PREDICTORS OF COUNSELOR TRAINEES' IMPLICIT ATTITUDES TOWARD

INTERRACIAL COUPLES

A DISSERTATION

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Dedication

For my husband, Scott.

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Abstract

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Implicit Attitudes of Counselor Trainees toward Black-White Couples

Inter-racial couples developed as soon as European men landed on the coast of North

America. Historically, these relationships were considered deviant and unacceptable.

The attitudes towards interracial marriages are improving, however, the incidence of

interracial dating and marriage, especially among Blacks and Whites, remains low in the

United States (White & White, 2000). As the acceptance of interracial marriages

increases, the rate of interracial marriages also increases. With the increasing number of

inter-racial couples in the United States the probability that counselors will have contact

with a Black-White couple increases also. It is important for the counselors to have

accepting attitudes towards these couples to be effective in the treatment of these couples.

The Implicit Association Test (IAT) measured the implicit attitudes of the participants

toward black-white couples. This study included a comparison of attitudes based on

demographic factors such as sex, age, education, region of the US, socioeconomic status,

home setting, and multicultural awareness and knowledge as measured by the

Multicultural Knowledge and Awareness Scale (MCKAS). In addition, a multiple linear

regression will determine which of these variables is best able to predict the participants'

attitudes. The results showed there is a significant difference in attitudes toward

interracial couples between demographic subgroups of the variable age. However, there

were no significant differences in attitudes between the subgroups of the variables

education, socioeconomic status, sex, race, region of the country, community type and

size. The regression analyses found MCKAS was the one variable that could predict

scores on the IAT.

Chapter One

Introduction

Interracial relationships have existed in the United States since the fifteenth century, beginning when Europeans came to America. European men met and fell in love with American Indian women. Interracial relationships between Whites and Blacks began after Blacks came to this country as slaves in the seventeenth century (Kouri & Lasswell, 1993). Intermarriage between Blacks and Whites became illegal following the miscegenation laws and consequently the number of interracial marriages dwindled. After the Emancipation Proclamation there was a rise in Black and White marriages; however, the number of interracial marriages declined again after 1900 until the 1940s. Through the 1940s and 1950s the numbers of interracial marriages increased until finally the miscegenation laws were deemed unconstitutional in the Supreme Court case *Loving v State of Virginia* in 1967 (Kouri & Lasswell, 1993). None the less, Black and white intermarriage rates generally remain lower than the intermarriage rates of other racial groups (Bratter, 2000). For example, in the early 1990s only 7.3 percent of married Blacks were in an interracial marriage; whereas, 30 percent of the married Asians and Pacific Islanders were in an interracial marriage (Chan & Smith, 2000).

As of 1990 there were approximately 1.5 million interracial marriages (Chan & Smith, 2000). For the 2000 census, citizens were allowed to identify themselves with more than one racial category; thus for the first time indicating that there is a growing awareness of the prevalence and importance of interracial marriages (Chan & Smith, 2000).

Demographic correlates. Even though the rate of interracial marriages in the United States is rising, it is still low compared to the rates of intraracial marriage. Factors shown in the literature that relate to the rate of interracial marriage include: sex (Kalmijin, 1998; Heaton & Albrecht, 1996; Jacobs & Labov, 2002; Kouri & Lasswell, 1993; Porterfield, 1982; McDowell, 1971; Pavela, 1964), race (Kalmijin, 1998), region of the US (Bratter, 2000; Sung, 1990; Labov & Jacobs, 1986), education level (Barron,1951; Jacobs & Labov, 2002; Kalmijin, 1998; Heaton & Albrecht, 1996), socio-economic status (SES) (Bratter, 2000; Fu & Heaton, 2000; Kouri & Lasswell, 1993; McDowell, 1971; Pavela, 1964; Porterfield, 1982), and age (Heaton & Albrecht, 1996).

The information gleaned from the U.S. census studies states that individuals in interracial marriages tend to come from the same socioeconomic background (Bratter, 2000; Fu & Heaton, 2000; Kouri & Lasswell, 1993; McDowell, 1971; Pavela, 1964; Porterfield, 1982). For example, an individual from a lower SES is more likely to marry another person from a lower SES than someone from an upper or middle SES (this is also true of intraracial marriages). A higher percentage of minority women than minority men are involved in interracial marriages, with the exception of Black women who are less likely to be in an interracial marriage than Black men (Kalmijin, 1998; Heaton & Albrecht, 1996; Jacobs & Labov, 2002; Kouri & Lasswell, 1993; McDowell, 1971; Porterfield, 1982; Pavela, 1964). Geographic location in the United States has also been found to have an influence on the rate of interracial marriages. Higher rates of interracial marriages are found in California, the northeast coast, and in urban areas in the United States (Bratter, 2000). The highest rates of intermarriages can be found in Hawaii (Sung, 1990; Labov & Jacobs, 1986). The findings regarding age of the individuals in the

marriage in relationship to interracial marriage have been very inconsistent. Information from studies about age and interracial marriage has been mixed. Some researchers have found that the younger the couple the more likely they are to be in an interracial relationship (Heaton & Albrecht, 1996). Still others found that those in interracial marriages are older when they marry (Monahan, 1973, Sung, 1990). There is no clear relationship between age and interracial relationships.

Some investigators have found that highly educated individuals of any race are more likely to marry those of a different race (Kalmijin, 1998; Heaton & Albrecht, 1996), whereas, others have found that those who are of lower education levels are more likely to intermarry (Jacobs & Labov, 2002). Barron (1951) suggested that a more plausible explanation is that people tend to marry someone of the same education level and race is less of a factor.

In summary, previous investigations have explored how demographic variables such as SES, geographic location, education, sex and age influence the rates of interracial marriages in the United States. Findings from these studies suggest that each demographic variable has an impact on the rates of interracial marriage, and is worthy of further investigation. There is a paucity of research investigating the factors which impact the attitudes of others toward interracial couples. We can deduce from previous studies that the type of person who is more willing to be involved in an interracial marriage, (the young, highly educated, Black men and White women from an urban city in the north east or west coast) is also more likely to have accepting attitudes toward interracial marriages in general.

Theories of Attitudes

What is an attitude? Attitudes are cognitive structures that help an individual sort between good and bad, safe and dangerous, and what to approach and what to avoid (Van Overwalle & Sieber, 2005). Attitudes function to free up cognitive space and processing so the brain can spend time on more important things (Fazio, 1990). One definition of attitudes, suggested by Eagly and Chaiken (1993), states attitudes are a psychological evaluation of a particular object with a degree of like or dislike. Most theories about how attitudes are developed involve a learning process. When an individual comes into contact with an attitude object, an attitude is created based on previous experience with that attitude object (Fazio, Eiser, & Shook, 2004; Van Overwalle & Sieber, 2005).

Many theorists believe that racial attitudes are developed through a learning process. Allport (1979) described the need for people to categorize others, and how this can lead to prejudice. He discussed factors that contribute to the development of prejudice including historical context, sociocultural factors, situational factors, personality traits, and phenomenological factors. Others have developed theories which have a focus on social-learning (Aboud & Doyle, 1996; Banks, 1995; Cameron & Rutland, 2006; McGregor, 1993; Williams & Edwards, 1969), cognition (Doyle, & Aboud, 1995; Piaget & Weil, 1951), social-cognitive development (Abrams, Rutland, Cameron, 2003; Bigler & Liben, 2006; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Killen, Lee-Kim, McGlothlin, & Stangor, 2002; Turner, Brown, &Tajfel, 1979), or evolutionary (Fishbein, 1996, Katz, 2003) factors of racism. According to the literature, it remains unclear the exact way racial attitudes are developed but it seems that previous experiences and learning have an important impact.

Beliefs about Interracial Couples

In the general public, it is a common belief that individuals who are involved in an interracial relationship often face negative reactions and scrutiny (Henderson, 2000). These couples are often assumed to have higher levels of conflict than intraracial couples (Durodoye, 1994). These individuals are more likely to be subjected to several forms of racism such as, stares, offensive gestures, verbal harassment, being slighted, overlooked, or denied service in public establishments (Blau, 1964; Davis, 1941; Homans, 1961; Henderson, 2000; Merton, 1941; Yancey & Yancey, 1998).

The earliest theory used to explain interracial marriages is the social exchange theory that states that the members of the couple exchange something of social value such as race, financial status or education (Homans, 1961; Blau, 1964). Another theory is the assimilation theory which states that as more of the minority cultures embrace the attitudes and values of the dominant culture they will also have similar beliefs about marriage as those of the dominant culture, thus increasing the number of interracial marriages (Gordon, 1964). Lehman (1991) suggests that interracial marriages are more likely as populations intermingle following reduced social barriers. The racial motivation theory proposes that individuals choose to enter an interracial marriage because of an interest in immersion in the partner's culture, or because of an attraction to the physical attributes of members of the other race (Kouri & Lasswell, 1993). Structural approach theory states that interracial marriages are more likely when the community structure sanctions the marriages (Kvaraceus, Gibson, Patterson, Seaholes, & Grambs, 1965). This theory also states that individuals in interracial marriages get married for the same reasons that intraracial couples marry. The status inconsistency theory focuses on the

structure of society and predicts negative outcomes for the couple who occupies more than one level of the societal hierarchy (Chan & Smith, 2000).

Depending on which of these theories a particular person agrees with the individual could have accepting or negative attitude toward interracial couples. Some of the earlier theories help to explain why some individuals have strong negative views of interracial relationships. A more accepting view of those who are in interracial relationship is evident through the later theories. As the acceptance of interracial marriages increases, the rate of interracial marriages also increases. Beliefs about people who choose interracial relationships tend to contribute to the negative attitudes toward interracial marriages (Henderson, 2000).

Attitudes toward Interracial Couples

The attitudes toward interracial couples continue to improve. The number of individuals with accepting attitudes has increased from 8% in 1942 (Erskine, 1973) to 75% in 2005 (Jones, 2005). However, approval of Black-White couples remains lowest (Lewandowski & Jackson, 2001; Sones & Holston, 1988). Though individuals report an approval of interracial relationships in general most would not choose to out-marry themselves (Fiebert, Nugent, Hershberger, & Kasden, 2004; Mwamwenda, 1998). Those who are in interracial relationships continue to experience prejudice and discrimination (Killian, 2003).

Specific demographic factors have been found to be related to accepting attitudes toward interracial couples. A positive correlation exists between amount of education and accepting attitudes toward interracial couples (Erskine, 1973; Jacobson & Johnson, 2006; Johnson & Jacobson, 2005, Sharp & Joslyn, 2008; St. Jean & Parker, 1995; Wilson &

Jacobson, 1995; Young, Chen, & Greenberger, 2002; Yancey, 2001). Furthermore, an individual's attitude can be affected by the geographical location of where he/she was raised. Those who were raised in the North Eastern US or in an urban city tend to have more accepting attitudes toward interracial relationships (Erskine, 1973; Jacobson & Johnson, 2006; Johnson & Jacobson, 2005; St. Jean, 1998; St. Jean & Parker, 1995). Younger individuals hold more accepting attitudes toward interracial marriages than those who are older (Caltabiano, 1985; Erskine, 1973; Jacobson & Johnson, 2006; St. Jean & Parker, 1995; Wilson & Jacobson, 1995; Johnson & Jacobson, 2005; Jones, 2005; Sharp & Joslyn, 2008). Individuals from higher socioeconomic classes tend to have more accepting attitudes (Erskine, 1973; St. Jean & Parker, 1995; Jacobson & Johnson, 2006; Johnson & Jacobson, 2005; Wilson & Jacobson, 1995). Sex of the individual is also a demographic variable which influences attitudes toward interracial couples. Men tend to have slightly more accepting attitudes toward interracial couples than women (Childs, 2005; Fiebert, Karamol, & Kasden, 2000; Garcia & Rivera, 1999; Jacobson & Johnson, 2006; Johnson & Jacobson, 2005; Martelle, 1970; Young, Chen, & Greenberger, 2002). Given this information one can conclude that young males, who are highly educated, raised in a large city in the North East, and from a wealthy background would have a more accepting attitude toward interracial couples.

Multicultural Competency

Given the rise in the number of inter-racial couples and marriages in the last few decades (Kouri & Lasswell, 1993) multicultural competency is an important skill for counselors to have (Vasquez, 2009). It is important to understand the attitudes counselors have toward interracial couples because research has shown that counselors'

attitudes about interracial marriages have an influence on the effectiveness of the

counselor/client relationship (Durodoye, 1994).

This competency includes the ability to be culturally sensitive, knowledge about

other cultures, and helping others from differing cultures (Vasquez, 2009). An

understanding of the social context of a client's experience is also important (McDowell,

Fang, Young, Khanna, Sherman, & Brownlee, 2003). In order to do so, counselors need

to have self-awareness and understanding of assumptions made by themselves and

society at large (Fuertes & Brobst, 2002). Counselors are expected to explore race as an

issue that can affect the perspectives of each person (McDowell et al., 2003; Richardson

& Molinaro, 2001). Multicultural competence is so important that the APA published

guidelines for practice, research, supervision and education (APA, 2003). Though this

gives counselors professional guidelines there is also an ethical obligation and

expectation to continue to learn and practice multicultural competency (Vasquez, 2009).

Having a fundamental understanding of multicultural issues improves the working

alliance in the counseling relationship and a working alliance has been shown to

positively impact the quality of the services provided. A successful working alliance

derives from counselors having accepting attitudes toward their clients. If it is known

what factors affect attitudes of the counselors, changes can be made in training programs

to foster more accepting racial attitudes among counselor trainees as they work with a

growing number of interracial couples. This will improve the working alliance between

the counselor and, for this study, interracial couples.

Evidence has shown that working alliance is one of the most important parts of

the therapeutic process and that this alliance has an effect on the outcome of

psychotherapy (Barber, Connolly, Crits-Christoph, Gladis, & Siqueland, 2000; Horvath & Symonds, 1991). Working alliance has been defined as capturing "the collaborative element of the client-counselor relationship and it takes account of both counselor's and client's capacities to negotiate a contract appropriate to the breadth and depth of therapy" (Horvath & Symonds, 1991, p. 139). Horvath and Symonds (1991) also found that there is a positive relationship between working alliance and therapy outcome. When a stronger working alliance has been established, better psychotherapy outcomes follow (Horvath & Symonds, 1991). Barber et al. (2000) found that the working alliance is a more significant predictor of therapeutic outcome than in-treatment symptom change.

The multicultural competence and credibility of the counselor is an important factor in the development of working alliance. Counselors who are viewed as credible— "the constellation of characteristics that makes certain individuals appear more worthy of belief, capable, entitled to confidence, reliable and trustworthy" (Sue & Sue, 1999, p. 44)—are more able to build a working alliance because they are better able to elicit trust, motivation to work/change, and self-disclosure.

Because the racial attitudes of the counselor have such an important impact on the development of the working alliance, and the alliance is an important predictor of outcome in therapy, it would be important to understand the variables that predict the counselor's racial attitudes toward clients. If one knows what variables affect attitudes, one will have more success in changing those attitudes.

Research Questions

Demographic variables found to be related to interracial marriage are: SES, sex, geographic location, level of education, race, and rural or urban home setting have been

found to correlate with the rate of interracial marriage. Because these variables are important in understanding who chooses to be a part of an inter-racial marriage, these variables will be used to determine attitudes of counselors toward interracial marriage. The questions being examined in this investigation are:

1) Is there a significant difference in the attitudes of counselor trainees toward Black and White couples based on demographic characteristics of the counselor trainees? (SES, sex, geographic location, level of education, race, and rural or urban home setting have been found to correlate with the rate of interracial marriage)

2) Is counselor's level of multicultural competency as measured on the MCKAS a significant predictor of attitudes of counselor trainees toward Black and White couples?

3) Which of these individual predictor variables will best predict the attitudes of the counselor trainees toward interracial couples?

4) What combination of predictor variables will best predict attitudes of counselor trainees toward interracial couples?

Independent Variables

Education. The first independent variable is the counselor's level of education. Master's degree students will be compared to those who have already earned a master's degree and are working toward a doctorate degree. One assumption of this study is that those who have had more education and more multicultural training will have higher scores on the MCKAS and more accepting attitudes toward interracial couples (Manese, Wu, & Nepomuceno, 2001). Preparing multiculturally competent counselors is consistent with the mission of most counseling training programs (Locke & Kiselica, 1999). The further along students are in a training program, the more opportunity that

students will have to develop multicultural competencies via courses and counseling experiences. The student will have taken more courses that focus specifically on multicultural issues in addition to multicultural issues enveloped in their other course work. Developing complex-thinking competencies about multicultural issues is a goal of most training programs (Locke & Kiselica, 1999).

Multicultural counseling knowledge and awareness scale. The second independent variable under investigation in this study is the level of the participants' multicultural awareness and knowledge as measured by the trainees' score on the Multicultural Knowledge and Awareness Scale (MCKAS). Trainees who have had more multicultural courses and experiences should have higher scores on the MCKAS compared to those with fewer courses and experience (Manese et al., 2001). The prediction is that those who score higher on the MCKAS will have more accepting attitudes toward interracial couples, as measured by the IAT.

Demographic variables. Demographic variables of interest in this study include the race of the counselor trainee participant. For this investigation, the categories established by the U.S. Census Bureau will be used. The categories are: White, Black or African American, American Indian or Alaskan Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander, Hispanic or Latino. Participants will be given the opportunity to check all categories that apply to them.

The other demographic variables include geographic region of the United States, sex, age, socioeconomic status, and home setting. All of these variables will be determined by the participants' self response. The regions will be based on the divisions used by the United States Census Bureau: region one is the northeast made up of division

one (New England) Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island,

Connecticut; and division two (Mid-Atlantic) New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey.

Region two, Midwest, consists of division three (East North Central) Wisconsin,

Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio; and division four (West North Central) Missouri, North

Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Minnesota, Iowa. Region three, South, was

made up of division five (South Atlantic) Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia,

Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida; division six

(East South Central) Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama; and division seven

(West South Central) Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana. region four, West, includes

division eight (Mountain) Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Arizona,

New Mexico; and division nine (Pacific) Alaska, Washington, Oregon, California,

Hawaii. The sex will be either male or female. The participants will be asked their age

in years. Socioeconomic status will be in the following categories: upper, middle and

lower. The size of the home town will be broken into the following categories: less than

10,000; 10,000 – 50,000; 50,000 – 100,000; 100,000 – 250,000; 250,000 – 1,000,000;

and more than 1,000,000. The homes setting will be urban, suburban, or rural.

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable to be measured in this study is the participant's score on

the Implicit Association Test (IAT). The IAT measures the participant's implicit

association between two groups of attitude objects. For this study the IAT will be used to

measure attitudes toward interracial couples. The IAT is a computer-administered test,

which is believed to measure implicit attitudes by determining the unconscious cognitive

associations between multiple attitude objects and a variety of evaluative attributes

(Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998). More specifically, the IAT measures how directly associated a given "attitude object" (e.g. a butterfly or an ant) is with an evaluative attribute (e.g. pleasant or unpleasant; Greenwald et al., 1998). The assumption is that the more closely linked the attributes are to the objects, the stronger the implicit attitude will be resulting in a faster response (Greenwald et al., 1998).

Hypotheses

Research Question 1) Is there a significant difference in the attitudes of counselor trainees toward Black and White couples based on demographic characteristics of the counselor trainees? (SES, sex, geographic location, level of education, race, and rural or urban home setting have been found to correlate with the rate of interracial marriage)

Hypothesis (1) Counselor trainees who are working toward their doctoral degree, will have more accepting attitudes toward Black and White couples than those who are working toward their master's degree.

Hypothesis (2) Counselor trainees who live in the northeast and the west coast will have more accepting attitudes toward Black and White couples than trainees from other areas.

Hypothesis (3) Counselor trainees who were raised in a large, urban setting will have more accepting attitudes toward Black and White couples than those who were raised in a non-urban area.

