

RACIAL IDENTITY, WELL-BEING, AND
INSTITUTIONAL PREFERENCE AMONG
AFRICAN-AMERICAN HIGH
SCHOOL SENIORS

By

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This manuscript is dedicated to the memory of my father,
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Racial Identity, Well-Being, And
Institutional Preference Among
African-American High
School Students

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background

For more than two decades, racial identity attitudes have persisted as a subject of interest to researchers as well as individuals. Many individuals who are not identified with a visible minority or ethnic group are seeking to learn more about their ethnic heritage (Alba, 1990), while researchers continue to investigate possible relationships between racial or ethnic identification and various social and psychological constructs.

Racial identity attitudes as relating to African-Americans have been investigated in relation to numerous constructs. These include, but are not limited to, social class (Broman, 1988; Carter & Helms, 1988; Williams & Qualls, 1989), psychological functioning (Carter, 1991), value orientations (Carter & Helms, 1987), gender role attitudes and psychological well-being (Pyant & Yanico, 1991), demographic and background factors (Parham & Williams, 1993), participation in campus organizations

(Mitchell & Dell, 1992), internal-external control in motivation (Gurin, Gurin, Lao & Beattie, 1969), institutional effects (Cheatham, Slaney, & Coleman, 1990), self-actualization and affective states (Parham & Helms, 1985), as well as autonomy and mature interpersonal relationships (Taub & McEwen, 1992). Level of ethnic identity has been shown to affect one's self concept (Davis, 1991; Gibbs, 1974; Grossman, Writ, & Davids, 1985; Houston, 1984; Jewell 1985) and has been linked to feelings of hostility and anger (Cross, 1971).

While in recent years, more research has been conducted in this area, it has usually been done by minority researchers (Phinney, 1990). With the growing numbers of minorities in the United States it would appear that this would be a more widely researched area by all researchers. However, Phinney (1990) states that much of the research in the area of diversity has focused on psychological aspects of contact between racial groups and on attitudes toward racial or ethnic groups other than one's own. He further stated that attitudes about one's own ethnicity have been of little interest to dominant group researchers. However, attitudes toward one's own ethnicity is seen as being central to the psychological functioning of those who live in societies where their group and culture are marginalized.

The terms racial and ethnic identity are sometimes used interchangeably in the literature and are defined in various

ways. Technically, the two are indeed different, however, for purposes of this study, the two will be used interchangeably as the literature dictates. Several definitions of ethnicity follow.

Ethnicity may be defined as: "...a group classification of individuals who share a unique social and cultural heritage" (Casas, 1984, p. 787). Slonim, (1991, p. 4), states that "ethnicity denotes a sense of identification with or belonging to a particular group, being a derivative of the Greek word *etnikos* meaning people or nation."

Kumabe, Nishda, and Hepworth (1985) give a somewhat more precise definition of ethnicity. Stating that:

...Ethnicity carries a highly subjective meaning for it is concerned with the sentiment felt by members of the ethnic group, such as 'Black is beautiful'. Ethnicity is usually displayed in values, attitudes, lifestyles, customs, rituals, and personality types of individuals who identify with particular ethnic groups (p. 11).

McGoldrick, Pierce, and Giordano (1982) describe ethnicity as:

Patterns of thinking, feeling and behavior in both obvious and subtle ways. It plays a major role in determining what we eat, how we work, how we relax, how we celebrate holidays, and rituals, and how we feel about life death, and illness...it is

a powerful influence in determining identity (p. 4-5).

Yet, another definition of ethnicity is proposed by Giordano and Giordano (1977, p. 4).

Ethnicity describes a sense of commonality transmitted over generations by the family and reinforced by the surrounding community. It is more than race, religion, or national and geographic origin. It involves conscious and unconscious processes that fulfill a deep psychological need for identity and historical continuity.

Race on the other hand is not as inclusive. Race has been described in various ways at various times in history. Jones (1991) describes race as those shared biological features that come to signify group membership and the social meaning that such membership denotes. Race is seen as a social concept with social valuations. It is the value that society places on race that deems race a matter of importance. McGoldrick & Giordano, (1996) view race as an issue of political oppression rather than a matter of culture or genetics, yet in our society it is a tool used to categorize and exclude.

Harris, Blue, & Griffith (1995) view race and ethnicity as components of one's personal identity. Although they are viewed as small components, race and ethnicity are said to

be of grave importance in shaping the development of the individual. Therefore, while the two terms, race and ethnicity are used interchangeably in the literature, they are usually defined differently. Ethnicity, which may include race, can also encompass various other attributes of the individual.

Janet Helms' (1990) racial identity development theory defines racial identity as "a sense of group collective identity based on one's perception that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group... (p.3)." This theory is based on the Cross model (Cross, 1971; Helms, 1990) of Black racial identity development. The Cross model is a cognitive developmental model which consists of five stages: Pre-Encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, Internalization, and Internalization-Commitment.

In the original model, the Pre-Encounter Stage described the individual as one who viewed the world from an Eurocentric point of view (Cross, 1971). Features of the individual which characterize her or his African-American identity were denied or downgraded. The individual held the belief that "White was right and Black was wrong." (Tatum, 1992, p.10). This was basically seen as the self-hating stage (Cross, 1971).

The Cross model was later revised to explain inconsistencies in the first and latter stages. It was

found that not all Pre-Encounter individual possessed the classical self-hating characteristic. More recent revisions of the model (Cross, 1995a, 1995b) suggest a bimodal trend in individuals classified as Pre-Encounter. While the majority of these individuals show low salience for race, they do not possess the traditional associations of confusion, self-hatred, and mental or emotional difficulties. Cross stated, that these individuals, who embrace a worldview which downplays race, and who do not see themselves as connected to the Black culture, may gain mental health benefits from other group affiliations or sources of support. These may include religion, professional affiliations, or social status. These individuals, according to Cross, are basically race neutral. They sometimes view themselves as having reached a higher plane of abstract humanism, beneath which lies the vulgar world of race and ethnicity (Cross, 1995a, 1995b).

Revisions in the model (Cross, 1995b) describe individuals who are at the Pre-Encounter stage as having attitudes toward race which fall into one or a combination of the following categories: low racial salience, social stigma, or anti-Black. Cross (1995b) stated that persons who hold low salience attitudes, do not deny being Black, but consider this fact to be insignificant. The person who holds social stigma attitudes also shares the low salience orientation, but in addition, sees race as a problem or

social stigma which must be negotiated from time to time. These individuals may show a superficial interest in Black causes, however, their interest is primarily in helping to alleviate the social stigma associated with being Black rather than supporting Black Culture. The individual who holds anti-Black attitudes, sees race as very important, not as a positive, but a negative. They loathe other Blacks viewing them in a manner which would be expected from a White racist, have accepted negative Black stereotypes as and positive White stereotypes as facts, and give preference to non-Afrocentric priorities (Cross, 1995b). Those who hold anti-Black attitudes are also more likely to experience poor mental health (Cross, 1995b)".

In the second stage of Cross model, Encounter, the individual is confronted with a new way of viewing the African-American situation. This is usually accomplished by a series of shocking personal or social events that disturb the individual's old world view. These events are said to "induce identity metamorphosis." Thus, the individual becomes receptive to a new interpretation of her or his African-American identity. The individual must in addition to experiencing "encounter events," personalize them. These experiences incite emotionality, and may be accompanied by feelings of confusion, fear, anger, anxiety, guilt, or depression. The inner emotional turmoil may serve

to motivate the individual in her or his search for Black identity (Cross, 1995b, p. 105).

In the third stage, Immersion/Emersion, the individual works to get rid of all residual elements of the Pre-Encounter form of reference. This usually means withdrawing from the dominant culture and becoming absorbed in her or his own culture. The individual makes a commitment to change, however, this newly formed identity causes the individual to adopt "simplistic, glorified, romantic, and speculative images" regarding the "new self" (Cross 1995b, p. 106) This individual, according to Cross (1995b) perceives White as evil, oppressive, inferior, and inhuman. "Black is declared superior." This third stage is divided into two steps. First to occur, is "an immersion into Blackness" in which the individual feels compelled to feel, act and think in a certain way (Cross 1985b). The second part of the stage, Emersion, is characterized by "emergence from the emotionality and dead-end, racist, and oversimplified ideological aspects of Immersion." It should be noted that the individual does not necessarily have to move forward from this stage into the fourth. She or he might also become fixated, or regress to previous stages.

In the fourth stage, Internalization, the individual develops new values. The new identity is said to be internalized. Ideological flexibility, psychological

openness, and self-confidence are characteristic of this stage (Tatum, 1992). However, Cross (1995b) adds a new dimension to this stage. While high salience is given to race, at this stage, not all individuals at this stage are ideologically flexible. At one extreme Black nationalism, is highly salient and at the other is biculturalism or multiculturalism. Cross, (1995b) distinguishes the fourth stage from the third by associating one with cognitive dissonance and the other with dissonance resolution. Although race is salient, this salience may not be due to a separate notion of oneself as just a Black individual, but as a balance or synthesis of one's race with other aspects of the self such as sexual orientation, career choice, or religious affiliation (Cross, 1995b; Jackson, 1976).

Cross (1971, 1985, 1995a-b) believes that there are few differences between the fourth and fifth stage. Individuals at the fifth stage however, have not only developed a sense of Blackness but have found ways to manifest or transfer this new identity toward the progress of one's ethnic group. There is a sense of commitment to the group which may or may not be sustained over time.

Cross (1995b) indicates that the new evidence and insights that have been gained in the years since the model was developed dictate changes in the model and our interpretation and understanding of racial identity development. Basically, he asserts that very little

personality change occurs with Nigrescence. Cross, (1978) defines Nigrescence as, converting to Blackness. The term is used to describe the process of racial identity development.

Changes are reported in the first, fourth, and fifth stages. In the initial stage, Pre-Encounter, individuals may possess varying attitudes toward their own group. However, the main factor separating the sub-groups at the Pre-Encounter stage are differences in world-view, value orientation and historical perspective. At the more advanced stages, Internalization and Internalization-Commitment, individual might also be viewed as divergent in their ideology (Cross, 1995 a-b). These stages may be associated with nationalism as well as multiculturalism or biculturalism (Cross 1995a-b).

Erikson (1968) also discussed issues of identity development as related to African-Americans. He felt that historical factors in the lives of African-Americans that had led to the formation of a negative identity could be counterbalanced by developing a more inclusive identity. His conceptualization of an inclusive identity is similar to the Internalization Stage of the Cross model.

Devos (1975) stated that ethnic identity is not only a question of knowing who you are subjectively, but also is inclusive of how one is perceived by others. He believes that ethnic identification requires maintenance of sufficiently consistent behavior to enable others to place

an individual or group in some category. This categorization facilitates appropriate interactive behavior among the individuals or groups.

Racial identity is closely related to, or intertwined with self-identity. Waterman (1992) stated that a well developed sense of personal identity constitutes an aspect of optimal psychological functioning. In terms of personal identity, Chickering (1969) believes that three conditions are necessary for the development of one's personal identity: relative freedom from anxiety, varied direct experiences including role experimentation, and meaningful achievement.

Identity development is seen as dynamic and evolving (Helms, 1990; Martin & Nagayama, 1992; McGoldrick & Giordano, 1996; Winereich, 1988), therefore, individuals' attitudes and beliefs fall along a continuum of identity development. Others also believe that there are no discrete stages of identity (Erikson, 1968; Helms, 1991). Helms (1990) further explains that individuals might have attitudes which fall in different stages at the same time.

In support of developing strong ethnic identity, DeAngelis (1992) states that aligning one's self with the dominant values of one's own culture is linked to greater self-esteem and happiness. Building on this viewpoint and others like it, researchers have sought support for the premise that historically Black colleges and universities

(HBCUs) would likely foster the development of strong racial identity attitudes for African-American students. While this may be true, current studies (Cheatham, Slaney, & Coleman, 1990), yield conflicting results. These authors state that these studies have neglected to take into account factors other than institutional setting, such as why students chose to attend certain colleges or universities, level of racial identity prior to entering the institution selected, or level of psychological functioning prior to entering the institution. It is clear that multiple factors influence one's adjustment and development and should be considered along with campus environment when investigating racial identity. Incorporating these factors might have bearing on the overall validity of a study.

Previous research has indicated that African-American adults who are more affluent identify more with the dominant culture (Broman, 1988; Carter & Helms, 1987; Cruse, 1967; Frazier, 1957; Ginzberg, 1967; McGoldrick & Giordano, 1996)). The assumption in much of the previous research has been that "as middle class Blacks move up the socio-economic ladder they become more assimilated or integrated into the mainstream American cultural value system, and subsequently move away from the Black cultural value system (Williams & Qualls, 1989, p.267)." However, Williams and Qualls' (1989) research did not support this hypothesis. They found no conclusive evidence that as middle class Blacks move up the

socio-economic ladder they become more assimilated or integrated into the mainstream American culture. Jewell, (1985) on the other hand, in examining this middle-class loss-of-racial identity hypothesis, found that African-American college students who were likely to become middle class, were reluctant to identify with their cultural heritage.

