THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RACIAL IDENTITY, ETHNIC IDENTITY, AND AFRICAN-AMERICAN ACCULTURATION AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING

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Since there are few studies which address the relationships between racial/ethnic identity and acculturation in the African-American community, the purpose of this study was threefold: 1) explore the relationship between racial identity and African-American acculturation; 2) examine racial and ethnic identity associations; and 3) observe the connections between these cultural constructs and psychological well-being. One hundred ninety-four African-American undergraduates from a predominantly White institution and two historically Black colleges completed measures of these constructs, self-esteem, and depression. The findings indicate a relationship between racial identity and acculturation for three of the four Cross (1971) stages (encounter, immersion-emersion, and internalization). Relinquishing the White frame of reference and achieving inner security with their Blackness coincides with immersion in the eight facets comprising African-American culture. Individuals who do not identify with their race (pre-encounter) less often affiliated with their ethnic group. Conversely, achieving racial identity (internalization) was associated with ethnic identity attachment. Finally, the study's findings suggest that identity development may affect how individuals perceive themselves and feel emotionally, which may depend on identity achievement. Pre-encounter stage scores were associated with reports of higher depression and lower self-esteem; whereas, higher internalization individuals reported higher self-esteem. As for ethnic identity,

those who have explored options and made commitments to their ethnic group reported fewer symptoms of depression and higher self-esteem. The converse was also true. Community acceptance was predicted to mediate the relationship between acculturation and psychological well-being. Although this was unfounded, the data indicate that traditional individuals living in predominantly White neighborhoods reported more depressive symptoms than did dominant society acculturated individuals living there. Interesting demographic findings and future research directions are provided.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Several studies have examined Black racial identity, the process by which individuals develop beliefs and attitudes about their own race, and its relationship with a variety of cultural variables to explain the behavior of culturally diverse populations. These variables include socioeconomic status (Allen, Dawson, & Brown, 1989); socialization (Demo & Hughes, 1990); locus of control (Oler, 1989); demographic factors (Broman, Neighbors, & Jackson, 1988); and value orientations (Carter & Helms, 1987). However, there is little if any empirical research which examines the relationship between racial identity and acculturation, the extent to which ethnic minorities (particularly Blacks) participate in native cultural traditions or adopt the traditions of dominant society (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996). Perhaps this is because of the controversy surrounding whether or not African-Americans have a distinct culture which can be specifically defined and measured. That is, there are some researchers who believe that this ethnic minority group is cultureless due to destruction of the culture during slavery (Jones, 1991); whereas, others have made noble efforts to revive the culture of Blacks (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996). Thus, if African-Americans as a group have a culture, then what aspects characterize that

culture? Furthermore, to what extent do these cultural group characteristics apply to its individual members?

Likewise, research exploring the relationship between racial identity and ethnic identity, one's emotional attachment to and commitment of membership to a distinct cultural group, has been limited. One reason may be that researchers are having difficulty conceptualizing the latter term. There appears to be little agreement on exactly what it is, what its components are, and how it should be measured (Phinney, 1990). Differentiating between race and ethnicity poses another reason why these two constructs may not have been examined. While some researchers use the terms interchangeably or propose that one encompasses the other; still others suggest definitive differences. That is, race is based on physical differences, whereas ethnicity is based on cultural differences. Viewing these discrepancies would certainly question whether or not racial and ethnic identity are similar constructs.

The following study attempts to answer some of these questions. One of its intended purposes was to explore the nature of the relationship between racial identity attitudes and level of acculturation. In particular, what levels of participation in cultural traditions (i.e., traditional or acculturated) correspond to which stages of racial identity? That is, to what degree does one's worldview or personal identity, whether it be a positive Black identity or Euro-American worldview, relate to the extent to which he or she participates in African-American culture? In addition, which specific aspects of the culture (e.g.,

interracial attitudes, family values, and religious beliefs) are related to which racial identity attitudes? In answering these questions, more statements can be made regarding the values and beliefs Blacks hold as they develop racial consciousness rather than drawing the conclusion that Blacks in the United States have developed a unique value system because of their African ancestry and consequent socialization experiences (Carter & Helms, 1987).

Another intended purpose of this study was to examine the nature of the relationship between racial identity attitudes and ethnic identity development. Specifically, are one's attitudes toward his or her own race related to developing an emotional attachment and making a commitment to being a member of a particular ethnic group? In other words, what role does an individual's feelings about his or her own racial group (e.g., anti-White/pro-Black or vice versa) play as the individual progresses through a developmental process where ethnic boundaries are constructed? Clearly as the individual becomes more aware of ethnic differences, begins to self-identify with an ethnic group, and forms or achieves ethnic identity, he or she will learn certain attitudes (either positive or negative) about those who are included in the group and those who are excluded. It is those attitudes, along with contact from members of either the reference group or the out-group, which will be susceptible to acceptance or rejection of one's Blackness.

While the literature is limited regarding the relationship between these methods of conceptualizing and explaining intragroup differences, it is not the

case when looking at the constructs separately. That is, racial identity has been given ample attention particularly when viewing its effects on counseling services and the implications it has for practitioners (Parham & Helms, 1981; Pomales, Claiborn, & LaFromboise, 1986; Ponterotto, Anderson, & Grieger, 1986). Its relationship to psychological well being has also been investigated (Mumford, 1994; Parham & Helms, 1985a; Parham & Helms, 1985b; Pyant & Yanico, 1991). Similarly, ethnic identity has been given ample attention as it has been described as being crucial to self-concept and psychological functioning of ethnic group members (Gurin & Epps, 1975). Critical issues include the degree and quality of involvement that is maintained with one's own culture and heritage; ways of responding to and dealing with the dominant group's often disparaging views of their group; and the impact of these factors on psychological well-being (DeVos & Romanucci-Ross, 1982; Phinney, 1990; Tajfel, 1981). Acculturation, although a fairly new concept as applied to African-Americans, has been given increasing attention with regards to psychopathology and behavioral medicine issues (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996) as well as preventive health behavior (Landrine & Klonoff, 1997). Yet the literature is virtually nonexistent when looking at the relationship between acculturation, depression, and self-esteem. Therefore, the final intended purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship between each of these cultural constructs and psychological well-being.

Racial Identity

Helms (1990) states that the term racial identity refers to a sense of group or collective identity based on one's perception that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group. Therefore, the theory for Black racial identity focuses on the individual's psychological development from a racial level rather than from ethnic similarity. In other words, it emphasizes whether or not an individual identifies with that particular racial group which shares racial heritage with the individual. For instance, a Black individual acknowledges a shared racial group membership with similar individuals of African ancestry. Helms (1990) continued by stating that racial identity also refers to the quality or manner of one's identification with the respective racial group. In this case, there are many manners in which one chooses to identify or not identify with other members who share his or her racial heritage. These manners or ways can and may include adoption or abandonment of identification based on racial victimization.

Helms' definition of racial identity depends largely upon Cross' (1971) description of nigrescence, which he reports is the process of becoming Black. Cross' initial concept of Black identity formation was precipitated by his observation of some reactive phenomena occurring rather widely during the 1960s, as increasing numbers of African-Americans began to change their self-images, perceptions, attitudes, and social behaviors (Akbar, 1989). In other words, his theory resulted from witnessing African-Americans' psychological

reactions under conditions of oppression. Although many researchers believe that racial identity and its accompanying theory resulted from events occurring during the 1960s (e.g., the Black Power Phase of the Contemporary Black Social Movement), Cross (1989) begs to differ. He notes that observers who view Black racial identity, or nigrescence, in this manner possess a myopic viewpoint. A broader perspective allows one to recognize that the emergence of the nigrescence process dates back to the time of slavery and evolved step-by-step with the efforts of White slave owners to deracinate their slaves (Cross, 1989). By making a slave become defensive about his "Blackness," a White slave owner was able to induce some doubt in the slave regarding the difference between how one should think, feel, and behave as a slave and as a Black individual. Deracination did not end when slavery ended as it continues to exist today. Both deracination and nigrescence continue to create tension in the experiences of the Black person. Cross (1989) states that it occurred during slavery (e.g., the conversion of Nat Turner before leading the slave revolt in 1829), during Reconstruction (e.g., the life of Frederick Douglas), during the early 20th century (e.g., the writings of W.E.B. DuBois), and even more recently (e.g., the life of Malcolm X). Thus, nigrescence may provide some insight on Black identity conversions, which took place much earlier than the 1960s Black Consciousness Movement as suggested by Helms' description.

Theory of Racial Identity

Cross (1971) introduces his description of the Negro-to-Black conversion

experience by proposing that movement through a five-stage process characterizes African-American racial identity development. The five stages are: 1) pre-encounter (pre-discovery), 2) encounter (discovery), 3) immersion-emersion, 4) internalization, and 5) internalization-commitment.

In the pre-encounter stage, the individual possesses a worldview that is Eurocentric in nature. The individual views and thinks of society as being non-Black or anti-Black and may behave in a manner that insinuates devaluation and denial of his own Blackness. Because the person views the world from a White perspective, the normative standard will be White as well, and attitudes will be anti-Black and pro-White. Cross offers several examples which include deification of the White woman, negative reference to blues or jazz music, intellectual superiority of the White man, and emphasis on individual success.

In the second stage, the encounter stage, some experience occurs that manages to slip by or even shatters the person's current feeling about himself and his interpretation of the condition of Blacks in America (Cross, 1971). The encounter may be one or many significant personal or social events which do not coincide with the individual's current worldview or frame of reference. The author provides the examples of an individual witnessing his friend being assaulted by police, hearing reports of racial incidents via the media, or being denied membership in an exclusive club because of skin color.

Immersion-Emersion, the third stage, is characterized by the individual who profoundly involves himself in the world of Blackness while simultaneously

liberating himself from the world of Whiteness. The immersion is a strong, powerful, dominating sensation that is constantly being energized by Black rage, guilt, and a third and new fuel, a developing sense of pride (Cross, 1971). The author provides an example of a Black individual who claims to have been "swept along by a sea of Blackness." Anything that was associated with Whites (e.g., the culture or even the people themselves) was dehumanized, and anything or anyone associated with Blacks or Blackness (i.e., Afro hairstyle, brown skin, African literature, etc.) was considered biologically superior, supernatural, beautiful, and romantic.

The fourth stage, internalization, is described as the most difficult and complex to explain partly because the individual in the immersion-emersion stage may react with frustration or inspiration depending on what happened in that stage. The individual may ultimately end in one of three states: 1) disappointment and rejection, 2) continuation and fixation at the third stage, or 3) internalization. The Black individual who is subjected to continuous frustration will experience disappointment and rejection because he or she has resorted to a nihilistic, hopeless frame of reference. Individuals who fixate at the third stage of the model have experienced some painful perceptions and confrontations. As a result of these experiences, these individuals are consumed with hate and rage directed toward Whites. Internalization is characterized by the individual's achieving a sense of inner security and self-confidence with his or her Blackness (Parham, 1989). In other words, certain aspects of the previous stage have

been incorporated, and the individual is more receptive to plans of action; however, there is not a commitment to acting on the plans.

One who is passing through the final stage, internalization-commitment, differs from the previous stage in that there is commitment to a plan of action where there was only receptivity before. In addition, the internalization-commitment individual exhibits a deep compassion for those who have not completed the cycle. One helps the others in overcoming the intense hatred of Whites, pointing out the costs of having Black pride without the skills, and urging the revolutionary to recapture his Black humanism (Cross, 1971).

African-American Acculturation

Historically, acculturation was used to describe those changes in cultural patterns of individuals (e.g., immigrants, sojourners, refugees, etc.) who emigrated from their native land. By examining groups of culturally different individuals who have constant contact with one another, acculturation was defined as those subsequent changes observed in native cultural behaviors of either one or both groups (Graves, 1967; Mendoza, 1984; Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936). This implied that the phenomenon occurred on a group level, and was later explained to occur on an individual level. So, acculturation is a dynamic process in which individuals either acquire the customs and traditions of another society or retain their native customs when continuously exposed to an alternate culture. In reviewing this definition, it is easy to see why African-Americans have been largely ignored. They clearly are not considered

immigrants as this is their native country (i.e., they speak the language, engage in American traditions and customs).

The literature contains a variety of theoretical models to operationalize the concept of acculturation. However, most theorists seem to agree that as a result of two cultures coming in contact with one another, one culture will have a propensity to dominate the other one, while the highly influential one will undergo some cultural and psychological changes. These changes may result in one of several acculturating patterns. For instance, some may totally absorb the dominant culture; others may resist incorporating the traditions of the alternate culture; while still others become cultural eclectics. In general, four types of acculturation patterns have been generated and measured.

Individuals subjected to an alternate culture may choose to adapt to the dominant society in which case they relinquish their native cultural identity and characteristics. This has been referred to as assimilation (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 1992; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993) and is considered nontraditional since the individual's native cultural tradition is relinquished and substituted for the host culture. Other researchers have labeled this strategy cultural shift or accommodation (Mendoza & Martinez, 1981;Triandis, Kashima, Shimada, & Villareal, 1986, respectively).

A second strategy views the acculturating individual as placing more value on retaining one's native culture and little value on adapting dominant cultural patterns. Berry et al. (1992) refer to this strategy as separation, a more

traditional approach since there is an emphasis on retention of the original culture. Triandis et al. (1986) labels the strategy ethnic affirmation, whereas Mendoza and Martinez (1981) refer to it as cultural resistance.

When the individual values both the acquisition of dominant cultural behaviors and also the retention of native cultural behaviors, Berry et al. (1992) state that it represents integration. Not only is the individual's cultural integrity maintained but also he or she shows movement to participate as an integral part in a larger social network. Other researchers have referred to this strategy as alternation (LaFromboise et al., 1993) and cultural incorporation (Mendoza & Martinez, 1981).

Finally, if the individual shows no interest in retaining one's native culture or adopting the dominant society's culture, then this strategy is referred to as marginality (Berry et al., 1992). It often comprises a combination of both native and host characteristics, but it may also appear that a unique subcultural entity is created as described by Mendoza and Martinez' (1981) term, “cultural transmutation.”

Landrine and Klonoff (1996) state that acculturation refers to the extent to and process through which ethnic minorities either participate in the cultural traditions, values, beliefs, assumptions, and practices of the dominant White society (acculturated) or remain immersed in their own cultures (traditional). Or, they may participate in the traditions of their own culture and of the dominant White culture as well (bicultural). Simply stated, an individual's level of

acculturation may lie somewhere along a continuum (from traditional to acculturated), where some African-Americans will be highly traditional thereby appearing in direct contrast behaviorally with the dominant White society. Others, on the other hand, will be highly acculturated to the dominant society therefore tending to appear behaviorally like Whites. Still there are those who fall somewhere in the middle of these two extremes and have adopted the beliefs and values of both their own culture and the culture of the dominant society. Unfortunately, Landrine and Klonoff's (1996) idea that an African-American's level of acculturation lies along a continuum excludes those individuals who have interest neither in maintaining their native culture nor immersing themselves in the dominant culture (as defined by marginality).

The concept of acculturation is useful to researchers who are attempting to explain existing differences between ethnic groups and the dominant society. That is, rather than explaining and accepting these differences as abnormal or deviant from the dominant group (subject to racist interpretation), it seems more feasible and accurate to explain these differences as reflections of the degree of participation or non-participation in the traditions, values, and beliefs of the dominant society.