Hypothesis (4) Counselor trainees who are younger will have more accepting attitudes toward interracial couples than those who are older.

Hypothesis(5) Counselor trainees from upper socioeconomic status will have more accepting attitudes toward Black and White couples than those from lower socioeconomic status.

Hypothesis (6) Male counselor trainees will have a more accepting attitude toward Black and White couples than will female counselor trainees.

Hypothesis (7) Counselor trainees who are members of a minority race will have more accepting attitudes than those counselor trainees who are members of the majority race.

Research Question 2) Is counselor's level of multicultural competency as measured on the MCKAS a significant predictor of attitudes of counselor trainees toward Black and White couples?

Hypothesis (9) Counselor trainees with higher scores on the MCKAS will have more accepting attitudes toward Black and White couples.

Research Question 3) Which of these individual predictor variables will best predict the attitudes of the counselor trainees toward interracial couples?

Research Question 4) What combination of predictor variables will best predict attitudes of counselor trainees toward interracial couples?

Purpose of the Present Study

Most attitude research has looked at racial attitudes in general. This has included attitudes toward people of particular races (Devine, Plant, Amodio, Harmon-Jones, & Vance, 2002; Monteith, Voils, & Ashburn-Nardo, 2001; Rudman, Feinberg, & Fairchild, 2002, Ottaway, Hayden, & Oakes, 2001). Others have investigated explicit attitudes of participants toward interracial couples, however they did not examine implicit attitudes

(Caltabiano, 1985; Dunleavy, 2004; Erskine, 1973; Fiebert et al., 2004; Garcia & Rivera, 1999; Jones, 2005; Lewandowski & Jackson, 2001; Martelle, 1970; Miller, Olson, & Fazio, 2004; Mwamwenda, 1998; Wilson & Jacobson, 1995; Scott, 1987; Sones & Holston, 1988). Because these researchers relied solely on explicit measures it may be that participants responded in a "socially desirable" fashion, that is, the way they believe is desired by the investigator and consistent with the participants' self-image. In the case of racial attitudes, the participant will answer in such a way as to not appear to be racist. To date, no studies have used the implicit association test (IAT) to measure counselor trainees' racial attitudes; nor have there been any that have used the IAT to measure the counselor trainees' attitudes toward interracial couples. This study will focus on the implicit attitudes of counselor trainees toward interracial couples and which of the demographic variables can successfully predict implicit attitudes. Through this analysis, the primary factors affecting attitudes toward interracial couples can be discovered.

Summary

Because there are increasing numbers of interracial marriages in the country, it is important to understand counselor trainees' attitudes toward interracial couples (White & White, 2000). Interracial marriages have been theoretically considered a deviation from the social norm throughout history (Henderson, 2000). They have been described as being doomed from the beginning (Garcia & Rivera, 1999). Even in today's society, there are negative views of interracial marriage (Yancey & Yancey, 1998). A commonly held belief is that individuals who are in interracial relationships are socially deficient and the relationship is fraught with conflict (Henderson, 2000). Even family and marriage text books, as late as 1994, have comments that describe interracial marriage as "a house

divided against itself" and as "having internal difficulties magnified" (Johnson & Warren, 1994, p. 2). If the counselor also holds negative attitudes it can affect the relationship between the counselor and the clients.

As the numbers of interracial couples increase there is a greater need for counselors who are multiculturally competent and able to develop positive working alliances with interracial couples who come for counseling. Because the racial attitudes of the counselor have such an important impact on the development of the working and the alliance is an important predictor of outcome, it would be important to understand the variables that predict the counselor's racial attitudes toward clients.

Definition of Terms

Interracial: any relationship between two individuals of differing racial or ethnic background (Monroe, 1990).

Intraracial: a marriage between two individuals who are from the same racial group (Monroe, 1990).

Hypogamy: this is when a woman marries someone who is of a lower social status than she (Merton, 1941; Davis, 1941).

Hypergamy: a marriage "wherein the female marries into a higher social stratum" (Porterfield, 1982, p. 26).

Endogamy: the tendency to marry within one's own social group. (Yancey & Yancey, 1998).

Out-marriage: the marriage between two people of from two different groups, whether racial, ethnic, religion or other characteristic (Kulczycki &Lobo, 2002).

Chapter Two

Literature Review

Growth of interracial marriages. There has been an increase in the number of interracial marriages and relationships in the United States (Killian, 2003, Monroe, 1990, White & White, 2000, Wieling, 2003). Monroe (1990) defined interracial relationships as any relationship between two individuals of differing racial or ethnic background. The rate of interracial marriages has continued to grow for all racial groups. The total number of interracial marriages grew from 310,000 in 1970 (0.4% of all marriages) to approximately 1.3 million in 1994 (2.2% of all marriages, Wieling, 2003). According to the 2000 U.S. Census there are over 700,000 interracial couples cohabitating in the US and over 4 million interracial married couples (7.4% of all marriages, US Census, 2000).

The specific focus of this study was on interracial relationships between Black and White Americans. Black and White marriages rose from 65,000 to 218, 000 between 1970 and 1988 (Monroe, 1990). As of 1992, there were about 246,000 Black-White marriages, which represent about .5 percent of all marriages (White & White, 2000). According to the 2000 U.S. census, there were 239,477 Black male with White female marriages and 95,831 Black female with White male marriages (US Census, 2000). Even though the number of Black-White marriages has quadrupled since 1970 (Killian, 2003), the incidence of interracial dating and marriage among Blacks and Whites remains low in the United States compared to interracial relationship among other racial groups (White & White, 2000). Jacobs and Labov (2002) state "that the historical, economic, and cultural experiences of minority groups differ widely, and that no single theory is capable of accounting for all features of the intermarriage patterns of all groups" (pg. 622).

Several theories have been suggested to explain how attitudes toward interracial couples develop.

      Theories of attitude development. Attitudes help us sort items into good and bad, safe and dangerous; they help us decide what to approach and what to avoid and are necessary for human survival (Van Overwalle & Sieber, 2005). One definition of attitudes, suggested by Eagly and Chaiken (1993), states attitudes are a psychological evaluation of a particular object with a degree of like or dislike. These attitudes are stored in the memory where they exist for long periods of time and can be activated either consciously or unconsciously by the presence of the object (Van Overwalle & Sieber, 2005). Attitudes provide assistance when interpreting the environment while still freeing up cognitive processing (Van Overwalle & Sieber, 2005). Fazio (1990) notes

> An attitude is viewed as an association in memory between a given object and one's evaluation of that object. This definition implies that the strength of an attitude, like any construct based on associative learning, can vary. That is, the strength of the association between the object and the evaluation can vary. It is this associative strength that is postulated to determine the chronic accessibility of the attitude and, hence, the likelihood that the attitude will be activated automatically when the individual encounters the attitude object (p. 81).

These definitions tell us what an attitude is but not how it is developed. Several theories explain how attitudes are developed; these theories are related to cognition, learning and social factors.

General attitude development. According to the connectionist theory of attitude development, when an individual encounters a novel attitude object an object-evaluation association will be developed in the individual's memory (Van Overwalle & Sieber, 2005). This learning process is based on classical conditioning. When the individual is again confronted by the attitude object the object-evaluation which is stored in memory automatically guides thoughts and behaviors (Van Overwalle & Sieber, 2005). Attitudes can be "updated" if new information is provided in future encounters (Van Overwalle & Sieber, 2005). Attitudes, according to this model, are made up of three components: beliefs, evaluations, and behavior tendencies (Van Overwalle & Sieber, 2005).

Research by Fazio, Eiser, and Shook (2004) supported this theory through the use of novel attitude items. One issue they pointed out is that before an individual can gain information about an attitude object the individual first much choose to approach the object (Fazio et al., 2004). If the object is not approached no knowledge about the object can be gained. What they also discovered is that participants were much better at learning to avoid the attitude objects that were associated with negative outcomes. Participants learned negative objects faster and generalized to similar objects more readily (Fazio et al., 2004).

This theory can be applied to how people learn racial attitudes because it suggests that people learn from their experiences with people from other races. It is necessary first for the individual to choose to approach the person of the other race. The other relevant component of this study is that participants learned negative outcomes of the attitude object more quickly and were more likely to generalize these evaluations to new attitude items, which were similar to ones already encountered. According to these results, it

would be predicted that when relating to people of other races an individual would be more likely to generalize negative experiences from the past to people who are similar, that is, the individual encounters a rude White or Black person (depending on the race of the individual) and thinks that all other people of that race are also rude. This also means that the individual would be less likely to choose to approach new people who are similar to negative evaluations in the past. Through this process, the individual would be less likely to encounter information that could be counter to the original negative evaluation.

   Racial attitude development. Racial development, identity, and attitudes develop at a very early age. Recognition of the race of oneself and of others has been found in children as young as six months (Katz, 2003). Children at six months can recognize others based on racial characteristics (Katz, 2003). Racial attitudes and prejudice toward others of a different race has been found as early as age four (Levy & Hughes, 2009). It would seem that race itself does not need to be learned; however, attitudes associated with race do.

   Katz (2003) found that six-month olds were able to distinguish racial differences in facial features. These children had preverbal concepts of gender and race. White children exhibited higher levels of stranger anxiety than Black children. Same group preferences in children start as early as age three. Children who had more exposure to diversity including television had lower bias by age six (Katz, 2003). White children tend to have more biases than Black children (Katz, 2003; Ponterotto & Pedersen, 1993).

   Young children do not have the cognitive ability to categorize people into more than one category and because of this once a person is categorized that person is

perceived to have all the characteristics of members of that group (Katz, 2003). Once a

child is able to categorize with multiple dimensions prejudice levels reduce (Katz, 2003).

When examining the role of the parent, Katz (2003) found that parents involved in

the study almost never mentioned racial differences, but when discussing photos with

their children they chose to only talk about same race photos. The parents in this study

indicated that they did not talk about race with their children because they did not think

that it is important to do so. Parents who valued racial diversity had children who were

also less racially biased. Katz (2003) also found that parents who were low in bias and

talked about racial bias had children who were lower in bias. Children can develop

awareness of racial differences independent of their parents' behavior several factors can

influence the development of racial attitudes (Katz, 2003).

Theories of racial attitude development. Several theories exist to explain how an

individual develops racial attitudes and prejudice. Allport (1979) described the need for

people to categorize others, and how this can lead to prejudice. Others have developed

theories which have a focus on social-learning (Aboud & Doyle, 1996; Banks, 1995;

Cameron & Rutland, 2006; McGregor, 1993; Williams & Edwards, 1969), cognition

(Doyle, & Aboud, 1995; Piaget & Weil, 1951), social-cognitive development (Abrams,

Rutland, Cameron, 2003; Bigler & Liben, 2006; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Killen, Lee-

Kim, McGlothlin, & Stangor, 2002; Turner, Brown, &Tajfel, 1979), or evolutionary

(Fishbein, 1996, Katz, 2003) factors of racism.

Gordon Allport. Allport (1979) stated that all people have a natural tendency to

develop prejudices and a need to categorize others and to join groups that are similar to

self. He discussed a multidimensional view of prejudice based on history, sociocultural

factors, situational aspects, personality dynamics, and phenomenological experiences (Allport, 1979). Allport (1979) stated "A person acts with prejudice in the first instance because he perceives the object of prejudice in a certain way. But he perceives it in a certain way partly because his personality is what it is. And his personality is what it is chiefly because of the way he was socialized (training in family, school, neighborhood)" (p.208).

Allport (1979) suggested that in order to understand the sources of prejudice one must understand the historical context of the situation. Thus, history can inform about the broad social context (Allport, 1979). Often prejudice develops because of the stigmatizing of a group in order to justify the exploitation of one group by another.

Among the sociocultural factors that Allport (1979) addressed were the urbanization, local traditions, up-ward mobility of groups, density of populations, and the type of contacts between the groups. With the urbanization of America, personal contacts are diminished and what people are faced with becomes "inhuman, impersonal, dangerous" (Allport, 1979, p. 211). In big cities people develop urban values such as disliking "those who are sneaky, dishonest, selfish, too clever, too ambitious, vulgar, noisy, and on the fringe of old-fashioned virtues" (Allport, 1979, p. 212). Lack of intergroup contact is an important factor in the development of racial attitudes (Allport, 1979). People often prefer those who are viewed as being more similar and part of the in-group. Because of this preference, people choose to spend time primarily with in-group members and do not interact with those who are viewed as being part of the out-group (Allport, 1979). While spending time with one's in-group may be more comfortable, it does not allow individuals the opportunity to learn about the members of other groups

(Allport, 1979). Allport (1979) suggested that more contact should positively affect racial attitudes.

Situational emphasis is an emphasis on current forces such as social pressures and learning. People do not always know the historical context of prejudice but they know what they are supposed to feel based on the teaching they receive from others (Allport, 1979). "His prejudice is thus merely a mirror image of what he now sees around him" (Allport, 1979, p. 213). Included in this factor are the parents' influence through indirect transmission, modeling, direct reinforcement (Katz, 2003) and the general social environment that the child is exposed to. The general social environment is composed of neighbors, peers, teachers, and community leaders (Katz, 2003). Parents can improve a child's racial attitudes by talking about racial issues in the home, interacting with culturally diverse friends, confronting prejudiced remarks when they are heard on television or in public, desegregate the child's environment, and pointing out the positive aspects and strengths of cultures other than their own (Ponterotto & Pedersen, 1993).

Another factor that Allport described is the personality of the individual including psychological factors such as the self-esteem (Allport, 1979). Monteith and Spicer (2000) found that people who held egalitarian values were also more positive toward different races. Those who are more politically liberal have more accepting racial attitudes (Sharp & Joslyn, 2008). Insecure and anxious people are more likely to develop prejudice that those who are trusting and relaxed (Allport, 1979). Affective factors such as fear of strangers or people who are different are possible causes of prejudice (Allport, 1979).

The final factor that Allport addressed was what he called a phenomenological emphasis. How a person behaves is directly related to a person's view of the immediate

situation. Behavior conforms to how a person defines the world (Allport, 1979). This

approach combines the historical, cultural factors, and the individual's character to

explain the development of prejudice (Allport, 1979).

Social learning approaches. Theories following the social learning approach

suggest that children learn prejudice through observing and modeling others such as

parents. This approach suggests that a child's prejudice increases with age. Children first

mimic and then later believe what they see. Another source of influence for children is

their peers. Children report that their attitudes are similar to those of their peers. Parents

rarely mention prejudice but when it is, prejudice is decreased (Aboud & Doyle, 1996). A

specific type of social learning involves the connotation of the words Black and White.

Children learn that White is good and Black is bad (Williams & Edwards, 1969).

Another social learning approach is multicultural education theory (Banks, 1995).

This theory suggests that prejudice develops due to a lack of education, knowledge, and

understanding of diverse groups (Banks, 1995). Learning about other cultures will allow

the individual to respect others and develop less prejudice.

Antiracist theory is another social learning approach which suggests prejudice

develops due to a lack of knowledge about the history and roots of inequality among

groups (McGregor, 1993). This theory states that this education will increase empathy for

those who are oppressed and discourage future racism (McGregor, 1993). Colorblind

theory states that prejudice develops because of an emphasis on race and differences

therefore deemphasizing race can decrease prejudice (Levy & Hughes, 2009).

Mere exposure theory states that negative attitudes arise due to a lack of contact

with out-group members and that positive exposure will improve attitudes (Allport,

1979). Extended contact theory suggests that if one's friends have out-group friends, one

will have more positive attitudes toward the out-group (Cameron & Rutland, 2006).

Intergroup contact theory suggests that interaction with members of the out-group will

assist development of positive attitudes about the out-group members (Allport, 1979).

According to this theory, prejudice develops due to a lack of positive contact with

members of different groups (Allport, 1979). Contact with members of the out-group that

is individualized and cooperative and maintains an equal status among the members will

promote intergroup understanding and friendship (Levy & Hughes, 2009).

　　　Cognitive approaches. Cognitive theories suggest that prejudice arises from

normal psychological processes (Piaget & Weil, 1951). Cognitive-development theory

states that children's racial attitudes are influenced by their ability to think in complex

ways (Piaget & Weil, 1951). Children are unable to view a person as an individual rather

than as a member of a group (Piaget & Weil, 1951). They tend to assume that all

members of a particular group are the same and behave the same way; therefore, a

member of group A does behavior B. As children develop they are better able to view

people as individuals and prejudice reduces (Piaget & Weil, 1951). Children by age

seven are able to categorize others on multiple dimensions rather than just viewing them

as a member of one group (Doyle,& Aboud, 1995). With this ability to view more

dimensions there are lower levels of stereotyping and prejudice (Doyle & Aboud, 1995).

With this ability, children are also able to see the heterogeneity of their own group (Doyle

& Aboud, 1995).

　　　Social-cognitive developmental approaches. Social-cognitive developmental

approaches combine elements from both social and cognitive approaches to explain racial

attitude development (Levy & Hughes, 2009). These theories focus on understanding

when and why children prefer their in-group and dislike or degrade members of the out-

group. The first approach is social identity development theory which focuses on the

multiple social identities each person holds. These roles are more or less salient

depending on the environment. This theory highlights the context that elicits one or more

social identities and the interaction of the situation with the person (Turner, Brown,

&Tajfel, 1979). The common in-group identity model suggests that prejudice can be

reduced by focusing on features that are shared with others. This requires focusing on the

membership of a larger superordinate group such as a school, church, or neighborhood

(Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). The developmental model of subjective group dynamics

states that a deviant in-group member is judged more harshly than a disliked out-group

member (Abrams et al., 2003). While, social domain model states that children's social

judgments are specific to the context and are influenced by three forms of reasoning:

moral, social-conventional—group functioning, and psychological—personal choice

(Abrams et al., 2003). The social-developmental perspective emphasizes that people

interact with and are a part of many different environments, highlighting personal

characteristics such as race, age, and psychological motivations play a role in the way

that children interpret their environments (Killen, Lee-Kim, McGlothlin, & Stangor,

2002). The developmental intergroup theory combines social identity theory and

cognitive developmental theory. According to this theory intergroup biases develop

because a particular social dimension becomes salient (Bigler & Liben, 2006). Labeling

and markers of group membership increase the salience of groups and this leads to

intergroup biases among children (Levy & Hughes, 2009).

Evolutionary approaches. According to the evolutionary approach, prejudice and stereotypes are a normal, inevitable part of human evolution and difficult to disrupt (Levy & Hughes, 2009). Humans have a preference for those who are similar to themselves starting at a very young age (Katz, 2003). In human history this preference led to better ability to provide safety and resources to those who are genetically related (Fishbein, 1996). Some suggest that there is an evolutionary need to trust those who are like us and to distrust those who are different. This theory states that since early man had to compete for resources such as food and shelter, this distrust of the unknown was necessary for survival (Katz, 2003).

Demographic factors related to the rate of interracial marriage. Several researchers have examined U.S. census data and have discovered demographic factors that relate to the rate of interracial marriage include: education level (Barron,1951; Jacobs & Labov, 2002; Kalmijin, 1998; Heaton & Albrecht, 1996), region of the US (Bratter, 2000; Sung, 1990; Labov & Jacobs, 1986); age (Heaton & Albrecht, 1996); socio-economic status (SES) (Bratter, 2000; Fu & Heaton, 2000; Kouri & Lasswell, 1993; McDowell, 1971; Pavela, 1964; Porterfield, 1982), sex (Kalmijin, 1998; Heaton & Albrecht, 1996; Jacobs & Labov, 2002; Kouri & Lasswell, 1993; Porterfield, 1982; McDowell, 1971; Pavela, 1964), and race (Kalmijin, 1998). Another term that can be used to describe interracial marriage is out-marriage. Out-marriage is the marriage between two people of from two different groups, whether racial, ethnic, religion or other characteristic (Kulczycki, 2002). A marriage between a Black male and a White female would be considered an out-marriage.