Although much research has been conducted in the area of racial identity, subjects have usually been older adults, college students, or younger children. It is not known whether the findings from previous research are true for high school students. This study will focus on the high school population, specifically, high school seniors.

Even though controversy exists as to whether African-American students at historically Black colleges and universities (HBCU) are better off psychologically than those who attend predominantly White institutions (PWIs), in general researchers have concluded that African-American students who attend HBCUs are usually better adjusted than African-American students at predominantly White institutions (Allen, 1985; Fleming, 1984; Hughes, 1987; Nettles, Thoeny, and Gosman, 1986, 1987). Such factors as social and psychological maturity, achievement frustration and isolation were attributed to African-American students attending PWIs. It should be noted that conflicting evidence has also been found by (Cheatham, Slaney, and

Coleman, (1990). While results in the Cheatham, Slaney, and Coleman study were mixed, of import is the fact that the culture participation scale was related only to mainstream culture. Using the RIAS, the Student Development Task and Lifestyle Inventory and the Career Decision Scale, these authors could not find "clear support for superiority of HBCUs facilitating the development of African-American college students. The Lifestyle Scale, which measures consistency of lifestyle with good health and wellness, however, did favor students at HBCUs (Cheatham et al., p. 456)." In addition, it is not known what attitudes and values the students in these studies possessed before entering their respective institutions, neither were there any indices of psychological well-being assessed prior to entering the institution of study. Therefore, it seems reasonable to focus this investigation on the individual prior to his or her enrollment at a university.

It is assumed that there are many selectivity factors inherent in the ultimate selection of a university, such as: financial support/scholarships, acceptance criteria, distance from home, where parents or relatives attended, and social environment. These factors have not been addressed in previous racial identity research. However, given the fact that many individuals who are at the Pre-Encounter Stage of racial identity development tend to devalue their own ethnic group, internalize negative African-American stereotypes,

and seek to assimilate and be accepted by Whites (Tatum, 1992), it is expected that individuals at this stage of development will prefer to attend a predominantly White institution (PWI) at a higher rate than individuals at the Encounter Stage. Other selectivity factors, however, may dictate where they actually attend. Individuals at the Internalization or Internalization-Commitment Stage of development, are not expected to differ significantly in their preference for type of university.

Cheatham, Slaney, and Coleman (1990, p. 457) state "It is probably time to separate the effects of background, selection and admission, from the effects of the college environment and consider which types of environments might be preferable for which students." This investigation also seeks to investigate this basic aspect of preference.

Statement Of The Problem

Although racial identity is currently a widely researched topic, little has been done in the area of racial identity and adolescence (Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992). Cheatham, Slaney, and Coleman (1990) have examined institutional effects of African-American college students as they relate to psychosocial development and racial identity attitudes and have extended the call to researchers to examine background and selection effects separate from environmental effects. This can be done by focusing on high school students and their preference for a particular

university environment rather than examining the environment after the student arrives and by assessing the racial attitudes that they carry with them upon entering the university.

This study will investigate the relationship between racial identity attitudes of African-American high school seniors and psychological well-being and the relationship between racial identity attitudes and preference for a particular type of college or university (historical Black or predominantly White).

Purpose of The Study

The purpose of the study is to determine whether a relationship exists between racial identity attitudes of African-American high school seniors and a measure of psychological well-being, to determine whether there is a statistically significant difference between racial identity attitude scale scores and preference for type of institution, and whether students whose preference for attending a predominantly White institution differ significantly from those planning to attend a historically Black institution in terms of their ranking of the importance of selectivity factors.

The specific questions to be addressed by this study are: Is there a relationship between racial identity attitudes of African-American high school seniors and a self-report measure of psychological well-being? Is there a

significant mean difference between Racial Identity Attitude subscale scores of African-American high school seniors and preference for university type? Do students in the two preference groups differ in terms of their ranking of selectivity factors.

Hypotheses

Null Hypothesis One: There will be no significant relationship between the sub-scale scores of the Racial Identity Attitude Scale and the California Psychological Inventory Well-being Scale.

Null Hypothesis Two: There will be no significant mean difference between students planning to attend a historically Black college or university and students planning to attend a predominantly White institution on the five sub-scale scores for the Racial Identity Attitude Scale.

Null Hypothesis Three: There will be no significant difference between students planning to attend a historically Black college and students planning to attend a predominantly White institution in terms of their ranking of the importance of selectivity factors.

Limitations

Limitations of this study include the paucity of valid and reliable instruments for measuring racial identity attitudes, the generalizability of the results given that subjects were chosen from high schools in one mid-western state, and the lack of collaborative research in this area.

Another limitation of this research is that while only African-American students were solicited for the study, no opportunity was given for subjects to "self-identify" with any particular group. The assumption that only those students who felt a sense of belonging to the specified group under study was made. Phinney (1990) believes this may be an error in assumption in that students who might identify with a particular group, might not really feel that they belong to that group.

Significance Of Study

It is the intent of this research to provide a better understanding of racial identity as it relates to well-being and university preference. In addition, certain selectivity factors are explored with the intent of extending this research to the high school population and providing a better understanding of university preference and racial identity attitudes as well as selectivity in student's choice of university.

It has been stated that as mental health professional, we place great significance on the individual, but understanding the concept of identity is of importance at a much broader level (Harris, Blue, & Griffith, 1995). According to Cross (1995), achieving racial identity provides meaning, defends against racism, and facilitates social intercourse.

There is support, in the literature previously cited, for the premise that positive racial identity attitudes are related to positive mental status. Testing the validity of this premise is sought in this study with the inclusion of high school subjects.

The claims in previous research of negative institutional effects of predominantly White campus environments on African-American college students points to the need to understand the development of students prior to entering the university and serves as one of the foundations on which this present study is built.

Aspects of student preference for university type were not found in previous racial identity research. Therefore this research seeks to explore differences in students and their preference for university type as they are related to racial identity attitudes.

The Racial Identity Attitude Scale (Helms & Parham, 1989) has been not been used with high school students, however, the literature reviewed, which included college students and older adults, does appear to lend support to this study and also serves as a foundation for inquiry.

As little research exists which examines racial identity attitudes and institutional preference of African-American high school seniors, the literature review which follows will draw upon research which has been conducted with older adults, college students and children.

Definition Of Terms

1. Cross Model- The original model is a five stage cognitive developmental model of Black racial identity development which describes the process by which one identifies with one's racial group. The stages include:
 - (a) Pre-Encounter-"The person's world view is dominated by Euro-American determinants" (Cross, 1971, p.15). At this stage, "White is right Black is Wrong" (Tatum, 1992).
 - (b) Encounter-The individual has experiences that change her or his view of self and of the dominant culture. The individual may be confronted with racism which she or he had previously denied.
 - (c) Immersion-Emersion-During this stage the individual "immerses" herself/himself in an "African-American world. "Everything valued is relative to the individual's racial heritage. The individual tends to immerse her/himself in visible symbols of their racial identity (Tatum, 1990).
 - (d) Internalization-The individual develops a secure sense of racial identity integrating aspects of both cultures. At this stage neither race is "all right" or "all wrong". This stage may also be characterized by strong nationalistic ties and strong identification with the Black culture.

(e) Internalization-Commitment-Here the individual has in addition to developing a positive sense of racial identity, has also developed a commitment to the referent group as well. Promotion and advancement of the group is important at this stage.

2. Decentration-the ability to take another's perspective.
3. Ethnic identity/identification -sometimes used interchangeably with racial-identity, technically refers to one's group classification based on factors such as customs, language, or religion.
4. Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) also known as Traditionally Black Institutions (TBIs)- Colleges and universities that emerged after the Civil War for the sole purpose of educating Blacks who were legally excluded from the educational institutions established for Whites. While HBCUs enroll approximately 16% of African-American college students, they awarded more than 50% of the Bachelor's degrees to African-American recipients over all (Thomas and Hill, 1987) and have provided the nation with 75% of all African-Americans holding Ph.D degrees, 75% of all African American army officers, 80% of all African-American federal judges, and 80% of all African-American physicians (Kemp, 1990).

5. Marcia's Identity Statuses (Marcia 1980)-
 - (a) Identity Achievements-individuals who have experienced a decision making period and are pursuing self chosen occupational and ideological goals
 - (b) Identity Foreclosures-persons who are pursuing self-chosen occupational and ideological positions, but these have been parentally chosen rather than self-chosen. They show little or no evidence of crisis.
 - (c) Identity Diffusions-are young people who have no set occupational or ideological direction, regardless of whether or not they have experienced a decision making period.
 - (d) Moratoriums-are individuals who are currently struggling with occupational and or ideological issues. They are in an identity crisis (Marcia, 1980)
6. Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs)-Institutions which were organized for the purpose of educating Whites only.
7. Racial Identity-"refers to the quality or manner of one's identification with their respective racial group" (Helms, 1990, p. 5). According to Helms, one may or may not identify with one's race. The person may abandon her racial identity, or adopt another racial identity.

8. Racial Socialization-The process whereby children procure a sense of their ethnic or racial identity (Stevenson, 1994).
9. RIAS-refers to the ``Racial Identity Attitude Scale'' developed by Helms and Parham (1984). The instrument is designed to measure attitudes specific to each stage of the Cross model of racial identity development.
10. Psychological Well-being-The state of being psychologically healthy as evidenced by high scores on the California Psychological Inventory Well-Being Scale (Gough, 1989).

Summary

While this research is theoretically grounded in traditional identity theory as developed by Erikson (1968), it also utilizes the Cross model of Nigresence (Cross, 1971, 1995a-b) as a basic premise. The following chapter reviews the literature associated with personal identity, as relates to racial identity development, well-being and counseling and psychotherapy.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Literature reviewed discusses the theoretical foundations for racial identity development, definitions of racial identity, the process of racial identity development and models of racial identity development. In addition, literature is reviewed relating to racial identity and self-esteem, well-being and psychotherapy.

Theoretical Framework

Racial/ethnic identity might be viewed from a social learning framework or a developmental framework (Phinney, 1990). While this research does not disagree with the social learning aspect of identity formation, more weight is given to its developmental aspect.

The works of Erik Erikson (1959, 1968, 1980.) and Marcia (1980) lend critical support to this research. Erikson (1959, 1968) argues that the primary task in adolescence is identity formation. Adolescents are said to achieve identity formation through a period of exploration and experimentation which leads to commitment in various areas.

The process of identity formation is likened to an experience of wholeness. According to Erikson (1968), the adolescent experiences wholeness due to the feeling of

progressive continuity between what the individual has come to be through childhood and what the individual anticipates becoming in the future and how the self is conceived by the individual and what the individual perceives that others see. Herein lies potential problems for African-American youth. How the individual perceives self is likely to be influenced by how others see and relate to the individual. Phinney (1990) states that ethnic identity is meaningless in a racially homogenous society. How the individual relates to her or his own group as a sub group of the larger society is deemed important.

Waterman (1982) states that the developmental task of the individual during adolescence "is to find modes of expression that reflect intrinsic inclinations and for which sufficient sources of social support exists within the individual's cultural milieu" (p. 343). When this happens it can be assumed that the adolescent experiences a progressive strengthening in their sense of identity. If this does not happen, then the adolescent can be expected to experience developmental shifts in identity status.

Marcia (1980), structures personal identity formation in terms of four ego statuses (Marcia, 1966; 1980; Waterman, 1982). They are identified as (a) identity achievement, (b) identity moratorium, (c) identity foreclosure, and (d) identity diffusion. These statuses are defined in terms of crisis and commitment, where crisis refers to a period of

struggle or active questioning and commitment involves making a firm, unwavering decision (Waterman, 1982).

Ethnic identity can be thought of as a process similar to Marcia's ego identity formation. That is, ethnic identity formation progresses from an unexamined phase to a phase of exploration and finally to an achieved or committed phase (Phinney, 1989; 1990). Understanding the process of racial identity development can be understood in terms of progression through a series of stages as does ego identity development. Phinney and Rosenthal (1992) also propose the ego-identity framework as providing parallels by which ethnic identity can be studied. These authors see ethnic identity as an additional domain of identity development for minority youth and have also linked ethnic identity achievement with higher scores on measures of ego identity.

Phinney's, three stage model of ethnic identity (Phinney, 1989, 1990 & Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992) compares the first stage, unexamined ethnic identity, which usually occurs during early adolescence, to identity foreclosure. According to Phinney (1989), the individual at this stage possesses attitudes which are derived from others such as parents, family, or community rather than being derived solely by the individual. In this model, individuals, who because of the absence of their ethnically related conflicts place low salience on race, are said to have an ethnically

diffuse identity. This stage is comparable to one of the sub-categories of the Pre-Encounter Stage.

