the men’s previous abuse were also motives cited for their violent actions. Men’s responses involved many negative themes related to issues of power and control. Also, for men, they reported anger explosions, alcohol abuse and demands for attention as other motives for their violent actions.

Recently Kaura and Allen (2004) found evidence that a person’s satisfaction with the power differential in their relationship is important to the harmony within that relationship. Using a sample of 352 male and 296 female college students, they administered questionnaires that included the Revised Conflict Tactics Scales and the Relationship Power Scale. They found that dissatisfaction with relationship power was associated with the use of violence in dating relationships by both men and women. They also found that parental violence was an even stronger predictor of dating violence perpetration, but for the purposes of this research, what is most interesting is the issue of power differentials and dissatisfaction that can arise from that, perhaps leading to the likelihood for violence. Race could be an interesting factor to be included in a study such as this, yet Kaura and Allen did not consider the possible impact of race on this issue.
Using feminist reasoning to analyze results from studies that show significant amounts of female violence towards men (Straus 1999; Straus 1997; Kaura and Allen 2004), we might conclude that women also use violence in a relationship as a method of vying for power. Yet, it is not clear what may be the precursor to the desire for power. Some feminist theory suggests that since men already have more power in a patriarchal society, they are simply using violence as a means to keep the power balance in their favor. Others contend that men use violence as an attempt to gain control, which has actually been brought on by feelings of powerlessness (e.g. Finkelhor 1983). One issue that may also contribute to levels of power or perceived power in a relationship can be race. Race as a factor in stratification in the United States cannot be ignored, and in interracial relationships, the social power may vary between partners based on race and gender.

Perhaps racial compositions can contribute to a partner's desire for power in both of the ways described above: an increased sense of powerfulness and/or an increased sense of powerlessness. When the male is White, being in an interracial relationship may bolster his feelings of powerfulness. When the male is of a minority status, dating a White woman may have the opposite effect, increasing his sense of powerlessness as a consequence of his perception that his wife's social status is higher based on the color of her skin. More generally, perhaps the racial composition of the couple can serve as another measure of power distribution in the relationship. The race and gender composition of the couple could have social psychological effects on the power structure of the relationship. This effect may be even stronger for African American/White relationships due to a long history of general disapproval of interracial marriage between
the two groups (as exemplified by the anti-miscegenation laws which existed even into the twentieth century in the United States).

The race of each individual in an intimate relationship can be viewed as another social psychological aspect of power or status in the relationship. A White man dating an African American woman, for instance, may not only have true social advantages in this society, but may also "feel" more powerful than his counterpart. So, from the feminist perspective of power differentials in partner violence, it may be hypothesized that interracial couples may have a higher likelihood of violence in their relationship than same-race couples of any race. Although it would be unfortunate for such a hypothesis to be confirmed, the feminist assertion that violence is used as a tool of power and control in intimate relationships (Pence and Paymar 1986; Finkelhor 1983) suggests that power differentials are in some way tied to partner violence outcomes.

The interracial relationship offers a unique circumstance to test the power struggle propositions of a feminist orientation using gender as well as race. Power can be examined from the perspective that race may be an indicator of power in our society. For instance, in this society one could argue that a White man has more power over an African American woman or a Native American woman than he would over a White woman. As an agent of stratification in American society, race, much like gender, is a symbol which indicates social power. I consider this issue with an examination of dating violence by same-race versus interracial couples.

The main focus of this part of the study will be to examine the interracial relationships and compare them to same-race couples to assess any differences in the
prevalence or chronicity of partner violence. Control variables such as age, SES, gender, social desirability and race will also be included in the analyses.

In conclusion, these theories, coupled with the viewpoint of race from a social psychological perspective, suggest that the racial composition of the couple could be an important variable in the issue of partner violence in the United States today. With the number of interracial relationships increasing, many more individuals in interracial relationships may begin to be vulnerable to stressors of public or family ridicule or prejudices. Of course, as more people begin to intermarry, we may find that the stigma of interracial dating lessens in the future. But until the day when we can declare there is no racial prejudice in the United States, we have to assume there is discrimination and stigma placed on interracial love relationships. The pressures of social stigma or discrimination, coupled with issues of family or friend objections to the relationship, may lead to stress and aggression.

HYPOTHESES ABOUT PARTNER VIOLENCE

1. Partner violence will be more likely for interracial relationships than for same-race relationships.

2. Partner violence will be more likely for Black/White relationships than for other relationships.

3. Partner violence will be more likely in the HBUs than in the PWUs.

4. Partner violence will be more likely for those with negative attitudes towards interracial relationships. (Here the attitudes are used as a proxy measure of liberal
attitudes. This is under the assumption that those with more conservative attitudes about gender or relationships may be more likely to participate in partner violence.)

**CONCLUSION**

This dissertation is composed of three primary parts: first, an estimate of the number of college students who are in or have recently been in a cross-group relationship; second, a survey of college students’ attitudes towards interracial relationships and their perceptions of their parents’ attitudes; and third an analysis of partner violence with special emphasis on the racial composition of the couple involved and the impact of attitudes towards interracial relationships. When examining race from a social psychological perspective, it is clear that African American/White relationships have historically gone against the norm in U.S. society, and this may cause stress for those in this type of interracial union, potentially leading to partner violence.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>CGR Attitude Measure</th>
<th>Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>American Mosaic Project</td>
<td>2,081 U.S. adults</td>
<td>1 question about approval of child marrying an African American</td>
<td>-48% of White Conservative Christians disapproved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dowden &amp; Robinson (1993)</td>
<td>3,327 white U.S. adults</td>
<td>GSS anti-miscegenation laws question</td>
<td>1972-1988 10% increase in number of people who disagreed with the laws</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gallup Jr. &amp; Newport (1991)</td>
<td>990 U.S. adults</td>
<td>Gallup Poll-black/white marriage</td>
<td>Whites, older, less educated, and those in the South disapproved more</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kaiser Foundation (2001)</td>
<td>1709 U.S. adults</td>
<td>Questions about CG dating behavior</td>
<td>-4 out of 10 had dated outside their race</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Jean &amp; Parker (1995)</td>
<td>606 Black females</td>
<td>GSS anti-miscegenation laws question</td>
<td>1987-1991 Anti-miscegenation laws favored more by those over age 35, poor, religious, those who did not graduate from high school and those who live in the South or rural area</td>
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<tr>
<td>Todd &amp; McKinney (1992)</td>
<td>400 Los Angeles citizens</td>
<td>1 question about willingness to have CGR</td>
<td>-Men had more positive attitudes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson &amp; Jacobson (1995)</td>
<td>GSS data 1972-1989</td>
<td>2 GSS questions</td>
<td>Those who tended to approve were young, upper class, college educated, in business or professionals, with no strong religious convictions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yancey &amp; Emerson (2001)</td>
<td>46 Counties</td>
<td>Voters in South Carolina</td>
<td>38% voted against removal of South Carolina's anti-miscegenation laws</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study</td>
<td>Sample Description</td>
<td>Study Question(s)</td>
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<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiebert &amp; Karamol (2000)</td>
<td>563 California University students</td>
<td>Questions about dating experience &amp; preferences</td>
<td>- Whites more willing to date Latinos than African Americans or Asians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Asians preferred Whites &amp; Latinos over African Americans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- No significant gender differences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khanna, Harris &amp; Cullers (1999)</td>
<td>337 Southern College students</td>
<td>Questions about attitudes and parental approval</td>
<td>- Minorities more approving than whites</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Those in college Greek system were more disapproving than other students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Family &amp; friend approval was strongest predictor of attitudes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knox et al. (2000)</td>
<td>623 College students</td>
<td>Questions about dating experience &amp; willingness</td>
<td>- 24% had dated interracially</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- 49.6% were open to interracial dating</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Blacks more open to CG dating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewandowski &amp; Jackson (2001)</td>
<td>229 White Midwest College students</td>
<td>Perception of compatibility for Asian/White &amp; Black/White couple scenarios</td>
<td>- White men married to Black women perceived as less competent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Black/White couples rated less compatible than Asian/White couples</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>- White women married to Black men were perceived as less traditional than those married to Asian men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mills et al. (1995)</td>
<td>142 Midwest College students</td>
<td>Assessment Scale of Interracial Relationships (16 items)</td>
<td>- Black students had more positive attitudes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Men had more positive attitudes</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Most said their family would disapprove regardless of age, race, or gender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paset &amp; Taylor (1991)</td>
<td>50 White &amp; 50 Black College students</td>
<td>2 questions about attitudes towards CG marriage</td>
<td>- Whites women were more approving than black women of both White men &amp; women dating and marrying someone “of a different race”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Those less educated and those in the South had more negative attitudes</td>
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</table>
CHAPTER 2

METHODS

SAMPLE

This study was conducted as part of the International Dating Violence Study (Straus and members of the International Dating Violence Research Consortium 2004). The sample consists of a large sample of undergraduate students at several participating Universities, collected with the help of researchers at each participating institution. The survey sites and sample sizes are as follows:

University of New Hampshire N = 371
Indiana State University N = 273
Jackson State University N = 269
Howard University N = 95
University of Manitoba N = 165
Total N = 1174

The goal was to collect data at sites in differing geographical regions of the country so that the regional differences in behavior and attitudes can be assessed among the college students. Of particular interest is the difference in attitudes towards interracial relationships between those in the Predominantly White schools as compared to those of the students in the Historically Black schools, Jackson State and Howard...
Universities. Further, by sampling at these historically black institutions, I hoped to ensure enough minority respondents to make cross-race comparisons in the final analyses.

According to 1999 Census data, African American/White marriages represented only half a percent of all American marriages. At this level of representation in the population, one might only expect to have 2-3 people in interracial relationships out of a sample of 500. Therefore, in using a random sampling technique in undergraduate courses, I took a large risk that there would be sufficient interracial couples in the sample to look at issues of partner violence. The risk was taken based on the hypothesis that among a young college student sample of primarily dating relationships, the number of African American/White interracial relationships might be much higher than the average number of interracial marriages. There are several reasons to make this assumption. First, a young college student sample is presumably less prejudiced than the older generations. Second, a college campus is generally politically and socially liberal, possibly making interracial dating more acceptable than in the larger community. Third, since interracial marriage is still unconventional in the United States, people may be more likely to date interracially than to settle down with and marry someone of another race. Since most of the college students are still dating, it may be more common to find interracial relationships among this population. Our combined sample of students at the five schools resulted in a small number of Black/White interracial unions. There were only 18 interracial relationships between Blacks and Whites reported.

| Black/White Dating Relationships | 13 |
| Black/White Marital Relationships  | 3  |
Black/White Engagements

Since the number of Black/White interracial relationships is very small, this indicates that the number of college students who might be dating interracially was overestimated. As is discussed in the results chapter, this indicates a social norm for college students to date primarily within their own racial/ethnic group. Although their attitudes towards interracial relationships may seem relatively favorable, their actions show a different picture.

The Universities Sampled

The five institutions of higher learning that participated in this study are unique institutions with unique histories. Howard University and Jackson State University are two Historically Black Universities with ethnically diverse student bodies.

