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**THE FEAR OF SUCCESS & ITS RELATIONSHIP TO RACIAL IDENTITY
ATTITUDES AND ACHIEVEMENT BEHAVIOR IN BLACK MALES**

by

David Barrington Campbell

**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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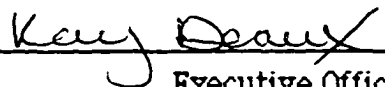
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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Clinical Psychology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

The Fear of Success and Its Relationship to Racial Identity Attitudes and Achievement Behavior Among Black Male College Students

by

David Barrington Campbell

Sponsor: Professor Vera Paster

This study investigates the relationship of the fear of success to racial identity attitudes and achievement behavior among Black male college students. Two measures of the fear of success (Horner's Cue Interpretation Task & Cohen's People Knowing Questionnaire (PKQ)) and one measure of Black racial identity attitudes (Helms & Parham's RIAS-B) were used. Achievement behavior was assessed by a study habits and attitudes inventory (Nixon & Frost, 1990) as well as by the actual grade point averages (GPA) of the 129 Black men who participated in this study.

Study habits were found to be significantly related to students' GPAs. As study habits improved, GPA increased. The PKQ fear of success showed a moderate negative relationship to study habits. Racial identity

attitudes did not predict GPA but Internalized racial attitudes were significantly positively related to study habits. Also, preencounter and encounter attitudes demonstrated a significant and positive relationship to the fear of success, while internalized attitudes showed a significant and negative relationship to the fear of success.

Confused racial identity may be an aspect of the soil out of which success fears grow, and these success fears can contribute to the inhibition of achievement behavior as reflected in study habits and GPA.

To Albert Barrington Campbell & Sybil Verona Campbell, my parents.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

This study investigates the relationships between the fear of success, racial identity attitudes and achievement behavior among Black males. The fear of success has been identified as an inhibitor of achievement behavior (Horner, 1968; Canavan, 1989; Fleming & Horner, 1992) while racial identity attitudes have been associated with the quality of the interpersonal and affective self- experience of Black people (Parham & Helms, 1985a & b) and are thought to govern a broad range of the Black individual's attitudes, cognitions, feelings and behaviors (Helms, 1990). The study seeks to ascertain whether or not the fear of success and racial identity attitudes interact in ways which affect the achievement behavior of Black males.

Much research attempting to explain the paradoxical fear reaction of some individuals to the attainment of their desired goals, attributes the fear of success to variations on the theme of loss of connection with important others, the roots of which stem from early childhood experiences (Canavan-Gumpert, Garner & Gumpert, 1978; Krueger, 1990;

Baker, 1979; Balkin, 1987; Larkin, 1987). These early experiences with important others underlay personal identity formation which, according to Stolorow & Atwood (1992), develops in the context of "recurring patterns of intersubjective transaction" and "results in the establishment of invariant principles that unconsciously organize the child's subsequent experiences" (p. 24). It has been suggested that the preservation of personal identity plays an important role in the fear of success (Larkin, 1987; Lacocque, 1986). Also, Swann (1983) has demonstrated that people with negative self views were more committed to others who supported their negative view of themselves. This is so, according to Swann, because the individual wishes to preserve his or her intrapsychic and interpersonal identity, and wants to avoid confusion and anxiety in the face of feedback which is discrepant with his or her own sense of self. Conflicts about succeeding appear to function in a similar dynamic.

Success is conceptualized here as a favorable or desired outcome based on the individual's subjective experience of what is favored or desirable for him or her. The fear of success is defined as anxiety in the face of achieving one's desired goals. It arises when approaching, self-defined, "success oriented" goals threaten the structure of the individual's sense of his or her own personal identity.

Racial identity attitudes relate to the quality of one's thoughts and beliefs about one's race. The predominant theory of racial identity (Cross, 1971;1978) outlines four racial identity attitude stages which characterize the racial self experience of Black individuals. These include the Preencounter, Encounter, Immersion/Emersion and Internalization stages. The Preencounter stage, characterized by pro-White, anti-Black attitudes, has been conceptualized as the least healthy or least consolidated Black racial identity stage. Although this stage has been most often associated with psychopathology among Black people (Parham & Helms, 1985a & b; Azibo, 1983), evidence exists to show that the relationship is not a clearly defined one (Cross, 1991). The following two stages (Encounter and Immersion/Emersion) are seen as necessary in the process of racial identity consolidation but are also seen as problematic expressions of racial identity. Respectively, these involve encountering racism and, as a result, immersing oneself in Black culture while maintaining pro-Black, anti-White attitudes. The great majority of researchers in the field of Black racial identity underscore the value of a consolidated, Internalized racial identity (characterized by pro-Black, pro-White attitudes) for the effective psychological and interpersonal functioning of Black people in American

society.

For Black males, racial identity was shown to be the factor most predictive of their personal identity status and was most often selected as the primary factor in their overall self-definition (Aries & Moorehead, 1989). Because racial identity tends to be an important self defining factor for Black males, "success oriented" goals which in some way disturb the individual's racial sense of self may generate anxiety. Therefore, racial attitudes held by Black males may serve to provide an additional source of conflict related to achievement behavior which is unlikely to be found in their White male counterparts.

This research is undertaken to explore and clarify the nature of these relationships which, to date, have received little empirical attention. The research has relevance for the clinical treatment of Black males and will provide increased insight into the psychological dilemma of the Black male in relation to mainstream notions of success, racial identity and achievement behavior in American society. The research is undertaken in a spirit of hope that it will contribute to a better understanding of how some Black males are able to push through the psychological barriers engendered within a color - caste society in order to release their creative

and productive potential.

The following section reviews the literatures related to the fear of success and racial identity attitudes, discusses the relevance between these constructs and explores how they may interact to mediate achievement behavior in Black males. The literature review begins with the perspectives of several prominent theorists who attempt to explain the causes of success neurosis in adults. A detailed description of the specific behaviors and affects which characterize the success fearer will follow. The focus will be a contextual one with an eye to understanding familial and cultural dynamics as well as individual dynamics in the development and maintenance of success fears. The psychological mechanisms by which success fearers manage their often debilitating anxiety in the face of success will be discussed and special concerns regarding the fear of success and Black males will be outlined. Further, an overview of the theory and history of racial identity among African-Americans will follow as well as a description of the role racial identity attitudes play in the overall self experience of Black males.

The Fear of Success

The fear of success refers to feelings of anxiety which arise as an individual approaches the accomplishment of important, self-defined goals, the attainment of which is deeply desired by the individual. The individual is highly motivated to achieve his or her goals and yet is assailed by fears, the source of which tends to be unconscious. These fears generate an intense approach-avoidance conflict for success fearers.

The fear of success has generated much attention since Matina Horner's (1968) dissertation which attempted to study the construct empirically for the first time. Specifically, Horner wanted to account for the differences in achievement striving between men and women. Horner defined the fear of success as "a latent, stable disposition acquired early in life in conjunction with sex role standards of behavior to become anxious in competitive situations, especially in the presence of men" (as per Fleming, 1981; p. 179). A huge body of research has subsequently been generated to explain the anxious reactions of some individuals to the attainment of their desired goals.

Horner's (1968) fear of success construct suggests that many women are simultaneously fearful of success and motivated to succeed in

achievement situations. The results of Horner's (1968) initial study using the construct revealed that in achievement situations, female subjects anticipated negative consequences related to success and experienced increased anxiety as a result. Although Horner thought of the fear of success as occurring primarily in bright and capable women, subsequent studies have demonstrated its relevance for men as well (Feather & Raphelson, 1974). Little attention has been paid to the fear of success in Black males specifically.

The underlying assumptions regarding the nature of the fear of success as conceived by Horner (1968) include the following: the fear of success is learned early in life and is a stable personality trait. It is generally dormant and is most likely aroused in competitive achievement situations especially those demanding the use of intellectual and leadership abilities. When aroused, it inhibits achievement behavior and, "is presumed to interact with other motivational and personality variables as a complex function of motive strength, incentive value, and probability of success" (Fleming & Horner, 1992; p. 180). Finally, Horner assumes that the fear of success is a mostly unconscious process which is best assessed through the content analysis of projective measures.

The following section presents a variety of causal explanations for the fear of success. It describes specific thoughts, affects and behaviors which characterize the success fearer and it outlines the nature of the relationship between the fear of success and personal identity. Finally, it looks at how cultural factors related to race become internalized and may work to impede the Black male's progress toward his desired goals.

Etiology: Dynamic explanations

Many theorists have attempted to account for success avoiding behavior over the years and have suggested a wide variety of causative factors for this personally limiting and ubiquitous phenomenon. It was Freud (1915) who first wrote of individuals who, upon achieving success in marriage or career, developed emotional problems which resulted in retreat from new found success. He spoke of the "surprising, indeed bewildering... discovery, that people occasionally fall ill precisely because a deeply-rooted and cherished wish has come to fulfillment" (31, p.324).

Freud explained his observations of "those wrecked by success" as a neurotic attempt to sidestep unconscious feelings associated with success attainment. He suggested that an internal conflict develops within the

individual in which success attainment unconsciously represents unresolved oedipal feelings of competition, hostility and jealousy. The individual may comfortably pursue his or her competitive and hostile wishes through setting and working to achieve high goals but as goal attainment draws near, guilt and anxiety from the oedipal situation surface making goal attainment frightening and, in some cases, impossible. Other theorists also identify unresolved oedipal feelings and childhood conflicts with significant others as the underlying sources of success avoidant behavior (Krueger, 1990; Fleming, 1982; Moulton, 1985).

Negative parental responses as children grapple with issues of separation-individuation, according to Larkin (1987), also contribute to the fear of success in the adult. If, for example, parents react to a child's movements away from them with competition or feelings of abandonment then the child becomes insecure in his or her own growth process.

According to Larkin, negative parental responses -- such as anxiety, anger, ridicule, interference or disapproval -- to self assertiveness, achievement or independence in children distort their ability to individuate smoothly. However, conscious parental investment in the growth, success and maturity of their offspring in tandem with often unconscious parental anxieties regarding children's individuation process, leave children

confused and ambivalent about unqualified success. On one hand, parents encourage their children's success, while, on the other, they communicate that their children's success disturbs them in some way. Children are dependent on their parents for survival. They are, as a result, vigilant in their efforts not to alienate parents by being or becoming too successful (Baker, 1979; Balkin, 1987). "Because the child," according to Canavan-Gumpert, et al. (1978), "comes to expect or fear abandonment, loss of love or fantasied retaliation for his successful accomplishments... qualified success may come to have tranquilizing effects" (p12).

For success fearers, according to Krueger (1990), the perceived defeat of the same sex parent is especially threatening. This is so particularly if the same sex parent felt jealous, angry and/or threatened by the child. These parental affects intensify the child's naturally rivalrous feelings because they legitimize the child as an actual competitor for the affections of the opposite sex parent. The child wants to win but also fears retaliation from the parental competitor who -- in the child's thoughts -- wants to be rid of the child as much as the child wants to be rid of the parent. As a result, competition with someone of the same sex in adulthood is likely to revive the intensely murderous impulses, guilt and fear generated in such an unresolved oedipal situation. The success fearing adult will utilize any of

a variety of defense mechanisms to ward off these overwhelming feelings.

Ovesy (1962) has identified sibling rivalry as another causative factor in the fear of success. If the child feels that parents prefer a sibling, providing greater care or attention to that sibling, then feelings of envy and jealousy may surface. The less preferred child wants the preferred position and will pursue that position. Thus, naturally rivalrous feelings toward the preferred sibling will increase. The child is then likely to be fearful of impulses to be rid of the competing sibling, and of retaliation from the sibling as well as from the parents. The fear of punishment and retaliation thus becomes associated with competitive strivings manifesting itself in adulthood as the fear of success. Ovesy hypothesizes that the fear of success is an inhibition of aggressive feelings which originate in pathologically competitive and rivalrous environments. Aggression, he points out, is inhibited to avoid retaliatory responses and later generalizes to all areas in which the individual's self assertion is necessary.

Abraham Maslow (1954), another noted psychologist and theoretician who has studied success neuroses, suggests that most people exhibit a tendency to shy away from their potential. He introduced the concept of self-actualization and suggested that although we all have an impulse to

grow toward an actualized self, the majority of us avoid such growth out of fear. The fear according to Maslow is a fear of greatness. We are both drawn to and repulsed by the incredible potentiality resting dormant within. Maslow calls this phenomenon the Jonah Complex and identified three human characteristics which he believed contributes to its maintenance. First, we tend to compare ourselves negatively to those whom we see as more successful. In the presence of those of great accomplishment we tend to feel inferior, insecure, jealous and envious. We imagine that if we achieve then others would feel as negatively toward us as we have felt toward the achievements of others. Second, Maslow postulated that people suffer disintegration anxieties in the face of delirious happiness, passion and accomplishment pointing to popular phrases in the face of good fortune such as, "I could just die!" "I can't stand it!" and "It's too much!" And finally, he suggested that people have trouble integrating humility with pride. Without humility one may become fearful of one's own grandiosity, arrogance and "sinful pride" (p38). To mitigate these fears, the individual is likely to retreat from creative work.

Finally, Lacocque (1986) views the fear of success as an existential conflict which affects all people. He defines success as, "living an ethical life with reverence and respect for all," (p.101) indicating that merely feeling

good about one's accomplishments and achieving one's goals does not mean it is "right." True success, according to Lacocque, must be evaluated on ethical grounds. He suggests that most people falter in efforts to pursue this definition of success because doing so requires identity reorganization and, as a result, generates disintegration anxieties. Quoting Adler, Lacocque (1986) supports the idea that,

"the man who meets the problems of life successfully acts as if he recognized fully and spontaneously that the meaning of life is interest in others and cooperation. Everything he does seems to be guided by the interest of his fellow beings; and where he meets difficulties he tries to surmount them only by means consonant with human welfare" (p.104).

Lacocque sees the fear of success as evolving from the individual's need to maintain his or her identity at the expense of living up to his or her moral potential. To pursue one's greater potential challenges the sense of self with which one is familiar and with which one feels safe.

Etiology: Cultural explanations

The continuing zeitgeist of our culture is itself pathologically competitive and rivalrous. It is within the cultural context that the individual's distortions around competition and rivalry develop and unfold.

Karen Horney (1937) identifies three cultural factors which she believes contribute greatly to neurotic concerns about success in American society. First, our culture is characterized by extremely competitive and individualistic inclinations. Winning tends to come at the expense of others. Second, those who are successful are seen in an unrealistically positive light while those who are not successful are seen in an equally unrealistic and negative light. And finally, there is the cultural injunction that we ought to be modest and self-sacrificing. These cultural factors, according to Horney, represent the petri dish out of which grows the fungus of success neuroses. Individuals are told that they must triumph or be a disgrace. Additionally, they know that if they win, others may harbor ill will against them. Finally, they are told to abide by two contrary notions: to win at all costs, and to be self sacrificing and modest. Because of these conflicting messages the individual's natural desire for accomplishment and self-esteem through mastery becomes distorted.

Horney further suggests that destructive childhood environments which promote jealousy, rivalry and competition among family members generate strong feelings of insecurity, hostility and anxiety in children. This, within the cultural context described, results in a profound wish on the part of children to be first in any contest in order to gain the love and

attention they desire. Success fearers thus pursue competitive goals in an aggressive attempt to defeat their rivals and become number one. Soon, however, they become trapped between the fear of failure and the fear of success. To fail would prove to be an unbearable humiliation; they anticipate the contempt of others. To succeed also proves unbearable as they anticipate becoming the object of other's envy and hostility which are feelings they themselves may have for those who are successful.

Etiology: Other explanations

Some researchers reject the idea that success avoidance is a characterological trait and suggest that the fear of success is situationally determined and mirrors cultural stereotypes of appropriate achievement striving for men and women (Pfof & Fiore, 1990). In other words, the fear of success is not seen as a global disposition which is manifest in the presence of all possible successes but as occurring only under specific circumstances which conflict with sex-role stereotypes. Pfof & Fiore suggest that the "fear of success is more appropriately conceptualized as reflecting conflict between achievement strivings and expectations of negative interpersonal reactions to culturally deviant gender behavior"

(p.22). These researchers struggle to confront assumptions that achievement conflicts have a more neurotic rather than reality based cultural origin. They point out that women who pursue non-traditional careers are seen as less desirable romantic partners and friends by both men and women (Monahan, et. al., 1974) and may, in fact, suffer negative social consequences by not being chosen as often (Pfof & Fiore, 1990). These individuals therefore are considered to have culturally based rather than psychodynamic considerations operating in their avoidance of certain successes.

Balkin (1987) suggests that it is not sex roles or social norms that underlie the fear of success but the disapproval of specific and important others in the individual's daily life. Hendin (1972) and Baker (1979) concur and assert that the fear of success in the individual derives from family pressure to maintain homeostasis within the family. The individual's failure is seen as serving an important family need. Success avoiding behavior has also been explained as a function of the desire to remain connected to important others by not surpassing them in any way. Balkin (1986), for example, found that students whose parents had no college experience exhibited more fear of success than did their counterparts whose parents did have college experience, while Gilroy & Talierco (1981)

concluded that daughters of employed mothers were less ambivalent about their attitudes toward success than are daughters of non-working mothers.

Krueger (1990) points out that the manifestations of success inhibition represent a common outcome of different developmental and situational difficulties. According to him, there is no reliable relationship between a certain manifestation of success phobia and a specific underlying pathology.