The identity exploration stage, which would be termed encounter by Cross, is compared to the identity crisis or moratorium stages described by Erikson (1968), Marcia (1980) and Phinney & Rosenthal, (1992). This second stage, ethnically diffuse, is followed by a period of resolution of conflicts and a commitment to a particular status as a member of one's ethnic group and the person is said to have an achieved ethnic identity (Phinney, 1989; Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992). One can readily see the similarities between the three stage model of ethnic identity, in the Eriksonian identity model (Erikson, 1968), and the ego-statuses developed by Marcia (1980).

Marcia (1980), describes identity formation as:
an internally, self constructed, dynamic organization of drives, abilities, beliefs and individual history. The better developed this structure is, the more individuals appear to be aware of their own uniqueness and similarity to others and their own strengths and weaknesses in making their way in the world. The less developed this structure is, the more confused individuals seem about their own distinctiveness from others and the more they have to rely on external sources to evaluate themselves (p.159).

Assuming that racial identity is a component of personal identity, and the fact that individuals who have constructed well developed personal identities appear to be better adjusted than those who have not, Marcia's conceptualization of identity formation appears to support assumptions in this study that African-American students who have developed higher levels of racial identity will be better adjusted and endorse fewer psychological symptoms. This is gained from the proposal that individuals who are aware of their own uniqueness from others and similarities to others are better able to make self evaluations on the basis of internal rather than external stimuli.

It is usually thought that the major portion of the adolescent developmental process, including identity formation, takes place during the college years. However, there is evidence to support the premise that this process might take place earlier (Erikson, 1968). Harris, (1995) and Spencer, (1982), on the other hand, see identity development as a process central to childhood as well as adolescence. Other evidence indicates that for African-American students the process of identity development may perhaps be accelerated (Erikson, 1968).

Erikson (1968) describes the process of identity formation as mainly an unconscious process which generally takes place during adolescence. This is the case in most circumstances, "except where inner conditions and outer

circumstances combine to aggravate a painful or elated identity consciousness (p.23)." This phenomenon is discussed in conjunction with race and ethnicity. According to Erikson (1968), it is not possible to separate personal growth and communal change nor can the identity crisis be separated from the individual's life and contemporary crises in historical development, because the two are relative to each other. "The whole interplay between the psychological, social, developmental, and the historical, for which identity formation is of prototypical significance, could be conceptualized only as a kind of psychosocial relativity" (Erikson, 1968, p. 23). According to Erikson, identity development has two kinds of time a developmental stage time and a period in history time and there is a complementarity of life history and history.

Unless provoked prematurely and disastrously (and the biographies of Negro writers as well as direct observations of Negro children attest to such prematurity) the identity crisis is not feasible before the beginning, even as it is not dispensable after the end of adolescence (Erikson, 1968, p.309).

It appears that while identity development, which is precipitated by crisis, or experimentation and exploration, is not feasible before the beginning of adolescence, that does not mean that the individual cannot experience crisis

and that certain historical events (i.e. poverty, racism, oppression) cannot in fact force premature identity crisis.

Spencer (1982) discusses decentration, the ability to take another's perspective, as an important mediator variable for race awareness and race dissonance in small children. Race dissonance can be thought of as a shift in personal identity. When the individual shifts from viewing her or his group from a positive to a negative orientation, racial dissonance occurs. Spencer (1982) proposes a conceptualization of identity formation in African-American children as being cognitively constructed utilizing their unique experiences, from their environment, to construct reality. According to Spencer, this process is particularly critical for African-American children or children from other groups who are outside the mainstream as this process causes an identity imbalance unless some type intervention takes place.

Defining Ethnic/Racial Identity

What exactly is racial identity? Like any form of personal identity, racial identity is a complex concept and thus not easily defined. It has been defined in various ways by different individuals. Phinney (1990), states that the many and varied definitions are indicative of the confusion surrounding the idea of racial identity. Terms and phrases such as feeling of belonging, commitment to one's group, attitudes toward one's group, shared behaviors,

knowledge of, or shared group history have been used in formulating definitions. According to DeVos (1975), ethnic identity involves one's subjective view of the self as well as how others view the individual. Browman (1988) defines ethnic identity in terms of racial group identification. Ethnic identity "depicts a sense of belonging to a status group, and having feelings associated with being part of a status group. It includes sharing of similar feelings and interests with others who have similar characteristics (p.147)."

According to Helms (1989), racial identity is a changing process influenced by individual characteristics as well as situational or environmental factors. Racial identity is seen as only one aspect of the self and as such it is affected by factors such as self-concept, which influence identity development (Cross, 1989; Parham & Helms, 1985).

Alba's (1990) conception of ethnic/racial identity places ethnic identity deep in the structures of the psyche. He also views ethnic identity development in terms of Eriksonian theory of development. According to Alba, one of Erikson's greatest contributions to psychoanalytic theory is his concept of identity as representing an individual's personal identification in terms of the prototypes available, given the individual's location in time and space.

Alba (1990) believes that ethnic identity should not be viewed solely in terms of self-concept and inner orientation, but considers the behavioral and experiential expressions of identity to be just as important, if not more so, than the psychological components. Phinney (1990), concurs with Alba in his belief that self-definition and behavior should coincide. Alba (1990) States:

No matter how strongly an individual identifies with an ethnic background, if this identity is not reflected in action and experience, it makes little contribution to sustaining ethnicity. If ethnic identity has no content, no commitment, in terms of action, then it represents a pure form of symbolic ethnicity, a self-conscious attempt to feel ethnic to the exclusion of being ethnic (p.76).

Royce (1982, p. 18) defines ethnic identity as "the sum total of feelings on the part of group members about those values, symbols, and common histories that identify them as a group". She states that " a person does not belong to an ethnic group by choice, he is born into it and becomes related to it through emotional and symbolic ties" (Royce, 1982, p. 19). Like DeVos, (1975) and Alba (1990), Royce believes that ethnic identity is more than an ascription. She contends that "the ethnic group is a reference group invoked by people who identify themselves and who are

identified by others as sharing a common historical style" (p.184).

According to Royce (1982):

Ethnic identity is a powerful phenomenon. It is powerful both at the affective level, where it touches us in ways mysterious and frequently unconscious, and at the level of strategy, where we consciously manipulate it. It's power is also perceived and interpreted differently by individuals and groups, whether they are users, of ethnicity, observers, of ethnicity, or analysts of ethnicity... (p.1).

Royce (1982) asserts that one can "develop, display, manipulate or ignore one's ethnic identity (p. 1)". Other authors also agree that one does not have to accept her or his ethnicity (Helms, 1985, McGoldrick et al, 1996). While some may choose to display their ethnicity, it should be noted, that for the most part, African-Americans do not choose to display or not to display their racial/ethnic group, it is usually a given. However, the extent to which one identifies with one's racial group is a different matter.

Margaret Spencer (1982) states that previous research of minority group identity formation has assumed that personal identity and group identity were inextricably linked in a consistent fashion over the life course. However, in her

synthesis, Spencer (1982) found that personal identity is not necessarily in concordance with group identity for any given developmental period. The two can be separated. McGoldrick et. al, (1996) state that we may ignore our ethnicity or deny it...but we do so to the detriment of our well being.

Racial Identity Development

Racial/Ethnic identity development is a complex, evolving, and multi-faceted process (McGoldrick, et al, 1996; Winereich, 1988) . While children first procure a sense of who they are racially from their families, other factors must also be considered. However, the family's success in socializing a child as an ethnic group member depends largely on the support of the surrounding ethnic community (Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992, p. 171). Furthermore, Phinney and Rosenthal (1992) emphasize that "even when the parents present a positive ethnic image and the ethnic community reinforces that image, the developing child is susceptible to society's images of the group which may differ radically from their own." The task then of the child or adolescent becomes one of analyzing, synthesizing and integrating information which is often contradictory, with regard to one's racial or ethnic group membership. This task is based on knowledge, experiences, and attitudes which are derived from various sources. Resolution of this task results in ethnic/racial identity achievement (Phinney &

Rosenthal, 1992). Comer (1988) also believes that racial identity emerges out of a background of previous experiences, however, it is promoted through feedback from others.

Models of Racial/Ethnic Identity Development

The literature presents various models of racial identity (Helms, 1990, Phinney, 1990, Semaj, 1985, Smith, 1991). Phinney (1990) categorizes them into two basic categories, linear bi-polar models, and two dimensional models. Bi-polar models conceptualize ethnic/racial identity along a continuum with strong ethnic ties at one end and mainstream ties at the other. This model assumes that if the individual becomes acculturated, then ethnic identity must be weakened. The two dimensional model depicts a process in which several outcomes are available to the individual-biculturalism, marginality, assimilation, or separation. That is, identification with one's culture can be independent of one's relationship and identification with the dominant culture.

Gushue, (1993) in describing various models of racial identity development describes them as "focusing on an individual's psychological response to the experience of membership in an oppressed group or of belonging to the group that benefits from oppression"(p.491). Smith disagrees with this conceptualization.

Two models of racial identity development will be discussed in detail. These include the Cross model (Cross, 1971, 1978; Helms, 1990) and the Smith, (1991) model.

Helms (1990) describes two perspectives of racial identity models. These are the Black client or person-as-problem model, (CAP) and the Nigresence or Racial Identity Development (NRID) perspective. The CAP models grew out of the social struggles of the 1960s and were useful in counseling and psychotherapy. Primarily, these models allowed professionals to categorize the clients which would prove problematic in therapy (Helms, 1990). "The NRID models attempted to separate those aspects of Black identity development that occurred in response to racial oppression from those aspects that occurred as a normal part of the human self-actualization process" (Helms, 1990, p. 17).

Cross Model

The original Cross model (1971) discussed earlier, is a NRID model. It is based on the individual's progression through a series of sequential stages. Cross (1971, 1978, 1995a-b) identified the process of racial development as Nigresence, and defines Nigresence as converting to blackness, or becoming Black oriented.

The original Cross model which was extended by Helms (1990; Parham & Helms, 1985a-b), describes several emotional themes that accompany each stage of racial identity. These are : Pre-Encounter- which is associated with anxiety, poor

self esteem and defensiveness; Encounter-which embodies bitterness, hurt, anger; Immersion/ Emersion-characterized by rage, self-destructiveness, impulsivity, euphoria; and Internalization/ Commitment-which exemplifies self-control, calmness, security, and activism.

The original model consisted of self-concept issues and parallel attitudes about Blacks and Whites as a reference group. The Black individual was, depending upon the stage of racial identity development, thought to make complex choices as to which group would be her or his group of reference (Helms, 1990).

Helms (1986, 1990) suggested that each stage be treated as a distinct and separate world view, rather than a distinct category or group. That is, that each stage would serve as a cognitive template by which the individual would organize racial information. While Cross viewed progression through the stages as being due to social or environmental forces, Helms believed that the stage was due to one's cognitive maturation interacting with societal forces (Helms, 1984).

Other researchers disagree with Cross and Helms (Akbar, 1989; Baldwin, 1981, 1984; Noble 1986). These researchers view ethnic/racial identity as being biogenetically determined. It is described as the core of the Black self (Akbar, 1989). According to Akbar (1989), when one is out of touch with this self (i.e. Pre-Encounter), one is in a

pathological, misoriented, disordered state. Akbar's belief is that the African/Black self emerges as a natural expression of one's human development within the natural supportive environment of one's culture. A logical conclusion that can be drawn from Akbar's belief is that without the proper supportive environment, the African/Black self does not emerge. It appears that Akbar (1989) does not view the process of racial identity development as a part of the human developmental process but as an expression of it. It is the belief of this researcher, however, that while the race of an individual (i.e. whether she or he is of African descent) is biogenetically determined, it does not necessarily follow that identification with a particular group is biogenetically determined.

Smith Model

The second model to be discussed is that of Smith, (1989, 1991). Racial identity is presented as one small part of ethnic identity (Smith, 1989) and is viewed as applicable to all African-Americans. While Smith, (1985) discusses the importance of race as a source of stress and the out group status of African-Americans and other minorities as a source of social isolation, social marginality and status inconsistency, elsewhere she indicates (Smith 1984) that one should transcend, or go beyond the issue of race. On the one hand, Smith (1985) seems to use the terms race and ethnicity interchangeably

and then on the other hand (Smith, 1984) a distinction is made between the two. For example, Smith, (1985, p. 541) states, "when ethnic or racial groups constitute a smaller portion of their total population in a given area, diagnosed rates of mental illness increase for the ethnic minority in a comparison to the majority ethnic group." Smith further stated that "the relationship between ethnic [racial] density and psychiatric hospitalization rate held even when factors such as poverty, family cohesiveness, and mobility were controlled (Smith, 1989, p.541). Even though she is discussing "ethnic density," the ideological presentation conveys race. This view can be clearly seen as Smith indicates that ethnic density is "inversely related to psychiatric hospitalization for both "Whites and Blacks."

