

A PSYCHOMETRIC ANALYSIS OF TWO MEASURES OF
AFRICAN AMERICAN RACIAL IDENTITY
IN A SAMPLE OF PROFESSIONAL ADULTS

By

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

A Psychometric Analysis of Two Measures of African American Racial Identity in a
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This dissertation is an investigation of the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS; Vandiver, Cross, Worrell, & Fhagen-Smith, 2002) and the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers, Shelton, Cooke, Chavous, Rowley, & Smith, 1997) in a sample of African American adult professionals (N=137). This study found the internal reliability of both scales to be good. The structural validity of the CRIS was supported in principal component analyses, as were the centrality, private regard, public regard, oppressed minority, and nationalist subscales of the MIBI. The predictive validity of both scales also held in this sample, in that each of the CRIS and the MIBI overall were significantly associated with self-esteem and racial socialization preferences. Specifically, the evaluative subscales of each scale (the preencounter miseducation and preencounter self-hatred subscales of the CRIS and the private regard subscale of the MIBI) uniquely were associated significantly with self-esteem. As predicted, higher scores on the immersion-emersion anti-white and internalization Afrocentricity subscales of the CRIS and the centrality and nationalist ideology subscales of the MIBI were associated uniquely with preference to socialize with Blacks only. Higher scores on the

non-race focused ideologies subscales (the CRIS's preencounter assimilation and internalization multiculturalist inclusive subscales and the MIBI's assimilation and humanist subscales), along with the MIBI's public regard subscale, were associated with preference to socialize with racially mixed groups. In addition, the MIBI overall predicted past GPAs, racial organization membership, and perceived racism in the past year and over a lifetime in this sample. Results have implications for African American mental health service delivery.

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Introduction

Despite progress made in recent decades, psychological research on issues relevant to African Americans and other American minority groups continues to be needed. As stated in the Surgeon General's report, *Mental Health: Culture, Race, and Ethnicity – A Supplement to Mental Health: A Report of the Surgeon General* (United States Department of Health and Human Services, 2001): “Even more than other areas of health and medicine, the mental health field is plagued by disparities in the availability of and access to its services. These disparities are viewed readily through the lenses of racial and cultural diversity, age, and gender (pg. vi).” Striking disparities in mental health care for racial and ethnic minorities occur in several areas: Minorities have less access to, and availability of, mental health services. Minorities are less likely to receive needed mental health services. When minorities do seek mental health treatment they are more likely to receive a poorer quality of mental health care, to have higher levels of misdiagnosis, and to report lower levels of satisfaction with their treatment (DHHS, 2001).

These disparities occur despite the fact that the prevalence of mental disorders for minorities living in the community do not differ significantly from those of White Americans. However, African American and other minority groups are overrepresented in vulnerable, high need subgroups (such as the incarcerated, homeless, and institutionalized) that do tend to have higher rates of mental disorders than the general population. Within community populations, more is known at present about the existence of racial and ethnic disparities than the reasons behind them. This may be due in part to the fact that minorities continue to be underrepresented in mental health research (DHHS,

2001). Where minorities are represented in research, factors that may be specific to their mental health and experience in treatment are often unexamined.

It is likely that multiple factors may be responsible for racial and ethnic disparities in mental health. Responsible factors identified by DHHS (2001) include lack of economic resources, fragmentation of services, lack of availability of services and social stigma regarding mental illness and treatment. However, racial and ethnic disparities in mental health persist even after the above mentioned factors are taken into account.

Therefore, the Surgeon General's report (DHHS, 2001) suggests that more attention be paid to the roles of culture and societal influences on the mental health of African Americans and other minorities. Racial and ethnic minorities in the United States face a social and economic environment of inequality that includes greater exposure to racism, violence and poverty, all of which have a negative impact on mental health. Culture influences whether people seek help for mental health problems, what types of help they seek, how they communicate their symptoms, what social supports they have, what coping styles they use, and how much stigma they attach to mental illness (DHHS, 2001).

The U. S. Department of Health and Human Services (2001) has articulated a vision to begin to address the racial and ethnic disparities in mental health. The first step of this vision is to expand the scientific research base on the possible factors related to these disparities. The intent of this goal is to "facilitate a better understanding of how factors such as acculturation, help-seeking behaviors, stigma, ethnic identity, racism and spirituality provide protection from, or risk factors for mental illness in racial and ethnic minority populations (pg. 67)." Greater understanding of the roles that these factors play on mental health will enable mental health professionals to design and implement services that are more responsive to the needs of racial and ethnic minorities. This paper

will examine one such factor that may be related to the mental health of African Americans, that of racial identity.

African American Racial Identity

Identity is a term used throughout the social sciences to refer to an individual's comprehension of him or herself as a discrete, separate entity. Erikson (1968) describes identity as a complex inner state that includes a sense of our individuality and uniqueness, as well as a sense of wholeness and continuity with the past and future. Under ideal circumstances, an individual's identity is allowed to develop in a nurturing and supportive environment. Mainstream psychological theories (i.e. Erikson, 1968; Cote & Levine, 2002) describe the normal process of identity development, as well as the pathology that can result when this process is disturbed.

For African Americans, identity development must develop in a context of the racism and discrimination inherent to American culture (Jones, 1991). Despite the fact that African Americans have often sought ways to insulate themselves within nurturing and supportive communities (through family, church, educational, professional and fraternal institutions), they must still contend with demoralizing and at times dehumanizing messages from the dominant society (Cross, Parham, & Helms, 1991; Parham, White & Ajamu, 1999). Since the beginning of the transatlantic slave trade the impact of racial discrimination on African American identity has been widely discussed in African American literary and scholarly discourse (e.g. Douglas, 1845; Equiano, 1789; Washington, 1901). The difficulty of forming a coherent identity for Black Americans in the modern era was best articulated by sociologist W. E. B. DuBois (1903) in *The Souls of Black Folk*. In describing this dilemma, he identified a “double-consciousness” of African Americans (then referred to as Negroes) where: “One ever feels his two-ness,—

an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.” (pg. 3)

Of particular relevance to identity development among African Americans is the subcomponent of racial identity. Racial identity is defined by Helms (1990) as “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” (pg. 3). Cross, Parham, and Helms (1991) further illustrate the racial identity construct by proposing three functions that racial identity serves for African Americans. These are:

- 1) To provide a social anchor and meaning to one’s existence.
- 2) To serve as a connection to the broader African community across the globe.
- 3) To serve as a protection and a buffer against the social forces that continually bombard the psyche with nonaffirming and, in some cases, dehumanizing messages.

Unfortunately, a review of the psychological literature reveals the use of diverse terminology when referring to constructs relating to the reference group identity of African Americans and other racial and ethnic groups. The terms racial identity, ethnic identity, and cultural identity are sometimes used interchangeably and sometimes used to designate discreet constructs. Therefore, a definition of terms is needed before proceeding.

Krogman (1945) has defined a race as “a subgroup of peoples possessing a definite combination of physical characteristics, of genetic origin, the combination of which to varying degrees distinguishes the subgroup from other subgroups of mankind (pg. 49).” Race as a biological construct has no inherent behavioral, psychological, or

social implications. However, what people come to believe, feel, and think about racial groups can have implications for intra- and interpersonal functioning. Racial identity theory is concerned with the psychological implications of racial group membership and the belief systems that evolve in reaction to perceived racial group membership (Helms, 1990).

Ethnicity is defined by Casas (1984) as “a group classification of individuals who share a unique social and cultural heritage (customs, language, religion, etc.) passed on from generation to generation (pg. 787).” Ethnicity is not biologically determined, and therefore it is not synonymous with race. Despite this, the terms race and ethnicity are often used interchangeably in both academic and popular literature. Teasing out what is meant by each term in each case is beyond the scope of this paper.

This paper will address what is referred to as racial identity in the psychological literature, and more specifically to what is referred to as Black or African American racial identity. This paper will use the terms Black and African American interchangeably. In both cases the term used will be in reference to people self-identified as racially “Black” who reside within the United States of America, unless otherwise clearly stated. The applicability of the racial identity construct to blacks who reside outside of the United States (the Caribbean, South America, Africa, Europe, etc.) and to those who are recent immigrants is a topic of some contention that has just begun to be addressed within the field (Walsh, 2001).

Examinations of Black identity development within psychological literature began in earnest during the first half of the twentieth century. These early models of Black identity development emphasized a Black self-hatred or deficit orientation (e.g. Kardiner & Ovesey, 1951). These models proposed that exposure to White racism resulted in

feelings of inadequacy and low self-esteem for African Americans. This was thought to be caused by internalization of racist stereotypes and an inability to assimilate into White society. While racist stereotypes undoubtedly can undermine the self-esteem of Blacks, these models are flawed in that they assume that African Americans accept White society as their primary source of validation and they ignore indigenous African American socialization processes and coping strategies (Parham et al., 1999).

The 1970's saw the emergence of new theories of Black identity that grew largely out of the civil rights and Black power movements. These theories were part of a growing movement of African American psychologists who believed that the purportedly value neutral paradigms of mainstream psychology were actually biased in favor of White middle-class values. This bias was thought to result in a pathological view of African Americans who differed from these values. In response, a new generation of Black psychologists, such as William Cross, called for research and development of a Black Psychology centered on a "psychology of liberation" (Cross, 1971). The goal of such a psychology was to be the creation of developmental theories, personality constructs and behavioral interventions that promote psychological liberation under conditions of oppression (Cross, 1971). Psychologists of this school of thought abandoned research on mainstream theories of identity development meant to be applied regardless of race in favor of theories that examined the unique experiences of African Americans.

Two distinct theoretical models of African American identity arose in the psychological literature. The approach which received the greatest acceptance in mainstream psychological literature included developmental models of Black racial identity that focused on the affective, cognitive, and behavioral processes associated with

being Black in America (e.g. Cross, 1971; Cross, Parham, & Helms, 1991). While these models focused on the unique experiences of African Americans, they were grounded in mainstream developmental (primarily Eriksonian) identity theories (Helms, 1990). A second more radical approach was the Afrocentric model that focused on the legacies of traditional African culture in the personality structure of African Americans (e.g., Akbar, 1979; Baldwin, 1984). Afrocentric models sought to divorce themselves from any resemblance to mainstream psychology and instead incorporated traditional African philosophical concepts into theories of African American identity. More recently an attempt has been made to incorporate aspects of both theoretical models into one comprehensive multidimensional model (Constantine, Richardson, Benjamin, & Wilson, 1998; Sellers, Shelton, Cooke, Chavous, Rowley, & Smith, 1997; Vandiver, Fhagen-Smith, Cokely, Cross, & Worrell, 2001). These theoretical models also generated pencil and paper scales designed to assess the racial identity constructs their authors proposed.

Existing studies of African American racial identity (referred to as ethnic identity by DHHS, 2001) have indicated significant relationships between racial identity and mental health variables such as cognitive styles, help seeking behavior, self-esteem, therapeutic relationship, preference for same versus other race therapist, and completion versus early termination of treatment (Helms, 1990; Parham et al., 1999). The racial identity construct is useful to both researchers and clinicians in that it may explain some of the variance within African American populations on the above mentioned mental health variables as well as others. Continued research on and refinement of measures of racial identity, as well as research on correlates of racial identity, is needed in order to improve the scientific knowledge base regarding this aspect of African American mental health. This paper proposes to examine two of the most recent measures of African

American racial identity to arise within the mainstream psychological literature: the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS: Vandiver, Cross, Worrell, & Fhagen-Smith, 2002) and the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI: Sellers, Shelton, Cooke, Chavous, Rowley, & Smith, 1997). As both of these measures have only recently become available, more research is needed in order to continue to evaluate their reliability, validity, and relationships to other mental health variables.

The Theory of Psychological Nigrescence

The most widely cited model of African American racial identity has been the theory of psychological nigrescence (derived from the French for “to become Black”) developed by William Cross (1971). According to the original version of Cross’ theory, the struggle for identity congruence in African Americans results in a linear process of self-concept resolution across five stages of identity: pre-encounter, encounter, immersion-emersion, internalization, and internalization-commitment. Descriptions of the five stages of nigrescence are as follows:

- 1) Pre-encounter stage - The individual is unaware the significance of race in American society and tends to view the world from a Eurocentric frame of reference. At this stage, racial stereotypes are internalized and Whiteness is valued over Blackness. It should be emphasized that these characteristics are unconscious and are congruent with mainstream Euro-American culture.
- 2) Encounter stage - The individual has a personal experience with racism forcing him or her to acknowledge race as a significant aspect of experience. This experience causes a shift away from the anti-Black attitudes of the first stage toward a desire to develop a positive Black identity.

- 3) Immersion-emersion stage - The individual makes a conscious decision to pursue the development of a Black identity. This stage is characterized by an attempt at complete immersion in Black culture, social events and organizations and a rejection of any aspects of White culture. While this stage is characterized by overt behavioral manifestations of Black identity (i.e. clothes, social participation, and rhetoric), it is also characterized by cognitive insecurity regarding the authenticity of this identity. As such, individuals in this stage are constantly checking their thoughts and behavior against what are perceived to be authentic expressions of Blackness.
- 4) Internalization stage - The individual achieves an inner security about his or her Black identity. While Black culture remains a primary reference point, the individual has developed an appreciation for the strengths and weaknesses of all cultures and groups, including Blacks.
- 5) Internalization-commitment stage - The individual becomes actively involved in organized efforts to advance racial equality and justice (Cross, 1971).

It should be noted that several other developmental stage models were proposed during the 1970's (see Helms, 1990 for a full listing). The model proposed by Cross was only one of a few to be developed into a pencil and paper scale, the Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS: Parham & Helms, 1981). This placed the Cross model in the vanguard of racial identity research, and today more racial identity studies are based on the Cross model (as measured by the RIAS) than any other model (Worrell, Vandiver, Cross, & Fhagen-Smith, 2004). It should also be noted that the various developmental stage models are conceptually similar despite the fact that the various creators of these models were working independently of each other and in different geographical locations

of the United States. Helms (1990) suggests that this similarity indicates that the phenomenon being observed (Black identity development) was occurring similarly within Black communities across the nation.

Critics of the nigrescence model raised the point that, while pro-Black, it tended to conceptualize African American identity as a reaction to White racism. It did not inherently address the influence of indigenous socialization processes and coping strategies developed within African American communities. Furthermore, there was a lack of empirical support for the developmental nature of the theory. At best, it was argued that the process Cross (and other developmental stage theorists) described was specific to the social climate of the 1960's and 1970's. It is not known how applicable the theory is to post-civil rights generations. Also, due to the model's dependence on reaction to White racism, it was argued that the model may lack applicability to Blacks outside of America where Blacks may be in the majority and/or the nature of race relations have had different characteristics than those of the United States (i.e. the Caribbean, Europe and Africa) (Constantine et al, 1998). Afrocentric psychologists have offered the critique that because the theory is grounded in mainstream developmental identity theories, rather than traditional African philosophies, it is unsuitable for application to people of African descent (Azibo, 1996). Finally, it has been argued that Cross's theory carries an implicit statement of an optimal Black ideology. The internalization stage can be seen as the endorsement of an integrationist ideology winning out over the ideologies of assimilation represented by the pre-encounter stage and Black Nationalism represented by the immersion-emersion stage (White & Parham, 1996).

Nigrescence revised. In 1991, Cross published a revised nigrescence model in an attempt to respond to some of his critics and to incorporate new empirical knowledge

gleaned from a decade of research using the Racial Identity Attitude Scale (Cross, Parham & Helms, 1991). In this model, the developmental stage theory of nigrescence was changed to an attitudinal theory that may or may not be developmental in nature. Cross also merged the internalization and internalization-commitment stages, a revision that had previously been made by Parham and Helms (1981) due to the conceptual similarity of these stages and the psychometric difficulty of distinguishing them on the RIAS. In addition, Cross separated the concept of racial identity from personal identity, stating that racial identity referred to one's reference group orientation, which may or may not be related to one's personal identity. This revision was partly based on a review of the empirical literature. It had been hypothesized that pro-White attitudes (characteristic of a pre-encounter racial identity status) would be negatively related to self-esteem. However, in a review of 45 studies from 1939 to 1987, Cross (1991) found that only 36% of the studies reported a significant positive association between racial identity and self esteem. Cross reasoned that such a correlation would only be found in cases where a person's reference group orientation had specific implications for personal identity (self-esteem). Upon examination of the pre-encounter subscale of the RIAS, Cross found that the subscale contained more anti-Black than pro-White items. Therefore, it was reasoned that the RIAS pre-encounter subscale was more accurately measuring the anti-Black dimension of the pre-encounter stage than the pro-White dimension of the stage. In his revised nigrescence model, he sought to distinguish these two dimensions of the pre-encounter stage.