As a liberal arts institution, Howard Universities' history goes back as far as 1867. Since then, it has provided a comprehensive yet research oriented education for many and has become renowned as a quality predominantly African American university. Howard University currently has 9000 undergraduate students and 1248 graduate and professional degree students. The student body is 86% African American, 2% Asian, 2% Caucasian, 1% Latino <1% Native American and 10% Other (Howard University website 2004).

Jackson State University is also a Historically Black University that dates back to original roots as a Seminary school in Natchez, Mississippi back in the 1870s. In 1882 the school was moved to Jackson and in 1899 the name was changed to Jackson College. In 1956 the name was changed to Jackson State College and it gained University status in 1974 (Jackson State University 2004). According to recent estimates, Jackson State
Universities' student body is 97% African American and about 1% Caucasian. Native Americans, Asians and Hispanics make up less than 1% of the student body each (Xap.com). Jackson State University is located in what is described as an urban setting.

The University of Manitoba is another urban university, yet it is located in Winnipeg, Canada. The University of Manitoba was established in 1877 out of St. Boniface College and St. John's College. The University of Manitoba does not keep statistics on race or ethnicity in the same way as many Americans would classify them. They do keep detailed statistics on the number of Aboriginal students attending their institution though. In the 2002-2003 student body was about 2% First Nations and 2% Metis according to University records (University of Manitoba 2004). University records also include racial/ethnic categories by regions of the world as opposed to the records of "race" we may keep in the United States. Their student body is 95% Canadian, and less than half a percent African, European, Middle Eastern, North, South or Central American. Their student body is also 3% Asian. With this information in mind, the University of Manitoba will be considered a Predominantly White University for the purposes of this study.

Indiana State University is located in Terre Haute, Indiana in a rural setting. Founded in 1865 as Indiana State Normal School, it has been known as Indiana State since 1965. Although Indiana State will be considered a Predominantly White University in this study, it is more racially diverse than most and is often referred to by those in Indiana as the closest thing to an HBU that the area has to offer. According to University statistics, 85.5% of their 11,360 undergraduate students in fall 2003 came from Indiana,
while only 10.7% came from another state and 3.8% came from outside the U.S. Overall, the student population in 2003 was 80.7% Caucasian and 19.3% minorities. The minority representation at Indiana State University is primarily African American (55%) followed by Hispanic (7%), Asian American (4%), Multi-racial (4%) and American Indian (1.5%).

The University of New Hampshire is also termed a Predominantly White University in this study. Founded in 1866, the University of New Hampshire is a land-grant public university with over 10,000 undergraduates and 2000 graduate students (UNH website). Overall, the University of New Hampshire had a total student body in Fall 2002 that was 87.1% Caucasian and 4.2% minority (6.2% unknown and 2.5% non-resident alien), but these estimates include the graduate students. For the undergraduates, Fall 2002 enrollment indicates that UNH in Durham had a student body that was 89% Caucasian, 1.7% Asian, 1% Black, 1% Hispanic, and about .2% Native American.

SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

This sample is largely made up of young college aged individuals who are still dating. In fact, 64% of the sample were between the ages of 18 and 21 at the time of the data collection. The sample is largely young with another 23% between the ages of 22-29 and a mere 10.7% over the age of 30 at the time of taking the survey.

Surveys were given in the classrooms of Introductory Sociology and Psychology courses at the University of New Hampshire, the University of Manitoba, Jackson State University and the University of Indiana. At Howard University, Introductory Psychology students had to sign up to take the survey as part of their experimental credit
options for the course. The surveys were given to groups of 4-10 students at a time and were administered by a paid Graduate Assistant. Jackson State University and Howard University surveys were administered by African American surveyors in order to maximize respondent’s feelings of ease in honestly answering each question. Very few participants did not fill out the answer to their racial/ethnic identity, but a few did leave this question blank, so they were left out of most estimates in this study. This suggests that some individuals may have been offended by the question asking them to self-identify with a racial or ethnic group. Yet, this only happened with a few individuals.

This sample is largely female, which seems to be partially a self selection problem when collecting data with a survey such as this one, mainly because most colleges and Universities have a higher number of females students enrolled. Overall, the sample of 1174 students is about 80% female. This same gender distribution in the sample was found for each school, ranging from a high of 90% female at Jackson State to a low of 70% female at Indiana State.

For the sample of 1174, 1079 students reported being in a relationship that lasted one month or longer either currently, or at some time in the past. Those who indicated they had never been in a relationship that lasted one month or longer were instructed to skip all the questions about these kinds of relationships. Those who said they had been in this type of relationship in the past but were not in one currently were instructed to answer all the questions about their “most recent” past partner. This scheme is adequate if we assume that students today are monogamous to one partner at a time, but there was evidence during data collection that this may not be the case. When I gave the surveys to a Introduction to Sociology course during the summer semester of 2002, one male
student raised his hand and explained to me that he did not know which relationship to answer about in the survey. He then explained that he had recently ended a relationship with a female and with a male, and that he had actually been dating them both during the same time period. He was instructed to pick just one and answer each question about that relationship only. He seemed to have so much trouble remembering all the trauma that had taken place in each relationship, that he actually gave up after over an hour of filling out the survey. Since he was not able to complete the survey, he was ultimately dropped from the analyses. This kind of reaction suggests that another revision of the CTS could include a measure of the prevalence of multiple partners in college student dating today.

Almost all the students who reported being currently or recently in a relationship were in heterosexual relationships, but there were also some same-sex relationships reported. Overall there were 14 male and 21 female homosexual relationships. When asked about what type of relationship they were currently or recently in, 81% said they were dating, 7% said they were engaged, and 11% indicated they were married. Many of them were also in relatively short relationships. In fact, 39% indicated that their current or most recent relationship had lasted less than 1 year. Some did report longer lasting relationships as well with around 6% indicating their relationship length to be 1 year, 17% reporting somewhere between 1-2 years, and 38% reporting that their relationship was 2 or more years long at the time of the survey.

This sample is largely middle class in Socioeconomic terms, yet the students at the University of New Hampshire and Howard University reported a slightly higher SES for their family of origin. The SES variable for this study is a composite of three variables, mother’s education, father’s education and family income. An examination of
the family income variable demonstrates the higher SES of the UNH and Howard students. A chi-square analysis indicates that there is a statistically significant difference in family income between schools ($\chi^2 = 257.07$ (df = 28); $p = .000$). Many more UNH and Howard students indicated that their family income was over $70,000 per year. In fact, 51% of UNH students and 28% of Howard students chose this income range for their family. At Indiana State, 28% said their family made $70,000 or more per year, with only 11% at Jackson State and 16% at the University of Manitoba indicating the same. A chi-square test indicates that there is also a statistically significant difference ($\chi^2 = 92.65$ (df = 7); $p = .000$) in reported family income between the students at Historically Black Universities and the students at the other three schools. The Predominantly White Universities have higher average family incomes reported than the HBUs. The same relationship is found between the parents’ educational attainment for the schools. Those at Howard and UNH had significantly more mothers ($\chi^2 = 150.31$ (df = 24); $p = .000$) and fathers ($\chi^2 = 161.12$ (df = 24); $p = .000$) who hold a graduate or upper level degree.

It would be somewhat accurate to say, then, that the individuals in this survey were largely middle class, but that at Howard and the University of New Hampshire, there were a number of upper middle or upper class individuals enrolled who took part in this study. Certainly both Howard and UNH are well-known, large Universities that attract middle and upper class individuals from all over the world, so this finding in the SES distribution of the sample is not surprising.

MEASURES
The data for this study is part of the International Dating Violence Study, which has received IRB approval at the University of New Hampshire and at each of the other four universities. The questionnaire containing these measures has been used with more than ten thousand students in the U.S. and 18 other countries. The measurement instrument include the revised Conflict Tactics Scales which is a standardized and validated instrument (Archer 1999; Straus et al. 1996). There is space at the end of the International Dating Violence Study for each co-investigator to add ten questions of local significance. The race of the respondent and their partner were two of the ten questions in this section since they had not already been included as questions in the International Dating Violence Study. The remaining eight questions focused on attitudes about interracial dating. Dr. Murray Straus and I developed the Cross-Group Relationships (CGR) Scale to measure these attitudes.

Conflict Tactics Scales

The revised Conflict Tactics Scales (CTS) measures four aspects of partner violence: physical assault, injury, sexual coercion, and psychological aggression. For the purposes of this study, the focus will be limited to physical assault. The CTS differentiates between minor and severe physical assault. The minor assault items in the questionnaire include: 1) threw something at him/her 2) pushed, grabbed, or shoved him/her and 3) slapped him/her. The acts of violence categorized as severe include: 1) kicked, bit, or hit him/her with a fist 2) hit or tried to hit him/her with something 3) beat him/her up 4) choked him/her 5) threatened him/her with a knife or gun and 6) used a knife or gun.
Cross-Group Relationships Scale

The CGR Scale is intended to measure the overall level of acceptability of interracial relationships and also acceptability of two specific race combinations: African American/White and Asian American/White. The CGR has also been modified for use in other countries to measure aspects such as inter-caste relationships in India. Although the questions in the CGR ask about individual respondent’s attitudes, when these scores are aggregated into a total scale score, they represent the overall norms or attitudes towards interracial relationships for that school or that population. Further, when the results are aggregated to get the average score for a specific group (such as males or females) they can be used to provide information on the social norms of specific groups concerning cross-group relationships.

Table 2.1 is a list of the eight questions which make up the CGR scale. The response categories include the following four choices: “Strongly Disagree,” “Agree,” “Disagree” or “Strongly Disagree.” The eight attitude questions address the attitudes of the students and their assessment of how their parents would feel about the same topic. The eight questions are listed below. Although many more questions could be added, the usual 50 minute testing time of the IDV study limits the number of locally significant questions to ten. The main measure of norms towards interracial dating is a scale calculated using all eight measures. This overall acceptance of interracial relationships variable can be used to measure normative responses to interracial dating for quick comparison among groups.
Table 2.1. Cross-Group Relationship Scale

1. I think it is good for African Americans/Blacks and Whites to date.
2. My parents think it is good for African Americans/Blacks and Whites to date.
3. I think it is good for African Americans/Blacks and Whites to marry.
4. My parents think it is good for African Americans/Blacks and Whites to marry.
5. I think it is good for Asian Americans and Whites to date.
6. My parents think it is good for Asian Americans and Whites to date.
7. I think it is good for Asian Americans and Whites to marry.
8. My parents think it is good for Asian Americans and Whites to marry.

The Cross-Group Relationship Scales also includes six subscales, each composed of four items. Each measures a different but overlapping aspect of the acceptability of interracial intimate partner relationships:

- Acceptability of Black/White relationships
- Acceptability of Asian/White relationships
- Acceptability of interracial relationships to students
- Acceptability of interracial relationships to parents
- Acceptability of interracial dating
- Acceptability of interracial marriage

Each of the concepts above will be useful in examining the cultural norms around
interacial relationships in America today. The Cross-Group Relationships Scale also includes numerous possible subscales composed of two items each.