It appears that these are racial groups.

Smith, (1989) delineates three levels of identity: individual or idiosyncratic identity, group identity and panhuman identity. According to Smith, racial identity fits into the second stage. Smith, (1991) proposes that:

...ethnic identity development is a lifelong process, beginning in childhood and continuing throughout one's oldest adult years. Ethnic identity development is described as a process of differentiation, and integration. One moves from a state of unawareness of ethnic differences to awareness, from non-ethnic self-identification to

ethnic self-identification, and from partial ethnic identification to identity formation. Ethnic identity development is a continual process of boundary-line drawing, of deciding what individuals and what groups are included in one's inner and outer boundary groups. Ethnic contact situations whether positive or negative, cause the individual to broaden, narrow, or crystallize her or his boundaries with various contact situations. The broadening, narrowing, or crystallizing of ethnic boundaries is the basic process that directs one's ethnic development (p,183).

Smith (1991, p.181) sought to "reconceptualize the issue of racial identity development so that it is not just limited to the issue of oppression and to provide a framework of conceptualization ethnic identity development that could be used for both majority and minority groups (p.185)."

Smith's view is that ethnic (racial) identity development takes place across the life span, that it is a process of differentiation and integration, that one moves from a state of unawareness to awareness, and from a state of non-identity to identity. She states that racial identity is not just limited to issues of oppression. It should be noted, that this researcher concurs. Smith, (1991) however, emphasizes changing the terminology from

racial identity to the more generic, ethnic identity, indicating that the model might be used with both majority and minority ethnic groups. However, this researcher believes that the change of terminology is not helpful in gaining a better understanding of racial identity development.

While changing the terminology in and of itself is not significant, the question can be raised as to whether the more generic model could apply to all racial groups. Smith argues that race may not be the most salient factor for identity development, and this researcher agrees. However, it may not be possible to filter out the influences of one's racial background when analyzing personal identity formation, especially if the individual is African-American or a member of any other oppressed group. If one's history, and experiences contribute to one's identity formation (Comer, 1988; Erikson, 1968; McGoldrick et al, 1996), and we each have different histories and experiences even within ethnic groups, how is it possible to conceptualize a model of ethnic identity, which disregards oppression or other historical factors, that is applicable across all racial groups? As members of minority ethnic groups, one factor remains stable across groups, that is the experience of oppression and discrimination in some form and to some degree. However, Smith's model proposes to do away with the

term oppression, substituting minority/ majority status instead.

Although it is true that ethnic group membership is more than race, and that an individual can be a member of several ethnic groups genetically, that individual usually does not, at the same time, in the same space, identify with all blood lines in her or his heritage. Even if the individual does seek to self-identify as a multi-ethnic individual, society at large does not so classify the individual. For individuals of lighter skin complexion, it is perhaps easier to use the term ethnic identity with a broad stroke, eliminating racial connotations, because the larger society sees this individual, for the most part, as Caucasian, regardless of the individual's wish to be recognized by her or his ethnicity or ethnicities.

Our society does not separate French Canadians, Greeks, Italian Americans, Swedish Americans, or Irish Americans into separate ethnic groups as a rule. Therefore, race may not be a salient factor for these groups. For the African-American, however, race or skin tone, is very much a salient factor, and cannot be dissolved by the changing of terminology.

There is substantial support in the literature for the salience of race to be included in discussions of ethnic/racial identity (McGoldrick et al, 1996; Phinney, 1990, Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992; Tajfel, 1978; Taylor &

Dalmas, 1980; Winkler, 1994). Phinney and Rosenthal, (1992) state, that while the study of ethnic identity can be extended to other ethnic groups, ethnicity (race) is not a salient factor for these groups and therefore of little importance in terms of identity. Racially similar groups can more easily and successfully assimilate into dominant society (Phinney, 1990). While this may not be feasible for recent immigrants, it eventually becomes easier (Phinney, 1990). This is not the case for racially distinct groups; for them, Phinney (1991) states that complete assimilation is not an option and one's identity is at least partially imposed (Phinney, 1990).

It appears that Smith describes the same phenomenon that is described by Helms but gives it a different name. Oppression (racism, discrimination), which is changed to Minority/ Majority status (Smith, 1991 p. 181), produces the same results. Why change the terminology? The nomenclature simply acts as a veil to conceal that which should be made visible and comprehensible by all. Tounsel and Jones (1980) also question the validity of a universal theory suitable for all regardless of racial or experiential heritage. Perhaps a generic model of racial identity might be feasible in a more egalitarian society. McGoldrick and Giordano, (1996) have stated that while racism in America is more subtle and covert, it is still very much a part of American life from college campus to corporate board rooms

and the politics of race continue to be complex and divisive. It appears that as long as racism is a reality in our society, race will continue to be a salient factor in racial identity development.

Like Smith, Parham (1989) describes the process of racial identity as a lifelong process, however, he believes that this process starts in late adolescence or early adulthood as opposed to childhood. While Smith claims that development of racial identity is not simply a reaction to oppressive elements, Parham (1989) further asserts that racial identity is "an entity independent of socially oppressive phenomenon" (p.195). Parham describes this entity as being "actualized through a person's thoughts, feelings, and behaviors, that are rooted in the values and fabric of Black/African culture itself" (p.195). He further states that identity development is influenced by an interaction between internal (individual) and external (environmental) factors. It appears that he is indicating that the two are separate, that is identity development and Black/African self-identity. However, one must question how an individual who is socially oppressed has thoughts, feelings, and behaviors that are not, at some level, influenced by that oppression? Parham (1989), on the other hand, does indicate that a person's racial identity attitudes are related to positive mental health.

Racial/Ethnic Identity and Self-Esteem

Phinney, (1990) in delineating the influence of social learning theory and social identity on ethnic or racial identity formation also discusses self-esteem. Social identity theory asserts that being a member of a group provides the individual with a sense of belonging and contributes to a positive self-concept (Phinney, 1990). However, minority group members are potentially faced with the probability of developing a negative-social identity, if the dominant group in society holds the traits of the minority group in low regard (Tjfel, 1978). Powell, (1973, p. 301) states "what an individual thinks, and feels about himself is mediated through his perception of what others think and feel about him." According to Tajfel (1978), individuals from "low-status" groups may choose to improve their status in various ways, some of which may have negative psychological outcomes. In addition, individuals who are racially distinct and are categorized by others as ethnic group members, cannot choose other options regarding group membership.

While research results are sometimes contradictory, achieving positive identity formation has been positively linked with higher levels of self-esteem and more positive self-concepts in a number of studies. (Grossman, Writ, & Davids, 1985; Hauser & Kasendorf, 1983; Paul & Fisher 1980; Spencer, 1982; White & Burke, 1987, Watson & Protinsky,

1991). Houston, (1984) and Powell, (1973) have indicated that the freedom movement is responsible for greater awareness and Black consciousness which are linked with elevations in Black self esteem.

African-American adolescents and children have been found to score higher on measures of self esteem than their White counterparts (Cross, 1985; Hauser, & Kasendorf, 1983; Rosenberg & Simmons, 1971; Ward & Braun, 1972; Yancy, Rigsby, McCarthy, 1972). Conversely, various researchers have found that African-American students on predominantly White campuses experience numerous adjustment and psychological problems as well as problems related to self-esteem and racial identity (Bennett & Okinak, 1990; Farrell & Jones, 1988; Hughes, 1987; Sedlacek, 1987; Taylor, 1986; Taylor & Gibbs, 1974; Williams & Leonard, 1988). Given these research findings, it seems reasonable to question the effect of the campus environment. Does the environment of a predominantly White campus adversely affect racial identity development or reverse the process of racial identity development, thereby affecting the psychological adjustment of African-American students? A more important question might be, what attitudes and beliefs did the students hold prior to entering the university?

Investigation of that particular premise is beyond the scope of this study. However, with empirical evidence to support the contention that identity formation is not a

static process (Erikson; 1968; Hauser, & Kasendorf, 1983; Helms, 1991; Marcia, 1980; Moore, 1985; Royce, 1982), it is possible that a student could be at a certain point in relation to racial identity development upon graduation from high school and at an entirely different position in her or his junior year in college. It is also reasonable to assume that this change may or may not be related to the racial make-up of the campus. It is entirely possible that the individual had already reached a point in development characterized by dissonance, anger, and anxiety before entering the university. As can be seen from recent racial unrest in America, one need not visit the university to undergo an "encounter experience."

Erikson (1959) has stated that "identity is never gained nor maintained once and for all. Like a good conscience it is constantly lost and regained, although more lasting and economical methods of maintenance and restoration are evolved and fortified in late adolescence" (p.118). Whether one gains or maintains personal identity over time might be related to one's racial identity development.

While investigating institutional effects on African-American students is also beyond the scope of this research, the consideration of such is important in looking at the status of African-American high school students in terms of development of racial identity and psychological well-being, and in terms of their preference for attending a

predominantly White or historically Black college or university.

Racial Identity And Well-Being

There is substantial empirical evidence to support Parham's claims regarding the relationship between racial identity attitudes and psychological well-being (Comer, 1988; Cross, 1985, 1991; Phinney, 1990, 1992; Spencer, 1982, 1985, Sue, 1991) . Derbyshire and Broady (1964) have stated that many if not all African-Americans appear to suffer from problems related to identification. They propose that these problems stem from culture conflict, caste restrictions and minority status. Clinical data suggest that conflicting loyalties to one's minority group and the dominant group can produce inner confusion that may result in a disordered identity or in maladaptive functioning or both (Sommers, 1964).

Spencer (1982) found that African-American preschool children who made a shift in group identity from Eurocentrism to Afrocentrism also made a shift in cognitive performance. According to Spencer, these children experienced a decline in performance on standardized language measures. Spencer surmised from these findings that "interactions between early social experiences, cognitive development, and identity quests produced significantly different outcomes as a consequence of the status group (p. 60)." In addition, there was evidence to

support the premise that children from lower income families would receive "greater discordant information" than their middle-class counterparts and would thus experience even greater negative developmental outcomes.

Studies of African-American students on predominantly white campuses (Gibbs, 1974; Mackey, 1972) have also documented what was perceived to be maladaptive psychological functioning related to conflicting environmental issues. Hammond (1970) in his work with students commented that African-American students often developed a syndrome he called "cultural paranoia." Kyser (1966) described a similar problem with students which he studied, characterized by low self-esteem, defensive preoccupation with status, angry revolt against parents and sub-culture, guilt, and identity confusion.

The work of DeAngelis (1992) also supports the contention that strong identification with one's culture is linked to higher levels of self-esteem and happiness. However, a student who sees her or his culture as having little or no value, consequently, will have problems in this area. In a discussion on models of mental health in Black folklore, Mary Helen Washington (1978) states that connections to one's past is vital to well being. Gurin (1989) asserts that all racial groups provide a collective set of traditions that remind the person identified with them of the tie with the past as well as a projection into

the future and that for this reason racial and ethnic identification will continue to serve as a collective base of personal identity. Parham (1989) suggests that for African-American youth,

"development of pro-Black attitudes may be indicative of healthy psychological adjustment, whereas attitudes that denigrate oneself as a Black person and simultaneously promote wishes to be white may be psychologically maladaptive" (p. 216-217).

According to Phinney, (1992) in order for minority group youth to construct a strong, positive, and stable self-identity, they must be able to incorporate into the sense of self a positively valued ethnic identity. If this is not done, Comer, (1988) believes that the individual will be adversely affected socially, psychologically, and eventually economically.

It appears that self-esteem and well-being is sometimes used interchangeably in the literature. Several authors, (Cross, 1985, 1991; Phinney, 1990; Spencer, 1985) have made a distinction between the two. This distinction helps us better understand how an individual can have high self-esteem and yet not feel any connection to her race or ethnic group. Self-esteem, or self-concept is associated with one's personal identity and can be viewed as separate from

one's group identity or ethnic/racial orientation (Cross, 1991; Spencer, 1995).

In a review of the research, Phinney, (1990) discussed at length the relationship between group identity and self-esteem. The results appear to be mixed. It seems that for some individuals strong identification with one's racial group is highly related to higher levels of self-esteem. On the other hand, instances have been found where individuals hold strong negative views of their ethnic group, but yet feel good about her/himself (Phinney, 1990). The research reviewed showed that subjects in these studies were college students and early adolescents. While self-esteem and self-concept are more often linked with personal identity, how the individual feels about themselves, well-being, appears to be a broader term associated with overall psychological adjustment. While the two are closely related and used interchangeably in the literature, it is conceivable that an individual could score highly on a measure of self esteem and at the same time endorse psychological symptoms.

Psychotherapy and Racial Identity

In speaking of counseling implications, Akbar (1989) states that counselors cannot "support one development as opposed to another" (p.262). This seems to imply that there are at least two types or forms of identity development. If in fact there is only one form of development, then counselors can only support one. They may however,

ignorantly support one facet or factor in that process while failing to support another. For example, the counselor or therapist who is unaware of the processes of racial identity development as relates to overall human development, might ignore or misinterpret relevant information provided by the client leading to improper or ineffective therapeutic intervention.