The encounter stage was eliminated as an attitude identity profile from the revised Nigrescence model for psychometric and theoretical reasons. The encounter subscale consistently produced the lowest internal reliability estimates of the RIAS subscales

(Chronbach's alpha never above .60). It was reasoned that this may be due to the elusive nature of the encounter stage, in that it represents a racially salient event that produces a shift in identity rather than an identity profile in and of itself. Finally, Cross acknowledged that there could be multiple identity attitude profiles (which he called identity clusters) within each stage of the model. He identified two pre-encounter (assimilation and anti-Black), two immersion-emersion (intense Black involvement and anti-White), and three internalization (Black Nationalist, bicultural, and multicultural) identity clusters.

The addition of a Black Nationalist identity cluster to the internalization stage in particular was an attempt to respond to critics who complained that the implicit association between Black Nationalist ideology and the immersion-emersion stage represented a limited and pejorative understanding of Black Nationalist ideology and the role it plays in the identities of Blacks who have reached internalization. In the revised Nigrescence model, Cross took care to point out that Black Nationalist ideology is more complex than commonly realized and contains both separatist and inclusionary strains.

In its separatist manifestation, Black Nationalism encourages African Americans to withdraw from the American mainstream entirely with the ultimate goal of establishing a sovereign independent nation either in Africa or within the current borders of the United States. The inclusionary manifestation of Black Nationalism encourages African Americans to organize themselves around race-based political, economic and social institutions and then to use these institutions to pursue full equality within the American political and economic system as well as to improve American foreign and economic policy toward Africa. The latter strain of Black Nationalism is the identity cluster that

Cross sought to capture as a valid ideological stance adopted by internalized African Americans (Vandiver, Cross, Worrell, & Fhagen-Smith, 2002).

Nigrescence expanded. In the mid 1990's, the Cross model was expanded further due to psychometric investigations directed toward the development the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS; Vandiver, Cross, Worrell, & Fhagen-Smith 2002). Vandiver, Cross and colleagues (2002) believed a new scale was needed at that time in order to reflect a more nuanced theory of African American racial identity, as well as to improve on the psychometric shortcomings of the RIAS. These shortcomings included inadequate internal reliability estimates, particularly with regard to the encounter subscale, and mixed results concerning the validity of the scale (Fisher, Tokar, & Serna, 1998; Ponterotto & Wise, 1992; Yanico, Swanson, & Tokar, 1994). In the expanded model, some identity clusters were revised and some were added to yield three pre-encounter (assimilation, miseducation, and self-hatred), two immersion-emersion (anti-White and intense Black involvement), and four internalization (biculturalist, Afrocentric, multiculturalist racial, and multiculturalist inclusive) identity cluster. It should be noted that the Black Nationalist identity cluster was renamed internalization Afrocentric as all of the items with adequate factor loadings on that subscale contained the term Afrocentric in them. Currently, only six of the nine identity clusters of the expanded model are measured by the CRIS due to psychometric difficulties in measuring the remaining three clusters (Worrell, Vandiver, Cross, & Fhagen-Smith, 2004).

The Cross Racial Identity Scale

The Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS; Vandiver et al, 2002) is a 40-item instrument developed to measure six of the nine nigrescence clusters proposed in the expanded nigrescence model. The six subscales are:

- 1) Pre-encounter assimilation (PA) – a pro-American (not anti-Black) identity emphasizing the importance of living and working within the American mainstream
- 2) Pre-encounter miseducation (PM) – an identity characterized by the internalization of negative stereotypical views about African Americans
- 3) Pre-encounter self-hatred (PSH) – an anti-Black, self-hating identity
- 4) Immersion-emersion anti-White (IEAW) – a dislike and distrust of all Whites
- 5) Internalization Afrocentricity (IA) – a Black Nationalist ideological orientation
- 6) Internalization multiculturalist inclusive (IMCI) – an indication of Black self-acceptance along with acceptance of two or more other identities.

Each of the six subscales is measured by five items, which are randomly distributed throughout the scale. There are 10 filler items. Participants are asked to respond according to their level of agreement with each item on a seven-point Likert scale (Vandiver et al., 2002).

The validation of the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS) was conducted in two studies (reported in the same article) involving a total of 632 African American student participants (Vandiver et al., 2002). Participants of the first study were 296 African American students attending a mid-Atlantic predominantly White University. The majority of participants (90%) were undergraduates. The remaining participants were either graduate students (9%) or unspecified class status (1%). An exploratory factor analysis in the first study supported a six-factor solution corresponding to the six CRIS subscales. The first study yielded acceptable internal reliability for all subscales, with Cronbach's alpha coefficients ranging from .76 to .89.

Participants of study two were 336 African American students attending a northeastern predominantly White university. As in the first study, the majority of study participants (93%) were undergraduates, with the remaining students either graduate students (6%) or unspecified class status (1%). Study two provided further support for the six-factor structure via confirmatory factor analysis. Study two also supported the discriminate validity of the CRIS, as subscale scores were not significantly correlated with socially desirable responding, as measured by the Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding, (BIDR; Paulhus, 1984, 1991). The discriminate validity of the CRIS was further supported as all but one subscale were not significantly correlated with global self-esteem, as measured by the Rosenberg Self Esteem Scale (RSES; Rosenberg, 1965). The only exception was the pre-encounter self-hatred subscale, which was hypothesized to have a negative correlation with self-esteem in accordance with the expanded Nigrescence theory. The correlation was significant ($r = -.34$) and supports the criterion validity of this subscale.

The convergent validity of the CRIS was examined by way of correlational analyses comparing CRIS subscales to subscales of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers et al., 1997), a scale that measures the racial identity construct in similar ways. All of the obtained subscale inter-correlations were consistent with the hypothesized theoretical similarity of the two scales, with two exceptions. A hypothesized positive correlation between the immersion-emersion anti-White subscale and the racial centrality subscale of the MIBI (a measure of pro-Black reference group orientation) was not significant. The second exception was a hypothesized inverse correlation between pre-encounter miseducation and the public regard subscale of the MIBI (a measure of an individual's evaluation of how members of other racial groups

feel about Blacks). No significant relationship between these two subscales was found. Notwithstanding lack of support for these two hypotheses, the overall convergent validity of the CRIS was thought to be good.

Due to the fact that the original validation studies were conducted exclusively with undergraduate participants, Worrell, Vandiver, Cross, and Fhagen-Smith (2004) conducted a further analysis of the internal consistency and structural validity of the CRIS in a sample of 105 African American adults. Consistent with the original validation studies, CRIS subscale scores yielded internal reliability coefficients in the moderate to high range with Cronbach's alphas between .70 and .85. The six-factor structure was again supported by exploratory factor analysis. In addition, subscale intercorrelations were low, indicating the relative independence of the constructs measured by the subscales. In light of these findings, the authors suggested that the CRIS shows promise as a valid and reliable instrument for research on racial identity and its correlates.

Cokely (2002) sought to use the CRIS to examine the ways in which stereotypes become embedded in racial identity attitudes in a sample of 153 African American undergraduate students attending a historically Black southern college. This stemmed from a concern that some racial identity attitudes may actually reify the construct of race and fail to examine the cultural (rather than phenotypic) basis of racial identity. The term internalized racialism was used to refer to a way of cognitively organizing perceptions of the world around racial categories that are believed to have genetically inherited and immutable characteristics. Internalized racialism differs from internalized racism in that racialism involves the acceptance of positive and/or negative stereotypes. Cokely (2002) hypothesized that pre-encounter and immersion-emersion identity clusters would be

associated with internalized racialism. He found that pre-encounter self-hatred and miseducation identity profiles were positively associated with endorsement of negative racial stereotypes, indicating internalized racialism. Contrary to Cokely's (2002) hypothesis, pre-encounter assimilation identity was found to have no relationship with negative stereotypes and an inverse relationship with positive stereotypes. He considered this to be evidence of internalized racialism, but because the significant correlation involved a rejection of positive stereotypes it could also be interpreted as a non-racialized identity in concurrence with Cross's revision of the pre-encounter assimilation identity cluster. Immersion-emersion anti-White identity had no relationship with negative stereotypes, but was positively related to stereotypes concerning African American sexual prowess, indicating internalized racialism. Cokely (2002) hypothesized no relationship between either of the internalization identity clusters and internalized racialism because internalization racial identity stage is theorized to reflect a more nuanced, race-transcendent worldview than the other racial identity attitudes. This hypothesis was confirmed for the internalization multiculturalist inclusive identity. However, internalization Afrocentricity identity was found to be positively associated with positive stereotypes regarding the "natural abilities" of Blacks (e.g., Blacks are good dancers) and thus indicated internalized racialism. A further concern with the internalization Afrocentric subscale was a significant positive correlation with the immersion-emersion anti-White subscale, indicating a racialized worldview and a possible failure to distinguish separatist Afrocentric ideology from the more inclusionary Afrocentric ideology that the subscale is supposed to represent. This correlation was also found in the original validation studies of the CRIS (Worrell et al., 2004; Vandiver et al., 2002), but was not mentioned as a cause for concern.

Cokely (2005) examined the matter further by investigating the conceptual and methodological challenges in understanding racialized identity, ethnic identity, and Afrocentric cultural values in a sample of 201 African American undergraduate students attending a historically Black southern college. He assessed ethnic identity using the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (Phinney, 1992), a scale that assesses the extent to which one identifies with one's ethnic group, adherence to ethnic group culture and group minority status across racial and ethnic categories. Afrocentric cultural values were assessed using the Africentrism scale (Grills & Longshore, 1996), a measure of endorsement of the value system of the African American holiday of Kwanzaa known as the Nguzo Saba (Kiswahili for the "seven principles": unity, self-determination, collective work and responsibility, cooperative economics, collective purpose, creativity, and faith). For the purposes of this study Cokely (2005) only included the IMCI and IA subscales as measures of racial identity. He again assessed racialized identity by measuring endorsement of positive and/or negative stereotypes of Blacks, but he also used the IEAW subscale of the CRIS as an additional measure of a racialized worldview. Results of the study indicated the presence of racialized and non-racialized identity profiles. Non-racialized identity was characterized by endorsement of Afrocentric values (as measured by the Africentrism scale), strong ethnic identity, no endorsement of racial stereotypes, and an absence of anti-White attitudes. Conversely, racialized identity was characterized by high scores on the IA subscale (termed "beliefs about Afrocentrism"), endorsement of positive stereotypes of Blacks, strong ethnic identity, and the presence of anti-White attitudes.

These two studies by Cokely (2002, 2005) illustrate the complex ways in which racist ideas are used to construct racial identity and may provide insight into the

attributions made by African Americans when faced with racially ambiguous stimuli. The results support the concern that some racial identity attitudes may serve to reify the construct of race. Of particular concern is the discrepancy found between endorsement of Afrocentric values and scores on the Internalization Afrocentric subscale. While these two measures of Afrocentricity were positively correlated, they differed in their relationships to internalized racialism. Cokely (2002, 2005) suggests that the IA subscale may be a poor measure of Afrocentric racial identity. Especially problematic is the fact that the word “Afrocentric” is used in every item of the IA subscale but no definition of the term is offered. This leaves the participant to define the term for him- or her-self, possibly resulting in a superficial pro-Black and/or anti-White definition. Cokely (2002, 2005) notes that representations of Afrocentric theory in mainstream media are often superficial and pejorative. He also notes that there are several interpretations of Afrocentricity within the theory, but the IA scale does not seem to be derived from any discernable theory of Afrocentricity. While Cokely’s studies lend support for the validity of the other CRIS subscales, these findings cast doubt on the validity of the IA subscale.

Anglin and Wade (2007) tested the predictive validity of the CRIS by examining the relationship between racial identity and Black students’ adjustment to college. Study participants were 141 African American college students obtained from a predominantly White university (83 participants) and a racially diverse college (58) in the northeastern United States. The majority of participants (89%) were undergraduate students, with a small number of graduates students (6%) or unspecified class status (5%). They found that IMCI was the only racial identity status positively associated with overall adjustment to college. Pre-encounter miseducation was found to be negatively associated with overall college adjustment as well as academic adjustment specifically. Anglin and

Wade (2007) interpreted this result as being consistent with the theory of stereotype threat proposed by Steele and Aronson (1995), and therefore supports the predictive validity of this subscale. Immersion-emersion anti-White attitudes were found to be negatively associated with overall college adjustment. The authors note that this study was conducted in one mixed race university and one predominantly White university. Therefore, it is unknown whether IEAW identity would be negatively associated with college adjustment in a historically Black college or university. Internalization Afrocentric identity was also found to be negatively associated with overall college adjustment. The authors suggest that the racial makeup of the colleges where data were collected could have made it difficult for Afrocentric students to practice their values, or the negative relationship could be due to the validity concerns of the IA subscale raised by Cokely (2002, 2005). It should be noted that the IA and IEAW subscales were significantly positively correlated in Anglin and Wade's (2007) study as well.

As stated earlier, one of the theorized functions of racial identity is to provide a buffer against the racist messages that African Americans often receive from mainstream American culture. Race-related stress is defined as "the race-related transactions between individuals or groups and their environment that emerge from the dynamics of racism, and that are perceived to tax or exceed existing individual and collective resources or threaten well-being" (Harrell, 2000, p. 44). Research has indicated that the combined effects of acute and chronic perceived racism have the potential to contribute to negative psychological as well as physiological health effects (Brown, Keith, Jackson, & Gary, 2003; Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999; McNeilly, Anderson, Armstead, Clark, Corbett, Robinson, Pieper, & Lepisto, 1996). It is important to note that the term "perceived racism" is used in this research area because modern American racism is often

ambiguous. Therefore, it is important not only to examine the ways in which racial identity may moderate the effects of perceived racism on mental health outcomes, but also to examine the impact of racial identity attitudes on whether ambiguous stimuli are likely to be perceived as a race-related in the first place.

Jones, Cross, and DeFour (2007) conducted a study to examine the influence of racial identity on the perception of racism in a sample of 268 African American and Caribbean American women attending three urban colleges in the northeast. No significant difference between the two groups of Black women was found. The investigators found pre-encounter self hatred, immersion-emersion anti-White, and internalization Afrocentric racial identity attitudes all to be positively associated with greater perception of racist events. Pre-encounter assimilation attitudes were negatively associated with perception of racist events. Furthermore, race-related stress appraisals were positively correlated with depression, but had no significant relationship to self-esteem. A multiple regression analysis did reveal pre-encounter self hatred as the only significant predictor of low self-esteem in accordance with the expanded theory of psychological nigrescence.

The studies listed above indicate that the Cross Racial Identity Attitude Scale is a promising instrument for the study of African American Racial Identity. However, continued research is needed in several areas. The original validation study conducted by Vandiver and colleagues (2002) was the only one to examine the influence of social desirability; therefore replication of this investigation of discriminate validity is needed. Similarly, only two studies have examined the relationship between CRIS subscales and self-esteem (Jones et al., 2007; Vandiver et al., 2002). According to the expanded theory of psychological nigrescence, pre-encounter self-hatred should be the only racial identity

cluster with direct implications for self-esteem. Although two studies mentioned support this hypothesis (Jones, Cross, & DeFour, 2007; Vandiver et al., 2002), additional studies are needed to confirm this aspect of the theory. Also, as the CRIS is a relatively new scale, additional replication of reliability estimates, validity studies, and factor structure is needed to confirm the results already reported.

One study examined the influence of racial identity on adjustment to college (Anglin & Wade, 2007). Racial identity theory is most useful if it can be shown to have predictive value with regard to areas of social functioning such as adjustment to college and adjustment to corporate work environments. Due to the fact that most research is conducted with college samples, examination of the relationship between racial identity attitude clusters and areas of functioning such as academic performance are likely to be the best approximation of similar areas of social functioning such as adjustment to corporate work environments and performance within those environments.

The concept of perceived racism has also begun to be investigated within psychological research, particularly within the field of health psychology (Brown et al., 2003; Clark et al., 1999; McNeilly et al., 1996). Research has indicated that perceived racism has significant associations with both mental and physiological health outcomes. The relationship between racial identity attitudes and the perception of racist events is an important area of research that may inform interventions designed to mitigate the effects of race-related stress. The study conducted by Jones and colleagues (2007) is a promising first step in this regard.

