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THE RELATIONS BETWEEN WELL BEING, ATTITUDINAL AND BEHAVIORAL
FACTORS ACROSS THREE BLACK IDENTITY ORIENTATIONS:
ASSIMILATED, AFROCENTRIC, AND MULTICULTURAL

by

Kenneth Foster

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, the City University of New York

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Abstract

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN WELL BEING, ATTITUDINAL AND BEHAVIORAL
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By

Kenneth Foster

Adviser: William E. Cross, Jr.

Conceptually based in Cross' Nigrescence theory, this research measures three types of identity belief systems found in Black communities: Assimilation, Afrocentric, and Multicultural. The project represents one of the first empirical assessments of within- and between-group links between identity, attitude, behavior and well-being. A series of behavioral and attitudinal correlates are assessed with the hypothesis that there are significant within- and between-group differences. A subordinate goal was testing the traditional assumption of a positive correlation between racial identity and self-esteem. This study is located at the intersection of social identity theory, reference group theory, and Black identity theory. The research involved administration of several attitudinal and behavioral measures to 74 Black students at two New York City area colleges and 68 parishioners of Black churches in New York City and New Jersey. A series of correlational analyses were conducted to test a priori hypotheses and exploratory path analyses were conducted post hoc. In addition, a series of t-tests were conducted to examine the degree to which the church group and the student group exhibit relevant differences. With some notable exceptions, the major hypotheses were supported and the study implications are discussed.

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CHAPTER I: OVERVIEW OF IDENTITY

Identifying Identity

The term identity is derived from the Latin identitas, a root of idem, which means ‘the same.’ Similarly, the Philosophy of Mind Dictionary (Eliasmith, 2002) suggests that “every property (and thereby every mental property) is identical with some physical property”. This notion of sameness or similarity, however, falls far short of providing a comprehensive or exhaustive description or explanation of identity, given its myriad implications. The literature attendant to the concept of identity is voluminous. For instance, even a cursory search of a typical database of available literature—not confined to psychology or social science—generates references to identity in contexts such as survival (Norton, 1999), consumption (Kleine, 1999), success and failure (Fordham, 1996), dance and the arts (Cameron, 1994), and so on, ad infinitum. Given this seemingly endless array of ramifications for and treatments of identity, it should be made explicit that this document is confined primarily to identity in a particular social psychological sense.

Gleason’s (1983) ‘semantic history’ of identity informs us—through discussion of fictional literature¹ as well as popular and scholarly discourse—that the term can be and has been overused and misused. He also informs us that identity, typically viewed as a psychological construct, was not always dealt with as a major topic in psychology and was virtually absent from the social science literature for half a century after psychology’s debut. Some three decades later, however, there were substantial articles on concepts such as psychosocial identity (Gleason, 1983, p.910).

In the wake of World War II, national character studies (e.g., Adorno, Frenkel-Brunzik, Levindson, & Sanford 1950) fostered a proliferation of social scientific research as well as popular and scholarly discourse on what it means to be a Jew, a 'Negro,' and so on. By the late 1960s countless theoretical and research volumes, monographs, articles, and the like had been written on identity and multiple discourses on ethnic, racial, gender, sexual, and other identities were coming to fruition. This discursive growth was hardly limited to psychology or the social sciences. For example, much of our globalized media advertising and resulting consumer behavior is linked to or is directly focused on the notion of one's "individual" identity (Liebkind, 1992).

In articulating the complexities of defining identity, Erik Erikson emphasized that identity development is an integrative process and his renowned psychosocial model was developed to demonstrate, among other things, "the nature of epigenetic stages in which each stage makes a new ensemble out of all the earlier ones" (Evans, 1967, p. 41). What does not get addressed here is the idea that one may not always move from an old or preexisting identity profile to a new profile but that identity change may include identity reprises or recycling (Parham, 1987). Issues such as this and numerous others are in the purview of social psychology. In particular, much of what has been learned and continues to be explored and advanced has come with the advent of and falls under rubrics such as social identity theory and reference group theory, the focus of the next section.

Identity Theory

Social Identity Theory

The current study is about identity in the context of what it means to feel part of a group. Social identity theory (SIT, Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) posits

this belonging or group-groundedness is largely albeit not exclusively an externally driven phenomenon. Simply put, social identity is a medium through which we can internalize the degree to which we are similar to or different from other persons or our group is similar to or different from other groups.

Tajfel's (1978) definition for social identity is "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (p. 63). Social identity theory (SIT, Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) was developed as a meta-theoretical framework in order that social psychological processes of intergroup relations could be explained. As such, gender, race, ethnicity, and the like are subsumed under this rubric. However, although SIT is primarily about group processes, at the core is the notion of the individual's identity management strategies (Brown, 1988) and how, when, and with whom such strategies are implemented. This dovetails with the fact that SIT also posits that "people strive to achieve a positive social identity and will take individualistic or collective steps to remedy the situation if they feel they have an inadequate social identity" (Moghaddam, 1998, p. 485).

Tajfel based his theory on conceptions of groups that were often arbitrary, abstract, or, as demonstrated in his well-known research (Tajfel, 1969; Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971), minimal. In fact, he contended that for the purposes of explicating his theory, it was best to restrict the conceptualization to those categories or descriptors that are socially—as opposed to personally—asccribed. Tajfel was, however, aware of the potency of internal ascription and yet justified his position:

There is no doubt that the image or concept that an individual has of himself or herself is infinitely more complex, both in its contents and its derivations, than “social identity as defined and circumscribed here...the assumption is made that, however rich and complex may be an individual’s view of himself or herself in relation to the surrounding world, social and physical, some aspects of that view are contributed by the membership of certain social groups or categories” (Tajfel, 1978, p. 63)

This line of conceptualization was facilitated by the belief that all groups functioned psychologically the same. In other words, empirical assessment of group membership—and in turn membership importance or centrality—need not be context-specific. Brown (2000) counters that “an important step for SIT to take is to incorporate central dimensions of group diversity and no longer assume that a group is a group as far as key social psychological mechanisms are concerned” (p. 29).

While there is a range of SIT frameworks and models, there appears to be some consensus as to the basic components of the theory, e.g., social comparison, categorization, identification (Foster, 2000). These components overlap but also diverge and add a unique ingredient to the synthesis of the outcome. Deaux (1996) discusses the synergy of these often overlapping phenomena:

Within social identity theory, the identification process involves not only a claim to membership in one group, but typically a contrast of one’s own group with another group. The incorporation of a comparison standard in the conceptualization of collective membership derives from the theory’s early reliance on cognitive work in categorization, which suggests that categories are

determined both by the perceived similarities among a group of people or objects, and by perceived differences between those members and other potential members (p.778).

These interactive cognitive and affective processes function to engender ingroup favoritism through amplification of perceived positive distinctiveness of the ingroup. As such, one of the fundamental goals in SIT research is to unpack the kaleidoscopic relationships between these constructs (Deaux & Perkins, 2000). Another goal is deciphering the nuances between constructs such as identity and self-concept, personal versus group or social identity (also referred to as collective identity and reference group orientation).

Reference Group Theory

Like social identity theory, reference group theory (RGT) is about intergroup relations. Hyman (1942) developed the concept of reference group orientation over half a century ago to elucidate motivation and behavior geared toward seeking status. Specifically, he sought to better understand and explain how people develop a personalized hierarchical social framework within which they ultimately place or rank themselves. In other words, the RGO approach is by definition a phenomenological perspective that makes conceptual room for the target to exercise agency with respect to how they are otherwise socially delineated. It is a framework that addresses determinants (Why?) and consequences (So what?).

Reference group orientation (RGO; Hyman, 1942) allows a particular level of comprehension of the wide range of identity perspectives one finds in a large sample of people, a range not limited to the social categories and social perspectives typically

assigned or ascribed by the larger society. If, for example, a person born in the United States is nominally Black, one of her/his ostensible group or social identities is that of “Black” or “African American”. This is, at least initially, a socially ascribed identity and may or may not be a self-ascribed identity. Such an individual may in fact choose to identify primarily as “American,” “gay,” “Christian,” or as “a professional,” and the fact that he/she is nominally Black may be a less meaningful or central personal category. As such, Deaux (1992) reminds us that our time may be better spent “trying to explore the parameters of identity categories rather than to assume them” (p. 20).

Sherif (1968) gave us the following temporal explanation for the genesis of RGO: “Modern [people are], especially in western societies, caught in the throes of vertical mobility, in the ‘dilemma and contradictions of status’, and painful predicament of marginality created by the demands and goals originating in diverse groups” (p. 25). Likewise, Cross (1991) also emphasizes function of “mass society” as antecedent to and reason for systematic study of RGO. Relatedly, Merton and Rossi (1968) see the task of reference group research as “immediately about investigating those problems centered around the individual’s orientation to groups in which [they typically are] not a member” (p. 24). This “incongruent self-image,” a conscious departure from modal or socially desirable patterns (Charters & Newcomb, 1968) of behavior and attitude, i.e., identity, is not always easy to explain.

Profoundly and intriguingly absent (or presupposed) from the identity literature is a fuller discourse—theoretically and empirically grounded—on the vast array of PI correlates, RGO correlates and interactions of both PI and RGO correlates (see Cross, 1991). There is instead a tendency in the literature to focus on and examine relationships

between those subcomponents of the self-concept that are called well-being, general personality, and mental health. The result is a decoupling that has left the gestalt (read identity theory) devoid of a major part of its breadth, i.e., particularly as regards reference group orientation. There have been a few exemplars, one of which (Denton, 1983) will be discussed in the following chapter.

Correlates of Identity

Self-Esteem and Identity

The self-concept may be best characterized as the reticulation of relevant parts, each of which helps provide clarity as to how a person reflects on, i.e., makes meaning of, self. These parts “cluster” and in turn form two components of the self: The personal identity or mental health component and the reference group or social identity component. For various historical reasons (Cross, 1991), and because of the overall thrust of social identity theory (Tajfel, 1971), which tends to stress the self-esteem functions of social identity, the mental health and self-esteem aspects of group identity have dominated the discourse on group identity, and far fewer studies have isolated the reference group correlates of identity.

Historically, it has been assumed that Blacks, by virtue of their internalization of negative stereotypes, i.e., reflected appraisal, have a negative view of themselves. It has been well-documented that numerous social scientists, Black and White, assumed in turn that this view was the source of low self-esteem and even self-hatred (Clark, 1965; Frazier, 1957; Kardiner & Ovesey, 1951). As such, it was assumed that Blacks and others inhere a disproportionate amount of psychopathological damage. In spite of Rosenberg’s (1965) and others’ compelling evidence to the contrary, i.e., that Blacks do not have

lower self-esteem than Whites, this traditional perspective continues to drive much of the current research.

While the current study adds to the literature on the relationship between identity and mental health, it breaks new ground in attempting to isolate a wide range of identity correlates that go beyond the focus of mental health or self-esteem. Self-esteem will, however, be a focus in terms of the validity of the traditional theorizing, i.e., that one's Black consciousness (read Black identity) holds a direct relationship (positive correlation) with their self-esteem.

Meaning Making and Multiplicity

Erikson's attempts to demonstrate the crucial role of meaning making in identity development are clear in much of his work. Describing his understanding of identity formation, Erikson speaks of the process as "a restructuring of all previous identifications in light of an anticipated future" (Evans, 1967, p. 36). By dovetailing Freud's psychoanalytic theory with his own epigeneticⁱⁱ "eight stages of man" (Erikson, 1963), he proposed a psychosocial model of identity development less bounded than the model of his mentors. That is, his model begins to lift up the role of phenomenology in identity formation. Interestingly, it is by pointing to some of the intimate writings of Freud that Erikson conveys the highly affective nature of meaning making. For example, Freud emoted that his ethnic pride and identity were manifest in "a deep communality known only to those who shared in it, and only expressible in words more mythical than conceptual" (Sigmund Freud, as quoted in Erikson, 1968, p. 21).

From a developmental perspective, the emergence and evolution of personal identity (PI), social identity, and RGO occurs over the course of the life span, including

childhood and preadolescence. The overarching self-concept evolves first from infancy through pre-adolescence, where the drafting and designing of attributes (read PI and RGO components) begins. In turn, PI and RGO components evolve, develop and mature between childhood and pre-adolescence (Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 2001). Indeed, as the child is nearing adolescence, she or he has already acquired a measurable amount of self-concept development. As these cognitive mechanisms take hold (James, 1890), the child becomes more self-reflective, a powerful, fundamental quality. It is here that the integrated self (Erikson, 1968) comes onto the play. Therefore, setting aside discussion of genetic predisposition, we see that one's environment provides for and allows the genesis of our being, i.e., interests, preferences, and the like, which over time becomes particularistic. That is, one's personal identity "correlates" and reference group "correlates" take on such definition that most can be theorized, conceptualized, and, most importantly, measured through either qualitative or quantitative methods.

As the developed person emerges and develops the capacity to self-reflect, her/his sense of individuality as well as group-groundedness becomes more apparent. Each of many personal identity attributes and each of many reference group self-categories become integrated as the person's "identity". Issues of psychopathology aside, most people, by late adolescence and beyond, experience a phenomenological wholeness, or integrated self. So it is that while Tiger Woods began mastery of a golf club not long after he could walk, others have learned, much later in life, to excel in areas such as realizing they could sing a perfect "high C" note. That is, through reflexivity or gaining awareness that one has certain capacities, the individual begins to connect the dots (not necessarily in a linear fashion) that lead them to a somewhat stable interpretation of who she/he is.

Thus, at adolescence and beyond, males and females are able to provide, through interviews or paper pencil questionnaires, fairly reliable and valid insights into the PI and RGO attributes that make up their self-concept.

Identity, because of its complexity and diversity, cannot be assessed simply in a dichotomous fashion, as if, for example, one is Democrat or Republican, Black or White, militant or assimilated. That is, although we study Jewish identity, Black identity, and female identity, there are various ways of orchestrating or having a sense of being Jewish or Black or female, or being Jewish and Black and female. Deaux and Perkins (2000), using the apt metaphor of a kaleidoscope to 'bring into focus' the ways in which our identity is nonlinear, dynamic and situationally variable (Shelton & Sellers, 2000).

Summary

This chapter sought to provide an overview of the construct of identity, in general, and social identity and reference group orientation, in particular. Volumes have been written and published, each seeking to provide clarity on at least one of the facets of this hydra-like concept. As such, the chapter provides a useful glimpse of identity as an overarching framework for countless cases in point. Each of those cases has in common that there is an inherent goal of meaning making via its components.

A comparative analysis of social identity theory (SIT) and reference group orientation (RGO) theory (cf. Foster, 2001) demonstrates, among other things, that both theoretical perspectives contribute to understanding the larger notion of self-concept. For example, the self-concept can be viewed in the context of an individual's "social exterior and psychological interior," wherein social identity might most commonly refer to one's

socially “overt, visible, palpable self” and reference group orientation to an individual’s “private world of emotions, attitudes, wishes, secrets” (Rosenberg, 1979, p. 22).

The current research is grounded in the assumption that there is variation in the ways in which people derive social meaning, strive to achieve and maintain well-being or mental health, and “experience” identity as a set of particular attitudes, beliefs, and action propensities. If each identity type or RGO turns out to be an equally efficacious path toward personal mental health, then no difference can be expected between the divergent meaning making systems across a range of personal identity or mental health outcomes. On the other hand, if the meaning making systems are in fact qualitatively different, the attendant difference in lived experience should be also evidenced by measurably divergent attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors across a range of social identity or reference group correlates. We continue the discourse in the next chapter by exploring identity and meaning making through the examination of a case in point, Black identity, which is the major focus of this dissertation.