The hypothesized causes of the fear of success are many and varied. Many of the causal arguments presented describe issues and concerns which -- given the racial climate of American culture -- have special significance for Black males. As a group which has been historically threatened, for example, belongingness comes to have greater meaning. For Black males in a hostile environment, concerns about betrayal, retaliation, abandonment and identity maintenance are likely to come into play as they pursue mainstream notions of success (see Davis & Watson, 1982). Conceptualizations which separate cultural and personal factors involved in the fear of success, limit our ability to recognize and acknowledge the ways in which "self" and "society" (see Stryker & Serpe, 1982) interact to influence the individual's anxious reactions in the face of success. The precise manner in which cultural issues dove tail with the psychological in

the fear of success among Black males will be discussed shortly. For now however, some characteristic attitudes and behaviors of those who fear success will be outlined.

The Success Fearer: Characteristics

Success fearers have five main characteristics according to Canavan-Gumpert, et al. (1978). First, they are extremely ambivalent about achieving success. On one hand, they are motivated to achieve success while, on the other, they have a strong motivation to avoid it. Second, the ambivalence about success represents a real or imagined competition or conflict of interest with powerful or important others. Third, the ambivalence is expressed by competing behaviors which include direct action toward the desired goal followed by withdrawal and/or "self sabotage." Fourth, success phobias in adults are seen as an irrational and largely unconscious motive maintained by the success fearer so as to avoid the resurfacing of unresolved and traumatic childhood experiences. And finally, success fearers use a variety of defensive operations to mitigate their anxious reactions as they move ambitiously toward success and pull away in some form of self sabotage as success grows near.

Success fearers view success as extremely important and exaggerate its significance (Canavan-Gumpert, et al., 1978). They tend to be capable individuals with low and unstable self-esteem and appear to be working below their potential. They have high aspirations and consciously desire unqualified success; therefore, their achievement motivation is high. In achievement situations, according to Canavan-Gumpert, et al. (1978), the success fearer's behavior is guided by three motives: 1. a strong motive to achieve success, 2. an unconscious motive to avoid success (which comes into play only as success draws near) and 3. a strong motive to avoid failure which, to the success fearer, has no redeeming qualities whatsoever. In fact, the success fearer tends to view failure with exaggerated alarm. These three motives appear with an intensity fired by neurotic conflicts around competition.

The success fearer is entangled in a painful conflict. Because of a high achievement motivation and an inherent capacity to succeed, the individual will work hard to achieve lofty goals. "At a distance," according to Canavan-Gumpert, et al. (1978), "success seems to offer a solution to the painful feelings of worthlessness associated with failure and to the equally uncomfortable feelings of envy and hostility toward those who have not failed" (p23). As goals are approached the success fearer will be assailed by

anxiety and a practical inability to go forward. This inability to go forward soon brings to light the possibility of failure which also generates anxiety. To avoid the anxiety of failure the success fearer who has moved away from a previously approached success will once again begin to work energetically toward the success or a substitute for it. If, as a result of self sabotage, the success fearer actually fails, the motive to avoid failure will activate and the individual will reorganize and pursue success with renewed vigor. Riddled with anxiety, the success fearer is both driven toward and away from successful outcomes.

To extricate themselves from the grip of anxiety, success fearers utilize a variety of defense mechanisms in order to negotiate an unenviable dilemma. One of these mechanisms involves resignation shortly before success is achieved (Piedmont, 1988). The success fearer will then work vigorously toward a substitute goal in order to avoid the humiliation of failure which is also feared. The success fearer, therefore, works harder and better after a failed performance than after a successful one (in contrast to non-success fearers who work harder and better after successful performances) (Canavan-Gumpert, et al., 1978). In the face of undeniable success, the performance of the success fearer positively deteriorates (Pappo, 1983; Zuckerman, Larrance, Porac & Blanck, 1980).

Success fearers work hard to camouflage successes. They are full of self doubt and will judge themselves as incompetent and incapable when such is obviously not the case. By holding a low opinion of themselves they can allay their anxiety while still progressing. Lall (1981), for example, demonstrated that success fearers who were induced to self-derogate performed better than did success fearers who were denied the opportunity for self-derogation. In the event that success fearers receive compliments for work well done, they are inclined to devalue its content and/or the individual who provided it. They may even outright deny their worthiness for such kudos and attribute their performance to external factors (Canavan-Gumpert, et al., 1978; Pappo, 1972; Cohen, 1974). Success fearers do this to avoid the overwhelming anxiety which arises if they take responsibility for both their success and their ability to be successful.

Although outside observers might see success fearers as doing well, they refuse to see it. They judge themselves as inadequate so that they will not experience their successes as such. If they win, they will prevent themselves from enjoying the victory. Success fearers focus on what they have not accomplished or they may devalue an achievement altogether. Competition sits at the heart of their anxieties and they are therefore preoccupied with both evaluation and competition (Canavan-Gumpert, et

al., 1978). Success fearers are vigilant in competitive circumstances and will talk themselves out of potentially rivalrous situations. They may, for example, convince themselves that they are not in competition by imagining their rivals to be more accomplished, or more deserving than are they.

As they approach success, the anxiety which they suffer and which impedes their ability to work may involve different elements. Success fearers may, for example, be in touch with intense guilt around surpassing their parents as they begin to approach lofty academic or financial goals (Moulton, 1985). They might feel as though they are betraying or destroying family members the more they accomplish (Balkin, 1986; 1987). If the mother takes special pride in the son's accomplishments this may give way to extreme guilt about humiliating the father in an oedipal victory (Allen, 1979).

Finally, with success often comes increased responsibility, expectations and stress (Allen, 1979). Having achieved a promotion, for example, success fearers may become apprehensive about their ability to perform. They might feel as though they have gone too far this time and think themselves unprepared to meet the expectations of others. In this way

they deny themselves the enjoyment they could experience in the face of their accomplishments.

What differentiates the fear of success and the fear of failure is the fact that those who fear failure tend to avoid entering the competitive arena for fear of failing (Canavan-Gumpert, et al., 1978); whereas, those who fear success -- because they are highly achievement motivated -- do enter the competitive arena (Horney, 1937; Canavan-Gumpert, et al., 1978; Fleming, 1981). Individuals who fear failure also have different responses to success and failure than do those who fear success. Weiner (1966) demonstrated that failure fearers improve performance in the face of success feedback and decrease performance in the face of failure feedback (see also Pappo, 1972 and Cohen, 1974). For those who fear success the opposite is true. Although success fearers are also afraid of failing, this fear enhances their performance while it inhibits the performance of failure fearers. For success fearers it is the spectre of success which inhibits their performance. As Fleming (1981) states,

"The difference between the neurotic fears of failure and success is that the first leads to an avoidance of the competitive arena to insure safety from humiliation, while those with the fear of success stay in the competitive arena, but with efforts characterized by ambivalence. On the verge of success, fear of success individuals belittle themselves. On the verge of

failure, they substitute grand ambition for attainable goals"(p.7).

A question of identity

"The more clearly the self is demarcated in one's consciousness, the more capable the person is of performing well under adverse conditions" (Cross, 1978; p.16).

In a study investigating the relationship between the fear of success and ego identity, Larkin (1987) found that individuals with problems of identity were significantly more likely to score high in the fear of success than individuals who had no such problems. Identity issues associated with the fear of success include, "...those related to separation from internalized parents and to [the] establishment of commitments to goals, beliefs, and values" (Larkin, 1987; p. 44). The more subjects were able to organize their self- experience in consistent and coherent ways, the less likely they were to suffer from success fears.

The identity struggles which are related to the fear of success have been attributed by some researchers to derailments of caregiver attunement to the child's physical and affective needs (Moulton, 1985;

Larkin, 1987). As has been stated, some parents experience difficulty in the face of their children's movements toward mastery attainment. Out of children's need to appease their parents -- as well as develop themselves as individuals -- they develop character structures which incorporate the needs of their parents on whom their survival depends (Becker, 1973). The natural drive for growth is opposed by the need for security (which rests with parents) and children attempt to balance these two objectives as they develop. Aware of their vulnerability, children readily attune themselves to the rules of the family game in order to ensure their physical and psychological survival (Sullivan, 1953; Firestone, 1985). Their sense of themselves - their identity - coalesces within the family context, in conjunction with family rules which ensure safety. To move outside of what one has come to identify as critical for one's safety raises the spectre of abandonment and death (Yalom, 1980; Stolorow & Atwood, 1992). As Lacocque (1986) points out, "we avoid success out of a fear which serves as a defense mechanism to help preserve some sense of identity, inner cohesion and self esteem" (p. 100).

Stolorow & Atwood (1992) underscore these ideas and suggest that the structural material of personality are principles for the ordering of experience which are established in the developmental context of the

"child-caregiver system." The caregiver's response to the child's affective and physical needs serves to shape and define the child's sense of self. In this way, "ordering principles" become set or "invariant" and unconsciously determine the individual's future efforts to make sense of and order his or her experiences in the world. The individual as a result brings an "established set of ordering principles" to any given situation. Situational demands, according to Stolorow & Atwood, may call for specific ordering principles -- of the many available to the individual -- to organize a particular experience. The manner in which the individual organizes experiences is therefore seen as "co-determined" by his or her invariant ordering principles and the contextual demands of his or her environment. The central point here is that one's identity is evolved and maintained through interaction with the human context within which one is embedded (Stolorow & Atwood, 1992).

That this conceptualization of identity formation and maintenance is relevant to the fear of success can be seen among parents who may have high expectations for their children accompanied by rejection or withdrawal of love if children do not live up to these expectations. As a result, children under these circumstances develop a success orientation. At the same time, parents may be competitive with their children and

communicate, in a variety of ways, that their children's growth process, their quest for mastery, is a threat to them. When the childhood rules of the family game admonish the individual in this way, to fear failure, to desire success, and to fear success, the stage is set for paralyzing anxiety and the fear of success in adulthood (Canavan-Gumpert, et al., 1978). The child develops an identity (or a set of ordering principles) which incorporates these family rules and, as a result, to fail or to succeed becomes an unbearable breach of the family contract which can compromise the individual's characterological security needs and stir up disintegration anxieties.

Early breakdowns in the child-caregiver system can result in the absence or precariousness of alternative principles for organizing experience (Stolorow & Atwood, 1992). With a more limited repertoire of ordering principles, the ability of individuals to regulate their affective states in novel circumstances becomes limited. Novel circumstances challenge people to expand their existing pantheon of ordering principles, something which tends to be experienced as threatening (Stolorow & Atwood, 1992). In fact, invariant ordering principles which arise in the context of early developmental derailments in the child-caregiver system

are designed to accommodate for caregiver inconsistency or instability in order to maintain life sustaining ties to the caregiver. As a result, disintegration anxieties may surface if the situational demands of success require the incorporation of new organizing principles which may conflict with, or negate through expansion, these invariant principles established in childhood.

Stolorow & Atwood (1992) understand identity to consist of an interaction between invariant ordering principles and the intersubjective context within which the individual is embedded. In similar fashion, Stryker & Serpe (1982) underscore the inseparable relationship between "self" and "society." They assert that society shapes the self and that the self shapes society. From their perspective, mind, self and society develop out of ongoing social interaction which takes place in communities and groups which are considered to be structured collections of individuals within which individual people play specific roles. The family structure, for example, consists of individuals playing the specific roles of "mother," "father," "daughter," "son," etc.

Stryker & Serpe (1982) acknowledge that behavioral expectations related to specific roles are often ambiguous and difficult to define and so they turn to identity theory to explain the individual's degree of resistance

to change in response to changes in the structure of his or her interpersonal relations and to changes in larger social circumstances. Another objective of identity theory which seems particularly relevant to the fear of success is the explanation of the behavioral alternatives selected in the face of conflicting role expectations (Stryker & Serpe, 1982).

Identity theory introduces the concepts of "identity," "identity salience" and "commitment" to understand and clarify various behavioral responses to particular social roles (Stryker & Serpe, 1982). According to Stryker & Serpe, identity is defined as the individual's reflexive answer to the question 'Who am I?' "These answers," they say, "are phrased in terms of the positions in organized structures of social relationships to which one belongs and the social roles that attach to these positions" (p. 206). For example, 'I am a psychologist, a father, a Black man, etc.' How we define ourselves, therefore, is intrinsically related to where we fit in the social structure and the particular roles we play within it.

"Identity salience" is conceptualized as a way to organize separate identities which make up the self. It suggests that one or more identity components may dominate the individual's experience at a given time. The term "salience hierarchy" defines the importance of a given identity relative to the others which make up the self. The location of a particular

identity in the hierarchy indicates the probability that in a given situation the behavioral role expectations related to the more dominant identity will ensue.

Finally, "commitment " is defined as "the degree to which the person's relationship to specified sets of others depends on his or her being a particular kind of person, e.g., occupying a particular position in an organized structure of relationships and playing a particular role" (Stryker & Serpe, 1982; p. 207). The degree of one's commitment affects identity salience which in turn affects role related behavioral choices.

The preservation of identity provides a relevant framework within which to understand why some individuals experience intense anxiety in the face of accomplishing cherished goals. The fear of success literature has reflected conflict between those who attribute success fears predominately to dynamic or neurotic causes (Canavan, 1989) versus those who rely primarily on cultural or anthropological causative explanations (Pfof & Fiore, 1990; Hyland, 1989). The contributions of Stryker & Serpe (1982) and Stolorow & Atwood (1992) highlight the interconnectedness of self with society and identity with important others. They suggest that one's self experience is inextricably linked to both cultural and dynamic factors which can interact in ways which might make the pursuit of success goals a

daunting proposition for an individual. Such goals are likely to stir up disintegration anxiety when they require an adjustment of life sustaining invariant organizing principles and/or they conflict with role requirements which are necessary to maintain favor within important self-defining social contexts. The following section explores the ways in which cultural and dynamic factors related to race are likely to work in tandem to increase success fears among Black males.

Black males and the fear of success

" ambivalence and conflict about academic effort appear to be at the center of Black students' -- especially the high achievers' -- responses to school and schooling" (Fordham, 1988; p.61).

Cultural factors

To understand the fear of success in Black men, it becomes critical to look at the profoundly compromising cultural forces which make success of any kind especially difficult for them. These cultural forces stem from a long history of oppression and racism and the need therefore arises to outline a context within which to understand success fears in Black men. Because success fearers tend to be highly achievement oriented, my

intention is to show how very real cultural pressures are transformed into psychological problems which can impede the success efforts of these capable individuals. It is also important to note that, in addition to cultural pressures, achievement oriented Black males are as susceptible to familial/developmental factors (as described earlier) which might contribute to the fear of success. In fact, these aspects of the individual's experience are inextricably linked (Stolorow & Atwood, 1992).

Although personal definitions of success may differ, the American cultural definition of success revolves around two central factors: Education and occupation (economics). As a result, most Americans judge their success by the amount of education they have and/or the amount of money amassed (Wachtel, 1989). Because our capitalist system in principle operates as a meritocracy and rewards those who have access to money and/or education, these things become sought after by many Americans who are achievement oriented. The material wealth and the comforts which come from it underscore for any American with open eyes that success is about money. And education (for the vast majority) is the key to this vault of riches which has come to be known as the American dream. The key, however, is available primarily to those who are willing to follow rules made for and by White people (Davis & Watson, 1982; Fordham,

1988).

Fordham (1988), in her trenchant paper outlining the lose/lose predicament of high achieving Black students, points out that the American school system is predicated on the primacy of individual achievement, a White group ethos. While individual achievement is also respected in the Black group ethos, it is considered secondary to the overall achievement of the group as a whole (Baldwin, 1984; Myers, 1988; Brookins, 1994). As a result, the school system demands of Black students that they move away from their social group and its values and move toward the values of a social group which has been -- and is currently (Pine & Hillard, 1990) -- inimical to Black people and their cultural interests.

As multiculturalism and strong racial identification become increasingly acceptable in our society, says Fordham (1988), the demand that these be left at the school entrance leaves Black students in a state of increased confusion, conflict and ambivalence. Her main point is that, in order to achieve school and later occupational successes, Black students must take on a "raceless persona." Acceptance into the White corporate/occupational structure, says Fordham, requires and rewards the relinquishment of Black ethnic affiliation:

"... successful students, like their successful adult

counterparts, seek to minimize the discomfort experienced by members of the dominant society who evaluate them as they enter institutions that are governed by dominant group norms and standards. If they are not successful in minimizing their ethnic group membership -- that is, appearing raceless -- their chances of achieving vertical mobility are seriously diminished, despite clear evidence of academic excellence on standardized measures of success" (p. 80).

Therefore, many achievement oriented Black students -- wanting to shed the stigma of failure associated with the Black race -- are willing to do so. To have access to the vault key of the American dream then, the Black person must become "un-Black." Obviously, this has special relevance for Black people with high achievement motivation because, as Fordham states,

"The desire to succeed -- as defined by the dominating population -- causes subordinated peoples to seek social distance from the group with which they are ethnically or racially identified. However, efforts at dissociation or disidentification are often characterized by conflict and ambiguity about both the individual's value and identity. Because it is virtually impossible to eliminate all traces of the markers associated with one's indigenous cultural system, efforts at dissociation are often only marginally successful" (p.55).

According to some theorists (Dizard, 1970; Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan & Buriel, 1990), the Black community is now more likely to evaluate success from the viewpoint of its impact on the collective. Unlike the early days when successful Black people were seen as racial representatives in whom the entire Black community would take pride, Black people today are less concerned with the advancement of the individual and more so with the advancement of the entire race or of the "collective."