The most consistent problem reported with the CRIS seems to involve the internalization Afrocentricity subscale (Anglin & Wade, 2007; Cokely, 2002; Cokely, 2005). Additional study is needed to determine whether the subscale is too closely linked

to anti-White and other racialized attitudes. In addition, the study by Anglin and Wade (2007) indicated that internalization Afrocentricity attitudes were inversely related to successful adjustment to college. This may indicate a troubling trend with regard to the relationship between Afrocentricity and other areas of social functioning within American society. Additional studies are needed to examine the psychometric issues with this subscale.

Finally, additional studies of the convergent validity of the CRIS in relation to other measures of racial identity are needed. The original validation study conducted by Vandiver and colleagues (2002) was the only one to do so. At present, the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (Sellers et al., 1997) is the only other measure that examines racial identity as a multidimensional construct. Examination of inter-scale correlations between the CRIS and the MIBI may begin to provide consensus within the field regarding the overall construct of racial identity. Of particular interest are the ideologies of Black Nationalism and Afrocentricity. Both the CRIS and the MIBI have attempted to examine these ideologies. However, it is unclear whether these subscales have achieved sufficient construct validity in capturing the complexity of these ideologies. It is also unclear what underlying theory has driven the development of these subscales. With regard to the internalization Afrocentricity subscale of the CRIS, Cokely (2002, 2005) has not been able to identify a theoretical rationale underlying the selection of subscale items. The fact that Vandiver and colleagues (2002) used the terms Black Nationalist and Afrocentric interchangeably seems to indicate some degree of confusion regarding these ideologies.

The Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity

In light of the strengths and shortcomings offered by the original nigrescence model of Black racial identity, as well as critiques emanating from the Afrocentric school of Black psychology, many began to propose a comprehensive approach to racial identity theory that combines the best of these seemingly opposing theories (Constantine et al., 1998). Such a model was proposed by Sellers, Shelton, Cooke, Chavous, Rowley, and Smith (1997) in the form of the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI). The MMRI attempts to provide a heuristic for understanding the ways in which African Americans define themselves in terms of race that is based on many of the concepts already found in both the racial identity and social identity literatures.

The Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (Sellers et al., 1997) is based on several overarching assumptions regarding African American racial identity. First, racial identity, like other aspects of identity, has aspects that are both stable and dynamic. Second, individuals may define themselves in terms of a number of identities that they may order hierarchically (i.e. race, gender, religion, social class, sexual orientation, occupation, etc.). Third, individuals own self-assessment of their racial identity is the most valid indicator of that identity. Related to this assumption, the MMRI attempts to make no a priori assumptions as to what constitutes a healthy versus an unhealthy/pathological racial identity. Last, racial identity is thought to be a complex component of overall African American self-concept that is multidimensional in nature. The different dimensions of racial identity represent different ways that racial identity manifests in different domains and/or situations.

The Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (Sellers et al., 1997) proposes four dimensions through which racial identity is made manifest:

- 1) Salience – racial salience refers to the extent to which race is relevant to one's identity in a particular situation. As such, salience is sensitive to the contextual factors as well as to one's proclivity to define him/herself in terms of race more generally (see centrality). Racial salience is the only dynamic aspect of the MMRI.
- 2) Centrality (C) – racial centrality refers to the extent to which an individual normally defines him/herself in terms of race.
- 3) Regard – racial regard refers to a person's affective and cognitive/evaluative judgment regarding members of his/her race collectively. There are two forms of racial regard.
 - a) Private regard (PriR) refers to the extent of positive or negative feelings an individual has about other Blacks as well as feelings about being Black.
 - b) Public regard (PubR) refers to an individual's evaluation of how others (non- Blacks) feel about Blacks.
- 4) Ideology – racial ideology refers to an individual's beliefs, opinions and attitudes regarding how African Americans should act. As such, it is the political dimension of racial identity. The MMRI identifies four ideological philosophies that are prevalent in African American identity:
 - a) Nationalist (N) ideology emphasizes the uniqueness of African American experience from the experiences of other minority groups. Nationalists tend to emphasize African American control of their own institutions and agendas with minimal interference or assistance from other groups. Finally, nationalists tend to believe that African

Americans should work within closed, race-based groups to achieve their goals.

- b) Oppressed minority (OM) ideology emphasizes the commonalities of experience between African Americans and other oppressed groups. As such, African Americans who subscribe to this ideology are more likely to seek coalitions with other groups in the struggle against inequality. There may be variation among individuals regarding the inclusion of non-racial “minorities” (i.e. women, homosexuals, and poor people) into such coalitions.
- c) Assimilation (A) ideology refers to an emphasis on the commonalities between African Americans and the interests of all Americans more generally. As such, individuals who subscribe to the assimilation ideology are more likely to seek to work within mainstream American institutions (i.e. corporations and governmental structures) to achieve racial and/or personal goals. Individuals who subscribe to this ideology are also more likely to value working with Whites to achieve such goals. It should be noted that the assimilation ideology does not necessarily imply rejection of African American identity and collective interests.
- d) Humanist ideology (H) refers to an emphasis on the commonalities among all humans and a belief in identifying people on an individual rather than racial basis. Individuals who endorse this ideology are less likely to distinguish between oppression based on race, gender, class or sexual orientation.

A pencil and paper scale, The Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI) was developed by Sellers and his colleagues (1997) to measure the three stable dimensions of the MMRI (Centrality, Regard, and Ideology). It is hoped that this scale will aid in the systematic study of the influence of race on the ways in which African Americans define themselves, the development of racial identity through the life-span, and the influence of racial identity on African American perception of and interaction with contextual variables.

The Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity

The Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers et al., 1997) was constructed to measure the three stable dimensions (Centrality, Regard and Ideology) of the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity. The scale was originally comprised of 71 items that were adapted from previous measures of racial identity, including the Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS; Parham & Helms, 1981), the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992) and the African Self-Consciousness Scale (ASCS; Baldwin & Bell, 1985) as well as unique items generated by the scale authors. These items were distributed to measure seven subscales corresponding to one Centrality component, two Regard components (private regard and public regard) and four Ideology components (nationalist, oppressed minority, assimilation, and humanist). Participants are asked to respond to their level of agreement with each item on a seven-point Likert scale.

The original validation of the MIBI was conducted in a study involving 474 African American undergraduate participants from two universities in the mid-Atlantic region of the United States. One hundred eighty-five participants were enrolled at a historically Black university, while the remaining 289 participants were enrolled at a

predominantly White university (Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997). While the MIBI consists of seven subscales, Sellers and colleagues (1997) conceptualize their scale as assessing three interrelated constructs (Centrality, Regard, and Ideology), rather than one construct with seven components. Therefore, the factor structure of each domain was assessed independently via maximum likelihood extraction with a promax rotation for each scale. Factor analyses provided support for a one-factor structure of the centrality subscale, and the private regard subscale. The public regard subscale was not supported by factor analysis, nor did this subscale yield adequate internal reliability. As a result, Sellers and colleagues (1997) eliminated the public regard subscale from further analysis in this study. With regards to the ideology subscales, it was hypothesized that each ideology subscale would hang together as a unique factor but that there would be some overlap in the final solution and loadings would be moderate. Therefore, items were assigned to subscales based on the authors' theoretical model and items with the top nine loadings were retained. However, two items failed to load above .30 and several items that had adequate loadings on the factor consistent with the authors' model actually loaded higher on another factor. Sellers and colleagues (1997) contend that examination of the content of these items suggests that the items represent attitudes that are consistent with their conceptualization of both ideologies. The factor analysis was also used to reduce the number of scale items by eliminating all items with factor loadings below .30. Reducing items in this manner, along with the elimination of the public regard subscale, produced a 51-item revised MIBI. Internal reliability estimates for the six subscales of the revised MIBI were acceptable (Cronbach's alphas .60 - .79).

Construct validity of the scale was further investigated via examination of interscale correlations. Results indicated that subscale scores are related in ways

consistent with the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity. For example, high centrality scores were found to be positively associated with private regard for African Americans, as well as nationalist ideology. High centrality individuals were also found to be less likely to endorse assimilation or humanist ideology. The humanist and assimilation ideology subscales were also positively correlated. These results indicate that each dimension is related to the others in ways consistent with the model. Predictive validity of the scale was also supported as individual subscales were significantly related to race-related behaviors in ways consistent with the theory. The race-related behaviors examined included having an African American best friend and enrollment in a Black studies course. Participants with an African American best friend had significantly higher scores on the centrality scale and the nationalist subscale, but lower scores on the assimilationist, humanist and oppressed minority subscales than did those without an African American best friend. Participants who had taken at least one Black studies course had significantly higher scores on the centrality scale and the nationalist subscale (Sellers et al., 1997).

Another study examined the construct validity of the MIBI by examining correlations of MIBI scores with scores on the Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS - Parham & Helms, 1981) in a sample of 306 African American college students (Sellers, Shelton, Cooke, Chavous, Rowley, & Smith 1997). No further demographic information regarding participants of this study was provided by the authors. Interscale correlations between MIBI and RIAS subscales were in expected directions. For example, scores on the assimilation ideology subscale were positively correlated with scores on the pre-encounter subscale of the RIAS and negatively correlated with scores on the immersion-emersion subscale of the RIAS. The humanist subscale was negatively correlated with

the immersion-emersion and internalization RIAS subscales, both of which place an emphasis on the importance of Black identity. In contrast, scores on the centrality and nationalist ideology subscale were positively correlated with the immersion/emersion and internalization RIAS subscales. The centrality subscale was also negatively correlated with the pre-encounter RIAS subscale, although no relationship was found between nationalist ideology and pre-encounter. Finally, the private regard subscale was negatively correlated with the pre-encounter RIAS subscale and positively correlated with the internalization RIAS subscale. The authors do not report the correlation coefficients of these correlations in the study. All MIBI subscales used in this study (public regard was not included), yielded adequate internal reliability (alphas ranged from .71 - .81).

Cokely and Helm (2001) tested the factor structure and construct validity of the MIBI in a sample of 279 African American undergraduates. Participants were recruited from three predominantly White colleges or universities located in the southeastern and Midwestern United States (164) and four historically Black colleges or universities located in the southeastern United States (112). Three participants did not indicate the racial composition of their school. Cokely and Helm (2001) used the revised 51-item scale with five experimental public regard items, developed by the Sellers research team, for a total of 56 items and seven subscales. Improving on previous validation studies, all subscales yielded adequate internal reliability coefficients (Cronbach's alphas .60 - .79). While confirmatory factor analysis provided support for a seven-factor structure of the MIBI corresponding to the seven subscales, fit indexes for the model were marginal at best. Fit indexes improved somewhat after several parameters were allowed to correlate once they were deemed theoretically defensible based on Sellers and colleagues (1997)

description of overlap of theoretically consistent items. Construct validity was also supported by significant correlations between the MIBI and the African Self-Consciousness Scale (ASCS; Baldwin & Bell, 1985) in directions consistent with the theoretical construct. The African Self-Consciousness Scale is an Afrocentric racial identity scale that measures endorsement of an Afrocentric ideology. Specifically, high centrality and positive regard were positively associated with African Self-Consciousness. As expected, nationalist ideology was also positively associated with African self-Consciousness. Conversely, humanist and assimilation ideologies were negatively associated with African Self-Consciousness.

While these findings lend further support for the MIBI as a reliable and valid measure of racial identity, Cokely and Helm (2001) expressed several concerns. Factor analysis indicates that several items do not seem to contribute much in defining and distinguishing racial identity dimensions. This is particularly evident in the high intercorrelations between the humanist and assimilation ideologies. Cokely and Helm (2001) also called into question the inclusion of items on the nationalist ideology subscale that reflect an anti-White separatist sentiment. It is suggested that these items reflect a narrow conception of nationalist ideology and a poor operational definition of this construct. It should also be noted that the African Self-Consciousness Scale is often criticized for including many anti-White separatist sentiments as well. Therefore, the positive association between nationalist ideology and African Self-Consciousness may not indicate that the MIBI has successfully operationalized the construct.

As stated earlier, the relationship between racial identity and self-esteem has been a topic of interest to racial identity researchers for quite some time. Early deficit and self-hatred models of racial identity assumed that African Americans internalized the

negative stereotypes about Blacks resulting in low self-esteem and racial self-hatred (Kardiner & Ovessey, 1951). The racial identity models that arose in the 1970's proposed an insulation hypothesis suggesting that racial identity serves as a buffer against the negative stereotypes common in American society (Cross, 1991). However, as Cross (1991) found, the empirical evidence regarding this question is inconclusive. One possible reason for the lack of conclusive evidence may be that racial identity researchers have failed to examine the mechanism by which racial identity should result in higher self-esteem. Earlier models of racial identity seem to assume that race is the most important identity for all African Americans and these models often conflate measurement of centrality, ideology, and regard within identity profiles, rather than measure these constructs separately. The fact that the MIBI is the first measure to attempt to separate these various domains of racial identity may make it a better instrument than earlier racial identity measures in the examination of the relationship between racial identity and self esteem (Rowley, Sellers, Chavous, & Smith, 1998).

Rowley and colleagues (1998) sought to use the MIBI to examine the mechanism of relationship between racial identity and self-esteem in a sample of 248 African American college and high school students. The college participants were 176 undergraduate students attending a medium sized university in the southeastern United States. The authors did not report the racial composition of the university. The high school participants were 72 African American students recruited from two summer programs for economically disadvantaged students from the Midwestern and southern United States respectively. Rowley and colleagues (1998) used the centrality and both regard subscales as predictor variables in the study because they believed racial ideology should have no theoretical relationship to self-esteem. The results, obtained via multiple

regression analysis, indicated that there was no significant direct relationship between Centrality and self esteem, or between public regard and self esteem. For the college sample, there was a significant positive relationship between private regard and self esteem. Centrality was found to moderate this relationship, such that individuals high in racial centrality retained the significant positive relationship between private regard and self-esteem, while individuals low in racial centrality had no significant relationship between private regard and self-esteem. These results lend support to the notion that racial identity will have implications for personal self-esteem only for those individuals for whom race is an important part of their self identity.

While promising, the study by Rowley and colleagues (1998) did have some limitations. The results obtained from the high school sample of the study were less conclusive than the results obtained from the college sample. The authors suggest that this may have been due to the smaller sample size of the high school sample or a developmental influence. Also, the study used the original public regard items and only obtained a Cronbach's reliability estimate of .11. This calls into question the reliability of any of the results regarding this subscale.

A second topic of interest to racial identity researchers has been the relationship between racial identity and academic achievement. As already stated, academic adjustment and achievement is a reasonable approximation of "real world" social functioning when non-college student samples are unavailable. Sellers, Chavous, and Cooke (1998) examined racial ideology and centrality as predictors of academic performance (measured by grade point average) in a sample of 248 African American undergraduate students. One hundred sixty-three participants were enrolled in a predominantly White university, while 85 participants were enrolled in a historically

Black university. Both universities are located in the mid-Atlantic region of the United States. Their results, obtained using Ordinary Least Square regression analysis, indicated a positive association between centrality and academic performance. Conversely, both assimilation and nationalist ideologies were negatively associated with academic performance. Centrality was found to moderate the relationship between racial ideology and academic performance in two ways. First, individuals low in centrality had no associations between racial ideology and academic performance. Second, for individuals high in centrality there was a negative association between both the assimilation and nationalist ideologies and gpa, but a positive association for the oppressed minority ideology.

In contrast, Nasim, Roberts, Harrell, and Young (2005) obtained different results when examining the associations between racial ideology and academic performance in a sample of 250 African American undergraduate students. Participants were recruited from two predominantly White universities (132) and two historically Black institutions (118). Multiple regression analysis was employed to examine which factors were the best predictors of academic performance. Among participants attending historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs), no associations between racial ideology and academic performance was found. Among participants who attended predominantly White institutions (PWIs), humanist ideology negatively predicted academic performance.

While these studies indicate that racial identity may be related to academic achievement, the results are not conclusive. The results of the influence of racial ideology on academic achievement are mixed. In addition, neither study included the regard subscales in its data collection, and one study did not include the centrality

subscale. Studies using the full MIBI scale to investigate the relationship between racial identity and academic achievement would be beneficial.

As stated earlier, research indicates that the combined effects of acute and chronic perceived racism have the potential to contribute to negative psychological as well as physiological health effects (Brown, Keith, Jackson, & Gary, 2003; Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999; McNeilly, Anderson, Armstead, Clark, Corbett, & Robinson, 1996). Therefore, it is important to examine the impact of racial identity attitudes on whether ambiguous stimuli are likely to be perceived as a race-related. Several studies have begun to investigate this area.