Theory of African-American Acculturation

Until recently, the concept of African-American acculturation as a theory to explain and understand the relationship between culture and behavior was not well developed. According to Landrine and Klonoff (1996), this was largely true

for two basic reasons: 1) psychology as a whole erroneously assumes that African-Americans have little or no culture because it was destroyed during slavery, and 2) psychology conceptualizes African-Americans as a race and not as an ethnic group, a cultural group, like other ethnic minorities. These authors have since attempted to dismantle psychology's conceptualization of African-Americans as a race while simultaneously they have given new life to the idea of African-Americans being an ethnic cultural group and possessing a culture. This was accomplished via their explanation of both terms (i.e., race and ethnicity) representing two different phenomena. Whereas race is defined as groups socially constructed on the basis of physical differences, ethnic groups are those formed on cultural differences (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996).

Landrine and Klonoff (1996) address African-American acculturation at an individual level instead of a group level, the primary interest of other disciplines (e.g., sociology and anthropology). More specifically, the authors focus on reasons why some individuals have a tendency to remain immersed in their own culture (highly traditional), while others learn to adapt to the values and beliefs of the dominant culture (highly acculturated). Existing acculturation theories were developed to explain cultural differences of most ethnic minority groups with the exception of African-Americans. According to the discipline of psychology, African-Americans do not have a culture in spite of the salient existence of acculturation issues within this community. This viewpoint not only reveals psychology's lack of knowledge and neglect in the area which consequently

lends itself to erroneous assumptions, but it is also a viewpoint not shared by other disciplines (e.g., sociology, anthropology, history) as a large portion of the other disciplines' literature demonstrates otherwise. Therefore, a theoretical model of acculturation for African-Americans is long overdue, and Landrine and Klonoff's (1996) theory will be presented via explanation of four basic but vital concepts: 1) duplicate institutions, 2) ethnic enclaves, 3) ethnic parent group, and 4) ethnic socialization. These concepts will be important in developing hypotheses regarding the relationship between acculturation and racial identity.

Duplicate institutions include the ethnic group's own newspapers, magazines, churches, schools, nightclubs, clinics or hospitals, social and political clubs and organizations, leaders, indigenous healers, restaurants, stores and the like (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996). Not only does the presence of such institutions indicate the existence of an ethnic culture but also they are vital in the maintenance of that culture. That is, individuals of an ethnic group are able to gain knowledge about and continue on various aspects of culture and identity via these institutions.

The authors continue by explaining that these duplicate institutions are present in ethnic enclaves, which are characterized by: 1) a high degree of interaction among members of the group; 2) infrequent contact with the dominant group and little interest in or internalization of its culture; and 3) friendships and kin relations (however constructed) by and large are restricted to the ethnic cultural group, with a tendency toward endogamy (marriage within the group) as

well. Several ethnic enclaves exist within the African-American community, which vary on many factors (e.g., socioeconomic status and geographical location). Members who become socialized in and who devote a significant amount of time in the enclave are ones that are immersed within the culture and will appear highly traditional.

Ethnic parent groups are highly traditional individuals who spend their entire lives in the enclave and who have parents and grandparents who devoted the same time in the enclave. That is, three generations have dedicated their lives to the enclave and have never left it (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996). These individuals represent the most traditionally acculturated members. As a result, they are highly prestigious, well-respected, and powerful members of the community. Typically they have retained some very old traditions and values and have no intentions of adopting new ones. In other words, parent groups will not acculturate, as they see no benefit in doing so. In fact, they deplore the observation of others who make attempts to adopt the dominant culture's traditions and values.

Ethnic socialization refers to socialization that focuses on: a) the nature and meaning of being a member of an ethnic minority group; b) the relative status of one's ethnic minority group vis-à-vis the dominant cultural group; c) the discrimination and unfair, hostile treatment that the individual can expect to experience as a consequence of being a member of an ethnic minority group; and d) explanations of the dominant group's discrimination and hostility-- causal

attributions regarding racism (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996). The authors hypothesize that this phenomenon occurs for ethnic minorities who experience significant discrimination, and that it happens for individuals at a young age. Parents feel the need to explain this to their children as preparation for a discriminatory society and may communicate one of three explanations for the biased behavior of the dominant society: 1) "the dominant group is All Bad," where all members are racist, will act hostile toward you, and can not be trusted; 2) "the dominant group is composed of individuals who differ significantly in their biases against members of our ethnic group," which explains that some will discriminate against you because of ignorance while others will not because of intelligence; and 3) "the dominant group is All Good," which shows that the dominant culture is more intelligent and sophisticated than your own group and you must show them that you are like them (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996). The process by which one chooses to acculturate or remain traditional will be influenced by whichever message is delivered.

Ethnic Identity

Phinney (1990) reviewed several articles on ethnic identity in adults and adolescents in an attempt to provide some conceptual and methodological clarity in studying this topic. The author found a fragmented effort by researchers from various disciplines in defining and measuring ethnic identity, thus indicative of confusion about the topic. The most widely used definition comes from Tajfel (1981) who proposed that ethnic identity is an “ethnic component of social

identity, or that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge or his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (p.255). Ethnic identity has been studied with many different ethnic groups, and as a result, several aspects of it have been emphasized. The most salient components include self-identification, a sense of belonging to the group, attitudes toward one's group, and ethnic involvement.

Self-identification refers to the ethnic label that one uses for oneself (Phinney, 1992) and should be differentiated from ethnicity, group membership determined by parent's ethnic heritage. While this component is not as important as one's sense of belonging, attitudes toward the group or ethnic involvement, the choice of what particular label one uses can have psychological connotations. A strong sense of belonging to an ethnic group is another key aspect of ethnic identity. Researchers have assessed this feeling in a number of ways (Phinney, 1990). For example, the individual may express having pride, concern, strong bonds, or overwhelming attachment toward his or her group. Belonging may also be shown in contrast to other groups as well (e.g., exclusion or separation from other group members).

Individuals may have either positive or negative feelings toward their own ethnic group. Positive attitudes include pride in and pleasure, satisfaction, and contentment with one's own group (Phinney, 1990). Acceptance has also been referred to especially when speaking of African-Americans (e.g., being Black is a

positive experience) (Parham & Helms, 1981). Negative attitudes may also be expressed as denying one's ethnic group, wanting to hide or change ethnicity, feeling inferior, or preferring another group. Finally, ethnic involvement refers to participation in social activities and cultural traditions of one's ethnic group. This may include language, friendship, religion, social organizations, politics, area of residence, and cultural activities (Phinney, 1990).

Theory of Ethnic Identity

Phinney (1990) describes three broad perspectives which the study of ethnic identity is based: 1) social identity theory; 2) acculturation; and 3) identity formation. According to social identity theory, an individual who belongs to a group develops a sense of belonging which leads to a positive self-concept. However, ethnic group members may experience a negative self-identity if members of the dominant society hold the characteristics of the ethnic group in a negative light. Thus, ethnic members may try to resolve their conflicts by denial of their group and an attempt to pass for the dominant one, develop ethnic pride, or redefine inferior characteristics as superior ones. In any event, these solutions may have either positive or negative psychological consequences.

Ethnic identity has been explained in the acculturation literature and sometimes has been used synonymously with acculturation. However, the two terms differ in that acculturation is participation in cultural traditions whereas ethnic identity is one aspect that focuses on how the individual relates to his or her own group that is part of a larger society. Ethnic identity may be

conceptualized as existing along a continuum, where on one end an individual may have strong ethnic attachment to his or her ethnic group and on the other end lies an individual with strong ties to mainstream culture. Ethnic identity may also be thought of as a two dimensional process, where the relationship between the traditional culture and that of the dominant culture are independent. Therefore, an individual may have strong or weak attachments to one or both. Having a strong ethnic identity does not necessarily imply a weak relationship or low involvement with the dominant culture (Phinney, 1990).

Phinney (1990) explained that ethnic identity formation has also been taken from a developmental perspective provided by Erikson's (1968) theory of ego identity formation. During adolescence, the individual experiences an identity crisis that will be resolved via exploration and experimentation. Several content areas may arise during the crisis period. These include occupational choice, ideological beliefs (e.g., religion and politics), and sexual-interpersonal beliefs (e.g., attitudes toward sex roles and sexuality). The task is to find modes of expression that reflect intrinsic inclinations and for which sufficient sources of social support exist within the individual's cultural milieu (Waterman, 1982).

Marcia (1966) operationalized the ego identity model by suggesting four identity statuses that result from the crisis period. The status is determined on the degree of exploration of options and commitment. Identity achievement refers to an individual who has explored the alternatives and made a firm commitment. The term moratorium refers to one who is actively exploring

alternatives but has made no commitments. Conversely, an individual is identified as foreclosed when he or she has not been through a period of exploration yet has made commitment to childhood values. Finally, when one has neither explored nor made any commitments, then his or her identity is diffuse. A similar process occurs during the development of an ethnic identity. Phinney (1989) proposed that some individuals may not have been exposed to ethnic identity issues or have not examined them for whatever reason (diffusion). Or, they may commit to the positive ethnic attitudes that their parents have told them without the benefit of exploration (foreclosure). Some individuals may have begun exploration as the result of an experience that brings ethnicity into awareness (moratorium); while others learn to appreciate their ethnicity and understand the differences between their own and the other group (achieved identity).

Relevant Research

To date, there is one recently published work which specifies the relationship that racial identity has to acculturative patterns with respect to African-Americans. Pope-Davis, Liu, Ledesma-Jones, and Nevitt (2000) conducted an exploratory study in which they administered the Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS, long form) and the African-American Acculturation Scale (AAAS, short form) to 194 African-American college students from two universities (one predominantly White public university and one small private college). These authors posed that if both of these constructs reveal similar

ways in which individuals learn to accept their culture and themselves as racial beings, then low AAAS scores would be correlated with pre-encounter attitudes and high AAAS scores would be associated with immersion and internalization racial identity attitudes. Pope-Davis et al. (2000) found that encounter, immersion, and emersion attitudes were related to high scores on the acculturation measure. In other words, as an individual becomes more cognizant of his or her race, then culture becomes more salient and he or she immerses in African-American culture (i.e., traditional cultural orientation). On the other hand, anti-Black attitudes (pre-encounter) were not significantly related to participation in the cultural traditions of dominant White society. Although not significant, the authors contend that there was some support considering that the correlation was in the predicted direction.

Overall, they concluded that there does in fact appear to be a relationship between these two constructs which is contradictory to Landrine and Klonoff's (1996) position that these variables are orthogonal. The authors suggest that racial identity and acculturation are complexly related and that measuring one domain may tangentially be measuring the other (Pope-Davis et al., 2000). There were some limitations to this study. These included low reliability of certain subscales on the AAAS, disproportionate female to male ratio (2:1), and lack of exploration of the relationships between the RIAS and the AAAS subscales.

The other most relevant research regarding the relationship between

acculturation and racial identity comes from Demo and Hughes (1990), who looked at the socialization experiences, particularly those parental messages regarding the meaning of being Black and their potential influences on shaping racial identity. These authors explained that social interactions with family and friends, religious involvement, socioeconomic status, interracial interaction, and age are important factors which help to shape Black racial identity. They used measures that tap Black identity in terms of feelings of closeness to other Blacks (Gurin, Miller, & Gurin, 1980); Black separatism (Allen & Hatchett, 1986), and Black group evaluation (Allen & Hatchett, 1986). Socialization was measured using a questionnaire format developed by the authors to assess family and friendships, religious involvement, interracial contact, and parental socialization.

Demo and Hughes (1990) suggested that Black identity can be conceptualized as a multidimensional phenomenon, and that being Black means different things to different Black people. Most importantly, they found that parental socialization played a substantial role in the development of racial identity. In other words, individuals who received more assertive messages (e.g., racial pride and the importance of Black heritage) or more cautious and defensive messages (e.g., White prejudice and social distance) had stronger feelings of closeness to their racial group, more commitment to Black separatism, and less involvement in interracial contact than those who received individualistic messages (e.g., positive self attitude and all are equal).

Goodstein and Ponterotto (1997) are the first to integrate both ethnic and

racial identity in a single research design. They explored the relationship between ethnic identity and racial identity and their relationship to other group orientation and self-esteem among a White and Black college sample. Using the RIAS, Rosenberg Self-esteem Inventory (RSE), and Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM), they found that for Blacks, ethnic identity was negatively related to pre-encounter attitudes and positively related to internalization attitudes. In other words, anti-Black attitudes were associated with low ethnic group attachment whereas embracing one's Blackness was associated with high attachment. Conversely, encounter and immersion-emersion attitudes were related to negative other group attitudes which was explained by the fact that during these stages, these individuals are characterized by hatred for the other group. They caution that the study needs replication since it is the first of its kind.

Cultural Variables and Depression

With respect to racial identity, the literature contains several studies which have explored its relationship to psychological well being. The earlier stages of racial identity have been positively linked to anxiety and distress (Carter, 1991). Those individuals with pre-encounter and immersion attitudes were more likely to experience greater personal distress and reported more psychological and physical symptoms than those who have achieved security in their racial identity.

Mumford (1994) investigated the relationship between racial identity and depression in a sample that included both university students and subjects from

the general population. Using the RIAS and the Beck Depression Inventory (BDI), the author found that pre-encounter, encounter, and immersion racial attitudes were negatively correlated with depression. The author concluded that there is a tendency for depressed people to focus on the negative aspects of a situation, and that those people who appear to be in the earlier stages of the racial identity process may be doing the same. Therefore, if one continues to focus on disrespect, devaluation, and discrimination (all negative aspects of the Black experience), then a depressive mind-set can result from this point of view.

In another study, Pyant and Yanico (1991) examined the relationship between racial identity and some mental health variables, one of which was depression. This research was conducted based on the premise that Blacks who have a strong positive Black identity are likely to have better mental health than those whose racial identity is weaker or less positive (Butler, 1975; Thomas, 1971). A sample of college students and nonstudents were administered the BDI and RIAS. These researchers found that none of the racial identity stages was significantly related to depression in the student sample. However, in the nonstudent sample, pre-encounter attitudes were positively related to depressive symptoms. Although they were only able to find that pre-encounter attitudes were related to mental health in the nonstudent sample, they assert that participant characteristics played a role in the differences between the two samples. For example, the authors suggested that the nonstudent sample was more heterogeneous thus exposing themselves to more racial issues (via

employment) and creating more vulnerability to psychological distress.

Most of the research addressing ethnic identity and psychological adjustment focuses on self-esteem and self-concept. With respect to African-Americans, there does not appear to be any research that addresses its relationship with depression.

With respect to acculturation, the literature is very limited in that most of the research has been conducted on other ethnic minority populations (Antoine, 1992; Martinez, 1987). A preliminary study (Landrine & Klonoff, 1997) was conducted to determine the role negative affective states play on smoking behavior. The authors suspected that traditional members would experience more racial discrimination, and thus would report higher levels of stress, anxiety, and depression. This combination of events would lead to greater incidences of smoking. They found that these psychological variables might not play a large role in smoking behavior as does level of acculturation. Since these authors' primary focus was on preventive health behavior, there was no mention of the relationship between acculturation and depression.