Education. Education is a factor that has been examined by several different investigators. Having a similar education level is related to higher levels of out-marriage (Barron, 1951). Those who are more educated are more likely to out-marry than those who are less educated (Kalmijn, 1998; Heaton & Albrecht, 1996); this was found to be true with Arabs (Kulczycki & Lobo, 2002) and Asians (Jacobs & Labov, 2002; Sung, 1990). "Compared to men with less than a high school education, the odds of out-marriage were 1.4 times higher for those with a high school diploma, and 1.6 and 2.1 times higher for those with some college and a college degree, respectively" (Kulczycki & Lobo, 2002, p.207). Arab women who have some college or a college degree have a higher rate of out-marriage than those with only a high school diploma (Kulczycki & Lobo, 2002). For women in most minority groups, those who are educated are more likely to marry White husbands (Jacobs & Labov, 2002). However, less educated women who are Korean, South East Asian, and Filipino are more likely to out-marry (Jacobs & Labov, 2002). Hwang, Saenz, and Aguirre (1997) found that among Asians, those who were less educated are more likely to out-marry than those who are more educated. Larger educational gaps can be found between husband and wife in Black-husband—White-wife marriages than in White-husband—Black-wife marriages (Heaton & Albrecht, 1996). Some studies have found no relationship between level of education and out-marriage rates for example Blau (1964) and Marcson (1953). To summarize, some investigators have found that those who are more highly educated are more likely to marry those of a different race, where as others have found that those who are of lower education levels are more likely to out-marry.

Region of country. The region of the United States in which a person lives has also been shown to have an effect on the rate of out-marriage. The highest levels of out-marriage are in San Jose, CA; Stockton, CA; and El Paso, TX (Bratter, 2000). The highest rates of out-marriage are found in Hawaii (Sung, 1990; Labov & Jacobs, 1986). Cities with the lowest level of out-marriage are Jackson, MS; Flint, MI; and Baton Rouge, LA (Bratter, 2000). Rates of out-marriage are higher in regions that have residents with more liberal racial attitudes (Bratter, 2000). Interestingly, out-marriage rates are lower in the south of the U.S. than in any other region (Bratter, 2000; Heaton & Albrecht, 1996). The rates of out-marriage in both the north and the south have increased since the miscegenation laws were revoked (Kalmijn, 1998). One study conducted by Marcson (1953) did not find a correlation between area of residence and the rate of out-marriage.

Age. Age of the husband and wife when they marry is another factor that has been investigated. Studies have resulted in mixed findings, some identify younger adults as having higher rates of out-marriage whereas others have found older adults have higher rates of out-marriage. For example, age was found to be a significant correlate of out-marriage in a study conducted by Kulczycki and Lobo (2002) who explored rates of interracial marriage among Arab Americans through the use of 1990 U.S. census data. Hwang, Saenz, and Aguirre (1997) found that out-married Asian men tend to be younger than Asian men who marry Asian women. Heaton and Albrecht (1996) also found that couples in Black-White marriages tend to be younger.

However, it has also been found that there is a tendency for Chinese men and women who out-marry to be older; this finding is especially true for Chinese women who

out-marry (Sung, 1990). Monahan (1973) found that Black men who marry White women are slightly older than Black men who marry Black women. It was also found that White women who marry Black men are older at first marriage than White women who marry White men (Monahan, 1973). The findings regarding age and rates of out-marriage are inconsistent.

Socioeconomic status (SES). This section summarizes research which examined occupation, income and, socioeconomic status. Some studies tend to cluster these variables. Researchers who have explored socioeconomic factors related to interracial marriages have developed descriptors that are pertinent to our review. One such descriptor is the word "Hypergamy." Hypergamy is a marriage "wherein the female marries into a higher social stratum" (Porterfield, 1982, p. 26). This would be the case if a woman from a minority group marries a White man, because Whites in our society, are viewed as belonging to a higher social status (Porterfield, 1982). A marriage in which a woman marries someone of higher SES would also be considered hypergamous. By contrast, "Hypogamy" is a marriage in which a woman marries a man of a lower social status (Porterfield, 1982). An example of "Hypogamy" is when a White woman marries a man from a racial minority group. This is also the case then a woman marries a man of a lower SES. Sometimes there is an interaction between social status and SES such that someone of a lower social status can counter that lower social status with a higher SES, or vise-versa.

Older studies found that those who were intermarried were from different SES whereas more recent studies have found that there is generally homogeneity of SES among those who are intermarried suggesting that race is of lesser significance that SES

(McDowell, 1971). Those groups that have the same level of status are more likely to

marry because of their similar level of socioeconomic status (Fu & Heaton, 2000). Those

who marry interracially tended to be of equal SES when they met each other (Kouri &

Lasswell, 1993; Pavela, 1964). Though some women have improved their SES through

marriage; most women marry someone of the same or lower SES (Kouri & Lasswell,

1993).

In the state of Hawaii, out-marriage is "marked by equal status between couples

across racial and ethnic groups, and status homogamy is especially important if the

marriage involves a spouse form a high-status group" (Fu & Heaton, 2000, p. 56). In

Asian communities, SES inequality will decrease the rate of out-marriage (Hwang,

Saenz, & Aguirre, 1997).

Among Black-White marriages, the level of socioeconomic status was shown not

to affect the rate of out-marriage (Bratter, 2000). One study found that when advertising

for a partner Blacks are more likely than Whites to seek financial security (Yancey &

Yancey, 1998). Another study of Black-White marriages found that those in interracial

marriages tend to have a higher status than those who are in intraracial marriages (Heaton

& Albrecht, 1996). Porterfield (1982) found that those who were in Black-White

marriages tended be similar in social and occupational characteristics. Among Mexican

Americans, for example, those who have higher income levels are more likely to have

higher levels of interracial marriage (Murguia & Cazares, 1982). However, it has also

been found that as the SES decreases the rate of out-marriage also decreases (Monahan,

1973). For the most part, it appears that those who out-marry tend to be of similar SES.

One explanation for this finding might be due to the fact that opportunities to meet

potential partners will be structured by their social status, such as where they work or where they socialize.

Income tends to be higher among those who are in interracial marriages, except for those marriages involving White women and Black men (Heaton & Albrecht, 1996). When comparing Arab women of differing income levels it was found that those who have higher incomes are more likely to marry non-Arab men than those who have lower income (Kulczycki & Lobo, 2002). Level of income did not have a relationship with the rate of out-marriage for Arab men (Kulczycki & Lobo, 2002). The income gaps between the spouses are larger in marriages with Black husbands and White wives than in marriages of Black wives and White husbands (Heaton & Albrecht, 1996). Black men married to White women tend to have higher incomes than those who are married to Black women (Heaton &Albrecht, 1996). However, it has also been found that White women who marry Black men also are in higher income bracket (Heaton & Albrecht, 1996). Barron (1951) found that young people are drawn to those who are similar in economic level and occupation.

Sex. Sex is another factor that has been examined in relation to the rate of interracial marriage. For most races, women are more likely to out-marry than men; however, there also seems to be an interaction between race and sex. Jacobs and Labov (2002) found no difference between out-marriage rates for men and women among Native Americans or Puerto Ricans (Jacobs & Labov, 2002). However, other studies have found a difference in rates of out-marriage based on sex.

Studies that have identified higher rates of interracial marriage among women found that White women are more likely to out-marry than White men (Heaton &

Albrecht, 1996; Marcson, 1953; Nelson, 1943). In the state of Hawaii, White women are less likely to marry a Japanese or Filipino spouse than White men (Fu & Heaton, 2000). Mexican American women have higher rates of out-marrying than Mexican American men (Murguia & Cazares, 1982). In a study that examined spousal preferences among Asian Americans, it was found that there was a larger percentage of women who reported that they would prefer to have a White husband (29.6%) compared to Asian men who said they prefer a White wife (12.0%, Chow, 2000). One study conducted by Chow (2000) found that approximately 89% of Chinese and Japanese women reported dating a White man in the past compared to 48% of Japanese and Chinese men who reported dating a White female. "Chinese females tend to marry out just slightly more than males as compared to Japanese and Filipino females who marry out at a much higher rate than the males" (Sung, 1990, p.338). For Asian groups the rates of women out-marrying are much higher than the rates for men (Jacobs & Labov, 2002; Kalmijn, 1998; Sung, 1990).

Studies that have explored higher rates of interracial marriage among men found that Arab American men are more likely to out-marry than Arab American women (Kulczycki & Lobo, 2002). Further, based on the 1990 U.S. census "four out of five (79%) Arab men and nearly three out of four (73%) Arab women had non-Arab spouses" (Kulczycki & Lobo, 2002, p. 205). Asian Indian men are more likely than Asian Indian women to out-marry (Hwang, Saenz, & Aguirre, 1997). Black women have the lowest out-marriage rate among all minority groups in a study conducted by Jacobs and Labov (2002). Black women out-marry at a lower rate than Black men (Kalmijn, 1998; Heaton & Albrecht, 1996; Kouri & Lasswell, 1993; Porterfield, 1982; McDowell, 1971; Pavela,

1964). Jacobs & Labov (2002) found that Black women have a significantly lower out-marriage rate than Black men (6.11% for men versus 2.43% of women).

Race. Race has been found to be a significant factor in predicting out-marriage (Marcson, 1953). Most interracial marriages are between White and minority individuals (Monahan, 1973). Multiracial individuals are more likely to marry someone of a different race than those who have only one racial background (Kulczycki & Lobo, 2002). There is a higher rate of interracial marriage among Blacks than there is among White Americans (Heaton & Albrecht, 1996). There is a slightly higher rate of out-marriage between Hawaiian and Filipinos than any other racial groups on Hawaii (Fu & Heaton, 2000). Lebanese men are more likely to out-marry than other Arabs; and Lebanese and Syrian women are more likely to out marry than other Arab women (Kulczycki & Lobo, 2002).

Among Asian groups Japanese are more likely to out-marry than any other Asian group with Japanese, Filipino, and Korean women having higher rates of interracial marriage than other Asian American groups (Hwang, Saenz & Aguirre, 1997). When Asians out-marry, especially Chinese American and Japanese Americans, it is most likely to be with a White spouse (Chow, 2000; Hwang, Saenz & Aguirre, 1997). Asian Indians are the least likely to out-marry when compared to other Asian groups (Hwang, Saenz & Aguirre, 1997). Chinese in New York City, are more likely to marry Whites than any other group (Sung, 1990). When comparing several different racial groups it was found that Hispanics had higher interracial marriages rates than Asians, who had higher rates than Blacks, who had higher rates than Whites (Sung, 1990; Monahan, 1973; McDowell, 1971).

Summary of Demographics. Overall, some of the above-mentioned demographic variables had a clear relationship with the rates of interracial marriages. Other demographics variables had mixed results. For example, some inconsistency in the pattern of income and rates of out-marriage were found. For the most part, it appears that those who out-marry tend to be of the same SES. In general it was found that women out-marry more than men, with three exceptions, Black woman, Asian Indian women, and Arab women tend to out-marry less than men of those races. Some investigators have found that those who are more highly educated are also more likely to marry those of a different race whereas others studies have found that those who are of lower education levels are more likely to out-marry.

2000 US census data indicated a growing number of individuals involved in interracial relationships. The studies examined thus far have given us some insight into the demographic factors which correlate with the rates of interracial marriages. Knowing who is involved in an interracial does not however shed light on the attitudes toward interracial couples. Gaining an understanding of attitudes toward interracial relationships continues to be a valid area of investigation. But what are other's attitudes toward interracial marriage? It is possible that this increase in the number of interracial marriages reflects an increase in the acceptance of these marriages.

Beliefs about interracial marriages. Many people believe those who choose to be in an interracial relationship face negative reactions and scrutiny (Henderson, 2000). Interracial couples are often subjected to several forms of racism (Henderson, 2000). Several perspectives exist to explain why people choose interracial relationships. These explanations and other beliefs tend to be negative, contributing to prejudice and

discrimination toward interracial marriages (Henderson, 2000). Interracial marriages have been considered a deviation from the social norm and therefore inappropriate throughout history (Henderson, 2000). They have been described as being doomed from the beginning, the Romeo-and-Juliet effect (Garcia & Rivera, 1999). Even in today's society there are negative views of out-marriage (Yancey & Yancey, 1998), and there is a commonly held belief that those who are in interracial relationships are socially deficient and the relationship is fraught with conflict (Henderson, 2000). Even family and marriage textbooks, as late as 1994, have comments that describe out-marriage as destined for conflict and as having internal difficulties intensified (Henderson, 2000).

Homogamy holds that people have a tendency to choose partners who are similar to themselves (Killian, 2003). Family, friends, and strangers may look down on someone who has married a partner who is different in some way. Many believe that the White person in these marriages is "marrying down" (Wieling, 2003). Porterfield (1982) stated that "it is not surprising that strong norms against racial out-marriage should be accompanied by beliefs that such marriages are fraught with special hazards and are likely to fail" (p.25).

Merton (1941) and Davis (1941) advanced the concept of hypogamy, which is when a woman marries someone who is of a lower social status than she is. Merton (1941) and Davis (1941) believed that "because Black men belong to a lower racial caste in society, they trade personal assets, such as money or physical attractiveness, for the higher racial status of a White woman" (Yancey & Yancey, 1998, p. 335). Another related concept, which has an influence on personal choices, is that of endogamy (Yancey & Yancey, 1998). Endogamy is the tendency to marry within one's own social group.

Thus, racial endogamy can be conceptualized as the tendency to marry within one's own

race (Yancey & Yancey, 1998). The concepts of hypogamy and endogamy led to the

development of social exchange theory.

Social exchange theory (Blau, 1964; Homans, 1961) predicts that relationship

formation is based on the rewards that a potential partner offers to the relationship. This

theory states that because of the different status of Whites and Blacks, a White person

will enter an interracial relationship only if the Black partner has more money, physical

attractiveness, social skills, or education. This social exchange is considered equal

because the White partner contributes social status by being White, and the Black partner

contributes social status by having another valued asset (Yancey & Yancey, 1998).

People who subscribe to this idea believe that people who are in interracial relationships

are doing so because they get some social value out of the relationship.

Gordon (1964) suggested that as a result of declining social barriers, there are

more interracial marriages. His theory is commonly referred to as the theory of

assimilation. According to this theory, minority members of an interracial marriage are

more likely to have embraced the attitudes and values of the dominant culture. They

subsequently share similar attitudes toward marriage as individuals from the dominant

culture (Chan & Smith, 2000).

Another theorist (Lehman, 1991) added demographic and assimilation as the

reason for people to enter interracial relationships. For example, due to unbalanced sex

ratios, people within a particular region may marry outside of their own racial group

(Lehman, 1991). Some hypothesize that assimilation and thus interracial marriage

happens more frequently when the two groups have more interactions with each other

(Yancey & Yancey, 1998).

Racial motivation theory, on the other hand, proposes that interracial relationships

happen because of the racial differences, rather than in spite of racial differences (Kouri

& Lasswell, 1993). This theory suggests that those who marry people of different races

may do so because they find members of different racial groups more physically

appealing (Grier & Cobbs, 1968; Yancey and Yancey, 1998). These individuals have an

aesthetic preference for a particular skin color as others do for a particular eye color or

hair color. This theory also suggests that those who out-marry may do so in part to rebel

against societal norms (Kouri & Lasswell, 1993). In other words, people may choose to

out-marry in order to counter norms, to make a statement, or show their independence

(Karis, 2003; Kouri & Lasswell, 1993). Some individuals may enter an interracial

relationship because they are familiar with the race and culture of the other individual

(Yancey & Yancey, 1998). These people may enter the relationship in an attempt to

immerse themselves in the culture (Yancey & Yancey, 1998).

Structural approach theory states that interracial marriages are more likely when

the community structure sanctions the marriages (Kvaraceus et al., 1965). Desegregation

of schools, neighborhoods, and workplaces has allowed people from differing races to

have greater amount of interactions with each other (Farber, 1973). Structuralists suggest

that those racial minorities who have achieved higher socioeconomic status are able to

meet more Whites who are eligible for relationships (Kouri & Lasswell, 1993). Another

explanation of interracial relationships from the structuralist point of view states that as

the number of interracial marriages increases, society becomes desensitized to something

that may have previously been socially unacceptable (Kouri & Lasswell, 1993). Structural theory proposes that individuals in interracial marriages get married for the same reasons that intraracial couples marry: they meet; they have similar interests; they fall in love; and then they decide to marry. Whether of the same or different race, these relationships are based on love, common interests, and similar values rather for some other reason (Henderson, 2000).

Status inconsistency theory focuses on the structure of society (Chan & Smith, 2000). This theory assumes that there are numerous social hierarchies, and when someone occupies more than one of these status hierarchies, such as occupation, income, and ethnicity, harmful consequences would be the result (Chan & Smith, 2000). In the United States, there are status hierarchies based on race and sex, where minorities are ranked lower than Whites and women are lower than men (Chan & Smith, 2000). According to this theory, those who are in interracial marriages would experience negative outcomes due to the higher social disapproval. The lower level of social acceptance is due to the couple's inconsistent racial/ethnic status (Chan & Smith, 2000).

Stereotypes often lead to the opposition that interracial couples experience in the form of rejection and alienation from family and friends (Daneshpour, 2003). "Reductionist stereotypes pair supersexual, aggressive, and exotic Black men with loose, misguided white women who are in the relationship solely for the sex or rebellion" (Karis, 2003, p. 27). Media representations of interracial couples rely on stereotypes and show couples who are troubled by conflict and controversy, rarely showing a couple whose relationship is satisfying and stable (Killian, 2003).

Many hold the belief that there is a potential for conflicts about values in an interracial relationship because of the belief that ethnicity, race, gender, and class have an influence on every aspect of an individual's view of the world and what is considered normal (Crohn, 1998). Judgments about these couples are based on assumptions that racial and cultural differences will inevitably result in relational difficulties (Daneshpour, 2003).

The values reflected in the theories and beliefs are clear. Some of the earlier theories are reflections of the strong negative views of interracial relationships. It is evident through the later theories that there is a more accepting view of those who are in interracial relationships.

Attitudes toward interracial couples. The attitudes toward interracial marriages are improving. In 1942, 92% of White respondents reported that they would refuse to marry a Black (Erskine, 1973). Only 13% of White respondents stated they were accepting of Black and White marriages in 1958 (Erskine, 1973). In the 1960's most Whites were opposed to Black and White marriages with rates as high as 90% disapproval in 1963, 80% in 1968 (Gregory, 1993), 72% in 1969 (Erskine, 1973). Martelle (1970) found 33% percent approval of interracial marriages. In 1972, the disapproval rate decreased to 60% (Erskine, 1973). Recent studies have begun to find a majority of participants hold accepting attitudes toward interracial marriages (Caltabiano, 1985; Dunleavy, 2004; Wilson & Jacobson, 1995). In a 2005 Gallop poll it was found that 71% of respondents approved of a Black man dating a White woman and 75% approved of a White man dating a Black woman (Jones, 2005). However, about one-third of Americans still disapprove of interracial marriage (Killian, 2003). Incidents described

by interracial couples indicate that the public continue to view interracial couples with "fear and loathing" (Killian, 2003, p. 14).

Even though approval rates have increased disapproval continues to exist in the US. Among the possible interracial dyads disapproval of Black and White couples is the highest (Lewandowski & Jackson, 2001; Sones & Holston, 1988). Parents of White women dating Black men are more disapproving than the parents of other dating combinations (Miller, Olson, & Fazio, 2004). Interracial couples continue to be viewed as less compatible, less satisfied, and more likely to dissolve (Garcia & Rivera, 1999). Interracial couples are also less likely to receive help from strangers (Scott, 1987). Lewandowski and Jackson (2001) also found that interracial couples were viewed as being less compatible than intraracial couples are.

Participants also had trouble imagining themselves in an interracial marriage (Lewandowski & Jackson, 2001). Though people in general hold accepting attitudes toward interracial marriages when choosing mates for themselves most people would choose someone of their own race (Fiebert et al., 2004; Mwamwenda, 1998).