Fordham (1988) introduced the anthropological concept of the "fictive kinship" system in order to better explain the nature of the cultural forces coming to bear on the high achieving Black student. For Black people, according to Fordham, "The term conveys the idea of [the] "brotherhood" and "sisterhood" of *all* Black Americans; thus, a sense of peoplehood or collective social identity" (p.56). DeVos (1967) defined the binding together of oppressed Black peoples as "ethnic consolidation." From this ethnic consolidation, rules for the thoughts and conduct of the Black collective -- in opposition to those of their White oppressors -- were established as a coping mechanism against racism and discrimination (Ogbu, 1991; Staiano, 1980).

Ogbu (1991) emphasizes the systemic and historical subordination and exploitation of Black people by White people and outlines various

strategies used by Black people to cope. One of these coping mechanisms he calls "cultural inversion" which is the tendency for some Black people to reject certain "behaviors, events, symbols and meanings" which are considered to be characteristic of White culture. Ogbu considers this "cultural inversion" to be responsible for a "low achievement syndrome" -- or, lack of seriousness about academic achievement -- among many young Black people. For many Black students, according to Weis (1985a; 1985b), attending school becomes tantamount to submitting to White values and thus rejecting -- consciously or semi-consciously -- the rules of the Black collective (see also Banks, McQuater, Hubbard, 1979). As a result, academic achievement behavior by gifted Black individuals is often interpreted by other Black people to mean that the individual is "selling out" and/or "acting White" (Ford, Harris, Schuerger, 1993; Ogbu, 1991). As stated in Ford, et al.,

"To confirm that they are still legitimate members of the Black community, gifted Black students may sabotage any chance they have of succeeding beyond it. ...[they] may underachieve, drop out, and otherwise fail to reach their academic potential" (p.409).

In this context, according to Fordham (1988), Black males who are

achievement oriented with an eye on vertical mobility sacrifice their connection with their fictive kinship system in order to "make it." The more successful they are, says Fordham, the more likely they are to embrace a White world view (e.g., to believe that American culture provides equality and opportunity for all, regardless of race, creed, color or nationality; to see merit and hard work as the solution to racial problems; to believe in the primacy of the individual and to see Black people as responsible for their lower class status) while rejecting Black perspectives. Semaj (1985) notes that Black people who pursue traditional successes are more likely to have anxiety regarding conflicting world views (Black vs. White) and as they reach beyond the parameters of Black success as defined within the White world view they will struggle with conflicts about succeeding.

One's peer group is a powerful force in the lives of individuals committed to that group. If the individual receives most or all social contact and support from the peer group, then pressures mount for the individual to play the peer group appropriate role and to behave in ways sanctioned as acceptable within the group culture (Stryker & Serpe, 1982). Further, if the individual has another set of role expectations (within the family, for example) which conflict with peer group role expectations, then the individual is likely to find himself in the unenviable position of serving

two masters with opposing directives. Fordham (1988) suggests that the more the Black male is willing to relinquish ethnic affiliation and other features characteristic of the Black community -- that is, to become raceless -- the greater his chances to realize his ambitious goals in academic-occupational domains. This racelessness strategy, Fordham says, is one that many academically successful Black teenagers utilize in order to get ahead in a culture that is designed to thwart their academic-occupational advancement. Insofar as the high achieving Black male pursues the route of racelessness, says Fordham (1988), he is likely to move counter to his affiliative base and, as a result, success tends to come at a high price payable in the currency of anxiety.

Dynamic Factors

High achieving Black males are caught 'between a rock and a hard place,' for if racelessness is their strategy of choice in the pursuit of success then certain psychological ramifications result. Perhaps the foremost psychological consequences are the feelings of alienation and isolation (with the associated stress these feelings generate) which arise out of the duality of the existence these Black men must endure (Ford, et al., 1993).

In spite of his efforts to separate himself, the achievement oriented Black male is always aware -- consciously or unconsciously -- of his "eternal bond" with his less fortunate brothers and sisters and this may engender feelings of confusion about racial loyalties as he works toward and approaches mainstream successes. He will either have to confront or deny the conflict between remaining Black identified (which may bring up fears of failing) vs. increasing his chances in the academic occupational sphere by taking on a "raceless persona." Either solution has the potential to generate an uncomfortable state of anxiety in high achieving Black males, especially as they move closer to success and feel increasingly pushed to relinquish racial identification for the sake of succeeding.

It has been noted that high achievement oriented Black male adolescent students have a more difficult time accepting the raceless persona than do adolescent females (Fordham, 1988) and, although committed to the larger social structure, a sense of conflict and uncertainty regarding their dual relationship forces them to repeatedly question their identity. A gifted Black male adolescent must often negotiate the expectations associated with being smart (e.g., meeting his academic responsibilities) while minimizing the distance between himself and his peers who may see studying as "uncool" and as "White" behavior. The

pressures in either direction are burdensome. The individual's personal goals, under the circumstances, can become a threat to his affiliative base (e.g., family, friends and racemates) and, as a result, he may experience intense conflict, ambivalence and anxiety in the face of his successes.

As stated earlier, the fear of isolation, of growing away from those who ground us and who provide the context within which we have come to define ourselves can be overwhelming and threatening. In a White mainstream inimical to Blacks, concerns regarding group affiliation and movement away from that group through success can generate enormous anxiety among Black males especially if this involves surpassing friends and/or family.

Summary

For success fearers, the negative result expected in the face of success tends to be related to a sense of loss of connection with others; as a result, it has much power. Without important others who ground us and provide a context within which we can define ourselves, we are lost, on our own and subject to -- as an outcast -- the increased probability of death (Yalom, 1980). As a protection against the terrifying reality of death, the individual's identity consolidates in the context of family around typical

human identity components which include gender, race, sexuality, socioeconomic class, religion, etc. (Becker, 1973). The achievement of goals which are experienced as a threat to either affiliative ties or human identity components with which one identifies, will generate increased anxiety for that individual. Success fearers experience such threats in pursuing their goals and, as a result, they either withdraw from a success (or experience difficulty committing to achieving it), pay a high price in anxiety and ambivalence to pursue their goals to completion and/or utilize a variety of anxiety reducing techniques which may aid in achieving goals but often at a high cost to self-confidence and self-esteem.

Theorists have proposed a variety of explanations regarding the etiology of the fear of success. Most of these revolve around pathological childhood rivalries and competition within the family system and some explain the fear of success in the context of a synergy between cultural, personal and familial dynamics. Black males are in a particularly vulnerable position vis-a-vis the fear of success because cultural pressures are likely to add fuel to the fire of pre-existing success fears which may have had their origin in childhood. For Black males, issues of racial loyalty, racial antagonism and racial competition create another context -- beyond

developmental conflicts -- within which fear of success components flourish. Ogbu (1991), for example, points out conflicting messages received by Black students who are both encouraged by their parents to succeed in school and, simultaneously, told that, "American society does not reward Blacks and whites equally for similar school credentials or educational accomplishments" (p447).

Powerful cultural conflicts which revolve around the assumed inadequacy of Black people and especially of Black males underscore race as a central identity component in the lives of Black people in American society (Helms, 1990). Undoubtedly, these cultural conflicts around race percolate into the familial and personal lives of Black people and, depending on how they are processed, they can generate confusing and conflicted experiences related to success and achievement behavior (see Fordham, 1988 & Mays, 1986). This seems to be especially relevant for Black males who -- compared to their female counterparts -- have lower occupational aspirations (Smith, 1975) and are less likely to attain professional status (Bock, 1969).

The success dilemma is an excruciating one for the success fearer and for the Black male success fearer the difficulty is compounded. Because of the prevalence of this condition and its negative effect on the individual's

self-experience and productivity, further study is warranted. The impact of success fears on the ostracized, people of color, other minority groups and the poor may be of particular relevance. For many people of color, to enter the mainstream (where the majority of opportunities lie) requires the adoption of mainstream values and mannerisms. The potential for conflict in the movement of African-Americans toward mainstream values and/or concepts of success seems obvious especially in the face of a racist and classist society.

Black Racial Identity Attitudes: A Review of the Literature

Introduction

The following section is an overview of the theory and history of racial identity among African-Americans in the United States. It describes the importance of racial identity and its relationship to the overall self-concept of African-Americans. The factors involved in the attainment of a "healthy Black identity" will be explored and empirical efforts to measure racial identity as reflected in the attitudes held by Black people about Black people will be discussed.

Black racial identity theory

The framework which has been most central to research in racial identity developed out of Cross' (1971; 1978;1985) Negro-to-Black conversion stage theory. The "Nigrescence or Racial Identity Development" (NRID) model describes a developmental, stagewise process of "becoming Black." The model acknowledges the negative effects of oppression upon the Black psyche and views the assimilationist tendency as the least healthy of Black identity resolutions because it tends to negate Black heritage and culture while acknowledging an anti-Black, Euro-American world view. The NRID model recognizes the possibility for movement from the "... least healthy, White- defined stages of [Black] identity, to most healthy, self-defined racial transcendence" (Helms, 1990, p. 17). Although several stage theories accounting for the development of Black identity exist (Banks, 1981; Gay, 1984; Jackson, 1975; Millones, 1980; Toldson & Pasteur, 1975 & Thomas, 1971), the Cross (1971;1978) model has received the most attention and has been expanded upon and modified by Parham & Helms (1985b), Helms (1989) and Cross (1991). What is especially remarkable about the various stage theories is their general consistency which, according to Helms (1990), suggests consistency in the phenomena - - Negro-to-Black conversion -- being observed.

The "Negro-to-Black" conversion experience is a subjective, psychological experience of one's racial identity which occurs in several stages (Cross, 1971). These are referred to as the Preencounter, Encounter, Immersion/ Emersion and Internalization stages respectively.

According to Cross' (1971) original theory, the Preencounter racial identity resolution is one in which the Black individual rejects Blackness and idolizes Whiteness. These Black individuals have adopted the Euro-American value system and world view, using White people as their reference group. That is they look to this racial group to guide their beliefs, feelings, attitudes and general world view. They actively reject a Black reference group orientation and consider their racial group membership to be irrelevant to their life circumstances. These attitudes are considered by Cross to be a form of mind control programmed by an oppressive majority culture via the powerful tools and institutions which they control. An aspect of this "programming" includes a belief in the Protestant work ethic and an assimilationist perspective. Cross (1971) states,

"Under the dictates of the assimilation-integration paradigm the development of an "American" identity involves affirmation of "White-Anglo-Saxon-Protestant" characteristics, and negation,

dilution, or even denial of non-WASP behavior. As Western standards are inherently anti-Black, the cruel paradox of the assimilated Negro is that, in becoming a good American, he has also become anti-Black and anti-African" (p.16).

The problem with the Protestant work ethic, Cross says, is that it encourages individualism and an emphasis on how the individual can get ahead (a White world view) without consideration for the condition of the Black race as a whole and its relationship to the larger oppressive system of which it is a part (a Black world view). For the Preencounter Black person then, how well one fits into White culture demonstrates exceptionality, and in White culture, individual merit/advancement supercedes a commitment to the well being of the group-as-a-whole. According to Helms (1990), the Preencounter "individual assumes that his own status as well as that of other Black people and White people is due to personal effort and ability or lack thereof" (p. 21), a perspective that denies the individual's responsibility to the group and results in the fracturing of the Black community.

What initiates movement from the Preencounter stage to the Encounter stage for Black people, according to Cross (1971;1978;1991), is the realization that despite their efforts to be considered acceptable in the Euro-American context, they are rejected and/or recognize that they just

do not fit. Black people in the first phase of this stage endure a racial experience which wounds them at the core of their being and leaves them to recognize that for most White people they will never be other than Black and so they will always be considered inferior.

During the second phase of the Encounter stage, some Black people grapple with the emotional fallout of the encounter. They are hurt, anxious, confused and ultimately angry and must, in this way, "personalize" the encounter in order to enter the Encounter stage (Cross, 1991). At this juncture the individual feels unbalanced and ungrounded in a coherent sense of self. Guilt, anger and anxiety energizes them and they thus begin a "frantic, determined, almost obsessive search" for a Black identity.

Although not yet Black, according to Helms (1990), the individual has made a decision to become Black. Parham & Williams (1993) have suggested that negative interactions with White people need not be the only catalyst into the Encounter stage. Positive experiences within the Black community (e.g., taking a Black History course, attending a powerful Black Culture seminar, etc.) may also introduce the individual into the Encounter stage.

Black people in the Immersion/Emersion stage immerse themselves in Black culture and heritage. Their reference group orientation shifts from

White to Black and their racial group membership becomes central to their life experience. They now align themselves intensely with what they consider a Black way of being and undergo a transformation in which they devalue anything that is White. Because their conceptualization of what it means to be Black comes from a White frame of reference, they are likely to express themselves as Black in a stereotypical manner (Cross, 1971). The previously high achieving high school student may, for example, reject school out of a stereotypical notion that Black people do not study.

This, according to Cross (1971), is a stage characterized by intensely angry feelings toward anything conceived of as being "White" and toward any Black person whose reference group orientation is White. Because of the reorganization of the racial identity taking place, the individual is prone to latch onto a simplistic, either/or, Black or White view of the world in order to retain a sense of order and balance: Everything Black is good and glorified; everything White is evil. Cross (1991) recognizes that Black people at this stage are struggling with what it means to be "really Black" and often have a kind of anxiety revolving around the question, "am I Black enough?" This is a subjectively powerful phase in racial identity development which is fueled by rage (upon the recognition of White oppression), guilt (around having participated in it) and a developing sense

of pride around being Black.

During the Emersion phase of the Immersion/Emersion stage, Black people demonstrate a settling down during which they acquire information about Black culture and heritage, spend time with previously ignored Black elders and engage with other Black people in "rap" sessions, seminars and other venues "in a spirit of kinship." They "emerge" from a radical anti-White perspective and settle into "a substantive, textured and more complex sense of [their] own Blackness" (Cross, 1991, p. 207). Their behavior becomes less stereotypical and their angry feelings level off. Their thinking about race becomes more flexible and they are able to recognize both the strengths and the weaknesses of Black culture and of being Black. "When control, awareness and incorporation predominate, the person is progressing into the 4th stage [Internalization]" (Cross, 1971, p. 21)

White & Parham (1990) describe the Internalization stage as being

"characterized by the individual's achieving a sense of inner security and self-confidence with his or her Blackness. The resolution of conflict between the old and new world views becomes evident as tension, emotionality and defensiveness are replaced by a calm, secure demeanor (Cross, 1978). This stage is also characterized by psychological openness, ideological flexibility, and a general decline in strong anti-White feelings. While still

using Black as a primary reference group, this person moves towards a more pluralistic, nonracist perspective (Cross, 1978)" (p.50).

Further, Black people achieving this stage have no inclination to judge others based on their race, gender or nationality and have developed a concern for people in general. They can interact with others of different races in meaningful and gratifying ways and simply allow people to be who they are and, yet, they remain intolerant of racism and oppression of any kind. Other "key markers" of the Internalization stage, according to Cross (1991), are an increased calmness and ease with oneself, an increased sense of Black pride, a confidence in one's personal standards of Blackness, "quiet" strength, Black self-acceptance and a "proactive...sense of connection to, and acceptance by, the Black community" (p.210).

Cross (1971, 1978) had proposed a 5th stage which he called Internalization/Commitment. This stage was suggested to reflect the development of an activist orientation in which the individual promoted the needs of Black people in the social arena. Parham & Helms (1985b) recommended that this stage be incorporated as Phase II of the Internalization stage because of the difficulties in operationalizing the nuances between the Internalization and Internalization/Commitment

stages.

Although nigrescence theory does appear to describe an important process related to Black racial identity development, there are increasing questions about the relationship between the various stages and psychological pathology (Cross, Parham & Helms (in press as per Cross, 1991)). Yet, the literature is replete with assertions that for Black people, a consolidated or Internalized sense of Black racial identity is a primary factor in their optimal psychological functioning especially within the context of an oppressive and racist society. The next section briefly describes the literature related to the importance of becoming Black and underscores its potential relevance to the fear of success construct among Black males.

The Importance of "Becoming Black"

According to White & Parham (1990), "...the personality, consciousness, and the core identity of Black people are African in nature. Whether conscious or unconscious, the personality manifests itself in the attitudes, feelings, behaviors, and spiritual essence of African-Americans" (p43). Other writers (Baldwin, 1984; Nobles, 1986) support this notion. Baldwin, for example, states that "there is an authentic African self-consciousness

system at the core of the African-American personality," and White & Parham (1990) suggest that the "healthy Black identity" reflects,

"a strong awareness of and identification with African cultural heritage, a strong sense of motivation directed at insuring collective survival of African people and related institutions, and the active resistance of any force (i.e., racism) that threatens the survival and maintenance of one's people and oneself" (p44).

These writers describe specific prerequisites necessary for accessing this core African identity which include the raising of Black children in a context of Black oriented institutions and social support systems while embracing a more Afro-centric than Euro-centric world view.

Many Black children, however, are not raised in such a context. As the Black child grows, he or she experiences increasing confusion regarding major inconsistencies of our society which on one hand prides itself on its pursuit of equality, liberty and justice while on the other promotes inequality, injustice and imprisonment for Black people, especially Black men. White people portray themselves as superior to Black people and use their power to oppress and denigrate Black people (Pine & Hillard, 1990). While various media project White people as beautiful, rich, powerful and good, Black people tend to be represented as their opposite. Thus, the basic

inequality that exists between the Black and White races becomes clear early in life. Because of the psychological conflicts that are likely to evolve out of these circumstances, according to Helms (1990), racial identity world views become a more important part of the Black person's personality structure and, therefore, govern a broader range of the person's attitudes, cognition, feelings and behaviors.