Cultural Variables and Self-Esteem

Parham and Helms (1985a) investigated the relationship between racial identity and self-esteem. The assumption is that as one moves through the stages of identity development, there will be concurrent changes in self concept. That is, adopting the beliefs and attitudes of the Black experience leads to an increase in self-confidence. With this in mind, the authors hypothesized that pre-

encounter attitudes would correlate to poor self-esteem; whereas, encounter and immersion attitudes would correlate to positive self-esteem. Using the RIAS and the Self-Regard Scale of the Personal Orientation Inventory, the results indicated that pre-encounter and immersion attitudes were correlated with low self-esteem. Encounter attitudes were correlated with high regard for oneself. The authors suggested that Black students who devalue themselves because they are Black may have low self-esteem; yet by confronting these negative feelings in the encounter stage, a positive racial self concept emerges (Parham & Helms, 1985a). When entering the immersion stage, esteem decreases due to a sudden discovery of Blackness and subsequent feelings of shame, guilt, insecurity, and anger.

Similar studies have been conducted which explore the relationship between racial identity and self-esteem (Mumford, 1994; Pyant & Yanico, 1991). In these studies, however, the Rosenberg Self-esteem Scale (RSE) was used to measure self-approval and acceptance. Similar results were obtained. In the Mumford (1994) study, the RSE was used to determine the correlation between racial identity and self-esteem. Again, pre-encounter attitudes were related to poor self-concept. However, internalization attitudes were associated with high self-esteem. This finding is important, as no previous research was able to draw this conclusion. While it was not significant, self-esteem was inversely related to encounter and immersion attitudes, which is consistent with previous research.

In the latter study, Pyant and Yanico (1991) found that pre-encounter

attitudes (both student and nonstudent populations) were negatively correlated with self-esteem. For the nonstudent sample, encounter attitudes were also related to poor self-esteem. This latter finding does not agree with Parham and Helms (1985a). The authors explained that during the encounter stage, confusion of identity is present as the previously existing identity and worldview have been disrupted. They believe these findings are consistent with Cross (1971), but may differ from Parham and Helms (1985a) due to sample differences and operationalization of mental health variables.

There are conflicting results regarding the relationship between ethnic identity and self-esteem in an African-American population. While some researchers found no relationship between the two (Houston, 1984; White & Burke, 1987); some have found positive correlations between ethnic identity and self-esteem for ethnic minorities in both high school and college samples (Goodstein & Ponterotto, 1997; Phinney, 1989; Phinney, 1992; Phinney & Alipuria, 1990). When racial identity attitudes and ethnic identity were used as predictors of self-esteem, the overall regression was significant. Celebrating one's Blackness or experiencing a strong ethnic group affiliation was more important in predicting self-esteem than hating one's Blackness (Goodstein & Ponterotto, 1997).

To date there are no studies which address acculturation and self-esteem in an African-American population. Again, much of the research focuses on preventive health behavior, stress, and racial discrimination (Landrine & Klonoff,

1997). Since the experience of racial discrimination may lead to negative feelings and thus a negative view of oneself, it seems feasible that there would be a relationship (albeit indirect and complex) between acculturation level and self-esteem. Therefore, the role that acculturation plays in self-approval and acceptance was addressed.

The Current Study

The literature lacks substantial empirical evidence regarding the relationship between racial identity and acculturation. While Pope-Davis et al. (2000) found that they are clearly related constructs, Landrine and Klonoff (1996) have suggested that the constructs clearly appear to be independent and may be largely unrelated to one another. The authors note that racial identity could be thought of as existing along a continuum. On one end of the continuum is an individual who views the world from a White frame of reference and devalues his or her own Blackness. On the other end of that continuum lies an individual who has achieved a sense of inner security and self-confidence with his or her own Blackness (Parham, 1989). Acculturated, bicultural, or traditional individuals may exist anywhere along that continuum. For example, traditional African-Americans living in an African-American neighborhood, eating traditional foods, and belonging to a traditional church may hold racist beliefs about African-Americans and hate their racial group membership. Or, they may accept and take pride in that membership depending on the attitudes and behaviors of their parents, kin, teachers, co-workers, and community as well as the behavior of

Whites toward them (Landrine and Klonoff, 1996). Similarly, highly acculturated African-Americans may also have racist beliefs about African-Americans and hate their racial group membership, or they may accept and take pride in their race in spite of adopting the values and beliefs of and participating in the dominant White culture. Therefore, the authors suggest that acculturation and racial identity are theoretically orthogonal.

It seems feasible that racial identity is related to level of acculturation, at least for two of the four stages. In the pre-encounter stage, individuals deny their membership with Blacks and devalue them. Instead, they prefer to accept and value the White standards. It seems unlikely that they would want to live among other Blacks. According to Landrine and Klonoff (1996), where one lives and spends most of his time is a good indicator of participation in native traditions. So, individuals who do not live with Blacks would appear to be acculturated to the dominant White society. Furthermore, if they receive socialization messages that Whites are all good, they may have had less opportunity to grow up in Black neighborhoods where they could engage in numerous cultural childhood activities. In other words, there would be less of a chance of having been traditionally socialized. Since they believe that Blacks are inferior to Whites, they may deny any discrimination against Whites and their institutions. This would mean that with respect to interracial attitudes, those individuals may not believe that Whites are racist or should not be trusted. Instead, they may believe that Whites are intelligent and sophisticated and in order to be accepted they must be

like them. Finally, if there is less exposure to the culture due to isolation or integration, these individuals would more than likely not eat some of the traditional foods.

In the immersion-emersion stage, it is believed that individuals would be more traditional in cultural orientation. During this stage, the individual has re-evaluated his White frame of reference and now is experiencing Black rage. There is an overwhelming sense of Blackness accompanied by devaluing Whiteness. Thus, he or she engages in creative activity to learn more about the culture and Black heritage. He or she may also begin to engage in numerous cultural group activities. Where does this individual turn to get information about his heritage? The answer may be the duplicate institutions of the culture. This would include all forms of media (e.g., newspaper, magazines, television, or music) and other Black people. Again, individuals in this stage are experiencing rage and anger primarily directed toward Whites. So, their view of Whites may be one of distrust, hostility, and discrimination. Therefore, these individuals' interracial attitudes would seem to be more traditional in cultural orientation.

Although the research exploring the relationship between racial and ethnic identity is limited, it suggests that pre-encounter attitudes are related to lower ethnic identity achievement. Remember that during the first stage of racial identity, the individual devalues his or her Blackness in favor of a White frame of reference. This may indicate that he or she has not examined or explored ethnic identity issues because of a lack of concern or a lack of exposure to them.

During the internalization stage, the individual has achieved inner security with his or her Blackness. Many options regarding racial issues have been explored during the period of crises and subsequent commitments have resulted. There is a greater likelihood that some questions were raised regarding one's ethnic group as well. The individual, while going through the process of differentiation and integration, developed attitudes regarding his or her own ethnic group versus the other group and made choices about that group en route to an achieved ethnic identity. Therefore, internalization attitudes should be positively related to higher ethnic identity attachment.

Previous research indicates that certain racial identity attitudes are associated with psychological well-being, specifically depression and self-esteem. This seems reasonable considering the distress and confusion occurring while one accepts his or her own Blackness. Therefore, it is believed that pre-encounter, encounter, and immersion attitudes will have poor psychological adjustment. That is, individuals who are in these particular stages of identity development will report more depressive symptoms and low self-esteem. On the other hand, internalization represents one who has accepted his or her race and has achieved inner security and self-pride. Therefore, these attitudes should be associated with fewer, if any, depressive symptoms and high self-esteem.

Research on ethnic identity suggests that there is a relationship between it and psychological well-being despite inconclusive results. Considering the

crisis period that one goes through while exploring alternatives, it is reasonable to expect some confusion and conflict. Therefore, those who represent an achieved ethnic identity (i.e., experienced and resolved a crisis) will have few, if any, depressive symptoms and high esteem. On the other hand, those who have yet to explore alternatives or make commitments (diffuse) may have negative feelings toward their own group and favor the other group. Or, if they have not explored but made a commitment to parental values (foreclosure), then this pattern may result in maladjustment. Rejecting one's roots or heritage can result in negative self-concept and poorer psychological adjustment.

The research on the relationship between acculturation, depression, and self-esteem is limited. Where one lives is a good indication of acculturation level and perceived acceptance by one's own group has been linked to a positive self-concept. Therefore, if one who grows up in a predominantly Black neighborhood, identifies with that group, participates in the traditions, and perceives acceptance from that group, then it is likely that he or she will be traditionally acculturated, experience few depressive symptoms, and have high self-esteem. Likewise, if one grows up in a predominantly White neighborhood, identifies with, and perceives acceptance from that group, then he or she will be acculturated to dominant society patterns. This individual should report a positive self-esteem and few depressive symptoms. However, in these same instances, if there is no support and/or there is expression of negative attitudes toward the individual from the neighborhood, then the likelihood of positive

psychological adjustment decreases (i.e., more depressive symptoms and low self-esteem). For example, a traditionally acculturated individual who grew up in a predominantly Black neighborhood yet currently lives in an all White neighborhood may experience negative overtones from the new group. It is these negative attitudes which may increase depressive symptoms and decrease self-esteem.

The hypotheses for the following study are as follows:

1. Individuals in the pre-encounter stage of racial identity will be more acculturated to White dominant patterns (lower AAAS scores); whereas, those in the immersion-emersion stage will be more traditional in cultural orientation (higher AAAS scores).
2. Pre-encounter individuals will be less traditionally socialized, have positive interracial attitudes, and consume fewer traditional foods (low scores on these subscales). Immersion-emersion individuals will score high on the interracial attitudes, religious beliefs, family practices, traditional socialization, and preferences for African-American things. These subscales represent forms of activities that will provide individuals with more knowledge regarding their heritage.
3. Pre-encounter attitudes will be associated with lower ethnic identity attachment (low MEIM scores), while internalization attitudes will be associated with higher ethnic identity scores.
4. Earlier stages of racial identity (i.e., pre-encounter and encounter) will be

related to other group orientation; immersion-emersion attitudes will be associated with affirmation and belonging components of ethnic identity; and internalization will be related to ethnic identity achievement since both represent the most sophisticated states in the identity process.

5. Earlier stages of racial identity (i.e., pre-encounter, encounter, and immersion) will be associated with higher depression scores and lower self-esteem scores. Conversely, internalization attitudes will correspond with lower depression scores and higher self-esteem scores.
6. Individuals with high ethnic identity attachment will have higher self-esteem and lower depression scores, while those with low ethnic attachment will report higher incidents of depression and lower self-esteem scores.
7. Traditionally acculturated individuals living in a predominantly Black neighborhood and experiencing acceptance by that community will have low depression scores and higher self-esteem scores.
8. Acculturated individuals will report few depressive symptoms and high self-esteem if they currently live in a predominantly White neighborhood and are accepted by that group.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Participants

The questionnaires were completed by 194 African-American undergraduate students (81 males, 113 females) who were enrolled at a predominantly White institution located north of a major city in the South or one of two small historically Black colleges (a private institution located in a major Southern city and a public institution located in the Midwest). Table 1 contains descriptive statistics of this sample. The participants ranged in age from 18 years to 48 years with the average age being 20.54 $\pm$ 3.38 (median = 19 years, mode = 18 years). The outliers of 39, 40, 47 and 48 years were recoded to 33, 34, 35, and 36, respectively, to prevent a skewed distribution. Ninety-two percent were single, five percent reported being married, and three percent were divorced.

With regard to college classification, 52% were freshman, 17% sophomores, 16% juniors, and 11% seniors. Self-reported GPA ranged from 1.9 to 4.0, where the average GPA was 2.96 $\pm$ .53. Fifty-six participants were not included in this calculation due to missing data. A variety of subject majors were reported. The categories and percentages represented were: 1) education (7%), 2) business (20%), 3) social science (32%), 4) natural sciences (16%),

5) arts/humanities (10%), and 6) undecided (12%).

In terms of socioeconomic status (SES), the participants' backgrounds were diverse. Thirteen missing cases were excluded from analysis because of a lack of sufficient information regarding parental education and occupation. SES was calculated using a modified version of Hollingshead's Four Factor Index of Social Status (1975), for which two of the four factors (i.e., parent's education level and occupation) were used. Potential scores could range from 8 to 66. This sample obtained scores ranging from 11 to 66 with an average of 36.72 $\pm$ 12.25 (median = 36.50, mode = 39.00). In ascending order, 9% of the sample represented the lowest social class (Class I), unskilled laborers and menial service workers; 20% were in the machine operator and semiskilled workers social class (Class II); 25% represented the skilled craftsmen, clerical and sales workers class (Class III); 30% were medium business and minor professionals (Class IV); and 9% were in the highest social class, major business and professionals (Class V).

Data were collected to determine the racial composition of participant's neighborhood (predominantly White vs. predominantly Black). Students from this sample reported relatively diverse neighborhood racial compositions, as the scores ranged from 1 to 5 with a mean of 2.81 $\pm$ 1.34 (median = 3.00, mode = 3.00). The same percentage of students endorsed their neighborhood as being predominantly White as well as predominantly Black (15%). Participants were also asked to indicate the level of acceptance they perceived from their

neighbors and neighborhood. Again, participants reported varying degrees of perceived acceptance by their neighborhood. Nine percent strongly disagreed with feeling accepted and fitting in, whereas 28% reported strongly feeling accepted by their current neighbors.

Demographic data to describe the sample based on the type of school which the participants attend (predominantly White institution vs. historically Black college) is presented in Table 2 for comparison. In describing this data, the term PWI will refer to students from the predominantly White institution; whereas, HBC will refer to students from the two historically Black colleges. This sample consisted of 96 students (35 males, 61 females) from the PWI and 98 students (46 males, 52 females) from the HBC. The PWI sample ranged in age from 18 to 48 years (mean = 19.67 $\pm$ 2.96) whereas they ranged from 18 to 40 years (mean = 21.38 $\pm$ 3.55) for the HBC sample. These means were compared using a t test and were found to be significantly different, $t(191) = -3.61$, $p < .01$. In terms of education level, 75% of the PWI and 63% of the HBC sample were represented by freshmen and sophomores. Both groups reported similar GPAs (PWI = 2.88 $\pm$ .55; HBC = 3.02 $\pm$ .51). Various majors were represented in both samples. Most participants declared majors in the social sciences (32% for both institution types). With respect to SES, similar backgrounds were reported (PWI = 38.18 $\pm$ 13.27; HBC = 35.11 $\pm$ 10.86).

When asked about how racially similar participants were to their own neighborhood, there was a significant difference between the HBC sample's

report of currently living in a predominantly Black neighborhood and that of the PWI sample, $t(190) = -2.07$, $p < .05$. In terms of perceived acceptance by one's neighbors, more HBC participants reported greater feelings of acceptance than did PWI students (32% vs. 23%, respectively). Similar percentages of respondents from each institution type reported feelings of rejection (PWI = 10% and HBC = 6%).

In describing differences between each of the historically Black colleges, the terms Southern private college (SPC) and Midwestern public college (MPC) will be used. Nearly twice as many respondents participated from MPC than from SPC (64 vs. 34). Average age for the SPC sample was 23.79, whereas it was 20.09 for the MPC sample. These means were compared and found to be significantly different, $t(96) = 5.64$, $p < .01$. With respect to other linear demographic variables (e.g., GPA, SES, racial composition of neighborhood, and neighborhood acceptance), the two samples were not significantly different. Likewise, there were no significant differences found for gender. The other categorical variables were not analyzed due to small cell sizes.

Similar comparisons were conducted for predictor and outcome variables. Significant differences were found regarding acculturation level, [$t(96) = 2.10$, $p < .05$], including interracial attitudes and religious beliefs; ethnic identity, [$t(96) = 4.19$, $p < .01$] and its three facets; and the racial identity attitude, internalization, [$t(96) = 14.44$, $p < .01$]. That is, the SPC sample participated more often in traditional culture, explored alternatives and made a commitment to affiliate with

their ethnic group, and had achieved a sense of inner security and self confidence with their race. They also appeared less depressed; however, the t test was not significant, $t(96) = -1.89$, $p = .06$.