Perhaps Akbar (1989) is referring to personal identity development versus racial group orientation rather than racial identity development. As previously stated, it has been assumed by some, that the development of personal identity, and racial group orientation are separate (Cross, 1985, Sue, 1991, Harris, 1995). That is, an individual might have developed stable personal identity and adopt an out-group orientation. It should be noted that for purposes of this research, racial identity is defined as one facet of personal identity. The development of personal identity and racial identity are viewed as being inextricably bound together.

It is highly possible for an African-American individual to feel good about himself as an individual and yet not feel good about his reference group or racial group. Helms, (1993) discuss whether out-group versus own-group preference should be viewed as healthy, valuable, or normative. While the two can be separate, it is also possible for one's feelings regarding one's ethnic or racial group to

negatively affect one's personal identity (McGoldrick & Giordano, 1996). McGoldrick and Giordano, (1996) state that one's ethnicity identity is influenced by a variety of factors and is a powerful influence in determining identity.

Factors which they believe interact with ethnic in formulating one's identity include: economics, race, class, religion, politics, geography, the length of time since migration, historical experience, and degree of discrimination experienced.

Racial identity is not just a phenomenon experienced by African-Americans, therefore it makes sense to view it as a component of the broader human developmental process. However, therapists must be careful that in looking at the broader human developmental process, the client's racial orientation and or identity is not overlooked. A better understanding of racial and cultural issues would better equip the therapist to handle the unique challenges presented by clients (Priest, 1991). According to McGoldrick and Giordano, (1996) there is a need in our profession for therapist to be attuned to ethnic identity conflicts.

Previous research has documented the significance of racial identity attitudes of both counselor and client in terms of psychotherapy effectiveness and outcomes (Austin, Carter, Vaux, 1990; Helms, 1986; Oler, 1989; Pomales, Claiborn, & LaFromboise, 1986; Ponterotto, Anderson, &

Grieger, 1986; Priest, 1991; Richardson & Helms, 1994, Stevenson, 1994). According to White, (1984) therapist need a better understanding of racial identity attitudes, their own and those of the client, in order to prevent error in communication, diagnosis and treatment.

A better understanding of racial and ethnic attitudes is also needed by educational institutions at all levels. Banks (1994), has elaborated on the need for educational institutions to reflect both racial and cultural differences in programming as well as efforts to reduce institutional, individual, and cultural racism. According to Banks, racial differences and a lack of understanding thereof are the cause of the most serious psychological problems that students of color experience in schools and of racial conflict in western society. Gaining a better understanding of such racial and cultural differences would likely aid in reducing intergroup conflict.

Due to the constantly changing demographics of this country, Sue, Arrendondo, McDavids (1992) have documented the need for competencies and standards in multicultural counseling. Sue (1991) has indicated that at one time studies of ethnic and racial differences were motivated by politics or obligation. However, he now believes that for the good of all, the increasing ethnic make up of society demands better skills, competencies, and understanding in working with ethnic groups.

Burns (1992) discusses the need for more specificity in ethical guidelines which would insure counselor sensitivity toward cultural and ethnic differences. He has also stated that it is needful for the counselor to be aware of both the client's and his own cultural mindset. To insure the welfare of all clients and insure that the principle of beneficence is adhered to, it is imperative that therapist seek to understand the racial socialization of clients as well as racial identity attitudes and how they may affect the process and outcome of racially/ethnically different client populations.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Subjects

Subjects consisted of 118 African-American high school seniors selected from three public school systems, in a midwestern state. All subjects were classified as seniors, however one participant marked eleventh grade on the demographic sheet. Subjects' ages ranged from seventeen to nineteen. There were 76 female participants and forty-two male participants See Table 1 for complete demographic information on subjects. Although the total number of participants was 118, not all participants completed all segments of the study, as some questions did not apply to all participants (See Appendix B for instruments used).

After authorization from the school district, students were recruited from local high schools through the counselor and or principal's office. African-American male and female students were solicited.

All eight high schools in the target district were contacted to participate in the study, however, only two of the schools contacted effectively responded. Therefore, other outlying schools were contacted and agreed to participate. All African-American seniors in the selected

schools were solicited for the study. Participation was voluntary. Several students declined to participate without justification. One student, a male, discussed with the researcher that he did not wish to participate in the study because it was discriminatory as not white students were allowed to participate. No incentives were offered to participants.

Research Instruments

Three separate instruments were used: The Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS-B) (Helms & Parham, 198), the California Psychological Inventory Well-Being Scale (Gough, 1989), and a demographic questionnaire-personal information sheet which was constructed for the study.

The Racial Identity Attitude Scale Form-B (Parham & Helms, 1981) is a 50 item self-report measure representing five stages in the Cross model. These are: Pre-Encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, Internalization, and Internalization-Commitment. Reliability coefficients, using Cronbachs alpha, were found to be .69, .50, .67, .79 for the Pre-Encounter, Encounter, Immersion and Internalization scales respectively (Helms, 1989).

Martin and Nagayma (1992) describe standard scoring procedures for the instrument as follows:

Scores from each subscale were obtained by adding the responses to items of the subscale separately and dividing by the number of items contained in

the subscale. Scores can range from 1-5, with higher scores indicating stronger endorsement of attitudes which that scale represents (p.510). This scoring procedure yields sub-scale scores for each individual participant.

Internal consistency reliability coefficients range from .66-.77 (Parham & Helms, 1981). Ponterotto and Wise (1987) used oblique factor analysis and found "strong support for Cross's constructs of Pre-Encounter, Immersion/Emersion, and Internalization" (p. 512).

In terms of validity, no coefficients are reported by Helms, (1990). However, she reports that the scale "generally seems to predict characteristics that should be related to racial identity according to theory (Helms, 1990, p. 45)." Helms, (1990) seems to insinuate that the instrument does have content and construct validity. A validation study examined the relationship between the original RIAS and the Milliones Developmental Inventory Black Consciousness (DIBC) Scale which also measures racial identity found parallel scales to be correlated with respect to direction (Helms, 1990).

The California Psychological Inventory Well-Being Scale (Pyant & Yanico, 1991)) consists of 44 true or false statements. The scale is primarily used as an adjustment measure which focuses on the presence or absence of various psychological and physical symptoms (Pyant & Yanico, 1991).

Raw scores range from 0-44 with higher scores reflecting a greater degree of physical and psychological well-being.

Test retest reliabilities for the CPI Well-Being Scale are reported as $r=.71$ for a sample of 234 adult men and women and corrected split-half internal consistency of $.86$ for a sample of 500 adult men and women (Pyant & Yanico, 1991).

The Well-Being scale is one of eighteen scales found on the California Psychological Inventory. It consist of forty-four items of which five are scored true and thirty-nine are false. ``The content consists primarily of denial of various physical and mental symptoms. In addition, to implications for validity, interpretation is also possible with high scores indicating health and verve, and low scores suggest diminished vitality and inability to meet the demands of everyday life (Megargee, 1977, p.52).''

``The general finding from a number of investigations is that the Well-Being Scale reliably reflects difference in adjustment as defined by a number of criteria (McGargee, 1977, p.55).'' McGargee (1977), has stated that the primary need in the area of test development is for normative studies on minority-group Americans. He does indicate that in recent years, research has been performed using African-Americans, Mexican Americans, and American Indians subjects, however, the results show that lower-class minority group members often obtain lower scores on CPI scales.

The instrument has been used mainly for predicting academic and vocational achievement (Megargee, 1977). According to Megargee (1977), the instrument was developed for use with normal people and has been shown to be most useful in discriminating individuals who are in conflict with society rather than with themselves. It is for this reason the instrument is not recommended for clinical use unless used in a battery. He also states that the instrument has a wide range of research applications, however it has thus far been used in exploratory research studies which are designed to determine the relationship between a CPI Scale and some other variable (Megargee, 1977).

The demographic questionnaire constructed for the study was used to survey social economic status (e.g. parent income, occupation and educational level), gender, age, and college selectivity factors. Selectivity factors refer to those factors the student used or would be likely to use in choosing a particular university to attend (e.g. financial concerns, where parents attended, social environment, acceptance criteria). Cheatham, Slaney, and Coleman, (1990) have indicated that one of the weaknesses in the research with regard to African-American student matriculation at predominantly White institutions versus predominantly African-American institutions is that these studies have failed to take selectivity factors into consideration. This

item was added to the questionnaire and to the study as a means to compensate for this weakness. Information was also obtained regarding preference for attending either a historically Black or predominantly White institution.

Procedure

Data were collected, in groups, on site by the researcher at all sites except two. One district required that the counselor administer the instruments. The instruments were administered by the principal at a second school district. Both the counselor and the principal were trained by the researcher prior to test administration. Instructions to the subjects included a brief explanation of the instruments and the approximate time it would take to complete the instruments. Each individual was given verbal feedback and information about the study in the form of a cover letter/handout. In addition, participants were able to request written feedback of the final results of the study by placing their name and address on an index card and sealing it in a small envelope.

Upon entering the testing room students were given packets containing a cover letter, consent form, a small white envelope with a 3x5 index card enclosed, the Racial Identity Scale, The California Psychological Inventory Well-Being Scale (CPI Well-Being Scale), a demographic questionnaire which solicited information regarding selectivity and institutional preference, and an answer

sheet. The three instruments were stapled together.

Sequencing of the three instruments was counterbalanced by the order in which they were stapled for the subject. Counterbalancing was used to control for possible order effects. Appendix B contains a complete set of instruments. Subjects were informed that the study explored attitudes, and feeling about themselves and others as well as future college plans and their preference for a particular type of university. In addition, they were instructed to honestly complete all items, to the best of their ability. Responses were to be made on the answer sheet rather than the instrument. Responses to the demographic sheet were to be recorded directly to the sheet. In completing the demographic sheet, students were required to not only indicate whether they were planning to attend a predominantly White institution or a historically Black Institution, but they were further required to rank order nine selectivity factors in order of importance (1 most important, 9 least important) which they used to determine which university they would be attending.

Because no names were included on the instruments or packet, responses were kept anonymous. Subjects were reminded orally of this condition. However, even after being assured of anonymity, some students refused to give any information regarding parental income. After completing the instruments, students placed them in the packets and

gave the completed packet to the researcher. Envelopes containing requests for results were sealed and collected as the student exited the testing room.

Recording and Verification

After data collection, data were coded for computer scoring. Data were entered directly from questionnaires into the computer. Individual items from the questionnaires were coded in order that the computer might later derive subscales. Data from one half of the instruments (every other data set) were reentered to check for consistency. Following this, a copy of raw data and frequencies were printed to further verify data.

Data Analyses

Data analysis were conducted using SPSS computer package. Three different analyses were used to analyze the data. These were a multiple regression analysis, t-tests for independent samples, and the Mann-Whitney U Stastic.

Analysis One

Analysis one consisted of a multiple regression analysis predicting CPI Well-Being scores from a linear combination of the RIAS Scales. The five Racial Identity Attitude scale scores served as the predictor variables and the California Psychological Inventory Well-Being Scale scores served as the criterion variable.

Analysis Two

A second analysis utilized independent t-tests to examine mean differences on the RIAS between the preference groups, historically black college or university versus a predominantly White institution. T-tests were used to test group differences at each stage of the Racial Identity Attitude Scale. Due to the fact that students possess characteristics from several stages at the same time, scale scores rather than individual scores were used in the analyses.

Analysis Three

A Mann Whitney U Statistic was conducted as the third analysis. Preference groups were compared on the ranking of the importance of selectivity factors utilizing the Mann-Whitney U.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

Specific findings of the study will be presented in the following order: characteristics of respondents, summary statistics for the sample, and then the results of formal tests of hypotheses.

Sample Characteristics

One hundred fifty-two students volunteered to complete the study, however, thirty-four students failed to complete all instruments. One of the thirty-four students decided not to participate after he realized only African-American students were being solicited. This student refused participation on the grounds that the research was "discriminatory." Therefore, a total of one hundred eighteen African-American high school students were used as subjects in this study. The mean age of participants was 17.6 and average family income was reported at \$30,000-\$39,999. Table 1 presents detailed descriptive characteristics of respondents in percentages.