- Acceptability of Black/White relationships to respondents
- Acceptability of Black/White relationships to parents
- Acceptability of Asian/White relationships to respondents
- Acceptability of Asian/White relationships to parents
- Acceptability of interracial dating to respondents
- Acceptability of interracial dating to parents
- Acceptability of interracial marriage to respondents
- Acceptability of interracial marriage to parents

Since there are so many CGR subscales, a select few were chosen to be included in the final data analyses.

Validity and Reliability of CGR Scale

During the Proposal defense it was suggested that the Cross-Group Relationship Scale be tested for reliability and validity. Since the University of New Hampshire data had not yet been processed into a data file, data from the Canadian sample that included the Cross-Group Relationship Scale was used for the analyses. This Canadian sample consists of 128 undergraduates at the University of Manitoba.

A Factor Analysis was performed and resulted in 2 factors, one of which had consistently high loadings of around .8, while the other had consistently low loadings of around .3. This can be interpreted to indicate that essentially the Cross-Group
Relationship Scale is basically measuring one characteristic, favorable attitudes towards interracial relationships.

Further, Alpha Reliability tests were performed on each of the subscales and the total CRG scale, and also again controlling for gender. The results indicated a high level of reliability for all the scales. The Table 2.2 displays the Alphas for overall scale and subscales for the entire sample.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Alpha Reliability Coefficient</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall Approval Scale</td>
<td>.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approval by Students</td>
<td>.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approval by Parents</td>
<td>.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approval of Dating</td>
<td>.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approval of Marriage</td>
<td>.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approval of Black/White</td>
<td>.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approval of Asian/White</td>
<td>.92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In examining the means and comparing between genders, there is evidence of construct validity as well. Overall, women were less approving of interracial relationships of both types than their male counterparts. This may reflect a gender difference in cultural standards of mate selection. Since we live in a largely patriarchal society, perhaps women are more likely to worry about the social repercussions of interracial love or they are more worried about parental approval of their selected partner than their more independent, male counterparts. Further, the correlations with the eight CGR variables with various measures of partner violence showed that a higher approval
of interracial relationships is associated with a lower level of partner violence. Perhaps
this reflects a more egalitarian attitude than those who disapprove of interracial dating
and marriage.

There may be other validity issues with the CGR scale so in an effort to continue
research on this, a Sociology Instructor at Elizabethtown College used the CGR questions
as a discussion point in her class titled “The African American Experience” in the Spring
semester of 2004. After answering the CGR scale questions, the students were asked to
discuss the questions and mark any comments they had on the questionnaires. These
were then collected for further analysis of the validity of the CGR scale questions. The
class consisted of 4 African American and 4 White students. Half of the students
thought that the word “good” should have been “acceptable” because although many of
them thought the relationships were acceptable, they thought more people would be
hesitant to take the value stand and say these kinds of CGRs are “good.” The other half
of the students did not see this issue as a problem and said they understood the
questionnaire to be asking their opinion on each kind of cross-group relationship.

Another issue that was raised by this class was the idea of asking the students
what their “parent’s” think about cross-group relationships. One student’s written
comments said that some parents have extremely different views on many social issues,
so it would be better to ask about the mother and father’s viewpoints separately.
Certainly, with many college students, parents and often they have parents who have split
or divorced. This issue should be taken into account in any revisions of the CGR scale
by making sure to ask about parental attitudes separately.
Race/Ethnic Categories on Questionnaire

Choosing the racial categories to include was difficult due to the sensitive nature of the topic and the realization that some of our colleges would be rather homogenous in racial makeup in contrast others with much racial diversity. For this reason, different race/ethnic category choices were used, most specifically, diversifying the answer choices to better reflect the racial and ethnic diversity I expected at Howard and Indiana State University.

Therefore, after data was collected at the first two sites, the University of New Hampshire and Jackson State University, the race categories were revised to better reflect the racial and ethnic compositions of the student bodies at Howard University and Indiana State University. For more diverse and international student bodies, the term “African American/Black” may not be applicable. There may be a small number of students in the class who are international students from Africa or the Caribbean, studying abroad in the U.S. Further, the “African American/Black” category may also be problematic for many other categories of people such as those who identify themselves as “Black” but consider themselves to also be Hispanic or Carribean, not of African origin. Further, the racial categories used at the University of Manitoba were revised by the principal investigator in order to reflect the racial makeup at the school and in order to revise some of the terms to be applicable to a Canadian sample. They do not, for instance, refer to African Americans in their nation, but instead refer to those of African origin as “Black.” Also, they do not refer to their Native people as Native Americans or Indians but instead as “Aborigines.” Further, Canadians commonly use the term “Metis” to refer to those of Aboriginal and Caucasian mixed origins.
Multiracial Categories. The race/ethnic identity questions indicated that the respondents could choose more than one racial category to identify themselves. There were a few multiracial respondents at each of the universities. These multiracial responses were then coded as one race or the other based upon a schema of estimated level of social privilege or status in the United States for that group. Howard University had the largest number of biracial individuals with 14 people indicating that they or their intimate partner or both are biracial. The University of Manitoba and the University of New Hampshire each had 10 individuals who indicated that they, their partner or both were biracial. At the University of Manitoba there were 3 respondents who choose “white” and “metis” indicating some confusion about the term. (See Appendix A for a complete list of the multiracial responses at each of the five universities.)

Respondents who identified themselves or their partners as biracial or multiracial were coded in the following manner. They were categorized as the racial identity which is most economically disadvantaged in the U.S. out of all the racial categories they indicated on the survey. The median income and percent below poverty level were used as the bases for ranking the racial identities from most privileged to most disadvantaged group in the U.S. Individuals who indicated a mix of “white” with one of the other racial categories were automatically put in the minority racial category. The placing of Native Americans in the approximate ranking of privilege below was estimated due to a lack of Census Bureau data. This scheme is summarized in Table 2.3.
Table 2.3  Racial/Ethnic Group Ranking from Highest to Lowest Amount of Privilege

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial identity</th>
<th>Median income in U.S. dollars (1999)</th>
<th>% below poverty level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>42,504</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>51,205</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanics</td>
<td>30,735</td>
<td>20.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Americans</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Americans</td>
<td>27,910</td>
<td>21.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data was obtained from the *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 2001, U.S. Census Bureau

Table 2.4  Racial/Ethnic Category Coding

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Data Categories</th>
<th>Original Questionnaire Categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UNH/Jackson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 = White</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 = Black</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 = Hispanic</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 = Asian</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 = Native</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 = Other</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*At Indiana State University, 4 = Black / African American (i.e. born in the U.S.), 5 = Black / African or Carribean
** At Howard University, 1 = Black / African American (i.e., born in the U.S.), 2 = Black / African or Caribbean, 3 = Hispanic, black
*** At the University of Manitoba, 4 = Metis, 7 = Other
**Dependent Variables**

**Self reported violence to partner.** For the section on student violence, the dependent variable is self reported partner violence in the past year, which is coded into three categories: no violence, minor violence, and severe violence.

**CGR scale.** For the attitudes section, ANOVA and chi-square tests were used to estimate differences in attitudes by gender, race, racial composition of the couple, and type of college they are attending (HBU or other). The CGR scale scores used in this manner included: attitudes of the students and their parents towards Black/White relationships overall, Asian/White relationships overall, Black/White dating and marriage, Asian/White dating and marriage, cross-group dating, and cross-group marriage.

**Control Variables**

**Socioeconomic Status.** A scale to measure SES was computed using the number of years of education completed by each of the student’s parents and family income. Each of these three variables was transformed into z scores and summed. This sum was then transformed to a z score. The score indicate the number of standard deviations above or below the mean of the families of all students at that same school. This approach to the measurement of SES provides a score that has the same interpretation at each school. More specifically, this enables comparison of the mean income levels between the different Universities in the sample. The median of the first (under $9,999) and last categories ($70,000 or more) were estimated at approximately 10% lower and higher than the upper and lower limits respectively. Table 2.5 displays the income recoding scheme.
Table 2.5  Recode of Income Variable

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original Categories used in U.S. Questionnaires</th>
<th>Dollar median estimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 = Under $9,999</td>
<td>$9,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 = $10,000 to $19,000</td>
<td>$15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 = $20,000 to $29,999</td>
<td>$25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 = $30,000 to $39,999</td>
<td>$35,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 = $40,000 to $49,999</td>
<td>$45,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 = $50,000 to $59,999</td>
<td>$55,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 = $60,000 to $69,999</td>
<td>$65,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 = $70,000 or more</td>
<td>$75,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Social Desirability. When using self report data, it is important to take into account the tendency of some respondents to minimize their socially undesirable behavior. This study used the Social Desirability scale of the Personal and Relationships Profile (Straus, Hamby, Boney-McCoy & Sugarman 1999; Straus and Mouradian 1999) to control for this issue. This is a 13-item scale adapted from the Reynolds short form of the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability scale (Reynolds 1982). The Social Desirability scale measures the degree to which a respondent avoids disclosing socially undesirable behavior. The items on the scale consist of the kinds of behavior that almost everyone participates in at one time or another such as, “I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone’s feelings.” The more of these almost universal behaviors are denied, the more likely the respondent is to also deny seriously undesirable behaviors such as assaulting a partner. The theoretical range of the Social Desirability scale is from 13-52.
DATA ANALYSIS

I used chi-square tests to see if there were statistically significant differences between attitudes towards interracial relationships by race, gender, school type (region), and racial/ethnic composition of the respondent’s current relationship. I also used Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) to compare the average scale scores or attitudes towards interracial relationships by age, race, gender, racial composition of the couple, school type and socioeconomic status.

I also used ANOVA to examine the overall acceptability of interracial relationships, acceptability of interracial relationships by students, and by parents, and the acceptability of African American compared to Asian American relationships. ANOVA or Analysis of Variance analysis is a test of the statistical significance of the difference in the mean score of two or more groups on one or more variables. It is used in this case then, to examine the relationship between several categorical independent variables (such as SES and age) and one continuous dependent variable (the CGR scale scores or their attitudes towards cross-group relationships). Thus, several of the CGR scale scores representing attitudes towards interracial relationships were analyzed with ANOVA by age, education, gender, race, and socioeconomic status. ANOVA also allowed me to test for interactions between gender and race in attitudes towards interracial relationships.

Finally, I used Multinomial Logistic Regression to analyze the relationship of interracial relationships, gender, age, socioeconomic status, race and school type (HBU versus PWU) to partner violence. Multinomial Logistic Regression uses maximum likelihood estimation to predict the likelihood of something happening or not, in this
case, partner violence. Multinomial Logistic Regression is used when the dependent variable has 3 categories. The dependent variable for this analysis is self-reported dating violence perpetrated by the respondent over the past year. Using the revised CTS categories, this dependent variable is broken up into 3 categories; 1) minor violence, 2) severe violence, 3) no violence.
CHAPTER 3

RACE AND DATING AT FIVE UNIVERSITIES

The racial composition of the universities sampled is important to an analysis of attitudes towards interracial relationships and violence. As stated by George Yancey, “Support for biracial unions is a significant barometer of American race relations” (1998; 635). Examining the number of interracial unions in a given area is also useful for estimating the level of social acceptance of racial minority groups by the majority groups (Glazer 1998; Lewis, Yancey, and Bletzer 1997; Yancey and Yancey 1998). This chapter summarizes the racial composition of the sample and the race of their partner. In other words, this chapter provides information on the frequency of interracial dating at the 5 universities, allowing for comparisons of dating behavior between the students by social characteristics and by the type of school they attend. Further, it allows an estimate of the number of students in each racial/ethnic group who are currently or have recently dated outside of their race/ethnicity. The following questions are addressed: 1) how many college students are dating interracially? 2) are there sex differences in interracial dating? 3) are there race/ethnic group differences in interracial dating? 4) are there differences in interracial dating patterns between HBUs and regular universities?