A study by Sellers and Shelton (2003) investigated the role of racial identity in perceived racial discrimination in a sample of 267 African American college freshman recruited from three predominantly White universities in the Midwestern and southeastern United States. Their results, obtained via hierarchical ordinary least squares regression analysis, indicate significant associations between racial identity and perceived racism. Centrality was positively associated with perceived racism, as was nationalist ideology. Humanist ideology was negatively associated with perceived racism. No significant relationship was found between racial regard and perceived racism.

Sellers, Caldwell, Schmeelk-Cone, and Zimmerman (2003) also investigated the relationship between racial identity and perceived racism in a sample of 555 African American students drawn from a larger longitudinal study of high school students who were academically at-risk in an urban school district in Michigan. However, the authors only used the centrality and public regard subscales of the MIBI in this study. Centrality was again shown to be significantly associated with perceived racism with no significant association between public regard and perceived racism.

Sellers, Copeland-Linder, Martin and Lewis (2006) also examined the role played by the centrality and regard domains of racial identity on the perception of racism in a sample of 314 African American adolescents whose ages ranged from 11 to 17 years of age. A 21-item adolescent version of the MIBI, the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity – Teen (MIBI-T, Scottham, Sellers, & Nguyen, 2005), was used to assess racial identity in this study. As in previous studies, centrality was found to be positively correlated with perceived racism. Public regard was negatively correlated with perceived racism. In a multiple regression analysis, public regard emerged the only significant predictor of perceived racism.

Banks and Kohn-Wood (2007) used a cluster analysis to examine the influence of racial identity on perceived racism. Participants in this study were 194 African American undergraduate students enrolled at a large predominantly White university in the Midwestern United States. As in the previous study, significant associations were found between racial identity and perceived racism. Centrality and nationalist ideology were both positively correlated with perceived racism. Assimilation ideology was negatively correlated with perceived racism.

The studies listed above indicate that the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity is a promising instrument for the study of African American Racial Identity. However, continued research is needed in several areas. While Sellers and colleagues (1997) reported support for a six factor structure of the original MIBI (excluding Public Regard due to low internal reliability), Cokely and Helm (2001) reported fit indexes to be marginal at best. The public regard subscale now in use on the MIBI seems to exhibit adequate internal reliability, but continued investigation is warranted. In addition, no study of social desirability effects was conducted in the validation studies of the MIBI.

With regard to the ideology subscales, there may be some cause for concern. The nationalist subscale may suffer from similar problems of construct validity as the internalization Afrocentric subscale of the CRIS. Also, both correlational and factor analyses indicate that there may be too much overlap between the assimilation and humanist subscales.

Only one study examined the relationship between racial identity and self-esteem (Rowley et al., 1998). While this study lends some support to Cross' (1991) hypothesis that racial regard will only have implications for self esteem in those instances where race is a central component of one's identity, it did have two major limitations. Rowley and colleagues (1998) used the old public regard subscale of the MIBI and they did not use any of the ideology subscales. These limitations make inferences regarding the relationship between racial identity (as measured by the MIBI) and self-esteem tentative at best.

Finally, the four studies on the relationships between racial identity and perceived racism indicate that racial identity may have a significant impact on the perception of racism. The most consistent predictors of perceived racism were centrality and low public regard. As only one study used the full MIBI scale, and one study used a cluster analysis, direct comparisons between these studies may not be ideal. Additional research using the full MIBI scale is desirable.

Hypotheses

The literature reviewed above indicates that the CRIS and the MIBI are promising new instruments for use in the study of African American racial identity and its correlates. However, the somewhat mixed results obtained from previous studies make both replication of previous analyses and expansion of those studies by using the full

scale models necessary in order to draw further conclusions regarding the role of racial identity on African American well-being and relationships with their contexts.

The present study will examine the psychometric properties and predictive utility of the CRIS and MIBI in a sample of African American adult professionals. This is needed as most of the studies listed above used college undergraduate samples. Additionally, this study will be the first to sample adult medical students, residents, faculty and staff at a historically Black institution. The predictive utility of the scales will be assessed with regards to the relationships between the racial identity scales and both cognitive and behavioral variables.

Several hypotheses are made in this study. With regard to scale properties, it is hypothesized that the CRIS and MIBI subscales will display adequate internal reliability. It is also hypothesized that the underlying factor structure of the CRIS and the MIBI will be consistent with that identified by the scale authors. It is also hypothesized that CRIS and MIBI scores are not related to socially desirable responding. The influence of socially desirable responding is always a concern when attempting to measure social attitudes and most of the previous studies have not taken this into account.

The convergent validity of the scales will be examined via the relationships between conceptually similar subscales of the CRIS and MIBI scales. Specifically, it is hypothesized that the pre-encounter self-hatred subscale of the CRIS and the private regard subscale of the MIBI both represent the evaluative component of racial identity. As the CRIS measures racial evaluation from the negative perspective and the MIBI from the positive perspective, it is hypothesized that these subscales will be negatively correlated. Both scales also contain ideological components and it is hypothesized that these components will be correlated in ways consistent with their conceptual similarity.

Specifically, it is hypothesized that the pre-encounter assimilation subscale of the CRIS will be positively correlated with the assimilation and humanist subscales of the MIBI and negatively correlated with the nationalist subscale of the MIBI. It is also hypothesized that the internalization Afrocentricity subscale of the CRIS will be positively correlated with the nationalist subscale of the MIBI and negatively correlated with the assimilation and humanist subscales of the MIBI. It is hypothesized that the opposite will be true with regards to the relationship between the internalization multiculturalist inclusive subscale of the CRIS and the ideology subscales of the MIBI. With regards to the subscales that are not clearly conceptually similar, the pre-encounter miseducation and immersion-emersion anti-White subscales of the CRIS and the centrality and public regard subscales of the MIBI, no hypotheses are made.

With regards to predictive validity, the behavioral variables that will be examined are undergraduate grade point average (GPA), membership in racial and/or ethnically based organizations, and racial preference for social group. No hypothesis is made regarding the predictive relationship between racial identity and grade point average. Previous research on this topic displays mixed results and there is no theoretical basis on which to make a hypothesis in this regard. It is hypothesized that racial centrality (MIBI), oppressed minority ideology (MIBI), nationalist ideology (MIBI), and internalization Afrocentric (CRIS) scores will positively predict membership in racial and ethnic based organizations. It is also hypothesized that racial centrality (MIBI), nationalist ideology (MIBI), immersion-emersion anti-White (CRIS) scores, and internalization Afrocentric (CRIS) scores will positively predict preference for Black only social groups.

The cognitive variables that will be examined are self-esteem and perceived racism. It is hypothesized that pre-encounter self-hatred CRIS scores will negatively

predict- and private regard MIBI scores will positively predict self-esteem. It is hypothesized that racial centrality (MIBI), nationalist ideology (MIBI), immersion-emersion anti-White (CRIS) scores, and internalization Afrocentric (CRIS) scores will positively predict perceived racism.

Method

Participants

Participants in this study were 137 students, residents, faculty, and staff (46 males and 85 females, 6 unspecified) recruited from the Morehouse School of Medicine, a small historically Black medical school located in Atlanta, Georgia. Participants were self identified as racially Black and were able to choose an ethnic label that they felt best described them. Eighty two participants identified themselves as African American (59.9%), 34 participants identified themselves as Black (24.8%), 9 participants identified themselves as African (6.6%), 5 participants identified themselves as mixed race/ethnicity (3.6%), 4 participants identified themselves as Hispanic/Latino (2.9%), and 3 participants identified themselves as West Indian/Caribbean (2.2%). All participants were born in the United States of America and 19 participants had at least one foreign born parent (13.9%).

Participants' ages ranged from 20 to 65 years ($M = 33.92$ years, $SD = 12.36$). Four participants identified their family's social class status as poor (2.9%), 51 participants identified their family's social class status as working class (37.2%), 66 participants identified their family's social class status as middle class (48.2%), and 16 participants identified their family's social class status as upper middle class (11.7%). Undergraduate grade point average ranged from 2.78 to 3.99 ($M = 3.31$, $SD = .30$), with GPA unspecified for 33 participants. Sixty-two participants listed their highest educational level completed as a graduate degree (45.3%), 22 participants had completed some graduate school (16.1%), 33 participants had completed a bachelor's degree (24.1%), two participants had completed an associate's degree (1.5%), eight participants had completed some college (5.8%), four participants had completed business or trade

school (2.9%), and four had completed high school (5.8%). Two participants did not specify their highest educational attainment. Sixty participants (43.8%) indicated that they were currently enrolled as students at the Morehouse School of Medicine. The remaining 77 participants (56.2%) were medical residents, faculty, or staff of MSM.

Measures

Demographic questionnaire. Participants were given a demographic questionnaire asking them to provide the following demographic information: age, gender, enrollment status, highest education level, undergraduate cumulative GPA, family income level, racial classification, national origin, questions regarding their racial socialization and preference for social group. See appendix A for the demographic questionnaire.

Racial identity. The revised Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI - Sellers et al., 1997) is a 56-item instrument designed to assess African Americans' racial identity. Specifically, the MIBI measures three constructs: Centrality, Ideology, and Regard. The Centrality subscale measures how often an individual defines him- or herself in terms of race. The Ideology subscale measures individuals' beliefs, opinions, and attitudes concerning how they feel members of their race should act. The Ideology subscale consists of four components: nationalist, oppressed minority, assimilation, and humanist. The Regard scale consists of two components: private regard and public regard. Private regard refers to how an individual effectively judges or evaluates his or her race. Public regard refers to how an individual perceives non-Blacks evaluation of African Americans. The MIBI comprises a 7-point Likert scale using the following response items: 1 (strongly disagree), 2 (moderately disagree), 3 (disagree), 4 (unsure), 5 (agree), 6 (moderately agree), and 7 (strongly agree). The MIBI has been evaluated to be

an internally reliable and valid measure of racial identity. Alpha levels obtained in this study ranged from .70 (humanist and nationalist) to .79 (assimilation).

The Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS; Vandiver et al., 2000) is a 40-item scale designed to measure attitudes that correspond to Cross's (1995; Cross & Vandiver, 2001) revised nigrescence theory. The CRIS scale consists of six subscales: pre-encounter assimilation, pre-encounter miseducation, pre-encounter self-hatred, immersion-emersion anti-white, internalization Afrocentricity, and internalization multiculturalist inclusive. Given the reported measurement problems with the encounter stage of earlier racial identity measures, it is not measured in the CRIS. The CRIS uses a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Convergent validity of CRIS scores has been reported through correlations with the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997; Vandiver et al., 2000). Discriminate validity of CRIS scores has been reported through low correlations with the Big Five Inventory (John, Donahue, & Kentle, 1991), the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965), and the Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding (Paulhus, 1984; Vandiver et al., 2000). Reported Internal consistencies for the CRIS have been .78 for pre-encounter miseducation, .82 for internalization multiculturalist inclusive, .83 for internalization Afrocentricity, .85 for pre-encounter assimilation, to .89 for pre-encounter self-hatred as well as immersion-emersion anti-White (Vandiver et al., 2000). Alpha levels obtained in this study ranged from .68 for pre-encounter self-hatred to .91 for internalization Afrocentric (see Table 1).

Self esteem. Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES; Rosenberg, 1979). The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (alpha=.87) is a 10-item scale measuring levels of self-acceptance. It is a 5-point likert type scale consisting of items such as "On the whole,

I'm satisfied with myself" and "I feel that I'm a person of worth at least on an equal plane with others." The RSES has been shown to be a reliable and valid measure of self-esteem in African Americans (Hoelter, 1983; Hughs & Demo, 1989). The alpha level obtained in this study was .82.

Perceived racism. The Perceived Racism Scale (PRS) (McNeilly et al, 1996) asks participants about the frequency of perceived racism on the job, at school, in public and how often they were exposed to racist statements over the past year and over their lifetime. Items include: "My academic achievement has suffered because of my race." The PRS contains 86 items, which are scored on a Likert-type scale ranging from 0 (not applicable) to 5 (several times a day). The PRS was scored in two subscales of 43 items each. The first subscale was an average score of perceived racism over the past year and the second subscale was an average score of perceived racism over the lifetime. The PRS has demonstrated good internal consistency (alphas range from .87 to .95) and 2-week test-retest stability ($r = .70-.80$; Utsey, 1998). Elevated PRS scores have been associated with higher subjective distress levels, greater changes in resting blood pressure, and greater levels of internalized anger (Clark, 2000; Steffen et al., 2003). Alpha levels obtained in this study were .96 for perceived racism over the past year and .95 for perceived racism over the lifetime.

Social desirability. The Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding (BIDR-6) assesses response biases (Paulhus, 1984, 1991). The inventory consists of two relatively independent 20-item measures of the tendency to give socially desirable or undesirable responses on self-reports. The self-deceptive enhancement subscale indexes the tendency to give honest but unconsciously inflated self-descriptions (e.g., "It's all right with me if some people happen to dislike me."; "I never regret my decisions."). The impression

management subscale is sensitive to the tendency to give consciously inflated self-descriptions (e.g., "I sometimes tell lies if I have to."; "When I was young, I sometimes stole things."). Respondents rate their agreement with items on seven-point Likert scales ranging from 1 (not true) to 7 (very true). Responses are scored using the dichotomous scoring procedure (Paulhus, 1984): The negatively keyed items are reverse scored, one point is awarded for each extreme response (a 6 or 7), and subscale scores are calculated by summing the points across the 20 items (range = 1-20). Coefficient alpha reliability estimates were .68-.80 for self-deceptive enhancement and .75-.86 for impression management) using the full 20-item scales and the dichotomous scoring procedure. Paulhus (1991) reported test-retest correlations (based on a five-week interval) of .69 for the self-deceptive enhancement scale and .65 for the impression management scale. Alpha levels obtained in this study were .62 for self-deceptive enhancement and .76 for impression management.

Procedures

Participants were recruited from the Morehouse School of Medicine by the principle investigator in a variety of ways. First and second year medical students were approached during a lunch break between class times and asked for participation in this study. Pizza was provided to the students, but participation was not required. Faculty and staff were approached in their offices and asked to participate. Some faculty and staff members volunteered to distribute survey packets to their peers and to collect them within one week. Residents were recruited by program coordinators and surveys were distributed during weekly didactic sessions. Out of 200 surveys distributed, 146 were returned (73%). Nine returned surveys were discarded because they did not meet

inclusion criteria for this study (eight were non-U.S. born participants and one participant was self-identified as White).

Results

CRIS Descriptives

Table 1 contains interscale correlations, means, standard deviations, and Cronbach's alphas for the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS). Subscale means obtained in this study were similar to means obtained in the studies cited earlier. The lowest score means were obtained on the pre-encounter self-hatred (PSH) ($M = 1.66$) and immersion-emersion anti-White (IEAW) ($M = 1.48$) subscales. Pre-encounter assimilation (PA) ($M = 3.17$), pre-encounter miseducation (PM) ($M = 3.44$), and internalization Afrocentric (IA) ($M = 3.25$) score means were in the middle. The highest score mean was obtained on the internalization multiculturalist inclusive (IMC) subscale ($M = 5.64$).

All alpha levels were at least adequate ($>.60$) ranging from .68 (pre-encounter self-hatred) to .91 (internalization Afrocentric). The correlation matrix revealed several significant patterns of relationship between subscales. In accordance with the nigrescence theory, pre-encounter assimilation scores were negatively correlated with both immersion-emersion anti-White scores ($r = -.26, p < .01$) and internalization Afrocentricity scores ($r = -.38, p < .000$). Pre-encounter self-hatred and pre-encounter miseducation were also positively correlated ($r = .24, p < .01$). Also in accordance with nigrescence theory, internalization multiculturalist inclusive scores were negatively correlated with immersion-emersion anti-White ($r = -.42, p < .000$) scores. As in previous studies (Cokely, 2002; 2005), internalization Afrocentricity was highly correlated with immersion-emersion anti-White ($r = .49, p < .000$).

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics of Cross Racial Identity Scale Scores

	PA	PM	PSH	IEAW	IA	IMC	M	SD	Alpha
PA	1.00						3.17	1.47	.84
PM	.21	1.00					3.44	1.18	.77

PSH	-.07	.24*	1.00				1.66	.86	.68
IEAW	-.26*	.10	.13	1.00			1.48	.84	.89
IA	-.38***	.05	.16	.49***	1.00		3.25	1.46	.91
IMC	.13	.06	.15	-.42***	-.18	1.00	5.64	1.13	.83

NOTE: PA= pre-encounter assimilation; PM= pre-encounter miseducation; PSH= pre-encounter self-hatred; IEAW= immersion-emersion anti-White; IA= internalization Afrocentricity; IMC= multiculturalist inclusive. N= 137.