Racial attitudes, then, develop within the cultural ethos of the prevailing zeitgeist. When inherent in this ethos is a belief that Black people are repulsive, then it makes sense that for psychological preservation, Black people would look to a more benign cultural ethos which sees and acknowledges the good in them. What better place to look than Africa, the source of the world's Black peoplehood? According to Sherif & Sherif (1970), the Black movement of the 1960's in America addressed this concern. They argued that the importance of identity in the Black Power movement was reflected in the dissociation of Black people from a White world view (which imbued them with feelings of inferiority and shame), and their association with a more African frame of reference (which would lead them from a sense of inferiority and shame through guilt and rage to a sense of pride and self confidence).

Thomas (1971), coined the term "Negromachy" to define Black self-

denigration which comes on the heels of accepting the White world view. He believed this to be the state of the Black person before his or her embarkation on the journey to Black self-realization. "Negromachy," according to Hall, Cross & Freedle (1972), "is that which is ruled by confusion of self-worth and shows dependency upon White society for definition of self" (p.158). When Black people hold to the cultural world view held by their oppressors, suggest Hall, et al., they compromise themselves in fundamental ways and are thus more vulnerable to intrapsychic conflict. As a result, many authors believe that a host of psychological difficulties are likely to afflict Black people whose racial identity include anti-Black attitudes (Butler, 1975; Akbar, 1981; Fordham, 1988; Carter, 1991; Parham & White, 1990). These psychological difficulties are thought to contribute to problems in the expression of the academic and achievement behavior of these individuals (Fordham, 1988).

As has been indicated, Black children are often assaulted with communications from the larger society that they are inferior. The likelihood that they will look to the group defined as superior to define themselves then, is much increased. This, however, according to Helms (1990) is "...problematic to the extent that [to do so] require[s] denial or

distortions of oneself and/or the racial group(s) from which one descends" (p. 6). The dynamic between the races seems to foster a White reference group orientation and world view in many Black people (Fine & Bowers, 1984; Cross, 1985) which, as a result, lays the ground work for a conflicted racial self-experience and denies access to a consolidated and positive Black identity as defined above. As long as the White world view holds to the notion of Black inferiority, Black people who embrace it compromise themselves (Akbar, 1981). This is a notion supported by Erikson (1968) who hypothesized that minorities are more likely to accept a negative self-image as a result of the internalization of pejorative self-definitions imposed on them by others.

Although debate on the relationship between racial identity attitudes and psychopathology continues, there is enough evidence -- both intuitive and empirical -- which supports the important role of a consolidated racial identity in the lives of Black people. In Parham & Helms' (1985b) study which looked at the relationship between racial identity attitudes and self-actualization and affective states among Black students, it was concluded that Black males were more likely to endorse Preencounter attitudes and less likely to endorse Internalization attitudes than were their female counterparts. The Preencounter attitudes were significantly related to

greater anxiety, less self-acceptance, a greater sense of inferiority, inadequacy and hypersensitivity, a greater reliance on others and, finally, less contentment in the here and now. Parham & Helms (1985a) also looked at racial identity attitudes in relationship to self-esteem and found that high Preencounter attitudes correlated significantly with lower self-regard scores on Shostrom's (1963) Self-Regard subscale of the Personal Orientation Inventory. Although Cross (1991) has gone to much trouble to show that the majority of Preencounter Black people do not have mental health problems, he has suggested that among self-hating Preencounter individuals, racial identity attitudes do predict personal identity difficulties including depression, low self-esteem and low self-actualizing behavior.

In a study exploring the relationship between racial identity attitudes and value orientation, Carter & Helms (1987) found that Black people with Internalized racial identity attitudes were more likely to have a value system characterized by doing, "suggesting that acceptance of Blackness is associated with an action oriented mode of existence" (p.190).

Relevant literature suggests that Black males with Preencounter racial identity attitudes, on the whole, function less effectively than do Internalized Black males. They have been shown to have lower self-esteem (Parham & Helms, 1985a), lower self-reported motivational levels (Azibo,

1983), lower self-actualization tendencies and more anxiety (Parham & Helms, 1985b) and less ability to effectively bridge Black and White cultures (Cross, 1991). It seems reasonable then to speculate that racial identity attitudes are likely to play a role in the inhibition of achievement behavior among Black males who are high success fearers. Thus far, little has been done to look at the ways in which racial identity attitudes among Black men dovetail with their success fears to inhibit achievement behavior. This study is designed to contribute to an increased understanding of these important relationships.

Summary

Racial identity has been defined as the quality of one's attitudes toward and awareness of, his or her own race. It is based in large part on which group the individual looks to guide his thinking about the world he inhabits (reference group orientation). Black racial identity attitudes in the United States are affected by racism and oppression in that the constant mainstream notions of Black inferiority influence many Black people to acquire a White rather than Black worldview, and so these people tend to see things from the perspective of a racial group which has historically

oppressed them. Nigrescence Racial Identity Development (NRID) theory seeks to spell out ways in which racial identity attitudes among Black people differ and outlines ways in which their racial identity attitudes develop. Four stages have been delineated which include the Preencounter, Encounter, Immersion/Emersion and Internalization stages respectively. The Preencounter stage has been conceptualized as the least healthy or least consolidated Black racial identity stage. Although this stage has been most often associated with psychopathology among Black people, evidence exists to show that the relationship is not a clearly defined one (Cross, 1991). The following two stages (Encounter and Immersion/Emersion) are seen as necessary in the process of racial identity consolidation but are also seen as problematic expressions of racial identity. The great majority of researchers in the field of Black racial identity underscore the value of a consolidated, Internalized racial identity for the effective functioning of Black people in American society. For Black male success fearers, it is suggested that conflicted attitudes regarding achievement and race can make occupational and academic success a burdensome proposition.

The Relevance of Racial Identity Attitudes to The Fear of Success Among Black Males

It was suggested earlier that success fearers have trouble making commitments to values and beliefs which would facilitate their self definition. Looney's (1988) comparison of ego development and Black identity found that ego development among Black males was significantly related to the quality of their racial identity attitudes. The more Black males were immersed in Black culture and heritage, the more likely they were to demonstrate a consolidated ego identity. Further, in their study of ego identity among 40 Black high school students, Aries & Moorehead (1989) concluded that questioning and commitment among the students occurred with greatest frequency in the area of ethnicity. Ethnicity, according to Aries & Moorehead, was the factor most predictive in that population of general identity status and "...was singled out most frequently as most important to self-definition" (p. 80).

If ego identity is related to the fear of success as suggested by Larkin (1987), and racial identity is related to ego identity (Looney, 1988; Aries & Moorehead, 1989), then it is plausible to consider that the fear of success may have a more direct relationship to racial identity attitudes and that

the two may interact together to affect the achievement behavior of Black males.

Many Black people internalize the mainstream American cultural perspective regarding the need for the individual to win at all costs and some also internalize a sense of inferiority compared to White people who so aggressively promote themselves as being simply the best (Steele, 1990). The message is that, ' if you are not first you are inferior and Black people are incapable of being first and so they will always be inferior.' How Black people digest distorted, often unconscious cultural proclamations such as these have an impact on the ways in which they compete with White people and pursue achievement related goals which had been traditionally White dominated (see Katz & Cohen, 1962 & Howard, 1966).

Given the cultural pathology around race and achievement, it is clear that Black people stand in the cultural cross hairs of the conflict. They are told 1. that having money is the meaning of success and that for most people the best path to money is education (see Wachtel, 1989), 2. that overall they are not as educable and that White people are more naturally educable (Herrnstein & Murray, 1994), 3. that the uneducated are inferior

(see Wilson, 1987), 4. that they must jettison ethnic identifications to pursue an education (Fordham, 1988), and 5. that even if they manage to get an education they will not reap equal benefits and their expertise will be considered dubious until proven otherwise (Grier & Cobbs, 1968).

The racial identity attitudes of Black people in America develop in the context of their attempts to make sense of themselves racially given this racist, discriminatory and oppressive social context. The ubiquitous and negative feedback Black people receive because of their skin color, facial features and hair texture makes race something that they must deal with psychologically, and its association with the self must be processed in positive ways so that the self is esteemed and not reviled. One's racial identity attitudes, therefore, reflect the ways in which the individual has processed familial, communal and cultural assertions about his or her racial group.

Cultural messages about race and achievement provide Black people conflicting messages which are similar to those provided by families whose children fear success. That is, 'you must win or be considered a failure and, if you win, you will experience significant loss.' (Canavan-Gumpert, et al., 1978) As a result, racial identity attitudes -- as reflections of these cultural messages -- would seem to be plausible contributors to the expression of

conflict and ambivalence in the process of movement toward educational-occupational goals among Black males.

Racial identity attitudes also reflect the individual's sense of group belongingness. It would be expected that the more the Black individual's racial attitudes reflect embeddedness in a Black group context, the less likely the individual will suffer the disturbing psychological sequelae related to separation anxiety and isolation in the face of what is perceived by many Black people as "White related" successes (Ogbu, 1991).

Definition of Terms:

Within the context of this study the terms fear of success, racial identity attitudes and achievement behavior are used regularly. They are defined as follows.

Fear of success: The fear of success is a psychological motive which arises as the individual approaches a self-defined and important goal to which he or she is geared and about which he or she is conflicted. As a result, success fearers move toward the goal but as they get close, anxiety increases and they respond by implementing a variety of anxiety reducing mechanisms. When success outcomes are resisted or avoided, it is because such outcomes are thought to have negative consequences. The person

maintains a largely unconscious belief that "success" at one important objective will result in failure at another. For the success fearer, the negative result expected with success is related, in large part, to the alienation of significant or important others.

Individuals who score in the top half on Horner's (1973) projective Cue Interpretation Task, and those who score in the top half on Cohen's (1974) fear of success measure will be considered success fearers while those who score in the bottom half on these measures will be considered non-success fearers.

Racial identity attitudes: According to the literature, "racial identity actually refers to a sense of group or collective identity based on one's perception that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group" (Helms, 1990; p. 3). This includes the beliefs, feelings and attitudes the individual may have toward the racial group of which he or she is a member. Helms makes clear that the biological construct of race which is defined primarily on the basis of similarities in physical characteristics does not speak to the psychological and subjective experience of the individual toward his or her race. Racial identity in the psychological sense is not a given based on skin color and/or hair texture,

according to Helms, but rather on the quality of one's attitudes toward and awareness of his or her race.

Those individuals who fall within the Internalized & Immersion/Emersion subscales of the Parham & Helms (1981) RIAS-B will be considered to have attitudes which reflect more identification with their racial group while those individuals whose attitudes reflect less identification with their racial group will score at the Preencounter and Encounter subscale on the Parham & Helms RIAS-B.

Achievement behavior: For the purpose of this study, achievement behavior is considered within an academic context and is taken to be any activity on the part of the individual which promotes effective college functioning as reflected in grade point average (GPA).

Differences in scores on the Study Habits & Attitudes Inventory (SHAI) will be taken to reflect differences in achievement behavior among subjects. Negative correlations between fear of success scores and GPA & SHAI scores will be taken to reflect inhibited achievement behavior.

Specific questions: There is indication in the literature that the fear of success is related to ego identity. In a racially stratified and oppressive society, racial identity becomes an important self-defining attribute in the lives of Black males. Also, competition, rivalry and hostility

-- central in the fear of success -- play a significant role in racial relationships in American society. Some questions based on these facts are: does more identification with one's racial group have a mitigating effect on the expression of success fears in achievement behavior? Does less identification with one's racial group exacerbate success fears and increase the likelihood that they will express themselves in the inhibition of achievement behavior?

Hypotheses:

1. High fear of success Black males with less racial identification (e.g., Preencounter and Encounter) will be more likely to report inhibitions in achievement behavior than will high fear of success Black males who have more racial identification (e.g., Internalization & Immersion/Emersion).
2. Low fear of success Black males -- irrespective of the amount of their racial identification -- will report fewer inhibitions in achievement behavior as compared to high fear of success Black males.

Chapter II

Method

Sample

Subjects are 129 Black male college undergraduates who have completed a minimum of 30 college credits. All subjects were enrolled at the City College of CUNY in New York City and indicated that they had either immigrated to the United States before age 12 or were born here. The subject sample represents diversity in age, socioeconomic status, major area of study and career objectives.

Instruments

Horner's Experimentally Derived Projective Scoring System **(Cue Interpretation Task)**

Two measures were administered to assess the degree to which subjects fear success. Horner's Experimentally Derived Projective Scoring System was the first measure administered. It is a five item Cue Interpretation Task during which subjects were asked to tell stories based

on the following four verbal leads:

Carl is looking through the telescope.

John seems to be particularly pleased.

Jeff is looking into his microscope.

Greg is walking along the beach late in the day.

The stories provided were scored for the fear of success (FOS) by an expert trained in Horner's revised scoring method. Because it has been found that longer stories will arbitrarily increase FOS scores and reduce the predictive ability of the test, it is necessary to correct for story length if the correlation between the number of words provided for all stories and the FOS score reaches .25 (Fleming & Horner, 1992). The current sample required no correction for story length as the relevant correlation did not exceed .24.

Horner's (1968) initial projective measure of FOS was controversial. Acknowledging the concerns of her critics, Horner (1973) developed the experimentally based projective measure of the fear of success (FOS) which is patterned on traditional motivation research on approach motives. Empirically derived, the purpose of the measure is to isolate the motive to avoid success in the subject's fantasy. FOS scores are not derived from the gross assessment of subject's responses to the verbal cues but by more subtle story sequences, the foundations for which will be described in more

detail below. The verbal leads were designed to be neutral and ambiguous so that responses to them would be more likely to reflect the subject's spontaneous motivation or naturally occurring concerns. Finally, the criteria for scoring do not revolve around the fear of success per se but, rather, around issues related to the avoidance of instrumental competence.

Horner studied a group of women, leading each to believe that she had done better at a task than a male of similar ability who had been in direct competition with her. Then, Horner compared the cue interpretation task (CIT) responses of these women with a control group of women who had not been in competition with men and the resulting differences were used in the development of her new scoring system (see McClelland, Atkinson, Clark & Lowell, 1953; Atkinson, 1958). Horner was able to identify six categories which reflected these differences and which contributed to the prediction of performance decrement between the two groups on subsequent tasks. The categories accounted for 44% of the variance in performance change on a verbal task, and 36% of the variance in performance change, from an alone condition to performance in the presence of males in a cross validation (Horner, 1973). One of the categories -- Contingent-Negative Consequences -- was subsequently excluded when Fleming & Watson (1980) reanalyzed data to find that an

error had been made and that this category did not contribute to the prediction of behavior.

Three of the remaining five categories involved instrumental activity, which is the ability to get a task done or to work toward the achievement of a goal. The categories are defined as follows: 1) The Absence of Instrumental Activity - where action toward task completion is totally suppressed, 2) Relief - where tension in the story is resolved, but without action toward resolution on the part of the character involved. This reflects a tendency for the individual to abdicate responsibility for the attainment of goals, and 3) Interpersonal Engagement - which reflects an action orientation directed toward the maintenance of interpersonal relations. That is, the individual will behave in ways designed to maintain affiliative needs rather than or in addition to achieving a goal. The category, "Non-Contingent Negative Consequences," refers to "movement in the story toward tension, deprivation or disaster, having a negative consequence for anyone in the story, that comes about through the impingement of external forces" (Fleming & Horner, 1992). It reflects the anticipation of negative consequences related to action. "The Absence of Others" is the final category. Stories in this category revolve around the character provided in the verbal lead without the introduction of any other additional groups

and/or characters.

The various categories are each assigned a score. For example,

Noncontingent Negative Consequences	(+1)
Interpersonal Engagement	(+1)
Relief	(+1)
Absence of Instrumental Activity	(+1)
Absence of Others	(-1)

Each of the four stories provided by the subject was scored once for each category and then the scores were summed across all the stories. As a result, scores for four stories can range from -4 to +16.

Horner (1992) reports an interscorer reliability of 90%. As regards the internal consistency reliability -- which requires that the measure's separate items be capable of additive combination -- Horner's new measure is limited, producing an alpha coefficient of .15 for FOS scores for the 5 cues given under the neutral, non-arousal condition. However, "when entered separately in a regression equation with aroused performance as the dependent variable, they [the FOS scores for the 5 cues] accounted for 49% of the variance in performance change ($R = .698$)" (Horner & Fleming, 1992, p.185).

Additionally, Fleming & Watson (1980) found that the FOS scoring system categories produced an alpha coefficient of .293, but accounted for

46% of the variance in performance change in a regression equation. As with other thematic measures, this one's internal consistency is low. There is a dramatic loss in the predictive power of the measure -- to 12% -- when scores are summed across all the cues. However, the predictive power of the measure is significant -- to 49% -- when results are submitted to a regression analysis (Fleming, 1982; Fleming & Watson, 1980). Horner & Fleming (1992) conclude that "consequences for prediction when cue scores are combined additively are, relative to a regression analysis, disastrous" (p. 185).

Although no test-retest reliability coefficients have been produced thus far (Horner & Fleming, 1992), during Horner's (1974) validation study the correlation between Time I (non-arousal) and -- 4 weeks later-- Time II (arousal) FOS scores was .49 ($p < .005$); whereas, the correlation with Time II (non-arousal) scores was only .13. Of course, Time II (non arousal) was an extremely relaxed condition as opposed to the achievement oriented conditions of the Time II (arousal) groups.

The People Knowing Questionnaire (PKQ)

Cohen's (1974) fear of success (FOS) measure was also used in the current study. It contains 64 items which require a true/false response.

