

Testing a Model of Black Cultural Strength Using Structural Equation Modeling

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## ABSTRACT

### Testing a Model of Black Cultural Strength Using Structural Equation Modeling

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The present study examined a model of Black Cultural Strength and its relation to psychosocial health ( $N = 496$ ). The purpose of the current study was to test a model of Black Cultural Strength, an interdependent combination of Black racial identity, communalism, cultural spirituality, positive racial socialization, and effective racism-related coping. Further, the study sought to understand if Black Cultural Strength could predict psychosocial health, a combination of life satisfaction and psychological well-being. The Black Cultural Strength model, which was tested through Structural Equation Modeling (SEM), hypothesized that higher levels of Black Cultural Strength lead to increased self-reported psychological well-being and life satisfaction. Results from this study indicated that Black Americans' levels of mature racial identity, exposure to positive racial socialization (preparation for bias and cultural socialization), effective racism-related coping (constrained resistance, empowered action, confrontation, and spiritual coping), culturally-based spirituality, and communalism were all interdependent and loaded onto one factor, Black Cultural Strength. Further, results showed that Black Cultural Strength was positively predictive of Blacks' psychosocial health.

Although the proposed hypotheses were supported, and an overall acceptable model fit was found, two modifications were made to the original proposed model. These modifications were conducted with theory and past empirical findings in consideration, therefore the current study provides strong evidence to support that interdependent Black cultural values are positively predictive of psychosocial health. Limitations, clinical implications, and further directions of research are discussed.

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## **Dedication**

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## INTRODUCTION

Slavery, traced back to antiquity, has existed in many shapes and forms throughout world history and into the present (Watkins, 2001). However, one version of slavery is set apart from others. The enslavement of Blacks in North America was particularly harsh because of the status that slaves in this system were relegated. While slaves in many other countries and times throughout history were treated harshly, abused, and stripped of human rights, North American slavery in the colonies regarded slaves as non-human property (Watkins, 2001). This status attempted to deprive them of their human dignity.

The remnants of this system of racial oppression have resided in the United States ever since, leaving a lasting system of racial oppression (Fragin, 2006). Blacks have been targets of racism, unfair treatment, and extreme social and economic oppression. Yet despite the little to no dignity afforded to them, Blacks in America have managed to survive. While separated from their African customs, religions, and families, Blacks have maintained some elements of African culture in order to not only survive, but flourish under a system of racial hierarchy in which they find themselves at the bottom (Boykin, et al., 1997; Jagers & Smith, 1996). Intergenerational transmission of cultural practices and values facilitated this Black cultural survival.

There is no question that parenting has a significant impact on the child. Researchers have found some variability in child socialization by race (Baumrind, 1972). One possible reason for this variability is that Black's socialization of their children may focus on their marginalized status (McAdoo, 1998; Hughes, 2003). Researchers have studied racial socialization and how this process functions and operates to transmit importance messages for survival. Many models

and measures of Black racial socialization have been created, each one attempting to capture the complexity of this process (Stevenson, 1994; Lesane-Brown, et al., 2005; Lesane-Brown, 2006).

However, there have been limitations with the Black racial socialization literature.

First, almost all of the Black racial socialization research has been conducted with samples of children and adolescents (Hughes, et al., 2006). Developmental psychologists generally agree that childhood and adolescence are transitional phases in one's life, so while it makes sense that researchers have attempted to capture these times of change, our understanding of the Black racial socialization process and how it translates into racially socializing the next generation should also be captured with adult samples (Demo & Hughes, 1990). In many instances, racial socialization is the main focus of studies and is less so examined in relation to other constructs such as communalistic values or coping with racism. However, researchers have drawn some links between racial socialization and other Black cultural variables such as Black racial identity.

Generally, researchers have found that Black racial identity, how an individual sees themselves as a member of the Black racial group, and how they see other racial groups, impacts the way parents might socialize their children (Lalonde, Jones, & Stroink, 2008; White-Johnson, Ford, & Sellers, 2010). The way a person views themselves as a racial being directly impacts the messages they pass on to their children about race. A parent who does not see themselves as a member of their racial group and a parent who holds pride in their racial group membership may transmit these messages differentially to their children (Thomas & Speight, 1999).

Thomas and Speight (1999) found that Black parents who view other Blacks favorably

and had pride in their racial group membership were more likely to engage in racial socialization with their children. More specifically, Black parents with racial pride went on to pass on messages of racial and self-pride, importance of achievement, cultural heritage and historical information, as well as coping strategies (Thomas & Speight, 1999). As research shows, parental racial identity has an important impact on the intergenerational transmission of Black cultural survival. Racial socialization can impact if and what messages children are offered about race.

Some studies have begun to also consider how racial socialization messages influence the receiver's racial identity (Stevenson, 1995). Conversely, the racial socialization and racial identity of the receiver can influence which messages are taken in. Therefore, it is argued that the Black racial socialization process cannot be fully understood if it is isolated from the complex intergenerational role racial identity status attitudes play. Further, the facilitation of Black cultural survival involves both racial socialization practices and how individuals personally identify with their racial group.