*p<.01, **p<.001, ***p<.000

CRIS Principal Component Analysis

A principal component analysis was conducted to investigate whether the components of the CRIS for this sample are consistent with the six racial identity subscales developed by the scale authors (see Table 2). The 30 scored items were included in this analysis, leaving the 10 filler items out. A varimax rotation procedure was employed in order to better interpret the solution. Six components were extracted from the CRIS items scores. Table 2 lists communalities and component loadings. The cumulative variance accounted for by the six components solution was 65.99%. Item factor loadings were excellent with only three items loading below .60. All item factor loadings were greater than .40 and all highest loadings for this sample place items on the appropriate CRIS subscales.

Table 2

Rotated Component Loadings and Communalities for Principal Component Analysis of the Cross Racial Identity Scale

Item Number	Component						Communalities
	1 IA	2 IEAW	3 IMC	4 PA	5 PM	6 PSH	
cris2	-.20	-.03	-.10	.69	.27	.19	.64
cris3	.07	-.07	.31	.05	.54	.13	.42
cris4	.06	.06	-.00	.24	.14	.78	.69
cris5	-.29	-.07	.61	.02	.18	.24	.55
cris6	.32	.76	-.14	-.12	.16	-.04	.75
cris7	.70	.19	-.01	-.09	-.10	-.03	.54
cris9	-.04	-.15	.01	.82	.19	-.01	.73

cris10	.26	-.19	-.09	-.06	.19	.69	.62
cris12	.08	.37	-.06	-.05	.70	-.07	.64
cris13	.79	.24	-.17	-.03	.13	.14	.74
cris14	.16	.78	-.23	-.08	.20	.30	.82
cris16	-.20	-.38	.62	.04	-.18	.20	.64
cris17	-.09	-.10	.14	-.13	.37	.41	.36
cris18	-.21	-.03	.01	.79	-.06	.07	.68
cris20	-.05	.08	-.01	.23	.76	.06	.64
cris22	.84	.24	-.05	-.22	.06	.00	.82
cris23	.16	.74	-.10	-.09	-.23	-.06	.64
cris24	.13	-.17	.79	.02	-.07	-.10	.68
cris25	.07	.09	.28	-.22	.10	.51	.41
cris26	-.04	-.09	.02	.78	.05	-.21	.66
cris28	-.01	.01	-.08	.17	.74	.01	.57
cris30	.18	.74	-.29	-.04	.01	.17	.70
cris31	.82	.17	.12	-.29	-.10	.10	.82
cris33	.11	-.22	.76	.04	.09	-.02	.64
cris34	-.31	-.11	.32	.66	.06	-.09	.66
cris36	.01	-.11	.01	.03	.74	.18	.59
cris37	.90	.15	-.02	-.12	.09	.06	.86
cris38	.30	.79	-.15	-.12	.01	-.06	.75
cris39	-.05	.24	.03	-.01	-.13	.77	.67
cris40	-.11	-.10	.92	.03	.02	.05	.87

NOTE: PA= pre-encounter assimilation; PM= pre-encounter miseducation; PSH= pre-encounter self-hatred; IEAW= immersion-emersion anti-White; IA= internalization Afrocentricity; IMC= multiculturalist inclusive. Numbers in bold type represent variables with highest loadings on corresponding components.

MIBI Descriptives

Table 3 contains interscale correlations, means, standard deviations, and

Cronbach's alphas for the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI).

Subscale means obtained in this study were similar to means obtained in the studies cited earlier. Lowest score means were obtained on the public regard (PubR) subscale ($M = 3.47$). The next highest score means were obtained on the oppressed minority (OM) ($M = 4.75$) and nationalist (N) ($M = 4.07$) subscales. The next highest scores means were on the assimilation (A) ($M = 5.03$), humanism (H) ($M = 5.41$) and centrality (C) ($M = 5.40$)

subscales. Highest score mean was obtained on the private regard (PriR) subscale ($M = 6.62$).

Alpha levels were good, ranging from .70 (humanist and nationalist) to .79 (assimilation). The correlation matrix revealed several significant patterns of relationship between subscales. In accordance with the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity, centrality scores were negatively correlated with the ideologies of assimilation ($r = -.26$, $p < .01$) and humanism ($r = -.45$, $p < .000$) and positively correlated with the ideologies of nationalism ($r = .54$, $p < .000$) and oppressed minority ($r = .24$, $p < .01$). Centrality was also positively correlated with private regard ($r = .29$, $p < .01$). The four ideology subscales were also found to be highly correlated with each other in many cases. As expected, assimilation was negatively correlated with nationalism ($r = -.41$, $p < .000$). However, assimilation was found to be highly correlated with humanist ideology ($r = .61$, $p < .000$). Humanism was found to have a significant negative correlation with nationalist ideology ($r = -.60$, $p < .000$). Finally, oppressed minority ideology was found to be positively correlated with nationalist ideology ($r = .25$, $p < .01$).

Table 3

<u>Descriptive Statistics of Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity Scores</u>										
	C	PriR	PubR	A	H	OM	N	M	SD	Alpha
C	1.00							5.40	1.00	.75
PriR	.29*	1.00						6.62	.47	.71
PubR	-.14	.18	1.00					3.47	.87	.74
A	-.26*	-.05	.20	1.00				5.03	.97	.79
H	-	.06	.15	.61***	1.00			5.41	.79	.70
	.45***									
OM	.24*	.04	-.11	.15	.19	1.00		4.75	.90	.74
N	.54***	.19	-.01	-	-	.25*	1.00	4.07	.86	.70
				.41***	.60***					

NOTE: C= centrality; PriR= private regard; PubR= public regard; A= assimilation; H= humanist; OM= oppressed minority; N= nationalist. N= 137.

* $p < .01$, ** $p < .001$, *** $p < .000$

MIBI Principal Component Analyses

Three principal component analyses were conducted to investigate whether the components of the MIBI for this sample are similar to the seven racial identity subscales developed by the scale authors. In order to be consistent with the original validation study of the MIBI, each dimension (centrality, regard, and ideology) of the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity was analyzed independently (Sellers et al., 1997). A varimax rotation procedure was employed for the regard and ideology dimensions in order to better interpret the solution. The PCA for the centrality subscale could not be rotated as only one factor was extracted.

Extracting a one factor solution for the centrality subscale accounted for 39.91% of the cumulative variance (see Table 4) and all item loadings exceeded .40. A two factor solution extracted for the regard subscales accounted for 48.83% of the cumulative variance (see Table 5). Item four (private regard) was the only item that did not load above .40. All items had highest loadings on the factor consistent with the subscale structure of the MIBI regard subscales.

A four factor solution extracted for the ideology subscales accounted for 45.84% of the cumulative variance (see Table 6). All except one item (mibi2) loaded at or above .40 on one of the components, and the loading for mibi2 was close to .40, at .37. While the vast majority of the items on the oppressed minority subscale loaded highest on component three, and the majority of items on the nationalist subscale loaded highest on component one, the items on neither the assimilation or humanist subscales loaded together. Only about half of the items from each subscale loaded highly on the same component (components four and two, respectively).

Table 4

Unrotated Component Loadings and Communalities for Principal Component Analysis of the MIBI Centrality Subscale

Item Number	Component	
	1	Communalities
mibi1	.59	.35
mibi6	.77	.59
mibi9	.52	.27
mibi13	.47	.22
mibi19	.66	.44
mibi33	.59	.34
mibi48	.81	.66
mibi51	.57	.33

Table 5

Rotated Component Loadings and Communalities for Principal Component Analysis of the MIBI Regard Subscale

Item Number	Component		Communalities
	1 PriR	2 PubR	
mibi4	.29	.26	.15
mibi5	-.02	.75	.56
mibi7	.86	-.13	.76
mibi8	.44	.05	.19
mibi15	.10	.73	.54
mibi17	.12	.53	.29
mibi24	.87	.05	.76
mibi52	-.06	.72	.52
mibi53	-.04	.64	.41
mibi54	.79	.10	.63
mibi55	.79	.07	.63
mibi56	.15	.61	.40

NOTE: PriR= private regard; PubR= public regard. Numbers in bold type represent variables with highest loadings on corresponding components.

Table 6

Rotated Component Loadings and Communalities for Principal Component Analysis of the MIBI Ideology Subscale

Subscale	Item	Component				Communalities
		1	2	3	4	

	Number					
A	mibi10	.52	-.01	-.04	.27	.35
A	mibi18	.20	-.06	-.13	.61	.44
A	mibi37	.66	-.15	.13	.25	.54
A	mibi39	.26	.56	.12	.45	.60
A	mibi40	.02	.51	.13	.61	.65
A	mibi41	.30	-.01	-.01	.68	.55
A	mibi43	.31	.73	.17	.19	.69
A	mibi44	.59	.16	.16	.32	.50
A	mibi46	.05	-.02	.25	.73	.60
H	mibi23	-.13	.24	.41	-.05	.25
H	mibi26	.31	.72	.27	-.06	.69
H	mibi27	.35	.40	.33	-.14	.41
H	mibi28	.55	.09	.17	.11	.36
H	mibi29	.56	.11	.00	.27	.40
H	mibi30	.71	.14	.04	.22	.57
H	mibi31	.21	.61	-.14	.29	.52
H	mibi32	.36	.45	-.08	.36	.47
H	mibi35	-.06	.47	.33	.29	.42
OM	mibi20	-.32	.07	.57	.08	.44
OM	mibi34	-.01	.18	.56	.26	.41
OM	mibi36	.18	.23	.48	.08	.33
OM	mibi38	.02	-.16	.57	-.29	.43
OM	mibi42	.04	-.07	.62	.07	.39
OM	mibi45	.17	-.01	.51	.03	.28
OM	mibi47	-.16	-.06	.65	.17	.48
OM	mibi49	-.01	.02	.76	-.08	.58
OM	mibi50	-.21	-.49	.17	.41	.48
N	mibi2	-.34	-.15	.37	-.00	.28
N	mibi3	-.33	-.55	-.16	.00	.43
N	mibi11	-.65	-.23	.27	-.18	.56
N	mibi12	-.75	-.22	.06	.18	.64
N	mibi14	-.59	-.21	.14	-.05	.41
N	mibi16	-.60	-.08	.04	.07	.37
N	mibi21	-.41	-.01	.16	.22	.24
N	mibi22	.14	-.54	.03	.18	.35
N	mibi25	.00	-.62	.20	.07	.43

NOTE: A= assimilation; H= humanist; OM= oppressed minority; N= nationalist.
Numbers in bold type represent variables with highest loadings on corresponding components.

CRIS – Correlation Analyses

Table 7 contains the correlations between CRIS subscale scores and the predicted variables of undergraduate GPA, number of memberships in racial/ethnic organizations, self-esteem, social desirability (self-deceptive enhancement and impression management), and perceived racism (over the past year and lifetime), as well as descriptive and scale properties of these variables. Average reported GPA for this sample ($M = 3.31$) was higher than those reported in previous studies (Anglin & Wade, 2007 and Jones et al., 2007 reported average GPA's between 2.90 and 2.97 for their samples). Average scores on the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale for this sample ($M = 3.66$) were comparable to the average scores reported by Vandiver and colleagues (2002; $M = 3.50$), but somewhat higher than the average scores reported by Jones and colleagues (2007; $M = 3.20$). Average social desirability scores reported for this sample (4.63 for self-deceptive enhancement and 3.84 for impression management) were similar to those reported by Vandiver and colleagues (2002). Direct comparisons of average perceived racism scores are difficult because this study used a different measure of perceived racism (The Perceived Racism Scale, McNeilly et al., 1996) than previous studies (The Schedule of Racist Events, Landrine & Klonof, 1996). However, it appears that the average reported perceived racism over the past year was lower for this sample ($M = .79$ out of a highest possible score of 5) than the average scores on the theoretically comparable subscale on the Schedule of Racist Events reported by Jones and colleagues (2007; $M = 2.01$ out of a highest possible score of 6). An eighth predicted variable, racial social group preference, was a dichotomous nominal variable that will be discussed later.

No significant correlation was found between CRIS subscales and undergraduate grade point average. Internalization Afrocentricity was positively correlated with

membership in racial/ethnic organizations ($r = .30, p < .001$). Immersion-emersion Anti-White was also positively correlated with membership in racial/ethnic organizations ($r = .27, p < .01$). These results are consistent with the IA and IEAW identities, which emphasize the importance of race as a central component of identity.

As expected, pre-encounter self-hatred was negatively correlated with self-esteem ($r = -.41, p < .001$). Pre-encounter miseducation was also negatively correlated with self-esteem ($r = -.33, p < .001$). Although this result is not specifically predicted by the nigrescence theory, PM indicates an acceptance of negative stereotypes of African Americans and therefore it is intuitive that PM identity would be related to low self-esteem. A significant negative correlation was also found between internalization Afrocentricity and self-esteem ($r = -.26, p < .01$). This association is not consistent with the theory of psychological nigrescence. While there is one significant correlation between a CRIS subscale score (IA) and self-deceptive enhancement, only positive correlations are indicative of socially desirable responding and there are no such positive correlations. There were no significant correlations between CRIS subscale scores and perceived racism. None of the correlations was so large that multicollinearity would be a concern in the regression analysis.

Table 7

CRIS and Dependent Variable Correlations; and Dependent Variable Descriptives							
	GPA	RaceOrg	Self-E	Self-D	IM	PRYear	PRLife
PA	-.04	-.12	.13	.03	.08	.11	-.13
PM	-.12	.05	-.33*	-.22	.08	.16	.06
PSH	.07	.11	-.41*	-.16	.13	.18	.14
IEAW	-.03	.27*	-.09	-.09	-.12	-.03	.20
IA	.02	.30*	-.26*	-.25*	.04	-.23	.15
IMC	.19	-.00	.06	.01	.01	.11	.08
M	3.31	1.14	3.66	4.63	3.84	.79	1.10
SD	.30	1.01	.37	.62	.86	.54	.57
Alpha			.82	.62	.76	.96	.95

NOTE: PA= pre-encounter assimilation; PM= pre-encounter miseducation; PSH= pre-encounter self-hatred; IEAW= immersion-emersion anti-White; IA= internalization Afrocentricity; IMC= multiculturalist inclusive. GPA= grade point average; RaceOrg= number of racial/ethnic organizations a member of; Self-E= Self Esteem; Self-D= self deceptive enhancement; IM= impression management; PRYear= perceived racism over the past year; PRLife= perceived racism over lifetime. N= 104.

* $p < .01$, ** $p < .001$, *** $p < .000$

MIBI – Correlation Analyses

Table 8 contains the correlations between MIBI subscale scores and the predicted variables of undergraduate GPA, number of memberships in racial/ethnic organizations, self-esteem, social desirability (self-deceptive enhancement and impression management), and perceived racism (over the past year and lifetime), as well as descriptive and scale properties of these variables. As above, racial social group preference, was a dichotomous nominal variable that will be discussed later.

Humanism was found to have a significant negative correlation with undergraduate grade point average ($r = -.31$, $p < .01$). Conversely, Nationalism was found to have a significant positive correlation with undergraduate grade point average ($r = .28$, $p < .01$). Assimilation was found to have a significant negative correlation with membership in racial/ethnic organizations ($r = -.26$, $p < .01$). Conversely, both Oppressed minority and Nationalist ideologies were found to have significant positive correlations with membership in racial/ethnic organizations ($r = .26$, $p < .01$; $r = .25$, $p < .01$).

As expected, private regard was found to have a significant positive correlation with self-esteem ($r = .37$, $p < .000$). There were no significant correlations between MIBI scores and the two social desirability measures. There were two significant correlations between MIBI subscale scores and perceived racism. Private regard was negatively correlated with perceived racism over the past year ($r = -.41$, $p < .000$) and Humanist ideology was negatively correlated with perceived racism over the lifetime ($r = -.30$,

$p < .01$). None of the correlations was so large that multicollinearity would be a concern in the regression analysis.