Table 1

Descriptive Characteristics of Data in PercentagesGRADE (N=118)

12	99.2
11	.8

AGE (N=118)

17	44.1
18	54.2
19	1.7

GENDER (N=118)

Females	64.4
Males	35.6

LIVING ARRANGEMENTS (N=118)

With Both Parents	49.2
With A Single Parent	43.2
With Other Relatives or Grand Parents	5.1
Alone or With Spouse	2.5

MOTHER'S EDUCATION (N=117)

Less Than High School	4.2
Completed High School	31.4
Some College	31.4
Completed Undergraduate Degree	20.3
Attended Graduate School	9.3
Completed Masters	1.7
Attended Above Masters	.8

FATHER'S EDUCATION (N=107)

Less Than High School Diploma	8.5
Completed High School	31.4
Some College	20.3
Completed Undergraduate Degree	19.5
Attended Graduate School	7.6
Completed Masters	2.5
Attended Above Masters	.8

ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME (N=107)

Less Than \$10,000	5.9
\$10,000-\$19,999	17.8
\$20,000-\$29,999	18.6
\$30,000-\$39,999	17.8
\$40,000-\$49,999	14.4
\$50,000-\$59,999	5.9
\$60,000+	10.2

Table 2 shows group statistics for the variables used in this study. Intercorrelations among variables can be found in Appendix C.

Table 2
Group Statistics

Variable	Mean	SD.
Well-being	29.97	5.55
Pre-Encounter	39.79	9.41
Encounter	16.79	4.04
Immersion/Emersion	28.12	6.56
Internalization	7.93	1.67
Internalization/Commitment	51.02	6.43

Overview Of Hypotheses Testing

Three basic hypotheses were studied. Each hypothesis is discussed separately and the results of each formal test are presented in sequence.

Hypothesis One

Null Hypothesis one states: There will be no significant relationship between the sub-scale scores of the Racial Identity Attitude Scale and the California Psychological Inventory Well-Being Scale. In order to test

the relationship between the RIAS scale scores and well-being scores, a forward stepwise regression was conducted. A linear combination of all five RIAS sub-scale scores were found to be significantly related to well-being.

Table 3. presents the results of the regression of the five RIAS scale scores on well-being. The overall F values are statistically significant at all steps. From the table it is also evident that only two of the incremental F ratios (FCh) are significant. That is, only the first and second variables to enter the equation, Internalization/Commitment and Immersion-Emersion, make a significant incremental change to the equation. The additional remaining three variables do not add a statistically significant increment to the equation.

Table 3
Multiple Regression of RIAS Scores on CPI Well-Being

Factors	R	Rsq	F	RsqCh	FCh	RxY
Internalization/ Commitment	.27	.07	9.18*	.07	9.19*	.27*
Immersion/ Emersion	.34	.11	7.40*	.04	5.28*	-.18
Pre Encounter	.36	.13	5.70*	.02	2.14	-.19*
Internalization	.38	.14	4.64*	.01	1.40	.14
Encounter	.38	.14	3.72*	.00	.17	.13

* P < .05

Looking at the zero-order correlations in Table 3, (the RxY column), one can see small positive correlations between three of the factors and well-being and small negative correlations between Pre-Encounter and Immersion/Emersion and well-being. It should be noted that only two of the stages are statistically significant. They are Internalization-Commitment and Pre-Encounter. While a negative relationship between Pre-Encounter and well-being and a positive relationship was found between Internalization-Commitment and well-being both were statistically significant. In terms of size of the relationship reported, the R squared value at the fifth step of the equation indicates that these five variables combined

to account for approximately 14% of the variance in psychological Well-being.

The null hypothesis is rejected. A relationship was found between racial identity attitudes and psychological well-being.

Hypotheses Two

Null Hypothesis Two states that there will be no significant mean difference between the group of students planning to attend a historically Black college and the group of students planning to attend a predominantly White institution on the five sub-scale scores of the RIAS. In order to test this hypothesis, five independent t-tests were conducted at each stage of the Racial Identity Attitude Scale. Table 4 shows frequency data for the two preference groups. Two students indicated that they had no preference for type of university.

Table 4
Preference Group Frequency Data (N=116)

Group	Frequency	Percent
HBCU	61	51.7
PWI	55	46.6

Note: N=116 two students reported no preference for type of university

Table 5 is a summary of the t-tests performed to test hypothesis two hypothesis. Null hypothesis two is rejected.

A statistically significant difference was found between the Immersion-Emersion subscale of the Racial Identity Attitude Scale and preference for university type.

Independent t-test results revealed that there were no significant differences between student's preference for university type for four of the sub-scales, however, a difference was found between the two groups at the Immersion-Emersion Stage. At the Immersion-Emersion Stage, students in the historically Black college group (HBCU preference) differed significantly from those in the predominantly White institution group (PWI Preference). These results indicate that those students who score mainly at this transitional stage and have adopted a "Black is superior" attitude are more likely to prefer attending a Historically Black College or University. The results are supportive of previous research which indicates that students at this stage are more likely to immerse themselves in the Black culture.

Table 5
Preference Group Comparison By RIAS Stage

Stage	Group	Mean	SD	t	Sig
Pre-Encounter	HBCU	40.41	9.42	.69	.49
	PWI	39.20	9.50		
Encounter	HBCU	16.95	3.66	.49	.62
	PWI	16.58	4.38		
Immersion-Emersion	HBCU	29.64	6.20	2.89	.01**
	PWI	26.31	6.19		
Internalization	HBCU	7.93	1.62	.08	.94
	PWI	7.91	1.75		
Internalization-Commitment	HBCU	50.87	6.75	-.32	.75
	PWI	51.25	6.21		

HBCU Group-N=61; PWI Group-N=55
** P < .01

Hypothesis Three

Null Hypothesis Three states: There will be no significant difference between the group of students planning to attend a historically Black college and the group of students planning to attend a predominately White

institution in terms of ranked importance assigned to selectivity factors. To test hypothesis three, a Mann Whitney U statistic was calculated.

Overall, 116 students completed the rankings, however not all students ranked every item. In addition, it should be noted that the N values listed in Table 6 are different for various factors and they differ from the N values listed elsewhere in the results. This is due to the fact that some students gave no clear preference for type of university. They either checked both categories or indicated no preference. Results of the Mann Whitney U statistic are shown in Table 6. Please note that higher mean values are associated with lower significance as students ranked the factors 1-9 with nine being least important.

Table 6
 Comparison of Selectivity Factors by Group

Factor	Group	N	Mean Rank	Sig.
Financial Support	HBCU	36	2.39	.07
	PWI	49	3.06	
Proximity to Home	HBCU	36	5.14	.01**
	PWI	51	3.94	
Family Attended	HBCU	35	6.29	.33
	PWI	50	6.74	
Friends Attending	HBCU	36	5.64	.85
	PWI	49	5.80	
Social Atmosphere	HBCU	36	5.47	.85
	PWI	50	5.46	
Program of Interest	HBCU	37	3.59	.02*
	PWI	50	2.62	
Campus Ethnicity	HBCU	36	5.97	.06
	PWI	50	6.92	
Desire to Move Away	HBCU	37	5.97	.85
	PWI	50	6.12	
Admissions Criteria	HBCU	37	4.16	.77
	PWI	50	4.26	

* P < .05; ** P < .01

Null Hypothesis Three is rejected. It is evident from Table 6. that there is a significant difference in the ranked importance of selectivity factors between the group of students planning to attend a historically Black college and the group of students planning to attend a predominantly White institution on two of the factors.

Students planning to attend a historically Black College differed significantly from those planning to attend a predominantly White institution both in terms of proximity to home (distance of campus from residence) and whether or not the university offered a particular program of interest.

Students who were planning to attend a historically Black institution, ranked the institution's proximity to home less important than those students who were planning to attend a predominantly White institution. Additionally, students planning to attend a historically Black college or university ranked whether the program of interest was offered by the institution, as less important than the group of students planning to attend a predominantly White institution. No significant differences were found between the two groups for any of the other seven factors.

Of importance is the fact that both groups of students, those preferring to attend a predominantly White institution, and those preferring to attend a historically Black institution, ranked financial support from the institution as most important overall and both groups ranked

as least important whether a family member or parent attended the university. The racial composition of the student body at the institution of choice was also ranked low by both groups. Table 7 shows the overall ranking of both groups in order from most important (1) to least important(9).

Table 7

Saliience of Selectivity Factors (N=116, Range 1-9)

Factor Number	Name	Overall Mean Rank
1	Financial Support	2.78
2	Program of Interest Offered	3.03
3	Admissions Criteria	4.22
4	Proximity to home	4.44
5	Social Atmosphere	5.47
6	Friends Attending	5.73
7	Desire to Move Away	6.06
8	Ethnic Make-up of Campus	6.52
9	Parent/Family Attended	6.55

Summary

Descriptive and demographic information from this study were presented as well as the results from the statistical computations designed to test the proposed hypotheses. Data gathered from 118 African-American high school seniors, both male and female were utilized to determine the results of the study.

A multiple regression analysis was conducted to answer Null Hypothesis One. Hypothesis one was tested to determine the relationship between the five RIAS scale scores and well-being. A linear combination of all five sub-scales scores were found to be related to well-being. Statistically significant values were obtained at all steps. However, only two of the five sub-scales, Internalization and Internalization-Commitment, made significant incremental changes to the equation. Positive correlations were found between well-being and three of the stages. These were Encounter, Internalization, and Internalization-Commitment. Negative correlations were found between well-being and Pre-Encounter and Immersion-Emersion.

Independent t-tests to determine mean difference were conducted to determine if significant differences existed between the two preference groups for university type at each stage of racial identity. Results revealed that the two

groups were similar at all stages except the Immersion-Emersion Stage. At this particular stage students preferred attending a historically Black college or university.

A third hypothesis sought to determine if the students planning to attend a historically Black college or university differed from those students planning to attend a predominantly white college or university in terms of their ranking of factors used in selecting a university of choice. A Mann-Whitney U Statistic was used to determine the ranked mean differences between the two groups. The two preference groups, differed significantly for two selectivity factors, proximity to home and program of interest offered. Students who reported plans to attend a historically Black college rated proximity to home and whether or not a particular program of interest was offered as less important than the group who reported plans to attend a predominantly White institution.

Overall these results not only indicate that racial identity is related to well-being, as supported in the literature, but that racial identity may also be related to preference for university type. In addition, students who decide to attend a historically Black college versus a predominantly White college, rate importance of certain selectivity factors differently.

Chapter V

DISCUSSION

General Discussion

Linking racial identity with well-being is not a new phenomenon in research. For some time now the two have been associated. However, not much research has been done with the high school population in this area. While well-being has been linked to racial identity in the past, stages of racial identity have not been studied as relates to preference for attending a particular type of university. In addition, specific selectivity factors have not been studied as relate to university preference.

This was an exploratory study to extend racial identity research using the RIAS to the high school population and to investigate further relationships between institutional preference and racial identity. In addition, importance of selectivity factors was also explored as relates to university preference.

Discussion of Hypotheses

Null Hypothesis One

Results revealed that a statistically significant relationship existed between two of the five sub-scales of the Racial Identity Attitude Scale and well-being as

measured by the California Psychological Inventory Well-Being Scale. Thus, Null Hypothesis one was rejected.

Null Hypothesis Two was rejected based on results from t-test comparisons which confirmed a statistically significant difference between the two university preference groups at the Immersion-Emersion Stage of racial identity. No significant differences were found between preference groups at any of the other four stages.

Based on results of the Mann-Whitney U, Null Hypothesis Three was also rejected. Preference groups differed significantly on two of the factors, proximity to home and program of interest offered. In both cases, students planning to attend a historically Black colleges ranked these factors as less important than those students planning to attend a predominantly white college.

Looking more closely at Null Hypothesis One, which states that there will be no significant relationship between-sub-scale scores on the RIAS and the CPI Well-Being scale, it was expected that the Null Hypothesis would be rejected. The statistically significant difference between the Internalization-Commitment Scale and well-being was expected based on previous research. That is, higher scores at this sub-scale stage have been found to be positively related to well-being in the past. The statistically significant negative relationship found between the Pre-Encounter Stage and well being was also expected, provided

one agrees with the classic self-hating characteristic associated with this stage. However, more recent research in this area tends to support a different view. That is, Whereas individuals at this stage of racial identity may view their race as of little importance, they may gain positive mental health benefits from other group affiliations. Results of this study may indicate the students who endorsed the Pre-Encounter attitudes, in this study were more classical in their racial identity development. On the other hand one might argue that the very low correlation coefficient may indicate that the these students are not classical with respect to the self-hating characteristic, but may in fact be deriving positive well-being benefits based on other group affiliations, thus the low correlation.

While Null Hypothesis One was rejected, and even though statistically significant relationships were in the direction expected based on previous research, it should be noted that all correlations were small. Based on earlier research one might expect larger correlations between racial identity and well-being. However, more recent research reveal alternative explanations, namely low racial salience, and Black nationalism. Individuals who place minimal importance on race would not endorse the typical self-hating characteristics traditionally associated with the Pre-Encounter Stage. In addition, attitudes held at the more

advanced stages of racial identity, might be explained by a Black nationalistic ideology as well as bi-culturalism. Individuals who endorse nationalistic attitudes would not endorse attitudes traditionally associated with bi-culturalism or multi-culturalism.