CHAPTER II: BLACK IDENTITY

It is important to keep in mind that the minority individual is not a blank stencil accepting every imprint with which society strikes it (Rosenberg, 1972, p. 164)

Black identity, like any social identity, is a negotiated understanding of who one is and, reciprocally, a negotiated understanding of who others believe one to be. It can be said that while social identity is the generic, Black identity is a case in point, framed by its own unique historical influences which have impacted the ways in which this concept has been viewed and systematically studied. In the last 30 years there has been considerable progress in research on Black identity. Indeed a number of useful assessment tools for measuring racial or ethnic identity have been developed and this chapter discusses some of the more widely used measures. In turn, I discuss why and how Cross' expanded theoretical model of identity development and the Cross Racial Identity Scale represent a new standard for addressing the paucity of empirical data on the relationships between identity and the boundless repertoire of behaviors and attitudes.

The historically distorted portrayal of the Black or African has been interwoven in the psyche of Blacks and Whites for centuries and many of the stereotypes continue to be negotiated. Whether we are viewing television, movies or videos, reading a newspaper or scientific journal, the portrayal of Blacks is often if not typically as "patients, parolees, petitioners of aid, and seldom as rounded human beings" (See, 1998, p. 11). These profiles attest to what Asante (personal communication, May 27, 2003) refers to as "The relentless bombardment of images set to misdirect and falsify the history of Blacks, as if Africa is on the fringe or periphery of history". This historical sociological and psychological view of the 'Negro profile' as pathological has been fueled largely by

theories of self-hatred and attendant psychological deficit (Kardiner & Ovesey, 1951; Myrdal, 1944/1996; Rosenberg, 1972; Woodson, 1933). This 'reasoning' is largely predicated on or embedded within an assumption of Black identity as monolithic. The current research aids in demonstrating the need for theoretical stances that acknowledge and respect the heterogeneity of Black people.

Multiplicity and Black Identity

That Blacks are by virtue of their American experience, bicultural in overall orientation, is a fact few would deny. So it is that even the person that is highly Afrocentric will likely present—in one context or another—with a measurable degree of Assimilation. Therefore a major challenge to understanding Black identity development is addressing the possibility that values and beliefs from different stages co-exist within the individual (Stevenson, 1998). So, for example, a person can be “angry from encounter experiences from majority culture persons or institutions (e.g., refused hiring on the basis of one’s race) and hold multicultural internalization attitudes” (Stevenson, 1998, p. 219). That is, a within-group spectrum exists, across which one finds a range in degree of commitment to a particular ideology. In turn, we should expect there will be quantifiable difference in the repertoires of behaviors and attitudes. As mentioned, an underlying assumption is that individuals hold not one identity type but a matrix of identity types. That is, no person is likely to be simply or purely any particular identity. Specifically, an individual will present a matrix of personal identities (PIs) and a matrix of social identities or reference group orientations (RGOs), each having its own level of importance, salience, or centrality.

Cross' expanded Nigrescence model addresses the within-stage and across-stage complexity and the inherent multiplicity implications (Cross & Vandiver, 2000). While the current study does not address directly this important conceptual issue, it does provide a potential framework for such future research. That is, by identifying an array of behavioral and attitudinal correlates to one's identity, we may be able to further develop and measure such arrays in terms of overall profiles of the individual's identity multiplicity and the role of contextual experiences in the expression of racial identity attitudes.

Keeping in mind that in a large sample of people it may be possible to isolate a wide range of identity types or identity categories, an empirical question is how does each identity type correlate with any given behavior or attitude. For the current study we are looking particularly at the extent to which overall each targeted RGO (i.e., Assimilated, Afrocentric, and Multicultural) correlates with certain behavioral and attitudinal variables.

Afrocentricity

There is a looming debate around what is meant by and what the implications for being Afrocentric are. This ideology, which stresses one's Blackness, is often seen as synonymous with Black Nationalism. In fact, many see Afrocentricity as a significant part of the broader category of Black Nationalist historiography (Essien-Udom, 1962; Sundiata, 1996). One Africanist puts it this way: "Whatever the specific nationalist format, the New Black American would be a transformed, self-actualized individual" (Van DeBurg, p. 14). So it is that while researchers are usually aware of the discursive

considerations, the terms Afrocentric and Black Nationalist are often conflated and utilized interchangeably.

Some of the tenets of Afrocentricity (and Black Nationalism) include: an endearment with the Black community; the primacy of self-definition and self-determination; measurable engagement with or development of grassroots initiatives; a connection with African spirituality and culture—including recognition of a history of superiority in science and art; a focus on the need for within-group solidarity. Another common thread is the undeniable history of oppression. Such history leaves the Afrocentrist, compared to the multiculturalist, somewhat skeptical and “suspicious of claims that radically divergent groups can live...on an equal basis” (Moses, 1998).

In terms of the social psychological ramifications of this ideological stance, Van Deburg (1997) offers the following:

Hoping to turn presumed racial deficits (skin color, cultural forms and traits) into wellsprings of strength, these nationalist alchemists strive to bring about a unifying, self-defining revolution in racial consciousness that will ultimately lead to revolutionary advances in the area of black self-determination (p. 5).

As such, this revolution represents a counter vision of the deficit model. However, Van Deburg referred to the overcommitted individual as one who may “generate more heat than light” (p. 2) on complex issues related to race.

And finally, we have seen historically that an effective strategy for dissemination of and gaining adherents to one’s ideology is by pointing to its potency relative to other, typically disparate, and possibly competing, ideologies. Chief among such ideologies, with respect to Afrocentricity, are Assimilation and Multiculturalism.

Assimilation

It is important to include a reference group orientation such as Assimilationist in this study because within this ideology race and ethnic culture are rendered nondescript. That is, this reference group may be viewed as something other than a Black identity, *per se*. It is a widely held assumption that Blacks, as a somewhat natural progression, have sought to become assimilated into the majority or mainstream (Essien-Udom, 1962). Suffice to say, many Blacks do indeed set as a primary goal attaining the American Dream and all that comes with it (Cose, 1993). It is highly unlikely that someone is living their entire life or some number of years in this society without becoming, to some degree, assimilated into the majority or mainstream way of thinking and behaving. Such persons would likely respond affirmatively to statements such as, "My American identity, and not some sort of 'group' identity, is central to how I think, act, and feel in many, many situations"ⁱⁱⁱ

Overall, however, many would balk at the notion that Blacks, as compared to other groups, can ever be truly assimilated or integrated into an essentially White-controlled society (Comer, 1972). In this regard, a focus of the current research is on the persons who are, at least by their own voice, highly assimilated. The "melting pot" phenomenon represents a typical assumption or goal for adherents to this reference group orientation. Increasingly greater acceptance and participation in mainstream pursuits and activities tend to be part and parcel of this accommodating ideology.

Multiculturalism

In a bicultural or multicultural identity, race is viewed as important but within a shared primacy or centrality, e.g., identifying as both Black and American.

Such individuals convey that, "Race is important to me, but..." Consequently, in order to assess the way race operates in, say, a bicultural or biracial identity, one has to present survey items that have two stems, one of which is a race-based stem. In turn, the same would apply to the multicultural identity, which for current purposes is argued to be a three-stem identity. For example, such a person may respond affirmatively to a survey item such as, "I am a Black person with a multicultural identity that connects me to (multiple groups)."

The multiculturalist, sometimes subsumed under the rubric of pluralism, is the individual that seeks to cross, connect, and forge new and broader borders in terms of race, ethnicity, and class, often within the context of social issues such as education (Banks, 1978; Tatum, 1987). Van Deburg (1997) refers to this individual as tending to "view the social world as being composed of various ethnic and interest groups, all of whom are competing with one another for goods and services. This is fine, they say, as long as equal opportunities, privileges, and respect are accorded to all" (p. 3). This RGO is significantly juxtaposed to both the Afrocentrist and the Assimilationist. That is, the Multiculturalists seek, on the one hand, to invest in cultural plurality while, on the other hand, they seek, metaphorically, a pot without the melting. They are neither as skeptical as the Afrocentrist nor as acquiescing as the assimilationist but they tend to envision a space where people coexist on more than a superficial level.

These three identity categories are emblematic of the variables of focus in Black identity theory. For example, Sellers (see below) measures a set of identities or reference groups that include Nationalist, Assimilationist, and Humanist, wherein we find these have significant overlap with Cross' RGOs of Afrocentric, Assimilationist, and

Multicultural, respectively. Theorists such as Sellers^{iv} and Cross utilize these overlapping identity frames to drive the discourse on Black identity. Having delineated some of the vast array of identity types found in Black communities, we turn our focus to the empirical work conducted in efforts to assess or measure such types.

Modern research on Black identity has not only debunked the notion that the average Black is inherently self-hating, but has revealed as well that there is a range of identity configurations to be found within a large, random sample of Black people. A major force in this contemporary systematic examination over the last 30 years comes under the heading of Black psychology. Black psychology (Boykin, 1971; Hall, Cross, & Freedle, 1972; Sellers, et al., 1998) began consciously as a revisionist perspective to traditional theorizing and sought to establish a counter narrative of psychological phenomena as pertains to Black populations in the United States. In turn, we are witnessing a broad and burgeoning body of research with goals including 1) a thorough reexamination of the traditional pathology-based assumptions 2) increased understanding of the identity transformations that coincide with the Black Power and Civil Rights movements 3) a discourse that transcends the assumption that inclusion, versus transformation, is the ultimate social goal and 4) elucidating the diversity of Black identity and “social and historical forces that tended to blind observers...to the existence of such diversity” (Cross, 1991, p. xiii). With respect to the last point, a number of Black racial identity theories have developed. As such, there are several conceptual frameworks within which important empirical work is being conducted. In particular, there are several major models of racial or ethnic identity development. The following is a brief discussion of some of these models.

Theories and Models of Black Identity Development

A growing number of conceptual frameworks and theoretical models of Black racial identity have been generated since the turbulent 1960s (Cross, 1970, 1991; Helms, 1990; Milliones, 1973; Parham & Helms, 1981; Sellers, et al., 1999; Thomas, 1971). Most of these models represent a stage or process approach to “a general pattern of development from a diffuse stage of psychological immaturity to more advanced and well-formed stages of maturity” (Denton, 1985, p. 11).

The dynamic and evolutionary nature of the process approach provides insight on the ways in which a Black person views her/himself as well as their relationships with other Blacks and their overall environment. In turn, these models have led to development of some widely used identity measures (Helms, 1990; Phinney, 1992; Resnicow, Soler, Braithwaite, Selassie, & Smith, 1999; Vandiver, et al., 2000), each of which isolates a set of distinct and overlapping stages of identity development and associated identity types or reference group orientations (see Figure 1). With this in mind, the current thesis tries to “lock into” three of the RGOs (Assimilated, Afrocentric, Multicultural) that Cross targets throughout his discourse on development, socialization, conversion, and the lifespan (Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 2001). The Cross model represents the overarching theoretical driving force of this dissertation and is described in the following section.

Cross' Nigrescence Model

As a process or developmental model, Cross' Nigrescence^v theory (NT) proposes Black identity formation across a series of somewhat linear stages. Originally, these stages reflected the historical experiences of Blacks vis-à-vis the Civil Rights and Black

Power movements, from the 1950s through the 1970s. The model continued to evolve in the 1980s, informed by “studies showing the relevance of the stage-concept in ordinary Black life and beyond the pale of social movement dynamics” (Cross & Vandiver, 2001). Cross’ model¹ points to stages wherein the person develops her or his reference group orientations, i.e., the varied and changing “cognitive and affective approaches to self and society rather than an invariant developmental trajectory (Worrell, Vandiver, & Cross, 2000, p. 1)”. That is, a major premise of the model is that Black identity is not a monolith. The following is a brief description of the developmental stages and the related identity s as currently articulated by Cross’ model.

Stage One: Preencounter

It is at this stage that one is least likely to exhibit what one would refer to as engagement of a “Black” identity. Deracination or a de-emphasizing of one’s Blackness characterizes the preencounter period. A major insight articulated in Cross’ expansion of the theory is that preencounter is further characterized by at least three distinct expressions:

Preencounter Assimilated (PA) – Gravitation toward being American and by extension an individual; little emphasis placed on racial identity (low race salience); engaging in “Black” behavior is not as likely as for Blacks in proceeding stages and in the extreme this person may work in opposition to “race-based” initiatives. Such persons reflect a positive personal psychology and are expected to score at the same level of mental health and self-esteem as any of the selected identity orientations.

¹ A full explication of the expanded Nigrescence model and theory is presented in Cross and Vandiver (2001).

Preencounter Miseducated (PM) – Through accepting and internalizing negative stereotypes and group images, this individual is likely to be distrusting, doubtful, or disparaging with respect to engaging in “Black” activities or behavior; may exhibit a myopic “I’m not like them” posture. This compartmentalization may lead to their image of the group being tainted, rendering self-esteem questionable at least.

Preencounter Self-Hating (PSH) – As indicated earlier, personal identity (PI) is not a component of most nigrescence or social identities. The exception is the PSH identity, in which a negative RGO is integrated into the self-concept, resulting in self-hatred because of racial affiliation (Cross, 1991, 1995; Cross & Vandiver, 2001). PSH is a group- and self-derogation posture held by a person because of the fact that he or she is Black; as pointed out by Cross and Vandiver (2000), “Such personal dysfunctionality and group hatred clearly limit the positive engagement of Black problems and Black culture” (p. 9. Their negative image of the group combined with their racial self-hatred makes it likely that they suffer from relatively lower self-esteem^{vi}).

Stage Two: Encounter

This stage is characterized by some first-hand or vicarious revelatory experience that runs counter to preexisting beliefs or ideologies. Put differently:

individuals are confronted with or surprised by events or circumstances—personal or societal—which call their Pre-Encounter attitudes into question. The Encounter triggers the recognition that, in American society, race plays an important and often pivotal role in many arenas (Worrell, Vandiver, & Cross, 2000, p. 1).

The encounter stage, because of its dynamic and virtually unpredictable nature, is a stage that does not readily lend itself to empirical scrutiny. As such, while it is clearly a crucial stage in the model, it is not a stage that is systematically measured.

Stage Three: Immersion-Emersion

This is a transitional period wherein the individual is in a state of psychological flux. The person becomes immersed in their Blackness. Refinement of the Cross model and in particular the empirical work conducted with the CRIS has demonstrated that there are two distinct variations of this stage:

Anti-White (IEAW) – As explained by Cross, this attitude “describes Black people who are nearly consumed by a hatred of White people and White society and all that it represents, and will engage Black problems and Black culture but is frequently predictably unpredictable, volatile, full of fury and pent-up rage”
(Cross & Vandiver, 2000, p. 9)

Intense Black Involvement (IEIBI) – this is an attitude wherein the person is engulfed in or obsessed by “all things Black”. The individual is a disciple, engaging their Blackness and immersed in such a way as to be vulnerable to “either-or” thinking with respect to complex racial issues and susceptible to taking on a “Blacker-than-thou” persona.

Stage Four: Internalization

This advanced stage represents a state of identity resolution, a point at which one is content with and secure in their Blackness. This stage is most directly associated with three identity orientations (Afrocentricity, Biculturalism, and Multiculturalism), but we

will confine ourselves to the two orientations actually measured by the Cross Racial Identity Scale or CRIS:

Afrocentric (IA) — This is a somewhat monocultural identity in which race and Black culture are accorded central and in some ways singular significance. This stage is characteristic of “the type of Black individual who stresses an Afrocentric perspective about oneself, Black people, and the surrounding world. There is no question that such persons engage Black problems and Black culture” (Cross & Vandiver, 2000).