Table 8

MIBI and Dependent Variable Correlations; and Dependent Variable Descriptives

	GPA	RaceOrg	Self-E	Self-D	IM	PRYear	PRLife
C	.15	.05	.15	-.18	.01	-.07	.17
PriR	.06	-.12	.37**	.14	-.08	-.41**	-.14
PubR	.10	-.08	.12	-.01	-.08	-.09	-.13
A	.02	-.26*	.12	.04	.09	.07	-.14
H	-.31*	-.22	.00	.19	.01	-.16	-.30*
OP	-.09	.26*	-.10	-.16	-.04	-.10	.12
N	.28*	.25*	.01	-.07	.00	-.09	.21
M	3.31	1.14	3.66	4.63	3.84	.79	1.10
SD	.30	1.01	.37	.62	.86	.54	.57
Alpha			.82	.62	.76	.96	.95

NOTE: GPA= grade point average; RaceOrg= number of racial/ethnic organizations a member of; Self-E= Self Esteem; Self-D= self deceptive enhancement; IM= impression management; PRYear= perceived racism over the past year; PRLife= perceived racism over lifetime. N= 104.

* $p < .01$, ** $p < .001$, *** $p < .000$

Social Desirability

Table 9 presents the results of two simultaneous multiple regressions with CRIS subscales as the predictor variables and the BIDR subscales of self-deceptive enhancement and impression management as dependent variables. The CRIS subscales did significantly predict self-deceptive enhancement, $R^2 = .12$, $F(6,128) = 2.90$, $p < .01$. However, no individual subscale made a significant contribution. The regression predicting impression management was not significant.

Table 9

Simultaneous Multiple Regression: CRIS Subscale Scores on Self-Deceptive Enhancement and Impression Management

	Self-Deceptive Enhancement			Impression Management		
	B	SE	β	B	SE	β
PA	-.02	.04	-.05	.06	.06	.10
PM	-.10	.05	-.19	.03	.07	.05

PSH	-.06	.06	-.09	.15	.09	.15
IEAW	.06	.08	.08	-.24	.11	-.23
IA	-.12	.04	-.29	.09	.06	.16
IMC	.01	.05	.02	-.07	.07	-.10
F	(6,128) 2.90			(6,127) 1.43		
R²	.12			.06		
P	.01			.21		
N	135			134		

NOTE: PA= pre-encounter assimilation; PM= pre-encounter miseducation; PSH= pre-encounter self-hatred; IEAW= immersion-emersion anti-White; IA= internalization Afrocentricity; IMC= multiculturalist inclusive.

*p<.01, **p<.001, ***p<.000

Table 10 presents the results of two simultaneous multiple regressions with MIBI subscales as the predictor variables and the BIDR subscales of self-deceptive enhancement and impression management as dependent variables. The MIBI subscales significantly predicted self-deceptive enhancement, $R^2=.14$, $F(7,127) = 2.89$, $p<.01$, with oppressed minority ideology making a significant negative contribution, $\beta = -.26$, $p<.01$. However, only positive associations are indicative of self-deceptive enhancement in responding. The regression predicting impression management was not significant.

Table 10

Simultaneous Multiple Regression: MIBI Subscale Scores on Self Deception and Impression Management

	Self-Deceptive Enhancement			Impression Management		
	B	SE	β	B	SE	β
C	-.10	.07	-.16	-.02	.10	-.02
PriR	.20	.12	.15	.20	.18	.11
PubR	-.10	.06	-.13	-.14	.09	-.14
A	-.03	.07	-.04	.16	.10	.18
H	.27	.11	.34	-.04	.16	-.04
OM	-.18	.07	-.26*	-.09	.10	-.09
N	.18	.09	.23	.06	.13	.06
F	(7,127) 2.89			(7,126) .73		
R²	.14			.04		
P	.01			.65		

N 135 134

NOTE: C= centrality; PriR= private regard; PubR= public regard; A= assimilation; H= humanist; OM= oppressed minority; N= nationalist.

*p<.01, **p<.001, ***p<.000

GPA and Membership in Racial/Ethnic Organizations

Table 11 presents the results of two simultaneous multiple regressions with CRIS subscales as the predictor variables and grade point average and racial/ethnic organization membership as dependent variables. Racial identity, as measured by the CRIS, did not significantly predict undergraduate grade point average or racial/ethnic organization membership.

Table 11

Simultaneous Multiple Regression: CRIS Subscale Scores on GPA and Racial/Ethnic Organization Membership

	GPA			RaceOrg		
	B	SE	β	B	SE	β
PA	-.02	.03	-.08	-.00	.06	-.01
PM	-.05	.03	-.18	.01	.08	.01
PSH	.03	.05	.08	.04	.10	.03
IEAW	-.06	.08	-.08	.17	.13	.14
IA	-.00	.03	-.02	.17	.07	.24
IMC	.07	.03	.23	.09	.08	.10
F	(6,97) 1.35			(6,130) 2.66		
R²	.08			.11		
P	.24			.02		
N	104			137		

NOTE: PA= pre-encounter assimilation; PM= pre-encounter miseducation; PSH= pre-encounter self-hatred; IEAW= immersion-emersion anti-White; IA= internalization Afrocentricity; IMC= multiculturalist inclusive.

*p<.01, **p<.001, ***p<.000

Table 12 presents the results of two simultaneous multiple regressions with MIBI subscales as the predictor variables and grade point average and racial/ethnic organization membership as dependent variables. Racial identity, as measured by the

MIBI, significantly predicted undergraduate grade point average, $R^2 = .17$, $F(7,96) = 2.77$, $p < .01$, with no subscales making a significant independent contributions to GPA. The regression predicting racial/ethnic organization membership was also significant, $R^2 = .21$, $F(7,129) = 4.97$, $p < .000$. The beta weights suggest that oppressed minority ideology positively contributed to membership in racial/ethnic organizations, $\beta = .36$, $p < .000$.

Table 12

Simultaneous Multiple Regression: MIBI Subscale Scores on GPA and Racial/Ethnic Organization Membership

	GPA			RaceOrg		
	B	SE	β	B	SE	β
C	.00	.04	.01	-.19	.11	-.19
PriR	.04	.08	.05	-.20	.19	-.09
PubR	.00	.03	.01	.03	.10	.02
A	.09	.04	.25	-.23	.11	-.22
H	-.15	.07	-.32	-.25	.17	-.19
OM	-.04	.04	-.13	.41	.11	.36***
N	.07	.05	.18	.09	.14	.07
F	(7,96) 2.77			(7,129) 4.97		
R²	.17			.21		
P	.01			.000		
N	104			137		

NOTE: C= centrality; PriR= private regard; PubR= public regard; A= assimilation; H= humanist; OM= oppressed minority; N= nationalist.

* $p < .01$, ** $p < .001$, *** $p < .000$

Racial Preference for Social Group

Table 13 contains results of a t-test comparing CRIS scores of participants who indicated a preference for socializing with Blacks only with those who indicated a preference for racially mixed social groups. All but two of the participants in this study gave one of these two responses to a question about who they prefer to socialize with. The remaining two indicated a preference for socializing with Whites only. These

participants were dropped from this analysis due to the low number of participants indicating this preference.

As expected, participants indicating a preference for Black only social groups had significantly higher scores on the immersion-emersion anti-White, $t(87.16) = 3.42$, $p < .001$, and internalization Afrocentricity, $t(131.16) = 4.15$, $p < .000$ subscales. Also as expected, participants indicating a preference for mixed race social groups had significantly higher scores on the pre-encounter assimilation, $t(133) = -3.02$, $p < .01$, and internalization multiculturalist $t(133) = -3.55$, $p < .001$, subscales.

Table 13

Comparison of Preference for Black and Mixed Group Social Groups on CRIS Subscale Scores (n= 71 Black preference; n= 64 mixed group preference)

	Social Group Preference	M	SD	T	df
PA	Blacks	2.79	1.41	-3.02*	133
	Mixed	3.54	1.45		
PM	Blacks	3.65	1.14	2.24	133
	Mixed	3.20	1.20		
PSH	Blacks	1.64	.90	-.45	133
	Mixed	1.71	.83		
IEAW	Blacks	1.70	1.08	3.42 ^{a**}	87.16
	Mixed	1.24	.36		
IA	Blacks	3.73	1.52	4.15 ^{a***}	131.16
	Mixed	2.75	1.21		
IMC	Blacks	5.32	1.24	-3.55 ^{**}	133
	Mixed	5.99	.89		

NOTE: PA= pre-encounter assimilation; PM= pre-encounter miseducation; PSH= pre-encounter self-hatred; IEAW= immersion-emersion anti-White; IA= internalization Afrocentricity; IMC= multiculturalist inclusive.

* $p < .01$, ** $p < .001$, *** $p < .000$

^aThe t and df were adjusted because variances were not equal.

Table 14 contains results of a t-test comparing MIBI scores of participants who indicated a preference for socializing with Blacks only with those who indicated a preference for racially mixed social groups. All but two of the participants in this study

gave one of these two responses to a question about who they prefer to socialize with. The remaining two indicated a preference for socializing with Whites only. These participants were dropped from this analysis due to the low number of participants indicating this preference.

As expected, participants indicating a preference for Black only social groups had significantly higher scores on the centrality, $t(133) = 2.98$, $p < .01$, and nationalist, $t(133) = 4.60$, $p < .000$ subscales. Also as expected, participants indicating a preference for mixed race social groups had significantly higher scores on the assimilation, $t(133) = -3.30$, $p < .001$, and humanist, $t(133) = -3.75$, $p < .000$, subscales. Participants indicating a preference for mixed race social groups also had significantly higher scores on the public regard subscale, $t(133) = -2.88$, $p < .01$.

Table 14

Comparison of Preference for Black and Mixed Group Social Groups on MIBI Subscale Scores (n= 71 Black preference; n= 64 mixed group preference)

	Social Group Preference	M	SD	T	Df
C	Blacks	5.65	.923	2.98*	133
	Mixed	5.15	1.03		
PriR	Blacks	6.65	.39	.79	133
	Mixed	6.59	.55		
PubR	Blacks	3.28	.91	-2.88*	133
	Mixed	3.70	.78		
A	Blacks	4.77	1.06	-3.30**	133
	Mixed	5.31	.79		
H	Blacks	5.18	.82	-3.75***	133
	Mixed	5.67	.68		
OM	Blacks	4.70	.82	-.77	133
	Mixed	4.82	.99		
N	Blacks	4.39	.90	4.60***	133
	Mixed	3.75	.68		

NOTE: C= centrality; PriR= private regard; PubR= public regard; A= assimilation; H= humanist; OM= oppressed minority; N= nationalist.

* $p < .01$, ** $p < .001$, *** $p < .000$

Self Esteem

Table 15 presents the results of a simultaneous multiple regression with CRIS subscales as the predictor variables and self-esteem as the dependent variable. The CRIS subscales significantly predicted self-esteem, $R^2 = .30$, $F(6, 129) = 9.00$, $p < .000$.

Significant contributions were made by preencounter self-hatred, $\beta = -.34$, $p < .000$, and pre-encounter miseducation, $\beta = -.29$, $p < .000$. As expected pre-encounter self-hatred and pre-encounter miseducation were both associated with lower self-esteem.

Table 15

Simultaneous Multiple Regression: CRIS Subscale Scores on Self Esteem

	Self-Esteem		
	B	SE	β
PA	.03	.02	.12
PM	-.09	.03	-.29***
PSH	-.15	.03	-.34***
IEAW	.08	.04	.17
IA	-.05	.02	-.20
IMC	.05	.03	.14
F	(6,129) 9.00*		
R²	.30		
P	.000		
N	136		

NOTE: PA= pre-encounter assimilation; PM= pre-encounter miseducation; PSH= pre-encounter self-hatred; IEAW= immersion-emersion anti-White; IA= internalization Afrocentricity; IMC= multiculturalist inclusive.

* $p < .01$, ** $p < .001$, *** $p < .000$

Table 16 presents the results of a simultaneous multiple regression with MIBI subscales as the predictor variables and self-esteem as the dependent variable. The MIBI subscales significantly predicted self-esteem, $R^2 = .19$, $F(7, 128) = 4.36$, $p < .000$, with

private regard making a significant positive contribution to the regression, $\beta = .36$, $p < .000$.

Table 16

Simultaneous Multiple Regression: MIBI Subscale Scores on Self Esteem

	Self-Esteem		
	B	SE	β
C	.05	.04	.13
PriR	.28	.07	.36***
PubR	.02	.04	.04
A	.08	.04	.22
H	-.06	.06	-.13
OM	-.05	.04	-.13
N	-.04	.05	-.08
F	(7,128) 4.36		
R²	.19		
p	.000		
N	136		

NOTE: C= centrality; PriR= private regard; PubR= public regard; A= assimilation; H= humanist; OM= oppressed minority; N= nationalist.

* $p < .01$, ** $p < .001$, *** $p < .000$

Perceived Racism

Table 17 presents the results of two simultaneous multiple regressions with CRIS subscales as the predictor variables and the PRS subscales of perceived racism over the past year and perceived racism over the lifetime as dependent variables. Neither regression was significant.

Table 17

Simultaneous Multiple Regression: CRIS Subscale Scores on Perceived Racism in the past year and Perceived Racism over a lifetime

	PR Year			PR Life		
	B	SE	β	B	SE	β
PA	-.00	.04	-.01	-.03	.04	-.08
PM	.05	.04	.12	.02	.05	.04
PSH	.10	.06	.16	.04	.06	.06
IEAW	.08	.07	.12	.16	.08	.24

IA	-.11	.04	-.30	.01	.04	.03
IMC	.04	.05	.07	.10	.05	.20
F	(6,118) 2.64			(6,117) 1.93		
R²	.12			.09		
p	.02			.08		
N	125			124		

NOTE: PA= pre-encounter assimilation; PM= pre-encounter miseducation; PSH= pre-encounter self-hatred; IEAW= immersion-emersion anti-White; IA= internalization Afrocentricity; IMC= multiculturalist inclusive.

*p<.01, **p<.001, ***p<.000

Table 18 presents the results of two simultaneous multiple regressions with MIBI subscales as the predictor variables and the PRS subscales of perceived racism over the past year and perceived racism over the lifetime as dependent variables. The MIBI subscales significantly predicted perceived racism over the past year, $R^2 = .24$, $F(7,117) = 5.16$, $p < .000$. Beta weights suggest that private regard, $\beta = -.35$, $p < .000$, and humanism, $\beta = -.37$, $p < .01$, negatively predicted perceived racism over the past year. The MIBI subscales also significantly predicted perceived racism over the lifetime, $R^2 = .14$, $F(7,116) = 2.78$, $p < .01$. However, no subscales emerged as making significant contributions to this regression model.

Table 18

Simultaneous Multiple Regression: MIBI Subscale Scores on Perceived Racism in the past year and Perceived Racism over a lifetime

	PR Year			PR Life		
	B	SE	β	B	SE	β
C	.01	.06	.02	.02	.06	.04
PriR	-.39	.10	-.35***	-.14	.11	-.13
PubR	-.02	.05	-.04	-.04	.06	-.07
A	.14	.06	.26	.06	.07	.10
H	-.26	.10	-.37*	-.26	.11	-.37
OM	-.02	.06	-.04	.09	.06	.17
N	-.09	.08	-.14	.01	.08	.00
F	(7,117) 5.32			(7,116) 2.78		

R²	.24	.14
p	.000	.01
N	125	124

NOTE: C= centrality; PriR= private regard; PubR= public regard; A= assimilation; H= humanist; OM= oppressed minority; N= nationalist.

*p<.01, **p<.001, ***p<.000

MIBI and CRIS Correlations

Table 19 contains the correlations between the six CRIS subscales and the seven MIBI subscales. Several of the significant correlations support the convergent validity of the two scales. These correlations are easiest to interpret when examining the three CRIS subscales which are most conceptually similar to subscales of MIBI. Pre-encounter assimilation is positively correlated with the assimilation ($r = .50, p < .000$) and humanist ($r = .36, p < .000$) subscales of the MIBI. Pre-encounter assimilation is negatively correlated with the MIBI subscales of centrality ($r = -.41, p < .000$), and nationalism ($r = -.50, p < .000$). All of these correlations are consistent with the characterization of pre-encounter assimilation as a low race salience identity. As expected, pre-encounter self-hatred was negatively correlated with private regard ($r = -.47, p < .000$). This finding is consistent with these two subscales assessment of racial evaluation.

The internalization Afrocentricity subscale of the CRIS was positively correlated with the centrality ($r = .44, p < .000$), oppressed minority ($r = .29, p < .01$), and nationalist ($r = .75, p < .000$) subscales of the MIBI. The IA subscale was negatively correlated with the assimilation ($r = -.33, p < .000$) and humanist ($r = -.43, p < .000$) subscales of the MIBI. These findings are consistent with the conceptualization of the IA identity as being high in race salience. The especially high correlation between IA and nationalism are indicative of the conceptual similarity of Afrocentric and Black Nationalist ideology.