This measure was developed out of Freudian theory and operates under the assumption that conflicts related to poorly resolved oedipal issues underlie fear of success. The fear of success in this conceptualization is seen as a generalized achievement anxiety as opposed to an anxiety specific to certain arenas within which the child's movement toward mastery was thwarted by the parent. This is thought to be the case because the discriminative abilities of children are poor and they therefore generalize the conflict with their parents to any behavior requiring self assertion. Later in life then, aggressive, destructive and/or exhibitionistic motives become unconsciously equated with achievement striving and self assertion and thus generate conflicts around success.

The items in the PKQ address the competitive and success concerns of success fearing individuals. The success anxiety assessed by the items is not limited to specific arenas of achievement (e.g., academic) and items which could reflect sex role stereotyping were eliminated. Eleven of the items are included from Pappo's (1972) FOS measure and they are intended to reflect the fear of success in academic situations. Cohen's scales measure some attitudes regarding success but they primarily capture defensive mechanisms, self-interfering strategies and the denial of

the success experience. Basically, they measure ego defenses (Fleming, 1981).

Nine descriptive factors of the success fearing person were gleaned from the 64 items of the measure and include the following: anxiety over the expression of needs and preferences, reluctance to acknowledge personal competence, impaired concentration and distractibility, indecisiveness, safety valve syndrome-fear of loss of control, illegitimacy of self promotive behavior, anxiety over being the focus of attention, preoccupation with underplaying for effectiveness and preoccupation with competition and evaluation. "With the average correlation among unrotated factors being .42," according to Fleming (1981) "the questionnaire seems to form a coherent whole" (p.14).

Using a sample of 286 male and female college students, Cohen performed a Kuder-Richardson Formula 20 reliability test on the PKQ which yielded an internal consistency estimate of .90. Others (Canavan-Gumpert, et al., 1978) have performed similar test/re-test reliability measures of this instrument -- within a two week interval -- with similar results (e.g., .94 coefficient).

Further, Cohen established the predictive validity of her measure by showing that those with high fear of success scores demonstrated less

improvement on a second memory task following success feedback than did subjects in the other conditions. This decrement in performance was observed only for those high in fear of success and not for those low in fear of success. Cohen also tested the concurrent validity of her measure. After removing the 11 items which had been taken from the Pappo (1972) measure of fear of success in academic situations, Cohen found that her measure correlated .74 with Pappo's measure.

This fear of success measure was chosen for this study because it purports to measure generalized as opposed to specified anxiety regarding FOS and has been used more frequently than Pappo's (1972) measure which is designed to measure FOS related specifically to academic achievement. Further, the measure has been used and validated in a variety of empirical studies (Canavan-Gumpert, et al., 1978). Finally, "Other real life correlates found using the Cohen scale have shown that success fearing students [compared to their non-success fearing counterparts] were more often characterized by spotty academic records, withdrawal from school, changing of majors, indecision about future careers and derogation of competence" (Fleming, 1981).

The Racial Identity Attitude Scale - Black (RIAS-B)

To assess these subjects attitudes about their racial identity the RIAS-B -- a 50 item Likert scale measure -- was used. Each response is coded on a scale from 1-5 (e.g., 1. "strongly disagree," 2. "disagree," 3. "uncertain," 4. "agree" and 5. "strongly agree"). According to Helms (1990), the stages of racial identity lend themselves to assessment through the specific beliefs, attitudes and/or behaviors of the individual toward the individual's own race.

According to Parham & Helms (1981), the RIAS-B was designed to measure racial identity attitudes associated with four of the original five stages proposed by Cross (1971) in his "Negro-to-Black" conversion model. These include the Preencounter, Encounter, Immersion/Emersion and Internalization stages. Helms (1990) argues for the importance of assessing the amount of each of these attitudes in the individual as everyone is likely to have at least some of the characteristics of each stage. It is the extent to which attitudes associated with a particular stage predominate which qualifies the individual for inclusion in a given racial identity category.

Three theoretical assumptions underlie the RIAS-B according to Helms (1990). These include the idea that "... (a) racial identity development

occurs via a stagewise process that can be assessed, (b) racial identity is bidimensional such that a Black person incorporates attitudes about Blacks as well as Whites into her or his identity, and (c) racial identity is relatively stable (though not necessarily permanent)" (p37.).

The relationships between the subscales have been shown to be in accordance with the stagewise conceptualization and expectations of Nigrescence or Racial Identity Development theory (Grace, 1984; Parham & Helms, 1981; Carter, 1984). According to Helms (1990) "...to the extent that they are correlated at all, adjacent scale scores (with the possible exception of Preencounter and Encounter) should be positively correlated, and scales measuring conflicting or exclusive attitudes should be negatively correlated" (p.37). The attitudes which characterize the Preencounter and Immersion/Emersion stages, therefore, should be reflected in a negative correlation between the two subscales. This was supported ($r = -.15$, $p < .05$). Also, contiguous stages should reflect a positive correlation (with the exception of the Preencounter and Encounter stages). One would imagine, based on theory, that as Encounter attitudes increase, so too would Immersion/Emersion attitudes and this too was supported in the above mentioned studies ($r = .62$, $p < .001$).

A multidimensional scaling analysis of the RIAS-B short form (Grace,

1984) seems to confirm Crosses (1971, 1978) early views of the identity development process. Although there was some inconsistency with results related to the Encounter stage (as a transition stage it appears to be more difficult to pin down specific attitudes which reflects its precise nature), in general, "The items [of Grace's scaling analysis]" according to Helms (1990), "do tend to align themselves in a pattern that could be indicative of a stagewise process" (p.40).

The RIAS-B has utilized a diverse sample of college and university students in its sampling and scale development procedures (Helms, 1990). This diversity is reflected in age, socioeconomic status, gender, geographical regions, type of institution and the racial make up of the environment from which students come. Item analysis and reliability studies (Parham & Helms, 1981) using Cronbach's alpha have calculated the following reliability estimates for attitudes related to the various stages: Preencounter - .69; Encounter - .50; Immersion/Emersion - .67; Internalization - .79. Further, according to Helms (1990), a factor analytic study to assess the construct validity of the scale was conducted by Helms & Parham (in press). "In several separate analyses," as per Helms (1990), "they found that four orthogonal factors explained the RIAS-B (short form) items and these factors seemed to reflect the four types of racial identity

attitudes" (p.44).

Scoring the RIAS-B is an area of controversy according to Helms (1990). The controversy rests on how "stage" is operationalized. The scoring process will be different if stages are thought of as discrete categories, versus a conceptualization of the stages as all occurring in varying amounts in one individual at any given time. Depending on the definition of "stage" then, "...different scoring procedures are likely to permit different interpretations of one's results" (Helms, 1990). For this study, both methods of scoring are employed.

This racial identity measure was chosen for this study because it is the most thorough and frequently used approach to the measurement of Black racial identity attitudes. There are a number of empirical studies which give support to the reliability and the validity of the construct (Helms, 1986; 1989; Carter, 1991; Carter & Helms, 1987; Parham & Helms, 1981; 1985a; 1985b) and although it still seems advisable to consider the RIAS-B an experimental scale, it is assumed here that the RIAS-B does predict racial identity constructs in a manner consistent with racial identity development theory (Helms, 1990).

The Study Habits and Attitudes Inventory (SHAI)

The SHAI is a 31 item, multiple choice questionnaire developed by Nixon & Frost (1990) which was designed "to predict college academic success from students' study habits and attitudes" (p.1075). The measure includes questions on note taking, study conditions, total study time, academic goals and other academic achievement related behaviors. It is based on the theoretical assumption that students' academic success can be predicted, not only by achievement tests (such as the SAT) and high school grades, but also by students' study skills and self concept (Gadzella & Williamson, 1984; Watkins, 1979).

The development of the measure is detailed in Nixon & Frost (1990). To be included, individual items had to correlate with student's grade point average (GPA) at the .05 level or better. According to Nixon & Frost, "Analysis of the final 31 items showed a significant correlation between the total scores and GPA ($r = .66$, $p < .001$). Furthermore, coefficient alpha was .77" (p. 1079). Test-retest reliability with one week between testings produced a correlation of .94 ($p < .001$). Scores for all 31 items may range from 0 - 62 with high scores predicting higher GPAs or greater academic success.

This measure was chosen for this study because it addresses student's self-reported academic achievement behavior as related to an external criterion, GPA. Although the predictive validity and the scoring of the instrument needs further investigation and the sample on which the instrument was developed included few Black males, the items address the specific kinds of achievement behavior likely to be affected by Black males struggling with the fear of success and racial identity problems.

Background Questionnaire

A background questionnaire was administered to access demographic information as well as some standard indices of achievement behavior which include overall grades (GPA), academic aspirations, career aspirations and specificity of career choice.

Procedure

Subjects were accosted by the Black male experimenter in various areas on the college campus. They were told that the research was being conducted to look at the social attitudes and academic study behavior of Black males and, for their participation, they were offered \$5 and an opportunity to win \$300 in an associated lottery. Before questionnaire

administration, the purpose of the study was again briefly described and subjects were asked to read and sign a consent form (see Appendix F). The examiner was present for the test period. The cue interpretation task (CIT) was the initial measure given to all subjects and the Background Questionnaire was the last while the other three measures were presented in varied order to account for possible order effect.

Statistical Analysis

The main hypotheses were tested by means of two, two way multivariate analyses of variance. The fear of success was an independent variable in each of these two analyses. For the first, the fear of success was based on the Cohen PKQ score and for the second analysis it was based on the Horner CIT score. In each case a median split was done to form high and low fear of success groups. Also, in each of the two analyses, racial identity was the second independent variable with values "more" vs. "less" identified with racial group. In each of the two analyses the dependent variables were grade point average (GPA) and study habits.

Additional analyses examined the correlations between racial identity subscale scores, the fear of success, study habits and GPA. Also examined

were the relationships between racial identity attitude scores, the fear of success and various demographic variables.

Chapter III

Results

The study of Black male college students reported here was conducted to determine the relationships among racial identity, the fear of success and achievement behavior as reflected in study habits and grade point average (GPA). In this chapter the results of the study are reported. The results have been organized under the following headings: 1) description of the sample; 2) the relationship of the PKQ fear of success to racial identity attitudes and achievement behavior: MANOVAs ; 3) the relationship of the CIT fear of success to racial identity attitudes and achievement behavior: MANOVAs ; 4) zero-order correlations between GPA and predictor variables (ie, the fear of success, racial identity attitudes, study habits, and the interaction terms between racial identity and the fear of success as reflected in both Cohen's (PKQ) fear of success measure and Horner's (CIT) fear of success measure); 5) multiple regression analysis of GPA on predictors; 6) zero-order correlations of study habits with predictors; 7) zero-order correlations of the PKQ fear of success with predictors; and, 8) the relationship of racial identity and the

fear of success to demographic factors.

Description of Sample

Table 1 presents frequency distributions on the categorical scale demographic variables. The data in the table suggests that the sample was largely middle class. More than half of the respondents (57%) reported that

Table 1
Respondent Demographic and Background Factors (Categorical Variables)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Immediate family member attends college	No	55	43.0
	Yes	73	57.0
Mother's income	\$5,000 or less	11	8.7
	\$5,001 - 10,000	9	7.1
	\$10,001 - 15,000	12	9.4
	\$15,001 - 20,000	24	18.9
	\$20,001 - 25,000	22	17.3
	\$25,001 or more	49	38.6
Father's income	\$5,000 or less	5	4.4
	\$5,001 - 10,000	4	3.5
	\$10,001 - 15,000	15	13.2
	\$15,001 - 20,000	11	9.6
	\$20,001 - 25,000	15	13.2
	\$25,001 or more	64	56.1
African-American	No	48	38.1
	Yes	78	61.9
<u>cont.</u>			

Table 1 (continued)

Respondent Demographic and Background Factors (Categorical Variables)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Caribbean-American	No	82	65.1
	Yes	44	34.9
Continental African	No	116	92.1
	Yes	10	7.9
Latino	No	112	88.9
	Yes	14	11.1

members of their immediate family had attended some college. The modal income category was over \$25, 000 for both mothers and fathers. Most of the respondents (61.9%) described themselves as African-Americans. However, 34.9% indicated a Caribbean ethnic background; 7.9% indicated a background from continental Africa; and 11.1% indicated a latino ethnic background.

Subjects were allowed to indicate multiple ethnic affiliations.

Table 2 presents descriptive statistics on background variables that have

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics on Interval Scale Demographic Factors

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Minimum</u>	<u>Maximum</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>
Subject's Age (years)	18	48	127	24.2	5.9
Number of credits completed	30	166	128	78.5	31.9

cont.

Table 2 (continued)
Descriptive Statistics on Interval Scale Demographic Factors

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Minimum</u>	<u>Maximum</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>
Mother's occupational level (Hamburg, 1972)	1	8	126	4.0	1.7
Father's occupational level (Hamburg, 1972)	1	7	114	3.9	1.7
Mother's years of Education	8	21	127	13.5	2.8
Father's years of Education	8	21	117	13.5	3.4

an interval scale. The sample was restricted to students who had completed at least 30 credits while the range of credits actually completed was from 30 - 166. The mean number of credits completed was 78.5 (SD = 31.9). Mother's occupational level - coded according to the Hamburg (1972) system - ranged from 1 (the highest category, corresponding to professionals, major executives, and large business owners) to 8 (the lowest category, unemployed). Father's occupational level ranged from 1 to 7 (unskilled labor). The mean occupational level was near 4 for both mothers and fathers. This coding category includes clerks, white collar workers, sales persons, and low level managers.

Years of education ranged from 8 to 21 for both fathers and mothers, with a mean of 13.5 years (SD= 2.8 for mothers, 3.4 for fathers) which corresponds to the second year of college. The respondents ranged in age from 18 to 48 years, with a mean of 24.2 years (SD - 5.9).

The Relationship of the PKQ Fear of Success to Racial Identity Attitudes and Achievement Behavior: MANOVA's

To address the hypotheses of this study which predict differences of achievement behavior between Black males with high or low fear of success (FOS), the sample was divided into high and low FOS groups on both fear of success measures (eg., Cohen's PKQ and Horner's CIT). For Cohen's PKQ fear of success measure, scores in this subject pool ranged from four to fifty. A median split (at 29) was used to break the sample into 64 relatively low FOS subjects and 61 relatively high FOS subjects.

With the high and low FOS groups established, it was necessary to categorize subjects into "more" racially identified (Immersion and Internalization) and "less" racially identified (Preencounter and Encounter) groups in order to identify hypothesized differences between more racially identified and less racially identified individuals on achievement behavior (eg., study habits and GPA). This process involved two steps. The first was to

calculate the mean scores for the sample on the items representing each of the four racial identity substages to determine if subjects were distributed equally among the four substages. In making this determination, each subject was assigned to the stage for which his mean response per item was highest. The data in Table 3 indicate that when students were assigned to stages in this manner, the great majority were placed in the Internalization stage.

Table 3
Mean Scores on Racial Identity Substages

<u>Substage</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>No. of subjects with highest score in category</u>	<u>%</u>
Preencounter	1.86	.47	2	1.60
Encounter	3.00	.74	9	7.00
Immersion	2.32	.63	1	0.78
Internalization	4.11	.50	117	91.40
Total subjects			128	100.00

In order to achieve a more equal representation of students in each of the racial identity subcategories, scores on each of the four subscales were standardized. This procedure had the effect of comparing each subject's score

on a given subscale to the scores of all the others on that subscale. Then each subject was assigned to that racial identity category where his standardized score was highest. The frequency distribution of stage scores obtained by this method is shown in Table 4. It is clear that this method results in more equal representation of the four stages. Subsequently, the Preencounter and Encounter subjects were collapsed to represent those individuals who were relatively less identified with their racial group, and the Immersion and Internalization stages were collapsed to represent those individuals who were relatively more identified with their racial group.

Table 4
Standardized Scores on Racial Identity Substages

<u>Substage</u>	<u>No. of subjects with highest score in category</u>	<u>%</u>
Preencounter	35	27.3
Encounter	24	18.8
Immersion	26	20.3
Internalization	43	33.6
Total subjects	128	100.0

Mean - 2.60 SD - 1.21

To address specifically the questions posed by the hypotheses, multi-variate analyses of variance were conducted to determine whether study

habits and GPA are related to 1) the fear of success (high vs. low), 2) racial identity (more vs. less racial identification) and 3) the interaction between the fear of success (FOS) and racial identity.

Cell means and standard deviations of study habit scores by "high" and "low" FOS groups and by "more" and "less" racial identification groups are listed in Table 5, while cell means and standard deviations of subject GPAs by "high" and "low" FOS groups and by "more" and "less" racial identification groups are listed in Table 6.

Table 5
Cell Means and Standard Deviations for Study Habits for High and Low PKO Fear Of Success (FOS) Groups and for More and Less Racial Identification (RI) Groups.

<u>FACTOR</u>	<u>CODE</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>N</u>
FOS	LOW			
RI	LESS	37.82	7.89	27
RI	MORE	36.92	7.02	37
FOS	HIGH			
RI	LESS	31.30	6.21	30
RI	MORE	32.68	5.64	31
For entire sample		34.71	7.17	125

Table 6
Cell Means and Standard Deviations for GPA for High and Low PKQ Fear Of
Success (FOS) Groups and for More and Less Racial Identification (RI) Groups.

<u>FACTOR</u>	<u>CODE</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>N</u>
FOS	LOW			
RI	LESS	2.77	.57	27
RI	MORE	2.76	.61	37
FOS	HIGH			
RI	LESS	2.66	.60	30
RI	MORE	2.75	.56	31
For entire sample		2.74	.58	125

The results of the multivariate analyses of variance looking at "high" and "low" FOS groups and "more" and "less" racial identification groups yielded no significant multivariate or univariate effects due to the interaction of PKQ fear of success (Table 7), and no significant main effects due to racial identity (Table 8). However, the tests for the main effect due to PKQ fear of success (Table 9) yielded a significant multivariate test for fear of success ($F(2, 120) = 11.37, p < .001$) and a significant univariate test for the study habits measure ($F(1, 121) = 19.76, p < .001$).