Although the low correlations might be due to the fact that the sample was not randomly selected, or that the sample size was relatively small, or that the population sampled consisted of only high school seniors rather than older students, they may also be due to the different scoring technique used in this research. A better explanation for these small correlations, however, might be the alternative explanation proposed by the recently revised racial identity development theory of "low salience to race". Whereas, correlations were small, it should not be assumed that they do not represent real relationships. Fourteen percent of the variability in well-being was accounted for. This 14% represents statistical significance.

Null Hypothesis Two

Null Hypothesis Two sought to examine whether students in the two preference groups differed from one another in terms of racial identity. As previously stated, the historically Black college group differed significantly from the predominantly White college group only at the Immersion-Emersion Stage. Examining both the classical view and the

revised racial identity theory, divergent results might be expected at the Pre-Encounter level. African-American students who are self-hating, might be expected to show greater preference for attending a predominantly white institution, however if the students simply place low salience on race, and are not self-denigrating, one would not expect to find significant differences between the groups. This non-significant finding for the Pre-Encounter Stage in testing Null Hypothesis Two, tends to lend support to the explanation of low racial salience. An individual who places low salience on race and derives positive mental health benefits from other groups associations would not be expected to show preference for a particular type of university. Thus it is presumed that low racial salience is associated with the low correlation found in testing Null Hypothesis One.

One might also expect to find differences at the Encounter Stage. Based on previous research, one might anticipate students who score primarily at the Encounter Stage to be bitter and angry toward the dominant culture. Given various negative emotions associated with this stage it would follow that the two preference groups would differ significantly from one another. However, this premise was not supported by this research. Revisions in the theory regarding low racial salience may also explain this finding. In addition, the revised theory indicates that while many

African-Americans experience encounter incidents that these encounters may not serve to change the person's world view, if they are not personalized. There is also evidence that encounter events might not be all negative, thus not producing the negative effects.

At the Immersion-Emersion Stage groups differed significantly from each other. That is, those students stating their preference for attending a historically Black college, differed significantly from those stating a preference for attending a predominantly White institution. This outcome was expected as students who are at this stage of development are described as individuals who immerse themselves in Blackness.

No significant differences were expected or found between groups at the Internalization, or Internalization-Commitment Stages. These findings were expected and are basically supportive of previous research in this area.

Results found in examining Null Hypothesis One and Two, particularly and the differences found between the two preference groups at the Pre-Encounter level, appear to be supportive of the revised racial identity theory, rather than the original theory. However, it should also be noted, that the revised racial identity theory suggests that in the advanced stages of Internalization and Internalization-Commitment that individuals might not be as unified in their thinking as once thought. Consequently, whereas these

stages were once associated with bi-culturalism or multi-culturalism, they might also be just as related to nationalism.

Null Hypothesis Three

Results from Null Hypothesis Three reveal that students who expressed a preference for attending a historically Black college differed significantly from those planning to attend a predominantly White college on two factors, proximity to home, and program of interest offered. Students who were planning to attend a historically Black college rated these factors as less important than students planning to attend PWIs.

Speculating on why this might be true, the following explanation is proposed. Students who plan to attend a historically Black college might not need or desire the social and emotional support derived from family or home community provided that support can be found in surrogate form at the institution of choice. Assuming that the students, at the Immersion-Emersion stage of racial identity development, for example, have decided to attend a historically Black institution, they might expect to find all of the support needed for continued growth and development within the university environment rather than from family or community.

On the other hand, students who are planning to attend a predominantly White institution, may have decided to attend

the institution based on various selectivity factors (i.e. whether program of interest was offered, financial support). However, the institutional environment might not offer the emotional or social support needed, therefore, being closer to home and community might be rated as more important.

Regarding the second factor which the two groups rated differently, whether the program of interest was offered, a similar explanation can be provided. Students who planned to attend a predominantly White institution also rated this factor as more important. It is conceivable that students interested in Immersing themselves in the Black Experience, distancing themselves from the dominant culture, and demonstrating their Blackness, might view the campus environment as more important than the major they might pursue. In fact, they might perceive that a historically Black institution would provide more opportunities for them to gain knowledge relevant to the Black experience and to immerse themselves in Black culture. Conversely, students who are primarily attending the institution of choice because it offers a particular program of interest, might not be as concerned about the campus environment or social support of the environment, especially, if these same students view remaining close to home as important.

Noticeable is the fact that while both groups of students ranked racial make-up of the campus as second from the last in terms of importance, they also ranked social

atmosphere in the mid-range. In fact, scores for both groups were identical on this factor. Assuming that these students do, in fact, view race as low in salience it would explain this occurrence. On the other hand, students who view race as a social stigma, might also rate the item carrying the term, race low in importance. Given the self reporting nature of the instrument it is also possible that students may have answered in a socially acceptable manner.

Considering how the groups ranked the factor, proximity to home, the latter explanation is probably more plausible.

It should be noted that the above explanations are speculative as previous research linking the importance of selectivity factors with respect to racial identity or institutional preference was not found in the literature.

In terms of the relationship between racial identity attitudes and well-being, this research appears to converge with previous research in this area. That is, higher levels of racial identity are associated with higher scores received measures of well-being.

Reviewed literature addressed the well-being of African-American students on predominantly White campuses. While results were conflictual, it appeared that the majority of the reviewed work favored the premise that African-American students who attended historically Black colleges were better adjusted. Given the fact that students who participated in the current study were almost evenly divided

in their preference for type of university (55 preferring a PWI, 61 Preferring a HBCU), that both groups indicated that the racial make-up of the campus was not of grave importance, and that correlation coefficients between RIAS scores and well-being were quite low and statistically significant for only two stages, it would appear that this premise would not be supported by this study. However, it must be remembered that these conclusions are drawn from speculation on the part of the researcher and based on reported institutional preference by the student. It must also be remembered that low statistical significance is not synonymous with low practical significance.

It appears from these results that type of university is not important. However, it should also be considered, that while type of university is not perceived as important, choice of university is based first on whether or not the student receives financial support from the institution, and secondly whether or not the program of interest is offered.

It is conceivable that if the top three reasons given for university choice, by both groups, are, financial support, program of interest, and admissions criteria that upon arrival at that university, many other factors might become instrumental in shaping the overall adjustment of the student. For example, it is possible for the student who is classically self-hating to find himself at a historically Black institution as well as the student who is currently in

the transitional stage of Immersion to find themselves at a predominantly white institution, based on the above listed selection criteria. For both students, the results would be equally devastating.

Interpreting campus effects on students, perhaps, should also be done in light both of the student's past historical and social environment and the present environmental conditions. Most research conducted with regard to campus effects was conducted during, within, or shortly following the Civil Rights era. It should be noted that at that time many students attending college had perhaps completed some portion of their schooling in a segregated environment and perhaps lived in a similar neighborhood. This is not the case for many African-American youth today. Due to integration laws, bussing and increased opportunities, many African-American student may in fact live in predominantly White communities and are therefore more accustomed to that type of environment. While these students are not immune to racism and the negative effects thereof, they are perhaps better ego-defended and able to cope than in years past. Thus, negating some environmental effects that would have been previously perceived and internalized as negative.

Regarding preference for type of university, a significant difference was found between the two preference groups for one stage of the Racial Identity Attitude Scale. Literature reviewed does not address this relationship. The

extent of the difference between preference groups remains to be determined in future research.

Implications

Implications for teaching and clinical practice can best be understood in terms of the support of this research for revisions in the racial identity model. While this research is supportive of previous research with regard to well being, low correlations indicate that there are other factors of importance which should not be overlooked with regard to the relationship between well-being and racial identity development. These might include spirituality, personal identity or group affiliation which yield positive results with regard to self. Given the fact that all five stages of racial identity accounted for approximately 14% of the variance, it is clear that racial identity as assessed in this study, contributed minimally to overall well-being. However, in a predictive equation, using RIAS Scores as well as other variables, 14% of the variance would be more substantial in a practical sense.

Practitioners should be mindful that in utilizing racial identity in assessment and treatment, other factors should be considered. For example, other aspects of one's personality, such as religious beliefs, gender orientation, meaningful relationships, feel a sense of community, and over all personal identity should all be taken into consideration.

Perhaps the new divergent categories at both the Pre-Encounter Stage and the Internalization Stage in the model revisions might account for the low correlations.

Understanding, however, that individuals may be classified as a Pre-Encounter based on endorsement of attitudes at that particular stage and yet fall into one of the various sub-groups of that stage is of paramount importance. In terms of clinical practice, familiarity with the sub groups and the implications for behavior and affect is essential.

While it is necessary to be careful whenever one categorizes individuals so as not to perpetuate negative stereotypes, it must be taken into consideration in the mental health field that categorization has proven useful in diagnosis and treatment and in facility of communication. Gaining a thorough understanding of the various stages and categories of racial identity development as well as probable behavioral and affective implications are advisable for all practitioners who seek to become effective in our ethnically changing world.

These results should serve to underscore the continued need for practitioners as well as educators to persevere in gaining awareness of and sensitivity to the possibility and probability of unique behavioral and emotional indicators which might be associated with racial identity development.

Limitations

As previously stated results of this research are limited in terms of external validity. All subjects were African-American students located in one midwestern state. While subjects were drawn from several school districts within the state, neither subjects nor school districts were randomly selected. In addition, two of the school districts were predominantly African-American.

Although instruments utilized claimed validity, coefficients were moderate or not reported. This might lead one to question the validity of results. While more validity studies are needed, previous researchers have utilized the RIAS with consistent and convergent results.

The fact the CPI Well-Being scale was not normed on African-Americans also limits the generalizability of these results. However, given the fact that when used with minority group clients SES was a factor in interpretation and given the fact the average income of participants in this study was reported in the middle income range, reliability is to these results.

It should also be noted that this research did not allow students to self-identify other than by soliciting African-American volunteers. It was assumed that students who volunteered identified at some level with being African-American. However, previous research indicates that this may be a false assumption. Individuals may identify

themselves as a member of a racial group but feel no ties of belonging. There was no attempt to test this postulate in this research, however, it is one which may have affected results of the study.

Scoring changes utilized for the RIAS may also limit applicability of results. On the other hand, these changes might make findings more meaningful. Traditional scoring procedures were altered in hopes of gaining more precise racial identity attitude categories. Rather than classifying individuals into stages, sub-stage scores were calculated, generating scale scores rather than individual scores. This was done so as to avoid categorizing students into various stages, as most individuals hold attitudes common to several stages at the same time. In addition stages were intercorrelated. It is not known what affect these scoring changes had on final results. Due to the fact that the RAIS had not been used with high school students, only seniors were solicited for the study. However, the fact that only high school seniors were used also might result in restriction of range due to age.

Directions For Future Research

Given the stated limitations, this research converges with previous research in terms of the relationship between racial identity attitudes and well-being and extends the use of the RIAS to high school individuals. It also links racial identity attitudes with institutional preference for

African-American high school seniors, contributing to the literature in this area. This research also extends the literature in its exploration of selectivity factors. It is hoped that from this research effort, future examinations of racial identity attitudes and institutional preference as well as racial identity, environmental effects, and selectivity factors will be facilitated.

Future research might seek to devise and utilize reliable and valid instruments sensitive to the more recent revisions in the Cross model, and to validate scoring which captures all endorsed attitudes of the individual as attempted in this research.

With regard to environmental effects, future investigations might focus on a more long-term longitudinal study to include racial identity attitudes prior to entering college and after the student has matriculated at the university of choice, as well as age related studies which investigate relationships between developmental stage and racial identity. While students reportedly did not view environment of the campus as important in this study, is interesting to note that proximity to home was a factor of importance. This idea might be further explored with reference to environment, as students on predominantly White campuses might be utilizing mobility as a means to circumvent environmental influences. Additionally, preference for university type with respect to racial

composition of the campus was not reported as important, yet when asked their preference for type of campus environment only two students stated they had no preference. It is for future research to determine the discrepancy between a stated preference and concurrent reporting of lack of importance of this factor.

In light of the revised Cross theory of racial identity development, future researchers might attempt to isolate and measure attitudes at the various sub-stages of the first stage.

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Appendix A

Consent Form



**CONSENT FORM
SOCIAL ATTITUDES**

Study Title: Racial Identity Attitudes as a Predictor of Psychological Well-Being And Institutional Preference Among African-American High School Seniors

**Investigators: Al Carlozzi, Ed. D., (405) 744-6036
Thelma Chambers-Young, M.P.H., (405) 755-1722**

I am being asked to help Mrs. Chambers-Young and Dr. Carlozzi in a project. The goal of this project is to determine to what extent, if any, that racial identity attitudes predict psychological well-being and institutional preference among African-American high school seniors.

If I decide to participate, my part in the project will take about 30 minutes. I will be expected to fill out three questionnaire type instruments. One will ask questions about certain social attitudes that I hold and a second consists of statements with which I will decide if I agree or disagree. The third instrument is a demographic questionnaire on which I will be asked to give information about my family, background, and institutional preference.