Instruments

Demographic Information. All participants were administered a questionnaire containing demographic information (see Appendix B). The items required respondents to reveal personal information such as age, gender, marital status, college classification, self-reported GPA, and major. Additional information on the participant's parents (i.e., education level and occupation) was requested to obtain information on the participant's socioeconomic status (SES). It was computed using the Four Factor Index of Social Status (Hollingshead, 1975). Status scores were calculated by utilizing two of the four factors (education and occupation). The status score of an individual was obtained by multiplying the scale value for occupation by a weight of five and the scale value for education by a weight of three (Hollingshead, 1975). Once status scores were obtained, participants' social status level was determined using the index of social strata. The strata, with ranges in parentheses, are as follows: unskilled laborers, menial service workers (8-19); machine operators, semiskilled workers (20-29); skilled craftsmen, clerical, sales workers (30-39); medium business, minor professional, technical (40-54); and major business and professional (55-66).

Finally, the last section of the questionnaire requested information on the participant's neighbors and neighborhood. The first three questions focused on the type of neighborhood respondents lived in (e.g., racial similarity and composition); whereas the last three focused on the respondents' feelings about that neighborhood (e.g., feeling comfortable, fitting in, being accepted). Participants responded to five of the six questions using a rating scale presented in Likert type format. In each instance, there was an option to mark zero (which was identified as missing data) whenever the student was uncertain about neighborhood type or feelings about their neighbors. Responses for the other item involved estimating the percentage of neighbors who are racially different from the participant. Scores for the neighborhood similarity variable were derived by summing the ratings on two of the three items and dividing by that number of items. Lower scores indicated that neighbors were racially different (predominantly White) from the participant and higher scores meant that neighbors were very similar (predominantly Black). For the neighborhood acceptance variable, respondents rated the three acceptance items and means were obtained for the acceptance scores. Higher scores indicated greater feelings of acceptance and lower scores indicated feelings of rejection by one's neighborhood.

Racial Identity Attitude Scale. Participants were administered the Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS-B, short form), a 30-item measure developed by Parham and Helms (1981). The scale assesses the attitudes associated with

the four stages of Black identity development as described in Cross' (1971) theory of psychological nigrescence. It was designed by converting the Q-sort technique into a paper-and-pencil test and has been standardized on an African-American male and female college student sample.

The RIAS is in a Likert format in which respondents showed the extent of their agreement or disagreement with each item based on a scale from one to five. One (1) indicates strongly disagree and five (5) indicates strongly agree. Scores for each of the stages or subscales were obtained by adding the responses of those items comprising that subscale and dividing that sum by the number of items in that subscale. Therefore, mean subscale scores may range from one to five with higher mean scores indicating higher levels of the attitudes representing that scale.

Since it has been administered to diverse student samples (i.e., age, gender, geographical region, educational institution type, and racial composition of the respondent's environment), the RIAS appears to assess adequately the racial identity development of college and university populations. Internal consistency reliabilities have been reported from various studies and range from .67 to .69 (pre-encounter), .45 to .72 (encounter), .66 to .67 (immersion-emersion), and .35 to .79 (internalization); no test-retest reliabilities have been reported (Helms & Parham, 1981; 1985a; Pomales, Claiborn, & LaFromboise, 1986; Ponterotto & Wise, 1987). Cronbach's alphas (presented on the diagonal

in Table 3) obtained in this study were: pre-encounter (.71), encounter (.38), immersion-emersion (.64), and internalization (.64).

In addition, validity studies have found some support of construct validity. Ponterotto and Wise (1987) used a factor analytic method and found strong support for three of the four stages (i.e., pre-encounter, encounter, and internalization). Helms and Parham (in press) also conducted a factor analytic study and found four orthogonal constructs, which reflect the racial identity attitudes, that explain the RIAS items. Other evidence for predictive and construct validity has been shown in various studies which have related the RIAS to preference for counselor race (Parham & Helms, 1981); counseling process (Carter & Helms, 1992); Afrocentric values (Brookins, 1994); self-esteem and affective states (Mumford, 1994; Parham & Helms, 1985a; Pyant & Yanico, 1991); and other measures of racial identity development (Grace, 1984).

Considering that the RIAS purports to operationalize the stages of racial identity, a developmental theory, steps were taken to analyze whether it could measure a stagewise process. Previous studies have supported the theoretical assumption that adjacent attitude scores were positively correlated, and conflicting attitudes were negatively correlated (Carter, 1984; Grace, 1984; Parham & Helms, 1981). These trends were similar on five of six intercorrelations of Black racial identity attitudes in this study (see Table 3). Since the pre-encounter subscale measures attitudes exclusive of the others, one would expect it to be negatively correlated with those other attitudes.

However, it was not the case in this study. Pre-encounter attitudes were significantly and positively correlated with encounter and immersion-emersion attitudes (both .42). Although these appear to be opposite attitudes, these highly positive correlations may be indicative of the pervasive confusion within each of these stages.

African American Acculturation Scale. The African American Acculturation Scale (AAAS), is a 74-item measure containing eight dimensions of the culture. These eight dimensions include traditional African-American religious beliefs and practices, traditional African-American family structure and practices, traditional African-American socialization, preparation and consumption of traditional foods, preference for African-American things, interracial attitudes, superstitions, and traditional African-American health beliefs and practices. Respondents used a seven point Likert scale, where one (1) is strongly disagree and seven (7) is strongly agree, to indicate their level of agreement or disagreement with that item. Scores for each subscale were obtained by summing the items that make up that scale; likewise, total scale scores were obtained by adding all of the subscale scores. The items are structured such that respondents with high scores on each dimension and total scale score indicate a traditional cultural orientation and lower scores indicate a highly acculturated orientation.

Internal consistency reliabilities indicate that the subscales are highly reliable; coefficient alphas ranged from .71 (Traditional family practices and

values) to .90 (Preference for African-American things). Coefficient alphas for the current study ranged from .65 (superstitions) to .86 (interracial attitudes). These internal consistency reliabilities are presented in Table 4. The scale's split-half reliability was .93 (Landrine & Klonoff, 1994). Evidence was shown for criterion-related validity (i.e., African-Americans scored significantly higher than non African-Americans) and concurrent validity (i.e., African-Americans living in a Black neighborhood obtained significantly higher scores than those who did not). Landrine and Klonoff (1994) provided validity data on the relationships between the total AAAS score, subscale scores, and status variables (e.g., city of origin, education level, income level, gender, and socioeconomic status of family of origin). No significant correlations were found suggesting that the scale measures African-American acculturation and not the beliefs of poor and uneducated African-Americans (Landrine & Klonoff, 1994). Similar analyses from this study were conducted and are presented in the results section.

The correlations among each of the subscales and total AAAS scores, which are presented in Table 4, show that the subscales are significantly and positively correlated with one another with the exception of one relationship. These significant intercorrelations between subscales were expected considering they existed in Landrine and Klonoff's original and cross-validation studies. Additionally, the subscales were highly correlated with the total AAAS score (r range = .49 to .77, $p < .01$), again another expected trend since the total scale

score is a sum of the other subscales and the various dimensions of culture have some commonalities.

Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure. Participants were administered the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM), developed by Phinney (1992), a 20-item scale that assesses three aspects of ethnic identity (i.e., positive ethnic attitudes and sense of belonging, ethnic identity achievement, and ethnic behaviors or practices). It also assesses other group orientation or the attitudes toward and interactions with ethnic groups other than one's own. Respondents noted their degree of agreement or disagreement on a four point Likert scale. The scale ranges from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (4). Scores were obtained by reversing negatively worded items, summing the item scores of the subscales, and dividing that sum by the number of items making up that scale. Total ethnic identity scores were derived by summing across all items (except those included in other group orientation) and obtaining a mean. The scale is constructed such that higher scores indicate having a high ethnic identity.

Phinney (1992) reported higher internal consistency reliabilities for a college sample (.90) than a high school sample (.81), and the coefficient alphas ranged from .69 to .86 for two of the three subscales using these same samples. Cronbach's alphas for this study (see Table 5) were as follows: positive ethnic attitudes and sense of belonging (.79), ethnic identity achievement (.73), and other group orientation (.75). Reliabilities were not calculated for the third subscale, ethnic behaviors, since it consists of only two items. Test-retest

reliabilities were not reported. Evidence of concurrent validity for the scale was shown in that ethnic identity scores differed significantly (and higher) among four ethnic groups (e.g., Asian, Black, Hispanic, and mixed) from White students (Phinney, 1992). Further validity checks were conducted to see if certain demographic variables accounted for differences in ethnic identity. No significant differences were found in ethnic identity scores when making comparisons by gender or socioeconomic status. However, with respect to school achievement, there were no statistically significant differences in the college sample; yet in the high school sample, students with grades of "B" or higher obtained higher scores than students with grades of "C" or lower (Phinney, 1992). Similar validity checks will be presented in the results section.

Correlations among the three aspects of ethnic identity for this study are presented in Table 5. It shows that they are statistically significant and that other group orientation was unrelated to all three components. However, it was correlated with the total ethnic identity score, a finding inconsistent with previous research.

Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale. The Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D) is a 20-item self report rating scale that measures depressive symptomatology in the general population (Radloff, 1977). The items were selected from other validated measures of depression and represent those major components of depressive symptoms (e.g., depressed mood, guilt feelings, hopelessness/helplessness, psychomotor

retardation, or sleep/appetite disturbance). Respondents were asked about the way they have felt during the last week and to indicate their responses using a scale ranging from zero (0) to three (3), where zero is rarely or none of the time and three is most or all of the time. The scores for four of the items are reversed. Total scale scores were obtained by summing all of the items. Higher scores indicate greater impairment and a cutoff score of 16 has been established to indicate cases of depression (Radloff, 1977).

The scale has high internal consistency (coefficient alpha = .85) in the general population and reported to be even greater (.90) in a patient sample (Radloff, 1977). The internal consistency reliability for this study was .87, which is very similar to that reported by Radloff. Test-retest reliabilities were in the moderate range (.45 to .70); they were larger when there were shorter time intervals and when no negative life events had occurred in the year prior to the first interview or between interviews. Validity studies have concluded that the scale has concurrent validity (Radloff, 1977; Weissman, Sholomskas, Pottenger, Prusoff, & Locke, 1977) by demonstrating that: 1) patient samples score higher than general population samples; 2) depressed patients score significantly higher than other psychiatric patients; 3) acutely depressed patients score higher than recovered depressed patients; and 4) moderate correlations (.44 to .54) exist between the CES-D and other self report/clinician interview scales measuring depression. Conversely, the scale did not correlate significantly with demographic variables (Weissman, et al, 1977) or measures of cooperation,

social functioning, or aggression (Radloff, 1977). This suggests it has discriminant validity.

Analyses were conducted in this study to determine if the scale significantly correlated with various demographic variables. These analyses are reported in the results section.

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale. The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSE) consists of 10 items which measures self-approval and self-acceptance (Rosenberg, 1965). Both positive and negative items are alternately presented as to discourage response set. The items are in a Likert format such that respondents note their degree of agreement or disagreement on a four-point scale. The scale ranges from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (4) and scores can range from 10 to 40. Higher scores indicate higher levels of self-esteem, and lower scores correspond to lower levels of self-esteem. The instrument is a Guttman-type scale; however, additive scoring was the method used in this study. Scores were obtained by reversing negatively worded items and then summing across all items.

Rosenberg (1979) reported internal consistency by a coefficient of reproducibility of .92 and scalability of .72. The coefficient alpha for this study was .81. Test-retest reliability in a college sample over a two week period has been reported as .88 (Silber & Tippet, 1965). The RSE significantly correlates .59 with the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory (Robinson & Shaurer, 1973).

Procedure

At the predominantly White institution, participants were recruited using several methods. The first method involved the researcher going to an introductory psychology course on a designated day toward the end of the class period, making an announcement about the study, and passing out research packets to anyone interested in volunteering. Respondents were offered extra credit for their participation in addition to the opportunity to win $50.00 in a random drawing held at the end of the study. After completing the surveys, students returned them to the researcher. In turn, the researcher gave each student an extra credit card indicating participation in the study.

Other participants were recruited by posting a sign-up sheet on the extra credit board in the Psychology department. This way, every student enrolled in a psychology course would have an opportunity to receive extra credit and to win $50.00. The sign-up sheet included a brief explanation of the study as well as dates and times which the student could come to the researcher's office to complete the materials. Various hours were posted to hopefully offer times convenient for anyone wishing to participate. Respondents were greeted by one of the researcher's assistants, who handed out the packet and retrieved it after completion. Care was taken to separate the packet from the informed consent/entry form which was placed in a separate envelope to preserve anonymity. The research assistant then gave the student an extra credit card signed by the researcher for his or her participation.

Finally, PWI participants were recruited by making arrangements with the directors of three dormitories on campus. Though not explicitly stated by PWI personnel, these three dormitories were selected because they were known to have a higher ratio of African-Americans than other dormitories on campus. Approval was requested to set up a table in the lobby of each of these dorms so that students could retrieve packets to complete. The researcher explained that it was part of the dissertation project required to complete a doctoral degree in Psychology. Once approval was granted, the researcher and two research assistants posted flyers in each of the dorms to inform residents of the upcoming opportunity to win $50.00 by participating in research on African-American attitudes. On the day of data collection, a table (provided by dorm assistants) was set up in each of the lobbies. The table was decorated with a salient poster requesting residents to ask the researcher or research assistant how he or she could win $50.00 by participating in research. Due to university policy, residents could not be approached about the study but could approach the table to request information. Each resident was given a brief explanation of the task and handed a packet if he or she wished to participate. When finished, the resident returned the packet. The researcher or research assistant promptly separated the informed consent/entry form from the packet and stored it in an envelope apart from the questionnaires to preserve anonymity.

At the Southern private college (SPC), two methods were used to collect data. First, the head of the Biology department was contacted. Considering that

the SPC is a small institution, this professor was responsible for psychology as well as other social and natural science departments. Once approved, the packets were given to him. In turn, he gave them to the sociology instructor. This professor announced the study in class and distributed the packets to the students. Those wishing to participate completed the surveys and returned them to the instructor. The researcher then retrieved the packets at a designated time. Respondents from this college were offered the same opportunity to win $50.00 for their participation. No extra credit was given.

The second approach involved distribution of packets in a local store (i.e., salon) which was in close proximity to the college. The researcher had previous knowledge that students of this college frequented this salon through contact with one of the stylists. A display box was set up in the lobby. A sign, which decorated the box, denoted how participants had an opportunity to win $50.00 by participating in African-American research. The sign also stipulated the requirements for participation in the study (i.e., undergraduate students attending the SPC, 18 years of age, and African-American). Packets were then left inside the display box and participants were requested to place completed surveys inside one of two envelopes. The second envelope was provided for informed consent to preserve anonymity. The researcher then retrieved the completed packets from the personal contact at a designated time.

Finally, participants were solicited from the Midwestern public institution (MPC). The researcher went to three introductory psychology courses and made

an announcement about the study at the beginning of the class period. On the particular day of data collection, the professor of the class was administering an exam. Therefore, participants were explained that anyone who was interested in participating could get a packet after completing the test. However, it was understood that they would need to complete the packets while in class. Respondents were given the opportunity to win $50.00 in a random drawing. Additionally, the professor offered extra credit for participation (extra points on the exam). Once completed, students returned the surveys to the researcher.