Table 7

PKO Manova : Multivariate and Univariate Tests for Significance of Interaction of PKO Fear Of Success by Racial Identity Stage.

Multivariate F-Tests:

Test Name	Value	Approx F.	Hypoth DF	Error DF	Sig. of F
Pillais	.00725	.44	2.00	120	.65
Hotellings	.00730	.44	2.00	120	.65
Wilks	.99275	.44	2.00	120	.65
Roys	.00725				

Univariate F-Tests with (1, 121) D.F.

Variable	Hypoth SS	Error SS	Hypoth MS	Error MS	F	Sig of F
GPA	.08	41.15	.08	.34	.23	.64
Study Habits	39.86	5463.91	39.86	45.16	.88	.35

Table 8

PKO Manova : Multivariate and Univariate Tests for Significance of Main Effect of Racial Identity Stage.

Multivariate F-Tests:

Test Name	Value	Approx F.	Hypoth D.F.	Error DF	Sig. of F
Pillais	.00108	.65	2.00	120.00	.94
Hotellings	.00108	.65	2.00	120.00	.94
Wilks	.99892	.65	2.00	120.00	.94
Roys	.00108				

Univariate F-Tests with (1, 121) D.F.

Variable	Hypoth SS	Error SS	Hypoth MS	Error MS	F	Sig of F
GPA	.04	41.15	.04	.34	.13	.72
Study Habits	1.79	5463.91	1.79	45.16	.04	.84

Thus, the analysis indicates that the PKQ fear of success is related to study habits, such that low fear of success individuals tend to have better study habits. Neither racial identity stage nor the interaction of the fear of success with racial identity stage had a significant impact on GPA or study habits.

Table 9

PKQ Manova : Multivariate and Univariate Tests for Significance of Main Effect of PKQ Fear of Success

Multivariate F-Tests:

<u>Test Name</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>Approx F</u>	<u>Hypoth DF</u>	<u>Error DF</u>	<u>Sig. of F</u>
Pillais	.15928	11.37	2.00	120.00	.000
Hotellings	.18946	11.37	2.00	120.00	.000
Wilks	.84072	11.37	2.00	120.00	.000
Roys	.15928				

Univariate F-Tests with (1, 121) D.F.

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Hypoth SS</u>	<u>Error SS</u>	<u>Hypoth MS</u>	<u>Error MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>Sig of F</u>
GPA	.10	41.15	.10	.34	.30	.59
Study Habits	892.35	5463.91	892.35	45.16	19.76	.000

The Relationship of Horner's Cue Interpretation Task (CIT) Fear of Success to Racial Identity Attitudes and Achievement Behavior: MANOVAs

Horner's Cue Interpretation Task (CIT) was also used to assess the fear of success in this sample. Scores on this measure ranged from -3 to four, and a median split (at one) was conducted to yield a relatively low CIT fear of success group (N = 74) and a relatively high CIT fear of success group (N = 51). "More" and "less" racial identification groups were distinguished in the manner previously described, and a multivariate analysis of variance was conducted to determine the nature of the differences and interactions, if any, between "high" and "low" CIT fear of success groups and "more" and "less" racial identification groups on study habits and GPA.

Cell means and standard deviations of study habit scores by "high" and "low" CIT fear of success groups and by "more" and "less" racial identification groups are listed in Table 10, while cell means and standard deviations of subject GPAs by "high" and "low" CIT fear of success groups and by "more" and "less" racial identification groups are listed in Table 11.

Table 10

Cell Means and Standard Deviations for Study Habits for High and Low CIT Fear of Success (FOS) Groups and for More and Less Racial Identification (RI) Groups.

<u>FACTOR</u>	<u>CODE</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>N</u>
FOS	LOW			
RI	LESS	35.03	8.70	37
RI	MORE	35.92	6.82	37
FOS	HIGH			
RI	LESS	33.20	5.48	20
RI	MORE	33.87	6.55	31
For entire sample		34.71	7.17	125

Table 11

Cell Means and Standard Deviations for GPA for High and Low CIT Fear of Success Groups and for More and Less Racial Identification (RI) Groups.

<u>FACTOR</u>	<u>CODE</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>N</u>
FOS	LOW			
RI	LESS	2.69	.61	37
RI	MORE	2.77	.61	37
FOS	HIGH			
RI	LESS	2.76	.54	20
RI	MORE	2.74	.55	31
For entire sample		2.74	.58	125

The results of the multivariate and univariate tests for the interaction of the CIT fear of success and racial identity are presented in Table 12. The results of multivariate and univariate tests for the main effect of racial identity are presented in Table 13, and the results of multivariate and univariate tests for the main effect of the CIT fear of success are presented in Table 14. None of these tests were significant. Thus, it cannot be concluded on the basis of this analysis that either GPA or study habits is related significantly to either racial identity, or CIT fear of success, or the interaction of these factors.

Table 12

CIT Manova : Multivariate and Univariate Tests for Significance of the Interaction of CIT Fear Of Success by Racial Identity Stage.

Multivariate F-Tests

Test Name	Value	Approx F.	Hypoth D.F.	Error D.F.	Sig. of F
Pillais	.00196	.12	2.00	120.00	.89
Hotellings	.00196	.12	2.00	120.00	.89
Wilks	.99804	.12	2.00	120.00	.89
Roys	.00196				

Univariate F-Tests with (1, 121) D.F.

Variable	Hypoth SS	Error SS	Hypoth MS	Error MS	F	Sig of F
GPA	.07	41.23	.07	.34	.22	.64
Study Habits	.36	6256.41	.36	51.71	.01	.93

Table 13

CIT Manova : Multivariate and Univariate Tests for Significance of the Main Effect of Racial Identity Stage.

Multivariate F-Tests

Test Name	Value	Approx F.	Hypoth D.F.	Error DF	Sig. of F
Pillais	.00286	.17	2.00	120.00	.84
Hotellings	.00286	.17	2.00	120.00	.84
Wilks	.99714	.17	2.00	120.00	.84
Roys	.00286				

Univariate F-Tests with (1, 121) D.F.

Variable	Hypoth SS	Error SS	Hypoth MS	Error MS	F	Sig of F
GPA	.03	41.24	.03	.34	.08	.78
Study Habits	17.92	6256.41	17.92	51.70	.34	.56

Table 14

CIT Manova : Multivariate and Univariate Tests for Significance of the Main Effect of CIT Fear of Success..

Test Name	Value	Approx F.	Hypoth DF	Error DF	Sig. of F
Pillais	.02363	1.45	2.00	120.00	.24
Hotellings	.02420	1.45	2.00	120.00	.24
Wilks	.97637	1.45	2.00	120.00	.24
Roys	.02363				

Univariate F-Tests with (1, 121) D.F.

Variable	Hypoth SS	Error SS	Hypoth MS	Error MS	F	Sig of F
GPA	.00	41.24	.00	.34	.01	.91
Study Habits	110.15	6256.41	110.15	51.71	2.13	.15

Some additional analyses were conducted to address questions implied by the hypotheses and to clarify whether any meaningful relationships exist between the fear of success, racial identity and achievement behavior. Such questions included the following: 1) Among Black men, are racial attitudes related in any way to the fear of success (FOS)? 2) Is the fear of success directly related to achievement behavior? 3) Are racial attitudes directly related to achievement behavior? and 4) Is there any interaction effect between racial identity and FOS on achievement behavior?

To address these questions subjects were not placed in a racial identity substage category, but were thought of as having some amount of all racial identity substage attitudes. With this different approach to racial identity, correlations and a multiple regression were conducted to ascertain direct relationships between the variables in question and these are discussed below. Correlations with Horner's CIT fear of success measure were not reported, because the measure proved to be a weak predictor of racial identity, achievement behavior and the PKQ fear of success, demonstrating no significant relationships with these variables.

Zero-Order Correlations between grade point average (GPA) & Predictors

Table 15 presents zero order correlations between GPA and measures of study habits, fear of success, racial identity stage scores, and product terms representing the interactions of the fear of success and racial identity stage scores. The interaction terms were included because it was anticipated

Table 15
Correlations of GPA with Predictors

<u>Predictor</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>r</u>
Preencounter	125	-.03
Encounter	126	-.04
Immersion	125	-.03
Internalization	126	.09
Cohen's (PKQ) Fear of Success	126	-.05
Horner's (CIT) Fear of Success	126	.04
Preencounter x PKQ	125	-.07
Encounter x PKQ	126	-.07
Immersion x PKQ	125	-.05
Internalization x PKQ	126	-.01
Preencounter x CIT	125	.04
Encounter x CIT	126	.04
Immersion x CIT	125	.09
Internalization x CIT	126	.04
Study Habits	126	.46 ***

*** $p < .001$

that high fear of success students who were high on Internalization would have higher GPAs, whereas high fear of success students who were low on Internalization were anticipated to have lower GPAs.

None of the correlations between GPA and any of the racial identity scores were significant, nor were any of the correlations between GPA and the terms representing the interactions of racial identity and fear of success. Thus, the anticipated interaction effect was not obtained. The only significant zero-order correlation in the table was a moderate positive relationship between study habits and GPA ($r = .46, p < .001$).

Multiple Regression Analysis of GPA on Predictors

Table 16 presents the results of a hierarchical regression analysis in which study habits were entered at step 1, and the remaining predictors (including the fear of success by racial identity interactions) were then allowed to enter in a stepwise manner with a probability to enter of $p < .05$. The results indicated that after the effect of study habits was partialled at step 1, the PKQ fear of success measure explained significant additional variability in GPA ($t = 2.02, p < .05$).

Referring to the beta value in Table 16 for the second predictor variable (FOS) we note that when the first predictor (Study Habits) is

controlled or partialled out, the correlation between the second predictor and the dependent variable becomes a positive relationship as indicated by the positive beta of .18. The overall relationship, however, between the fear of success and GPA was negative and very small ($r = -.05$).

Table 16

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting GPA (N = 129)

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T
Step 1				
Study Habits	.04	.01	.47	5.83*
Step 2				
Study Habits	.04	.01	.54	6.21*
PKQ Fear of Success	.01	.00	.18	2.02*

Note. $R^2 = .22$ for step 1; $\Delta R^2 = .24$ for step 2 ($ps < .001$)

* $p < .05$

Zero-Order Correlations of Study Habits With Predictors

Table 17 presents the zero-order correlations between study habits and the other predictors. The data in this table indicate that study habits are related positively to Internalization attitudes ($r = .19$, $p < .05$), but negatively to the PKQ fear of success ($r = -.41$, $p < .001$). The correlations of

the interactions involving PKQ fear of success were also significant ($p < .001$), reflecting the inclusion of PKQ scores in these terms.

Table 17
Correlations of Study Habits with Predictors

<u>Predictors</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>r</u>
Preencounter	128	-.11
Encounter	129	-.02
Immersion	128	-.11
Internalization	129	.19*
PKQ fear of success	129	-.41***
CIT fear of success	129	-.13
Preencounter x PKQ	128	-.33***
Encounter x PKQ	129	-.32***
Immersion x PKQ	128	-.36***
Internalization x PKQ	129	-.32***
Preencounter x CIT	128	-.17
Encounter x CIT	129	-.13
Immersion x CIT	128	-.13
Internalization x CIT	129	-.11

* $p < .05$; *** $p < .001$

Zero-Order Correlations of PKQ Fear of Success with Predictors

The hypotheses did not predict a direct relationship between racial identity and the fear of success, but the results demonstrate that one exists.

Table 18 presents the zero-order correlations between the PKQ fear of

success and the predictors. The data in table 18 show that the PKQ fear of success measure is related significantly to scores on Preencounter ($r = .28$, $p < .001$), Encounter ($r = .17$, $p < .05$), and Internalization ($r = -.19$, $p < .05$). The significant relationships involving the PKQ interactions are artifacts, due to the inclusion of the PKQ in these terms.

Table 18
Correlations of PKQ Fear of Success with Predictors

Predictors	N	r
CIT fear of success	129	.09
Preencounter	128	.28***
Encounter	129	.17*
Immersion	128	.03
Internalization	129	-.19*
Preencounter x PKQ	128	.84***
Encounter x PKQ	129	.84***
Immersion x PKQ	128	.78***
Internalization x PKQ	129	.92***
Preencounter x CIT	128	.15
Encounter x CIT	129	.10
Immersion x CIT	128	.09
Internalization x CIT	129	.07

* $p < .05$; *** $p < .001$

Relationship of Racial Identity and the Fear of Success to Demographic Predictors

Independent sample t-tests were used to compare those with and without family members who had attended college on GPA and on all the predictors. None of these tests were significant.

Pearson correlations were calculated between GPA, the fear of success scores, study habits, the racial identity scores, and the following interval scale demographic variables: credits completed, mother's and father's occupational level, mother's and father's education and income, and respondent's age. Only three significant correlations were obtained: between number of credits completed and CIT fear of success ($r = -.28, p < .05$), between respondent age and study habits ($r = .23, p < .05$) and between respondent age and PKQ fear of success $r = -.23, p < .05$).

The reported ethnic identifications of the respondents were not related significantly to either GPA, the fear of success measures, study habits, or the racial identity stage scores.

Chapter IV

Discussion

There has been much controversy in the fear of success literature particularly regarding measurement of the construct, and there are several possibilities as to why Horner's CIT fear of success measure did not perform in this study as anticipated. Horner's measure has received much criticism and some authors charge that the measure is unreliable and has poor predictive ability. Canavan (1989), for example, points out that, "On the basis of the review of scores of studies, Tresemer, Zuckerman and Wheeler concluded that the Horner measure of the fear of success... is not reliable, ... is better understood as a measure of sex-role stereotypes than fear of success... and ... has poor predictive ability" (p178).

These criticisms seem to gain support from the findings of the current study as the CIT fear of success measure showed none of the expected relationships to achievement behavior. However, it is also possible that because Horner's measure is a projective device which is designed to tap a less conscious aspect of the mind, comparisons made with measures designed to tap more conscious aspects of the mind -- as was the case in this study -- may lead to the weak or nonexistent correlations between the measures

(Fleming, 1977). Additionally, some authors (Stewart, 1975; Fleming, 1977) have suggested that controlling for social class improves the predictive ability of the measure and such controls were not in place for this study.

Previous work has found that with Horner's measure variance accounted for is maximized when CIT cues are used in a regression equation with a dependent variable (Fleming, 1982; Fleming & Watson, 1980).

Summing cue scores are said to reduce findings dramatically; however, a regression equation was conducted for GPA and study habits with CIT cues in this study but no relationships were revealed.

The hypotheses of this study predicted that more racial identification (Immersion and Internalization) would be related to stronger achievement behavior (eg., GPA and study habits) among those Black males with high fear of success. This was not supported. Further, it was anticipated that racial identity would be irrelevant -- in terms of its impact on achievement behavior -- among those Black males who had low fear of success. This was partially supported. Additionally, low fear of success men were predicted to have higher scores on achievement behavior than their high fear of success counterparts and this was partially supported by the findings of this study. The data also yielded an interesting set of relationships between the variables which had not been suggested by the hypotheses and these will be

discussed at greater length below.

Although racial identification did not interact with the fear of success in the predicted manner -- that is, more racial identification among high fear of success men did not predict better achievement scores -- the PKQ fear of success scores were significantly negatively related to achievement behavior as reflected in study habits. This finding suggests that as the PKQ fear of success increases in these Black males, their study habits deteriorate. The fear of success has long been considered an inhibitor of achievement behavior (Horner, 1968; Canavan, 1989; Fleming & Horner, 1992), and the results of this study have been generally consistent with such findings.

Study behavior is an ideal stage upon which success fearers can act out their ambivalence about academic achievement (Canavan-Gumpert, et. al, 1978). Canavan-Gumpert, et al. (1978) have noted that high fear of success students are more likely to have academic records characterized by a wider range of grades -- often referred to as the spotty academic record -- and have greater difficulty following through with an 'A' in a course in which they had gone into the final with an 'A' average. They were more likely than their low fear of success counterparts to "clutch" on the final exam. As with the above described instances, the fear of success appears, in this study, to serve as an impediment to the strong study habits of the Black men in this

sample.

Because there were no studies associating racial identity with the fear of success, predicting the nature of the relationship between the variables was not without its hazards. The hypotheses assumed that the full spectrum of racial identity attitudes -- that is Preencounter, Encounter, Immersion and Internalization attitudes -- would be reflected among high fear of success Black men, and that high fear of success Black men with more racial identification would be more likely to have stronger achievement behavior than high fear of success Black men with less racial identification. These assumptions were not supported.

The majority of Black men sampled (90.6%) reported mostly Internalization attitudes relative to their other substage scores. This made it necessary to look not at the absolute racial identity stage category of these men but at their categorization relative to the other men within the sample. The literature supports the notion that more racial identification among Black people predicts their overall higher emotional and academic functioning (Butler, 1975). In this context, the results lead to the conclusion that among already racially identified Black men, those with the most racial identification cannot be distinguished on GPA or study habits from those

who are relatively less racially identified. Perhaps, a sample of Black men categorized evenly across the four substages (in absolute terms) would more likely yield the expected relationships. Helms (1990) suggests that Black people have various kinds of racial identity attitudes at any one moment and although the Black men in this sample have predominately Internalized racial attitudes, it remains meaningful to understand the degree to which their other racial attitudes might effect their academic achievement behavior.