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF SAMPLE

65
Table 3.1 displays the percentage of students in each of the racial categories used in the analyses. Over 90% of the sample provided a racial/ethnic identity, and many of those who did not may not have completed the entire questionnaire (the race questions were at the end of the questionnaire, so anyone who did not finish the survey completely was ultimately dropped from most analyses). Table 3.1 indicates that around a quarter of the sample were African American, African Caribbean or African (categorized as “Black” throughout the analyses). Over half of the sample identified themselves to be White (n = 684), while a small percentage were Hispanic. There were only 19 Asian respondents, and 25 were Native American or Aboriginal. Obviously, this sample is largely White, and there were very few individuals in our sample of Asian or Native American heritage. There are, however, a large number of those who are African American, African Caribbean or African (n = 279), especially in the Historically Black Universities of Howard and Jackson State University. Due to this large discrepancy in the racial makeup of each of the 5 schools’ samples, the differences between the schools will be taken into account in many of the analyses. Further, for most analyses, I collapsed the categories into Black/White/Other in order to account for the small cell sizes which would be problematic for some groups.

**DATING ACROSS RACIAL GROUPS**

In the U.S. the number of interracial marriages is extremely small, which suggests that national rates of interracial dating may also be low. Yet, dating may be more
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Whole Sample N=1065</th>
<th>New Hampshire N=340</th>
<th>Indiana N=243</th>
<th>Jackson N=233</th>
<th>Howard N=92</th>
<th>Manitoba N=157</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>64.2</td>
<td>93.2</td>
<td>81.1</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>77.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>74.2</td>
<td>98.9</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3.2 Racial/Ethnic Identities of Respondents and their Partners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Whole Sample</th>
<th>New Hampshire</th>
<th>Indiana</th>
<th>Jackson</th>
<th>Howard</th>
<th>Manitoba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Respondents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>64.2</td>
<td>93.2</td>
<td>81.1</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>77.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>74.2</td>
<td>98.9</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>1065</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Partners</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>63.6</td>
<td>93.2</td>
<td>80.1</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>80.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>73.0</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>1008</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
common than marriage in interracial relationships, and divorce is a common pattern, especially for African American/White couples in the U.S. (National Center for Health Statistics 2002). According to Census statistics (U.S. Census Bureau, 2002), in the year 2000, Black/White interracial marriages made up less than one percent of all U.S. marriages (0.6%). Further, the number of Black husband/White wife couples is more than triple the number of White husband/Black wife couples.

Table 3.2 shows the racial/ethnic identity of the students and their partners. Clearly, Whites and Blacks outnumbered the respondents in the Other race/ethnicity category. The University of Manitoba and Indiana State University had substantially higher numbers of students in the Other category than the other three schools.

Table 3.3 summarizes the extent to which students are dating or marrying outside their racial/ethnic category in this sample. Further, the overall percent of students dating interracially is presented for each racial/ethnic category, and these are separated as well by school and gender of respondent. For the overall sample, it is interesting to note that the percent of students dating interracially in the overall sample is nearly identical for Whites and Blacks. Yet there are important gender differences in dating patterns. Whites females dated interracially more than White males. The opposite gender relationship was true for African Americans and those in the Black category. More Black men dated interracially than Black women. This finding is interesting and supports the assertions of some that African American women are particularly opposed to dating interracially.

The above results are somewhat consistent with the findings of other surveys, yet according to one Gallup Poll, African American teens had dated interracially at a much
Table 3.3 Percent of Cross-Group Dating for Each Racial/Ethnic Group in the Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>males</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>females</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>males</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>females</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>males</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>females</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>males</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>females</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native American</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>males</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>females</td>
<td>36.6</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>males</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>75.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>females</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>71.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3.4 Percent of Cross-Group Dating in the Historically Black Universities Compared to the Other Three Universities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percent Dating Outside their Racial/Ethnic Category</th>
<th>HBU N= 318</th>
<th>PWU N= 690</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>males</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>females</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>males</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>62.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>females</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>males</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>females</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>males</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>females</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>males</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>females</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>38.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>males</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>females</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>70.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* N = only those respondents who identified a race/ethnicity for themselves and a dating or marital partner (see Methods Chapter)

Tests of Main Effects: race F = 18.74** gender F = 4.57* historically Black F = 7.66*

Interactions: race by gender F = 3.32** race by historically Black F = 8.74**

* = p < .05  ** = p < .01

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higher rate than Whites. The Gallup Poll, reported in *USA Today* (Peterson 1997), reports that out of 602 teenagers between the ages of 13-19, 47% of the White respondents indicated that they had dated someone of another race at some point. Yet, 60% of the African American respondents had dated interracially at some time during their life. This is a much higher rate of interracial dating than found in this study, but since the CTS refers to relationships currently or the nearest past relationship, I was not able to capture data on whether or not the respondents had ever dated interrastically. The data for this study is limited to the respondent’s relationship with only one partner.

Tucker and Mitchell-Kernan (1990) examined social structural variables which may be related to trends in interracial marriage for Black Americans. Using Census Bureau data for LA County, they examined the marriage patterns of around 14,000 Black Americans. They found that the structural determinants of interracial coupling were the same for men and women. Those who married interracially tended to be younger, more distant in age from their spouse, and more likely to have been married before than those in same-race marriages. Further, people born in the North and in foreign countries were more likely to be married outside their race.

Further, tests of significance indicate that interracial dating is more common for those who are neither Black or White, but instead for those of “Other” ethnic or racial identities. For Asians, 100% dated or married outside their race (note that Howard University had no Asian respondents). For the combined sample, more than half of those who were categorized in the Other category had dated outside their race/ethnicity. In the New Hampshire sample (which had only 0.6% of the respondents categorized as a racial/ethnic identity other than Black or White) 100% were in or had recently been in a
relationship with someone outside their own racial/ethnic category. Similarly, in New Hampshire, Indiana and Manitoba, which are samples with few African Americans, it was common for those in the Black category to date outside their race. This implies that when people have few dating choices within their own racial/ethnic category, they are more likely to choose an interracial relationship. When there are many dating choices within their race (such as Whites at the University of New Hampshire or African American students at Howard), dating outside of their self-identified race is rare.

The above finding supports the assertion of Robert Moore (1999) that interracial dating for a minority college student may indicate a high level of integration into the campus community. It also lends support to the contact hypothesis, which is the idea that the more contact a person has with different racial or ethnic groups, the more positive their attitudes towards other racial/ethnic groups will become. The contact hypothesis has been supported by the findings of researchers such as Emerson et al. (2000) who found that those who had prior experience with interracial contact in school and neighborhoods while growing up also had more racially/ethnically diverse social ties and friends in adulthood.

HISTORICALLY BLACK UNIVERSITIES COMPARED TO OTHER UNIVERSITIES

Table 3.4 presents the percentage of males and females dating outside their own self-identified racial/ethnic identity at HBU’s compared to those at the Predominantly White Universities (University of New Hampshire, University of Manitoba, Indiana State
University). White females at both the HBUs and the predominantly White universities are more likely to date interracially than their male counterparts. For the individuals in the Black category, females were more likely to date interracially than males at the HBUs. At the predominantly White schools, Black males were more likely to date interracially than Black females.

Further, an examination of Table 3.4 reveals that tests of significance found that Black respondents at HBUs dated interracially less than the White students at both the HBUs and the predominantly White universities. Also, Whites at HBUs had more interracial relationships than Whites at predominantly White universities. Further, interracial dating is more common for Blacks at predominantly White universities than it is for Whites or Blacks at HBUs. This pattern perhaps alludes to a cultural norm that makes interracially dating less popular at HBUs than at other universities.

Although there is no previous research to support the assertion that there is a difference between interracial dating patterns at HBU's and predominantly white universities, there are many common cultural sources such as *Ebony* magazine which repeatedly feature articles on the ‘problem’ of interracial dating (Hughes 2003; Hughes, 2003) as perceived by African American women. For example, in an article titled “Why Some Brothers Only Date Whites and ‘Others,” Zondra Hughes expounds upon the problem. She says to her largely female, African American audience:

Sisters, hold on to your Afro puffs...Chances are, you may have witnessed this Black man/non-Black woman phenomena at the shopping mall, in the grocery store, at the company function, at the movies, at the restaurant, at the basketball game, or even in the park. You can’t escape it even in your own home, where you see an endless display of White, Asian, Hispanic, or multicultural woman positioned as the Black man’s object of desire in movies, commercials, sitcoms and music videos. (Hughes, 2003, 70)
In case the reader has not had enough, Hughes featured another article in the same issue titled “Why Some Sisters Date Whites and ‘Others.’” In both articles, Hughes quotes many psychologists who explain the potential pathological reasons an African American could have to date outside his or her race. Articles such as these paint a cultural image of interracial dating as inherently dysfunctional from the African American female perspective. Surveys have, in fact, found that African American females hold more negative opinions about interracial dating than African American males (Martelle 1970; Mills et al. 1995), so it is no surprise that this attitude would be projected in African American mass media. Mills et al. (1995) also found in general that African American college students disapproved of interracial relationships more than White students, so to find lower levels of interracial relationships at an HBU overall would not be surprising.

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF DATING PARTNERS

Table 3.5 presents the race of respondent and their partner in the White/Black/Other categories to give a more detailed view of the racial distribution of dating for this sample. For Whites and Blacks, dating within their own race is by far the most common pattern. Yet, for those individuals in the Other category (which could include Native Americans or First Nation people of Canada as well as Asians, other ethnic groups, and some biracial individuals; see Methods chapter), around a quarter of the individuals had a White partner. Around three quarters of the students in the Other category were dating someone else in the Other category, but keep in mind that some of those include interracial relationships due to the large number of racial/ethnic identities.
Table 3.5 Racial Distribution of Reported Relationships by Three Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race of Respondent</th>
<th>Race of Partner</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>row %</td>
<td>93.9</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>row %</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>93.7</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>row %</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>63.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>63.6</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 1204.87, p < .001$
included in this “Other” category. Tests of significance strongly indicate that those in the Other category dated interracially more than those in the White and Black categories.

Overall, then, not many of the Black or White students were dating or had recently dated a person of another racial/ethnic group. This differs from the findings of some researchers who report high rates of willingness of young people to date outside of their race (Knox et al. 2000; Peterson 1997) and high rates of interracial dating (Knox et al. 2000; Peterson 1997). Yet, this study does not include data on the student’s dating history, we would expect interracial dating rates to be much smaller than the rates found in those types of studies. This study really only records their current or most recent partner’s information so it does not allow for comparison with many studies which have asked about lifetime behavior patterns in dating choices. For instance, Peterson (1997) reported the results of a Gallup poll of teens which found that 47% of White teens had dated someone of another race, and 36% would consider it at some time in the future. For Blacks, 60% said they had dated interracially and 28% had not in the past but would consider it in the future.