Each participant received a research packet that included the following items: an informed consent with an attached entry form for the drawing (see Appendix A), a demographic information sheet, the RIAS, the AAAS, the MEIM, the CES-D, and the RSE. By signing the informed consent form, the participant agreed to participate in the study with the understanding that his or her initial consent could have been withdrawn at any time during the study as well as his or her participation could have been discontinued without losing benefits. Anonymity was preserved by numbering the research packets.

Following the informed consent form, the participants were asked to complete the entry form. Respondents filled out their name, address, and phone number to ensure that they could be contacted if their name was selected in the drawing. They were then asked to complete the questionnaires in the following order: RSE, CES-D, MEIM, AAAS, RIAS, and the demographic information. All respondents were encouraged to regard the task seriously and

respond as accurately as possible based on their actual feelings about the various items presented. Upon completion, they were instructed to return all of the completed instruments to their instructor, the researcher, or the research assistant (depending on collection method). The informed consent/entry forms were stored separately from the questionnaires to make sure that the respondents remained anonymous.

Participation in this research was strictly voluntary. All respondents were offered the opportunity to win $50.00 for their participation in the study. Each received an entry blank which was completed and entered into a random drawing. The drawing was held upon completion of the study and two winners were randomly selected. They were notified by telephone; subsequently, a check was issued to that participant. Additionally, at the bottom of the informed consent/entry form, they had the option of requesting a summary of the results. Once available, those respondents were mailed a copy as requested.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

Pearson-product moment correlation coefficients were conducted to determine the relationship among six linear demographic variables (i.e., age, college classification, grade point average, socioeconomic status, neighborhood racial similarity, and neighborhood acceptance). The findings are presented in Table 6. With respect to age, it was positively correlated with college classification and negatively correlated with neighborhood similarity (r = .54 and -.15, respectively). Upper classmen tended to be older and lived in racially dissimilar neighborhoods. Socioeconomic status was negatively correlated with GPA (r = -.21, p < .05). In other words, individuals who have poorer backgrounds reported higher academic achievement. Finally, the neighborhood acceptance variable was positively correlated with neighborhood racial composition (r = .35, p < .01). Thus, students who perceived that they were accepted by and fit into their neighborhood reported being more racially like their neighbors (predominantly Black).

Three of the four categorical variables were included for chi-square analysis (i.e., gender, institution type, and major). The fourth variable, marital status, was excluded due to small cell sizes. Recategorizing this variable would

not have improved the inequitable cells. Chi-square analysis revealed no significant relationships among gender, institution type, and major.

Racial Identity

Table 7 presents correlations between continuous variables and the RIAS subscales. None of the demographic variables correlated with the pre-encounter or encounter stages of racial identity. However, there was a negative correlation between SES and the immersion-emersion stage ($r = -.16$, $p < .05$), suggesting that students reporting lower SES levels adopted more pro-Black/anti-White attitudes in terms of their worldview. Finally, the last stage of racial identity (internalization) correlated positively with three demographic variables (i.e., college classification, neighborhood similarity, and neighborhood acceptance). This finding suggests that upperclassmen have achieved a sense of inner security and self-confidence with their race. In addition, students who live in predominantly Black neighborhoods and report acceptance by their neighbors have this same confidence with their Blackness.

Using the RIAS subscales as dependent variables, a series of MANOVAs were conducted to explore the relationship between gender, institution, and racial identity attitudes. Major was not analyzed due to small cell sizes. These analyses are presented in Table 8. In terms of gender, males scored significantly higher than females on the pre-encounter (males = 2.19, females = 1.99) and immersion-emersion stages (males = 2.79, females = 2.39) of racial identity. Considering that these are stages characterized by confusion and

hatred, this finding suggests that, at least for males in this study, they remain in a state of confusion regarding their Blackness and are struggling to achieve a sense of identity and security. There were no significant relationships found for institution type.

Acculturation

The relationship between continuous variables, total AAAS, and subscale scores are presented in Table 9. Age was negatively correlated with two subscales: traditional foods ($r = -.14$, $p < .05$) and preferences for African-American things ($r = -.17$, $p < .05$). Younger participants were more traditional in cultural orientation particularly when it comes to their own culture's music, magazines, arts, Black people and ethnic foods. College classification was positively correlated with interracial attitudes, suggesting that older students are wary of members of the dominant society.

SES was negatively correlated with the total AAAS score ($r = -.22$, $p < .01$) indicating that participants with lower SES levels were more traditional in cultural orientation. This finding contradicts previous findings by Landrine and Klonoff (1996) and suggests to a very small extent (4% of shared variance) that the beliefs of poor, uneducated African-Americans are being assessed rather than beliefs of the culture. Additionally, there were significant negative correlations between SES and four of the eight subscales: interracial attitudes ($r = -.19$, $p < .01$); preparation and consumption of traditional foods ($r = -.25$, $p < .01$); traditional health beliefs and practices ($r = -.21$, $p < .01$), and traditional African-

American socialization (r = -.20, p < .01). Thus, participants from poor families were more likely to have mistrusting attitudes toward the dominant White society, to eat more ethnic meals, to endorse beliefs in natural illnesses and indigenous healers, to have been reared in an African-American neighborhood, and to engage in common African-American activities (e.g., games, church). GPA was not correlated with any of the subscales.

When looking at the neighborhood variables, the type of neighborhood was positively correlated with total AAAS scores (r = .20, p < .01). Participants living in a predominantly Black neighborhood were traditional in cultural orientation. This finding lends further support to Landrine and Klonoff's theory that where one lives is a good predictor of acculturation level. This variable was also positively correlated with two AAAS subscales: traditional African-American socialization (r = .37, p < .01) and superstitions (r = .15, p < .05). Finally, with regard to neighborhood acceptance, it was positively correlated with total AAAS scores (r = .23, p < .01). Thus, respondents who perceived acceptance by their neighbors were traditional in cultural orientation. Similarly, there were significant, positive correlations found between six of the eight AAAS subscales and the neighborhood acceptance variable: traditional African-American family structure and practices (r = .23, p < .01); consumption of traditional foods (r = .19, p < .01); African-American health beliefs and practices (r = .23, p < .01); traditional religious beliefs (r = .15, p < .05); traditional African-American socialization (r = .19, p < .01) and superstitions (r = .20, p < .01).

T tests of independent samples were conducted to see if there were any gender or school differences on the total AAAS scores (see Table 10). The t test was not significant for gender [t(192) = -1.88, p = ns] but was for institution type [t(192) = 2.78, p < .01]. Participants from the PWI had higher AAAS scores, indicating a more traditional cultural orientation than those from the HBCs. Major was not analyzed.

Next, follow-up ANOVAs (presented in Table 11) were conducted to determine mean differences for gender and institution. There were four significant findings with regard to gender. Males scored significantly higher than females on the interracial attitudes subscale, F(1,192) = 5.95, p < .05, suggesting that males have more traditional views (primarily ones of mistrust) of Whites and their culture than do females. On the other hand, female means were significantly higher than male means on three subscales: traditional African-American religious beliefs subscale, F(1,192) = 14.38, p < .01; traditional African-American health beliefs, F(1,192) = 4.44, p < .05; and traditional socialization, F(1,192) = 6.35, p < .05. This finding suggests that women may be extensively involved in church-related activities and possess a deeper spirituality than men in this study. Furthermore, they have more traditional beliefs when it comes to natural illnesses and activities common in the African-American community.

In terms of institution, significant relationships were found on four subscales: traditional African-American family structure and practices, F(1,192)

= 6.66, $p < .05$; traditional African-American religious beliefs and practices, $F(1,192) = 17.43$, $p < .01$; preferences for African-American things, $F(1,192) = 12.56$, $p < .05$ and traditional African-American health beliefs, $F(1,192) = 6.35$, $p < .05$. That is, participants from the predominantly White institution were more traditional in cultural orientation with regard to familism, indigenous healing, spirituality, and African-American music, arts, and people.

Ethnic Identity

Table 12 presents correlations between continuous demographic variables and total MEIM and subscale scores, including the other group orientation dimension. Age was positively correlated with other group orientation, $r = .17$, $p < .05$, indicating that older participants had higher attachment and interest in other ethnic groups than younger participants. College classification was positively correlated with overall MEIM scores, ethnic identity achievement, and positive ethnic attitudes at the .01 level ($r = .27$, .31, and .22, respectively). Participants who were further along in their education had greater ethnic identity attachment than underclassmen. There were no significant differences found for GPA and SES.

With regard to the neighborhood variables, participants living in a predominantly Black neighborhood were affiliated with and more involved in social activities with members of their ethnic group than those living in predominantly White neighborhoods, ($r = .19$ and .15, respectively). Finally, the neighborhood acceptance variable was positively correlated with total MEIM

scores (r = .23, p < .01) as well as the three aspects: ethnic identity achievement (r = .22, p < .01); positive ethnic attitudes (r = .18, p < .05); and ethnic behaviors and practices (r = .18, p < .05).

Participant means on the overall MEIM were compared using t tests of independent samples to see if they differed significantly on two demographic variables. The data revealed no significant differences by gender [t(192) = -1.22, p = ns] or institution [t(192) = .76, p = ns].

Psychological Well-being

The correlation between the outcome variables was significant, r = -.50, p < .01. In Table 13, the correlations between continuous variables, depression, and self-esteem are shown. There was only one significant negative relationship noted between age and depression (r = -.16, p < .05), suggesting that younger participants are more depressed. It was particularly important to note the relationship between perceived acceptance by one's community and these outcome variables, because the prediction was made that acceptance would moderate the relationship between cultural orientation and psychological well-being. Although there appeared to be a linear relationship between acceptance and positive psychological well-being, no such relationship existed in this study.

With respect to categorical variables, t tests were run to reveal differences in means by gender and institution. There were no significant differences found on the depression scale [t(192) = -.83 and .67, respectively] or the self-esteem measure [t(192) = 1.73 and -1.92, respectively].

Hypothesis Testing

The first hypothesis stated that pre-encounter individuals will be acculturated and immersion-emersion individuals will be traditional in cultural orientation (see Table 14). This hypothesis was tested using Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients and support was found only for the participants in the immersion-emersion, $r = .31$, $p < .01$. Those students who have a pro-Black frame of reference immerse themselves in the cultural traditions of African-Americans. There were two significant findings which were not hypothesized. Participants scoring higher on both encounter and internalization attitudes were also traditional as evidenced by the high correlations ($r = .32$ and .52, respectively) at the .01 level.

The second hypothesis viewed the relationships between the RIAS and AAAS subscales using Pearson correlations. The first prediction involved finding significant negative relationships between the pre-encounter stage and three subscales of the AAAS (i.e., traditional socialization, interracial attitudes, and traditional foods). None of the findings support this hypothesis. Individuals scoring higher on this stage proved to be highly traditional in cultural orientation when asked about interracial attitudes, $r = .20$, $p < .01$. The other significant finding was on the religious beliefs subscale ($r = -.21$, $p < .01$). Having a White frame of reference means not having the deep convictions and faith in a higher power.

The second prediction concerns the relationship between the RIAS stage, immersion-emersion, and five of the AAAS subscales (i.e., interracial attitudes, religious beliefs, family practices, traditional socialization, and preferences for African-American things). This hypothesis was supported at the .01 level on three of the five scales: interracial attitudes (r = .47), traditional socialization (r = .22), and preferences for African-American things (r = .25). There were also significant positive correlations between two other subscales which were not predicted: traditional foods (r = .22, p < .01) and traditional health beliefs (r = .27, p < .01). Individuals who are immersed in their Blackness tend to be traditional in cultural orientation when it involves consuming ethnic meals and believing in natural illnesses and indigenous healers.

Finally, with regard to the other two RIAS subscales, there were significant positive correlations found on all but two AAAS subscales (i.e., family practices and religious beliefs) for encounter individuals, and all correlations were significant for individuals in the internalization stage.

The third hypothesis (presented in Table 15) examined relationships among the RIAS stages and ethnic identity achievement. Specifically, pre-encounter attitudes were predicted to be associated with low ethnic identity attachment. This correlation was significant (r = -.14, p < .05) thus indicating that one who devalues his or her own race does not identify with his or her own cultural group. Conversely, internalization attitudes were hypothesized to be associated with high ethnic identity attachment. Again, this hypothesis was

supported, r = .40, p < .01. Embracing one's Blackness has strong implications for identification with one's cultural group. Encounter individuals were also found to have high attachment to their ethnic group, r = .18, p < .05.

The fourth hypothesis explored associations among RIAS and MEIM subscales. First, those with pre-encounter and encounter racial identity attitudes were proposed to be associated with the MEIM subscale, other group orientation. The findings were supported as indicated by significant negative correlations (r = -.19 and -.18). Pre-encounter individuals were also unlikely to have a strong sense of affiliation with their ethnic group (r = -.21, p < .01). The encounter stage was significant with two other subscales: ethnic identity achievement (r = .20, p < .01) and ethnic behaviors and practices (r = .16, p < .05). The finding suggests that these individuals have established a sense of pride about their cultural group and are engaging in the practices. A significant finding, which was not hypothesized on the other group orientation dimension, was found on the immersion-emersion stage, r = -.23, p < .01. These individuals are characterized by hatred of the dominant group (Whites), as they do not feel a sense of affiliation with the majority.

Second, immersion-emersion attitudes were hypothesized to be positively correlated with the positive ethnic attitudes subscale. This hypothesis was not supported, r = -.02, p = ns. Finally, it was predicted that internalization attitudes would be positively correlated with the ethnic identity achievement subscale. This correlation was significant (r = .34, p < .01) which suggests that having self

pride and security with one's race creates positive feelings directed toward one's ethnic group and vice versa. The other aspects of ethnic identity (i.e., positive ethnic attitudes, ethnic behaviors) were also positively correlated with the internalization stage (r = .34 for both scales).

Hypotheses five and six are presented in Table 16. The fifth hypothesis examined the relationship between racial identity and well-being using Pearson correlation coefficients. It stated that individuals in the earlier stages of racial identity will have higher depression and lower self-esteem scores. This hypothesis was supported for only the pre-encounter stage with both depression (r = .23, p < .01) and self-esteem (r = -.27, p < .01). Individuals in the internalization stage were predicted to report lower depressive symptoms and higher self-esteem. There was a significant correlation for self-esteem (r =.32, p < .01) but not for depression (r = -.01, p = ns).

The sixth hypothesis stated that those with high ethnic identity attachment will report fewer depressive symptoms and higher self-esteem and the converse should also be true. The results were significant for depression (r = -.23, p < .01) and self-esteem (r =.24, p < .01). Thus, having a sense of affiliation with one's cultural group is essential for happiness and positive self-concept. Additionally, correlations between all three aspects which comprise ethnic identity were significant for both self-esteem and depression.

Hypothesis seven and eight involved a moderator variable analysis. The seventh hypothesis proposed that traditionally acculturated individuals living in

predominantly Black neighborhoods and reporting acceptance by that neighborhood would report lower depressive symptoms and higher self-esteem. The same should also be true for acculturated individuals in predominantly White neighborhoods (hypothesis eight). After participants were separated at the median according to the type of neighborhood in which they currently lived, Pearson correlations were conducted between the total AAAS scores and neighborhood acceptance, along with their interaction, and the outcome variables (i.e., self-esteem and depression). There was only one significant correlation between well-being and acculturation scores. That is, among individuals living in predominantly White neighborhoods who are acculturated to dominant society patterns, they are less likely to experience depressive symptoms than are traditional individuals in the same types of neighborhoods, ($r = .25$, $p < .05$). Acculturation and acceptance scores otherwise accounted for little variance in predicting mental well-being, and their interactions did not account for notable additional variance. Therefore, a multiple regression analysis was not conducted for either hypothesis.