Although the predicted relationships between the variables were only partially supported, the data do reveal a clear set of relationships between the fear of success, racial identity attitudes and achievement behavior as reflected in GPA and study habits.

Zero-order correlations with GPA showed no relationships with any of the predictors except study habits ($r = .46$, $p < .001$). Strong study habits among these students are the strongest predictors of high GPAs. These findings are as would be expected in the literature. Nixon & Frost (1990) developed their measure of students' study habits to correlate highly with GPA. The correlations between study habits and GPA in the current sample ($r = .41$) are lower than those found in Nixon & Frost's samples ($r = .66$) and this might be explained by the fact that few Black males were represented in

the Nixon & Frost sample. Nevertheless, the significant relationship does indicate that the quality of Black male students' study habits are the strongest predictors -- among those used in this study -- of their GPA.

Although no distinction between high and low PKQ fear of success students on GPA was revealed in the multivariate analysis of variance, the results of a multiple regression analysis did indicate that the PKQ fear of success measure explained significant additional variability in GPA when study habits were controlled. A small negative relationship ($r = -.05$) between the PKQ fear of success and GPA (Table 15) gained significance ($\beta = .18$) when subjected to a multiple regression analysis (Table 16) and the direction of the relationship changed from a negative to a positive one. This suggests that the fear of success can predict improved performance (as reflected in GPA) among Black men with the best study habits and decreased performance among those who have the weakest study habits. Perhaps this finding reflects the motivational aspect of the fear of success which drives capable individuals toward the goal and which has not yet been inhibited by anxiety and/or conflict in the face of success. The higher the fear of success scores of these Black men, however, the more likely they are to have poorer study habits, and poor study habits predict lower GPAs.

Racial identity attitudes were demonstrated to have no direct

relationship to GPA. Several theorists argue that psychological difficulties attend Black people with little (Preencounter and Encounter) racial identification (Butler, 1975; Cross, 1971; Azibo, 1983; Baldwin, 1981a; Thomas, 1971; Toldson & Pasteur, 1975) and contribute to problems in the expression of their academic and achievement behavior (Butler, 1975; Akbar, 1981; Fordham, 1988). Conclusions such as these were only partially supported in this study.

None of the interaction terms -- which look at how racial identity attitudes and the fear of success might work together to affect achievement behavior -- revealed any significant correlations with either GPA or study habits in this sample. The hypothesized suggestion that racial identity in interaction with the fear of success would compromise achievement behavior was not supported. It appears that less racial identification and high fear of success do not behave as two distinct phenomena which work in tandem to cripple the individual's achievement efforts although racial identity attitudes are significantly related to the fear of success in ways which will be discussed shortly.

The relationships between racial attitudes and study habits reflect an interesting phenomenon. Internalization attitudes are positively related to

study habits ($r = .19$, $p < .05$), suggesting that more racial identification predicts stronger study habits. Overall, less racial identification in this sample of Black males seems to be less influential on study habits while Internalized racial attitudes positively bolster them.

Immersion attitudes, tend to perform with similarities to the Preencounter and Encounter stages on study habits, suggesting that Immersion attitudes, along with Preencounter and Encounter attitudes, are somewhat less conducive to academic achievement behavior than are Internalized racial attitudes. Parham & Helms (1985b) found Preencounter attitudes significantly associated with greater feelings of inferiority, inadequacy and anxiety, but Immersion attitudes were also found to be associated with emotional issues which could impair academic focus. For example, Parham & Helms found that Immersion attitudes predicted significantly more anxiety and anger and was affectively more similar to Preencounter attitudes than was expected. Though the Immersion stage is characterized by more pro-Black attitudes, other attitudes characteristic of this stage may make it a less functional stage than has otherwise been suggested in the literature.

The data suggest that racial identity attitudes and the (PKQ) fear of success are related in precisely the manner which would be expected based

on the racial identity literature. Preencounter attitudes are significantly correlated with the fear of success ($r = .28, p < .001$), suggesting that the more Black male students hold Preencounter attitudes the more likely they are to grapple with success fears. The Encounter stage of racial identity is, likewise, positively related to the fear of success ($r = .17, p < .05$); as these racial attitudes increase, so does the likelihood that success fears will also increase.

This makes sense because a Black man with Preencounter attitudes may be saddled with the baggage of negative attitudes which the White people he idolizes have of him. His sense of adequacy may revolve around his capacity to perform and he may compare himself to a "White standard" regardless of inequity in training, resources and contexts which may support his achievements. Success may become necessary to gain self-worth and so he may define himself over and against other Black people and this can engender feelings of separateness, abandonment, conflict and betrayal as he approaches success.

On the other hand, Internalized racial identity attitudes show a significant negative relationship to the fear of success ($r = -.19, p < .05$), and this tells us that with more Internalized attitudes there is likely to be less fear of success. Internalization attitudes have been associated in the

literature with higher self-esteem and greater self-acceptance (Parham & Helms, 1985a & b) and with a proactive, "action oriented" value system (Carter & Helms, 1987). The current results suggest that Black men with the most Internalization attitudes are less likely than the other men of this sample to demonstrate ambivalence about succeeding as reflected in their fear of success scores.

Immersion attitudes demonstrate no significant relationship to the fear of success. As the interim stage in closest proximity to the most consolidated stage of racial identity, perhaps Immersion attitudes represent a transitional attitude set from those which undergird the fear of success among these Black men to those which are antithetical to it. The Immersion stage -- with the Internalization stage -- has been presented in some literature as characteristic of "strong" racial identity (Butler, 1975; Akbar, 1981; Parham & White, 1990) perhaps because in it there is more identification with Black culture and heritage. The results of this study, however, do not support a conceptualization of the Immersion stage as particularly efficacious in terms of academic achievement behavior.

To define oneself primarily in opposition to others does not appear to be a particularly effective strategy. Yet, it seems to be a better strategy for Black males to define themselves in opposition to White people than it is for

them to define themselves through the lens by which White people tend to define them. The Black men in this study who had more Preencounter and Encounter attitudes were more likely to have a higher fear of success than those Black men who had more Internalized attitudes. The results with the Immersion stage seem to suggest that although it is not as effective as the Internalization stage, it is generally more effective than the Preencounter and Encounter stages in that it is not positively associated with the fear of success.

Larkin (1987) demonstrated that the fear of success was significantly related to ego identity, with weaker ego identity statuses predicting more fear of success. It was anticipated in this study that racial identity -- as a strong identity component among Black people in America (Aries & Moorehead, 1989) -- would also reveal meaningful relationships with the fear of success. Larkin (1987) concluded that the fear of success "may be the manifestation of a problem in identity formation" (p. 42). The results of this study seem to support the idea that, for this sample of Black males, issues of racial identity underlie and/or contribute to their success fears. Less racial identification among these Black men may be seen as an aspect of the soil out of which their success fears thrive. These success fears can then

contribute to diminished achievement behavior as reflected in study habits and in GPA.

Finally, there is indication that in this population the fear of success may be more likely to affect younger Black males. The fear of success was negatively related to age, and study habits were positively related to age, suggesting that older Black male students demonstrated less fear of success and stronger study habits than did their younger counterparts. Perhaps, as individuals grow older they pursue higher education from a more mature perspective resulting in better study habits and less conflict about succeeding.

Chapter V

Summary and Implications for Future Research

Because issues of personal safety are at stake in the psychological meanings of identity, racial affiliation and achievement in American life, these issues come to take on a powerful role within the culture, the family and the individual. People wish to survive, and this fuels the ways in which they interpret events in the environment. There is -- out of the necessity to protect oneself -- a constant assessment of danger, with responses geared to mitigate, bar or deflect perceived threats. This not only takes place on the individual level but it also occurs within the family and within the general culture as well (Becker, 1973; Firestone, 1985).

An individual's psychological efforts to negotiate perceived threats during childhood may lead to identity resolutions which do not serve the individual well in adulthood. Achieved identity resolutions have been associated with adaptive capacities (Marcia, 1980; Waterman, 1982) while diffused identity resolutions have been associated with difficulties in coping (Larkin, 1987). The source of the diffused identity resolution, according to Larkin (1987), stems from difficulty separating from the parent and making

commitments. Separating from the parents and making commitments underscore the individual as independent and can be perceived by the individual as threatening. As a result, the individual might resist this process even as the exigencies of adulthood demand otherwise.

Stolorow and Atwood (1992) speak of invariant ordering principles which can generate anxiety if environmental demands require a change in or expansion of them. This is especially true when these ordering principles are inflexible, as tends to be the case for individuals in neurotic families. Firestone (1985) and others (Kruger, 1990; Horney, 1937) have noted that a family context which is hostile, unresponsive, devaluing, dismissive and competitive toward the child results in efforts designed by the child to negotiate the hostile environment and maintain his security within it. When the demands of adulthood require a different approach to reality, the character structure organized to protect against childhood threats becomes a hindrance to the individual's growth and impedes the formation of a secure identity which would more adequately serve the exigencies of adult life. The early protective structure of the character vigorously asserts itself and resists reorganization in the face of new situational expectations because the individual comes to identify his existence with the particular

psychocharacterological solutions (the invariant ordering principles) developed as a child to protect himself (see Swann, 1983). Changing the psychological underpinnings of the character, then, becomes a matter of life or death (Becker, 1973) and people often cling to these regardless of the massive negative effects which may, as a result, plague the individual's experience of life.

Environmental threats against which the child may have to fortify him or herself psychologically come primarily from parents and the milieu of the immediate family (Firestone, 1985; Yalom, 1980). If the family system is antagonistic to the individual and attacks his self esteem by dismissing, devaluing, confusing, agitating or attacking him, then it is likely that the child will also be more vulnerable to the negative effects of cultural threats (e.g., negative racial messages) which may be directed toward him or her.

For the Black male, cultural threats to self-esteem are ubiquitous and, without an adequate psychologically supportive family milieu, the individual is likely to develop distorted psychological strategies to address the cultural challenges to his sense of self (Fordham, 1988). Like ego identity development, it seems likely that racial identity development is compromised within the context of a family system which either funnels negative cultural messages about race directly to the child or does not check

the direct effects of negative racial messages from the culture to the child. A withdrawal from racial identification may then arise as the individual's response to cultural threats to his or her sense of self as a Black person.

Americans are perpetually under the influence -- in one way or another -- of the society's distorted notions about race, achievement, success, failure and their relationship to human worth. Cultural imperatives which dictate human worth as based on achievement and success are ubiquitous and failure is associated with inferiority. Those who are achievement oriented and "succeed" in American society are overvalued and tend to be presented via the media as White, while those who "fail" are dismissed and devalued and tend to be presented via the media as Black (See Horney, 1937).

The fear of success arises from pathological cultural and familial contexts in which the individual receives confusing messages about human value, achievement, success and failure. The three pronged components of the fear of success -- that is, a strong motivation to succeed, a fear of failing and a fear of succeeding -- can be seen as an effort toward solution weaved by the individual to ensure a sense of self worth while attempting to maintain contact with important others. Inherent in this "solution" however is psychological conflict which arises amidst concerns about alienating important others upon whom the individual has come to depend for a sense

of safety. As a result, unqualified success becomes a dangerous proposition and the individual's goal oriented efforts -- in this case academic achievement behavior -- become a source of conflict and are, thus, compromised.

Confused answers to the question, "Who am I as a person in general and as a Black person specifically?" appear to leave the individual at greater risk for success fears which in turn can contribute to the inhibition of the individual's achievement behavior.

The results of this study have implications for educators and academic administrators who are interested in the academic functioning of Black male college students. It may be helpful to educate Black male students to the meaning, importance and value of being Black in America through safe experiential activities designed to reveal and explore their understandable (given cultural stereotypes) racial prejudices, to enhance their racial pride, to identify and take responsibility for shortcomings of the Black community while exploring cultural and psychological contributing factors to those shortcomings, and to avoid demonizing White people while remaining cognizant of the current and historical legacy of racism.

An intellectual framework for understanding the nigrescence model could be provided with group discussions and experiential activities

designed to facilitate the development of Internalized racial attitudes.

Counselors and advisors working with Black male students might also include education along these lines in their armamentarium of approaches to the complex and vital issue of academic achievement among Black males.

A significant percentage (43%) of Black men in the sample reported high success fears with absolute fear of success scores of 32 or greater. It has been demonstrated that individuals with high fear of success are sensitive to competition and perform less well in competitive than cooperative circumstances (Canavan, 1989). High fear of success women, for example, demonstrate performance decrement in competition with men (Canavan - Gumpert, et. al. , 1978) and Black men tend to perform less well in competition with White men (Katz & Cohen, 1962). Constructing a cooperative, non-competitive learning environment, therefore, while facilitating Internalized racial attitudes among these Black men could be helpful in facilitating their study habits and improving their GPAs.

Future research exploring practical ways to engender more Internalized racial attitudes in Black male students while measuring the effects of doing so on achievement behavior and other variables would be worthwhile. Also, research on the efficacy of cooperative academic study "gangs" (designed to

provide the Black male with a sense of belonging to an "academic family") on academic performance among high fear of success Black men could be beneficial to determine concrete methods for supporting capable yet conflicted Black men to achieve their academic goals.

APPENDIX A

CUE INTERPRETATION TASK

Instructions:

An important personal asset is imagination. This task gives you an opportunity to use your imagination, to show you can create ideas and situations by yourself. In other words, instead of presenting you with answers already made up, from which you have to pick one, it gives you the chance to show how you can think of things on your own.

On the following pages you are going to see a series of verbal leads or cues and your task is to tell a story that is suggested to you by each one. Try to imagine what is going on in each. Then tell what the situation is, what led up to the situation, what the people are thinking, and what they will do. In other words, write as complete a story as you can -- a story with plot and characters.

You will have twenty (20) seconds to look at a cue and then 4 minutes to write your story about it. Write your first impressions and work rapidly. The instructor will keep time and tell you when it is time to finish your story and to get ready for the next cue.

There are no right or wrong stories or kinds of stories, so you may feel free to write whatever story is suggested to you when you look at a cue. Spelling, punctuation, and grammar are not important. What is important is to write out as fully and quickly as possible the story that comes into your mind as you imagine what is going on in each cue.

Try to make your stories interesting and dramatic. Show that you have an understanding of people and can make up stories about human situations. Don't just describe the cues, but write stories about them.

To help you cover all the elements of a story plot in the time allowed, you will find the following guide questions listed at the top of each story page:

What is happening? Who are the people?

What has led up to this situation? That is, what has happened in the past?

What is being thought? What is wanted? By whom?

What will happen? What will be done?

Please note that there will be one page for writing each story, following the page on which the cue is given. If you need more space for writing any story, use the reverse side of the previous page -- the one on which the cue was presented.

DO NOT TURN THE PAGE UNTIL YOU ARE ASKED TO DO SO.

APPENDIX B

People Knowing Questionnaire

This questionnaire is about people -- what they feel, experience and think about. It contains a series of statements. Please read each one and then check either T (true) or F (false) on the answer sheet. If you feel that a statement is true or mostly true about you, check a T on the answer sheet. If you feel it is not true or mostly not true about you, check an F on the answer sheet. Please use only the answer sheet and answer all the questions.

Please answer all questions as honestly as possible and remember that there are no right or wrong answers. Your individual, honest response is most important. Thank you for participating in this study.

- 1. When I think I've made a particularly "strong" statement to someone I get a bit worried that I might have made them feel bad.**
- 2. I generally feel guilty about my own happiness if a friend tells me that he's depressed.**
- 3. I sometimes get uncomfortable because I've pretended to be more committed to a cause than I really feel.**
- 4. It makes me feel self-conscious to perform a stunt at a party, even if other people are doing the same sort of thing.**
- 5. As a child, I sometimes played sick to get out of something.**
- 6. I must admit that I'm quite nice looking.**
- 7. I've sometimes gone without something rather than have to ask others for it.**
- 8. I dread the idea of walking into a party by myself when most of the others have been there for some time.**
- 9. Often, when I sit down to solve a problem, my thoughts drift off to a bunch of other things.**

10. It's pretty difficult to turn down a gesture of friendship without hurting the other person's feelings.
11. I feel uneasy being the center of attention in a group.
12. I frequently find myself not telling others about my good luck so they won't have to feel envious.
13. I often have trouble saying "no" to people.
14. I frequently find myself making a date or appointment and then dread having to go through with it.
15. I'm very rarely worried that I'll look clumsy or awkward at a social gathering.
16. I'm reluctant to make a large purchase without consulting someone else first.
17. Before getting down to work on a project, I suddenly find a whole bunch of other things to take care of first.
18. I sometimes find myself apologizing for my behavior even though an apology isn't really called for.
19. I must say that I'm pretty confident when it comes to my sexual ability.
20. I hate having a fuss made over me.
21. I'm quite comfortable in the role of group spokesman.
22. Most people are secretly pleased when someone else gets into trouble.
23. I often brood about something I've said which may have been taken in the wrong way by another person.
24. I tend to believe that people who look out for themselves first are selfish.

25. As a child, when I was called on by a teacher, I often felt my stomach sink, even when I knew the right answer.
26. I sometimes cross the street to avoid meeting someone I know.
27. When someone I know well succeeds at something, I usually feel that I've lost out in comparison.
28. I rarely have trouble concentrating on something for a long period of time.
29. It makes me feel uneasy to have to ask other people for things.
30. When I notice that things have been going particularly well for me, I get the feeling it just can't last.
31. I feel uneasy about breaking a date or an appointment.
32. I'm pretty competent at most things that I try.
33. Often, before I act, I consider how others would regard my action.
34. I'd rather give in on most issues than get into heavy debates with people.
35. I'm not one for organizing group activities, though I usually enjoy them once they're under way.
36. I generally feel uptight about telling a boss or professor that I think I'm entitled to a better deal.
37. When I have to ask others for their help, I often feel that I'm being bothersome.
38. I often compromise in situations in order to avoid conflict.
39. On the whole, I'm quite satisfied with the way I look.