Multiculturalist-Inclusive (IMCI) — While such persons are likely quite connected to the Black community, their worldview leads them to appreciate and prefer a meaningful connection to a variety of cross-cultural enactments. They are typically persons “whose identity fuses or reticulates linkages between three or more social categories... Whether it is the person’s perceptions of a situation, or the need to make a key identity decision, nearly equal weight is given to the multiple categories that drive the person’s sense of identity” (Cross & Vandiver, 2000).

Cross chose to forego creating a subscale for the Internalization Biculturalist identity. The rationale here, as stated earlier, is that realistically most people are believed to possess multiple cultural identities. Theoretically, the Biculturalist identity describes the possibility that Blacks have another salient cultural identity beyond Blackness. Thus, in all likelihood, Multiculturalists would endorse items for both the Biculturalist and Multiculturalist identities, resulting in gross overlap between the two constructs.

Cross and colleagues developed the Cross Racial Identity Scale (Appendix C) (CRIS; Vandiver, Cross, Fhagen-Smith, & Worrell, 2000) in order to operationalize the model and measure identity types (RGOs) found in Black populations (see Chapter Three for a description of these orientations). The authors spent five years in development of the scale and conducted an extensive validation project, using two separate studies with large samples. Additionally, a recently modified version of the CRIS allows for the assessment of what is being referred to as Conservative Political Attitude and Low Race Salience. The former is a brief subscale that assesses an individual's tendency toward a conservative stance on typically racially divisive social and political issues such as affirmative action. The latter assesses the degree to which an individual's perception of life is in non-racial (colorblind) terms. That is, the degree to which a person's self-concept "accords minimal significance to the fact of one's Blackness, other than in a nominal sense." (Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 2000, p. 252).

A developmentally oriented study would show people moving from one identity stage to another. The current work, however, takes a more cross-sectional approach in contemplating that the developmental exemplars match up with identities that are commonplace to the Black community. Thus, the current study, like the Cross model, is based on the fundamental premise that there is no consummate or ideal Black identity. As such it will highlight deliberately selected identity orientations that are divergent enough in content and dynamics to show how Black identity indeed differs. These three selected RGOs commonly found in Black communities are: Afrocentric, Assimilated, and Multiculturalist.

Over the last three decades we have seen a number of measures developed for assessing racial or ethnic identity. Measures have been developed for groups such as African Americans (Milliones, 1973; Parham & Helms, 1981; Vandiver, et al, 2000), Chinese Americans (Ting-Toomey, 1981), Greek Americans (Constantinou & Harvey, 1985), and Jewish Americans (Zak, 1973).

Sellers' Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI)

Developed by Sellers and colleagues (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998), the MMRI is a model based on four assumptions, including "that individuals' perception of their racial identity is the most valid indicator of their identity" (p. 23). Sellers et al. (1998) developed the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI), in order to operationalize his model. The MIBI assesses identity belief systems, what we have been referring to as reference group orientations (RGOs). Specifically, the MMRI focuses primarily on racial identity status at a given point in time, as opposed to identity development. Empirical work conducted with the MIBI has yielded results including that there were no measurable gender differences across scales (analyzed as factors) or variables of interest, including self-esteem. Interestingly, much of the research using the MIBI has focused almost exclusively on centrality, i.e., the importance one gives to their Blackness, which is in fact a unidimensional construct.

Phinney's Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM)

Phinney's (1992) goal was to design a measure of the general phenomenon of ethnic identity development, i.e., universal identity aspects that are attached to or contingent upon one's ethnicity. These universals include self-identification and ethnicity,

ethnic behaviors and practices, affirmation and belonging, and ethnic identity achievement. The MEIM operationalizes Marcia's (1980) stages of development and operationalizes ethnic identity as a continuum, moving from exploration to achievement. This 14-item scale has been widely used with samples that are not preselected according to race or ethnicity, and measures positive ethnic attitudes and sense of belonging; ethnic identity achievement; and ethnic behaviors. Additional items are included to assess self-identification and parents' ethnicity. Phinney's findings, from separate samples of Asian, Black, Hispanic, Multiracial and White high school and college students, included: no gender differences across ethnic identity; college students showed higher levels of ethnic identity; ethnic behaviors was positively correlated with ethnic identity; self-esteem was found to be lowest among the college sample of Whites.

Helms' Racial Identity Attitude Scale

Helms' (1984, 1990a) work on racial identity development has made a contribution that is substantial and significant to the counseling psychology literature (Fischer, Tokar, & Serna, 1998). Racial identity development was operationalized by Helms (Parham & Helms, 1981) through development of the Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS), possibly the most widely used self-report measure of its kind. The scale's most recent iteration (RIAS-L; Helms & Parham, 1996), like its predecessors, was designed to be reflective of the stages set forth in Cross' Nigrescence model. Helms' RIAS is to date the most widely used scale for operationalizing African American racial identity development. Specifically, the Racial Identity Attitude Scale-Black (RIAS-B; Parham & Helms, 1981) "made Nigrescence theory more accessible for practical and research applications." (Vandiver, Cross, Worrell, & Fhagen-Smith, 2002). In turn, a

number of personal identity variables and variables related to counseling, have been explored in terms of their correlation with Black identity (Fischer, Tokar, & Serna, 1998). Among these are depression (Munford, 1994), gender role conflict (Wade, 1996), self-actualization and affective states (Parham & Helms, 1985a), preference for counselor race (Helms & Carter, 1991; Parham & Helms, 1981), and of course, self-esteem (Parham & Helms, 1985b). However, a major concern with this otherwise appropriate measure is that it is based on Cross' original theory and does not take into account those crucial factors explored within the expanded model.

Denton's Research

One particular study that did attempt a systematic investigation such as the current study was conducted by Denton (1984). Also a doctoral dissertation, Denton's work sought to measure the relationships between one's level of Black consciousness (Milliones, 1973) and a number of identity correlates. This research was driven by the Milliones model, a stage theory not unlike the Cross NT model, hypothesizing four stages in the process of identity development. In fact, these stages exhibit considerable overlap conceptually with Cross' model as well as others (see Figure 1).

The first stage of the Milliones model, Preconscious, is the point at which the individual tends to "exhibit a negative antipathy toward other blacks...and tend[s] to manifest rather high levels of internalized white racist stereotypes about blacks" (Denton, 1985, p. 18). This stage is essentially the same as Cross' Preencounter stage. Stage Two, Confrontation, refers to Blacks in the process of embracing a sense of militancy in tandem with a heightened or romanticized view of the Black experience. Denton refers to

the folks at this stage as being “propelled out of the Preconscious orientation and into the conversion-to-blackness process. The most salient feature of this second stage is the extreme dichotomization of blacks and whites – blacks being uniformly positive and whites being uniformly evil” Conceptually, this stage straddles Cross’ Encounter and Immersion-Emersion stages. Stage Three, Internalization, is the point at which “the individual has begun to de-emphasize anti-white sentiments in favor of a striving to understand blackness more fully”. The fourth and final stage, Integration, represents “a point of synthesis and resolution in the conversion-to-black process”. It is here that the individual is comfortable with pointing to Blacks’ shortcomings as well as strengths. Additionally, there is a behavioral and attitudinal commitment to prosocial change. This latter characteristic makes this stage most similar to both Cross’ Multiculturalism dimension and the Internalization-Commitment² stage.

Denton’s research utilized the Developmental Inventory of Black Consciousness (DIB-C; Milliones, 1975), which operationalizes Milliones’ process model. This instrument was viewed by Denton as the most psychometrically defensible process measure at that time. In addition, a major thrust of the dissertation was a methodological refinement and validation analysis of the DIB-C.

Denton examined a series of correlates that were essentially measures of personal identity, attitudes, and social perceptions. Specifically, he examined the relationships between identity stages and Black ideology (Terrell, 1975), internalized racism, aggression, nurturance, interpersonal perceptions, (Taylor, 1976), cultural mistrust (Terrell, 1981), global personality (Jackson, 1973), and self-esteem (Taylor, 1976).

² This fourth stage most closely represents the fifth stage of Cross’ model, Internalization-Commitment. As noted, this stage was not retained in the model’s revised form.

Data were collected as part of a national study that “sought to norm measures of Black Nationalism and Black Consciousness and then examine the personality, attitudinal, and perceptual correlates associated with the Black Nationalist ideology and Black consciousness development” (Denton, 1985, p. 37). The large sample of undergraduates was from a combination of northern and southern as well as predominantly Black and predominantly White colleges.

Figure 1: Comparison of Stage Models

Model	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4
Nigrescence (Cross)	Preencounter	Encounter	Immersion- Emersion	Internalization Int.-Commitment →
DIB-C (Milliones)	Preconscious Confrontation Internalization	[No comparable stage]	Confrontation	Integration →
Racial Identity Attitude (Helms)	Preencounter	Encounter	Immersion- Emersion	Internalization
MEIM (Phinney, based on Erikson)	Diffuse And Foreclosed	[No comparable stage]	Moratorium	Identity Achievement

The results included that Black consciousness and self-esteem were highly correlated. As predicted, the Preconscious group obtained the lowest mean score and was statistically significantly lower than the mean for the remaining stages or groups.

However, Denton also observed:

Interestingly, though, the self-esteem scores for [the remaining stages] were not significantly different from each other... The Stage four cluster's self-esteem score was not significantly different from the overall mean despite the fact that this stage represents the highest level of Black Consciousness development.

Apparently, Black Consciousness does not covary with self-esteem in a linear-progressive fashion as does internalized racism. (p. 55)

Other findings included the results of a comparison of mean scores on interpersonal perceptions. The data showed that contrary to his hypothesis "that Integration [stage four] prototypes would perceive other blacks as more affiliative in their relationships to them" (p. 62), there was a negative relationship for this group. Of equal interest was that the stage one group scored lowest on this measure.

Correlates of Black Identity

So it is that the current study, like Denton's, seeks to answer questions regarding differences and similarities within and across identity stages. The following is a brief description of some of the behaviors and attitudes that are the focus of the current study:

Health Behavior and Attitudes. There is a substantial need for sound research on the explicit relationship between cultural identity and health-promoting behavior. This is particularly important with respect to members of Black communities. That is, given the history of both sociohistorical factors and genetic predisposition, Blacks in general have racially disproportionate physical and mental health challenges, a fact reflected in the minimal progress achieved in the health status of African Americans (Thompson & Chambers, 2000). A considerable amount of work is being conducted that examines

cultural identity and mental health, while the focus on physical health remains somewhat lacking. Investigations of the relationship between cigarette smoking, hypertension, and depression are the major foci to date (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996; Thompson & Chambers, 2000).

Spirituality. Jagers and Smith (1996) refer to spirituality and religiosity as, “defining features of African American life” For the purposes of the current dissertation, I will focus on spirituality. The rationale is that restricting assessment to religion precludes explicit assessment of participants who embrace spirituality (e.g., belief in a Higher Power) but not conventional religion. Jagers and Smith (1996) discuss spirituality as the following:

A belief that all elements of reality contain a certain amount of life force. It entails believing and behaving as if nonobservable and nonmaterial life forces have governing powers in one’s everyday affairs. Thus, a continuous sensitivity to core spiritual qualities takes priority in one’s life. Indeed, it goes beyond [simple] church affiliation. (p. 430)

Perceptions of Racism and Discrimination. African Americans cannot escape the stressful effects of issues related to race. Racist events differ from more generic stressors or hassles (e.g., losing your wallet, getting divorced) because racist events are more specific. That is, they happen *to African Americans because they are African Americans*. There is a growing body of literature that illuminates the deleterious physical and psychological effects of racist discrimination on African Americans (e.g., Carter, 1996; Clark & Clark, 1945; Foster, 1999; Franklin, 1995; Landrine & Klonoff, 1996, 1997; Priest, 1992; Steele, 1997; Utsey, 1998, 2000; Ward, 1996). Some of the extensive work done by

Landrine and Klonoff (1996) has shown a significant relationship between levels of acculturation and perceptions of racism.

Cultural Mistrust - Not unlike perceptions or racism, the degree to which Blacks are oriented toward their race impacts their inclination to mistrust Whites, in terms of interpersonal and social relations, education, business, politics, law, and the like (Terrell & Terrell, 1981). However, there remains much theoretical debate as to whether such mistrust is a healthy 'cultural paranoia' or primarily pathological or maladaptive in nature (Phelps, Taylor, & Gerard, 2001), representing an important psychological construct for diagnosis and treatment of African Americans (Whaley, 2001).

Ethnic Behavior. Possibly the most obvious behavioral correlates are those everyday activities that tend to be group-based or group-oriented. It has been hypothesized, for Blacks and other groups, that there is a significant correlation between identity and frequency or array of ethnic behaviors or activities (Phinney, 1992). Yip (2001; Yip & Cross, 2000), in her study of Chinese students, found that those who were more traditional engaged in significantly more ethnic behaviors than those who held a more assimilated reference group orientation.

Interpersonal Perceptions. Another factor crucial to understanding Black identity is the attitudes Blacks hold between themselves and other Blacks and their perceptions of the value (reward) or detriment (cost) of such attitudes (Denton, 1985; Taylor, 1976). For instance, the degree to which an individual cooperates with, is complimentary towards, or is critical of other Blacks represents potentially important social attitude indicators.

In addition, I will take advantage of two additional measures of interest, including:

Conservative Political Attitude and Low Race Salience. The former seeks to assess an individual's tendency toward a conservative stance (i.e., to downplay or be outright against) on affirmative action policies. The latter will assess the individual's perception of life in non-racial (colorblind) terms.

Although there are several important exceptions, it is not uncommon for researchers to employ a general, global measure of identity, when tapping into black identity (e.g., Phinney, 1989, 1992; Sellers, et al, 2000). Global constructs, however, tend to overlook important within-group identity variability, even though such variation may be associated with dramatically important behavioral and attitudinal differences (Denton, 1984). For example, the identity profile of those Assimilated Blacks who have argued against affirmative action is likely to be very different from Afrocentric or Multiculturally oriented Blacks who tend to favor such contested social policies.

In addition to examining the diversity of Black people, a parallel goal is to begin demonstrating some of the 'consequences' of these various identities, ideologies, and so on. These consequences are what we are referring to as correlates of identity. While such correlates are virtually countless, this study takes aim at a selected repertoire of behaviors and attitudes, an approach that is virtually absent in the extant literature.

This chapter outlined the history of research conducted on the increasingly complex issue of Black identity. We saw that there was a historical approach that was myopic at best and that in spite of significant evidence to the contrary, this dated approach continues to inform much of the work that is being done today. There is, nonetheless, a significant body of research that moves beyond the traditional paradigm

and has engendered a trend toward research that is multidimensional, including work that looks at not only Black identity but ethnic identity as a general phenomenon.

The Cross Nigrescence model was outlined above and is the theoretical foundation of the current study. Using the Cross model, this investigation seeks to isolate three particular RGOs and assess their relationship with nine behavioral and attitudinal correlates, including a measure of self-esteem. The final section of this chapter outlines the study's major hypotheses and research questions. Chapter Three provides the details related to the study sample, research methods and results.

Black Identity and Self-Esteem

Speight, Vera and Derrickson (1996) noted that as regards the defining period of the Civil Rights and Black Power movements, "as African Americans undergo this new semantic evolution, it is important to explore the significance of... self-esteem and racial identity" (p. 40). Interestingly, studies focusing on the global dynamics of Black identity have not engaged in exploration or isolation of the vast array of behavioral and attitudinal correlates of identity. Instead, most have focused on the relationship between identity and mental health, in general, and self-esteem, in particular. The evidence supporting a strong relationship between mental health and racial/ethnic identity has typically come through the use of global measures of identity.