Anecdotal Observations

Being African-American in America means exposure to certain events that nearly everyone in this ethnic group experiences (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996). While they may be easily observed, they are not so easily measured. These experiences and/or observations will be reported here as they may explain why certain hypotheses were supported while others were not.

During the data collection process, it was interesting to see the “don’t let certain people know your business” phenomenon occurring. For example, it was not uncommon for a participant to ask the researcher in private about who would have access to the data. Upon learning that “the man” was African-American, there appeared to be more willingness to participate in the study and hopefully more honesty about disclosing beliefs and values. Similarly, there were occasions when the researcher was approached because items had been interpreted as being defamatory toward African-Americans. After being given some information about the nature of the measure (e.g., cultural activities), participants completed the packet and later engaged in conversation with the researcher specifically to share stories about being Black and engaging in other aspects of the culture.

Then there are the less traditional African-Americans who had a reaction to various items during the completion of the measures. It seemed that the items served as reminders of how the culture had been abandoned, and those individuals were ready to make some changes because of the unbearable guilt, anger, and shame evoked by reading these items. Reviewing the accomplishments and shortcomings in their lives did not help much as they saw the impact that being acculturated to White society had not only on themselves but also their children, who may speak proper English, listen to music by non-African-American artists, have few African-American friends, and do not value church and religion. Thus these individuals disapprove of the privileges they

enjoy, especially when they see other disadvantaged African-Americans not being treated fairly. This is a very clear cut example of Landrine and Klonoff's (1996) principle of return as these individuals experience a sense of loss that they departed from the practices of the culture and feel a renewed need for a sense of re-establishing roots. They also feel a duty to educate and provide adequate knowledge about the culture to their children. Ethnicity also becomes more salient as they have more exposure to it considering they are the minority (even in number) in their community. Thus they will more than likely incorporate more of African-American culture in their lives.

There are still others who wish to attain those privileges of Whites and engage in few of the aspects of African-American culture. They enjoy the status, yet they are not precluded from secretly discussing the negative aspects of affiliating with Whites. This can best be explained by the following example. Consider being a member of the church choir. While at practice, there is joy and satisfaction with being able to sit around and share common experiences among friends. However, the moment practice is over, one begins to talk about (to the point of gossiping) everything wrong with the other choir members. So, wanting to belong and enjoy affiliating with any social group does not mean that one will not complain about its individual members later.

With every African-American, there are things that can be said which are clearly off limits to Whites. This is particularly true regardless of whether one holds a White frame of reference and is highly acculturated or whether one is

traditionally immersed in African-American culture and secure with his or her Blackness. For example, references can be made regarding how “nappy” or kinky one’s hair is. Having straight, relaxed hair is somewhat of a White ideal that may be a value held by a more acculturated African-American. While this statement about “nappy” hair may impose White values on more traditional African-Americans, it will not be considered offensive. However, this same statement made by someone White would not be considered acceptable by any African-American and in fact, may land the White individual in a great deal of trouble. Pre-encounter individuals may think that Blacks are inferior or that they come from an uncivilized land, but may not acknowledge this on certain questionable RIAS items if they believe that White researchers are involved. Also, if Whites were to say something like this, then there would be conflict.

Finally, something should be said about the “no more than two” rule, another unstated belief held by Whites which indicates that a conspiracy is underway when there are more than two African-Americans in the same place at once. This phenomenon can be observed practically anywhere, particularly on a predominantly White college campus where few African-American students are paired for class projects or paired for dormitory room assignments. Being outnumbered makes race more salient and heightens feelings of discomfort for Whites. However, it may be difficult for them to admit this.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

Racial identity, ethnic identity, and acculturation are three cultural constructs which have been broadly examined (the latter less so) to assist in explaining and understanding differences between ethnic minorities and mainstream society as well as the role that culture and behavior plays in the African-American community. While they have been primarily investigated separately with various demographic variables, the literature is rather scarce when exploring the nature of the relationships among these constructs in one research design (as it specifically pertains to African-Americans). Therefore, in this comprehensive study, the focus was on examining these relationships in addition to viewing the impact that identity achievement and ethnic group attachment/acceptance has on psychological well-being (defined as self-esteem and depression).

This study was conducted to address three primary questions. First, to what degree does one's frame of reference (i.e., denial of versus acceptance and self pride in one's racial group) relate to the extent to which he or she participates in the traditions of African-American culture? The concept of racial identity has been validated for three of the five Cross (1971) stages. Likewise,

African-American acculturation has also been reasonably validated through a psychometric instrument designed to measure eight aspects of the culture (Landrine & Klonoff, 1994). In spite of Landrine and Klonoff's viewpoint that these constructs are orthogonal, there have been few empirical studies that have addressed the association between racial identity development and acculturation level. The nature of this association was explored.

Second, are one's attitudes toward his or her own race related to developing an emotional attachment and making a commitment to being a member of a particular ethnic group? Once an individual has achieved a personal identity (based on physical differences or race), that individual begins to recognize similarities and differences between members of his own racial group (the in-group) versus those of other groups (out-group). These similarities and differences are notably the group's values and beliefs. Does this recognition make it more attractive for the individual to identify with the in-group? It stands to reason that the importance of culture becomes more salient. Furthermore, racial identity may set the foundation for culture to be understood (Pope-Davis et al., 2000).

Finally, what role does each of these cultural constructs play with regard to psychological well-being? The literature has been both limited (few studies) and inconsistent (varied findings) in explaining this role. It was the goal of this study to explore thoroughly the nature of these relationships in an effort to contribute to the literature by validating previous findings (particularly with racial

identity attitudes) and revealing new information on previously unexplored territory.

Racial Identity vs. Acculturation

The first hypothesis for this study involved two parts: 1) finding a significant negative correlation between total AAAS scores and the RIAS stage pre-encounter, and 2) finding a significant positive correlation between total AAAS scores and the RIAS stage immersion-emersion. Support was found only for the latter prediction. Pre-encounter individuals are described as having pro-White/anti-Black attitudes. They devalue their own racial membership and value the dominant White society ideal. With this in mind, it was believed that not accepting one's genetic heritage would indicate disinterest in engaging and endorsing the traditions and principles of one's native culture. This belief was unfounded. The correlation was not only small but also not in the predicted direction, a finding inconsistent with theory and recently published research which found a negative, yet non-significant, correlation between pre-encounter attitudes and acculturation level (Pope-Davis et al., 2000). A view of all of the correlations between the AAAS subscales and pre-encounter attitudes reveals relatively small, positive correlations for most of the subscales. Taking this into consideration, it seems that there may be a couple of things going on. The pre-encounter stage may be a more subtle, internal process which individuals are reluctant to openly discuss. Doing so may mean being ostracized by other African-Americans for "acting White" or by Whites, who inadvertently make

comments that could be considered discriminatory (e.g., “you people”). Scale items for the RIAS pre-encounter stage are somewhat provocative and dated making it more difficult to respond honestly. If an individual in the pre-encounter stage believes that “Blacks come from a strange, uncivilized continent” or “Whites are intellectually superior,” he or she will not disclose this information. One can reasonably expect that participants completing self report measures are likely to respond in a socially desirable manner, and such responses have become more undesirable since the RIAS was developed.

Another issue may be that given the age of this sample, participants may have little control over their life (in terms of independence) as the family still takes precedence over any individual goals. Therefore, family rules and obligations continue to dictate the student’s social involvement. This may especially hold true for those students whose parents are paying for college tuition.

Perhaps the current study’s finding reflects how complex the constructs racial identity and acculturation are. An individual may firmly hold beliefs that members of the dominant White society are superior, thus desperately trying to find ways to separate himself or herself from the ascribed reference group that is perceived inferior. Achieving this requires dissociating from African-Americans and inflating personal identity. Denial becomes increasingly difficult to maintain as one is constantly inundated with information that he or she cannot realistically be a member of the White race. For example, being labeled an “oreo” by other

Blacks because the person does not fit the Black stereotype or Whites merely mentioning “you people” whether it is a compliment or not are instances which serve as constant reminders that one is not really a part of the in-group. In a sense, the person does not “fit in” with either group, much like bicultural individuals. It would be interesting to see if these individuals would also be high scorers on a measure of dominant White society culture, that is, if such a measure exists.

There was strong support for the second finding (i.e., immersion-emersion individuals will be associated with traditional cultural orientation). This stage is characterized by a pro-Black/anti-White frame of reference. It is during this stage, in which the individual is enraged and guilt-ridden, that more knowledge about the culture and heritage is sought. The desire to surround oneself with symbols of racial heritage is the primary focus. For this sample, participants with these attitudes not only searched for cultural information, but also they accepted these values and traditions without question and with the support of same-race peers. There is hardly a better way to focus on self-discovery or redefining a positive sense of self and gather new, energizing information than to immerse oneself in one’s own culture. Furthermore, that which is of utmost importance during this stage is initially discovering oneself as a racial being, then building on this new self-definition by investing intensely in African-American culture. As an individual becomes more comfortable with being African-American, one could

infer that African-American culture also becomes more attractive and a cultural point of reference (Pope-Davis et al., 2000).

There were two unpredicted findings that will be addressed because of their significance. The encounter and internalization stages were strongly, positively correlated with AAAS scores. This finding suggests two things. For encounter individuals, increased awareness of the significance of race (precipitated typically by a negative event) compels one to acknowledge racism and the meaning of having membership in a group targeted by racism (Tatum, 1997). Coming face-to-face with racism challenges previous beliefs and has profound effects on an individual. Thus, he or she looks to protect oneself (as anyone would) by seeking support from someone who will understand his or her perspective (namely same-race peers). While turning to other Blacks for support, it is also likely that the support group serves as a role model thus having answers to the individual's many mind-boggling questions (i.e., "what does it mean to be Black", or "how should I behave"). In the process of giving this information, more knowledge about the culture is revealed. In order for one to maintain consonance between self-perceptions and those negative perceptions of other groups, acceptance of and participation in one's native culture is essential.

Previous literature suggests that this stage is represented by beginning an investigation into racial attitudes and culture (Cross, 1978; Helms, 1984); however, for this study, seeking information about one's culture in this stage was

equivalent to the intense commitment seen in the immersion-emersion phase. As one nears the end of the encounter, he or she has not only made a decision to become Black, but also he or she has begun the search for knowledge. It seems difficult to differentiate between this stage and its neighbor, immersion-emersion.

As for internalization, the results suggest that participating in the values consistent with African-American culture occurs once an individual begins to accept his or her race. It is during this stage that one has a sense of security about racial identity and is willing to engage in relationships with members of other races (specifically Whites). After having immersed oneself in the culture (in the previous stage), the individual continues to take pride in this accomplishment (new self-definition) because of the earnest effort put forth in that previous stage. It makes sense that once someone has achieved this identity with the assistance of learning about the culture, that this achievement is maintained by what has been previously learned and accepted. Further, the individual continues to spend more time with those who possess similar beliefs and attitudes, although there are times when the individual may not wish to participate in all aspects at all times. By picking and choosing times of participation, it allows for the person to still reject racism and similar forms of oppression, and he or she is able to re-establish relationships with individual White associates who merit such relationships and to analyze Whites and White culture for its strengths and weaknesses (Helms, 1993).

The main point to realize about these relationships is that as individuals move through this process of becoming Black or embracing Blackness (from pre-encounter to internalization), the extent and process through which they participate in the values, beliefs, and assumptions of their own culture becomes increasingly important. Regardless of which stage they are in, they still are involved in the acculturation process whether it be due to family/peer influence or to personal identity development. There does appear to be an underlying developmental process going on which supports Helms' (1990) theory that racial identity achievement is a stage process. As the individual grows and develops this new identity, he or she becomes more interested not only in learning the cultural traditions but also in passing them on to future generations. Even if he or she decides to abandon the culture, there will come a time in which culture becomes more important and relevant and the individual eventually will reunite with it (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996).

The second hypothesis looked for significant relationships involving the AAAS subscales and two RIAS stages (i.e., pre-encounter and immersion-emersion). First, it was believed that significant negative correlations would exist between pre-encounter and three AAAS subscales: socialization, foods, and interracial attitudes. This hypothesis was not supported and as mentioned before, the correlations were not in the predicted direction. Again, this may be due to some of the reasons previously stated (i.e., social desirability, family involvement). However, what the finding does suggest is that there is some level

of participation in African-American culture for these students. If they are in constant contact with their traditional family, it will be difficult to detach from that culture with constant family involvement. This includes eating the traditional foods and engaging in the childhood games.

However, pre-encounter was negatively associated with religious beliefs and positively associated with interracial attitudes. That is, pre-encounter individuals appeared behaviorally like the dominant society when it comes to religion; whereas they were quite traditional when asked about their perceptions of race relations between Blacks and Whites. Religion may be the one aspect of African-American culture which may be overlooked, especially when one moves away from family and the church to attend college. It is not uncommon for one to seek out a higher power only when in dire need. At other times when things are going well, church may be a low priority. Considering that items on this scale not only dealt with beliefs in God but also participation in the church community, it is easy to see how church may be forgotten, or it may be difficult to find a church home in a predominantly White community.

As for interracial attitudes, in spite of having a White frame of reference, one still experiences the brunt of discrimination (personal and/or institutional). The aspirations of receiving status and privileges from being associated with the dominant culture does not preclude one from continuing to notice the shortcomings of or complaining about the treatment by Whites.

The second hypothesis also postulated that the third RIAS stage would be positively correlated with five of the AAAS subscales (i.e., interracial attitudes, socialization, preferences, religious beliefs, and family practices). The data supported all but the latter two subscales. Remember that this stage is marked by periods of intense rage and hatred primarily directed toward dominant White society. It stands to reason that having this anger would make one feel as if "Whites don't understand Blacks" and that "deep down inside, they are racists." This is particularly true after having experienced some negative event (possibly overt racism) during the previous stage. Additionally, this stage represents an individual who is gathering more knowledge about his or her racial heritage and is doing so through the culture's duplicate institutions, which are plentiful on the preferences for African-American things subscale (e.g., magazines, music, television, and people). In terms of socialization, the individual is at a point where he or she is more willing to admit to engaging in childhood activities common to the culture. Plus, those messages heard as a child which explain a discriminatory society are now more salient, and the individual is willing to listen.

The findings were not significant for religious beliefs and family practices. Conceivably, this may be because for those in this study, church plays a small role in providing culturally relevant information. This would be contradictory with previous literature that indicates African-Americans' rates of religious participation is very high, especially for women (Jackson, 1991). However, it may not seem that unreasonable particularly if these students moved away to

attend college. They no longer would have the support provided by the church or the family.

There may also be another explanation regarding the family practices subscale. There is great variability within the items on the measure. For example, there are items which mention co-bathing, co-sleeping, and informal adoption. These items may be considered difficult for today's young African-Americans to consider, particularly for African-Americans who follow the dominant society's ideal of a nuclear family. Even for more traditional African-Americans, one would think that there is a certain level of discomfort admitting to sharing a bath with someone, even if it is a relative.