There are particular traits of individuals that could have an effect on their attitudes toward interracial marriages. Specifically level of education, geographic region of the United States, size of hometown, age, socioeconomic status (SES), race and sex will be discussed. These variables were chosen because these factors have been found to be related to the rates of participation in interracial marriage.

Education. The amount of education an individual has will have an effect on the individual's attitudes toward interracial marriages. In 1964, 1965, and 1970 it was found that those who have more education are less likely to be in favor of miscegenation laws

(Erskine, 1973). Approval rates toward interracial marriage also differ based on level of education; those with more education have higher approval rates of interracial marriages (Erskine, 1973; Jacobson & Johnson, 2006; Johnson & Jacobson, 2005, Sharp & Joslyn, 2008). Black women without a high school degree are more likely to be in favor or laws banning interracial marriage than those with a high school or higher degree (St. Jean & Parker, 1995). Individuals who are college educated are more likely to approve of interracial marriages (Wilson & Jacobson, 1995). The higher the average education of the county the more support for a proposition removing laws which outlawed interracial marriage (Yancey, 2001). Parents who are more educated have more accepting attitudes toward their children dating interracially (Young, Chen, & Greenberger, 2002). All of this evidence suggests that those who have more education have more accepting attitudes and are more accepting of interracial marriages.

   Region of the country. Where one was raised or currently lives can have an affect on one's attitudes toward interracial marriages. Those in the north tend to have more accepting opinions toward interracial marriages (Erskine, 1973; Jacobson & Johnson, 2006; Johnson & Jacobson, 2005; St. Jean, 1998; St. Jean & Parker, 1995). In 1958, respondents were asked "Do you think Negroes and Whites marrying would help or hurt in solving the Negro-White problem?" (Erskine, 1973, p. 289), in the north 79% thought that it would hurt, however, 91% of respondents in the south thought it would hurt relations rather than help (Erskine, 1973). There was also a difference in approval rates toward Black and White marriages in the south and the north; in the north 5% approved, whereas only 1% approved of Black and White marriages in the south (Erskine, 1973). There continued to be a regional difference in attitudes in the 1960s, respondents in the

north had 82% disapproval whereas in the south the disapproval rate was 98% (Erskine, 1973). In a poll conducted in 1964 respondents were asked if they approved of miscegenation laws, 53% of those in the north and 79% of those in the south approved of the law (Erskine, 1973). In 1970 those opinions had change to 30% approval in the north and 56% in the south. Black females living in the South are more likely to favor laws banning interracial marriages than those from other regions (St. Jean & Parker, 1995). Johnson & Jacobson (2005) found that the highest approval rates were in the northeast and in the west; the lowest approval rates were in the south and north central. Jacobson and Johnson (2006) found the following approval rates based on region of the country: northeast 84.5%, north central 89.6%, south 82.2%, and west 89.2%. Though the overall approval rates have increase there continues to be a difference in attitudes based on region. Individuals from the north have more accepting attitudes that those in the south.

   Size of hometown. Another variable that may have an affect on attitudes toward interracial marriages is the size of the hometown of the individual. In 1968 those who were in communities of 500,000 and over had the highest approval rates of interracial marriage; approval rates decreased as the size of the community also decreased (Erskine, 1973). Black females living in cities smaller than 10,000 people were more likely to favor laws banning interracial marriage than those living in larger cities (St. Jean & Parker, 1995). People living in cities with a population higher than 500,000 had higher approval rates than people living in smaller cities (Jacobson & Johnson, 2006). Based on the research there seems to be a difference between those from large urban area and those from non urban areas. Those from urban areas tend to have more accepting attitudes toward interracial marriages than those from rural areas.

Age. The age of an individual may also have an effect on attitudes toward Black and White couples. In general, younger individuals hold more accepting attitudes toward interracial marriages than those who are older (Caltabiano, 1985; Erskine, 1973; Jacobson & Johnson, 2006; Johnson & Jacobson, 2005; Jones, 2005; Sharp & Joslyn, 2008; St. Jean & Parker, 1995; Wilson & Jacobson, 1995). In 1972, Gallop found an age difference in attitudes; those under 30 were evenly divided in their opinions, however, those over 30 were overwhelmingly opposed to interracial marriage (Erskine, 1973). Caltabiano (1985) found that those who were under thirty years of age were the most in favor of inter-ethnic marriages, whereas those who were over fifty were least in favor of inter-ethnic marriages. In 1995 more Black females over 35 (10.3%) than Black females under 35 (2.74%) were in favor of laws banning out-marriage (St. Jean & Parker, 1995). Johnson & Jacobson (2005) found that the highest approval rate was among those ages 30-44, and the lowest rate was among those between 45 and 65. Even though the overall rate of acceptance has increased there continues to be a difference between the age groups with younger people having attitudes that are more accepting.

Socioeconomic status. The SES, based on annual income, is another individual variable that affects attitudes toward interracial marriage. In 1968 those with incomes over $10,000, the highest bracket at the time, had the highest approval rates of interracial marriages, as income decreased so did the approval rate (Erskine, 1973). Black females who have an annual income of less than $15,000 are more likely to favor laws banning interracial marriage than those with higher annual incomes (St. Jean & Parker, 1995). Individuals who are in the upper classes are more likely to approve of interracial marriage than those in lower classes (Wilson & Jacobson, 1995). Those with incomes over $75,000

have higher approval rates of interracial marriage than those with an annual income less

than $15,000 (Jacobson & Johnson, 2006; Johnson & Jacobson, 2005). From this

evidence, it appears that those in the upper socioeconomic classes have more accepting

attitudes toward interracial marriages.

   Sex. The sex of the individual also has an effect on the attitudes toward interracial

marriages. Men are more willing to date women who are of a different race than

themselves (Fiebert et al., 2000). Men have a higher level of acceptance of interracial

couples than women (Garcia & Rivera, 1999; Jacobson & Johnson, 2006; Johnson &

Jacobson, 2005; Martelle, 1970; Young, Chen, & Greenberger, 2002). From this research

it seems as though men have more accepting attitudes toward interracial marriages,

whereas, others found no differences in the attitudes of Black men and Black women

toward laws restricting interracial marriage (St. Jean & Parker, 1995; Wilson & Jacobson,

1995).

   An interaction between sex and race is often found in attitudes toward interracial

couples; specifically Black women are highly against interracial marriage whereas Black

men approve of it (Childs, 2005; Jacobson & Johnson, 2006). White women have more

accepting attitudes than Black women when asked how they felt about a man of their race

marrying a woman of another race (Paset & Taylor, 1991). Black women have a tendency

to be against Black and White marriages (Childs, 2005). They view Black men who

marry White women as selling out and separating from their Black communities (Childs,

2005). The Black women described feelings of rejection when faced with a Black man

who is married to a White woman (Child, 2005). They also stated that in spite of the

small number of available Black men suitable for marriage Black women do not want to

date interracially themselves because White men are intimidated by Black women and the Black women want to stay connected to their Black culture (Childs, 2005).

Davidson and Schneider (1992) did not find an interaction between race and gender in attitudes toward interracial marriage. Yancey (2001) found no direct effect of sex on support for a proposal to remove laws that outlawed interracial marriage. It is not clear at this time if there is an interaction or not, the research seems to be mixed.

Race. The race of the individual may have an effect on the attitudes of the individual toward Black and White couples. Previous research primarily shows that Blacks and other minorities tend to have more accepting attitudes toward interracial couples based on race of the participant. Black families, in general, are more accepting of out-marriages than White families (Davidson & Schneider, 1992; Jacobson & Johnson, 2006; Martelle, 1970; Miller, Olson, & Fazio, 2004; Porterfield, 1978; Porterfield, 1982; St. Jean, 1998). Lewis and Yancey (1995) also found that Black family members were generally perceived to be more supportive than other races, whereas White families were perceived to be the least supportive and accepting. The relatives of the Black spouse tend to be more accepting than the families of the White spouse (Porterfield, 1982). In a 2005 Gallop poll, Black and Hispanics had higher rates of approval than White respondents did (Jones, 2005). In South Carolina, counties that had a higher proportion of Black residents also had more support for a proposition to remove laws that outlawed interracial marriage (Yancey, 2001).

A few researchers (Garcia & Rivera,1999; Sones & Holston, 1988) did not find any difference in attitudes toward Latino/White or Black and White couples, respectively, based on the race of the participant.

Summary. Attitudes toward interracial couples has been approving over the years approval rates have increased from 8% in 1942 (Erskine, 1979) to 75% in 2005 (Jones, 2005). Some people have more accepting attitudes than others. Young men who are more educated, come from an urban area in the north eastern United States, and from a higher socioeconomic status have more accepting attitudes toward interracial couples.

Multicultural competency. Multicultural competence "includes awareness of the role of counseling professionals in their work with those different from them" (Vasquez, 2009, p. 127). Multicultural knowledge and competency is becoming more of a fundamental skill set for effective practice (Vasquez, 2009). Cultural competency according to Vasquez (2009) includes three therapist qualities: cultural sensitivity, cultural knowledge, and cultural guidance.

Counselors need to understand the dynamics around race and culture and understand them in their larger social context (McDowell et al., 2003). Understanding society and how it is organized around race, gender, class, abilities, sexual orientation, and nation of origin is a necessary skill of a multiculturally competent counselor (McDowell et al., 2003). If a counselor accepts differences without understanding the social power dynamics he/she may inadvertently maintain the status quo (McDowell et al., 2003).

Multicultural competency involves counselor attitudes, knowledge, and skills in three broad areas. First area is self-awareness of the counselors cultural views and assumptions. The second includes understanding the "clients' worldviews, cultural dispositions, racial identity development, and sociopolitical pressures; and how these affect case conceptualization and treatment planning" (Fuertes & Brobst, 2002, p. 215).

The third involves the use of interventions that are sensitive to cultural factors of the client (Fuertes & Brobst, 2002).

Assumptions and values. Pedersen (1988) described ten cultural assumptions that interfere with effective treatment. First is that there is a single measure of normal. The second assumption is that individuals are the center of society rather than the family or community. The third assumption is that there are strict boundaries that define a person, the parts of the person are separated and assumed to not interact. The fourth assumption is that all cultures will understand the same abstract ideas such as good or bad. The fifth assumption is that independence is more important than dependence. The sixth assumption is that clients are helped more by formal counseling than they are by their natural supports. The seventh assumption is that all people think in a linear fashion that is often manifested in the reliance on measures. Other cultures do not separate cause and effect as western cultures do; they instead view them as two aspects of the same reality such as yin and yang. The eighth assumption is that counselors should try to change the client not the system in which they live. Often the system is more of the problem than the client who has to survive the system. The ninth assumption is that history is not relevant to understanding current issues. The tenth assumption is that we believe that we know all of our assumptions. This is not true for most people and we need to remain open minded. It is important for counselors to be aware of their own assumptions and continually evaluate the appropriateness of their beliefs, theories, and practices (Vasquez, 2009).

Boundaries are another area that differs for other cultures. Some cultures have more flexible boundaries than the majority White culture. The counselor should

continually monitor the clients' needs and desires regarding boundaries making sure to be flexible without violating appropriate boundaries (Vasquez, 2009).

   APA guidelines. The first guideline states "psychologists are encouraged to recognize that, as cultural beings, they may hold, attitudes and beliefs that can detrimentally influence their perspectives of and interactions with individuals who are ethnically and racially different from themselves" (APA, 2003, p. 382). This states that all people are multicultural beings and that all interactions with other people are by definition cross-cultural. All of our lives and experiences are perceived and shaped by our own cultural perspectives (APA, 2003).

   The second guideline states, "psychologists are encouraged to recognize the importance of multicultural sensitivity/responsiveness to, knowledge of, and understanding about ethnically and racially different individuals" (APA, 2003, p. 385). The APA (2003) point out that it is important to not fall into the "ultimate attribution error which is the tendency to attribute positive behavior to internal traits within one's own group but negative behaviors to the internal traits of the out-group" (APA, 2003, p. 385). Counselors are urged to gain a better understanding and appreciation of the worldview and perspectives of clients who are racially and ethnically different from themselves. In addition, knowledge about history, and how it affects the cultural development of clients, is important to becoming a multiculturally competent counselor. Even though it is important to learn about the differences and history of many different cultural groups it is still important to not stereotype members of those groups. Each individual applies his or her culture in differing degrees (Vasquez, 2009).

The third guideline states, "as educators, psychologists are encouraged to employ the constructs of multiculturalism and diversity in psychological education" (APA, 2003, p. 386). The purpose of this guideline is to educate future counselors, and through this education, prepare counselors who are more culturally competent and can practice effectively with today's populations (APA, 2003).

The fourth guideline states, "culturally sensitive psychological researchers are encouraged to recognize the importance of conducting culture-centered and ethical psychological research among persons from ethnic, linguistic, and racial minority backgrounds" (APA, 2003, p. 388).

Guideline five states, "psychologists are encouraged to apply culturally appropriate skills in clinical and other applied psychological practices" (APA, 2003, p. 390). The guideline is intended to instill the importance of applying the knowledge and awareness that the counselor had achieved. It is not helpful to the client to know about cultural differences but not use that knowledge in treatment; specifically "focusing on the client within his or her cultural context, using culturally appropriate assessment tools, and having a broad repertoire of interventions (APA, 2003).

Reducing bias. Strategies to reduce bias, from the APA Multicultural Guidelines, include an awareness of personal attitudes. In order to develop a nonracist identity the counselor must first acknowledge that one's racism exists (Vasquez, 2009). Then, the counselor should challenge his or her own negative biases. The Guidelines also recommend effort and practice to change the positive automatic in-group assumptions and perceptions and the negative out-group perceptions and assumptions. Increased contact with members of other racial and ethnic groups is also recommended particularly

in situations where the individuals are equal (Vasquez, 2009). Increase tolerance of other

and trust those who are different (Vasquez, 2009).

　　　　Self-awareness. All people including counselors are influenced by racism and

ethnocentrism whether they are aware of it or not (Vasquez, 2009). Because of this, it is

important for the therapist to know about his or her own cultural background. Counselors

are encouraged to understand that they may hold attitudes and beliefs that can negatively

influence their perceptions of and interactions with clients different from themselves and

to acknowledge the importance of knowledge and understanding about ethnically and

racially difference clients (Vasquez, 2009).

　　　　Explore race. Counselors need to have an understanding that when working with

clients of a minority race it will be necessary to explore the implications of racism for

clients. The client may not bring up the issues of race but the counselor should be ready

and willing to bring up this concept and then determine how racism is related to the

presenting problem if at all (Richardson & Molinaro, 2001). Counselors should be

comfortable and knowledgeable about race in order to lead conversations with clients

about the racial issues in their lives (McDowell et al., 2003). This can be especially true

when working with interracial couples.

　　　　Competency in practice. The counselor should have the ability to develop

effective interventions and treatment in order to increase the client's racial awareness and

challenge racism (McDowell et al., 2003). Vasquez (2009) suggested including clients

into the counselor's in-group. This is done by "tuning into the individual, listening to

their narratives, stories, and connecting with them as human beings" (Vasquez, 2009, p.

137). Identify the strengths and sources of support that the client has when entering

treatment (Vasquez, 2009). The counselor should try to empower the clients and work

toward improving the quality of life for those clients (Vasquez, 2009). Counselors who

are able to understand their own racial identity and assumptions are more comfortable

discussing race and better able to treat clients (McDowell et al., 2003).

The counselor must create a climate of respect and trust. Clients are not likely to

share their personal thoughts and feelings if they fear they will be ridiculed or judged by

the counselor (Ponterotto & Pedersen, 1993). Fuertes & Brobst (2002) found that clients'

perceptions of the counselors' multicultural competence was significantly related to the

client's satisfaction.

Working alliance. The working alliance is one of the most important factors in

the success of therapy (Sue & Sue, 1999). Culture is most important when establishing

the working alliance (Vasquez, 2009). Counselors should adopt a stance of openness and

curiosity when faced with diversity and difference rather than distance and criticism

(Vasquez, 2009). The credibility of the therapist is an important factor in the

development of working alliance. Therapists who are viewed as credible—"the

constellation of characteristics that makes certain individuals appear more worthy of

belief, capable, entitled to confidence, reliable and trustworthy" (Sue & Sue, 1999, p.

44)—are more able to build a working alliance because they are better able to elicit trust,

motivation to work/change, and self-disclosure.

The therapist's credibility is based on the point of view of the client. Therefore,

understanding a client's point of view is important for developing credibility and

facilitating the therapist's ability to engender change in the client. In order to determine

the counselor's ability to work with minorities, clients may test the counselor's cultural

knowledge, understanding, and expertise. For example, they may ask the counselor to disclose personal information in order to evaluate the consistency of these answers with their own worldviews. Counselors who are seen as consistent with what they say and do are seen as more credible (Sue & Sue, 1999).

Several factors contribute to a client perceiving a counselor as not being credible. Those who have conflicting verbal and nonverbal signals will be viewed as less credible (Sue & Sue, 1999). Counselors who are of the same racial/ethnic group as the client are seen as having more expertise than those who are of a different racial group (Sue & Sue, 1999). However, there is some evidence that similarity of attitudes or beliefs is more important that similarity of group membership. Those who have negative attitudes toward minorities are less likely to be seen as credible by minority clients (Sue & Sue, 1999). A counselor who uses his/her power differential in the counseling relationship and views the client's differences as deficiencies is less likely to be seen as credible (Sue & Sue, 1999). It is important that the counselor be seen as a credible person in order to be able to build a working alliance with the client.

The working alliance is also dependent on the therapist's ability to tune into the client with cultural sensitivity, knowledge, empathy, as well as the ability to provide culturally appropriate guidance (Vasquez, 2009). The ability to be "flexible, honest, respectful, trustworthy, confident, warm, interested, and open" (Vasquez, 2009, pg 136) are personal attributes that contribute to the ability to form a positive working alliance.

While the working alliance is important, there are also other factors involved when working with clients of differing races. If the counselor is White he or she can be seen as part of the majority establishment and therefore hold the racial biases commonly

associated with the majority (D'Andrea, 2005; Sue & Sue, 1999). The belief that the

counselor is a member of the "White establishment" can lead to a lack of trust,

guardedness, and diminished self-disclosure, all of which can negatively affect the

development of a working alliance between the counselor and the client (Sue & Sue,

1999). If the counselor is viewed as having a negative attitude toward the client, it is less

likely that the counselor will be able to build a working alliance. Because the working

alliance is a strong predictor of therapeutic outcome, there is a tendency for those client-

counselor relationships that are strained by negative racial attitudes to have weaker

working alliances and therefore more negative outcomes.

Because the racial attitudes of the counselor have such an important impact on the

development of working alliance, and alliance is an important predictor of outcome, it

would be important to understand the variables that predict the counselor's racial

attitudes toward clients. If one knows what variables affect attitudes, one will have more

success in changing those attitudes.

Multiculturally competent counseling with interracial couples. It is necessary

for therapists to be more aware that not all couples are the same and they are not all

White, married, and heterosexual. The theories and practices that are based on these

majority assumptions are not sufficient when counseling an interracial couple and can

actually be detrimental (Thomas, Karis, & Wetchler, 2003).

Often members of interracial couples present with a double consciousness about

their relationship. They have one face in their home and another when out in public. They

can minimize the effect that race has on their relationship in an attempt to counter what

they see as an unrealistic obsession with racial differences (Karis, 2003; Killian, 2003).

This relegation of racial concerns to only the public sphere may cause its own problems by eliminating the opportunity for the couple to talk about times that the racial stereotypes or racist behavior has affected their relationship (Karis, 2003).

Many Black-White couples try to emphasize how normal they are and they have the same problems that all couples have such as paying bills and house cleaning. Some believe that race only becomes and issue when they are in public and reminded of it by the responses of others (Karis, 2003). Women sometimes feel the need to demonstrate that they are normal and the stereotypes do not apply to them (Karis, 2003).