To date, as revealed by the current theoretical and research literature, attempts at linking identity and psychological well-being among persons of color have produced inconclusive findings. For example, scores of studies have failed to show that average to high self-esteem is associated with high black consciousness (Cross, 1991). Nonetheless, there remains a focus on global racial or ethnic identity as an indicator of self-esteem and

mental health. In fact, even while some researchers present a more multidimensional approach to identity there is a tendency to gravitate toward a global perspective. For example, Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, and Chavous (1998) reported a high correlation between self-esteem and black identity, but his measure of identity was global and did not address whether the relationship holds for *different types* of black identity.

Likewise, in spite of elucidating the range of worldviews, persons in stage one of the Helms model (1990) are depicted as being relatively low in self-esteem. And at the other end of this frame of reference, those with a mature racial identity are assumed to have positive mental health. However, Helms' measure of low levels of black identity [Pre-encounter scale on the RIAS] is overly sensitive to black self-hatred trends and does not address whether racial self-hatred and Assimilationist attitudes converge or diverge. Consequently, the RIAS can produce results that match the either/or quality of global measures of blackness, which, as noted above, provide a limited depiction of the relationship between identity and self-esteem.

The current research attempts to show that key Black identity orientations (Assimilated, Afrocentric, and Multicultural) exhibit little difference in self-esteem and are more clearly differentiated by attitudinal and behavioral markers. While it is recognized that there are a vast array of types or statuses to be found among Blacks, it is theoretically cumbersome and practically improbable that one could address, whole cloth, all of the permutations of Black identity. Thus, this research highlights a range of identity orientations in which Assimilated Blacks play down the significance of race and Black culture, Afrocentric Blacks accord race and Black culture singular importance, while

Blacks whose orientation is Multicultural reflect a certain degree of identity interconnectivity and multiplicity.

Specific Aims and Goals of the Research

An extensive review of relevant literature showed that the last large scale investigation of the relationships between Black identity orientations and an array of behavioral and attitudinal correlates, was conducted by Denton (1985). To date, no subsequent research has been as comprehensive. The current study examines the broad array of identity typologies and some of the significant behaviors in which Blacks engage. As such, the goals of this dissertation are several:

- A. Identify three identity orientations among African Americans (Afrocentric, Multicultural, Assimilation)
- B. Conduct an examination and analysis of the relationships between the above targeted identity orientations and specific behavioral/attitudinal correlates
- C. Examine the relationship between identity and self-esteem.

As stated above, a major goal of this dissertation was to measure the variety of ways in which Black people think, feel, and behave. Given the virtually infinite array of thoughts, feelings, and behaviors of people in general, and Blacks, in particular, it was necessary to select a set of behaviors and attitudes as exemplars of this array. Selected behavioral correlates include health behavior, ethnic behavior, and level of community involvement. The selected attitudinal correlates include: spirituality; cultural mistrust; perceptions of racism; and interpersonal perceptions. Each of these correlates is operationalized and described in the Measures section.

Research Questions and Study Hypotheses

As pointed out by Denton (1985), the major process models, including Nigrescence, theorize the first stage as one of antipathy toward Blacks. In turn, much like the white racist cognitive style, there tends to be a high degree of acceptance of racist stereotypes and a generalized underestimation of social realities such as racist discrimination. Likewise, these models posit a subsequent stage of identity development wherein certain individuals make a virtual 180-degree turn in perspective. That is, one becomes preoccupied with and potentially overwhelmed by race and race-related issues. The latter stage(s), generally speaking, can be characterized by a point wherein the individual either continues to see race as highly salient but is less overwhelmed and more secure in their person or they are no longer bounded by their Blackness. As such, the study's main hypotheses are as follows:

Hypothesis 1: Identity variability exists in Black populations. Based on Nigrescence theory, it was hypothesized that a) there are distinct identity types and orientations (including but not limited to Assimilated, Afrocentric, and Multicultural) that can be isolated by the CRIS, and b) there are distinct differences across these identities, i.e., measurable inter-identity correlations. Specifically, it was predicted that:

H1A: Assimilation and Afrocentricity, essentially opposite belief systems, would be significantly negatively correlated.

H1B: Afrocentricity and Multiculturalism, both being components of the Internalization stage, would have a moderate positive correlation.

H1C: That Multiculturalism and Assimilation, two orientations characterized by a muted salience or regard for Blackness, would show a weak positive correlation.

Hypothesis 2: The results of non-process analyses of Black identity or Black consciousness show Blacks as having equivalent or even higher relative levels of self-esteem, compared to Whites (cf. Rosenberg & Simmons, 1971). On the other hand, a number of process model studies show a negative relationship between self-esteem and identity in the early stages of development. The latter results are grounded in the historical and logical expectation that if a person believes they are inferior by virtue of their race, self-esteem will be low. Following this historical perspective, the following assumptions will be tested:

H2A: Assimilation (stage 1) is significantly negatively correlated with self-esteem.

H2B: Afrocentricity (Stage 4) is significantly positively correlated with self-esteem.

H2C: Multicultural (Stage 4) is significantly positively correlated with self-esteem.

Hypothesis 3: There is a significant relationship between identity and Black-oriented behavior and attitudes:

H3A. Perceptions of Racism and Identity. It was hypothesized that Afrocentrics will report more experiences with racism than others; Assimilated will report less racism than others; Multiculturalists will report more racist experiences than Assimilated but less than Afrocentrists.

H3B. Ethnic behavior and Identity. It was predicted that a pattern similar to H3a, above, would result. That is, that Afrocentricity will be significantly positively correlated with

ethnic behavior; Multiculturalism will be positively correlated but to a lesser degree than Afrocentricity; Assimilation will have a low or negative correlation with ethnic behavior.

H3C. Interpersonal Relations and Identity. It was predicted that Interpersonal

perceptions, both Inverse and Direct, would be correlated as follows:

Assimilated would be highly negatively correlated; Afrocentricity would be highly positively correlated; Multiculturalism would show a moderate positive correlation.

3D Cultural Mistrust and Identity. It was predicted that a pattern similar to that of Hypothesis 3C, above, would be found. That is, Assimilated would be highly negatively correlated; Afrocentricity would be highly positively correlated; Multiculturalism would show a moderate positive correlation.

Hypothesis 4: Other social perceptions will be correlated with identity

4A. Conservative Political Attitudes and Low Race Salience:

It was predicted that a similar pattern for each of these variables' correlations with identity would exist. That is, it was predicted that for both Conservative Political Attitude and Low Race Salience: Assimilationists would have a positive correlation; Afrocentricity would be significantly negatively correlated; Multicultural would show a low to moderate negative correlation.

Hypothesis 5: Self-Esteem and Behaviors and Attitudes.

A significant positive correlation between spirituality, health behavior and self-esteem was predicted. The rationale here is that these variables are forms of well-being and

attendant scores should demonstrate a positive relationship with other well-being measures such as self-esteem.

CHAPTER III: METHODS

Sample

A sample of 142 participants was recruited for the study. The sample is comprised in part by 74 students from the City University of New York (CUNY), collected during the 2002-2003 school year. Additionally, 68 church attendees were recruited by canvassing a number of predominantly Black churches in New York City and New Jersey. Table 1 shows the demographic data for each group and for the combined totals.

Females accounted for 57% of the total sample. While all self-identified as Black, self-designated ethnicity varied (see Table 1). For example, while 71% of the sample identified as African American, 17 (12%) identified as West Indian/Caribbean. In addition, 10 people (7%) reported being born outside of the United States. On average, participants had completed nearly two and one half years of postsecondary education and the mean age was 39.17 years.

Procedures

A large distribution of flyers on the campuses of two colleges in the City University of New York (CUNY) system, contacts with student government and Black student organizations, and face-to-face recruiting were used to attract a diverse sample of Black students. Given the amount of time (approximately 45 min.) involved in completing the research packet, a monetary incentive (\$10.00) was offered and paid upon completion of the packet. One African American male graduate student, in addition to the Principal Investigator, recruited students and administered questionnaires. Questionnaires for the church sample were typically administered in groups and at the participants' respective churches. Recruitment of church attendees was conducted primarily by

contacting churches in New Jersey and New York City. These participants were also given ten dollars (\$10.00) for their time.

Following informed consent (Appendix A), participants were asked to complete a demographic data sheet (Appendix B) and self-administer a packet of measures which included the following:

Measures

Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS, Vandiver, et. al, 2000). The CRIS is a 40-item multidimensional scale (Appendix C), comprised of subscales based on Cross' revised Nigrescence theory (Cross, 1991; Vandiver, Fhagen-Smith, Cokley, Cross, & Worrell, 2001). Participants are asked to rate the extent to which they agree with statements about their feelings toward being Black, being American, and being part of a multigroup collectivity. This instrument measures participants' reference group orientations, specifically in the context of three dimensions of identity (Afrocentricity, Multiculturalism, and Assimilation). That is, the CRIS will assess their level of identification with these identity orientations.

While the CRIS isolates stages of Black identity development (Preencounter ($\alpha=.76$); Immersion-Emersion ($\alpha=.87$); and Internalization ($\alpha=.71$)), it also measures within-group variation. The Preencounter stage is measured in three identity dimensions, including Assimilated ($\alpha=.78$), Miseducated ($\alpha=.80$), and Self-Hating ($\alpha=.80$). The Immersion-Emersion stage is measured in dimensions of Anti-White ($\alpha=.85$) and Intense Black Involvement ($\alpha=.83$). The Internalization stage is measured in the dimensions of Afrocentric ($\alpha=.84$); and Multicultural ($\alpha=.74$). Additionally, three additional identity dimensions are assessed:

Conservative Political Attitude ($\alpha=.59$); and Low Race Salience ($\alpha=.75$). Using six items within the CRIS, the Conservative Political Attitude (CPA) subscale sought to measure the degree to which an individual resonates with a politically conservative posture, particularly as pertains to issues such as affirmative action. This subscale demonstrated a relatively low reliability ($\alpha=.59$). The Low Race Salience (LRS) subscale consists of eight items ($\alpha=.78$) and measures the degree to which a person ignores or deemphasizes being Black.

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSE, Rosenberg, 1979). Utilized as a measure of subjective well-being, the RSE ($\alpha=.83$, Appendix D) has been demonstrated as a reliable assessment tool and valid measure of subjective personal self-esteem among African Americans (Hoelter, 1983; Hughes & Demo, 1989).

Ethnic Behavior. An 8-item scale ($\alpha=.68$, Appendix E), based on scale used by Yip (Yip, 2000; Yip & Cross, 2000). The scale asks about specific ethnicity-oriented behaviors such as eating ethnic (African American) foods, reading Black newspapers or magazines, watching Black films, and patronizing Black-owned business establishments.

The Human Spirituality Scale (HMS, Wheat, 1992) was be used to assess relative levels of spirituality. This scale ($\alpha=.90$, Appendix F) has demonstrated more than adequate reliability, suggesting that the scale is most reliable as a unidimensional measure of global spirituality. Participants were asked to respond to items such as “I set aside time for spiritual and personal reflection and growth”, and “Being spiritual and truthful is important to a successful life”, using a scale of 1 (Never/Almost Never) to 5 (Constantly/Almost Constantly).

Interpersonal Perception Scale (Taylor, 1976). This measure (Appendix G), comprised of a modification to two parallel scales, developed by Taylor and his students at the University of Pittsburgh. It is used to “estimate the content of social perceptions among Blacks” (Denton, 1985). That is, it assesses the extent to which a person [1] enjoys, accepts and is supportive of other Black people; and/or [2] perceives that other Blacks are accepting and supportive of her/him. Brown (1976) found the measures associated with high levels of Black consciousness. The *Direct Perception* measure ($\alpha=.58$) estimates perceptions of ‘rewards and costs’, through two subscales, that are distributed from self to other Blacks (e.g., “I notice little things other Blacks do well”, “I wish other Blacks understood me better”). The low reliability is likely due to the modification of the original scale that has obtained coefficient alphas ranging from .74 to .75. The *Inverse Perceptions* measure ($\alpha=.70$) estimates perceptions that one holds of the emotional and psychological ‘rewards and costs’ that are distributed from other Blacks to one’s self (e.g., “Other Blacks enjoy my company”, “Other Blacks tend to question my opinions”).

Series of Racist Events (SRE; Landrine & Klonoff, 1996). This instrument (Appendix H) was developed to assess the psychological stress associated with the experience of racism among African Americans. The SRE is widely used and has extremely high internal consistency and reliability ($\alpha=.95$) across the instrument as well as within each subscale. The scales’ items assess the frequency of situations in which Blacks perceive having been discriminated against, during the last 12 months (*Recent* racist events subscale $\alpha=.94$) and over the course of their life (*Lifetime* racist events subscale $\alpha=.95$). Additionally, a subscale measures the degree to which individuals appraise such discrimination in terms of how stressful such events have been (*Appraised* racist events subscale $\alpha=.95$).

The SRE is also highly correlated with the Hopkins Symptom Checklist-58 (HSCL-58; Derogatis, et. al, 1974) subscales and total symptoms measure.

Health Behaviors Scale (Appendix J). This 16-item measure ($\alpha = .88$) is the *Health Responsibility* subscale of the Health-Promoting Lifestyle Profile (HPLP, Walker, Sechrist, & Pender, 1987). The HPLP is well-documented for its psychometric properties and use with a variety of populations, including Blacks and Latinos. Although only the Health Responsibility subscale (measuring health behaviors) is being used, the investigator believes there are grounds for assuming that a certain level of health consciousness precedes such behaviors. Evidence for this assumption can be found in the overlap of items across subscales of the HPLP and other measures (Gould, 1990). Participants were surveyed about health-related behaviors including eating habits, stress management, physical exercise and recreational activity.

Level of Community Involvement – This two-part instrument (Appendix K) consists of a) a scale that measures the extent to which a person might engage in community activities or events (e.g., political, school, religious or spiritual) ($\alpha = .71$) and b) a section to list the number and names of groups (i.e., conservative, Afrocentric, or multicultural) that participants might be interested in and would or have supported.

Cultural Mistrust –The *Cultural Mistrust Inventory* (CMI; Terrell & Terrell, 1981), is a 48-item scale that uses a 10-point likert format (0 = not in the least agree, 9 = entirely agree) to measure Blacks' mistrust and suspiciousness of Whites in areas of business, work, and interpersonal relations. The CMI was found to be positively correlated with Internalization, as measured by the RIAS-B (Helms, 1990), and ethnic identity achievement, as measured by the MEIM (Phinney, 1992). The modified short version of

the scale (Appendix L) is a 7-point likert scale (1=strongly disagree, 7=strongly agree) that demonstrated acceptable reliability ($\alpha=.72$).

Data Analysis

Analytic procedures were conducted in the context of the sample's characteristics. Specifically, given the assumed differences between the student subgroup and the church subgroup, correlational analyses were conducted and reported in the aggregate and selected analyses were conducted within subgroups. Findings are discussed in the following chapter. Data analysis was conducted in a series of steps:

- 1) Examination of descriptive statistics.
- 2) Correlational analyses: the primary thrust of this dissertation is correlational in nature. As such, a comprehensive set of correlational analyses were conducted in order to test the study's hypotheses and research questions, as well as explore other relationships.
- 3) Group comparisons: While the correlational data provides much insight a series of student t-tests were run in order to compare the church and student groups across demographic, identity, and correlate variables.
- 4) Although the gist of the study was to examine a series of correlational data, it was clear that there would be ample opportunity to go beyond the information garnered by the above sets of correlational analysis. In this phase, therefore, some preliminary post hoc data analyses focusing on more complex associations, classifications, and clusters, were conducted. Specifically, a series of regressions were run to test for possible mediation and/or moderation of outcomes related to the targeted variables.