Finally, it should be mentioned that for the encounter and internalization stages, all correlations were positive and significant with the exception of two on the encounter stage (family practices and religious beliefs). These findings were not predicted, however, it seems feasible that as one progresses through the stages of racial identity, eventually achieving pride with the "new" self, that culture plays a large part in helping to secure acceptance during the process. Additionally, in the latter part of the internalization stage, there is commitment to providing other members, who are struggling, with information on the culture. To do so would mean constant exposure, thus remaining immersed in order to provide those teachings.

Again, there does appear to be an underlying developmental process slowly evolving. That is, as an individual matures and progresses from a

somewhat disturbed identity to a healthy one, he or she moves away from an oppressed society and toward a more accepting one that includes people who share common experiences. This movement means increased involvement in certain aspects (in all, for those who reach internalization) of African-American culture.

Racial Identity vs. Ethnic Identity

Support was found for hypothesis three, an investigation of the relationships between the first and last stages of racial identity and ethnic identity (i.e., total MEIM scores). That is, for pre-encounter individuals there is little, if any, attachment to their ethnic group. In addition, there seems to be no particular interest in learning more information or in having a clear sense of what it means to be a member of the ethnic group. This finding clearly seems consistent with the White frame of reference of the pre-encounter individual. For instance, there is no motivation to identify with Blacks because of perceived beliefs that they are inferior and targets of discrimination. So why would they have any interest in identifying with that ethnic group?

Further analysis shows that they are not attached to other groups either (low other group orientation scores). What if they perceived their in-group as being dominant White society and the out-group as African-Americans? It is likely that they received negative messages from both groups. The in-group may constantly remind them how they cannot realistically become a member and the out-group may reject them for stereotypical, non-African-American behavior

(e.g., proper speech, possession of material items). Not having a place to fit in may explain some of this alienation observed by these individuals. It does not appear to be because of the individual's desire, but because of society's perceptions of the individual. Perceptions are difficult to quantify, however, without a valid instrument.

On the other hand, for participants who have achieved inner security and self-pride regarding their racial group (internalization), there is strong attachment to their ethnic group. Knowledge has been gathered about their group's history and traditions and as a result of exploring the available options, they have ultimately made a firm commitment to understanding their place in a larger society as an ethnic minority (as explained by Phinney's model, 1989). It is easier to identify with one's cultural group when one has developmentally progressed through the process by which identity is formed. In a sense, Pope-Davis et al. (2000) may be correct in stating that racial identity somehow paves the way for an individual to view his or her cultural heritage.

Next, predictions were made based on the RIAS and MEIM subscales. The data supported two of the three predictions for hypothesis four. It was believed that the two initial stages of racial identity would be negatively correlated with other group orientation, and this was in fact found. Pre-encounter and encounter individuals show little or no interest in other groups. Individuals with these attitudes appear to have different members as their out-group (African-Americans for pre-encounter and Whites for encounter). Yet the

outcome is similar. Neither seem to be particularly interested in other groups: one because of alienation as a result of social rejection (mentioned earlier) and the other because of heightened sensitivity to a discriminatory act. It is conceivable that encounter individuals are not in a position to affiliate with other ethnic groups, particularly Whites. They have been slighted via an aversive event by the dominant group. As a self-protection measure, contact with Whites may be limited because of the hostility which is directed toward the out-group. It can be difficult disguising one's feelings when so many intense emotions are overwhelming the individual who has been discriminated against.

Internalization and the MEIM subscale ethnic identity achievement was also significantly correlated. Both scales represent achievement of identity regardless of whether it is with a group based on physical or cultural differences. During this internalization stage, individuals report positive feelings and attitudes, a strong sense of belonging, and involvement and/or participation in social activities and cultural practices with their ethnic group. A positive, although small, correlation was observed on the other group orientation subscale. This finding has some implications for Cross' (1978) assertion that individuals in this stage are now prepared to re-establish a meaningful relationship with the dominant group.

The results were not significant linking immersion-emersion to positive ethnic attitudes. The reasoning is somewhat complex but clear. This MEIM subscale requires that one develop a sense of pride and belonging about one's

background. During the immersion-emersion stage, there is an increased interest in acquiring knowledge about African-American heritage. In the process of gaining this information, the individual may either find positive role models and make a commitment to acceptance of the identity, or if not, he or she may become disappointed and rejected realizing that there is no place for him or her in a discriminatory society. Taken together, having a positive sense of belonging and attachment for one's ethnic group requires not only exploration of the values and traditions of that group (as in the immersion-emersion stage) but also a commitment to that group. Individuals who have not achieved acceptance of their racial group, which requires commitment and receptivity, will not likely develop these positive ethnic attitudes.

Predictor Variables vs. Psychological Well-being

Considering earlier stages of racial identity are represented by states of confusion and distress, it was proposed that there would be strong associations with poor psychological adjustment. Conversely, the most achieved identity would be associated with greater adjustment. This hypothesis was supported for two of the RIAS stages: pre-encounter and internalization. Interestingly, all correlations for the other subscales (though small and non-significant) were in the predicted direction. These results are consistent with previous literature and can be explained by the fact that people in the pre-encounter stage exhibit self-hatred because of minority group membership. When one cannot accept his race and chooses to devalue it in favor of another, then it is quite difficult to

maintain a positive self-concept. Along with the self-hatred comes a majority group, who constantly delivers messages that one cannot be a member. Given these influences, the individual who devalues his or her own race and gets rejected and discriminated against by the majority group will not feel good about themselves. As one becomes more alienated from either or both groups, it is no wonder that symptoms of depression emerge. On the other hand, the internalization person has quite a different experience. He or she has been through these experiences and has resolved these issues through exploration and commitment (Phinney, 1989). Therefore, they feel better about themselves because they are no longer struggling with who they are and where they are going.

With regard to ethnic identity, predictions about relationships with self-esteem were derived from previous literature. However, its relationship with depression is new information as it has not been addressed with this population. The data showed strong support for both hypotheses, which indicated that high ethnic attachment was associated with positive self-concept and low depression scores; whereas, low ethnic attachment meant poor self-esteem and more symptoms of depression. This shows how critical it is for African-Americans to develop a sense of self and eventually affiliate with an ethnic group. Again, to do this requires that one continually search for information on the group to which he or she belongs. It is also important that adequate role models provide positive feedback and support to help the individual make choices. If any of these factors

are not present, then he or she is likely to feel insecure, inadequate, inferior, weak, and alienated. Thus ethnic attachment proves vital to the psychological well-being of these people.

As for the role that acculturation plays in psychological well-being, it was believed that neighborhood acceptance would mediate this relationship. However, this was not found. In other words, having community support had little, if anything, to do with self-esteem or depression. This may be due to several factors. For instance, the self-esteem measure is a rather contextual, unidimensional instrument which may be assessing more broad areas of self-esteem (e.g., family relationships, personal accomplishments/failures). Considering the purpose of this study, it may be necessary to use a more multidimensional measure that would focus specifically on family and peer relationships as well as community acceptance. Likewise, responses to the depression scale were based on symptoms experienced within the last week prior to completing the inventory. Several events, negative and/or positive, may have had an impact on participant's answers (e.g., receiving an award, failing a test). Perhaps there were also stable buffers (e.g., supportive parents/peers) which were influential in maintaining reasonably low levels of depression regardless of the situation. Likewise, there may also be problems inherent with measuring neighborhood acceptance. For example, this variable consisted of three items, thus decreasing its reliability. Furthermore, power was decreased

when the data from respondents who indicated not knowing if they fit in with their neighborhood were excluded from analysis.

What is interesting is that there is a positive correlation between total AAAS scores and depression. That is, more traditional individuals are more depressed. Why? Landrine and Klonoff (1996) suggest that acculturation level moderates the relationship between skin color and experiences of racist events. In other words, skin color is a good predictor of acculturation level (i.e., dark skinned Blacks are more immersed in African-American culture and vice versa). In turn, acculturation level predicts experiences with racism (the more one is immersed in African-American culture, the more he or she is a target of racism and vice versa). Therefore, experiencing racist events may be a good predictor of depression. Of course further research is needed to explore this theory. However, it makes sense that one who experiences a great deal of discrimination and overt racist events would report more symptoms of depression.

Exploring Demographic Variables

Data were collected from two historically Black colleges (HBC): 1) a small, private institution in the South and 2) a small, public institution in the Midwest. Participants from the Midwestern college significantly differed from the Southern college in age (average three years younger), level of acculturation (less traditional), ethnic identity (lower identification), racial identity (less internalized), and depression (more symptoms). Perhaps this can be explained

by the developmental nature of the identity formation process. Being younger, participants from the Midwest potentially have not yet achieved that sense of inner security with their racial group as the older students have. They are striving to find out who they are and where they are going. Until they have achieved acceptance for their own racial group, cultural affiliation or ethnic identity achievement will not be salient. Whereas for the older students, it is likely that they have already been through the process and hopefully achieved wisdom and a more global acceptance about life as a result of their maturity.

Furthermore, the diversity of the colleges potentially played a significant role in why participants were quite different from one another. For instance, when looking at the racial make-up of these areas in which these colleges are located, it would be much easier to fit in with those attending the Southern college. It is located in a large metropolitan area where African-Americans are abundant. Life is much easier when one is not in the minority. On the other hand, students from the Midwest are not as well surrounded by other African-Americans. A large number of students are non-African-American. Not to mention, the faculty and administrative staff are not predominantly African-American in the same frequency as with the Southern college. Again, it is difficult mentally to feel good about oneself and one's racial/ethnic group when "double" minority status exists. More than likely, there will be greater instances of discrimination, strained faculty/peer relationships, and poor culture-specific campus support.

Data was also collected on the racial composition of the participant's neighborhood and whether or not the participant perceived acceptance by members of that neighborhood. These variables were significantly and positively correlated with each of the predictor variables, particularly for individuals who have achieved racial and ethnic identity. In other words, for students living in predominantly Black neighborhoods and perceiving that they fit in with those neighbors, it is easier for them to embrace their Blackness. It is much more difficult to accept oneself if one believes that others reject him or her.

Similar findings were obtained with ethnic identity. People are more likely to develop a sense of group pride when feeling part of the in-group. This finding also shows how important it is to be similar (e.g., race, values) to those around us while going through the process of identity formation. This statement does not reflect an attempt at separatism; instead, it is made to point out that those with similar backgrounds are in a better position to provide support to those who are still struggling with the process. No matter how an out-group member tries to help or sympathize, he or she lacks the true understanding of what it is like being a member of a minority group who continues to be the target of discrimination on a daily basis.

The neighborhood variable measuring racial composition lends further support for Landrine and Klonoff's theory (1996) that where one lives is a good predictor of how immersed one will be in the African-American culture. Being surrounded by those who have similar cultural values and feeling accepted by

them increases the exposure to and participation in the culture. Conversely, living in predominantly White neighborhoods increases the likelihood of an individual becoming more acculturated to dominant society patterns because of exposure to that culture. This appears to hold true for African-Americans regardless of where they are geographically.

Finally, there is one other demographic variable which should be addressed. That is, SES was significantly correlated with AAAS scores. It was hoped that this would not be significant because it suggests that participants from poor backgrounds are more immersed within the culture. This clearly was an important consideration in Landrine and Klonoff's (1994) development of this measure. Although the finding is inconsistent with Landrine and Klonoff (1994), the effect size was quite small due to the large sample size. SES may have also been correlated in this sample due to greater group variability. That is, those attending public institutions may come from lower SES backgrounds and may only able to attend college via scholarships and grants; whereas, attending a private institution suggests potentially higher SES (i.e., Black middle class).

Future Directions

This study was quite comprehensive in that it involved several predictions and outcome variables. One relationship which was not explored was that between ethnic identity and acculturation. It seems likely that there would be strong associations between them considering that the aspects of ethnic identity (ethnic behaviors, positive attitudes, and ethnic identity achievement) all involve

some form of acceptance and participation in the traditions of the culture. Also there are some similarities in terms of item content on these measures.

Another study might involve comparisons on each of these predictor variables by institution type. There were some obvious limitations in this study with regard to gathering data from different historically Black colleges, which were shown to be quite diverse. Clearly, the historically Black colleges in this study were not alike as geographical location seemed to have some bearing on the identity process. Therefore, future research which explores how participants from different institutions go about developing self-confidence and pride in one's group may prove to be quite interesting. Also it would be beneficial to see whether these groups differ in terms of psychological well-being. It is believed that the acceptance variable has a role in this relationship and may provide support for hypotheses which were unfounded in this study. It may also be helpful to use measures that focus specifically on self-concept and community perceptions to really get an understanding of the role community support/acceptance plays.

It was quite apparent that an underlying developmental process was going on as individuals progress through a series of stages to obtain an achieved racial identity, and specifically how this progression relates to affiliation with African-American culture. However, in order to make specific, more accurate statements about this process would require collecting longitudinal data. By doing so, one could actually observe the stability (or instability) of these racial identity stages

and how this progression would affect one's participation in the facets of African-American culture.

While exploring the development of an achieved racial and/or ethnic identity as well as participation in one's native cultural traditions, it was evident that experiencing racist events and discrimination plays a large role in this process. On some level there is discrimination regarding who belongs to the in-group and who does not. On another level, no one desires to be a member of a group who is the target of constant discrimination. In order to gain some level of acceptance by the dominant group and be the recipient of status of privilege, abandoning certain cultural values may be necessary. This conflict can be mentally exhausting for anyone. It would prove interesting to see whether or not an individual's racist experiences actually moderates the relationship between acculturation and psychological well-being.

Finally, future research should be headed in the direction of exploring the "unstated" rules of disclosure. That is, African-Americans (particularly those in pre-encounter) are not willing to make negative statements about their own racial group in spite of their position to choose affiliation with the dominant group. For instance, they may think that Whites are superior to Blacks yet they will not directly state this to Whites because of potentially being rejected. Saying "I want to be White" will only lead to a reminder that Blacks cannot possibly be a member of the White race even if one is a "good" Black. At the same time, if a

White individual verbalized such statements about superiority, the Black individual would be greatly offended and ready for an altercation.

What is also interesting is that having negative perceptions about one's own racial group is continually modeled through behavior. A good example of this would be the acculturated Blacks who immerse themselves in a lifestyle that will gain them the status and privilege of Whites. While they may never say or openly admit wanting to be White, certainly more traditional Blacks view them as being different or "acting White" and may resent them for their views and privileges.

Conclusion

Overall, this study proved to be quite fruitful in that support was found for several hypotheses regarding these cultural constructs and psychological well-being. Particularly noteworthy were the findings that racial identity does in fact correlate highly with acculturation and ethnic identity, although the relationship is not always linear. The former finding is significant because it is contrary to Landrine and Klonoff's (1996) opinion. Although it is consistent with recently published literature (Pope-Davis et al., 2000), the present study was considerably more sound because it avoided scale reliability problems of the AAAS by using the long form, had reasonably equal male to female ratios, sampled students from predominantly White and historically Black colleges, and analyzed relationships among RIAS stages and AAAS subscales. The latter finding regarding the relationships between racial and ethnic identity confirms

previous research. Additionally, identifying where one lives and his or her perceptions of acceptance are highly influential in identity development and cultural orientation. Without it, individuals are likely to continue going through life in a state of confusion and distress until it has been satisfactorily resolved. Further, additional research is encouraged to address identifying the internal process that keeps African-Americans from disclosing their true beliefs about their own race and others. It will be quite challenging to achieve this; however, doing so means opening up several opportunities for learning more about the role this plays in developing an achieved identity and providing services to this ethnic group.