Interracial couples have expressed concern that therapists will see only their race and conclude that they should not be together (Karis, 2003). Race is an important part of each persons life, however, members of interracial couples may have difficulty discussing how race affects them and their relationship (Karis, 2003). Though it is important the couple may fear that all of their problems will be blamed on racial differences rather than normal relationship issues such as gender differences, work stress or other daily concerns (Karis, 2003; Wieling, 2003;).

Therapists need to be more aware of their own racial issues and beliefs to be therapeutic for the interracial couple (Killian, 2003). They must explore their own beliefs and attitudes about interracial relationships (Daneshpour, 2003). They must be aware of their biases and how they can have a negative affect on the therapy process (Daneshpour, 2003).

Killian (2003) recommended that therapists "(1) are aware of and sensitive to their own racial and ethnic identity(ies) and to their beliefs about interracial relationships, (2) recognize the reasons behind the emergence of couple strategies for dealing with

racism, and (3) work with couples to explore the implications of such strategies and make explicit their vision for their relationship" (p.16). It is important for the therapist to help the couple distinguish relationship issues from racial issues (Killian, 2003).

The therapist must allow the issue of race to be fluid paying attention to how and when it shift with a particular couple (Karis, 2003) Remember that both members of the couple are members of a racial group and this has implications for both of them (Karis, 2003). Show that the therapist has some understanding of the social situation that a particular couple is facing yet not making any assumptions about their particular experiences (Karis, 2003). White therapists may need to especially need to actively demonstrate a racial understanding that may be assumer for non-White therapists (Karis, 2003). Many couples have stated that race became more of an issue after they had children and had to explore their values around parenting (Wieling, 2003).

It is recommended that therapists assess the couples' level of acculturation (Wieling, 2003) and investigate what brought them together initially (Daneshpour, 2003). Identify the positive factors that will help the couple stay together (Daneshpour, 2003). It is also beneficial to explore the social support the couple can rely on. The therapist must be able to validate the feeling and experiences of the couple. Focusing on the strengths of the couple will also be beneficial to the couple (Daneshpour, 2003). This will help them overcome the obstacles that they face.

Other recommendations for use with interracial couples includes cultural genograms, narrative techniques to re-author the couple's and family's identities (Killian, 2003).

Implicit Association Test. Implicit attitudes are "introspectively unidentified (or inaccurately identified) traces of past experiences that mediate favorable or unfavorable feeling, thought, or action toward social objects" (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995, p. 8). These attitudes are under the control of automatically activated evaluation without the awareness of the participant (Greenwald et al., 1998). The measure of implicit attitudes involves identifying an attitude object and pairing that object with evaluative attributes (Banaji, 2001).

The Implicit Association Test (IAT) can be used to measure implicit associations between any two ideas. The basic premise behind the IAT is that the participant will be able to more quickly match attitude objects and evaluative attributes that are cognitively linked (Banaji, 2001). The speed of response for a pairing compared with the opposite one is interpreted as an indication of the strength of the implicit attitude (Banaji, 2001). It is similar to the cognitive priming procedures that are used for measuring automatic affect or attitude (Greenwald et al., 1998). The IAT is useful because it can be used to measure socially significant automatic associations (Greenwald et al., 1998). This can even be used to reveal attitudes that the participant may not want to express or admit that they have (Greenwald et al., 1998).

Procedure. The standard program involves a five or seven stage process that is conducted on a computer. The procedure starts with an initial discrimination task for the attitude objects, such as press the "I" key on the right side of the keyboard for insects and press the "E" key on the left side for flowers. The second step involves discriminating between the evaluation categories. In this step the participant would hit the right for unpleasant words and the left key for pleasant words. In the third step the participant is

shown both the target objects and the evaluation categories. They are still typing the same keys as before, right for insects or unpleasant and the left key for flowers and pleasant words. In the forth step the evaluative categories are switched. Now the right key is for pleasant and the left is for unpleasant. The fifth step involves mixing the new evaluation response assignments with the original attitude target response assignments. In this step the insects will remain on the right and the flowers will still be on the left, however the evaluative categories are reversed. Now the right key is for both insects and pleasant and the left key is for flower and unpleasant (Greenwald et al., 1998). The participant should either find step three or step five easier. Which one they find easier will indicate their implicit associations for those targets and evaluations. This will then indicate the implicit attitude of the participant toward the target (Greenwald et al., 1998). The seven stage version repeats step 3 and step 5.

The IAT effect is the difference score reflecting "a relative attitude that shows both the direction (positive vs. negative) of implicit attitude and the magnitude of the attitude (larger numbers reflecting larger differences between pairings in milliseconds)" (Banaji, 2001, p. 124). With this score it is possible to determine if the participant has a preference for one of the target groups.

Purpose. The IAT has been used to study and measure many different attitude objects and evaluation categories. The participants are asked to respond to almost anything that can be put into pictures or words. It is a very flexible test that can be modified for measuring implicit attitudes toward any group or behavior or object. It has been used to measure racial attitudes, gender role attitudes, attitudes toward smoking, vegetarians, homosexuality and several others.

The IAT can be used with any participants that have a basic ability to read the words that are used for the evaluative categories and see the photos that are shown as attitude objects. It is also necessary that the participant be able to press the appropriate button on the keyboard in a rapid manner. This may be difficult for participants who have physical difficulties.

It is necessary, prior to other analyses, to examine the data distributions including response latencies and error rates. The outlying values usually indicate either responding before the stimulus, for fast responses, and momentary inattention for slower responses. The common response to these outliers is to recode times that are under 300ms to 300ms and those that are above 3,000ms to 3,000ms. Then the latencies are log-transformed in order to have a statistic that has satisfactory stability of variance for analysis. To calculate the IAT effect the one subtracts the value of the compatible task from the incompatible task. In order to calculate the effect size the pooled standard deviation (for compatible and incompatible conditions) are used (Greenwald et al., 1998).

The interpretation of the scores involves noting the IAT effect. The combination that was completed faster is the condition that the participant has a higher implicit association. The faster the participant completes the condition the stronger the association. The interpretation also involves an explanation of why there was a difference in the rates of completion. This is often an area for further research (Greenwald et al., 1998).

Banaji (2001) points out that the IAT is a new test and pushing for criterion validity too early can have negative outcomes. The first is that this can cause research to stop because the instrument is not viewed at valid. The second is that the push can cause

the misuse of the construct based on early and insufficient data. She states that it is first

necessary to fully understand the construct that is being measured before asking what it

can predict. She suggests the push to test the validity of the IAT is because of the social

impact the test can have. There is a lot of social interest in the construct being examined

(Banaji, 2001).

     Psychometrics. The IAT has been shown to have internal validity. There are few

procedural affects. The IAT effect is not influenced by which hand was assigned to which

condition; nor is the IAT effect influenced by the number of items in each category

(Greenwald & Nosek, 2001). Greenwald & Nosek (2001) also found that effects obtained

with the IAT were relatively impervious to variations in the manner of treating data from

incorrect answers and from non-normal response latency distributions. The IAT does not

work when one or more of the categories are made up of nonsense words. This indicated

that there is a cognitive evaluation of the items and this is not possible when one category

is nonsense items. When participants are asked to fake their answers and respond in a

particular manner, it is difficult to do so. In addition, the handedness of the participant

has not effect on the results of the IAT (Greenwald & Nosek, 2001). All of these factors

suggest that the IAT has internal validity.

     The IAT has been found to be stable over time, with a stability index of .68

(Cunningham, Preacher, & Banaji, 2001). The Cronbach alpha for the IAT ranges from .6

to .78 (Cunningham, Preacher, & Banaji, 2001; Greenwald & Nosek, 2001). The split-

half reliabilities of IAT effect measures range from $r = .89$ to $r = .92$. The IAT has

convergent validity with other implicit measures (Cunningham, Preacher, & Banaji,

2001). There was a correlation of $r = .55$ between latent factors representing priming and

IAT implicit attitude measures (Greenwald & Nosek, 2001). Participants who complete

the IAT do so in predictable ways when the IAT is measuring attitudes toward particular

groups of which the participants are members. Individuals tend to like the groups in

which they are members (Greenwald & Nosek, 2001). Several studies have demonstrated

expected differences in IAT measures between groups that are defined by behavioral

differences (Greenwald & Nosek, 2001). These findings suggest that the IAT is both

reliable and valid and will be useful for this study.

There is a procedural affect on the results. It has been found that the order of the

steps will affect the results. Whichever condition is first, either the compatible or the

incompatible condition, will have an interaction with the latencies. This is mostly likely

due to fatigue. This makes it necessary to alternate the order of the conditions with the

participants to compensate for this interaction. The computer program randomly chooses

which condition is first (Greenwald et al., 1998).

Some criticisms of the IAT include the belief that the IAT does not have face or

predictive validity. If the IAT measures attitudes then it should be able to predict

behavior, which at this time it does not do. Those in the field of attitudes know that it is

not this simple. There are many factors other than attitude that contribute to behavior

(Banaji, 2001).

It is often found that the IAT does not correlate with explicit measures of the

"same construct." After further exploration it has been found that this is not always the

case (Swanson, Rudman, & Greenwald, 2001). When the targeted attitude or behavior is

one that is considered stigmatized then there is more of a discrepancy between the

implicit and the explicit attitudes (Swanson, Rudman, & Greenwald, 2001). For instance

if asked for self-report of stereotyped beliefs the participants are less likely to admit that they have stereotyped attitudes because it is not socially acceptable to do so. The implicit measure will show that the same individual has automatic associations that indicate they do have some stereotyped attitudes. These implicit attitudes cannot not easily be filtered or censored for political or social correctness. The IAT is more resistant to self-presentational factors than the explicit measures (Greenwald et al., 1998).

Attitudes toward interracial couples are important because attitudes have been linked to working alliance to quality of care. Using the IAT will provide information about the counselor trainees' attitudes about potential clients and this in turn will give an indication of the counselors' ability to develop a working alliance with interracial couples.

Hypotheses. Research Question 1) Is there a significant difference in the attitudes of counselor trainees toward Black and White couples based on demographic characteristics of the counselor trainees? (SES, sex, geographic location, level of education, race, and rural or urban home setting have been found to correlate with the rate of interracial marriage)

Hypothesis (1) Counselor trainees who are working toward their doctoral degree, will have more accepting attitudes toward Black and White couples than those who are working toward their master's degree.

Hypothesis (2) Counselor trainees who live in the northeast and the west coast will have more accepting attitudes toward Black and White couples than trainees from other areas.

Hypothesis (3) Counselor trainees who were raised in a large, urban setting will have more accepting attitudes toward Black and White couples than those who were raised in a non-urban area.

Hypothesis (4) Counselor trainees who are younger will have more accepting attitudes toward interracial couples than those who are older.

Hypothesis (5) Counselor trainees from upper socioeconomic status will have more accepting attitudes toward Black and White couples than those from lower socioeconomic status.

Hypothesis (6) Male counselor trainees will have a more accepting attitude toward Black and White couples than will female counselor trainees.

Hypothesis (7) Counselor trainees who are members of a minority race will have more accepting attitudes than those counselor trainees who are members of the majority race.

Research Question 2) Is counselor trainee's level of multicultural competency, as measured on the MCKAS, a significant predictor of attitudes of toward Black and White couples?

Hypothesis (9) Counselor trainees with higher scores on the MCKAS will have more accepting attitudes toward Black and White couples.

Research Question 3) Which of the individual predictor variables will best predict the attitudes of the counselor trainees toward interracial couples?

Research Question 4) What combination of predictor variables will best predict attitudes of counselor trainees toward interracial couples?

s.

Chapter Three

Method

   Pilot study. The purpose of the pilot study was to establish the attractiveness rating of the couples in the photos for use in the IAT and to determine the positive and negative adjectives used to describe the couples.

   Participants. Seventy individuals agreed to participate in the pilot study. A snowballing method, in which initial participants were invited to ask other people to also participate until a sufficient number of participants is reached, was used to obtain the individuals who participated in the pilot study. Participants were from differing socioeconomic backgrounds, races, and ages. The mean age of participants in this pilot was 37 years, and participants' ages ranged from 21 to 72 years. The participants were mostly female ($N = 53$, 74%) with 16 males (26%). The racial makeup of the participants was as follows: 57 White (83%), 5 Black (7%), 3 Asian (4%), 2 Hispanic (3%), 1 Arab (1.5%), and 1 Middle Eastern (1.5%). One participant did not provide demographic information.

   Procedures. In order to determine the photos and the words to use in the IAT 44 photos of couples were found on the internet. These included photos of White couples (14), Black couples (12), and inter-racial couples (18, 10 with white male and 8 with black male). Each partner was isolated so that attractiveness of the 88 individuals could be rated independently. This was accomplished by copying each photo and then first blocking out the female of the pair in the first copy and the male of the pair in the second copy. Through this process, 88 photos of individuals were created. These photos are available upon request.

Dissemination of the pilot study was completed by utilizing two methods, one group was recruited via email and the other was recruited in person. Thirty-three participants responded through email and 37 completed the study in person. Participants who were recruited via email received a letter of introduction with the following instructions "Please rate the person in the photo on a scale of 1 to 10; ten (10) being very attractive and one (1) being unattractive. Please indicate your numerical rating on the line below each photo. Give your first impression; do not think for too long. For many of the photos another person has been blocked out so as not to affect your opinion of the target individual. Following the photos there is a list of words. Please rate these words on a scale of 1 to 10; ten (10) being very positive and one (1) being very negative." The photos of 42 males and 42 females in a word document followed the instructions. Four to six photos appeared on each page. After all photos were rated, participants were then provided with a list of words to also be rated. For participants who completed the study in person they were given a copy of the identical Word document presented to the email group which included both photos and words in the same arrangement as the electronic version and asked to rate the photos and words. Instead of writing their response below each photo, or next to each word, a score sheet was used to indicate their ratings of the photos and words. The instructions were otherwise identical.

The second step in the pilot study was to rate a number of adjectives to determine if each word is perceived as either positive or negative. The following words were rated by the participants: happy, loving, friendly, contentious, incompatible, satisfied, excited, depressed, joy, sad, compatible, angry, hateful, and unsatisfied to determine if they are considered positive or negative. Participants were asked to "Please rate the following

words indicating if the words are positive or negative. Please rate the words on a scale of one to ten; ten (10) being very positive and one (1) being negative." These words were chosen because they have been used to describe interracial couples in the literature (Crohn, 1998; Daneshpour, 2003). (see Appendix A)

Data Analysis. It should be noted that there were no remarkable differences between the demographics or ratings of the two groups. To determine which of the photos of couples would be used in the IAT the mean score for each photo was calculated. Pairs in which one or both of the partners scored above 7 or below 5 were eliminated to insure that the attractiveness of the individuals in the photo would be similar and not affect the attitudes of the participants completing the IAT. This process eliminated 23 photos of couples whose mean attractiveness rating were above seven or below five. From the remaining photos, four Black couples, four White couples, and eight inter-racial (four with Black male-White female and four with White male-Black female) couples were randomly chosen. These photos are available upon request.

The mean rating of each word was calculated to determine if the word is perceived as a positive or a negative word. Words scoring between 1 and 5 are considered negative those scoring above five are considered positive. The mean rating of each word is as follows: happy $M = 9$, loving $M = 9.5$, friendly $M = 8.6$, contentious $M = 3.3$, incompatible $M = 2.8$, satisfied $M = 7.1$, excited $M = 8.4$, depressed $M = 1.9$, joy $M = 8.7$, sad $M = 2.7$, compatible $M = 7$, angry $M = 2.4$, hateful $M = 1.2$, and unsatisfied $M = 2.6$. Based on these ratings loving, friendly, satisfied, excited, and joy are positive words and contentious, incompatible, depressed, sad, hateful, and unsatisfied are negative words. (See Appendix A)

Main Study

Participants. The participants for this study were master's students from

CACREP accredited programs in counseling located in the United States and doctoral

students from APA accredited programs in counseling psychology located in the United

States. A total of 223 students participated in this study. One hundred and seven (48%)

participants indicated they had earned a master's degree and were working toward a

doctoral degree, 116 (52%) indicated that they were working toward a master's degree.

The ages of the participants ranged from 20 to 62 with a mean of 30.92 with a standard

deviation 9.28.

Based on American Psychology Association's report on the *First-year Students in*

U.S. and Canadian Graduate Departments of Psychology 2009 - 2010 (2010) the current

composition of students in an APA accredited doctoral programs is 78% female, 22%

male, 1% American Indian, 8% Asian, 10% Hispanic, 8% Black, 70% White, 2% multi-

racial, and 1% other. Similar demographic information about students in CAPREP

accredited programs is not available. One hundred seventy-five (78%) of the participants

were female and 48 (21%) were male. (see Table 3.1) The participants had the following

racial make up: 165 White (74.12%), 22 Black (9.82%), 14 Asian (6.25%), 8 Hispanic or

Latino (3.57%), 4 Arab/Middle Eastern (1.79%). Nine participants identified themselves

as Biracial and one identified as multiracial (4.46%). In order to facilitate generalization

to the counselor trainee population the participant sample is representative of this

population in gender and race.

Participants were from all regions of the United States, 31 were from the West

(14%), 65 from the Midwest (29%), 71 from the South (32%), and 42 from the North

East (19%). These regional categories are based on the US Census. Fourteen students

(6%) indicated they were raised abroad.

When describing their home community while growing up 66 indicated they grew

up in a city (29.9%), 59 grew up in a rural community (26.5%), and 98 stated they grew

up in the suburbs (43.9%). Participants were also asked to describe the size of the city in

which they were raised. Fifty-seven indicated they grew up in a town with less than

10,000 people (25.6%), 44 indicated they grew up in a town with between 10,000-50,000

people (19.7%), 37 in a town of 50,000-100,000 (16.6%), 28 in a town of 100,000-

250,000 (12.6%), 36 in a town of 250,000-1,000,000 (16.1%), and 21 in a town with

more than 1,000,000 people (9.4%). The participants were asked about their

socioeconomic status while growing up; 36 indicated they were from a lower SES

(16.1%), 174 indicated they were from a middle SES (78.0%), and 13 indicated they were

from an upper SES (5.8%).

Procedure. Participants were recruited via the Internet. In order to recruit

participants an email message was sent to training directors of APA approved Counseling

Psychology departments and CACREP approved Counseling programs requesting they

forward the study invitation to students enrolled in their program. The invitation

included a description of the study with an explanation of risks and benefits. They were

given the opportunity to withdraw from the study at any time. Once participants clicked

on the link for the study they were asked to complete the Implicit Association Test (IAT)

and the demographic questionnaire and the Multicultural Knowledge and Awareness

Scale. Those who participated had the option to be entered into a drawing to win a

Table 3.1.
Demographics of Participants

Demographic Variable	Number	Percent
Race		
White	165	74
Black	22	10
Asian	14	6
Hispanic/Latino	8	4
Arab/Middle Eastern	4	2
Biracial/Multiracial	10	5
Region of Country		
West	31	14
North East	42	19
Midwest	65	29
South	71	32
Abroad	14	6
Home Community Type		
City	66	30
Suburb	98	44
Rural	59	27
Home Community Size		
<10,000	57	26
10,000-50,000	44	20
50,000-100,000	37	17
100,000-250,000	28	13
250,000-1,000,000	36	16
>1,000,000	21	9
Socioeconomic Status		
Lower	36	16
Middle	174	78
Upper	13	6
Sex		
Female	175	78
Male	48	22

monetary prize. Each participant was automatically assigned a subject number by the

Inquisit website hosting the study. (see Appendix B)

Participants were first asked to complete the inter-racial couple IAT created for

this study, a demographic information form, and then the Multicultural Knowledge

Awareness Scale (MCKAS). Because of the nature of this study, no randomization of the

order of the instrument presentation occurred. The information gathered was anonymous.