Many racial identity models and theories have been posited (Helms, 1990; Sellers, et. al, 1998; Cross, 1971). For the purposes of this discussion, we will focus on the models of racial identity that apply to Blacks. Helms and Parham (1996) posit that racial identity is complex and that individuals have a constellation of racial identity schemas. More clearly, individuals may exhibit attitudes and behaviors related to more than one or all racial identity statuses, and an examination of the complex relative dominance of one or more statuses gives a better picture of a person. In the attempt to understand how Black Americans have survived and thrived throughout history, it is important to capture the complexity of this process as a means of understanding how

an individual's racial identity in turn can influence how they racially socialize and are oriented to other important cultural variables. Further, one's racial identity and racial socialization experiences may impact Blacks' orientation to other Afrocultural practices.

Black American cultural practices include communalism and spirituality. Communalism has been imperative in the survival of Blacks in America. This is the belief that the success of the group and the individual are intertwined, often referred to as Ubuntu philosophy (Mbigi & Maree, 1995; Boykin, Jagers, Ellison, & Albury, 1997). This orientation lasted from Africa to America, strengthened by the common separation of Black slaves from their families leading to a reliance on extended family, and persisting after slavery, when Blacks considered extended family members, church friends, and neighbors as family. Researchers (Gushue & Constantine, 2003; Komarraju & Cokley, 2008) have attempted to capture this cultural orientation with the construct of collectivism. While collectivism and communalism are positively associated with one another (Jagers & Mock, 1995), communalism seems to capture the Black American orientation over and above measures of collectivism. Spirituality has also become a marker for Black American culture (Stewart, 1999; Riggins, McNeal, Herndon, 2008; Frame & Williams, 1996). Many researchers have highlighted the importance of spirituality and religion in the Black community. While most of the literature has been directed toward the religious practices and level of engagement in religious practices, and the religiosity of Blacks, less attention has been paid to the cultural value of spirituality. Cultural spirituality attempts to capture the belief in a higher power and how this belief informs the ways in which an individual makes sense of their world and experiences (Jagers & Smith, 1996). Scholars in both psychology and physical health

fields have found evidence for the benefits of spirituality on the health of Black individuals (Mollica & Nemeth, 2013; Polzer & Miles, 2007). In the understanding of how Blacks have survived and flourished over time, both communalism and spirituality seem to be practices that have facilitated the survival of Blacks.

These constructs are essential in life to sustain Blacks in a society that has denigrated them. In its many forms, racism is an everyday stressor for Blacks. Although new in research, coping specific to race-related incidents has emerged as an important part of the ways Blacks maintain psychological and social health under constant oppression. Forsyth and Carter (2014) have uncovered ways in which Blacks might cope with experiences of racism. Further, they also examined how racial identity interacts with these coping strategies. What emerged were some early findings that suggest some racism-related coping strategies are both associated with more integrated racial identity statuses and less psychological distress (Forsyth & Carter, 2014). These coping strategies may buffer the impact racism has on the psychosocial well-being of Blacks and allows individuals and in turn, the community as a whole to thrive.

In order to survive in harsh conditions and a status as non-human, African Americans had to find mechanisms to maintain dignity as humans. The cultural practices of their African ancestors have come to be common practices of Blacks in America (Jagers, Smith, Mock, & Dill, 1997). These cultural practices helped Blacks maintain a sense of community and self-worth during times of extreme oppression such as slavery and the Jim Crow era and have evolved into collective characteristics (i.e., communalism, racism related coping strategies) of Black culture in America passed down from generation to generation. Furthermore, the cultural practices of

racial socialization, cultural spirituality, and racial identity remain important parts of Black culture passed down as *Black cultural strengths*, allowing for growth and progression in the Black American community at large. The current study will examine these Black American cultural practices jointly in a proposed model of *Black Cultural Strengths*, in which the existence of these practices is related to psychological and psychosocial health.

## Chapter II

### LITERATURE REVIEW

In order for Blacks to survive, and thrive, in American society, they needed to retain, adopt, and pass on cultural practices that allowed them to flourish while being subjected to racial oppression. Over time, historians, sociologists, and anthropologists alike have identified key behaviors and activities that Black Americans engage in, serving to help them survive the results of past and present racial inequality in America (Helms & Cook, 1999; McAdoo, 1988; Jones, 1980; Gutman, 1976; Herskovits, 1990). These cultural practices are remnants of the behaviors and orientations of Black Americans' African ancestors. However, Blacks were not always thought to have culture (Herskovits, 1990; Du Bois, 1924).