APPENDIX A

INFORMED CONSENT

Informed Consent Form for African-American Attitudes

I, _____, agree to participate in a study about the cultural beliefs and attitudes of African-Americans in relation to their well-being. The purpose of this study is to understand the relationship between culture, behavior, and identity.

I agree to contribute approximately one (1) hour of my time completing some brief questionnaires. I will be asked some questions about my background, my family of origin, current feelings I have about myself, and the beliefs some African-Americans may have. The main risk for participation is minimal in that discussing some of these things may be uncomfortable for some people.

I understand that my confidentiality will be protected by using code numbers on all materials instead of my name. My name appears only on this consent/entry form which will be kept under lock and key and will not be linked with my responses in any public way. In addition, I may also enter a random drawing by completing the entry form below. At the conclusion of the study, a random drawing will be held. **Two** people will be selected to receive **$50.00**.

My participation is strictly voluntary, and I am free to withdraw my consent and discontinue participation at any time without losing any benefits I have now. If I have any questions, I may contact the study head or faculty advisor, respectively:

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(940) 565-4107

_____ _____

Signature Date

Entry Form

Name: _____

Address: _____

Telephone: _____

Do you wish to receive a summary of this study's results? ___No ___Yes

Thank you and good luck!

This project has been reviewed by the University of North Texas Committee for Protection of Human Subjects (940) 565-3940.

APPENDIX B

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Demographic Questionnaire

Please answer each question as best you can by placing an "X" or check mark in the space provided. On some questions, you may be asked to fill in the blank or circle your answer.

1. Age: _____

2. _____ (1)Male_____ (2)Female

3. Marital status:
_____ 1) Single
_____ 2) Married
_____ 3) Divorced
_____ 4) Separated
_____ 5) Widowed
_____ 6) Other_____

4. Classification:
_____ 1) Freshman
_____ 2) Sophomore
_____ 3) Junior
_____ 4) Senior
_____ 5) Other_____

5. Major: _____
(may write undecided or don't know)

6. Current GPA: _____

7. How would you describe yourself ***racially***?

8. How would you describe yourself ***ethnically***?

*** Please answer the next questions about your parents ***

9. Parent's Education level:

Father		Mother
_____	1) Less than high school	_____
_____	2) High school graduate/GED	_____
_____	3) Some college/technical training	_____
_____	4) Associates degree	_____
_____	5) Bachelors degree	_____
_____	6) Masters degree	_____
_____	7) Doctorate/M.D./J.D./D.D.S.	_____
_____	8) Other _____	_____
_____	9) Don't know	_____

10. Parent's Current Occupation (if retired, deceased, or unemployed write most recent job; may write homemaker):

Father_____ Mother_____

Please answer the next six questions about your neighbors and the neighborhood that you currently live in. If you live in a dorm or other group living situation, consider these people your neighbors and this your neighborhood.

11. How much are you racially similar to your neighbors?

_____(0) Don't know
_____(1) Very different
_____(2) Mostly different
_____(3) Somewhat similar
_____(4) Mostly similar
_____(5) Definitely similar

12. Estimate the percentage of people in your neighborhood who are racially different from you: _____%

13. Describe your neighborhood (circle your answer):

Unsure/ Neither	Predominantly White		Half White/ Half Black		Predominantly Black
0	1	2	3	4	5

14. How comfortable are you with your neighbors (i.e., say "hi" when you see them, ask them for small favors, discuss neighborhood events, invite them over, go out with them socially, or watch their children)?

_____(0) Don't know or unsure
_____(1) Not at all comfortable
_____(2) Mostly uncomfortable
_____(3) Somewhat comfortable
_____(4) Mostly comfortable
_____(5) Very comfortable

15. I feel like I "fit in" my neighborhood (circle your answer):

Don't know/ Unsure	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
0	1	2	3	4

16. I believe that I am accepted by my neighbors (circle your answer):

Don't know/ Unsure	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
0	1	2	3	4

APPENDIX C

TABLES

Table 1

Demographic Summary of Entire Sample

Variable		N	%
Institution	PWI	96	49.0
	SPC	34	18.0
	MPC	64	33.0
Gender	Male	81	42.0
	Female	113	58.0
Marital status	Single	178	92.0
	Married	10	5.0
	Divorced	5	3.0
Classification	Freshman	101	52.0
	Sophomore	33	17.0
	Junior	30	16.0
	Senior	22	11.0
Major	Education	14	7.0
	Business	39	20.0
	Social science	62	32.0
	Natural science	31	16.0
	Arts/Humanities	19	10.0
	Undecided	24	12.0
SES Class	Class I	17	9.0
	Class II	39	20.0
	Class III	49	25.0
	Class IV	59	30.0
	Class V	17	9.0

Note. The following categories had missing data, in parentheses, which were excluded from analysis: marital status (1), college classification (7), major (5), and social class (13).

(table continues)

Variable	M	SD	Median	Range
Age, years	20.54	3.38	19.00	18-48
GPA (on 4.0 scale)	2.96	.53	3.00	1.9-4.0
SES	36.72	12.25	36.50	11-66
Neighborhood racial similarity	2.81	1.34	3.00	1-5
Neighborhood acceptance	3.30	.77	3.33	1-5

Note. The following were excluded from analysis due to missing data: age (1), GPA (56), SES (13), neighborhood similarity (6), and neighborhood acceptance (6).

Table 2

Demographic Comparison between PWI and HBC samples

Variable		PWI N	PWI %	HBC N	HBC %
Gender	Male	35	37.0	46	47.0
	Female	61	63.0	52	53.0
Marital status	Single	93	97.0	85	87.0
	Married	1	1.0	9	9.0
	Divorced	2	2.0	3	3.0
Classification	Freshman	55	57.0	46	47.0
	Sophomore	17	18.0	16	16.0
	Junior	14	15.0	16	16.0
	Senior	8	8.0	14	14.0
Major	Education	5	5.0	9	9.0
	Business	20	21.0	19	19.0
	Social science	31	32.0	31	32.0
	Natural science	16	17.0	15	15.0
	Arts/Humanities	11	12.0	8	8.0
	Undecided	12	13.0	12	12.0
SES Class	Class I	9	9.0	8	8.0
	Class II	19	20.0	20	20.0
	Class III	22	23.0	27	28.0
	Class IV	33	34.0	26	27.0
	Class V	12	13.0	5	5.0

Note. Column headings represent predominantly White institution (PWI) and historically Black college (HBC). Missing data, in parentheses, were observed from the following categories: marital status (HBC-1), college classification (PWI-2, HBC-5), major (PWI-1, HBC-4), and social class (PWI-1, HBC-12). Percentages have been rounded.

(table continues)

Variable	M	SD	Median	Range
Age, years[a]				
PWI	19.67	2.96	19.00	18-48
HBC	21.38	3.55	20.00	18-40
GPA (on 4.0 scale)				
PWI	2.88	.55	3.00	1.9-3.9
HBC	3.02	.51	3.00	2.0-4.0
SES				
PWI	38.18	13.27	39.00	14-66
HBC	35.11	10.86	34.75	11-64.5
Neighborhood racial similarity[b]				
PWI	2.29	1.28	2.00	0.5-5
HBC	2.70	1.46	2.50	0-5
Neighborhood acceptance				
PWI	2.85	1.17	3.00	0-4.33
HBC	3.12	.98	3.33	0-4.33

Note. Column headings represent predominantly White institution (PWI) and historically Black college (HBC). The following were excluded from analysis due to missing data: age (PWI-1), GPA (PWI-39, HBC-17), SES (PWI-1, HBC-12), neighborhood similarity (PWI-2), and neighborhood acceptance (PWI-2).
[a] Significantly different, $p < .01$.
[b] Significantly different, $p < .05$.

Table 3

Correlations between RIAS subscales

Subscale	PRE	ENC	IMM	INT
Pre-encounter	.71	.41**	.42**	-.05
Encounter		.38	.54**	.27**
Immersion-emersion			.64	.24**
Internalization				.64

Note. Cronbach's alphas are presented on the diagonal.

**p < .01.

Table 4

Correlations between total AAAS and subscale scores

Subscale	Fam	Pref	Food	Atts	Hlth	Rel	Soc	Super	AAAS
Family	.72	.32**	.30**	.04	.35**	.37**	.43**	.23**	.59**
Preferences		.84	.37**	.40**	.43**	.44**	.42**	.25**	.69**
Foods			.84	.30**	.46**	.41**	.54**	.43**	.74**
Interracial attitudes				.86	.35**	.16*	.20**	.23**	.49**
Health					.79	.53**	.52**	.38**	.77**
Religion						.80	.48**	.31**	.67**
Socialization							.77	.39**	.77**
Superstitions								.65	.56**
Total AAAS									.93

Note. Cronbach's alphas are presented on the diagonal.

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

Table 5

Correlations between total MEIM and subscale scores

Subscale	ATT	ACH	BEH	OGO	MEIM
Positive ethnic attitudes	.79	.62**	.45**	.14	.83**
Ethnic identity achievement		.73	.52**	.12	.92**
Ethnic behaviors or practices			.47	.14	.71**
Other group orientation				.75	.15*
Total MEIM					.85

Note. Cronbach's alphas are presented on the diagonal.

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

Table 6

Correlations between continuous demographic variables

Variable	Age	Class	GPA	SES	Nbhsim	Nbhacc
Age	1.00	.54**	-.01	-.06	-.15*	-.12
Classification		1.00	-.16	.03	-.01	-.14
GPA			1.00	-.21*	.06	.13
SES				1.00	-.14	-.10
Neighborhood similarity					1.00	.35**
Neighborhood acceptance						1.00

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

Table 7

Correlations among continuous demographic variables and RIAS subscales

Variable	PRE	ENC	IMM	INT
Age	.03	.01	-.02	.06
Classification	.01	.10	.06	.24**
GPA	-.07	-.02	.00	.03
SES	-.01	-.11	-.16*	-.07
Neighborhood similarity	-.02	.06	.03	.16*
Neighborhood acceptance	-.02	-.04	-.02	.16*

Note. Column headings represent Pre-encounter (PRE), Encounter (ENC), Immersion-emersion (IMM), and Internalization (INT).

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

Table 8

ANOVAs of RIAS subscales by gender and institution

	PRE			ENC			IMM			INT		
Variable	M	SD	F	M	SD	F	M	SD	F	M	SD	F
Gender												
Male	2.19	.60	4.83*	3.00	.79	1.91	2.79	.66	19.28**	3.97	.52	.47
Female	1.99	.64		2.82	.88		2.39	.62		4.02	.52	
Institution												
PWI	2.03	.62	.67	2.89	.88	.01	2.47	.73	3.34	4.05	.45	1.91
HBC	2.11	.65		2.90	.82		2.64	.59		3.95	.58	

Note. Column headings represent Pre-encounter (PRE), Encounter (ENC), Immersion-emersion (IMM), and Internalization (INT).

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

Table 9

Correlations between continuous variables and AAAS subscales

Subscale	Age	Class	GPA	SES	Nbhsim	Nbhacc
Interracial attitudes	.12	.16*	-.07	-.19**	.05	-.05
Family practices	-.11	-.10	-.03	-.10	.09	.23**
Foods	-.14*	-.13	.02	-.25**	.13	.19**
Health beliefs	-.11	-.09	-.04	-.21**	.13	.23**
Preferences	-.17*	-.10	-.13	-.10	.09	.06
Religious beliefs	-.08	-.05	.00	.06	-.00	.15*
Superstitions	.03	.03	.00	-.02	.15*	.20**
Total AAAS	-.13	-.06	-.08	-.22**	.20**	.23**

Note. Column headings represent college classification (class), grade point average (GPA), socioeconomic status (SES), neighborhood racial similarity (nbhsim), neighborhood acceptance (nbhacc).

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

Table 10

ANOVAs of AAAS scales by gender and institution

Variable	M	SD	Tests of significance
Gender			
Male	330.03	63.77	$t(192) = -1.88$, p = ns
Female	346.68	58.49	
Institution			
PWI	351.42	57.59	$t(192) = 2.68$, $p < .01$
HBC	328.28	62.64	

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

Table 11

MANOVAs of AAAS scales by gender and institution

Variable		F
Gender	Interracial attitudes	5.95*
	Family beliefs	.82
	Foods	1.41
	Health beliefs	4.44*
	Preferences	.97
	Religious beliefs	14.38**
	Socialization	5.68*
	Superstitions	2.05
Institution	Interracial attitudes	.87
	Family beliefs	6.66*
	Foods	.05
	Health beliefs	6.35*
	Preferences	12.56**
	Religious beliefs	17.43**
	Socialization	.87
	Superstitions	.44

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

Table 12

Correlations between continuous variables and MEIM subscales

Subscale	Age	Class	GPA	SES	Nbhsim	Nbhacc
Positive ethnic attitudes	.02	.22**	-.14	.04	.09	.18*
Ethnic identity achievement	.14	.31**	-.05	.09	.12	.22**
Ethnic behaviors or practices	-.10	.07	.03	.05	.19**	.18*
Other group orientation	.17*	-.00	.14	.13	-.13	.05
Total MEIM	.06	.27**	-.07	.08	.13	.23**

Note. Column headings represent college classification (class), grade point average (GPA), socioeconomic status (SES), neighborhood racial similarity (nbhsim), and neighborhood acceptance (nbhacc).

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

Table 13

Correlations between continuous variables and psychological well-being

Variable	RSE	DEP
Age	.06	-.16*
College classification	.00	-.10
GPA	.15	-.05
SES	-.10	.04
Neighborhood similarity	.03	-.09
Neighborhood acceptance	.10	.04

Note. Column headings represent self-esteem (RSE) and depression (DEP).

*$p < .05$.

Table 14

Correlations between RIAS and AAAS subscales

Subscale	PRE	ENC	IMM	INT
Family beliefs	-.00	.14	.07	.36**
Preferences	.02	.28**	.25**	.41**
Foods	.05	.25**	.22**	.27**
Interracial attitudes	.20**	.34**	.47**	.23**
Health beliefs	.10	.23**	.23**	.33**
Religious beliefs	-.21*	.10	-.00	.33**
Socialization	.08	.19**	.22**	.43**
Superstitions	.13	.15*	.14	.39**
Total AAAS	.08	.32**	.31**	.52**

Note. Column headings represent Pre-encounter (PRE), Encounter (ENC), Immersion-emersion (IMM), and Internalization (INT).

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

Table 15

Correlations among RIAS and MEIM subscales

Subscale	PRE	ENC	IMM	INT
Positive ethnic attitudes	-.21**	.08	-.02	.34**
Ethnic identity achievement	-.07	.20**	.10	.34**
Ethnic behaviors or practices	-.09	.16*	.08	.34**
Other group orientation	-.19**	-.18*	-.23**	.02
Total MEIM	-.14*	.18*	.07	.40**

Note. Column headings represent Pre-encounter (PRE), Encounter (ENC), Immersion-emersion (IMM), and Internalization (INT).

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

Table 16

Correlations between RIAS and MEIM subscales and psychological well-being

Subscale	RSE	DEP
RIAS		
Pre-encounter	-.27**	.23**
Encounter	-.06	.14
Immersion-emersion	-.13	.08
Internalization	.32**	-.01
MEIM		
Positive ethnic attitudes	.15*	-.18*
Ethnic identity achievement	.24**	-.20**
Ethnic behaviors or practices	.20**	-.18*
Other group orientation	.18*	-.12
Total MEIM	.24**	-.23**

Note. Column headings represent self-esteem (RSE) and depression (DEP).

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

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