CHAPTER IV: RESULTS

The results of the data analyses, with some notable exceptions, support the major and subordinate hypotheses proffered in this dissertation. Table 2 shows the aggregate means, standard deviations and scale range for the major study variables. While the aggregate scale ranges for the identity stages vary, the aggregate scale ranges for the identity orientations are with one exception identical. As would be expected, the means for these RGOs vary. Note, however, that the largest mean score is found within the Multicultural orientation. This is noteworthy since, as we shall see, this orientation showed the least number of significant relationships with other variables of interest. In addition, Self-Hating and Anti-White, two orientations that did demonstrate significant relationships, exhibited the lowest overall means. And finally, it is interesting to note that although Stage four, Internalization, has the smallest possible range, it has the highest mean score.

Demographics

As shown in Table 3, age was negatively correlated with the preencounter and immersion-emersion stages, suggesting that younger participants are more likely to adhere to stage one and stage three than their older counterparts^{vii}. Such a finding can be interpreted as highly suggestive of the linearity implicit in process or stage models such as Cross' Nigrescence theory. Age was also negatively correlated with conservative political attitude and perceptions of racism in the last year. Additionally, age showed a significant positive correlation with self-esteem, education, current socioeconomic status, community involvement, lifetime perceptions of racism and racism-related stress,

positive interpersonal perceptions, and spirituality, with the latter reflecting possibly the fact that most of the older participants were recruited through churches.

Gender showed no difference across the CRIS subscales and little difference across variables. Exceptions included years of education and spirituality. In both cases the significant negative correlations suggest that females attended school longer and scored higher on the spirituality measure.

Education was negatively correlated with all dimensions of the preencounter stage and with conservative political attitude (CPA). Further analysis of the correlation between education and CPA showed a consistent pattern. That is, while neither those who did not go beyond high school ($r = -.04$), undergraduates ($r = -.17$), nor those who attended graduate school ($r = -.26$), displayed a significant correlation with CPA, there was a consistent rise in the strength of the relationship as education level rose. Such a finding is highly suggestive of a decreasing resonance with a politically conservative posture, particularly as pertains to issues such as affirmative action.

Current SES showed a strong direct correlation with self-esteem, age, and group (with the church group predicting higher self-esteem) and, interestingly, a negative correlation with Afrocentricity. Childhood SES, however, was highly negatively correlated with perceptions of racism over one's lifetime and levels of stress related to such perceptions. So while on the one hand SES is a positive marker for mental health, it may serve as antecedent indicator if certain negative effects.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: There is identity variability in Black populations (Table 4).

This fundamental premise was borne out through the data. That is, when operationalized by the CRIS, a set of identity orientations was isolated and measured. These identity orientations, Afrocentric, Assimilated, and Multicultural, are unique subgroups within the four stages of the Cross Nigrescence model. That is, Assimilated, a dimension of the Preencounter stage, has little overlap—evidenced by the negligible correlations—with its within-stage counterparts, Miseducated and Self-Hating^{viii}. Likewise, the fourth stage of the Nigrescence model, Internalization, reveals two distinct dimensions (Afrocentric and Multicultural), of which both are target identity orientations for the current study.

H1A: Assimilation and Afrocentricity were significantly negatively correlated.

H1B: While there was a positive correlation found between Afrocentricity and Multiculturalism, the relationship was not statistically significant.

H1C: No correlation was found between Assimilation and Multiculturalism.

Hypothesis 2: Self-Esteem and Black Identity (Table 4).

H2A–H2C: The traditional theorizing regarding self-esteem was not supported in this analysis. That is, none of the targeted RGOs were correlated with self-esteem. Most process model studies show a negative correlation between self-esteem and the initial stages of development. Indeed, this historically assumed relationship is supported typically when the aggregate of the stage is correlated with self-esteem. In fact, such is the case in the current study. Interestingly, however, there was at least one group

difference. That is, the church sample did demonstrate a significant relationship between Afrocentricity and self-esteem.

Hypothesis 3: Identity and Black-oriented Behavior and Attitudes (Table 5):

H3A: Perceptions of Racism and Identity.

As was predicted, Afrocentricity was significantly positively correlated with recall of racist events in the last 12 months, in one's lifetime, and the degree to which such events were stressful; Assimilation showed a negative correlation across each parameter. These relationships were not statistically significant but the negative correlation between Assimilation and stress related to racism did approximate a significant level. Nonetheless the data indicate this identity orientation perceives less racist discrimination and is less affected by such phenomena; Multiculturalism was not correlated with any of the perception of racism variables.

H3B: Ethnic Behavior and Identity.

As was predicted, Afrocentricity was positively correlated with ethnic behavior. No relationship, however, was found between ethnic behavior and Assimilation or Multiculturalism.

H3C: Interpersonal perceptions.

Interpersonal perceptions, both inverse and direct, showed some interesting relationships. First, the hypothesis that Assimilation would be negatively correlated with such perceptions was not supported. The data did show that such perceptions were significantly negatively correlated with Preencounter, Miseducation and Self-Hatred. Unlike Denton's (1984) findings, stage four did not show any significant relationship

with interpersonal perceptions. Multiculturalism was marginally positively correlated with direct interpersonal perceptions, i.e., beliefs regarding one's perception of supportive affiliations with other Blacks. And somewhat surprisingly, Afrocentrism was not correlated with either inverse or direct perceptions.

H3D: Cultural Mistrust.

This variable was significantly positively correlated with all of the stage three and stage four dimensions. Cultural Mistrust was also negatively correlated with Assimilation. While it could be interpreted that Assimilation is less burdened (read healthier) than others on this variable, a more accurate reading might be that the assimilated person is more in denial or myopic at best with respect to historical antecedents that render some level of cultural mistrust expected if not appropriate.

Hypothesis 4: Other social perceptions will be correlated with identity.

4A. Conservative Political Attitudes and Low Race Salience.

Both variables correlated positively with Assimilation and negatively correlated with Afrocentrism, although this relationship did not reach statistical significance for Conservative Political Attitude; no relationships were found with Multicultural.

Hypothesis 5: Self-esteem and behavioral and attitudinal correlates (Table 6).

H5A: Spirituality and Health Behavior.

The hypothesis that these two variables would be significantly positively correlated with self-esteem was supported (Table 6). In turn, it was no surprise that spirituality and health behavior were highly positively correlated with each other ($r=.31$, $p<.000$).

Group Differences

From the outset there was little if any doubt that the church group and the student group were by turns different in meaningful ways. In order to explore the degree to which these groups exhibit relevant differences, a series of t-tests were conducted (Table 7). That the church group scored consistently higher on age, education, and current SES, was suggested by the correlational analyses. Additional results of the t-tests are as follows:

CRIS subscales

With notable exceptions the two groups were similar with respect to their identity types or reference group orientations as measured by the CRIS. This is significant in that it supports the overall assumption of this dissertation, i.e., that there is a distribution or array of identity orientations across and within Black populations. In terms of stages, the two groups diverged most on stage two, immersion-emersion. That is, the student group had a higher mean score on this stage, reflecting their significantly higher means on intense Black involvement and anti-White sentiment. When these two factors are considered along with their significantly higher scores on preencounter self-hatred, there is little surprise the students scored significantly lower on self-esteem.

As was alluded to by the Pearson correlations, the student group scored higher on conservative political attitude. In turn, that the student sample scored higher on Afrocentrism was surprising, given their tendency toward a conservative political posture. Such a finding is however consistent with additional t-test results demonstrating they hold race as more salient than their church group counterparts.

Identity Correlates

The church group scored higher on interpersonal perceptions, community involvement, and health behaviors. None of these findings seemed inconsistent with a population that is older and more experienced. The only factor on which the student group scored higher was perceptions of racism in the last year. Such differences should be expected given the nature of the contexts within which questions were asked. For example, many of the church folks by virtue of their (relatively) advanced age are no longer in school or the workplace, two venues that were asked about in the racism scale. More importantly, the perception of racist events across one's lifetime and the stress assigned to such events did not differ across groups.

Table 1: Demographics

	Student	Church	Total
n (%)	74 (52.1)	68 (47.9)	142 (100.0)
Gender			
Female	39 (52.7)	42 (61.8)	81 (57.0)
Male	35 (47.3)	26 (38.2)	61 (43.0)
Ethnicity			
African	3 (4.1)	3 (4.4)	6 (4.2)
African American/ Black	44 (55.5)	57(83.8)	101 (71.1)
West Indian/Caribbean	15 (20.3)	2 (2.9)	17 (12.0)
Latina/o	3 (4.1)	-----	3 (2.1)
Mixed	4 (5.4)	3 (4.4)	7 (4.9)
Other	4 (5.4)	4 (6.0)	8 (5.6)
U.S.-Born	65 (87.8)	67 (87.5)	131 (92.3)
Age (mean)	27.48	51.72	39.17
Highest grade (mean)	13.65	15.23	14.41

Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations, and Scale Ranges: CRIS Subscales, Attitudes and Behaviors, and Rosenberg Self-Esteem

Variable	M	SD	Scale Range
Preencounter	41.59	12.91	15-105
Assimilated	16.21	7.20	5-35
Miseducated	15.90	6.93	5-35
Self-Hating	9.51	5.75	5-35
Immersion-Immersion	29.61	11.48	11-77
Intense Black Involvement	20.08	7.78	6-42
Anti-White	9.46	5.07	5-35
Internalization	43.23	8.70	10-70
Afrocentric	17.55	6.88	5-35
Multicultural	25.57	5.48	5-35
Low Race Salience	34.11	9.82	8-56
Conservative Political Attitude	19.59	6.16	6-42
Rosenberg Self-Esteem	34.96	4.50	10-40
Ethnic Behavior	16.88	2.23	10-20
Community Involvement	10.93	4.14	5-25
Cultural Mistrust	44.85	8.79	12-84
Health Behaviors	38.69	8.98	16-64
Interpersonal Perceptions - Self	17.26	2.87	6-30
Interpersonal Perceptions - Others	21.40	3.48	6-30
Racism - Lifetime	46.88	18.20	18-108
Racism - last 12 mos	33.61	15.38	18-108
Racism - stress	52.48	23.18	17-102
Spirituality	27.21	5.86	7-35
Age	39.17	16.56	18-83
Gender	1.43	.50	1-2
Education (highest grade)	14.41	2.34	10-20
SES - childhood	2.05	.75	1-5
SES - current	2.58	.84	1-5

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Table 3

Intercorrelations: Identity Orientations, Demographics, Self-Esteem

Variable	Group	Gender	Educ	SES-child	SES-current	Stage1	Stage3	Stage4	Assim	Afroc	IMC	LRS	CPA	RSE
Age	-.73**	-.15	.45**	.15	.36**	-.19**	-.24**	-.05	.07	-.10	.04	.09	-.30**	.36**
Group ¹		.09	-.34**	.06	-.40**	.11	.21**	.14	-.03	.17*	.01	-.19*	.22**	-.29**
Gender ²			-.19*	-.00	.05	.04	.08	.03	-.02	.12	-.09	-.05	.02	-.10
Education				-.00	.39**	-.35**	-.05	.06	-.18**	.05	.04	-.14	-.40**	.40**
SES - child					.18*	-.05	-.08	-.13	-.03	-.07	-.12	.02	.01	.16
SES - current						-.18*	-.33**	-.25**	.03	-.22**	-.15	.17*	-.14	.45**
Pre-encounter -- stage 1							.07	.05	.64**	-.06	.15	.33**	.39**	-.28**
Imm-Em. -- stage 3								.55**	-.28**	.76**	-.01	-.46**	-.05	-.19*
Internalization -- stage 4									-.18*	.79**	.69**	-.33**	-.08	.02
Assimilated										-.32**	.08	.52**	.33**	-.02
Afrocentric											.11	-.53**	-.10	.02
Multicultural												.09	-.01	.01
Low Race Salience (LRS)													.29**	-.02
Cons. Pol. Attitude (CPA)														-.21**

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$ ¹ 0 = Church group 1 = student group ² 0 = female, 1 = male

Table 4

Intercorrelations of Cross Racial Identity Subscales and Rosenberg Self-Esteem

Stage/Subscale	1A	1B	1C	2A	2B	2C	4A	4B	LRS	CPA	PE	I-E	INT	RSE
1A. Assimilated	.78	.15	.02	-.25**	-.25**	-.32**	.08	.51**	.33**	.64**	-.38**	-.18*		-.02
1B. Miseducated		.80	.25**	.17*	.10	.09	.11	.34*	.41**	.73**	.16	.13		-.18*
1C. Self-Hating			.80	.24**	.34**	.17*	.10	-.04	-.01	.59**	.31**	.18*		-.39**
2A. Intense Black Involvement				.83	.58**	.76**	.04	-.30**	-.10	.06	.93**	.57**		-.17
2B. Anti-White					.85	.57**	-.08	-.23**	.03	.07	.84**	.37**		-.21*
4A. Afrocentric						.84	.11	-.36**	-.10	-.06	.76**	.79**		.02
4B. Multicultural							.74	.05	-.01	.15	-.01	.69**		.01
Low Race Salience (LRS)								.75	.80**	.45**	.31**	-.29**		-.15
Conservative Political Attitude (CPA)									.59	.39**	-.05	-.08		-.21*
1. Preencounter (PE)										.76	.07	.05		-.28**
2. Immersion-Emersion (I-E)											.87	.55**		-.19
4. Internalization (INT)													.71	.02
Rosenberg Self-Esteem (RSE)														.83

*p < .05, ** p < .01

Coefficient alphas are presented in boldface along the diagonal.