There are also significant correlations between the remaining three CRIS subscales and less conceptually similar MIBI subscales. Pre-encounter miseducation was negatively correlated with both the private ($r = -.29, p < .01$) and public regard ($r = -.34, p < .000$) subscales of the MIBI, and positively correlated with the assimilation ($r = .34, p < .000$) subscale of the MIBI.

While the immersion-emersion anti-White subscale of the CRIS has no direct counterpart on the MIBI, several correlations with MIBI subscales seem to be consistent with racial identity theory. The IEAW subscale was found to be negatively correlated with public regard ($r = -.30, p < .000$), assimilation ($r = -.44, p < .000$), and humanism ($r = -.54, p < .000$). The IEAW subscale was positively correlated with nationalism ($r = .59, p < .000$) and centrality ($r = .23, p < .01$).

The internalization multiculturalist inclusive subscale of the CRIS seems to be most conceptually similar to the oppressed minority and humanist subscales of the MIBI. Not surprisingly, the IMC subscale was positively correlated with OM ($r = .30, p < .000$) and H ($r = .25, p < .01$). The IMC subscale of the CRIS was also positively correlated with assimilation ($r = .32, p < .000$). The majority of the above findings indicate that the CRIS and the MIBI are measuring a conceptually similar construct.

Table 19

Correlation Matrix of MIBI and CRIS Scores

	PA	PM	PSH	IEAW	IA	IMC
C	-.41***	-.03	-.04	.23*	.44***	-.01
PriR	.01	-.29**	-.47***	-.03	.21	-.08
PubR	.22	-.34***	-.07	-.30***	.04	.20
A	.50***	.34***	-.04	-.44***	-.33***	.32***
H	.36***	.16	-.10	-.54***	-.43***	.25**
OM	-.18	.22	.22	.16	.29**	.30***
N	-.50***	-.09	.03	.59***	.75***	-.15

NOTE: PA= pre-encounter assimilation; PM= pre-encounter miseducation; PSH= pre-encounter self-hatred; IEAW= immersion-emersion anti-White; IA= internalization

Afrocentricity; IMC= multiculturalist inclusive. C= centrality; PriR= private regard; PubR= public regard; A= assimilation; H= humanist; OM= oppressed minority; N= nationalist. N= 137.

* $p < .01$, ** $p < .001$, *** $p < .000$

Discussion

This dissertation is an investigation of the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS; Vandiver, Cross, Worrell, & Fhagen-Smith, 2002) and the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers, Shelton, Cooke, Chavous, Rowley, & Smith, 1997) in a sample of African American adult professionals (N=137). The present study lends further support to the existing literature illustrating that racial identity is an important aspect of African American mental health with important relationships to both cognitive and behavioral outcomes. In particular, the most robust findings of this study indicate that racial identity is associated with self-esteem and preference for the racial makeup of one's social group. The present study also supports existing literature indicating that the Cross Racial Identity Scale and the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity are robust new measures of the racial identity construct.

This study is unique among studies of African American racial identity in that the participant sample consisted of adult medical professionals and medical students. Almost all of the previous studies cited used undergraduate college students or high school students as participants. The present study is also unique in that all participants were either medical students or employees at a historically Black university. Most of the studies previously cited consisted of a mix of students from historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) and predominantly White institutions (PWIs). Despite this difference, subscale means obtained in this study were similar to means obtained in the studies cited earlier. The fact that average subscale scores are consistent across all of the studies cited, as well as the present study, indicates a consistency of racial identity attitudes within the African American population. While there have been slight differences in baseline scores between participants recruited from HBCUs and those

recruited from PWIs, these have not been found to be statistically significant, and they do not influence the strength or direction of relationships among racial identity variables or between racial identity and other outcome variables. Therefore, the uniqueness of the participant sample obtained in this study indicates that results reported from undergraduate college samples may be applicable to adult professional populations as well.

The psychometric properties of the CRIS and the MIBI are, for the most part, good. As in previous studies, the internal reliability of both scales was found to be good. The structural validity of the CRIS was supported in principal component analyses, as were the centrality, private regard, public regard, oppressed minority, and nationalist subscales of the MIBI. Socially desirable responding did not seem to influence participant's responses to scale items. The convergent validity of the two scales was also confirmed as conceptually similar CRIS and MIBI subscale scores were associated in directions consistent with the theoretical construct of racial identity.

The remarkable replication of the six-component structure of the CRIS reflects the many years of theoretical discussion on the racial identity construct by racial identity researchers, as well as empirical studies conducted by Cross's research group. The internal reliability and construct validity of the CRIS has been shown to be consistent across the various geographic regions and populations where it has been studied. While the MIBI consists of seven subscales, Sellers and colleagues (1997) conceptualize their scale as assessing three interrelated constructs (centrality, regard, and ideology), rather than one construct with seven components. Therefore, the component structure of each domain was assessed independently as in previous studies (Sellers et al., 1997). While the one component structure of the centrality- and the two component structure of the

regard dimensions were supported by this study, the four component structure of the ideology dimension was not supported. The vast majority of the items on the oppressed minority subscale loaded highest on component three, and the majority of items on the nationalist subscale loaded highest on component one, but the items on neither the assimilation or humanist subscales loaded together. Only about half of the items from each subscale loaded highly on the same component (components four and two, respectively). While the present study did not support the structural validity of the humanist and assimilation MIBI subscales, the MIBI scales still displayed adequate internal reliability and participants' scale scores were related in meaningful ways to the cognitive and behavioral variables examined.

The behavioral variables examined in this study were grade point average (GPA), membership in racial- or ethnic-based organizations, and racial preference for social group. The MIBI overall predicted past GPA, with no subscales making significant independent contributions. The CRIS did not predict past GPA. As stated previously, existing literature indicates that there may be a relationship between identity and academic functioning. However, this seems to most often be the case in samples recruited from PWIs. If this is the case, it may confirm Sellers's and colleagues' (1996) construct of racial salience. Racial salience is the situational context in which racial identity expresses itself. Sellers' and colleagues' (1996) argue that racial identity is more influential in situations where race is highly salient (such as when one is a minority student attending a PWI) than it is in situations where race is less salient (such as when one is a Black student at an HBCU). While this proposition makes theoretical sense, empirical support is far from conclusive. The literature cited previously indicates a mixed record regarding the influence of racial identity on academic performance.

The MIBI overall also predicted membership in racially-based organizations, with oppressed minority subscale on the MIBI as the only subscale making a significant independent contribution to the model. The CRIS did not predict membership in racially-based organizations. While it is theoretically consistent that a race-focused ideology subscale (OM) of the MIBI predicts membership in racial- or ethnic-based organizations, that was the only subscale associated with racial/ethnic organization membership. This may be due to very low average membership in racial- or ethnic-based organizations among this sample. The institutional setting of this study being one of low racial salience may make it less likely that participants join racial- or ethnic-based organizations. Participants attending PWIs may feel more of a need to join African American Student Unions, social fraternities and sororities, and other racial- or ethnic-based organizations. It is worth noting that Cross (1971) included an active phase of racial identity development (which he labeled internalization-commitment), in which one moves from the cognitively transformed state of internalization to enacting the behavior of joining the movement for civil and human rights. It was determined that there may be situational confounds to whether one becomes involved in an organized movement and this stage of the nigrescence model was not included in the RIAS (Parham & Helms, 1981). Among the influences may be the amount of free time a participant has to devote to an organization and the availability of such organizations in the participants' community.

In order to eliminate the influence of situational availability on racially salient behaviors, participants were asked to report the race of people they prefer to socialize with. As reported above, approximately half of the participants indicated a preference for socializing with Blacks only and approximately half of the participants indicated a preference for racially mixed social groups. There were significant differences in the

racial identity scores based on racial preference for social group. As predicted, higher scores on the immersion-emersion anti-White and internalization Afrocentricity subscales of the CRIS and the centrality and nationalist ideology subscales of the MIBI were associated uniquely with preference to socialize with Blacks only. Higher scores on the non-race focused ideologies subscales (the CRIS's pre-encounter assimilation and internalization multiculturalist inclusive subscales and the MIBI's assimilation and humanist subscales), along with the MIBI's public regard subscale, were associated with preference to socialize with racially mixed groups.

The cognitive variables examined were self-esteem and perceived racism. The most robust finding of this study with regards to prediction of cognitive outcome variables is the relationship between racial identity and self-esteem. Specifically, the evaluative subscales of each scale (the pre-encounter miseducation and pre-encounter self-hatred subscales of the CRIS and the private regard subscale of the MIBI) uniquely were associated significantly with self-esteem. The CRIS measures a negative evaluation of African Americans in the subscales of pre-encounter self-hatred and pre-encounter miseducation. Both of these subscales negatively predicted self-esteem. While Cross (1991) originally proposed that only pre-encounter self-hatred should have implications for self-esteem, his conceptualization of pre-encounter miseducation as the acceptance of negative stereotypes of Blacks is theoretically consistent with its inclusion in an evaluative dimension of racial identity. The MIBI measures a positive evaluation of African Americans in the private regard subscale. This subscale positively predicted self-esteem. Therefore, these two scales can be seen as assessing African American self-evaluation from opposite ends of the spectrum. It should also be noted that African Americans consistently score highest on private regard (self evaluation of Blacks) and

lowest on public regard (perceptions of others evaluation of Blacks). Despite this, public regard showed no significant relationship to self-esteem. This supports the notion that racial identity serves as a psychological buffer against negative attitudes (or at least the perception of negative attitudes) from non-Blacks.

This study's findings with regard to perceived racism were inconsistent with previous research. The CRIS did not significantly predict perceived racism in the regression model. The MIBI overall predicted perceived racism in the past year and over a lifetime in this sample. While, the MIBI did significantly predict perceived racism in the regression models, only two subscales emerged as providing independent contributions to the model regressing perceived racism over the past year on to MIBI scores. Both private regard and humanist ideology negatively predicted perceived racism over the past year. It is theoretically and empirically consistent that a non-race focused ideology (humanism) would predict lower levels of perceived racism. Furthermore, it is not surprising that lower private regard is associated with higher perceived racism and vice versa.

There may be two reasons for the inconsistent findings with regard to perceived racism. First, the fact that the study sample was taken exclusively from an HBCU may have acted as a confounding variable. The Perceived Racism Scale (PRS – McNeilly et al., 1996) assesses perceived racism across four domains, including racism on the job and racism in academic settings. Therefore, the fact that all of the study participants are at a majority Black institution may reduce the chances that they experience racism in these settings. Second, the PRS scores in this study raise questions about its sensitivity or validity. Range of response on all domains of the PRS were very low (mean scores ranging from 0 – 1.5 on a 0 – 5 likert-type scale). The remaining two domains assessed

by the PRS are racism in the public realm and frequency of hearing racist statements. While these domains should not be directly related to the institutional setting of the study, participants did not highly endorse perception of racism in these domains either. This is inconsistent with previous research on perceived racism indicating that some perception of racism is fairly common. The wording of several items seems to leave the meaning of a “0” response open to multiple interpretations. It should be noted that the use of the PRS in this study, as opposed to previous measures of perceived racism, was an attempt to broaden the empirical basis for relationships between racial identity and perceived racism. Furthermore, the fact that the PRS assesses perceived racism across four domains was an attempt to examine perceived racism in a more nuanced way than previous research. The lack of consistent findings here may represent an inadequacy of the PRS as an instrument rather than a lack of support for the relationship between racial identity and perception of racism. Additional studies need to be conducted with the PRS on non-HBCU samples.

Conclusion and Limitations

The results of the present study have important implications for African American mental health service delivery. Both scales were found to predict a relationship between racial identity and both self-esteem and racial socialization preferences. Self-esteem has well known implications for psychological functioning and racial preference for one’s social group may have implications for racial preference of mental health professionals and rapport building in interracial treatment settings. These findings, along with those of previous research, indicate that racial identity is an important component of African American psychological functioning and is one that should be included in future investigations of African American mental health. Overall, the racial identity construct

should be considered an important aspect of the broader goal of eliminating racial and ethnic disparities in mental health within the United States of America. Both the Cross Racial Identity Scale and the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity appear to be useful instruments in the assessment of African American racial identity. The inter-scale correlations obtained in this study indicate the conceptual similarity of these two scales, as well as patterns of relationship consistent with the racial identity theories of the scale authors. There are, however, several limitations to the current study.

There are reasons to exercise caution with regards to research using the CRIS and MIBI scales. The significant high correlation between immersion-emersion anti-White (CRIS) and nationalist ideology (MIBI), may indicate that the MIBI's assessment of Black Nationalist ideology suffers from an anti-White bias similar to the one identified by Cokely (2002, 2005) in his examinations of the internalization Afrocentricity subscale of the CRIS. The high correlation between immersion-emersion anti-White scores and internalization Afrocentricity scores on the CRIS was also found in this study. Future theoretical as well as empirical work is needed in order to determine whether anti-White attitudes are an intrinsic part of nationalist ideologies, and if not how to distinguish them psychometrically.

Furthermore, there was lack of support for the four-component structure of the ideology dimension of the MIBI. Rather than four ideologies, it seems that an ideology construct composed of race-focused and non race-focused components may be a more elegant solution. The CRIS seems to do a better job of distinguishing three ideologies of assimilation, multiculturalism, and afrocentricity. Therefore, future research examining the ideological dimension of racial identity may benefit from using these CRIS subscales rather than the MIBI ideology subscales.

There are several limitations of this study that may have resulted in the lack of robust findings concerning the relationship between racial identity and GPA. The sample recruited for the present study represented a high level of academic achievement. Admission to medical school is usually very competitive resulting in high undergraduate GPAs for medical students. This was certainly the case with this sample. Therefore, there may not have been enough range in GPA to detect a more robust association between racial identity and past GPA. In addition, many of the older faculty and staff participants indicated that they did not remember their undergraduate GPA and did not report it. Finally, the demographic sheet used in this study did not ask participants to indicate whether their undergraduate institution was a PWI or an HBCU. If it is the case that associations between racial identity and GPA are more robust in samples recruited from PWIs, Steele and Aronson's (1995) concept of stereotype threat may be a useful framework in which to view these findings. The awareness of minority status may make one's race more salient and therefore racial identity may serve as a buffer against stereotype threat in such an environment. More research is needed in order to determine whether such a framework is conceptually useful.

There were few significant associations between racial identity and membership in racial/ethnic organizations. The inclusion of an activist component of racial identity has been problematic since the development of the original Cross (1971) theory of psychological nigrescence. It is likely that there are multiple factors that influence whether an individual will actively participate in race-based organizations, including their racial identity status. Availability of such organizations is one such factor. The present study failed to account for the fact that the African American students and residents at the Morehouse School of Medicine are encouraged to join one such organization, the

National Medical Association. The average membership in racial/ethnic organizations found in the present study ($M = 1.14$) may indicate that the majority of participants have been encouraged to join a racial/ethnic organization, rather than join one of their own volition. Future studies should attempt to account for such factors.

As stated earlier, there were few significant associations between racial identity and perceived racism. It is believed this was due to limitations in the Perceived Racism Scale. Future studies could attempt to improve the wording of Perceived Racism Scale items, make the instructions more clear, and administer the Perceived Racism Scale in non-HBCU samples. Conversely, future researchers may prefer to use more widely used and tested measures of perceived racism.

Despite these limitations, the almost three decades of both theoretical and empirical work on the racial identity construct indicate that it has important implications for African American mental health service delivery. As such, it should continue to be a part of the overall scientific effort to address African American mental health globally, and racial and ethnic disparities in mental health specifically.

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Appendix A – Measures

DEMOGRAPHICS QUESTIONS

Age: _____ Sex: M F City, State of Residence: _____

Education:

1. Are you currently enrolled in school? Yes No

If yes, what school do you attend? _____

2. What is your class status?

a. Freshman b. Sophomore c. Junior d. Senior e. Post Graduate Training

3. What is your current cumulative grade point average (GPA)? _____

4. What was your high school cumulative grade point average (GPA)? _____

Racial/Ethnic Background:

5. Please indicate your ethnic identification by circling the answer that best applies to you. Please choose only one category.

a. African

b. African-American

c. Black

d. West Indian/Caribbean Black

e. Hispanic/Latino Black

f. Mixed race/ethnicity

Please specify: _____

g. Other _____

National Origin:

6. Were you born in the United States of America? Yes No

If no, where were your born? _____

How long have you lived in the U.S.A.? _____

7. Were your parents born in the United States of America? Yes No

If no, where were they born?