Although this study does not include variables which are directly comparable to the Gallup Poll results described above, this study allows a glimpse of the student’s current or most recent dating activity, which may give a more direct measure of actual student dating behavior. In addition, reported attitudes about potential dating behavior or future potential dating choices may differ dramatically from actual behavior. Reports of willingness to date outside one’s race are highly susceptible to issues of validity, especially if the data analysis does not control for a measure of political correctness or social desirability. The data analyses for this study include a variable called “social
desirability" in order to control for the effects of political or social pressures on the expression of true attitudes about race and other controversial issues.

Yet, in an interpretation of the cross-group dating behavior of the students in this sample, the racial composition of each school and the resulting opportunity or lack of opportunity to date outside one's race or ethnicity must be taken into account. A ratio was calculated for each school which represents the rate of cross-group dating by the majority group to the percent of actual minority representation in the undergraduate student body. The ratio of cross-group dating to opportunity to cross-group date for the University of New Hampshire, for instance is 1:3. In other words, for every White student who is cross-group dating, there are three who are potential cross-group partners on campus. At Indiana State, the ratio of cross-group dating to opportunity to cross-group date is the same as at the University of New Hampshire, 1:3. At the HBUs, the ratios are a bit different from each other. Howard University is much more racially diverse than Jackson State University, which has a larger percentage of African American students than Howard. Jackson State is 97% African American. The ratio of cross-group dating to opportunity to cross-group date at Jackson State is 2:1, whereas at Howard University, the ratio is 1:4. This means that the opportunity for African American students to date cross-group is higher for students at Howard than at Jackson State. Further, these ratios reveal that for the majority racial/ethnic group at each University there is an arguably large availability of cross-group partners, except perhaps at Jackson State University. A ratio for the University of Manitoba was not calculated due to the unavailability of comparable statistics on race and/or ethnicity.
LIMITATIONS

A limitation to this study is that it does not measure whether or not the students have ever or would ever date interracingally, but instead it only gives a snapshot of their most recent dating behavior. This may lead to results which make it seem like cross-group dating is more rare than it actually is in real life. A retrospective or longitudinal study following students’ dating choices over time would help to remedy this problem. Also, a series of questions asking about past dating behavior could also be used to measure the normative behaviors of interracial dating among college students. Yet, since I only had space to add 8 questions about cross-group relationships in this study, those kinds of historical or hypothetical dating questions could not be included.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this sample is largely made up of White and African American respondents. Overall, interracial dating is quite rare, which is consistent with U.S. Census data on rates of interracial marriage. Also, interracial dating is rare for students in the White and Black categories, but very common for those in other racial/ethnic groups. Further, there is a race and gender interaction that is important in the interracial dating pattern. Black males are more likely to date interracially than Black females. Yet, White females are more likely to date interracially than White males. In the next chapter, the association between dating practices and attitudes towards interracial relationships is examined in more detail.
CHAPTER 4

RACE, GENDER AND ACCEPTANCE OF CROSS-GROUP RELATIONSHIPS

Attitudes and norms regarding interracial relationships are issues important to understanding race relations in the United States due to our culturally diverse population and the relatively steady increase in the number of interracial marriages recorded by each Census estimate. This chapter provides data on the student’s attitudes towards interracial dating, as measured by the CGR scale. Taken individually, the CGR scale items can be used to examine students’ attitudes towards interracial relationships. When examined as an aggregate, such as the mean score of Whites or females, the CGR scale can be thought of as measuring norms among those populations. In this way, this study will be able to provide insights into individual attitudes as well as patterns of behavior in larger groups which really represent norms of those groups.

If results follow the patterns found in previous research (Knox et al. 2000; Peterson 1997) the majority of students will profess to feel positively about interracial dating, yet evidence of few people dating interracially suggests that attitudes do not necessarily translate into actual behavior. The low rates of interracial dating suggest an overall general disapproval of interracial relationships, which may be a reflection of the overall racial relations in that area.

This chapter also seeks to understand the relationship between gender, race, type of school and current relationship status to attitudes towards interracial dating and
marriage. It is expected that norms regarding interracial relationships will be more positive among students than their parents, more positive towards White/Asian unions than toward White/African American unions, and more positive among those in interracial relationships. As found in Chapter 3, Black men and White women date interracially more than Black women and White men in the overall sample. Hence, it is expected that White females and Black males will view interracial relationships more positively than White males and African American females.

RESPONSES TO THE CROSS-GROUP RELATIONSHIP ITEMS

Entire Sample

Table 4.1 shows the distribution of the student’s answers to the eight Cross-Group Relationship Scale questions. Overall, it seems that the student’s attitudes are more positive than their perceptions of their parent’s attitudes towards interracial dating and marriage for both racial combinations. In fact, an examination of the “strongly disagree” category shows that for each set of questions, far more parents were said to “strongly disagree” than students. Further, the students and parents’ attitudes towards interracial dating were just slightly higher than their approval of interracial marriage. Finally, approval for Asian/White unions is slightly higher than approval of African American/White relationships. Table 4.2 focuses on the percent who strongly agree and gives tests of significance.

Race Differences
Table 4.2 presents the percent of students who selected “strongly agree” in response to the 8 Cross-Group Relationship Scale questions. For each item, the percentage of students who “strongly agree” indicates that those in the Other race category have the most favorable attitudes towards interracial relationships, and they are far more favorable than those in the Black category. Further, a comparison of parental approval by race reveals the same pattern; the most positive attitudes were from parents of those students who are from other racial/ethnic groups than Black or White. Parental approval of interracial dating and marriage is by far weakest for the Black students.

**Gender Differences**

Table 4.2 reveals that there is no statistically significant difference in attitudes towards interracial relationships between males and females for any of the 8 attitude measures. For most of the items, males have a slightly higher percentage who strongly agreed with the statements, but the differences from the females are negligible. As shown in Chapter 3, there is a clear interaction between race and gender in cross-group dating behavior, especially when it comes to African American/White marriage. Given this interaction, a similar pattern could be present in differences in attitudes towards interracial relationships. If so, we can expect that more Black men and White women express positive attitudes towards cross-group dating and marriage than Black women and White men.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CGR Statements</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I think it is good for African Americans/Blacks and Whites to date.</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>52.3</td>
<td>27.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My parents think it is good for African American/Blacks and Whites to date.</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>39.6</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I think it is good for African Americans and Whites to marry.</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>51.7</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My parents think it is good for African American/Blacks and Whites to marry.</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>38.3</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I think it is good for Asians Americans and Whites to date.</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>58.0</td>
<td>28.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My parents think it is good for Asian Americans and Whites to date.</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>51.1</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I think it is good for Asian Americans and Whites to marry.</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>57.7</td>
<td>27.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My parents think it is good for Asian Americans and Whites to marry.</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>49.9</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.2 Percentage of Students Who Strongly Agreed with the Statements in the Eight Cross-Group Relationship Scale Questions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Date-student</th>
<th>Date-parent</th>
<th>Marry-student</th>
<th>Marry-parent</th>
<th>Date-student</th>
<th>Date-parent</th>
<th>Marry-student</th>
<th>Marry-parent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>40.6</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>48.4</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>35.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>53.076**</td>
<td>27.468**</td>
<td>57.930**</td>
<td>30.963**</td>
<td>53.568**</td>
<td>33.759**</td>
<td>41.252**</td>
<td>33.230**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Date-student</th>
<th>Date-parent</th>
<th>Marry-student</th>
<th>Marry-parent</th>
<th>Date-student</th>
<th>Date-parent</th>
<th>Marry-student</th>
<th>Marry-parent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>0.622</td>
<td>1.986</td>
<td>0.239</td>
<td>4.369</td>
<td>1.693</td>
<td>3.673</td>
<td>3.606</td>
<td>6.093</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Date-student</th>
<th>Date-parent</th>
<th>Marry-student</th>
<th>Marry-parent</th>
<th>Date-student</th>
<th>Date-parent</th>
<th>Marry-student</th>
<th>Marry-parent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HBU</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PWU</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>30.1</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>48.149**</td>
<td>19.692**</td>
<td>44.468**</td>
<td>17.142**</td>
<td>37.546**</td>
<td>11.369**</td>
<td>31.331**</td>
<td>8.813*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dating</th>
<th>Date-student</th>
<th>Date-parent</th>
<th>Marry-student</th>
<th>Marry-parent</th>
<th>Date-student</th>
<th>Date-parent</th>
<th>Marry-student</th>
<th>Marry-parent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interracial</td>
<td>45.9</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>34.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same-race</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>20.516**</td>
<td>14.126**</td>
<td>19.225**</td>
<td>17.439**</td>
<td>32.319**</td>
<td>23.928**</td>
<td>22.898**</td>
<td>23.920**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$
Historically Black Universities

Table 4.2 indicates for each of the 8 items that attitudes towards interracial relationships are more positive among students at the Historically White Universities than at the Historically Black Universities. This pattern is true for both the students' and parents' attitudes towards both Black/White and Asian/White coupling. Yet, professed disapproval by parents was more pronounced for those at HBUs than those at the other universities. In response to the statement, “My parents think it is good for African Americans and Whites to date,” 54.5% of students at the HBUs said their parents would disagree or strongly disagree, compared to 41% of the students at the PWUs.

Although a comparison of attitudes towards interracial relationships between HBUs and other institutions has not been done before, these results are not surprising. Certainly there are many stressors for young college students at HBUs. One study found that monetary problems, racism and pessimism are three main emotional issues students are commonly struggling with at HBUs (Launier 1997). Further, Brown and Davis (2001) note the importance of HBUs as a source of social capital and pride for African Americans. These special circumstances of HBUs, combined with a tumultuous history of racial relations between Whites and African Americans and others enslaved in U.S. history, perhaps make interracial dating at HBUs unpopular. The African American pride and social capital embodied in the idea of what HBUs represent may make interracial dating deviant.
Current Dating Relationship

The last row of Table 4.2 shows the difference in attitudes for those respondents who reported being in an interracial relationships versus those students who indicated a same-race partner as their current or most recent partner. It is not surprising to find that the students who were in interracial relationships hold, on average, higher approval rates of interracial relationships. It is interesting to find that they also reported that their parents would approve of these kinds of interracial relationships more so than for those students who were in same-race relationships.

CROSS-GROUP RELATIONSHIP SCALE SCORES

Black/White Relationships

Table 4.3 shows the results of ANOVA controlling for SES, age and social desirability. The first column indicates that there is a difference in attitudes towards Black/White relationships by racial composition of the couple. In this case, those the most favorable towards Black/White relationships are the students who are in or were recently in an interracial union themselves. Yet those in same-race relationships had the lowest level of approval for Black/White relationships.