Table 5

Intercorrelations: Identity Orientations and Identity Correlates

	PA	IA	IMC	EB	LCI	IP-S	IP-O	RACL1	RAC12	RSIRS	SPIRIT	HLTH	CM
Assimilated (PA)	.78	-.52**	.08	-.05	-.07	-.02	-.08	-.11	-.11	.17	-.09	-.06	-.20*
Afrocentric (IA)		.84	.11	.17	.11	-.01	-.02	.27**	.33**	.34**	.14	-.01	.52**
Multicultural (IMC)			.74	-.06	.12	.17	-.05	.04	-.10	.10	.19	.07	.03
Ethnic Behavior (EB)				.69	.12	.19	.19*	.12	.14	.11	.05	.03	.05
Community Involvement (LCI)					.73	.15	.18	.15	.13	.24**	.33**	.42**	.08
Interpersonal Perceptions - Self (IP-S)						.50	.62**	.01	-.22*	.09	.24**	.16	-.06
Interpersonal Perceptions - Others (IP-O)							.71	.00	-.17	.13	.22**	.18*	-.05
Racism - Lifetime (RACL1)								.95	.70**	.78**	.12	.22*	.30**
Racism - Last 12 mos (RAC12)									.94	.58**	.02	.00	.34**
Racism - Stress (RSIRS)										.95	.19*	.17	.30**
Spirituality (SPIRIT)											.91	.31**	.13
Health Behaviors (HLTH)												.88	.00
Cultural Mistrust (CM)													.72

*p < .05, ** p < .01

Table 6

Intercorrelations: Identity Correlates and Self-Esteem

	RSE	EB	LCI	IP-S	IP-O	RACLT	RAC12	RSTRS	SPIRIT	HLTH	CM
Self-Esteem (RSE)	.83	.13	.22	.33**	.43**	-.09	-.23**	-.07	.25**	.33**	-.06
Ethnic Behavior (EB)		.69	.12	.19	.19*	.12	.14	.11	.05	.03	.05
Community Involvement (LCI)			.73	.15	.18	.15	.13	.24**	.33**	.42**	.08
Interpersonal Perceptions – Self (IP-S)				.50	.62**	.01	-.22*	.09	.24**	.16	-.06
Interpersonal Perceptions – Others (IP-O)					.71	.00	-.17	.13	.22**	.18*	-.05
Racism – Lifetime (RACLT)						.95	.70**	.78**	.12	.22*	.30**
Racism – Last 12 mos (RAC12)							.94	.58**	.02	.00	.34**
Racism – Stress (RSTRS)								.95	.19*	.17	.30**
Spirituality (SPIRIT)									.91	.31**	.13
Health Behaviors (HLTH)										.88	.00
Cultural Mistrust (CM)											.72
M	34.96	16.88	10.93	17.26	21.40	46.88	33.61	52.48	27.21	38.69	44.85
SD	4.50	.23	4.14	2.87	3.48	18.20	15.38	23.18	5.86	8.98	8.79

** p <= .01 (2-tailed). * p <= .05 (2-tailed).

Table 7

Mean Comparisons by Group: CRIS Subscales, Attitudes and Behaviors, Self-Esteem

	<u>Church</u>		<u>Student</u>		df	t
	M	SD	M	SD		
Preencounter	39.78	12.21	42.66	13.57	139	-1.32
Assimilated	16.24	7.36	15.88	7.01	139	.30
Miseducated	15.03	6.45	16.37	7.38	139	-1.14
Self-Hating	8.51	4.23	10.41	6.71	139	-1.99*
Immersion-Immersion	26.66	9.09	31.51	13.09	139	-2.54*
Int. Black Involvement	18.58	6.95	20.93	8.44	139	-1.79*
Anti-White	8.08	3.68	10.58	5.90	139	-3.00**
Internalization	40.97	9.28	43.60	9.94	139	-1.62
Afrocentric	15.91	6.43	18.36	7.42	139	-2.08*
Multicultural	25.06	6.37	25.25	5.60	139	-.19
Low Race Salience	35.57	9.66	31.84	10.14	139	-.30
Conservative Political Attitude	17.99	5.99	20.71	5.95	139	-2.71**
Ethnic Behavior	16.82	2.12	16.82	2.34	140	-.00
Community Involvement	12.25	4.07	9.70	3.86	137	3.78**
Cultural Mistrust	44.57	8.91	44.97	8.74	139	-.27
Health Behaviors	41.37	9.46	35.70	8.12	140	3.84**
Interpersonal Perceptions - Self	18.04	2.34	16.47	3.12	136	3.34**
Interpersonal Perceptions - Others	22.21	2.94	20.51	3.81	136	2.91**
Racism - Lifetime	50.23	17.67	49.71	20.89	129	.15
Racism - last 12 mos	31.03	10.91	39.10	18.16	129	-3.04**
Racism - stress	51.76	22.55	50.72	24.26	129	.25
Spirituality	28.72	4.69	25.81	6.46	140	3.05**
Rosenberg Self-Esteem	36.28	3.42	33.64	5.05	140	3.62**
Age	51.72	12.34	27.48	10.22	139	12.74**
Gender	1.38	.49	1.47	.50	140	-1.09
Education (highest grade)	15.23	2.48	13.65	1.93	135	4.18**
SES - childhood	2.00	.73	2.10	.77	139	-.76
SES - current	2.91	.73	2.25	.81	135	5.05**

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Post Hoc Analyses

It was expected that there would be a need to go beyond the information we learned from the above sets of correlational analysis. In this phase, therefore, some initial post hoc data analyses focusing on more complex associations were conducted. Specifically, three sets of regressions were run to test for possible mediation and/or moderation of outcomes related to the targeted variables. Particularly in light of the nature of the split sample, however, demographics were scrutinized prior to running the regressions. Significant differences ($p < .05$) were found for age, education, and group, i.e., whether the participant was in the student or church sample. In turn, regressions were run while controlling for these variables. Three relations were explored:

Model 1

Recall that conservative political attitude and Assimilation were correlated but only the former was a predictor of (low) self-esteem (Table 2). A question that was addressed in the first regression was does Assimilation (PA) moderate the relation between Conservative Political Attitude (CPA) and self-esteem. In other words, does the self-esteem of individuals with a conservative political attitude depend on the extent to which one has an assimilated identity? The Pearson correlations (Table 2) suggest that individuals who scored high on the CPA scale tend to have lower self-esteem and are likely to have an assimilated (PA) identity. Regression analysis showed, however, that the interaction (CPA x PA) was nonsignificant.

Model 2

A second set of regression analyses were run in an attempt to explain the negative relation between conservative political attitude and self-esteem. One way to assume such

a relationship is by positing that if one is miseducated they are likely to adhere to a conservative ideology and such an ideology puts one at risk for damage to their self-esteem. However when this hypothesis was tested in a regression analysis, the data did not yield such a relationship.

Model 3

Given the nature of the Pre-encounter self-hating (PSH) dimension, it is no surprise that it is significantly negatively correlated with self-esteem. Using results from the second model (above), further analysis was conducted looking at the relationships between miseducation and conservative political attitude. The results of this third regression suggest it is ultimately the preencounter self-hating (PSH) variable that depresses self-esteem. In turn, as Figure 2 indicates, there are two indirect paths between miseducation and self-esteem by means of: 1) conservative political attitude and self-hating ($\beta = .02$), and 2) self-hating ($\beta = -.09$).

Model 4

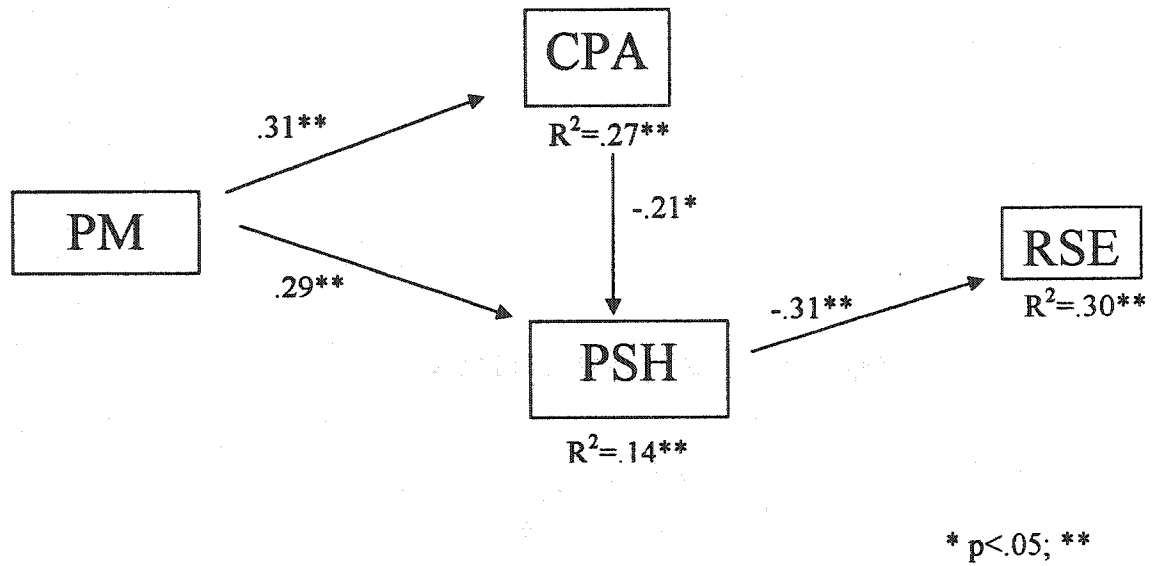
Afrocentricity (IA), which is not correlated with self-esteem, was highly correlated with PSH, anti-White sentiment (AW) and racial zeal, i.e., Intense Black involvement (IBI). Given the links between racial zeal and low self-esteem, it would appear that the energy behind some of these persons' zeal may actually be racial self-hatred rather than racial self-esteem. In particular, it was thought that the more damaging link to self-esteem would be through PSH. Regression analysis was conducted in order to determine the extent to which AW and IBI may in fact mediate the relationship between Afrocentricity and which of these factors contribute most to the relationship with self-esteem. The results, as shown in Figure3, indicate PSH is the major determinant. We see,

therefore, that there are two indirect paths between Afrocentricity and self-esteem, i.e., by means of: 1) anti-White and self-hating ($\beta = -.03$), and 2) Intense Black Involvement, anti-White and self-hating ($\beta = -.02$).

Interestingly, this last regression analysis (Model 4, Figure 3) turned up an unexpected finding wherein there was an apparent significant and direct relationship between Afrocentricity and self-esteem. While such a relationship was not found in the aggregate at the correlational level, the beta weight was significant when anti-White, intense Black involvement and self-hating were included in the model. Since a within-group analysis showed a significant Pearson correlation between self-esteem and Afrocentricity for the church group, group membership was controlled for in the regression. Although further analysis is needed, there is apparently a subset of individuals, across groups, for whom self-esteem does rise and fall relative to their level of Black consciousness. Additionally, education persisted as a predictor of self-esteem and self-hating, after controlling for demographics.

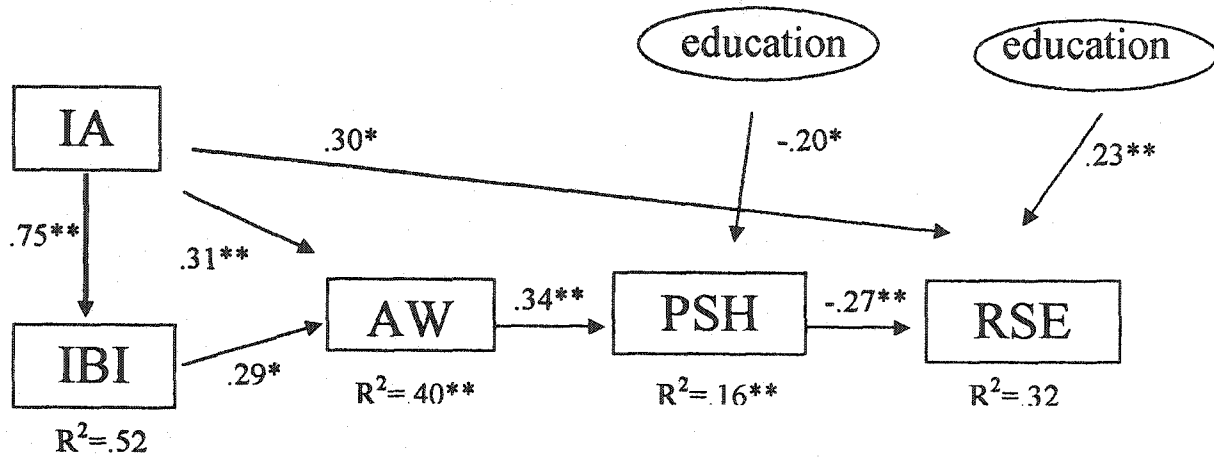
Since in the two validation studies for the CRIS (Cross & Vandiver, 2000), the first with a sample of over 300 and the second with a sample of approximately 1,000 participants, the rate of overlap across all subscales has been minimal, there is adequate reason to believe these findings are unique and not an artifact of the instrument. Thus, we have found conditions under which Afrocentrics may have average levels of self-esteem but we have also found a condition wherein an advanced identity may still show signs of an individual working through psychic turmoil.

Figure 2

Regression Model 3

Key: CPA=Conservative Political Attitude; PM = Preencounter Miseducated;
 PSH=Preencounter self-hatred; RSE=Rosenberg Self-Esteem

Figure 3

Regression Model 4

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Key: AW = Anti-White; CPA=Conservative Political Attitude; IBI = Intense Black Involvement; IA= Internalization Afrocentricity; PM = Preencounter Miseducated; PSH=Preencounter self-hatred; RSE=Rosenberg Self-Esteem

CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION

The major objective of this dissertation was an examination of the relationship between identity orientation and a selected array of attitudinal and behavioral correlates of Black identity development. Three behavioral correlates (ethnic behavior, health behavior, and community involvement) and four attitudinal correlates (cultural mistrust, interpersonal perceptions, perceptions of racism, and spirituality) comprised the repertoire for which hypotheses were proposed. In addition, the historical assumption that Black identity drives self-esteem was tested. The results of the intercorrelational analyses, with some notable exceptions, support the major and subordinate hypotheses proffered in this dissertation. The a priori and post hoc findings attest to the across- and within-group complexities that must be managed and interpreted.

Again, a major strength of this study is that it engaged Black participants beyond the confines of the traditional undergraduate subject pool. Given the developmental underpinnings, the ability to look at individuals across a broader age spectrum is crucial since we expect that age would be a significant factor in one's identity trajectory. The data strongly suggest a somewhat linear pattern across stages. That is, younger Blacks appear more likely to adhere to preencounter and immersion-emersion identities and dimensions than their older counterparts. In turn, the fourth stage exhibits no such pattern, suggesting there is a preponderance of younger folks in the earlier stages but that this pattern levels off over time. Likewise, education, another of the demographic 'usual suspects,' exhibits a similar pattern.

Another important strength of this work is that by virtue of utilizing multiple scales it affords us an evidentiary basis for examining how individuals may configure in multiple ways. So it is that whether one appears to be conservative or nationalist, there are those who are on the hand average in terms of self-esteem. On the other hand, there are those who are above average and those who continue to wrestle with this crucial component of their personal identity.

Most process model studies show a negative correlation between self-esteem and the initial stages of development. Indeed, this historically assumed relationship is supported typically when the aggregate of the stage is correlated with self-esteem. In fact, such is the case in the current study. Importantly, the CRIS showed how the characteristics of a particular dimension within a stage may differ substantially from that stage. For example, Preencounter is negatively correlated with self-esteem. Such a finding is consistent with the traditional theorizing of a linear relationship between early stages of identity development and self-esteem. However, we also see that Assimilated, an identity orientation that is a dimension of Preencounter, has no significant relationship with self-esteem. However, crucial evidence gleaned by the CRIS shows that such linear relationships are driven by specific dimensions of the stage. For example, the link to low self-esteem in the preencounter stage can be traced to those who are Miseducated but this relationship is essentially accounted for by self-hatred. People who evidence self and group loathing at the RGO level tend to also score low on self-esteem, a PI variable. In this instance, and as predicted by Nigrescence theory, PI and RGO are, in fact, related. Thus, while Racial Self-Hatred does predict PI while Assimilation, Afrocentrism, and Multiculturalism do not.

As identity orientations or exemplars, the preencounter Assimilation and Internalization Afrocentricity orientations were useful in that they showed various links to the repertoire of attitudes and behaviors. Surprisingly, the Multiculturalism orientation, with the exception of some sensitivity to racist discrimination over the lifetime, showed a bland profile.

Assimilation, contrary to the traditional paradigm, should not be related to low self-esteem. While we did find that the total stage score for preencounter was negatively correlated, this identity orientation was not similarly associated. In addition, it is an identity not driven by hostility toward Whites, is devoid of racial zeal, and stands in contestation to Afrocentricity or Black Nationalism. Assimilation showed no stress related to oppression or racism nor any significant amounts of cultural mistrust. On the other hand, this orientation was significantly correlated with conservative political ideology and low race salience. And finally, this identity that is typically presumed as a marker of low self-esteem, did not show such a relationship. However, in this sample we saw that high scores on preencounter Miseducation were linked to preencounter Self-Hatred and, of course, Self-Hatred is significantly inversely related to self-esteem.

In the real world we probably have a range of preencounter folks as the data suggests. For example, if there is little or no self-hatred or miseducation, such folks are unlikely to be at risk for damaged self-esteem. In isolation, Assimilation is not a marker for self-esteem. If anything, it is a philosophical contestation or contrast to its theoretical counterpart, Afrocentricity. According to the Nigrescence model, Assimilation is a preencounter state that is not focused on 'Black issues.' So, for example, while the Afrocentric is likely to have a certain vigilance for and awareness of racist events, the

Assimilated person is likely to not be as vigilant and possibly exhibit denial when such an event occurs.