I understand that participation is voluntary, that there is no penalty for refusal to participate, and that I am free to withdraw my consent and participation in this project at any time without penalty, after notifying the project director.

If I miss a part of class, I may be required to make up the work I miss. I also understand that by taking part in this project I may help researchers better understand the process of development as relates to later life adjustments.

This project has been explained to me and I have been allowed to ask questions about it. I understand that I do not have to fill out any questionnaire if I do not want to. I have read this form, understand the project, and agree to participate. I may contact the project directors at the numbers listed above should I wish further information or I may contact the Oklahoma State University Institutional Review Board (Office of University Research, 001 Life Sciences, East, (405) 744-9991.

Date: _____

Signed: _____
(Signature of Subject)

I certify I have personally explained all of this form to the subject before requesting the subject to sign it.

Signed: _____

Appendix B

Instruments



Oklahoma State University

APPLIED BEHAVIORAL STUDIES IN EDUCATION
COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

STILLWATER, OKLAHOMA 74078-0254
NORTH MURRAY HALL 116
405-744-6040

April 1996

Dear Volunteer,

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research project. Your participation is greatly appreciated. In order for your results to be utilized in the study it is important that you answer ALL items on ALL three instruments.

Please remember that your participation is anonymous. You SHOULD NOT place your name on any of the instruments nor on the answer sheet. If you are interested in receiving results from the study, you should place your name and address on the index card in the small, white envelope. Seal the envelope and turn it in separate from your completed instrument packet.

Completion of the three instruments should take between 30-45 minutes. Please sign the consent form first. It is to be collected by a research assistant or school personnel to preserve the anonymity of each participant. Thanks again for helping this researcher to complete requirements for her Ph. D. degree in Counseling Psychology and for contributing to the body of knowledge in identity research.

Sincerely,

Thelma Chamber-Young, M. P. H.
Principal Researcher
(405) 755-1722

**Demographics
Social Attitudes Study**

I. PERSONAL DATA (Please complete each blank)

_____ Grade
_____ Age
_____ Gender (enter M or F)

II. FAMILY DATA

I Live (check one)
_____ with both parents (biological or adoptive)
_____ with a single parent
_____ with neither parent (i.e. grandparents, relatives)
_____ alone

III. PARENT EDUCATION-THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION COMPLETED BY MY PARENTS(S)

Mother:

_____ Less than grade 12
_____ Grade 12
_____ Some college but no degree
_____ College
_____ Graduate School _____ Masters _____ Above Masters

Father:

_____ Less than grade 12
_____ Grade 12
_____ Some college but no degree
_____ College
_____ Graduate School _____ Masters _____ Above Masters

IV. MY PARENTS AVERAGE FAMILY INCOME ANNUALLY IS (check one)

_____ under 10,000/yr.
_____ 10,000-19,999/yr.
_____ 20,000-29,999/yr.
_____ 30,000-39,999/yr.
_____ 40,000-49,999/yr.
_____ 50,000-59,999/yr.
_____ over 60,000

V. COLLEGE PLANS

_____ Decided
_____ Undecided (go to number IX)

VI. IF DECIDED HAVE YOU:

_____ Selected a university
_____ Completed application
_____ Ordered application
_____ Written for information

VII. IF YOU HAVE SELECTED A UNIVERSITY, IS IT

_____ A Historically Black Institution
_____ A Predominantly White or Historically White Institution

**VIII. WHAT FACTORS LED TO YOUR CHOICE? PRIORITIZE YOUR REASONS
(Place numbers 1-9 beside the choices)**

- Financial support from the university
- Proximity to home
- Parents or family who have attended
- Friends currently attending
- Social atmosphere
- Program of interest offered
- Racial make-up of campus population
- Desire to move away from home
- Admissions criteria

IX. IF UNDECIDED WHAT TYPE OF UNIVERSITY ARE YOU LIKELY TO SELECT

- A Historically Black Institution
- A Predominantly White or Historically White Institution

SOCIAL ATTITUDE SCALE

(Form RIAS-B)

Janet E. Helms
And Thomas A. Parham

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

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Uncertain</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Strongly Agree</i>

1. I believe that being Black is a positive experience.
2. I know through experience what being Black in America means.
3. I feel unable to involve myself in white experiences and am increasing my involvement in Black experiences.
4. I believe that large numbers of Blacks are untrustworthy.
5. I feel an overwhelming attachment to Black people.
6. I involve myself in causes that will help all oppressed people.
7. I feel comfortable wherever I am.
8. I believe that White people look and express themselves better than Blacks.
9. I feel very uncomfortable around Black people.
10. I feel good about being Black, but do not limit myself to Black activities.
11. I often find myself referring to White people as honkies, devils, pigs, etc.
12. I believe that to be Black is not necessarily good.
13. I believe that certain aspects of the Black experience apply to me, and others do not.
14. I frequently confront the system and the man.
15. I constantly involve myself in Black political and social activities (art shows, political meetings, Black theater, etc.)

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Strongly Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Uncertain</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Strongly Agree</i>

16. I involve myself in social action and political groups even if there are no other Blacks involved.
17. I believe that Black people should learn to think and experience life in ways which are similar to White people.
18. I believe that the world should be interpreted from a Black perspective.
19. I have changed my style of life to fit my beliefs about Black people.
20. I feel excitement and joy in Black surroundings.
21. I believe that Black people came from a strange, dark, and uncivilized continent.
22. People, regardless of their race, have strengths and limitations.
23. I find myself reading a lot of Black literature and thinking about being Black.
24. I feel guilty and/or anxious about some of the things I believe about Black people.
25. I believe that a Black person's most effective weapon for solving problems is to become part of the White person's world.
26. I speak my mind regardless of the consequences (e.g., being kicked out of school, being imprisoned, being exposed to danger).
27. I believe that everything Black is good, and consequently, I limit myself to Black activities.
28. I am determined to find my Black identity.
29. I believe that White people are intellectually superior to Blacks.
30. I believe that because I am Black, I have many strengths.
31. I feel that Black people do not have as much to be proud of as White people do.
32. Most Blacks I know are failures.
33. I believe that White people should feel guilty about the way they have treated Blacks in the past.
34. White people can't be trusted.
35. In today's society if Black people don't achieve, they have only themselves to blame.

1 <i>Strongly Disagree</i>	2 <i>Disagree</i>	3 <i>Uncertain</i>	4 <i>Agree</i>	5 <i>Strongly Agree</i>
--	-----------------------------	------------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------------------------

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

THE CALIFORNIA INVENTORY
WELL-BEING SCALE
Harrison G. Gough Ph. D.

Directions: This questionnaire contains a series of statements. Read each one, decide how you feel about it, and then mark your answer on the answer sheet. If you agree with the statement or feel it is true about you, answer TRUE. If you disagree with a statement, or feel that it is not true about you, answer FALSE.

In marking your answers on the answer sheet make sure that the number of the statement is the same as the number on the answer sheet. Be sure to answer either TRUE or FALSE for every statement, even if you have to guess at some.

1. Several times a week I feel as if something dreadful is about to happen.
2. I find it hard to keep my mind on a task or job.
3. Sometimes I cross the street just to avoid meeting someone.
4. Once a week or oftener, I feel suddenly hot all over, without apparent cause.
5. I can remember "playing sick" to get out of something.
6. I usually expect to succeed at things I do.
7. I am so touchy on some subjects that I can't talk about them.
8. I usually feel that life is worthwhile.
9. I think most people would lie to get ahead.
10. I have very few quarrels with members of my family.
11. At times I have a strong urge to do something harmful or shocking.
12. I don't seem to care what happens to me.
13. I am afraid to be alone in the dark.
14. I have nightmares every few nights.
15. I have a great deal of stomach trouble.
16. I have been afraid of things or people that I knew could not hurt me.
17. Anyone who is able and willing to work hard has a good chance

of succeeding.

18. I hardly ever feel pain in the back of my neck.
19. When I was a child I didn't care to be a member of a crowd or gang.
20. When I am feeling very happy and active, someone who is blue or low will spoil it all.
21. Everything tastes the same.
22. Much of the time my head seems to hurt all over.
23. My people treat me more like a child than a grown-up.
24. I am made nervous by certain animals.
25. Some of my family have habits that bother and annoy me very much.
26. No one seems to understand me.
27. I dream frequently about things that are best kept to myself.
28. I have reason for feeling jealous of one or more members of my family.
29. There are certain people whom I dislike so much that I am inwardly pleased when they are catching it for something they have done.
30. My mouth feels dry almost all the time.
31. When I am cornered I tell that portion of the truth which is not likely to hurt me.
32. Life usually hands me a pretty raw deal.
33. I have one or more bad habits which are so strong that it is no use fighting against them.
34. I am bothered by acid stomach several times a week.
35. I get all the sympathy I should.
36. I have felt embarrassed over the type of work that one or more members of my family have done.
37. I have often felt guilty because I have pretended to feel more sorry about something than I really was.
38. The things some of my family have done frighten me.

39. My skin seems to be unusually sensitive to touch.
40. I am troubled by attacks of nausea and vomiting.
41. I would have been more successful if people had given me a fair chance.
42. Almost every day something happens to frighten me.
43. My family has objected to the kind of work I do, or plan to do.
44. There seems to be a lump in my throat much of the time.

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SOCIAL ATTITUDE SCALE

Answer Sheet

1.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	26.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
2.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	27.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
3.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	28.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
4.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	29.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
5.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	30.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
6.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	31.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
7.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	32.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
8.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	33.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
9.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	34.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
10.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	35.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
11.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	36.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
12.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	37.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
13.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	38.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
14.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	39.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
15.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	40.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
16.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	41.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
17.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	42.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
18.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	43.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
19.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	44.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
20.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	45.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
21.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	46.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
22.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	47.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
23.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	48.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
24.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	49.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
25.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	50.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

CALIFORNIA INVENTORY

Answer Sheet

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------|-------------------------|-----|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F | 23. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F |
| 2. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F | 24. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F |
| 3. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F | 25. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F |
| 4. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F | 26. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F |
| 5. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F | 27. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F |
| 6. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F | 28. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F |
| 7. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F | 29. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F |
| 8. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F | 30. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F |
| 9. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F | 31. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F |
| 10. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F | 32. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F |
| 11. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F | 33. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F |
| 12. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F | 34. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F |
| 13. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F | 35. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F |
| 14. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F | 36. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F |
| 15. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F | 37. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F |
| 16. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F | 38. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F |
| 17. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F | 39. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F |
| 18. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F | 40. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F |
| 19. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F | 41. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F |
| 20. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F | 42. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F |
| 21. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F | 43. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F |
| 22. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F | 44. | <input type="radio"/> T | <input type="radio"/> F |

Appendix C

Intercorrelations Among Variables

Appendix C

Intercorrelations Among All Variables (n=118)

Variable	2	3	4	5	6
1. CPI WB	-.193*	-.134	-.180	.142	.271**
2. Pre-Enc		.396**	.154	-.093	.127
3. Enc			.532**	.327**	.095
4. Imm-Emm				.391 **	.077
5. Int					.434**
6. Int-Com					

*P <.05; ** P<.01

Appendix D

Oklahoma State Review Board Approval



OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD
HUMAN SUBJECTS REVIEW

Date: 09-12-95

IRB#: ED-96-024

Proposal Title: RACIAL IDENTITY ATTITUDES AS A PREDICTOR OF
PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING AND INSTITUTIONAL PREFERENCE
AMONG AFRICAN-AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS

Principal Investigator(s): Al Carlozzi, Thelma Chambers-Young

Reviewed and Processed as: Exempt

Approval Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): Approved

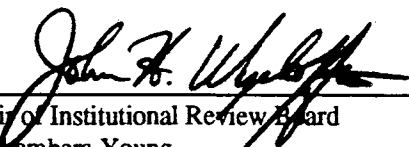
ALL APPROVALS MAY BE SUBJECT TO REVIEW BY FULL INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD
AT NEXT MEETING, AS WELL AS ARE SUBJECT TO MONITORING AT ANY TIME DURING
THE APPROVAL PERIOD.

APPROVAL STATUS PERIOD VALID FOR DATA COLLECTION FOR A ONE CALENDAR YEAR
PERIOD AFTER WHICH A CONTINUATION OR RENEWAL REQUEST IS REQUIRED TO BE
SUBMITTED FOR BOARD APPROVAL.

ANY MODIFICATIONS TO APPROVED PROJECT MUST ALSO BE SUBMITTED FOR
APPROVAL.

Comments, Modifications/Conditions for Approval or Disapproval are as follows:

Signature:



Chair of Institutional Review Board

cc: Thelma Chambers-Young

Date: October 10, 1995

VITA

Thelma Chambers-Young
Candidate for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Thesis: RACIAL IDENTITY, WELL-BEING, AND INSTITUTIONAL
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