The data was stored on a secure and private computer.

Measures.

Implicit association test (IAT). The IAT has been used to measure implicit

associations between any two ideas or attitude objects. For this study both words and

images will be used to measure implicit associations between photo images of inter-racial

or intra-racial couples and positive or negative words.

It has been found that the number of items (in this study the items are words and

photos) does not affect the measure (Greenwald & Nosek, 2001). For this study, photos

were used: eight photos of inter-racial couples (four with an African American male-

White female pair and four with an African American female-White male pair) and eight

of intra-racial couples (four White couples and four African American couples). The

appearance or attractiveness of the couples in the photos is not as important as whether

the couple is an inter-racial or intra-racial couple, so as long as it is clear what category

the couple belongs in we can use the photo (DeHower, 2001). A pilot study was

conducted to insure the attractiveness of each member of the couple is the same and that

none of the couples are either very attractive or very unattractive. Each couple will be

shown multiple times during the appropriate stages. The order of the stages has been

shown to have an effect on the measure, therefore counterbalancing is used.

There were seven stages (see Table 3.2) to measure the participants' attitudes

toward inter-racial couples (Greenwald et al., 2003). The first stage involved the

participants sorting photos of couples; the photos that were used were chosen based on

the results of the pilot study. Photos of eight inter-racial couples and eight intra-racial

couples were used as attitude objects for this study. The participant pressed a button on

the keyboard to indicate if the couple is an intra-racial couple or an inter-racial couple. If

it is an inter-racial couple they pressed the "I" key with the right hand, and if it is an

intra-racial couple they pressed the "E" key with the left hand.

Table 3.2.
Description of the stages of the IAT

	Left hand ("E")	Right hand ("I")
Stage 1	Intra-racial	Inter-racial couple
Stage 2	Positive word	Negative word
Stage 3	Positive word or Intra-racial couple	Negative word or Inter-racial couple
Stage 4	Positive word or Intra-racial couple	Negative word or Inter-racial couple
Stage 5	Negative word	Positive word
Stage 6	Negative word or Intra-racial couple	Positive word or Inter-racial couple
Stage 7	Negative word or Intra-racial couple	Positive word or Inter-racial couple

In the second stage the participants encountered two types of attitude words which

have been used to describe couples. The first group of words is associated with positive

evaluations: happy, loving, friendly, satisfied, excited, joy, and compatible. The second

are negative evaluations: contentious, incompatible, depressed, hateful, sad, angry, and

unsatisfied. The pilot study confirmed these evaluations of the words as positive and

negative. Participants pressed the "I" key with the right hand if it is a negative word; or

the "E" key with the left hand if it is a positive word. In these first two stages the

participant was learning to associate right or left button with a particular class of ideas,

they are becoming familiar with the categorization of the words and photos. If the

participant made an error the participant was informed of the error and allowed to give

the correct response (Greenwald et al., 1998; Greenwald et al., 2003).

The third stage involved combining the words and the photos (Greenwald et al.,

1998). The participants were asked to press the "I" key with their right hand if they saw

on the screen either a negative word or an inter-racial couple. They were asked to hit the

"E" key with the left hand of they saw a positive word or an intra-racial couple. The

fourth stage is a repeat of this stage (Greenwald et al., 2003). In the fifth stage the

position of the words was switched; now if it is a negative word the participant pressed

the "E" key with the left hand and use the right hand to press the "I" key for positive

words (Greenwald et al., 2003).

In the sixth stage, the new categorization from the fifth stage is combined with the

already learned categorization for the photos. The participants were asked to press the "I"

key with the right hand if they are shown a photo of an inter-racial couple or a positive

word; they pressed the "E" key with the left hand if they were shown a photo of an intra-

racial couple or a negative word (Greenwald et al., 1998). The seventh stage repeated the

same combination as the sixth stage (Greenwald et al., 2003).

The scoring of the IAT was conducted by the software program following the new

scoring algorithm presented by Greenwald, Nosek, and Banaji (2003). In this algorithm

the "measure divides the difference between the test block means by the standard

deviation of all the latencies in the two test blocks" (Greenwald et al., 2003, p. 201).

Also consistent with this new algorithm, this study included the practice block data—

stages three and six, error penalties—time adjusted following an error answer, and used

the "individual-respondent standard deviations to provide the measure's scale unit"

(Greenwald et al., 2003, p. 213). Participants who respond faster when negative words

and an inter-racial couple are paired than the rate at which they respond to positive words

and an inter-racial couple pairing are said to have more negative associations toward

inter-racial couples.

Table 3.3.
Description of the Stages of the IAT When Counterbalanced

	Left hand ("E")	Right hand ("I")
Stage 1	Intra-racial	Inter-racial couple
Stage 5 (2)	Negative word	Positive word
Stage 6 (3)	Negative word/Intra-racial couple	Positive word or Inter-racial couple
Stage 7 (4)	Negative word/Intra-racial couple	Positive word or Inter-racial couple
Stage 2 (5)	Positive word	Negative word
Stage 3 (6)	Positive word/Intra-racial couple	Negative word or Inter-racial couple
Stage 4 (7)	Positive word/Intra-racial couple	Negative word or Inter-racial couple

Participants tend to respond faster on stages three and four than on stages six and

seven. Counterbalancing of these two tasks will be used to accommodate for this. What

this means is that half of the participants will receive the stages in a different order.

Stage one will remain the same, stages two, three, and four will be switched with stages

five, six and seven. See Table 3.3 for a description of the stages of the counterbalanced

IAT. This way there is a balancing of which pairing the participants will receive first

(Greenwald & Nosek, 2001). The participants will be randomly given either the original

version or the counterbalanced version of the IAT.

The IAT has been found to be stable over time, with a stability index of .68

(Cunningham, Preacher, & Banaji, 2001). The Cronbach alpha for the IAT is .78

(Cunningham, Preacher, & Banaji, 2001). The IAT was also found to have convergent

validity with other implicit measures including the Modern Racism Scale (Cunningham,

Preacher, & Banaji, 2001).

Multicultural counseling knowledge and awareness scale (MCKAS). The

MCKAS was based on the multicultural counseling competencies model outlined by Sue

and colleagues (1982, 1992). This model proposed that multicultural competencies are

related to the beliefs and attitudes, knowledge, and skills that counselors possess. These

competencies lead them to an awareness of one's own cultural values and biases, and an

awareness of the worldview of others who are culturally different, and a working

knowledge of culturally appropriate intervention strategies (Sue, Arredondo, & McDavis,

1992). (see Appendix C)

The Multicultural Counseling Knowledge and Awareness Scale (MCKAS) is a

32-item, self-report measure of self-perceived ethnocentrism and general multicultural

counseling knowledge. Originally published by Ponterotto, Sanchez, and Magids in 1991

as the Multicultural Counseling Awareness Scale (MCAS), the MCKAS has undergone

two substantial revisions, first in 1996 as the Multicultural Counseling Awareness Scale –

Form B (MCAS-B; Ponterotto, Rieger, Barrett, Sparks, Sanchez, & Magids, 1996) and

most recently in 2002 as the MCKAS (Ponterotto, Gretchen, Utsey, Rieger, & Austin,

2002). One of the major changes in the last revision was the removal of the three social

desirability items and the removal of ten other items to improve the psychometrics of the

measure (Constantine, 2000).

Respondents were asked to indicate how true a particular statement is on a 7-point Likert-type scale with 1 equaling not at all true, 4 equaling somewhat true, and 7 equaling totally true. Negative items are reversed scored and the score is the total of all the items. Total scores vary from 32 to 224 (Ponterotto et al., 2002). There are currently no cutoff scores to indicate a satisfactory level of multicultural awareness and knowledge (Constantine, 2002). Initial principal components factor analyses with oblique rotations using one-, two-, three-, and four-factor extractions by Ponterotto et al. (1996) and later confirmatory factor analyses by Ponterotto et al. (2000, 2002) supported a two factor extraction which had better goodness-of-fit index scores (GFI = .90, TLI = .91, RNI = .93) than competing models and accounted for between 28% and 32.2% of common variance. Thus the MCKAS has two subscales. The first is the Knowledge and Skills subscale which has 20 items and a possible range of scores from 20 to 140. This subscale measures general knowledge related to multicultural counseling (Constantine, 2000). The second subscale is the Awareness subscale which has 12 items and a possible range of scores from 12 to 84 (Constantine, 2000; Constantine & Ladany, 2000). This subscale measures "Eurocentric worldview bias" (Constantine, 2000, p. 863). Ponterotto and Potere (2003) reviewed 19 studies examining the psychometric properties of the MCKAS, and concluded that the instrument's two subscales have reasonable evidence for convergent, discriminate, and criterion-related validity.

Test-retest reliability coefficients for the Knowledge and Skills subscale (.70) and the Awareness subscale (.73) were deemed very satisfactory (Manese et al., 2001; Ponterotto & Potere, 2003). The coefficient alphas ranged from .75 to .93 for the total scale, from .78 to .93 for the Knowledge and Skills subscale, and from .72 to .89 for the

Awareness subscale, suggesting that the MCKAS and its subscales have reasonable internal consistency reliability. Items correlated to the entire scale at the .05 level and this correlation was statistically significant (Kocarek, Talbot, Batka, & Anderson, 2001). Multicultural expert ratings of item clarity and appropriateness supported the content validity of the scale (Ponterotto et al., 1996).

The MCKAS has become one of the commonly-used self-report measures of counselor multicultural competence (Constantine, Gloria, & Ladany, 2002; Kocarek et al., 2001). It is also brief, easy to use, and it has reasonably good psychometric properties (Ponterotto & Potere, 2003). For these reasons, the MCKAS will be used in the current study to assess clinicians' multicultural competence.

The MCKAS has some limitations; most notably there is little research demonstrating a correlation between MCKAS scores and actual success in providing counseling services to clients from diverse cultural backgrounds (Constantine & Ladany, 2000; Ponterotto & Potere, 2003). Ponterotto and Potere (2003) suggest that this scale is only appropriate to use for the purposes of research and should not be used in actual clinical decision-making. This limitation of the scale will not affect this study because no clinical decisions about the abilities of the counselors will be made. (see Appendix C)

Demographic questionnaire. Participants were asked to indicate their sex, age, level of education, marital status, dating history, socioeconomic status, and race. They were also asked about where they grew up, their religion, and their political perspectives. They were asked to indicate how many multicultural courses they have completed and how many inter-racial couples they have worked with. (see Appendix D)

Chapter Four

Results

The IAT was used as the dependent variable in this study. The IAT has a possible

range of -3 to +3, -3 equals a strong preference for interracial couples, 0 equals no

preference, and +3 equals a strong preference for intraracial couples. The mean IAT

score was .21, with a range of -1.12 to 1.17, and a standard deviation of .48. Overall

participants had a slight preference for intraracial couples. For each of the following

analyses an alpha of .05 was used.

Education level. The first hypothesis states counselor trainees who are working

toward their doctoral degree will have more accepting attitudes toward Black and White

couples than those who are working toward their master's degree. The mean IAT score

for those who were working toward a master's degree was .23, and the mean for those

who are working toward their doctoral degree was .19 (see Table 4.1). The effect size $d =$

.09 indicates this had a very small effect size.

Table 4.1.
Mean IAT by Education Level

Education Level	N	Mean IAT Score	Range	SD
Working toward MA	116	.232	-.977 – 1.05	.473
Working toward PhD	107	.190	-1.118 – 1.174	.485
Combined	223	.212	-1.118 – 1.174	.478

A t-test compared the means for doctoral level and master's level. Based on this

sample, participants working toward a doctoral degree have a more accepting attitude

toward interracial couples than those working toward a master's degree. The two groups

(*working toward master's degree, working toward a doctoral degree*) do not differ

significantly on their scores on the IAT, t (221) = 0.65; p = 0.52.

Another way to examine education is to look at the number of multicultural

courses the participant completed. The mean number of multicultural courses completed

by this sample is 1.86, with a range of zero courses to forty courses, and a standard

deviation of 3.42. The modal number of courses was one with 111 participants indicating

they completed one multicultural course. There was a correlation of .03 between number

of courses and score on IAT. There was not enough range in the number of courses to run

further analyses.

Region of the country. The second hypothesis states counselor trainees who live

in the northeast and the west coast will have more accepting attitudes toward Black and

White couples than trainees from other areas. The group of participants with the lowest

IAT score .071 indicating a near neutral preference were raised overseas (N = 14) (see

Table 4.2). The other mean IAT scores were as follows: West (N =31) .14, Midwest (N =

65) .18, and South (N = 71) .24. The region with the highest IAT score of .32, which

indicates a preference for intraracial couples, was North East (N = 42). This data show

that those raised overseas had the most accepting attitudes toward interracial couples.

Within the United States, those from the West have the most accepting attitudes toward

interracial couples, and participants from the south and the northeast have the least

accepting attitudes toward interracial couples, and have a slight preference for intraracial

couples. To test this hypothesis a one-way ANOVA was conducted. The groups

representing region of the country (*Northeast*, *South*, *West, Midwest, Overseas)* do not

differ significantly on their scores on the IAT, $F(4, 218) = 1.16$; $p = .33$. The effect size,

$f = .15$, is a small effect size.

Table 4.2.
Mean IAT by Region of US, Overseas

Region	N	Mean IAT score	Range	SD
Overseas	14	.071	-.772 - .849	.455
West	31	.137	-.981 - .865	.537
Midwest	65	.182	-1.118 – 1.012	.494
South	71	.236	-.967 – 1.174	.476
Northeast	42	.322	-.977 - .986	.411
Combined	223	.212	-1.118 – 1.174	.478

Table 4.3.
Mean IAT by Division of US, Overseas

Divisions	N	Mean IAT score	Range	SD
East South Central	12	.07	-.779 - .699	.461
Overseas	14	.071	-.772 - .849	.455
Pacific	19	.086	-.981 - .824	.603
West North Central	20	.152	-.693 - 1.011	.492
East North Central	45	.196	-1.118 - .996	.499
Mountain	12	.216	-.641- .835	.424
West South Central	29	.239	-.967 - 1.05	.488
Mid-Atlantic	33	.290	.977 - .986	.439
South Atlantic	30	.299	-.637 - 1.174	.469
New England	9	.438	.107 - .935	.272
Combined	223	.212	-1.118 - 1.174	.478

The regions were then broken down into divisions. The division with the highest

IAT score, .438 (preference for intraracial couples) was New England, which includes

Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. The

division with the lowest IAT score, .07 (near neutral preference) was East South Central

which includes Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama (see Table 4.3). To

determine if there is a significant difference between the divisions, a one way ANOVA

was conducted. The groups (*New England, Mid-Atlantic, East North Central, West North*

Central, South Atlantic, East South Central, West South Central, Mountain Pacific,

Overseas) do not differ significantly on their scores on the IAT, $F(9, 213) = .878$; $p =$

.545. The effect size, $f = .19$, is a small effect size.

  Hometown. The third question asks whether there is a significant difference in

the attitudes toward Black and White couples based on the size and type of city the

counselor trainees were raised in. The hypothesis is that counselor trainees who were

raised in a large, urban setting will have more accepting attitudes toward Black and

White couples than those who were raised in small, rural areas. The mean IAT scores

based on type of community is as follows: suburban ($N = 98$) .17, in a city ($N = 66$) .23,

and rural area ($N = 59$) .27 (see Table 4.4). Participants who were raised in the suburbs

Table 4.4.
Mean IAT by Community Type

Community Type	N	Mean IAT score	Range	SD
Urban	66	.229	-.967 – 1.05	.423
Rural	59	.271	-.779 – 1.160	.492
Suburb	98	.166	-1.118 – 1.174	.504
Combined	223	.212	-1.118 – 1.174	.478

and cities had more accepting attitudes toward interracial couples than those from a rural

community. A one way ANOVA was conducted with one independent variable,

community type, with three levels of the variable: urban, suburban, and rural. The groups

(urban, rural, suburban) do not differ significantly on their scores on the IAT, F (2,220)

= .95; p = .39. The effect size, f = .10, is a small effect size.

When examining the size of hometown, participants from cities with a population

between 100,000 and 250,000 (N =28) had the lowest mean score on the IAT .052. The

mean scores on the IAT for participants from cities of other sizes were as follows: 10,000

– 50,000 (N =44) .109; 250,000 – 1,000,000 (N =36) .223; 50,000- 100,000 (N =37) .245;

and more than 1,000,000 (N =21) .266. Cities with a population of less than 10,000 (N

=57) had the highest mean score on the IAT .323 (see Table 4.5). These data show that

participants from the smallest towns have the strongest preference for intraracial couples,

and participants from mid-sized cities have the most accepting attitudes toward interracial

couples. A second one way ANOVA was run with one independent variable with 6 levels

of community size. The groups *(Less than 10,000, 10,000 – 50,000, 50,000 – 100,000,*

100,000 – 250,000, 250,000 – 1,000,000, More than 1,000,000) do not differ

significantly on their score on the IAT, F (5,217) = 1.78; p = .12. The effect size, f = .20,

is a small effect size.

Table 4.5.
Mean IAT by Home Community Size

Community Size	N	Mean IAT score	Range	SD
Less than 10,000	57	.323	-.779 – 1.160	.496
10,000 – 50,000	44	.109	-.977 -- .987	.456
50,000 – 100,000	37	.245	-1.118 -- .996	.534
100,000 – 250,000	28	.052	-.981 -- .889	.471
250,000 – 1,000,000	36	.223	-.841 – 1.174	.426
More than 1,000,000	21	.266	-.641– 1.049	.416
Combined	223	.212	-1.118 – 1.174	.478

Age. The fourth question asks whether there is a significant difference in the

attitudes toward Black and White couples based on age of the counselor trainee. The

hypothesis is that counselor trainees who are younger with have more accepting attitudes

toward interracial couples than those who are older. The lowest mean IAT score was for

the group of participants in their 50s (N =11) mean -.230. The other groups were as

follows: 30s (N =54) mean .111; 40s (N =23) mean .269; and 20s (N =132) mean .269.

The highest mean IAT score was for the group of participants in their 60s (N =3) mean

.733 (see Table 4.6). These data show that there is no clear pattern to the means based on

age of the participant. To test if there is a significant difference between the age groups a

one way ANOVA was conducted with one independent variable with five levels of the

variable: 20-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, 60+. The groups *(20-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, 60+)*

differ significantly on their score on the IAT, F (4, 218) = 4.668; p = .001 with a medium

effect size (f = .29).

Table 4.6.
Mean IAT by Age

Age group	N	Mean IAT score	Range	SD
20s	132	.269	-.977 – 1.174	.439
30s	54	.111	-1.118 – 1.160	.532
40s	23	.269	-.772 – 1.050	.400
50s	11	-.230	-.981 - .618	.539
60s	3	.733	.525 - .840	.478

Because the ANOVA for age was significant but the mean IAT scores did not

have a discernable pattern, post hoc analyses were run. A simple linear regression was

run with age as the predictor and IAT the dependent variable. This analysis was not

significant. (see Tables 4.7, 4.8 and 4.9) A post hoc Tukey test was also conducted.

Through this analysis it was found that those in their 50s had significantly difference

scores on the IAT than those in their 20s ($p = .006$), 40s ($p = .030$) and 60s ($p = .014$).