Like Assimilation, Afrocentricity demonstrated more than one pattern with respect to self-esteem. That is, although we have seen that the overall conditions under which Afrocentrics exhibit average self-esteem, as was predicted, it seems that the CRIS has also isolated a 'sliver' of this sample—across the church and student groups—for whom self-esteem does rise and fall relative to their level of Black consciousness. Much of the results regarding Afrocentricity was predicted and came as no surprise. For example, Afrocentric was positively correlated with ethnic behavior (while no such relationship was found with Assimilation or Multiculturalism) and cultural mistrust, and negatively correlated with low race salience. Indeed, the correlational analysis showed this identity orientation to have a high sensitivity to racist events—in the last 12 months and over one's lifetime—and stress associated with such perceptions. And yet while these findings are consistent with research and theorizing by others (Asante, 2003; Chavez & Guido-DiBrito), the data also revealed another layer of complexity.

The Multicultural RGO was one that showed little in the way of correlations with other identity orientations or variables. This absence of statistical associations is by no means an indicator of a lack of dynamism. I believe, rather, that it is likely an indication of the need to further explore the RGO itself. In fact, the authors of the CRIS have been proceeding with such work. Indeed, it is important to note the authors made a conscious decision to focus on the IMC-Inclusive (IMCI) orientation, as opposed to an IMC-Racial or Biculturalist orientation. It was thought that the IMCI folks would evidence some level of a racial component. Yet what was found is that while the Multiculturalist is not

denying their Blackness, the basis of their orientation is virtually devoid of any significant (positive or negative) racial component.

Also worth noting is that during the debriefing process five respondents—four from the church cohort and one student—stated emphatically they chose not to endorse Multicultural items because the specified realm of inclusion included gays and lesbians. So it is that such anecdotal data is, if nothing else, indicative of the layers of complexity involved in assessing the constellation of identity configurations found in any particular given population.

The study data did not support the traditional hypothesis that Black identity is directly linked to self-esteem. On the contrary, none of the targeted identity orientations, across groups, demonstrated such relationships. As stated above, however, there was a positive correlation between Afrocentric and self-esteem within the church group and a similar relationship appeared within at least one regression analysis.

In terms of demographics, education and age appeared to have significant influence while respect to identity orientation and identity correlates. Gender, for the most part, did not exhibit such influence. While the initial correlational analyses were suggestive of group differences, especially with respect to age, the subsequent t-tests provided further clarity. Overall, the church and student groups scored similarly on nearly as many variables as they scored significantly different from one another. Such results are, I believe, probably more indicative of the homogeneity in the environmental experiences to which Blacks are vulnerable, as opposed to some homogenous or monolithic set of approaches to such experiences.

Limitations of the Study

The primary limitation of the current study is the study design itself. That is, by virtue of being a primarily correlational investigation, the ability to make causal inferences from the data is for the most part obviated. In fact, even regression or path analyses do not provide us with incontrovertible evidence regarding temporal sequence, i.e., which variable has primacy in any given pattern. Nonetheless, a study of this magnitude is a healthy beginning to designing subsequent studies that go beyond this first crucial level of analysis.

A second limitation is that the sample size may have attenuated the analytical potential. Specifically, the fact that there was a split sample, i.e., church members and students, wherein age and experience represent important differentiators, statistical results must be viewed with this in mind. This is particularly true with respect to regression analyses that examine variable interactions. Again, in spite of this possibly limiting factor, the general consistency of the data across groups, particularly with respect to the stages of identity development as operationalized by the CRIS, the author is confident the study data represent an important contribution to the empirical literature.

And finally, an issue of concern in studies of identity development is the challenge of measuring or estimating temporal changes inherent in development across the life span. This study did not purport to be able to address such challenges. There are however a small number of studies being conducted that examine issues of situational variability (e.g., Shelton & Sellers, 2000) multiplicity of identity (personal communication, B. J. Vandiver, personal communication, February, 2003) and

typological theorizing that covers the span from childhood through adulthood (Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 2001).

Implications

It is my contention that the implications of the current research include helping to guide the ways in which we conceptualize development of prescriptives for the issues and problems related to stigma, in general, and race, in particular. The clinical implications of this work include insight that can assist in much-needed development and counseling strategies. That is, this research points to the need for a reconceptualization of mental health approaches that may incorrectly give primacy to race or ethnicity, as opposed to some other 'identity' that may be central to the psychology of an individual.

Crucial behavioral and affective patterns or issues may be at least in part addressed by one's racial identity (Helms says this is PI + RGO + ascribed ID). If therapists could differentially match their interventions to the client's level of racial identity development, then clients would be more apt to benefit from the psychotherapy process (Helms, 1990, p. 35). So, for example, a Black client may present with a very lucid worldview that in fact is emblematic of White/majority behavioral and attitudinal norms. In turn, "symptomatic expression of these behaviors and attitudes can become a primary focus." (Helms, 1990, p. 46).

And finally, the broader implications of such research include that insight regarding the complexity of one's identity elucidates factors relevant to their individual and social trajectories (e.g., political affiliations, jobs, schools, neighborhoods of residence).

See (1998), in her edited volume on human behavior in the social environment from an African American perspective, discusses how Black behavior and its systematic investigation warrants diligent searching for theoretical frames including what she calls “theoretical strips”, wherein, for example, the hotly contested paradigm of psychoanalysis is not ruled out but seen as a base from which one might graft pertinent aspects onto a more relevant (e.g., holistic human behavior approach) conceptual approach to clinical practice, social work, and the like.

A study such as this may prove crucial to elucidation of any number of important social psychological phenomena. For example, in terms of impact differentiation, this work may aid in the stereotype threat work begun by Steele (1997). Likewise, a factor implied by this work is its role in providing continued evidence of the myth and stereotype regarding Black identity. Specifically, in spite of the fact that Blacks, like any racial or ethnic group, share panoply of commonalities, the extent to which they are diverse continues to be “shielded from discovery by certain myths and stereotypes” (Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 2000, p. 256).

Future Research

What is least in doubt is that the data from this study point to the need for further research. Given the inherent limitations of sample size and the scope of potential analysis, the author intends to pursue another level of investigation with an augmented sample.

Measurement of behavioral and attitudinal correlates must continue and expand in scope. Replicability of such studies, with other groups, including adolescents, ‘majority’

and other racial and ethnic groups, must be on the agenda. In terms of methodologies which elicit snapshots of one's identity profile or status in a particular space and time, such pursuits must continue and be improved upon. For example, we need to expand the development of longitudinal and cohort-sequential studies that can estimate changes inherent in the dynamism of identity over the life span. In addition, the utility of qualitative methodologies can not be overstated.

In terms of deriving theoretical clarity crucial to furthering empirical work, there is reason for optimism. For example, with respect to generic social identity theory, the framework developed by (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, in press), provides not only a set of 'elements' for conceptualizing collective identity—a proxy for social identity—but provides an equally comprehensive review of and recommendations for appropriate methodologies. In terms of empirical approaches, this dissertation, for example, is driven by the Cross Racial Identity Scale. While it is part of an emerging cadre of tools for assessing identity I believe it represents a breakthrough in this area. Although the CRIS is currently focused solely on Black Identity, it appears to provide a sufficient conceptual framework to be modified for use with Whites as well as other minority groups. Current areas of focus include parsing out the within-stage differences. For example, while the distinctions in the Preencounter stage (Assimilated, Self-hating, and Miseducated) seem clearly delineated, Cross and his colleagues point to the evidence for further segmentation of subsequent stages.

While much of the work done with and around racial identity models has Black identity as a focus, the work of Phinney (1992) targets ethnicity, as opposed to race. Such a model is invaluable, particularly when coupled with more specific models such as

Cross' Nigrescence theory. And so it is that while the current study is confined to the measurement of Black racial identity, the author bears in mind the overlap and possibilities for future research on racial and ethnic identity.

That Blacks are by virtue of their American experience, bicultural, in overall orientation is yet another issue that needs to be unpacked. As such, even the Black who is high on Afrocentricity will likely present with a measurable 'degree' of Assimilation. We must use work such as this in order to begin addressing if not answering pressing questions such as, how do we measure multiplicity of identity? How do we assess the weight or importance or primacy of each status/identity/membership? How do we measure the situational variability (including identity fragility and strength) of one's identity matrix or 'kaleidoscope' ? In response to the need for more in-depth theoretical and empirical examination of multiplicity, the developers of the CRIS are engaged in generating a systematic approach to quantifying identity in terms of dynamic profiles that might account for these complex phenomena (B. J. Vandiver, personal communication, spring, 2003).

Conclusion

When the rallying cry, "Black is beautiful!" first reverberated on college campuses and the percolating streets of urban America, it was above all else, seen as "the collective affirmation of Black identity (Speight, Vera & Derrickson, 1996, p. 40). More than an errant blip on the sociohistorical radar screen, this era represented a major shift in how Black people viewed themselves. In spite of the heightened emotional tenor of this unique period, the assumption of a collective affirmation should not be misconstrued as an affirmation of a unitary Black identity.

The concept of Black identity, sometimes conflated with the term Black Consciousness, is a particularly functional concept. This is especially true given the importance of understanding how a Black person negotiates a racialized society, with its inherent power differentials. Not unrelated to this differential is the historical approach to research. That is, an approach that is largely dichotomous and static, overlooking the true depth and breadth of dynamic nature of Black identity and culture. Unfortunately, this paradigm, with its historical weight, continues to drive much of the current research. The current study was an effort to continue tipping the scale in the other direction. In this respect I believe the study was successful.

Blacks continue to be portrayed as the possibly redeemable character, in need of grounding in typically Eurocentric belief systems. In spite of this, however, Blacks have managed to keep from severing their African-based cultural and ideological ties. More importantly, as was eloquently stated by Cross and Fhagen-Smith:

The majority of black ecologies are capable of producing and sustaining positive and healthy humans. As long as black people receive a living wage or better, have access to decent housing and schools that make a difference, the level of humanity and accomplishment they are able to effect is extraordinary (p. 250)

There is no doubt that there are quantifiable identity schema, i.e., reference group orientations, to be found in Black communities. This study chose to focus on three such orientations but acknowledged that the array and permutations of orientations ultimately may be innumerable. The selected RGOs, however, are more than reasonable exemplars of this array, with one (Assimilated) being virtually deracinated, another (Afrocentric)

being quite focused on race and a third (Multicultural) being those Blacks who in their typical daily interactions neither overemphasize nor ignore their Blackness.

Cross, Sellers, and others utilize these overlapping identity frames because such frames, more so than others, tend to drive the discourse on Black identity. For example, on the one hand, we have Blacks such as Ward Connerly, Condoleeza Rice, and Shelby Steele, espousing the virtues of assimilation as an ultimate goal. On the other hand, we have prominent Blacks such as Molefi Asante, Haki Madhubiti, and Leonard Jeffries, talking, in varying degrees, about the essentialist nature of Black Nationalism or Afrocentricity. And finally, somewhere in the theoretical middle of these typically disparate ideologies, we have yet another perspective, one that is characterized by an ideology geared toward an amalgam or collectivity across groups, i.e., Multiculturalism. In the last decade there has been a virtual explosion of discourse on bicultural and multicultural identity (Tatum, 1987). Much of this has been fueled by the increasing number of people who have mixed racial heritage, the genesis of which has been traced to the Civil Rights era (Higham, 1997; Tatum, 1987). So it is that we have noted celebrities such as Mariah Carey, Tiger Woods, Halle Berry, and Vin Diesel³, as exemplars of this phenomenon.

This work adds to the structural discourse of identity differentiation among a particular population. A goal that I hope was met was a further illumination of the variety of relationships between identity and behavior and attitude. I believe it is a clear intellectual charge to examine how we make meaning of ourselves. It can be done, as I have attempted to show, by viewing personality and social identity (RGO) components as

³ Tiger Woods, a self-ascribed "Cablanasian," is an exemplar of a multicultural person, while Halle Berry represents a bicultural individual, i.e., Black and White parentage.

pillars that support the larger structure. Measurement of behavioral and attitudinal correlates must continue and expand in order to better understand the complexities of human behavior and thinking.

The charge of social science is to explore and move in new directions for future research. These things we must do in order to further our insight on how people traverse their individual and collective lives and the role each has in society's development and its simultaneously unfolding history. And so it is that I look forward to engaging further in research that will advance the theoretical and empirical discourse, help improve approaches to research, and contribute to increased social sensitivity and much needed social change. This change needs to have high on the agenda a push toward goals of transformation among all coexisting groups, as opposed to a hegemonic assumptions regarding inclusiveness.

ENDNOTES

ⁱ Interestingly, it is Cross' assertion that black identity cannot be understood without adequate examination of fictional and semi-fictional literature ("In order to do this stuff, we have to start with fiction.").

ⁱⁱ While Freud's theory was more about *ontogenetic* or essential factors, Erikson sought to introduce an *epigenetic* process which he points out is less about genetics and more about a *genesis or beginning* of a process.

Sellers utilizes what Gaines and Reed (1994, 1995) refer to as the underground and mainstream approaches to studying and understanding identity. The former focuses on the uniqueness of Black identity, e.g., with respect to the historical influence of oppression. The latter is a focus on the more universal aspects. Therefore, Sellers tries to incorporate an approach that is an amalgam of both.

ⁱⁱⁱ Of course, such an affirmation presupposes that 'American' is not a group with which one could identify. The discourse on the veracity of such an assumption is, however, outside the scope of this proposal.

^{iv} Nigrescence, a French term which translated literally, means "becoming Black", is an apt descriptor for this theory that developed in the wake of the Black Power and Civil Rights movements.

^v As previously mentioned, such factors as the distinction between personal identity and reference group orientation were not partialled out in the first iteration of the Cross model.

^{vi} Aggregate scores for stage 1 (*Preencounter*), stage 3 (*Immersion-Emersion*) and stage four (*Internalization*) were assessed by adding the scores of the pertinent identity types or dimensions that comprise each stage.

^{vii} These counterparts were shown to be significantly correlated to each other and this is consistent with the model.

Appendix B: Demographics Sheet
Demographic/Information Sheet

Where were you born? _____

Note: If not born in the United States, please do not continue. See research staff.