There is also a significant interaction between race and the type of school the student attends, a HBU or a more typical school. Figure 4.1 shows the estimated marginal mean attitude scores by race and school type. For those at HBUs, acceptance of Black/White relationships was somewhat low when compared to the Predominantly White schools, except for those in the “Other” racial/ethnic category, who were extremely supportive on average. Those who identified themselves as belonging to a
Student's Attitudes Towards Black/White

Relationships by Race & School

Estimated Marginal Means

Race of Respondent

School Type
- predominantly white universities
- historically black universities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race of Respondent</th>
<th>Predominantly White</th>
<th>Historically Black</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>white</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Student's Attitudes Towards Cross-Group Marriage by Race and School

Estimated Marginal Means

Race of Respondent

School Type
- predominantly white universities
- historically black universities
racial or ethnic group other than Caucasian or Black were the ones at the HBUs who most vehemently supported the idea of a Black/White marital union.

When it comes to the attitudes of parents reported by the students, a clear racial difference becomes apparent. White students’ parents had the least favorable attitudes towards Black/White relationships, followed by Blacks and this differed drastically from the attitudes of the “Other” racial/ethnic groups of students. The students of “Other” racial/ethnic identities indicated they believed their parents held much more positive attitudes towards Black/White relationships than did the Black and White students.

Asian/White Relationships

Those who are categorized as Black were the most disapproving of interracial relationships between Asians and Whites. Whites are slightly more approving, but the Others are by far much more approving of Asian/White interracial relationships. Part of the reason for this is certainly the fact that those of Asian descent are included in this “Other” category, and it is relatively common for Asians and Whites to intermix. Also, those who were dating interracially held more positive attitudes towards Asian/White relationships than those in same-race relationships. Those in the “Other interracial” category (interracial unions of any type except for Black/White) held significantly more positive attitudes towards interracial Asian/White relationships than either those in same-race relationships or those in Black/White relationships.

For parents’ attitudes towards Asian/White relationships, two variables are statistically significant, gender and the race of the student. Males reported their parents had a higher average acceptance of Asian/White interracial relationships than females.
Also, those in the “Other” racial/ethnic category reported the highest level of parental approval of Asian/White relationships.

Cross-Group Dating

Table 4.3 shows in the “Cross-Group Date” column that race and racial composition of the couple are statistically significant variables. For race of respondent, it seems that those of the “Other” racial category have a higher average approval of cross-group dating than the black or white respondents. Further, those who reported currently being in an “Other” interracial relationship (that is, not a black/white union but some other type of interracial relationship) indicated the highest average approval of interracial dating. This is not a surprising finding since they are themselves in an interracial relationship.

For student’s perceptions of their parents’ attitudes towards cross-group dating, both gender and race were important. Males perception of parental approval of cross-group dating was higher than females’. This is not surprising since our culture accepts a certain amount of parental control over daughters’ relationship choices and marriage selection. Racial differences in perceived parental approval of CGRs reveals an interesting pattern that holds for all the parental approval categories in Table 4.3. The “Other” respondents indicated the highest level of perceived parental approval of interracial dating, followed by the Black students and then the white. In other words, for each question regarding perceived parental approval of CGR scenarios, Whites always indicated the least approval, Blacks a little more approval, and “Others” the most approval. This is also not a surprising finding, especially when considering how the race
categories were coded. Some of the individuals in the “Other” category may also be biracial, so they obviously would not have a problem with interracial dating and are probably very likely to be in an interracial relationship themselves (or they may be hard-pressed to find a mate in their lifetime with the exact same racial makeup as their own mixed heritage). Further, many of the individuals in the “Other” racial category are of Asian heritage and, as Census data indicates, Asian American/White interracial unions are the most common kind of interracial relationship in the United States. So, many of those categorized in this study as the “Other” race are the very ones who are most likely to approve of and participate in cross-group relationships.

Cross-Group Marriage

The last two columns on the right of Table 4.3 show the results of attitudes towards cross-group marriage by students and their parents. For the students’ attitudes, the exact same relationship is found for race and racial composition of the couple that was found for cross-group dating and Asian/White relationships. Blacks indicated the least approval of cross-group marriage, followed by Whites and then “Others.” Further, those in “Other” interracial relationships themselves indicated the most approval for cross-group marriage, followed by those in Black/White interracial relationships. Those in same-race relationships indicated the lowest average approval of cross-group marriage.

There is also a significant interaction effect between school type and race in their attitudes towards cross-group marriage. Figure 4.2 shows this relationship by representing the PWUs versus the HBUs average attitudes by race. The figure makes it clear that at HBUs, those of the “Other” racial/ethnic category held the most positive attitudes towards cross-group marriage. For Whites, support of cross-group marriage
| Table 4.3 Attitudes Towards Interracial Relationships by Gender, Race, Racial Composition of Couple and Site |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Overall Model | **3.10** | **4.95**** | **5.78**** | **5.11**** | **6.34**** | **5.00**** | **6.56**** | **5.14**** |
| F = | **7.36**** | **4.95**** | **5.78**** | **5.11**** | **6.34**** | **5.00**** | **6.56**** | **5.14**** |
| Gender | | | | | | | | |
| male | 3.08 | 2.73 | 3.29 | 3.15 | 3.20 | 2.94 | 3.15 | 2.95 |
| Female | 3.13 | 2.61 | 3.23 | 2.97 | 3.20 | 2.80 | 3.16 | 2.79 |
| F = | 0.71 | 2.65 | 0.86 | 6.20* | 0.00 | 4.08* | 0.05 | 4.92* |
| Race | | | | | | | | |
| White | 3.09 | 2.38 | 3.19 | 2.78 | 3.14 | 2.58 | 3.13 | 2.59 |
| Black | 2.87 | 2.66 | 3.03 | 2.95 | 3.01 | 2.84 | 2.90 | 2.79 |
| Other | 3.35 | 2.98 | 3.57 | 3.44 | 3.47 | 3.19 | 3.45 | 3.24 |
| F = | 2.83 | 5.47** | 5.05** | 7.20** | 3.39* | 6.91** | 4.39* | 6.92** |
| Race Composition | | | | | | | | |
| Black/White | 2.94 | 2.60 | 3.22 | 3.20 | 3.09 | 2.88 | 3.07 | 2.94 |
| Other Interracial | 3.41 | 2.82 | 3.43 | 3.06 | 3.44 | 2.95 | 3.39 | 2.93 |
| Same-Race | 2.96 | 2.59 | 3.13 | 2.90 | 3.08 | 2.76 | 3.01 | 2.74 |
| F = | 8.70** | 1.67 | 5.43** | 1.57 | 6.90** | 1.52 | 7.68** | 1.58 |
| Site | | | | | | | | |
| HBU | 3.13 | 2.55 | 3.30 | 3.07 | 3.23 | 2.80 | 3.21 | 2.83 |
| PWU | 3.07 | 2.79 | 3.22 | 3.04 | 3.18 | 2.93 | 3.11 | 2.91 |
| F = | 0.16 | 2.07 | 0.45 | 0.04 | 0.13 | 0.74 | 0.65 | 0.26 |
| Site*Race | | | | | | | | |
| F = | 4.59* | 2.10 | 2.22 | 1.62 | 2.67 | 2.07 | 3.25* | 2.07 |

Note: The above means are adjusted to control for the following: Socioeconomic status, age and social desirability.

* p < .05, ** p < .01
was much higher at PWUs whereas for Blacks, their average level of support did not
differ by attendance at an HBU versus as Predominantly White school.

Similar to the analyses of parental attitudes towards cross-group dating and
Asian/White relationships, females indicated lower perceived parental support for cross-
group marriage than the male college students. Further, once again, the perceived
parental attitudes towards cross-group marriage were more positive for those in the
“Other” racial category than for Blacks or Whites. Also, the same pattern holds in that
Blacks indicated the least perceived parental approval of cross-group marriage. This
finding is somewhat surprising since other studies have indicated that it is Whites who
most disapprove of interracial relationships. Yet these findings may be a result of my
unique sample. Since most of the African American respondents in my sample attend a
Historically Black University, it is likely that many of them have been instilled with
values of African American pride, perhaps making it very unlikely that they would date
outside of their race or approve of such behavior. Yet, in the general population of
African Americans, perhaps such in-group unity is not as strong as within the confines of
a Historically Black University, making it more likely to find wide support of interracial
dating in a more representative sample of African Americans.

LIMITATIONS

This study only gives us an idea of the attitudes of American college students and
their perceptions of their parents’ attitudes. This study cannot be used to generalize
about American attitudes towards interracial relationships. A nationally representative
sample would be necessary in order to do that, which was not possible due to the limited budget for this study.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I shall revisit the original 6 hypotheses regarding attitudes towards interracial relationships and comment on the results for each.

**H1. The younger the respondent, the more likely they are to express approval of interracial unions.** I found no support for this hypothesis, but my sample was almost entirely homogenous in age since most were college students between the ages of 18-21.

**H2. Approval of interracial marriage and dating is lower for African American/White unions than for Asian American/White unions for both the students and their parents.** There is modest support for this assertion. Average CGR scale scores for parents and students revealed slightly higher approval for Asian/White relationships than for Black/White relationships.

**H3. Approval of interracial relationships is lower among African American women than African American men.** There is no support for this hypothesis. I found no statistically significant interaction between race, gender and attitudes towards interracial relationships.

**H4. Approval of interracial relationships is lowest among Whites.** I found no support for this assertion. In fact, I found that Blacks were least approving of interracial relationships while those in the “Other” racial/ethnic grouping indicated the highest approval.
H5. Approval of interracial relationships will be lower for those in same-race relationships. I found support for this hypothesis. A significantly larger percentage of those in CGRs “strongly” agreed with the attitude questions in the survey. Those in CGRs of some “Other” combination were more approving of Black/White relationships, cross-group dating and cross-group marriage than those in Black/White interracial relationships and same-race relationships.

H6. Approval of interracial relationships will be lower at Historically Black Universities than at Predominantly White Universities. There is mild support for this assertion. Students at the HBUs did report less strongly positive attitudes towards interracial relationships than did the other college students. There is a significant interaction effect for the type of school and race. In attitudes towards Black/White relationships and cross-group marriage of any type, those of “Other” racial/ethnic identities at the HBUs were much more approving than Whites of Blacks at the HBUs.

Overall, several important conclusions can be drawn from this analysis of attitudes towards interracial relationships. First of all, attitudes towards interracial relationships differ by race. Overall, the pattern in these results indicates that Blacks are the least approving of interracial dating and marriage, followed by Whites and then those of “Other” racial/ethnic groups. Also, this research indicates that the student’s attitudes towards interracial relationships does not differ by gender, but their perception of their parents’ attitudes does. Females tended to indicate a lower level of perceived parental approval of CGRs than did the males. Further, this research reveals significantly lower approval of interracial dating and marriage at Historically Black Universities. Finally,
this research reveals that those in interracial relationships tend to indicate much higher approval of all kinds of CGRs.
CHAPTER 5

RACE AND PARTNER VIOLENCE

This chapter examines the possible association between the racial composition of the couple and self-reported violence towards a partner. The analysis in this chapter allows for an examination of the impact of the couple’s racial composition on the likelihood for partner violence. This analysis will also allow us to test the impact of five couple racial compositions, making it possible to compare each one to the rates of violence for Whites dating Whites.