40. I have often "woken up" during a lecture or meeting and realized that I haven't heard a word of what was said.
41. I sometimes "play down" my competence in front of others so they won't think I'm bragging.
42. Before I make a final decision about something, I like to check with others about their views and ideas.
43. I sometimes have trouble acting like myself when I'm with people I don't know well.
44. I've often felt a little ashamed of the way my house (apartment) looks.
45. When I've made a decision, I usually stick to it.
46. Before going to some type of social gathering, I'm often uptight that I just won't look good enough.
47. Although I usually begin projects with lots of get up and go, I tend to get bored after a while.
48. Secretly, I think I'm pretty special, but I try not to "let on" to others about that.
49. I often feel self-conscious when someone who 'counts' compliments me.
50. I used to fantasize about doing something that no one else had ever done before.
51. When I'm involved in a competitive activity (sports, a game, work) I'm often so concerned with how well I'm doing that I don't enjoy the activity as much as I could.
52. When people are watching me while I'm doing something, I have difficulty not being aware that they're watching.
53. If it's easy for me to learn to do something, I have trouble imagining anyone else having difficulty with it.

54. If someone calls attention to me when I'm doing well, I feel awkward or embarrassed.
55. Even though I feel I have a lot of potential, I sometimes feel like a phony or a fraud.
56. It pays to check out your ideas with other people before making a final decision.
57. It's important not to get too excited about things one really desires.
58. A sure-fire way to end up disappointed is to want something too much.
59. Instead of celebrating, I often feel let down after completing an important task or project.
60. Mostly, I find that I measure up to the standards that I set for myself.
61. When I'm praised for something, I sometimes wonder if I will be able to do as well the next time.
62. When things seem to be going really well for me, I get uneasy that I'll do something to ruin it.
63. In the lower grades in school, if I got a good grade on a work assignment I often felt that I had fooled the teacher.
64. When I have to meet an important deadline, I get so nervous that it's hard to keep my mind on the work I'm doing.

PKQ scores range from 0-64 with higher scores reflecting more fear of success. A "true" response is scored +1 with the exception of the following reversed items: 6, 15, 19, 21, 28, 32, 39, 45, 53 and 60.

APPENDIX C

Social Attitudes Scale

This questionnaire is designed to measure people's social and political attitudes. There are no right or wrong answers. Your individual, honest response is most important. Please use the scale below to respond to each statement. On your answer sheet, blacken the number of the box that describes how you feel.

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

1. I believe that being Black is a positive experience.
2. I know through experience what being Black in America means.
3. I feel unable to involve myself in White experiences and am increasing my involvement in Black experiences.
4. I believe that large numbers of Black people are untrustworthy.
5. I feel an overwhelming attachment to Black people.
6. I involve myself in causes that will help all oppressed people.
7. I feel comfortable wherever I am.
8. I believe that White people look and express themselves better than Black people.
9. I feel very uncomfortable around Black people.
10. I feel good about being Black, but do not limit myself to Black activities.
11. I often find myself referring to White people as honkies, devils, pigs, etc.

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

12. I believe that to be Black is not necessarily good.
13. I believe that certain aspects of the Black experience apply to me, and others do not.
14. I frequently confront the system and the man.
15. I constantly involve myself in Black political and social activities (art shows, political meetings, Black theater, etc.).
16. I involve myself in social action and political groups even if there are no other Black people involved.
17. I believe that Black people should learn to think and experience life in ways which are similar to White people.
18. I believe that the world should be interpreted from a Black perspective.
19. I have changed my style of life to fit my beliefs about Black people.
20. I feel excitement and joy in Black surroundings.
21. I believe that Black people came from a strange, dark, and uncivilized continent.
22. People, regardless of their race, have strengths and limitations.
23. I find myself reading a lot of Black literature and thinking about being Black.
24. I feel guilty and/or anxious about some of the things I believe about Black people.

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

25. I believe that a Black person's most effective weapon for solving problems is to become part of the White person's world.
26. I speak my mind regardless of the consequences (e.g., being kicked out of school, being imprisoned, being exposed to danger).
27. I believe that everything Black is good, and consequently, I limit myself to Black activities.
28. I am determined to find my Black identity.
29. I believe that White people are intellectually superior to Black people.
30. I believe that because I am Black, I have many strengths.
31. I feel that Black people do not have as much to be proud of as White people do.
32. Most Black people I know are failures.
33. I believe that White people should feel guilty about the way they have treated Black people in the past.
34. White people can't be trusted.
35. In today's society if Black people don't achieve, they have only themselves to blame.
36. The most important thing about me is that I am Black.
37. Being Black just feels natural to me.

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

38. Other Black people have trouble accepting me because my life experiences have been so different from their experiences.
39. Black people who have any White people's blood should feel ashamed of it.
40. Sometimes, I wish I belonged to the White race.
41. The people I respect most are White.
42. A person's race usually is not important to me.
43. I feel anxious when White people compare me to other members of my race.
44. I can't feel comfortable with either Black people or White people.
45. A person's race has little to do with whether or not he/she is a good person.
46. When I am with Black people, I pretend to enjoy the things they enjoy.
47. When a stranger who is Black does something embarrassing in public, I get embarrassed.
48. I believe that a Black person can be close friends with a White person.
49. I am satisfied with myself.
50. I have a positive attitude about myself because I am Black.

Preencounter items: 4, 8, 9, 12, 21, 25, 29, 31, 32, 40, 41, 44, 46, 47.
Encounter items: 3, 23, 24, 28.
Immersion items: 3, 11, 18, 19, 27, 34, 36, 39.
Internalization items: 1, 2, 5, 10, 20, 22, 30, 37, 45, 49, 50.

APPENDIX D

Study Habits and Attitudes Inventory

Please answer all of the questions by choosing the best alternative from those given in response to the question. Completely fill in the appropriate square on your answer sheet for items 1 to 31. If you want to change an answer, completely erase the old mark or place a large X over the old mark. Please read each question carefully and completely. Your honesty is the most important thing and your responses will be completely confidential. It should take you about 15 minutes to complete the survey. Thank you for your participation.

	Item Score
1. My goal in school is to:	
A. Pass enough courses to stay in school.	(0)
B. Maintain a C average.	(0)
C. Maintain a B average.	(1)
D. Maintain an A average.	(2)
2. Realistically, my goal is to receive:	
A. Mostly As and Bs.	(2)
B. Mostly Bs and Cs.	(0)
C. Mostly Cs and Ds.	(0)
D. Mostly Ds and Fs.	(0)
3. When do you review your notes?:	
A. After each class.	(2)
B. Frequently or weekly.	(1)
C. Seldomly.	(0)
D. Rarely.	(0)
4. How often do you skip classes?:	
A. Almost never.	(2)
B. Seldom (once a month).	(1)
C. Occasionally (once a week).	(0)
D. Almost always.	(0)

	Item Score
5. Do you complete class assignments?:	
A. Almost always.	(2)
B. Most of the time.	(1)
C. Some of the time.	(0)
D. Almost never.	(0)
6. How many clubs or organizations are you a member of?:	
A. 5 or more.	(2)
B. 3 or 4.	(1)
C. 1 to 3.	(1)
D. None.	(0)
7. When do you begin preparing for an exam?:	
A. The day before the exam.	(0)
B. 2-3 days prior to the exam.	(1)
C. 4-5 days prior to the exam.	(1)
D. More than 5 days prior to the exam.	(2)
8. For a three-hour class, how much time do you spend studying per week?:	
A. 0 - 1 hour.	(0)
B. 2 - 3 hours.	(1)
C. 3 - 4 hours.	(2)
D. More than 4 hours.	(1)
9. Do your parents pay your college expenses?:	
A. All.	(0)
B. More than half.	(0)
C. Less than half.	(0)
D. None.	(2)
10. How do you usually study?:	
A. Alone.	(2)
B. With others.	(1)
C. Alone and with others.	(1)
D. I don't study.	(0)

11. What percentage of your classes are of personal interest?:	Item Score
A. Under 25%.	(0)
B. 25% - 50%.	(1)
C. 50% - 75%.	(1)
D. 75% or more.	(2)
12. I study in a room where:	
A. The radio and TV are off and I am alone.	(2)
B. The radio and TV are usually off.	(0)
C. The radio or TV is usually on.	(0)
13. How many times a week do you eat breakfast?:	
A. Everyday.	(2)
B. Three to four days.	(0)
C. One to two days.	(1)
D. Rarely.	(1)
14. Which courses are you most likely to complete assignments from first?:	
A. Courses you are <i>least</i> interested in.	(2)
B. Courses you are <i>most</i> interested in .	(0)
C. None of the above.	(0)
15. When in class, I usually:	
A. Take as many notes as possible.	(2)
B. Take some notes.	(1)
C. Take few notes.	(0)
D. Take no notes at all.	(0)
16. When given an assignment, I usually begin it:	
A. Immediately.	(2)
B. After a few days.	(1)
C. The day before it is due.	(1)
D. The day it is due.	(0)

	Item Score
17. During an average week day, how many hours do you spend watching television?:	
A. 0 - 2 hours.	(2)
B. 3 - 5 hours.	(0)
C. 6 - 8 hours.	(0)
D. More than 8 hours.	(0)
18. Why are you attending college?:	
A. I want to attend.	(2)
B. My parents want me to attend.	(0)
C. I have a scholarship.	(0)
D. None of the above.	(0)
19. When I have a difficult homework assignment:	
A. I seek assistance.	(2)
B. I don't seek assistance.	(0)
C. I don't do it at all.	(0)
20. To what degree are you satisfied with yourself?:	
A. Not at all.	(0)
B. Somewhat.	(0)
C. Mostly.	(2)
D. Completely.	(1)
21. How do you view yourself?:	
A. As a top student.	(2)
B. As a slightly above average student.	(1)
C. As an average student.	(0)
D. As a below average student.	(0)

Item Score

22. How often do you feel that you have performed up to your potential on school requirements?:
- A. Always. (2)
 - B. Usually. (1)
 - C. Sometimes. (0)
 - D. Rarely or never. (0)
23. How insecure are you about the possibility of failure on school-related tasks?:
- A. Extremely insecure. (0)
 - B. Somewhat insecure. (1)
 - C. Slightly insecure. (2)
 - D. It does not generally bother me. (2)
24. How much school do you expect to complete?:
- A. I do not expect to finish college. (0)
 - B. Complete undergraduate studies. (0)
 - C. Obtain Master's degree. (1)
 - D. Obtain doctorate. (2)
25. Which of the following best describes your use of longterm goals (e.g., a year or more from now)?:
- A. I really do not set longterm goals. (0)
 - B. I have some long-termgoals, but I may not achieve them. (0)
 - C. I have some long-term goals that I am somewhat likely to achieve. (1)
 - D. I have some long-term goals that I am very likely to achieve. (2)
26. How often do you meet with professors outside of class?:
- A. Never. (1)
 - B. Rarely. (0)
 - C. Sometimes. (2)
 - D. Often. (2)

	Item Score
27. How often do you participate in formal study groups or help sessions?:	
A. Never.	(2)
B. Rarely.	(0)
C. Sometimes.	(0)
D. Often.	(0)
28. How useful do you feel your college classes and education will be in obtaining a job?:	
A. Extremely useful.	(2)
B. Very useful.	(1)
C. Somewhat useful.	(0)
D. Not useful at all.	(0)
29. To what extent do you feel that your college coursework will directly apply to any job that you obtain after you leave college?:	
A. The coursework will apply directly to the job.	(2)
B. The coursework will apply somewhat.	(1)
C. The coursework will apply only slightly.	(0)
D. The coursework will not apply at all.	(0)
30. How often do you feel that you procrastinate?:	
A. Always.	(1)
B. Usually.	(0)
C. Sometimes.	(1)
D. Rarely or never.	(2)

	Item Score
31. To what extent do you feel that any task that you undertake must be completed perfectly?:	
A. Always.	(0)
B. Usually.	(1)
C. Sometimes.	(2)
D. Rarely or never.	(2)

SHAI scores range from 0-62 with higher scores predicting better GPAs.

APPENDIX E

Background Questionnaire

Personal Data:

Age _____

Have other members of your family graduated from college? No_____ .

Yes (indicate who by their relationship to you)_____

What is your current grade point average? _____

What is your major area of study? _____

What is your career objective? _____

What is the most advanced degree you plan to finish? (e.g., B.A., B.S., M.A., Ph.D. etc.) _____

Do you plan to attend graduate school? Yes_____ . No_____

If yes, what will you study? _____

To me, academic success is: Extremely Important _____ Important _____

Somewhat Important _____ Not Very Important _____

Where were you born? _____

If not born in the U.S. what year did you come to this country? _____

Please indicate your parent's place of birth:

Mother's _____ Father's _____

What is/was your mother's occupation? _____

Please describe what she does/did _____

What is/was your father's occupation? _____

Please describe what he does/did _____

Your father has/had how many years of schooling? Please circle the last year completed and indicate any advance degrees earned.

a) Years of schooling: grade school 8 or less
 high school 9 10 11 12
 college 13 14 15 16
 graduate 17 18 19 20 20+

b) Degree: _____

What is/was your father's approximate yearly income?

_____ \$ 5,000 or less	_____ \$16,000 to 20,000
_____ \$ 6,000 to 10,000	_____ \$21,000 to 25,000
_____ \$11,000 to 15,000	_____ \$26,000 or more

Your mother has/had how many years of schooling? Please circle the last year completed and indicate any advance degrees earned.

a) Years of schooling: grade school 8 or less
 high school 9 10 11 12
 college 13 14 15 16
 graduate 17 18 19 20 20+

b) Degree: _____

What is/was your mother's approximate yearly income?

_____ Not relevant (if a housewife)	
_____ \$ 5,000 or less	_____ \$16,000 to 20,000
_____ \$ 6,000 to 10,000	_____ \$21,000 to 25,000
_____ \$11,000 to 15,000	_____ \$26,000 or more

I believe that O.J. Simpson is innocent: True _____ . False _____ .

Please use the scale below to respond to each of the following statements:

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

- 1) I seem to have more in common with White people than with the Black people I know. 1. ☐ 2. ☐ 3. ☐ 4. ☐ 5. ☐
- 2) I find that the people I tend to be attracted to are White. 1. ☐ 2. ☐ 3. ☐ 4. ☐ 5. ☐
- 3) Having White friends is important to me. 1. ☐ 2. ☐ 3. ☐ 4. ☐ 5. ☐
- 4) I am more likely to be nervous in a Black neighborhood than in a White one. 1. ☐ 2. ☐ 3. ☐ 4. ☐ 5. ☐
- 5) The ways of Black people often seem strange to me. 1. ☐ 2. ☐ 3. ☐ 4. ☐ 5. ☐
- 6) I find that the TV sitcoms I most enjoy are cast with White characters. 1. ☐ 2. ☐ 3. ☐ 4. ☐ 5. ☐

Please indicate the group with which you identify yourself:

African-American ____ . African-Caribbean ____ .
 Continental African ____ . African-Latino ____ .
 Biracial ____ . White ____ . Other ____ (describe) ____

APPENDIX F

CONSENT FORM

DEAR STUDENT,

IF YOU ARE A BLACK MALE STUDENT WHO HAS EARNED 30 OR MORE COLLEGE CREDITS YOU ARE ASKED TO PARTICIPATE IN A STUDY OF ATTITUDES AND ACADEMIC STUDY BEHAVIOR BY COMPLETING A SERIES OF QUESTIONNAIRES. THESE QUESTIONNAIRES WILL TAKE APPROXIMATELY ONE AND A HALF HOURS TO COMPLETE. NO ONE WILL EVER KNOW HOW YOU CHOOSE TO ANSWER THE QUESTIONS AND YOUR RESPONSES WILL REMAIN COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL.

THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS. JUST BE HONEST. THE OFFICIAL NUMBER OF COLLEGE CREDITS YOU HAVE EARNED SO FAR WILL BE COMPUTER CHECKED. WE CAN USE ONLY FULLY COMPLETED QUESTIONNAIRES SO PLEASE BE SURE TO ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS. IN EXCHANGE FOR THE COMPLETION OF ALL QUESTIONNAIRES, YOU WILL RECEIVE \$5 IN CASH AND INCLUSION IN A LOTTERY FOR A \$300 CASH PRIZE.

YOUR HELP IS GREATLY APPRECIATED.

I (please print) _____ SS# _____,
have read the above information about this study and understand that my answers will be confidential and will not be traced to me. I agree to participate in the study but understand that I may withdraw from the study at any time. I authorize a computer check to determine my college class status and realize that my involvement in the lottery is contingent on my having completed 30 or more college credits and answering all questionnaire questions.

Signature _____

Date _____

APPENDIX G

Lottery Information

Your social security number will be used to verify your college class status and provide us with the means by which to contact you for purposes of the lottery associated with the study. Once it is determined that you have completed at least 30 college credits, the consent form will be separated from your questionnaire packet making your responses untraceable to you.

NO ATTEMPT WILL EVER BE MADE TO ASSOCIATE YOUR QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES WITH YOU. ALL RESPONSES WILL BE STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

The lottery drawing will take place on Friday December 15, 1995 at City College in the North Academic Complex in Room 8/101 at 1 o'clock p.m. You needn't be present to win the lottery drawing but you are welcome to attend.

David B. Campbell

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