Table 4.7.
Model Summary for Age Regression

			Model Summary	
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.090[a]	.008	.004	.478
a. Predictors: (Constant), age				

Table 4.8.
ANOVA Table for Linear Regression of Age

			ANOVA[b]		
Model	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1 Regression	.409	1	.409	1.794	.182[a]
Residual	50.368	221	.228		
Total	50.777	222			
a. Predictors: (Constant), age					
b. Dependent Variable: IAT					

Table 4.9.
Coefficients for Linear Regression of Age

		Coefficients[a]			
Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
1 (Constant)	.355	.111		3.187	.002
age	-.005	.003	-.090	-1.340	.182
a. Dependent Variable: IAT					

Socioeconomic status. The fifth question asks whether there is a significant

difference in the attitudes toward Black and White couples based on Counselor trainees'

socioeconomic status. The hypothesis is that counselor trainees' from upper

socioeconomic status will have more accepting attitudes toward Black and White couples

than those from lower socioeconomic status. The mean IAT score for each SES was as

follows: lower .157 ($N = 36$), middle .218 ($N = 174$), and upper .282 ($N = 13$; see Table

4.10). These data show that all three groups preferred intraracial couples, with lower

SES having a slightly more neutral association than the other two groups. A one way

ANOVA was conducted with one independent variable with three levels of the variable:

upper middle and lower. The groups *(lower, middle, upper)* do not differ significantly on

their score on the IAT, $F (2,220) = .39$; $p = .68$, with a small effect size ($f = .29$).

Table 4.10.
Mean IAT by Socioeconomic Status (SES)

SES	N	Mean IAT score	Range	SD
Lower	36	.157	-.679 – 1.011	.439
Middle	174	.218	-1.118 – 1.174	.498
Upper	13	.282	-.127 -- .841	.274
Combined	223	.212	-1.118 – 1.174	.478

Sex. The sixth question asks whether there is a significant difference in the

attitudes toward Black and White couples based on sex of the counselor trainees. The

hypothesis is that male counselor trainees will have a more accepting attitude toward

Black and White couples than female counselor trainees. The mean IAT score for men

was .20 ($N = 48$) and for women was .21 ($N = 175$), indicating men had a slightly more

accepting attitude toward interracial couples (see Table 4.11). A t-test compared two

levels of the variable sex: male and female. The groups *(male, female)* do not differ

significantly on their score on the interracial implicit association test, $t (221) = .13$; $p =$

.90, with a small effect size ($f = .005$)

Table 4.11.
Mean IAT by Sex

Sex	N	Mean IAT Score	Range	SD
Female	175	.214	-1.118 – 1.174	.483
Male	48	.204	-.779 -- .996	.467
Combined	223	.212	-1.118 – 1.174	.478

Race. The seventh question asks whether there is a significant difference in the

attitudes toward Black and White couples based on the race of the counselor trainees.

The hypothesis states counselor trainees who are members of a minority race will have

more accepting attitudes than those counselor trainees who are members of the majority

race. The mean IAT score for majority participants was .24 (N =166) and the mean IAT

score for minority participants was .14 (N =57). (see Table 4.12)These data show that

both groups have a neutral attitude toward interracial couples with minority participants

having a slightly more accepting attitude toward interracial couples. The groups

(majority, minority) do not differ significantly on their score on the IAT, t (1,221) = 1.41;

p = .16, with a small effect size (d = .041).

Table 4.12.
Mean IAT by Race, Majorities and Minorities

Race	N	Mean IAT Score	Range	SD
Majority	166	.239	-1.118 – 1.174	.461
Minority	57	.135	-.977 – 1.160	.522

The IAT scores of specific racial groups were also explored. The race with the

lowest mean IAT score (-.03) was Asian (N = 13). The other groups were as follows:

Black (N = 21) mean .05; White (N = 166) mean .24; Hispanic/Latino (N = 8) mean .25;

and other (N = 3) mean .28. The group with the highest mean IAT score (.37) was the

multiracial participants (see Table 4.13). A one way ANOVA was conducted with one

independent variable with six levels of the variable: White, Black, Asian, Hispanic,

Multiracial, and Other. The groups *(White, Black, Asian, Hispanic, Multiracial, Other)*

do not differ significantly on their score on the IAT, $F (5,217) = 1.55$; $p = .18$ with a

small effect size $(f = .19)$.

Table 4.13.
Mean IAT by Race, Individual Races

Race	N	Mean IAT score	Range	SD
White	166	.239	-1.118 – 1.174	.461
Black	21	.054	-.779 – 1.094	.528
Asian	14	-.026	-.977 -- .849	.545
Hispanic/Latin	8	.254	-.639 -- .824	.510
Multiracial	11	.373	-.488 – 1.160	.454
Other	3	.276	-.164 -- .935	.581
Combined	223	.212	-1.118 – 1.174	.478

Multicultural counseling knowledge and awareness scale. The ninth question

asks whether there is a significant difference in the attitudes toward Black and White

couples based on the scores on the MCKAS. The hypothesis states that counselor

trainees with higher scores on the MCKAS will have more accepting attitudes toward

Black and White couples. The mean score on the MCKAS was 177.15. The range was

from 120 to 219 with a standard deviation of 21.568. High scores on the MCKAS

indicate greater amounts of multicultural awareness and knowledge. The data show that

those with a higher score on the MCKAS have lower scores on the IAT, and therefore,

more accepting attitudes toward interracial couples. To answer this question a simple

regression was conducted. Score on the MCKAS significantly predicted IAT scores, $b =$

$-.225$, $t (211) = -3.35$, $p = .001$. Score on the MCKAS also explained a significant

proportion of variance in IAT scores, $R^2 = .05$, $F (1, 211) = 11.22$, $p = .001$. This analysis

had a small effect size ($f^2 = .05$). (see Tables 4.14 and 4.15)

Table 4.14.
Simple Linear Regression of MCKAS and IAT Scores

Model Summary				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.225[a]	.050	.046	.464
a. Predictors: (Constant), MCKAS				

Table 4.15.
ANOVA table for Simple Linear Regression

ANOVA[b]					
Model	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1 Regression	2.412	1	2.412	11.218	.001[a]
Residual	45.372	211	.215		
Total	47.784	212			
a. Predictors: (Constant), MCKAS					
b. Dependent Variable: IAT					

Predictor variables. To address the question of which individual predictor

variable best predicted the attitudes of the counselor trainees toward interracial couples a

hierarchical regression analysis was completed. The data was reviewed for

homoskedasticity and collinearity; both were within acceptable limits (see Figures.1, 2,

and 3).

A multiple regression with predictors: hometown, sex, MCKAS, MC courses,

race, age, education level (see Tables 4.16, 4.17, and 4.18) was significant $b = F (8, 204)$

$= 2.163$; $p = .032$. Only two variables, after controlling for the impact of the other

variables in the model, were statistically significant predictors: MCKAS and race. Each

10 point increase in MCKAS results in an estimated .05 drop in IAT. For race, Whites

have a mean IAT score that is .165 higher than minorities after controlling for the other

factors. These variables account for 7.8% of the variance in IAT scores. The effect size

for this analysis indicated a small effect size (f^2 = .08).

Table 4.16.
Model Summary for the Multiple Regression

Model Summary[b]				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.280[a]	.078	.042	.465
a. Predictors: (Constant), Hometown, Sex, MCKAS, MC Courses, Race, Age, SES, Education Level				
b. Dependent Variable: IAT				

Table 4.17.
ANOVA Table for Multiple Regression

ANOVA[b]					
Model	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1 Regression	3.737	8	.467	2.163	.032[a]
Residual	44.047	204	.216		
Total	47.784	212			
a. Predictors: (Constant), Hometown, Sex, MCKAS, MC Courses, Race, Age, SES, Education Level					
b. Dependent Variable: IAT					

Then a hierarchical regression was then conducted. Model one included the

region of the country dummy coded and entered first. Region of the country accounted

for about 4% of the variability of the scores on the IAT, but was not significant. The

effect size for this analysis was small (f^2 = .04). Model two includes regions of the

country, multicultural courses, SES, sex, MCKAS, age, hometown, race, and education

level. Model two accounts for about 10% of the variability, however, the regression as a

whole is not significant and the effect size is small (f^2 = .12). The MCKAS coefficient is

still statistically significant in Model 2. For information about the models see Tables

4.19 and 4.20.

Table 4.18.
Multiple Regression Coefficients Dependent Variable: IAT

| | | Coefficients | | | | |
| | | Unstandardized | | Standardized | | |
Model		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
1	(Constant)	1.059	.303		3.491	.001
	Sex	-.030	.078	-.027	-.387	.699
	Age	-.003	.004	-.057	-.823	.412
	Education Level	.066	.072	.070	.917	.360
	MCKAS	-.005	.002	-.234	-3.122	.002
	MC courses	.004	.009	.032	.463	.644
	Race	.165	.081	.143	2.048	.042
	SES	-.002	.073	-.002	-.024	.981
	Hometown	-.001	.020	-.002	-.027	.978

Table 4.19.
Hierarchical Regression Model Summary

| | | | | | Change Statistics | | |
| | | | Adjusted R | Std. Error of | R Square | | |
Model	R	R Square	Square	the Estimate	Change	F Change	df1
1	.201[a]	.040	-.002	.475	.040	.951	9
2	.323[b]	.105	.026	.468	.064	1.744	8

Model Summary[c]

a. Predictors: (Constant), region9 Abroad, region7 Mountain, region5 East South
Central, region8 Pacific, region3 West North Central, region6 West South Central,
region4 South Atlantic, region1 Mid-Atlantic, region2 East North Central
b. Predictors: (Constant), region9 Abroad, region7 Mountain, region5 East South
Central, region8 Pacific, region3 West North Central, region6 West South Central,
region4 South Atlantic, region1 Mid-Atlantic, region2 East North Central, MC Courses,
SES, sex, MCKAS, Age, Hometown, Race, Education Level
c. Dependent Variable: IAT

Table 4.20.
ANOVA Table for Hierarchical Regression

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Model						
1	Regression	1.933	9	.215	.951	.482[a]
	Residual	45.851	203	.226		
	Total	47.784	212			
2	Regression	4.994	17	.294	1.339	.172[b]
	Residual	42.790	195	.219		
	Total	47.784	212			

ANOVA[c]

a. Predictors: (Constant), region9 Abroad, region7 Mountain, region5 East South Central, region8 Pacific, region3 West North Central, region6 West South Central, region4 South Atlantic, region1 Mid-Atlantic, region2 East North Central
b. Predictors: (Constant), region9 Abroad, region7 Mountain, region5 East South Central, region8 Pacific, region3 West North Central, region6 West South Central, region4 South Atlantic, region1 Mid-Atlantic, region2 East North Central, MC courses, SES, Sex, MCKAS, Age, Hometown, Race, Education Level
c. Dependent Variable: IAT

The last research question asked what combination of predictor variables will best predict attitudes of counselor trainees toward interracial couples. A step-wise multiple linear regression analysis was conducted to determine the combination of variables that best predicts the score on the IAT. The predictors included were: the level of education, region of the county, community type, community size, age, SES, the race of the participant, and the score on the MCKAS. The criterion was the participants' score on the IAT. The result of this analysis is that the MCKAS is the only variable that can significantly predict scores on the IAT, the effect size was small (f^2 = .05). For details about the step-wise regression see Tables 4.21 – 4.24.

Table 4.21.
Model Summary for the Step-wise Regression

Model Summary				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.225[a]	.050	.046	.464

a. Predictors: (Constant), MCKAS

Table 4.22.
ANOVA Table for Step-wise Regression

ANOVA[b]					
Model	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1 Regression	2.412	1	2.412	11.218	.001[a]
Residual	45.372	211	.215		
Total	47.784	212			

a. Predictors: (Constant), MCKAS
b. Dependent Variable: IAT

Table 4.23.
Step-wise Regression Coefficients

Coefficients[a]					
Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
1 (Constant)	1.090	.264		4.137	.000
MCKAS	-.005	.001	-.225	-3.349	.001

a. Dependent Variable: IAT

Table 4.24.
Variables excluded from the Step-wise Regression

Excluded Variables[b]					
Model	Beta In	t	Sig.	Partial Correlation	Collinearity Statistics Tolerance
1 education	.057[a]	.779	.437	.054	.841
Regions	-.093[a]	-1.378	.170	-.095	.991
sex	-.022[a]	-.329	.743	-.023	1.000
age	-.078[a]	-1.135	.258	-.078	.962
race	.021[a]	.312	.755	.022	.995
community	-.079[a]	-1.184	.238	-.081	1.000
hometown	-.011[a]	-.162	.872	-.011	.999

Figure 1: Histogram of IAT scores

Histogram

Dependent Variable: IAT

Mean = -1.21E-17
Std. Dev. = 0.981
N = 213
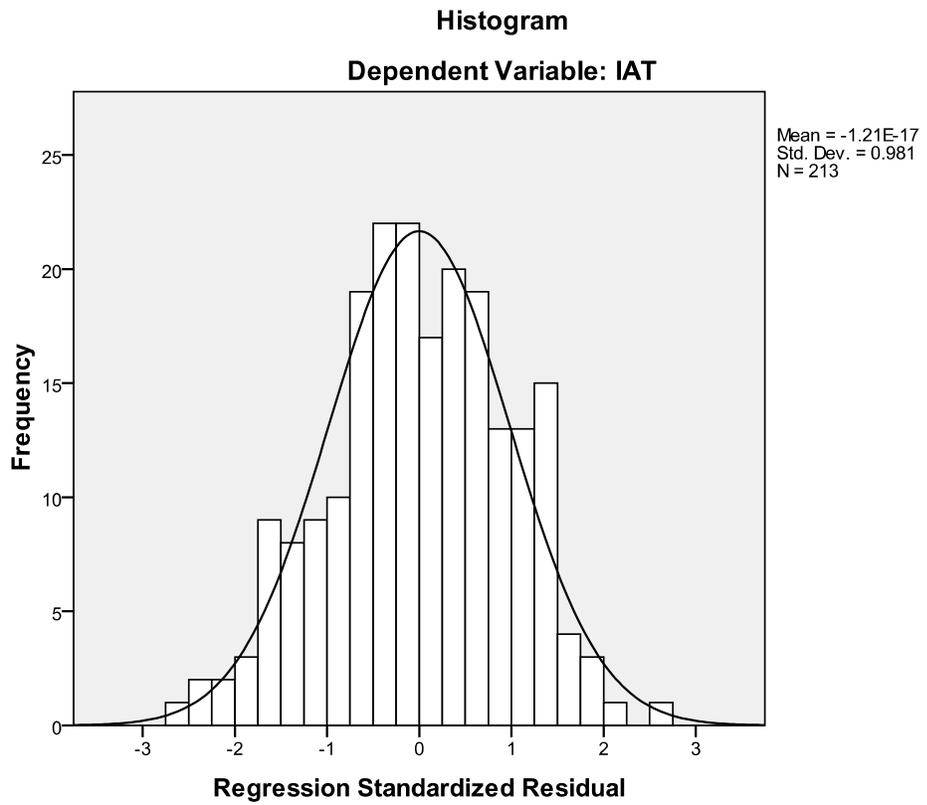
Figure 2: Normal P-P Plot of Regression Standardized Residual Dependent Variable IAT

Normal P-P Plot of Regression Standardized Residual

Dependent Variable: IAT
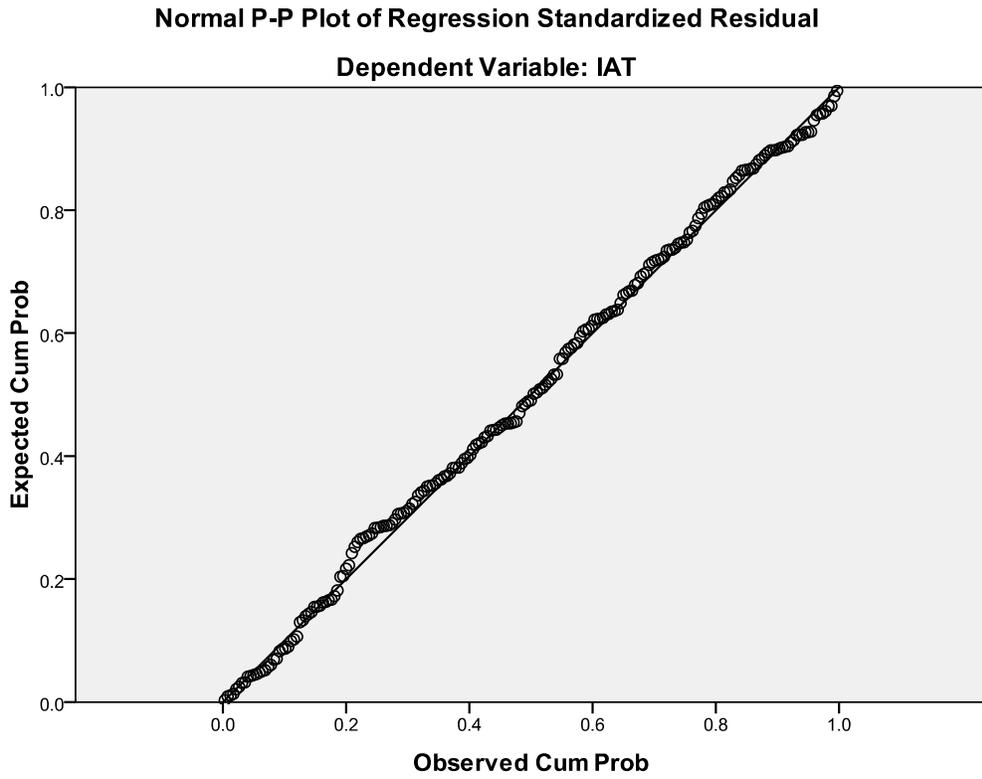
Figure 3: Scatterplot of Residuals

Scatterplot

Dependent Variable: IAT
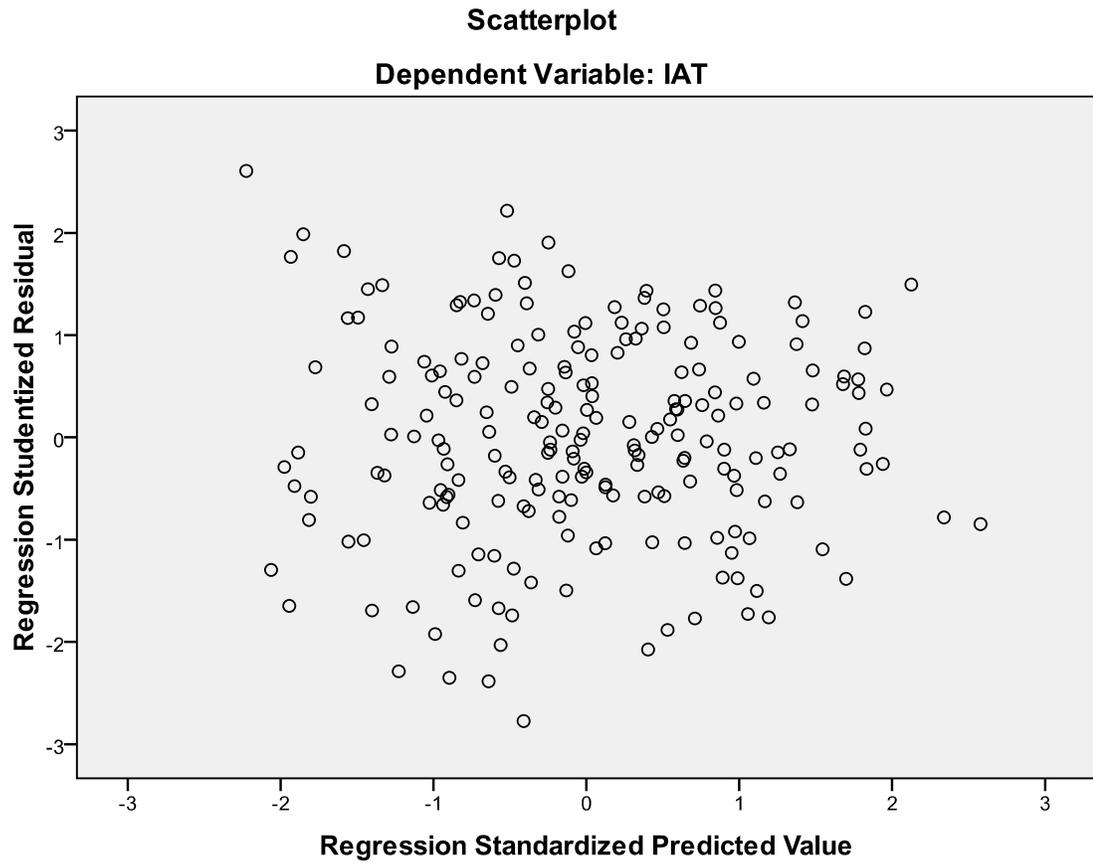
Chapter Five

Discussion

      Purpose of the present study. Research investigating attitudes toward race examined race as an individual variable. This included studies that examined attitudes toward individuals from specific racial groups (Devine et al., 2002; Monteith, Voils, & Ashburn-Nardo, 2001; Rudman, Feinberg, & Fairchild, 2002, Ottaway, Hayden, & Oakes, 2001). Others (Caltabiano, 1985; Dunleavy, 2004; Erskine, 1973; Fiebert et al., 2004; Garcia and Rivera ,1999; Jones, 2005; Lewandowski & Jackson, 2001; Martelle,1970; Miller, Olson, & Fazio, 2004; Mwamwenda, 1998; Wilson & Jacobson, 1995; Scott, 1987; Sones & Holston, 1988) have investigated explicit attitudes of participants toward interracial couples, however they did not examine implicit attitudes toward interracial couples. To date, no studies have used the Implicit Association Test (IAT) to measure counselor trainees' racial attitudes; nor have there been any studies that have used the IAT to measure the counselor trainees' attitudes toward interracial couples.