DATING VIOLENCE BY RACE, GENDER AND SCHOOL

Table 5.1 displays results of chi-square and ANOVA tests for each of the variables used in the final Multinomial Logistic Regression model. Dating violence differs significantly by the couples’ racial composition, by the school type (HBU or PWU), by the individual school and by race. At the HBUs, 19.6% of the students admitted perpetration of “severe” partner violence, compared to only 10.6% of students at the Predominantly White Universities. This difference is also pronounced for violence perpetration by each of the five schools. Attendance at Jackson State and Howard University was correlated with increased rates of severe violence. Table 5.1 results also
include a statistically significant difference in violence perpetration by two control
variables, socioeconomic status (SES) and social desirability.

The variable called “CGD” in Table 5.1 refers to the type of racial composition
of the couple. This category is separated into five types of couples: 1) White/White, 2)
Black/Black, 3) Black/White, 4) Other/Other and 5) Other Cross-Group relationships
(such as Black/Other or White/Other). That section of the little to no support for the
hypothesis that dating violence is more common in Black/White or interracial
relationships.

The chi-square is statistically significant, but the N’s remind us that some groups
are very small (there are only 15 Black/White couples since 3 did not complete the CTS
questions in the survey). For minor violence, the Black/Black couples have the highest
rate at 19.8 and only 58.8% of these couples did not have any violence in their
relationship. The Black/White couples actually have the lowest minor violence rates
followed by those in other interracial relationships. This directly contradicts the
hypotheses regarding interracial couples and dating violence. Further, 21.4% of the
Black respondents reported perpetrating some type of “severe” violence on their partner,
as compared to 20% of Black/White couples. Also, out of all the Black/White couples,
20% reported severe violence in the relationship, which is much higher than their rate for
minor violence. The rate for severe violence among the Black/White interracial couples
is actually more similar to the rate of severe violence for the Black/Black couples which
is 21.4%. This shows that in the Black/Black relationships, severe forms of violence are
much more common than in the White/White relationships. This suggests no support for
my hypothesis about Black/White relationships, but it may actually indicate that the real

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Table 5.1 Student Characteristics Associated with Partner Violence Level (N=914)

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<th>Variable</th>
<th>Minor violence</th>
<th>Severe violence</th>
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* p = < .05 and ** p = < .01
risk factor here is not an interracial relationship, but that the Black group is a high risk group for the experience of partner violence.

Table 5.2 displays the zero-order bivariate correlations for the variables used in the final estimates. The correlations do not indicate any problem with multi-collinearity since no correlation coefficient is larger than .80. The results also reveal that perpetration of minor dating violence is positively correlated with Black/Black relationships, and also with White/White relationships. The Black/White relationship variable is not statistically significant, which lends no support to the hypothesis that cross-group relationships are a risk factor for partner violence. Further, Table 6.3 reveal that Black/Black relationships, Other/Other relationships, HBUs, and the racial/ethnic category Black are associated with an increase in severe partner violence. Conversely, White/White relationships, higher SES, a high level of Social desirability and the racial/ethnic group White are all associated with a reduction in severe partner violence. These results suggest that Blacks are more likely to have severe violence in their relationships, whereas for Whites, the violence is more likely to be minor in nature. These results also suggest that membership in a CGR is not associated with an increased risk of partner violence, but that being Black or of another minority status or dating a minority is a risk factor for dating violence. These relationships will be explored in more detail with the Multinomial Logistic Regression analysis. Multinomial Logistic Regression will allow us to investigate more directly whether or not membership in an Black/White or other kind of cross-group relationship leads to an increased likelihood of partner violence.
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</table>
TESTS OF SIGNIFICANCE OF PREDICTOR VARIABLES AND PARTNER VIOLENCE

Two Multinomial Logistic Regression models are presented, the second of which has had missing data replaced by the mean scores. Table 5.3 displays the overall model for the first Multinomial Logistic Regression analysis. Overall, the model is statistically significant but the only statistically significant predictors of partner violence are age, and social desirability. The Cross-Group Dating variable is not statistically significant. This means there is no support for the hypothesis that interracial relationships are a risk factor for partner violence.

Table 5.3 further elucidates the relationship of racial composition of the couple and partner violence. The top part of Table 5.3 includes the results for “minor” violence and the bottom half presents results for severe violence. The Multinomial Logistic Regression uses “no violence” as the reference category for the dependent variable. For the race variable, White is used as the reference category and for the CGD variable, White/White couples are used as the reference category. This variable was coded as such not because Whites are the majority group for all other groups to be compared to, but instead because some previous research has found domestic violence rates to be higher for minorities than Whites. The results for these tell us, then, how much more or less likely dating violence is for the other groups in comparison to Whites and in comparison to all White couples. Although the results for the Cross-Group Dating variables are not statistically significant, some tentative interpretations can be made with an examination of these results. First, we can interpret the top part to mean that White/Black
Table 5.3 Nominal Regression of Violence on Cross-Group Relationships and Selected Predictor Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Minor Assault</th>
<th>Severe Assault</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>White/White Relationships</td>
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<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race-Blacks</td>
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<td>2.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race-Others</td>
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<td>2.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race-Whites</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Socioeconomic Status</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Desirability</td>
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<td>0.94**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall Model</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chi-square</td>
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<td>Df 24</td>
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</table>

Notes: School type refers to HBU or PWU (HBU = 1) and for Gender (male = 2)
* = p < .05, ** = p < .00

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relationships are 5.5 times less likely to have violence than those in White/White relationships. Yet, Black/Black relationships are associated with a 1.3 times greater chance of minor violence. Of course, these results are not statistically significant, so these interpretations are tentative at best.

The White/Black relationship variable is not statistically significant. Once everything else is controlled, there is no significant race or cross-group dating effect on the likelihood of partner violence. Yet, for severe violence, one CGD category is statistically significant, Others dating Others. The Others dating Others is associated with a 21 times greater rate of severe violence compared to Whites dating Whites. A cross-tabulation reveals that Others dating or married to Others consists largely of Hispanics and Native Americans in same-race relationships. The Other/Other category includes, more specifically, 28 Hispanic students dating or married to Hispanics, and 14 Native American students in same-race relationships. There were also 4 Asian American/Hispanic relationships, and 9 people who indicated “other” on the questionnaire for both themselves and their partners. These results indicate that it is actually same-race, not cross-race relationships that are at an increased risk of partner violence. In this college student sample, it seems that Native American and Hispanic same-race couples are at an increased risk of partner violence.

Tables 5.4 displays the results of the second Multinomial Logistic Regression model. In this second model, missing data was replaced with the means for all independent variables. This was done to avoid the reduction of the sample size, and especially the reduction of the number of Black/White couples. I will not discuss the second model except to say that the results do not differ from the first model.
Table 5.4 Nominal Regression of Violence on Cross-Group Relationships and Selected Predictor Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Severe Assault</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Race-Blacks</td>
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<table>
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<th>Odds Ratio</th>
<th>Standard Error</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Race-Blacks</td>
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<td>Social Desirability</td>
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Overall Model
Chi-square 85.10    df 24     Significance .000

Notes: School type refers to HBU or PWU (HBU = 1) and for Gender (male = 2)
* = p < .05, ** = p < .00
--Missing Data has been replaced by means for SES, CGR Scale, Social Desirability
LIMITATIONS

In this study there is a large possibility of a Type II error in testing the relationship of the couples’ racial composition to the likelihood of partner violence. Perhaps there is a relationship between racial composition of the couple and propensity towards verbal or physical aggression, but this study has not been able to capture evidence of that relationship.

Another limitation is that a test of possible interactions between the local attitudes towards interracial relationships and it’s affect on partner violence for those in interracial relationships was not possible. If the local level attitudes towards Black/White interracial relationships is negative or even hostile, this may impact the level of stress for those in cross-group relationships living or going to school in that area. Yet, due to our small sample size and the resultant small N for those actually in Black/White relationships, a direct test of this relationship is not possible.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I shall revisit the original 4 hypotheses regarding partner violence and interracial relationships and comment on the results for each.

H1. Partner violence will be more likely for interracial relationships than for same-race relationships. I found no support for this hypothesis.

H2. Partner violence will be more likely for Black/White relationships than for same-race relationships. I found no support for this hypothesis.
H3. Partner violence will be more likely at the HBUs than at the PWUs. I found mild support for this hypothesis. Chi-square tests indicate that HBUs had significantly more “severe” violence than the other schools.

H4. Partner violence will be more likely for those with negative attitudes towards interracial relationships. I found no support for this hypothesis.
CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Race relations in the United States is an important issue in an age where there is racial profiling by police, riots in L.A. and Cincinnati in recent years that have been referred to as 'race riots' precipitated by police violence towards African Americans, and rising numbers of interracial relationships springing up despite these social conflicts on a societal level. Nathan Glazer agrees with Andrew Hacker that in America there are two separate nations, Black and White, which differ from each other in social, economic and philosophical ways. Rates of interracial dating in this sample of 1174 college students were low, indicating that for these schools, dating interracially is against the norm. This suggests support for a racially divided society, even into the twenty first century. Adding to Hacker's ideas, Glazer takes the idea of a Black-White societal division even one step further, stating that, "... Increasingly, as Hispanics and Asians become less different from whites from the point of view of residence, income, occupation, and political attitudes, the two nations become the black and the others (1998: 149)." Results from this research lend support to this view of current American race relations. African American and White views on cross-group relationships did differ significantly for every question on the CGR scale, with African American students indicating on average, much less support for cross-group dating than the White students. Further, the African
American students indicated much less support from their parents for each measure asking about parental views. Further, Others (or those who were not coded Black or White) were by far the most approving of interracial unions, suggest that they are more integrated into White society than African Americans, as Glazer argues. Yet, as will be discussed later, the African American resistance to interracial dating as found in this study by attitudinal and behavioral measures, must also be examined within the context of race relations and acceptance of minority groups by the White majority in the United States. Finally, this research indicates that cross-group dating is not a risk factor for partner violence. Perhaps those who enter into interracial relationships have strong coping skills, strong support networks, or some kinds of stress buffers which alleviate any potential affects of a possibly discrimination based stressor such as cross-group dating.

RACE AND DATING

The results of this study of 1174 students at five Universities reveal that interracial dating is quite rare, which is consistent with U.S. Census data on rates of interracial marriage. The expectation that there would be many interracial couples in a random sample of college students at 5 universities was terribly erroneous. The difference between professed attitudes and actual behavior is an important issue when estimating the number of interracial relationships in the United States today. This issue caused an overestimate of the number of college students who would actually be dating interracially in this sample. Also, interracial dating is rare for students in the White and Black categories, but very common for those in other racial/ethnic groups. Further, there is a race and gender interaction that is important in the interracial dating pattern. Black
males are more likely to date interracially than Black females. Yet, White females are more likely to date interracially than White males.

The results for this portion of the research suggest some interesting implications for an understanding of race and dating in the United States in the context of our social stratification system. If cross-group marriage is a sign of assimilation into the larger American culture, as Nathan Glazer (1998) suggests, other minority groups could be described as more “integrated” or assimilated into the larger culture. Since the other minority groups had more cross-group relationships, and cross-group dating was very rare among African Americans in this sample, this suggests that African Americans are not assimilating through intermarriage as much as other groups such as Asians or Hispanics. Perhaps this lends support to Andrew Hacker’s contention that America has two essentially separate societies, one Black and one White. It also lends support to the idea that African American and Whites think differently about race and race relations in the United States, as suggested by Glazer, and that other minorities in the United States are becoming virtually indistinguishable from Whites in many ways. This may lend support to Glazer’s contention that the two nations Hacker speaks of has actually become “the black and the other (1998: 149).”