Mother _____ Father _____

Class Status:

8. How would you describe your family's socioeconomic status?

- a. Poor b. Working Class c. Middle Class
d. Upper Middle Class e. Wealthy

Social Relationships:

9. How would you describe the racial composition of the community in which you were raised?

- a. Mostly Black b. Mixed c. Mostly White
d. Other; please specify: _____

10. How would you describe the racial composition of the high school you graduated from?

- a. Mostly Black b. Mixed c. Mostly White
d. Other; please specify: _____

11. Who do you prefer to socialize with (circle closest answer)?

- a. Blacks b. Whites c. Hispanics/Latinos d. Asians/Pacific Islanders
e. Mixed Group f. Other; please specify: _____

12. How many racial/ethnic organizations do you belong to? 1 2 3 4 5 5+

Religion:

13. What is your religion? _____

14. How religious would you describe yourself as being (circle closest answer)?

- a. Very b. Moderately c. Not very d. Not at all

CROSS RACIAL IDENTITY ATTITUDE SCALE

Instructions: Read each item and indicate to what degree it reflects your own thoughts and feelings, using the 7-point scale below. There are no right or wrong answers. Base your responses on your opinion at the present time. To ensure that your answers can be used, please respond to the statements as written, and place your numerical response on the line provided to the left of each question.

1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Somewhat Disagree	4 Neither Agree nor Disagree	5 Somewhat Agree	6 Agree	7 Strongly Agree
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- _____ 1. As an African American, life in America is good for me.
- _____ 2. I think of myself primarily as an American, and seldom as a member of a racial group.
- _____ 3. Too many Blacks “glamorize” the drug trade and fail to see opportunities that don’t involve crime.
- _____ 4. I go through periods when I am down on myself because I am black.
- _____ 5. As a multiculturalist, I am connected to many groups (Hispanics, Asian-Americans, Whites, Jews, gays & lesbians, etc.)
- _____ 6. I have a strong feeling of hatred and disdain for all White people.
- _____ 7. I see and think about things from an Afrocentric perspective.
- _____ 8. When I walk into a room, I always take note of the racial make-up of the people around me.
- _____ 9. I am not so much a member of a racial group, as I am an American.
- _____ 10. I sometimes struggle with negative feelings about being Black.
- _____ 11. My relationship with God plays an important role in my life.
- _____ 12. Blacks place more emphasis on having a good time than on hard work.
- _____ 13. I believe that only those Black people who accept an Afrocentric perspective can truly solve the race problem in America.

- _____14. I hate the White community and all that it represents.
- _____15. When I have a chance to make a new friend, issues of race and ethnicity seldom play a role in who that person might be.
- _____16. I believe it is important to have both a Black identity and a multicultural perspective, which is inclusive of everyone (e.g., Asians, Latinos, gays & lesbians, Jews, Whites, etc.)
- _____17. When I look in the mirror at my Black image, sometimes I do not feel good
- _____18. If I had to put a label on my identity, it would be “American,” and not African American.
- _____19. When I read the newspaper or a magazine, I always look for articles and stories that deal with race and ethnic issues.
- _____20. Many African Americans are too lazy to see opportunities that are right in front of them.
- _____21. As far as I am concerned, affirmative action will be needed for a long time.
- _____22. Black people cannot truly be free until our daily lives are guided by Afrocentric values and principles.
- _____23. White people should be destroyed.
- _____24. I embrace my own Black identity, but I also respect and celebrate the cultural identities of other groups (e.g., Native Americans, Whites, Latinos, Jews, Asian-Americans, gays & lesbians, etc.)
- _____25. Privately, I sometimes have negative feelings about being Black.
- _____26. If I had to put myself into categories, first I would say I am an American, and second I am a member of a racial group.
- _____27. My feelings and thoughts about God are very important to me.

- _____28. African Americans are too quick to turn to crime to solve their problems.
- _____29. When I have a chance to decorate a room, I tend to select pictures, posters, or works of art that express strong racial-cultural themes.
- _____30. I hate White people.
- _____31. I respect the ideas that other Black people hold, but I believe that the best way to solve our problems is to think Afrocentrically.
- _____32. When I vote in an election, the first thing I think about is the candidate's record on racial and cultural issues.
- _____33. I believe it is important to have both a Black identity and a multicultural perspective, because this connects me to other groups (Hispanics, Asian-Americans, Whites, Jews, gays & lesbians, etc.)
- _____34. I have developed an identity that stresses my experiences as an American more than my experiences as a member of a racial group.
- _____35. During a typical week in my life, I think about racial and cultural issues many, many times.
- _____36. Blacks place too much importance on racial protest and not enough on hard work and education.
- _____37. Black people will never be free until we embrace an Afrocentric perspective.
- _____38. My negative feelings toward White people are very intense.
- _____39. I sometimes have negative feelings about being Black.
- _____40. As a multiculturalist, it is important for me to be connected with individuals from all cultural backgrounds (Latinos, gays & lesbians, Jews, Native Americans, Asian-Americans, etc.).

MULTIDIMENSIONAL INVENTORY OF BLACK IDENTITY

Read each item and indicate to what degree it reflects your own thoughts and feelings, using the 7-point scale below. There are no right or wrong answers. Base your responses on your opinion at the present time.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neutral	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree

- ___ 1. Overall, being Black has very little to do with how I feel about myself.
- ___ 2. It is important for Black people to surround their children with Black art, music and literature.
- ___ 3. Black people should not marry interracially.
- ___ 4. I feel good about Black people.
- ___ 5. Overall, Blacks are considered good by others.
- ___ 6. In general, being Black is an important part of my self-image.
- ___ 7. I am happy that I am Black.
- ___ 8. I feel that Blacks have made major accomplishments and advancements.
- ___ 9. My destiny is tied to the destiny of other Black people.
- ___ 10. Blacks who espouse separatism are as racist as White people who also espouse separatism.
- ___ 11. Blacks would be better off if they adopted Afrocentric values.
- ___ 12. Black students are better off going to schools that are controlled and organized by Blacks.
- ___ 13. Being Black is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am.
- ___ 14. Black people must organize themselves into a separate Black political force.
- ___ 15. In general, others respect Black people.
- ___ 16. Whenever possible, Blacks should buy from other Black businesses.
- ___ 17. Most people consider Blacks, on the average, to be more ineffective than other racial groups.

- ___18. A sign of progress is that Blacks are in the mainstream of America more than ever before.
- ___19. I have a strong sense of belonging to Black people.
- ___20. The same forces which have led to the oppression of Blacks have also led to the oppression of other groups.
- ___21. A thorough knowledge of Black history is very important for Blacks today.
- ___22. Blacks and Whites can never live in true harmony because of racial differences.
- ___23. Black values should not be inconsistent with human values.
- ___24. I often regret that I am Black.
- ___25. White people can never be trusted where Blacks are concerned.
- ___26. Blacks should have the choice to marry interracially.
- ___27. Blacks and Whites have more commonalties than differences.
- ___28. Black people should not consider race when buying art or selecting a book to read.
- ___29. Blacks would be better off if they were more concerned with the problems facing all people than just focusing on Black issues.
- ___30. Being an individual is more important than identifying oneself as Black.
- ___31. We are all children of a higher being, therefore, we should love people of all races.
- ___32. Blacks should judge Whites as individuals and not as members of the White race.
- ___33. I have a strong attachment to other Black people.
- ___34. The struggle for Black liberation in America should be closely related to the struggle of other oppressed groups.
- ___35. People regardless of their race have strengths and limitations.
- ___36. Blacks should learn about the oppression of other groups.
- ___37. Because America is predominantly White, it is important that Blacks go to White schools so that they can gain experience interacting with Whites.

- ___38. Black people should treat other oppressed people as allies.
- ___39. Blacks should strive to be full members of the American political system.
- ___40. Blacks should try to work within the system to achieve their political and economic goals.
- ___41. Blacks should strive to integrate all institutions which are segregated.
- ___42. The racism Blacks have experienced is similar to that of other minority groups.
- ___43. Blacks should feel free to interact socially with White people.
- ___44. Blacks should view themselves as being Americans first and foremost.
- ___45. There are other people who experience racial injustice and indignities similar to Black Americans.
- ___46. The plight of Blacks in America will improve only when Blacks are in important positions within the system.
- ___47. Blacks will be more successful in achieving their goals if they form coalitions with other oppressed groups.
- ___48. Being Black is an important reflection of who I am.
- ___49. Blacks should try to become friends with people from other oppressed groups.
- ___50. The dominant society devalues anything not White male oriented.
- ___51. Being Black is not a major factor in my social relationships.
- ___52. Blacks are not respected by the broader society.
- ___53. In general, other groups view Blacks in a positive manner.
- ___54. I am proud to be Black.
- ___55. I feel that the Black community has made valuable contributions to this society.
- ___56. Society views Black people as an asset.

PERCEIVED RACISM SCALE

SECTION I: Please circle the number which corresponds to how often you experience each event. Please circle only one number for question "A" and one number for question "B" for each item. For example, if you felt over the past year that you were assigned jobs no one else wanted, on average, "several times a month," you would circle number "3" next to item 1A. If you felt, over your lifetime you were assigned jobs no one else wanted, on average "several times a year," you would circle number "2" next to item 1B.

0	2	3	4	5
Not Applicable	Almost Never	Several Times a Year	Several Times a Month	Several Times a Day

A. RACISM ON THE JOB: (If you have never been employed, please skip this section and go to page 2, question 11, section B).

1. Because I am Black, I'm assigned the jobs no one else wants to do.

a. How often has this happened in the past year?	0	1	2	3	4	5
b. How often has this happened during my life?	0	1	2	3	4	5

2. At work, when different opinions would be helpful, my opinion is not asked for because of my race.

a. How often has this happened in the past year?	0	1	2	3	4	5
b. How often has this happened during my life?	0	1	2	3	4	5

3. I am treated with less dignity and respect than I would be if I were White.

a. How often has this happened in the past year?	0	1	2	3	4	5
b. How often has this happened during my life?	0	1	2	3	4	5

4. I am watched more closely than other workers because of my race.

a. How often has this happened in the past year?	0	1	2	3	4	5
b. How often has this happened during my life?	0	1	2	3	4	5

5. Racial jokes or harassment are directed at me at work.

a. How often has this happened in the past year?	0	1	2	3	4	5
b. How often has this happened during my life?	0	1	2	3	4	5

6. Because I am Black, I feel as if I have to work twice as hard.

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 7. | Tasks that require intelligence are usually given to Whites, while Blacks get those that don't require much thought. | | | | | | |
| | a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 8. | I am often ignored or not taken seriously by my boss because of my race. | | | | | | |
| | a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 9. | Whites often assume I work in a lower status job than I do and treat me as such. | | | | | | |
| | a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 10. | A White co-worker with less experience and qualifications got promoted before me. | | | | | | |
| | a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

B. RACISM IN ACADEMIC SETTINGS:

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11. | I have been made to feel uncomfortable in a classroom of White students. | | | | | | |
| | a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 12. | Teachers and students assume I'm less intelligent because of my race. | | | | | | |
| | a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 13. | Whites assume I gained admission to school only because of Affirmative Action - not based on my abilities or intelligence. | | | | | | |
| | a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

14. My graded assignments are judged more critically because I am Black.
- | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
15. Although I'm equally prepared and responsive, I am called on less than Whites in the class.
- | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
16. When I excel academically, I am looked upon as an exception to my race.
- | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
17. I find it difficult to trust White teachers and/or students.
- | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
18. My academic advancement has suffered because of my race.
- | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
19. Although I am equally intelligent, Whites often don't include me in study groups because I am Black.
- | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
20. I have been taught in school that Europeans are civilized and Africans are primitive.
- | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

C. RACISM IN THE PUBLIC REALM:

21. I have been called insulting names related to my skin color.
- | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
22. When I go shopping, I am often followed by White security guards or watched by White clerks.
- | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
23. I hear comments from Whites expressing surprise at my or other minority" individuals' intelligence or industriousness.
- | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
24. People "talk down" to me because I am Black.
- | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
25. I have been refused rental housing which was then later rented to Whites of similar standing (e.g., comparable family income).
- | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
26. I know of people who have gotten into trouble (gotten hurt, beaten up, shot) by Whites (individuals, gangs, police, White hate groups).
- | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
27. I have difficulty getting a loan because I am Black.
- | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
28. I am followed, stopped or arrested by White police more than others because of my race.
- | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 29. | I have had to make my speech and posture appear passive when dealing with Whites. | | | | | | |
| | a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 30. | Waiters and waitresses ignore me and serve Whites first. | | | | | | |
| | a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 31. | White males talk about not desiring Black women for "serious" relationships versus those with White women. | | | | | | |
| | a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 32. | My house has been vandalized because of my race. | | | | | | |
| | a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 33. | I have had to allow Whites to obtain the best seats in public places. | | | | | | |
| | a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 34. | I have been denied hospitalization or medical care because of my race. | | | | | | |
| | a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 35. | I have known Black men who have suffered negative consequences for talking to White women (being hurt or killed). | | | | | | |
| | a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 36. | I have encountered legal restrictions against Blacks. Please circle each one that applies: housing, marriage, jobs, use of public facilities. | | | | | | |
| | b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

D. RESPONSES TO RACIST STATEMENTS:

37. "Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten more economic and educational breaks than they deserve."
- | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
38. "Blacks should not push themselves into places where they are not wanted."
- | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
39. "Most Blacks are on welfare because they are too lazy to get a job."
- | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
40. "If a Black family moved in next door to me, I would seriously think about moving."
- | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
41. "Black people are generally not as smart as Whites."
- | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
42. "Black men have an 'animal-like' passion in bed."
- | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
43. "Some Blacks are so touchy about their rights that it is difficult to get alone, with them."
- | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. How often has this happened in the past year? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b. How often has this happened during my life? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

BALANCED INVENTORY OF DESIRABLE RESPONDING

Read each item and indicate to what degree it reflects your own thoughts and feelings, using the 7-point scale below. There are no right or wrong answers. Base your responses on your opinion at the present time. Place your numerical response on the line provided to the left of each question.

Response Scale: 7-point scale, from *not true* (1) to *very true* (7).

- ____ 1. My first impressions of people usually turn out to be right.
- ____ 2. It would be hard for me to break any of my bad habits.
- ____ 3. I don't care to know what other people really think of me.
- ____ 4. I have not always been honest with myself.
- ____ 5. I always know why I like things.
- ____ 6. When my emotions are aroused, it biases my thinking.
- ____ 7. Once I've made up my mind, other people can seldom change my opinion.
- ____ 8. I am not a safe driver when I exceed the speed limit.
- ____ 9. I am fully in control of my own fate.
- ____ 10. It's hard for me to shut off a disturbing thought.
- ____ 11. I never regret my decisions.
- ____ 12. I sometimes lose out on things because my I can't make up my mind soon enough.
- ____ 13. The reason I vote is because my vote can make a difference.
- ____ 14. My parents were not always fair when they punished me.
- ____ 15. I am a completely rational person.
- ____ 16. I rarely appreciate criticism.
- ____ 17. I am very confident of my judgments.
- ____ 18. I have sometimes doubted my ability as a lover.
- ____ 19. It's all right with me if some people happen to dislike me.

- ____ 20. I don't always know the reasons why I do the things I do.
- ____ 21. I sometimes tell lies if I have to.
- ____ 22. I never cover up my mistakes.
- ____ 23. There have been occasions when I have taken advantage of someone.
- ____ 24. I never swear.
- ____ 25. I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget.
- ____ 26. I always obey laws, even if I'm unlikely to get caught.
- ____ 27. I have said something bad about a friend behind his or her back.
- ____ 28. When I hear people talking privately, I avoid listening.
- ____ 29. I have received too much change from a salesperson without telling him or her.
- ____ 30. I always declare everything at customs.
- ____ 31. When I was young I sometimes stole things.
- ____ 32. I have never dropped litter on the street.
- ____ 33. I sometimes drive faster than the speed limit.
- ____ 34. I never read sexy books or magazines.
- ____ 35. I have done things that I don't tell other people about.
- ____ 36. I never take things that don't belong to me.
- ____ 37. I have taken sick-leave from work or school even though I wasn't really sick.
- ____ 39. I have never damaged a library book or store merchandise without reporting it.
- ____ 40. I have some pretty awful habits.
- ____ 41. I don't gossip about other people's business.

ROSENBERG SELF-ESTEEM SCALE

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

Appendix B – Histograms

