      This study focused on the implicit attitudes of counselor trainees toward interracial couples by measuring implicit associations between Black and White couples, and negative and positive words using the IAT. Examining what external demographic factors can be used to predict attitudes toward interracial couples; this study addresses four research questions to determine which individual demographic factor can predict attitudes toward interracial couples and which combination of factors can best predict attitudes toward interracial couples.

      The lack of negative attitudes toward interracial couples does not necessarily indicate a positive attitude toward interracial couples. The more plausible interpretation

of lower scores on the IAT is that those participants with lower score have neutral or accepting attitudes, but they do not necessarily endorse interracial marriage. The results of the IAT showed that most of the participants had a neutral association to a slight preference for intraracial marriages. None of the participants in this study had strong preferences for either interracial or intraracial couples. There was a normal distribution of scores with the mean score indicating a slight preference for intraracial marriages. This result was expected given that the participants in this study were mostly (74%) White and previous research showed those who are members of a minority race have more accepting attitudes toward interracial couples than those who are members of the majority race (Davidson & Schneider, 1992; Jacobson & Johnson, 2006; Lewis & Yancey, 1995; Martelle, 1970; Miller, Olson, & Fazio, 2004; Porterfield, 1978; Porterfield, 1982; St. Jean, 1998).

The first part of this study has examined whether or not differences in attitudes toward interracial couples could be found between demographic subgroups identified from the literature. Significant differences were found between participants who were from different regions of the country, different community types and sizes, age of the participant, and race of the participant. The demographic variables with non-significant differences between the subgroups in attitudes toward interracial couples include: education level, SES, and sex.

Demographic variable with significant differences. The fourth hypothesis predicted participants who are younger will have more accepting attitudes toward interracial couples than those who are older. The data show that the participants with the most accepting attitudes toward interracial couples were those who were in their fifties.

The results of this study are not consistent with other studies that found younger

participants had more accepting attitudes toward interracial couples (Caltabiano, 1985;

Erskine, 1973; Jacobson & Johnson, 2006; St. Jean & Parker, 1995; Wilson & Jacobson,

1995; Johnson & Jacobson, 2005; Jones, 2005; Sharp & Joslyn, 2008). It could be there is

some characteristic of this sample of participants that led to these results. It is not clear at

this time what that characteristic is. No other variable distinguished this group from other

age groups. It is possible that this deviation from previous research is an attribute of this

specific sample. Perhaps the fact that all of the participants are graduate students, and

therefore more educated than participants in previous research, alters the relationship

between age and attitudes toward interracial couples. To further exam the relationship

between age and IAT scores a regression analysis was also run. This analysis was not

significant indicating that age cannot predict attitudes toward interracial couples.

Demographic variables with non-significant differences. Hypothesis one stated

that participants with more education, i.e. earned master's degree and working toward a

doctoral degree, would have more accepting attitudes than those who have not yet earned

a master's degree. Those who had earned a master's degree had a mean IAT score that

was lower than those who had not yet earned a master's degree. Those with more

education had more accepting attitudes toward interracial couples but, the difference was

not significant.

The number of multicultural courses completed was also examined to see if there

was a correlation between number of courses taken and the IAT score. There was a

correlation of .033 between number of courses and score on IAT. This is a slight positive

correlation indicated that as the number of courses increase the IAT score also increases.

This was not the expected result because one would expect as the number of courses increased the score on the IAT would decrease. Indicating more accepting attitudes as students take more courses.

Hypothesis two states that participants who live in the northeast and the west will have a more accepting attitude toward interracial couples than participants from the south. Those from the west had the most accepting attitudes toward interracial couples. Participants from the northeast not only did not have more accepting attitudes, they had the most negative attitudes toward interracial couples. It is notable to point out that participants who were raised overseas had the most accepting attitudes toward interracial couples. The differences between the groups were not significant.

The third hypothesis states that participants from large, urban settings will have more accepting attitudes than participants from small rural communities. The results showed those from the suburbs have the most accepting attitudes toward interracial couples. Also, participants from cities sized 100,000 to 250,000 had the most accepting attitudes toward interracial couples. Neither variable, community type nor community size, had significant differences.

Hypothesis five states participants from the upper socioeconomic status will have more accepting attitudes toward interracial couples than those from the middle and lower socioeconomic status. This data shows that all three groups, upper, middle and lower, preferred intraracial couples, with lower SES having a slightly more neutral association than the other two groups. This suggests that those in the lower SES had more accepting attitudes toward interracial couples than participants from middle and upper SES, however, this difference was not significant.

The sixth hypothesis predicted that male participants would have more accepting attitudes toward interracial couples than female participants. The mean IAT score for men was lower than those for women. This result is consistent with the hypothesis; however, this difference was not significant.

The seventh hypothesis stated participants who are members of a minority race will have more accepting attitudes toward interracial couples than those who are from the majority race. The data from this study show that those from minority races do have a more accepting attitude toward interracial couples; however, this difference is not statistically significant. When the races were separated, Asian participants had the lowest mean score in the IAT, and therefore the most accepting attitudes toward interracial couples.

Predictors of IAT. The second part of this study identified whether or not the MCKAS could predict participants' scores on the IAT. The results of the simple regression indicated that the MCKAS could significantly predict scores on the IAT. Those who have higher scores on the MCKAS had more accepting attitudes toward interracial couples. No other research exists examining the relationship between the MCKAS and attitudes toward interracial couples. It makes sense given that those who have more multicultural knowledge and awareness would also have more accepting attitudes toward interracial couples. Higher scores on the MCKAS indicate higher levels of multicultural competency including beliefs, attitudes, knowledge, skills, awareness of one's own cultural values and biases, and awareness of the worldview of the culturally different, and knowledge of culturally appropriate treatment interventions (Sue et al., 1992). This result supports the multicultural education theory that states that prejudice

develops because of a lack of education, knowledge, and understanding of diverse groups
(Banks, 1995). Also the antiracist theory which suggests prejudice is caused by a lack of
knowledge about the history and experiences of minority groups (McGregor, 1993).

The third research question asks which of the variables will best predict the
attitudes of participants toward interracial couples. Regression analyses were completed
to determine which of the independent variables were best able to predict attitudes toward
interracial couples. In a hierarchical multiple regression the data showed that MCKAS
and race were both significant predictors of scores on the IAT.

The fourth research question asks what combination of predictor variables will
best predict attitudes of counselor trainees toward interracial couples. A step-wise
regression was run and determined that, again, the MCKAS was the only predictor of
attitudes.

Strengths and limitations of study. An important strength of this study is that it
investigated attitudes of counselor trainees toward interracial couples. Other studies have
investigated the attitudes of people in the general public, no study was found that has
examined attitudes of future counseling professionals. The level of education and number
of multicultural courses completed were not significant predictors of attitudes toward
interracial couples, however the MCKAS was a significant predictor indicating that
multicultural awareness and skills affects attitudes toward interracial. Counseling
programs need to find ways to continue to develop counselor trainees' multicultural
knowledge, awareness and skills.

Another strength of this study is that it measured attitudes toward interracial
couples implicitly rather than explicitly. This is a strength because it eliminates the

complication of social desirability. Participants are not able to filter their responses

through current societal expectations (Cunningham et al., 2001; Karpinski & Hilton,

2001). The IAT measures attitudes that are under the control of automatically activated

evaluation without the awareness of the participant (Greenwald et al., 1998). This will

reveal attitudes that the participant may not want to express explicitly or even admit they

have (Greenwald et al., 1998).

There have been some problems with the IAT because there is very little

convergent validity for the IAT when compared to explicit measures of attitudes

(Cunningham et al., 2001). There is also no clear determination for where neutral

attitudes ended and preferences begin.

Training of counselors. Because the MCKAS was the only significant predictor

of attitudes toward interracial couples, counselors should continue to participate in

multicultural training. Multicultural competency is an important factor in improving

racial attitudes. The counselor should have the ability to develop effective interventions

and treatment in order to increase the client's racial awareness and challenge racism

(McDowell, Fang, Young, Khanna, Sherman, & Brownlee, 2003). Vasquez suggested

including clients into the counselor's in-group. This is done by "tuning into the

individual, listening to their narratives, stories, and connecting with them as human

beings" (Vasquez, 2009, p. 137). Identify the strengths and sources of support that the

client has when entering treatment (Vasquez, 2009). The counselor should try to

empower the clients and work toward improving the quality of life for those clients

(Vasquez, 2009). Counselors who are able to understand their own racial identity and

assumptions are more comfortable discussing race and better able to treat clients

(McDowell, Fang, Young, Khanna, Sherman, & Brownlee, 2003). This becomes even more important when the counselor is in a counseling relationship with an interracial couple. These and other competencies should be taught to all counselor trainees. . It was interesting to note that the modal number of multicultural courses completed was one. Perhaps more coursework needs to be developed to specifically address multicultural knowledge, awareness, and skills. Multicultural competency is also important because of the growing number of interracial couples in the U.S. Counselor trainees need to be prepared for the diversity of the clients they will see when they become professionals.

Future research. This study did not examine the number of minority clients, the number of inter-racial couples seen by counselor trainees in counseling. Experiences other than course work may have an effect on attitudes toward interracial couples. Also, life experiences, such as personal inter-racial dating, friends who are inter-racially dating, etc., were not included as demographic variables in this study. Future research should include counselor trainees' history and experience with interracial couples.

Also, this study examined only demographic variables. These variables only accounted for 10% of the variance. Future research may also want to examine personality traits, political orientation, and religiosity to determine if these variables account for a larger portion of the variance in attitudes toward interracial couples.

All, of the participants of this study were counselor trainees, either working toward their master's degree in counseling from a CACREP accredited master's program or they had already earned their master's degree and were working toward their doctoral degree in counseling psychology from an APA approved doctoral program. This does not present an accurate representation of the community of mental health providers in terms

of age, race, and clinical experience. Therefore, another area suggested for future research involves obtaining a sample of professionals currently employed in the field.

   Summary. As part of their work, counselors form impressions about their clients and develop hypotheses about the nature of their presenting concerns based on attitudes toward their clients. Past research has shown how attitudes toward racial minorities and level of multicultural competency can influence the development of the working alliance. Because of the possibility of misdiagnosis, improper and/or prolonged treatment, and client harm; understanding attitudes of counselors toward interracial couples, and possible predicting variables of those attitudes, is important to providing multiculturally competent care to interracial couples seeking counseling. The current research about attitudes toward interracial couples has focused on the attitudes of nonprofessionals, whereas this study focused on counselor trainees. Previous to this study, no other research has addressed the variables that predict attitudes toward interracial couples. This study adds to the knowledge we have about attitude differences between different demographic groups by investigating predictive variables of counselor trainees' attitude toward interracial couples. For some of these factors, such as SES and age, the results contradict previous findings. MCKAS and race were the only variables that were able to significantly predict scores on the IAT. MCKAS was the most powerful variable in predicting attitudes toward interracial couples.

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Appendix A

List of Words for the IAT

happy__
loving __
friendly__
contentious___
incompatible __
satisfied __
excited__
depressed __
joy__
sad __
compatible __
angry__
hateful __
unsatisfied.__

Appendix B

Email letter to solicit participation

Dear Dr.,

Would you please share my dissertation study with your master's students in mental health, marriage and family, and community counseling, and your doctoral students in Counseling Psychology. The Ball State University Research Review Board has approved this study.

Dear graduate student,

My name is Patricia Roy-Petrick and I am a student at Ball State University. I am hoping that you could help me out with my dissertation research. I am conducting a study about attitudes toward inter-racial couples. The study involves some questionnaires and using the Implicit Association Test, which is a computer program. This study should take about 15 minutes.

To qualify to participate in this study you need to be a master's student in a CACREP accredited counseling program or already have a master's degree and working toward a doctoral degree in an APA accredited counseling psychology program. If you meet this criteria and you are interested in participating please follow the link below to the website and follow the directions on the first page there. There is little or no risk in participating in this study. You are free to withdraw your participation at any time.

NOTE: This study requires windows to run.
http://research.millisecond.com/pmroypetrick/batch.web

If you have any questions you can contact me at my email pmroypetrick@bsu.edu. You may also contact my dissertation chair, Charlene Alexander, PhD at calexander@bsu.edu.

I will be holding a drawing for two gift cards for $50 each. If you are interested in being entered into the drawing please send an email with your name and contact information. Thank you for your time.

Sincerely,

Patricia Roy-Petrick, MS
Doctoral Candidate
Ball State University

Appendix C

Multicultural Counseling Knowledge and Awareness Scale (MCKAS)

Copyrighted © by Joseph G. Ponterotto, 1997

A Revision of the Multicultural Counseling Awareness Scale (MCKAS)

Copyrighted © by Joseph G. Ponterotto, 1991

Using the following scale, rate the truth of each item as it applies to you.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at All True			Somewhat True			Totally True

----

1. I believe all clients should maintain direct eye contact during counseling.

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

2. I check up on my minority/cultural counseling skills by monitoring my functioning – via consultation, supervision, and continuing education.

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

3. I am aware some research indicates that minority clients receive "less preferred" forms of counseling treatment than majority clients.

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

4. I think that clients who do not discuss intimate aspects of their lives are being resistant and defensive.

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

5. I am aware of certain counseling skills, techniques, or approaches that are more likely to transcend culture and be effective with any clients.

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

6. I am familiar with the "culturally deficient" and "culturally deprived" depictions of minority mental health and understand how these labels serve to foster and perpetuate discrimination.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Using the following scale, rate the truth of each item as it applies to you.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at			Somewhat			Totally
All True			True			True

----

7. I feel all the recent attention directed toward multicultural issues in counseling is overdone and not really warranted.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

8. I am aware of individual differences that exist among members within a particular ethnic group based on values, beliefs, and level of acculturation.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

9. I am aware some research indicates that minority clients are more likely to be diagnosed with mental illnesses than are majority clients.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

10. I think that clients should perceive the nuclear family as the ideal social unit.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

11. I think that being highly competitive and achievement oriented are traits that all clients should work towards.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

12. I am aware of the differential interpretations of nonverbal communication (e.g., personal space, eye contact, handshakes) within various racial/ethnic groups.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

13. I understand the impact and operations of oppression and the racist concepts that have permeated the mental health professions.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

14. I realize that counselor-client incongruities in problem conceptualization and counseling goals may reduce counselor credibility.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

Using the following scale, rate the truth of each item as it applies to you.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at			Somewhat			Totally
All True			True			True

----

15. I am aware that some racial/ethnic minorities see the profession of psychology functioning to maintain and promote the status and power of the White Establishment.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

16. I am knowledgeable of acculturation models for various ethnic minority groups.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

17. I have an understanding of the role culture and racism play in the development of identity and worldviews among minority groups.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

18. I believe that it is important to emphasize objective and rational thinking in minority clients.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

19. I am aware of culture-specific, that is culturally indigenous, models of counseling for various racial/ethnic groups.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

20. I believe that my clients should view a patriarchal structure as the ideal.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

21. I am aware of both the initial barriers and benefits related to the cross-cultural counseling relationship.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

22. I am comfortable with differences that exist between me and my clients in terms of race and beliefs.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

Using the following scale, rate the truth of each item as it applies to you.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at			Somewhat			Totally
All True			True			True

----

23. I am aware of institutional barriers which may inhibit minorities from using mental health services.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

24. I think that my clients should exhibit some degree of psychological mindedness and sophistication.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

25. I believe that minority clients will benefit most from counseling with a majority who endorses White middle-class values and norms.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

26. I am aware that being born a White person in this society carries with it certain advantages.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

27. I am aware of the value assumptions inherent in major schools of counseling and understand how these assumptions may conflict with values of culturally diverse clients.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

28. I am aware that some minorities see the counseling process as contrary to their own life experiences and inappropriate or insufficient to their needs.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

29. I am aware that being born a minority in this society brings with it certain challenges that White people do not have to face.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

30. I believe that all clients must view themselves as their number one responsibility.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

Using the following scale, rate the truth of each item as it applies to you.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Not at All True | | | Somewhat True | | | Totally True |

----

31. I am sensitive to circumstances (personal biases, language dominance, stage of ethnic identity development) which may dictate referral of the minority client to a member of his/her own racial/ethnic group.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

32. I am aware that some minorities believe counselors lead minority students into non-academic programs regardless of student potential, preferences, or ambitions.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

Thank you for completing this instrument. Please feel free to express in writing below any thoughts, concerns, or comments you have regarding this instrument:

Appendix D

Demographic Questionnaire

1. What is your sex?
   a. female
   b. male

2. What is your age? _____

3. What is your racial identity? (Circle as many as apply)
   a. White
   b. Black/African American
   c. American Indian or Alaskan Native
   d. Asian
   e. Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
   f. Hispanic or Latino
   g. Other _____

4. What is your marital status?
   a. single
   b. single, committed relationship
   c. married
   d. divorced
   e. separated
   f. widowed

5. Which of the following best describes your home community while growing up?
   a. in the city
   b. in the suburbs
   c. in a rural community

6. What is the population of your hometown?
   a. less than 10,000
   b. 10,000 – 50,000
   c. 50,000 – 100,000
   d. 100,000 – 250,000
   e. 250,000 – 1,000,000
   f. More than 1,000,000

7. What is your present religious identification?
   a. Christian
   b. Jewish
   c. Muslim
   d. Hindu

  e. Buddist
  f. Other (please specify) _____
  g. None
  h. agnostic

8. What is your current level of education?
  a. working toward master's degree
  b. earned master's and working toward doctoral degree

9. Which of the following would best describe your socioeconomic status while growing up?
  a. lower
  b. middle
  c. upper
  d.
10. How many inter-racial romantic relationships have you personally been involved in? _____

11. What is the racial identity of the person(s) you dated? _____

12. If married or in a committed relationship what is the race of your partner?
  a. White
  b. Black/African American
  c. American Indian or Alaskan Native
  d. Asian
  e. Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
  f. Hispanic or Latino
  g. Other _____

13. How many graduate level multicultural courses have you taken? _____

14. How would you describe your political perspective?
  a. very liberal
  b. liberal
  c. liberal to moderate
  d. moderate to conservative
  e. conservative
  f. very conservative

11. How would you describe your level of religious involvement?
  a. high
  b. somewhat
  c. low
  d. none

15. How many inter-racial couples have you counseled? _____

14. Did you grow up in the United States? _____
If yes, which state? _____
If not, where did you grow up? _____

14. In what state do you currently live? _____

16. If applicable, please describe any experience working with an inter-racial couple in counseling, including the length of the counseling relationship, the success of the relationship, therapeutic alliance.