RACE, GENDER AND ACCEPTANCE OF CROSS-GROUP RELATIONSHIPS

The results on cultural norms reveal that there is less approval of African American/White relationships than Asian American/White relationships and that overall, the African American students were more opposed to interracial dating and marriage than
the other racial/ethnic groups. These results contradict the results of previous research which has found Whites to most object to cross-group relationships (American Mosaic Project 2004; Gallup Jr. 1991). Yet, since most of the African Americans in my sample attend HBUs, this may really reflect the attitudes of African Americans at HBUs more so than the attitudes of African Americans in general. African Americans in this sample also indicated that their parents would disapprove much more than the parents of students in other racial/ethnic groups. Further, those students at Historically Black Universities are less approving of interracial dating and marriage than the students at Predominantly White Universities.

Another conclusion is that the relationship between race and gender in attitudes towards interracial relationships is much more complicated than previous research suggests. I did not find that African American women were much more disapproving of interracial relationships than African American men, as I had expected. Although it is extremely rare in our society for White men and African American women to couple, the findings in this study suggest that this pattern is not solely due to African American women’s resistance to the idea. At least in this sample of African American students largely attending HBUs, even the males had very low rates of cross-group dating. This suggests that attendance at an HBU may suppress any ideas of cross-group dating since it is largely against the norm. Since the norms at HBUs indicate that interracial dating is not common, perhaps this represents a conscious effort to preserve African American history, culture and relationships on their part. Perhaps what Nathan Glazer does not consider in *We Are All Multiculturalists Now* (1998) is that some African Americans may not want to be fully assimilated into this culture. Of course, the issue of assimilation or
integration includes both an opening and acceptance by the majority group of the minority group as well as an effort by the minority group to assimilate. Glazer comments on the way race relations in the United States have a unique tension that cannot be compared to race relations in other nations. He points out that no comparison can be made between U.S. race relations and that of Europe. He jokes sarcastically, “The only possible comparison would be if the Saxons of England, or the Gauls of France, had been held in a position of caste subservience for centuries(157).” Certainly, with the history of slavery and strained race relations in the United States, it is not surprising to find significant differences in thought between Whites and African Americans in our society, especially regarding issues of integration. Perhaps for some, resistance to assimilation (through resisting integration with such activities as intermarriage) is an active and purposeful act of social cohesion in the African American community, not an indication that assimilation has failed in some way for this group, as Glazer suggests.

**RACE AND PARTNER VIOLENCE**

An important finding in this study regarding partner violence is that individuals in interracial relationships do not seem to be at an increased risk of partner violence. Further, those in Black/White relationships are not necessarily at an increased risk of partner violence. These findings suggest that despite the potential stress and power differentials membership in an interracial relationship may cause, people involved in them are not at an increased risk of acting out violently towards their partner. Perhaps characteristics of individuals willing to enter into interracial relationships are also characteristics which could be considered violence declining factors. For instance, as
discussed in Chapter 1, previous research has found that those who tend to be more approving of interracial relationships in the United States tend to be those who are highly educated, young, middle to upper class, minorities, those who reside in the North and those who do not hold extremely strong religious convictions. Perhaps many of these characteristics are actually attributes that act as buffers or violence inhibitors in a relationship.

Another interesting finding in this study is that severe partner violence at the HBUs in the South is a larger problem than is the case at the Predominantly White Universities in the North. The higher rates of severe violence at HBUs may lend support to the idea of a “subculture of violence” in the South. There has been a rather consistent empirical association between the Southern section of the United States and elevated rates of many types of criminally violent behavior (Fox and Levin 2001). Research by Cohen and Nisbett (1994; 1997) has provided some evidence of a “culture of violence” in the South that may help to explain this association between the South and violent crime. Some authors have referred to the “culture of honor” in the South as a contributor to these higher homicide rates (Nisbett and Cohen 1996) while others suggest that Southern culture includes a “subculture of violence” (Wolfgang and Ferracuti 1967) or a “culture of violence” (Huff-Corzine 1986).

Nisbett and Cohen (1996) contend that men hold onto and believe strongly in a “culture of honor” in the South. This “culture of honor” is centered around the idea that a man’s reputation is key to his economic and social survival. They argue that this “culture of honor” then leads to a “culture of violence” in the South whereby men feel it is justifiable to defend one’s honor by the use of violence if necessary. This “culture of
violence” may extend beyond racial lines since evidence suggests there is no regional difference in homicide rates for African Americans throughout the U.S. Hence, Nisbett and Cohen propose that it is actually a Southern White culture of violence which is reflected in the discrepancies in homicide rates between North and South.

In this particular sample, since the HBUs are located in the South and almost all of the students who took the survey at the HBUs were African American. This prevents separating out the effects of being in the South as opposed to the effects of race. Yet, the findings make it clear that severe forms of violence are much more common at the HBUs than the PWUs. An application of this theory to these results suggests that the HBUs may be impacted by a “subculture of violence” in the South, or a subculture of violence among African Americans. The implications of this finding are clear: administrators at HBUs in the South may need to implement partner violence awareness and prevention programs for their students in order to ensure their safety.

CONCLUSION

College students’ attitudes towards cross-group relationships are often positive, and a surprisingly small number of students disagreed with interracial dating and marriage. However, their own dating behavior indicates it is still extremely rare on many college campuses today.

Further, this study suggests that while students’ attitudes towards interracial relationships are often favorable, they often feel their parents’ would not be as approving. The results also reveal that interracial dating is less common and less
approved of at HBUs than at PWUs. Perhaps this suggests that, contrary to what Nathan Glazer seems to assume, African Americans may not actually want to fully assimilate into a Eurocentric, White dominated American society. Attendance at an HBU is a matter of African American pride and in a way, it may shelter those students from the largely White society surrounding them. The norms at HBUs suggest that interracial dating is not common, and this perhaps represents a conscious effort to preserve African American history, culture and relationships. In other words, perhaps resistance to assimilation is an active and purposeful move by the African American community, not an inability to take on the ways of the larger culture or integrate.

This study found that Black/White or interracial couples in general are not at a higher risk of partner violence, but due to the small number of interracial couples in my sample, these results are tentative at best. Perhaps individuals who would enter into an interracial relationship are already more liberal, more educated, etc., lessening the probability that they will use violence to settle a conflict. So, although there may be stress, loss and discrimination experienced by some individuals in interracial relationships, perhaps these detrimental phenomena are buffered by their more liberal or more educated beliefs about the perils of the use of violence against a partner or loved one in a relationship.
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Xap.com Campus Tours. 
www.xap.com/gotocollege/campustour/undergraduate/3089/JacksonStateUniversity


Appendix A.

Multi-racial Responses

**University of New Hampshire**

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**Jackson State University**

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**Indiana State University**

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**University of Manitoba**

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**Howard University**

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APPENDIX B.

APPROVAL CERTIFICATE
University of Manitoba

11 February 2002

TO: Douglas A. Brownridge
    Principal Investigator

FROM: Wayne Taylor, Chair
      Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board (JFREB)

Re: Protocol #J2002:019
   "International Dating Violence Research Study"

Please be advised that your above-referenced protocol has received human ethics
approval by the Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board, which is organized and operates
according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement. This approval is valid for one year only.

Any significant changes of the protocol and/or informed consent form should be reported to
the Human Ethics Secretariat in advance of implementation of such changes.
The Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research has reviewed and approved your request for a time extension for this protocol. Approval for this protocol expires on the date indicated above. At the end of the approval period you will be asked to submit a project report with regard to the involvement of human subjects. If your project is still active, you may apply for extension of IRB approval through this office.

The protection of human subjects in your study is an ongoing process for which you hold primary responsibility. Changes in your protocol must be submitted to the IRB for review and receive written, unconditional approval prior to implementation. If you have questions or concerns about your project or this approval, please feel free to contact this office at 862-2003.

Please refer to the IRB # above in all correspondence related to this project. The IRB wishes you success with your research.

For the IRB,

[Signature]
Julie F. Simpson
Regulatory Compliance Manager

---

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RE: IRB-02-CAS-05 “International Dating Violence Study.”

Dear Doctor Berg-Cross:

The Institutional Review Board (IRB) acknowledged receipt of the requested revisions for the above-referenced protocol. Approval of this protocol will expire November 19, 2003. The HU IRB Federal Wide Assurance number is FWA0000891.

The enclosed IRB date-stamped preamble should be used when obtaining informed consent. All other versions of the preamble should be destroyed. In the event that any changes are made in the protocol, including personnel changes, they are to be approved by the Board prior to their initiation. In addition, advertising the above-referenced study should not occur until such time as mailings and flyers are submitted for approval. Finally, certification of the completion of the required educational program by all personnel on this protocol should be forwarded to the IRB. Information concerning this requirement can be found at www.huirb.howard.edu

Should you anticipate renewing this protocol annually, a status report is to be submitted to the Board 90 days prior to the expiration date. If not, a close-out report is to be submitted to the Board within 90 days after the completion of the study. The Status Report Form can be downloaded from the HUIRB web site.
During the project period of this research, you may be monitored by a site visit team from the IRB. You will be notified in advance if your project is chosen for the on-site monitoring.

The Board wishes you and Ms. Carolyn Field, M.A., every success in your research endeavors.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Warren K. Ashe, Ph.D.
Executive Secretary

Enclosure

cc: Orlando L. Taylor, Ph.D., Dean, Graduate School
Dr. James Donaldson, Dean, College of Arts and Sciences
Albert Roberts, Ph.D., Chairman, Department of Psychology
Ms. Carolyn Field, M.A., 5 Bennett Way, #14, Newmarket, NH 03857
603-659-3440
April 14, 2002

Sandra Alvarez, PhD
Department of Sociology

RE: International Dating Violence Research (IRB #02-32)

Dear Dr. Alvarez:

I have reviewed your application, pursuant to ISU Policies and Procedures for the Review of Research Involving Human Subjects. The study is technically exempt under Section 6.31 of ISU Policy and 45 CFR 46, pertaining to anonymous surveys.

Because the study is part of a larger project directed by the University of New Hampshire (UNH), and UNH has promulgated informed consent procedures that go beyond those required by ISU, those procedures supersede ISU’s policies.

Therefore, before proceeding with this study, you need to add a statement to the informed consent. In the section of the survey introduction, “More Information about the Study,” add the statement: For information about your rights as a participant in this research, please contact Dr. Amy Craddock, Institutional Review Board Chair at 237-3006 or via email at craddock@indstate.edu. Send the revised page to the Office of Sponsored Programs.

If you have any questions, please don’t hesitate to call (x3006) or email me (craddock@indstate.edu). Materials to be sent to OSP should go to Sondra Wilkison (ospwilk@isugw.indstate.edu) x8374, fax x3092. If it is more convenient, you may send it via fax or email.

Sincerely,

Amy Craddock
PhD
Assistant Professor
IRB Chair

Terre Haute, Indiana 47809

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