1. Circle one: male female
2. How old are you? _____
- 3 Please tell us your racial/ethnic background by circling the choice that applies to you:
 - a. African
 - b. African-American or Black American
 - c. West Indian or Caribbean Black
 - d. Latina or Latino Black
 - e. Mixed
 - f. Other Black (please specify): _____
- 4 Are you a student? (check one): Yes ___ No ___
- 5 What is the highest grade in school that you completed? _____
- 6 Would you say your childhood background was (circle one):

Poor Working-class Middle-class Upper-middle Wealthy
7. Do you smoke cigarettes? Yes ___ No ___
8. Do you belong to a political party? Democrat ___ Republican ___ Other ___ None ___
9. Do you consider yourself one of the following? (check one)

Conservative ___ Liberal ___ Moderate ___ Radical ___
10. Do you attend a church, mosque, or other place of worship? Yes ___ No ___

If Yes: How often do you attend? Regularly ___ Occasionally ___ Rarely ___

Appendix C: Cross Racial Identity Scale

CRIS SCALE

Instructions: Read each item and indicate to what degree it reflects your own thoughts and feelings, using the 7-point scale below. There are no right or wrong answers, just your own opinion, at the present time. To ensure that we can use everyone's answers in the study, please respond to the statements as they are written.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly disagree	disagree	somewhat disagree	neither agree nor disagree	somewhat agree	agree	strongly agree

- _____ 1. I think of myself primarily as an American, and seldom as a member of a racial group.
- _____ 2. Both in my public and private thoughts, race is the most important part of my identity.
- _____ 3. As a Black multiculturalist, it is important to be connected with individuals from all cultural backgrounds (Latinos, Asian Americans, gays and lesbians, Jews, Whites, Native Americans, etc.).
- _____ 4. I think that all students, including Black students, should be admitted to colleges and universities on the basis of merit and test scores, not Affirmative Action.
- _____ 5. Black people will never be free until we embrace an Afrocentric perspective.
- _____ 6. Too many Blacks "glamorize" the drug trade and fail to see opportunities that don't involve crime.
- _____ 7. I go through periods when I am down on myself because I am Black.
- _____ 8. I must constantly guard against the watering down of my Afrocentric ideas.
- _____ 9. As a multiculturalist, I am connected to many groups (Latinos, Asian Americans, gays and lesbians, Jews, Whites, Native Americans, etc.).
- _____ 10. I do not believe in "group think" so I seldom check to see whether my opinions are shared by other blacks.
- _____ 11. I have a strong feeling of hatred and disdain for all White people.
- _____ 12. Everything that is important to me is connected to my Black identity.
- _____ 13. I am not so much a member of a racial group, as I am an American.
- _____ 14. I see and think about things from an Afrocentric perspective.
- _____ 15. The most important aspects of my life are in no way connected to the fact that I am Black.
- _____ 16. It is absolutely necessary that I present myself to other Blacks in an Afrocentric manner.
- _____ 17. I sometimes struggle with negative feelings about being Black.
- _____ 18. Blacks place more emphasis on having a good time than on hard work.

CRIS Scale (cont'd)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly disagree	disagree	somewhat disagree	neither agree nor disagree	somewhat agree	agree	strongly agree

- _____ 19. Sometimes I get so motivated and emotional about my Afrocentric ideas, until my head feels like it is about to explode with ideas for action.
- _____ 20. I embrace my own Black identity, but I also respect and celebrate the cultural identities of other groups (e.g., Native Americans, Whites, Latinos, Jews, Asian Americans, gays and lesbians, etc.).
- _____ 21. I hate the White community and all that it represents.
- _____ 22. I believe that only those Black people who accept an Afrocentric perspective can truly solve the race problem in America.
- _____ 23. If I had to put a label on my identity, it would be "American," and not African American.
- _____ 24. As far as I am concerned, Affirmation Action will be needed for a long time.
- _____ 25. Things that bring me joy and make me happy are not connected to the fact that I am Black.
- _____ 26. I am constantly on guard to make certain that my Afrocentric perspective remains pure and free of Eurocentric ideas.
- _____ 27. When I look in the mirror at my Black image, sometimes I do not feel good about what I see.
- _____ 28. African Americans are too quick to turn to crime to solve their problems.
- _____ 29. Sometimes I get very frustrated and angry at other Blacks who do not understand the importance of Afrocentric thinking.
- _____ 30. My racial identity is at the heart and soul of how I see myself.
- _____ 31. Multiculturalism is just another form of "group think" and I will have nothing to do with it.
- _____ 32. Being Black does not play that much of a role in how I feel about myself.
- _____ 33. I believe it is important to have both a Black identity and a multicultural perspective, because this connects me to other groups (Latinos, Asian Americans, Whites, Jews, gays and lesbians, etc.).
- _____ 34. Moving people off the welfare rolls and pulling away from Affirmative Action is leading toward greater racial progress.
- _____ 35. Privately, I sometimes have negative feelings about being Black.
- _____ 36. I respect the ideas that other Black people hold, but I believe that the best way to solve our problems is to think Afrocentrically.
- _____ 37. I hate White people.

CRIS Scale (cont'd)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly disagree	disagree	somewhat disagree	neither agree nor disagree	somewhat agree	agree	strongly agree

- _____ 38. I have developed an identity that stresses my experiences as an American more than my experiences as a member of a racial group.
- _____ 39. Blacks place too much importance on racial protest and not enough on hard work and education.
- _____ 40. I do things all of the time to make certain my Afrocentric ideas are totally free of Eurocentric thinking.
- _____ 41. The fact that I am Black is not the most important thing you should know about me.
- _____ 42. White people should be destroyed.
- _____ 43. I believe that, over the long run, Affirmative Action has done more harm than good.
- _____ 44. As a Black multiculturalist, it is important for me to be connected with individuals from all cultural backgrounds (Latinos, gays and lesbians, Jews, Native Americans, Asian Americans, etc.).
- _____ 45. Many African Americans are too lazy to see opportunities that are right in front of them.
- _____ 46. I sometimes have negative feelings about being Black.
- _____ 47. If I had to put myself into categories, first I would say I am an American, and second I am a member of a racial group.
- _____ 48. My Black identity is the rock or foundation for my overall self-concept.
- _____ 49. My negative feelings toward White people are very intense.
- _____ 50. Black people cannot truly be free until our daily lives are guided by Afrocentric values and principles.

Appendix D: Self-Esteem Scale**Rosenberg Scale**

Instructions: Please read each statement carefully and consider how well it applies to you. Use the scale below to respond to each statement.

1= Strongly Disagree

2= Disagree

3= Agree

4= Strongly Agree

- _____ 1. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others.
- _____ 2. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.
- _____ 3. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.
- _____ 4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.
- _____ 5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.
- _____ 6. I take a positive attitude toward myself.
- _____ 7. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.
- _____ 8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.
- _____ 9. I certainly feel useless at times.
- _____ 10. At times I think I am no good at all.

Appendix E: Ethnic Behavior Scale

EA Scale

In the past month, have you:

- | | |
|---|-----------|
| 1. Spent a lot of time in all-Black settings?
No _____ | Yes _____ |
| 2. Spent a lot of time speaking 'Black' English
No _____ | Yes _____ |
| 3. Eaten ethnic (Black) foods at home or in a restaurant?
No _____ | Yes _____ |
| 4. Read a Black newspaper/magazine?
No _____ | Yes _____ |
| 5. Watched a Black movie/video?
No _____ | Yes _____ |
| 6. Watched a serious or informative Black television program ?
No _____ | Yes _____ |
| 7. Watched a Black situation comedy (sitcom)?
No _____ | Yes _____ |
| 8. Attended a Black cultural function (a play, a museum event, etc.)
No _____ | Yes _____ |
| 9. Patronized a Black business (doctor, barber shop, beauty parlor, clothing store, etc.)
No _____ | Yes _____ |

In the past year, have you:

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------|----------|
| 10. Celebrated a Black holiday? | Yes _____ | No _____ |
|---------------------------------|-----------|----------|

Appendix F: Human Spirituality Scale

HS Scale

INSTRUCTIONS:

Your honest answer to each item is very important. There is no agreement as to what are right or wrong responses to these items, but if the scale is to be useful, you should respond to each item the best you can. Please select the one response which is most true for you and circle the number provided above that response.

1. I experience a sense of spiritual connection with other living things.

5	4	3	2	1
Constantly/ Almost Constantly	Frequently	Occasionally	Seldom	Never/ Almost Never

2. I set aside time for personal reflection and growth.

5	4	3	2	1
Constantly/ Almost Constantly	Frequently	Occasionally	Seldom	Never/ Almost Never

3. Being spiritual and truthful is important to a successful life.

5	4	3	2	1
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

4. It is important that each of us find spiritual meaning in our lives.

5	4	3	2	1
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

5. I read articles on spiritual health and inner peace.

5	4	3	2	1
Constantly/ Almost Constantly	Frequently	Occasionally	Seldom	Never/ Almost Never

6. I actively seek a sense of spiritual purpose in my life.

5	4	3	2	1
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

7. I enjoy providing spiritual guidance for young people.

5	4	3	2	1
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

Appendix G

Interpersonal Perceptions Scale

The following statements describe perceptions you might have of Black people as well as perceptions Black people might have of you. There are no right or wrong statements.

Read each statement and then give it a numerical response, using the 5-point scale shown below. Place your score in the space provided to the left of each statement.

1= Strongly Disagree 2= Disagree 3= Neutral 4= Agree 5= Strongly Agree

- _____ 1. I look forward to being in the company of other Blacks.
- _____ 2. Other Blacks tend to question my opinions.
- _____ 3. I actively seek out times to help other Blacks.
- _____ 4 I am critical of other Blacks.
- _____ 5. Other Blacks enjoy my company.
- _____ 6. I disagree with other Blacks.
- _____ 7. I give consistent support to other Blacks.
- _____ 8. I tend to question the opinion of other Blacks.
- _____ 9. Other Blacks are eager to help me.
- _____ 10. I wish other Blacks understood me better.
- _____ 11. Other Blacks are consistently supportive of me.
- _____ 12. Other Blacks wish I were more supportive.

Appendix H: Racism Scale

Schedule of Racist Events

We are interested in your experiences with racism. As you answer the questions below, please think about your ENTIRE LIFE, from when you were a child to the present. For each question, please circle the number that best captures the things that have happened to you. Answer each question TWICE, once for what has happened to you IN THE PAST YEAR, and once for what YOUR ENTIRE LIFE HAS BEEN LIKE. Use these numbers:

Circle 1 = If this has NEVER happened to you WHILE (less than 10% of the time)
 Circle 2 = If this has happened ONCE IN A WHILE (10% - 25% of the time)
 Circle 3 = If this has happened SOMETIMES (26% - 49% of the time)
 Circle 4 = If this has happened A LOT (50% - 70% of the time)
 Circle 5 = If this has happened MOST OF THE TIME (more than 70% of the time)
 Circle 6 = If this has happened ALMOST ALL THE TIME (more than 70% of the time)

1. How many times have you been treated unfairly by *teachers and professors* because you are Black?

How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6

	Not at all					Extremely
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

2. How many times have you been treated unfairly by your *employers, bosses and supervisors* because you are Black?

How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6

		Not at all					
Extremely	5	6	How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4

3. How many times have you been treated unfairly by your *coworkers, fellow students and colleagues* because you are Black?

How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6

		Not at all					
Extremely	5	6	How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4

4. How many times have you been treated unfairly by *people in service jobs* (store clerks, waiters, bartenders, bank tellers and others) because you are Black?

How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6

10. How many times have you been *accused or suspected of doing something wrong* (such as stealing, cheating, not doing your share of the work, or breaking the law) because you are Black?

How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all				Extremely	
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

11. How many times have people *misunderstood your intentions and motives* because you are Black?

How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all				Extremely	
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

12. How many times did you *want to tell someone off for being racist but didn't say anything*?

How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all				Extremely	
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

13. How many times have you been *really angry about something racist that was done to you*?

How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all				Extremely	
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

14. How many times were you *forced to take drastic steps* (such as filing a grievance, filing a lawsuit, quitting your job, moving away, and other actions) to deal with some racist thing that was done to you?

How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all				Extremely	
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

15. How many times have you *been called a racist name like nigger, coon, jungle bunny or other names?*

How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all					Extremely
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

16. How many times have you *gotten into an argument or a fight about something racist that was done to you or done to somebody else?*

How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all					Extremely
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

17. How many times have you *been made fun of, picked on, pushed, shoved, hit, or threatened with harm* because you are Black?

How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at all					Extremely
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

18. How *different* would your life be now if you HAD NOT BEEN treated in a racist and unfair way?

In the past year?

Same as now	A little different	Different in a few ways	Different in a lot of ways	Different in most ways	Totally Different
1	2	3	4	5	6

In your entire life?

Same as now	A little different	Different in a few ways	Different in a lot of ways	Different in most ways	Totally Different
1	2	3	4	5	6

Appendix J: Health Behavior Scale

Health Attitude Scale

How often do you do any of the things listed below. Please answer using the following scale:

1=Never 2=Sometimes 3=Often 4=Routinely

Check cholesterol level?	1	2	3	4
Report symptoms to M.D.?	1	2	3	4
Read books about health?	1	2	3	4
Question M.D./Second opinion?	1	2	3	4
Discuss health concerns?	1	2	3	4
Check blood pressure?	1	2	3	4
Seek information?	1	2	3	4
Attend environmental programs?	1	2	3	4
Observe body for changes?	1	2	3	4
Attend health care programs?	1	2	3	4
Do stretching exercises?*	1	2	3	4
Vigorous exercise 3 times/week?*	1	2	3	4
Supervised programs?	1	2	3	4
Recreational activities?*	1	2	3	4
Check pulse rate?	1	2	3	4
Read labels?	1	2	3	4

Appendix K: Community Involvement Scale

LCI Scale

Instructions:

This scale has two parts; the first part asks you questions about the extent to which you might be involved in community activities and events and the second part asks you about the types of groups and causes that interest you. Remember that there are no right or wrong answers, because people vary widely as to whether or not they feel it necessary to get involved with groups and causes. Circle the one number, from 1 to 5, that best describes your level of involvement.

- 1=I am not involved
- 2=I am only slightly involved
- 3=My involvement is average
- 4=My involvement is above average
- 5=I am extremely active

1. My involvement & participation in the religious and spiritual affairs of the community can be described as:

1 2 3 4 5

2. My involvement & participation in the political affairs of the community can be described as:

1 2 3 4 5

3. The level of my involvement & participation in local school issues can be described as

1 2 3 4 5

4. The level of my involvement & participation in national political organizations can be described as

1 2 3 4 5

5. The level of my involvement & participation in book clubs and discussion groups can be described as

1 2 3 4 5

LCI Scale - Types of Organizations

1. The number of Black Conservative groups and causes in which I hold a membership, contribute money, or toward which I feel a strong connection is [fill in the number of groups here]: _____. [Example: zero for none; or 1, 2, 3 .. 10, etc]

Please give two examples of the Black Conservative groups or causes you are thinking about:

1st example: _____;

2nd example: _____.

2. The number of Afrocentric or Black Nationalist groups and causes in which I hold a membership, contribute money, or toward which I feel a strong connection is [fill in the number of groups here]: _____. [Example: zero for none; or 1, 2, 3 .. 10, etc]

Please give two examples of the Afrocentric groups or causes you are thinking about:

1st example: _____;

2nd example: _____.

3. The number of Multicultural groups and causes, in which I hold a membership, contribute money, or toward which I feel a strong connection is [fill in the number of groups here]: _____. [Example: zero for none; or 1, 2, 3 .. 10, etc]

Please give two examples of the Multicultural groups or causes you are thinking about:

1st example: _____;

2nd example: _____.

Appendix L: Cultural Mistrust Scale

CM Scale

Instructions: Read each item and indicate to what degree it reflects your own thoughts and feelings, using the 7-point scale below. There are no right or wrong answers, just your own opinion, at the present time. To ensure that we can use everyone's answers in the study, please respond to the statements as they are written.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly disagree	disagree	somewhat disagree	neither agree nor disagree	somewhat agree	agree	strongly agree

- _____ 1. Whites are usually fair to all people regardless of race
- _____ 2. Probably the biggest reason Whites want to be friends with Blacks is so they can take advantage of them.
- _____ 3. A Black person can truly trust his or her White co-workers.
- _____ 4. A Black person can feel comfortable making a deal with a White person simply by a handshake.
- _____ 5. There are some Whites who are trustworthy enough to have as close friends.
- _____ 6. It is best for Blacks to be on guard when among Whites.
- _____ 7. White friends are least likely to break their promise.
- _____ 8. Blacks should be cautious about what they say in the presence of Whites, since Whites will try to use it against them.
- _____ 9. Whites are as trustworthy as members of any ethnic group.
- _____ 10. Whites will say one thing and do another.
- _____ 11. It is possible to have close and trusting relationships with some White people.
- _____ 12. Black parents should teach their children not to trust White people.

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