Study of Blacks in America typically reported that Blacks had no culture (Resek, 1960). They were seen to be identical to Africans, immoral and sexually promiscuous heathens with little to no social or cultural sophistication (Gutman, 1976). Slaves in the colonies were thought to be childlike in nature and adjust easily to the worst social situations (Herskovits, 1990). In addition, policy was to distribute slaves from the same tribes across the colonies as to break up those who shared the same customs and languages. This policy was thought to have eliminated any ability for African slaves to share common behavior or customs. Further, it was thought that even if African slaves originated from the same tribe and were allowed to co-exist in the colonies, the obvious superiority of European American customs would cause them to quickly and permanently abandon their own (Herskovits, 1990). In fact, slave behavior was chalked up to the adaptation of White American beliefs or a product of their treatment during enslavement.



Sociologist, E. Franklin Frazier (p. 96) documented what he believed to be a shift in Black life as a result of emancipation, a sentiment many scholars shared in the 1930's. He wrote:

When the yoke of slavery was lifted the drifting masses were left without any restraint upon their vagrant impulses and wild desires. The old intimacy between master and slave, upon which the moral order of the slave regime had rested, was destroyed forever (pp. 96).

The field of psychology was not well acquainted with these viewpoints, attributing issues plaguing the Black community a result of innate inferiority rather than a result of environmental forces (Jones, 1980). It was over 40 years before the concept of slave and Black American culture began to move from non-existent to abundant.

Herbert G. Gutman's (1976) analysis of the Black family during and after slavery combats the view that African slaves and their descendants in America were immoral and without customs or culture. Gutman (1976) examined historical documents both during and after slavery to unveil the truth about Black families and their culture. Analysis of the Black slave family system illuminated no basis for the notion that slaves did not have their own culture, or that their culture was a product only of their treatment as slaves. Examination of records from plantations varying in location, type of ownership, size, and the age of the community revealed common cultural standards and practices across plantations. For example, slave communities from Louisiana, Carolina, and Virginia reported consistent percentages of long slave marriages, and similar customs around naming of children (Gutman, 1976). These commonalities showed

the existence of a *slave culture* versus mini-cultures established on each plantation that might result from factors that varied across plantations including the size and age of the plantation.

Black slave culture showed a strong orientation toward kinship. Slave children were more often than not named after their fathers possibly due to the likelihood the father would be separated from the children (Gutman, 1976). This cultural practice of naming demonstrates an emphasis on being connected with both mother and father. Additionally, the practice refutes the argument that the patriarchal role of the Black father arose after slavery, as an adoption of White American values.

Following emancipation in 1863, Black families remained intact, a fact that was consistent despite differing slave treatment across plantations and geographical location. The majority of households contained one or more parents and children, and more often than not, both parents were present (Gutman, 1976). Only a small number of one-parent households existed and those that were led by women were usually the result of being widowed. In addition, post-slavery marriages lasted many years after slavery, calling into question the idea that plantation moral code accounted for Black “morality” and that Black morality died with plantation life. Once believed to be a result of examples set by nearby free Blacks or White masters, long-term slave marriages actually grew from the model of continued marriages in older slaves. Gutman (1976) writes that these marriages, “[made] it possible to pass on *slave* conceptions of marital, familial, and kin obligation from generation to generation.” (p.17). These long companionships existed not just for “elite” free Blacks, but for poor farm hands and laborers as well and generally were only terminated by force or due to the death of one partner.

Slave cultural practices were unique, not copies of African culture, but not wholly White American either (Gutman, 1976; Helms & Cook, 1999). For example, kinship, seen in slave cultures through practices such as naming children after blood relatives and the emphasis on connection to both parents' families, evolved from the West African kinship practices that included using land as a representation of ancestry (Gutman, 1976). Black American kinship stemmed from the West African practices, but varied as land ownership was not an option for Blacks during slavery.

Herskovits (1948) and later Gutman's (1976) work illuminates the existence of a common slave culture across location and time that shaped the ways in which scholars examined Black culture going forward. His work changed the model of looking at Black culture as a deficit model to one that was uniquely different from both African and White American cultures.

At best, Black culture was seen as different. Notions, such as those of racial identity, highlight the differences, and not solely the "deficiencies" of Black practices. The current model is an attempt at a strengths based approach. The current review of literature focuses on the contributions of historians, sociologists, and psychologists that have identified Black cultural practices that have been passed intergenerationally (Boykin, et al., 1997; Jagers, Smith, Mock, & Dill, 1997; Gutman, 1976; Jones, 1980). These practices have served to maintain and perpetuate the survival of Blacks in America, despite harsh racial oppression. These scholars emphasize how Black cultural practices and orientations impact the relationship between the individual and his/her social world. Black cultural practices converge to make *Black cultural strength*, a network of individual orientations toward self and the social world that maintain Black survival.

## **Racial Oppression and Cultural Values: Frameworks for Black Cultural Strength**

### Racial Oppression

Freire (1970) describes oppression as a process of dehumanization that creates social and physical isolation, lack of access, and blocked opportunities in the areas of education, employment, health, and socio-political status. Racism is a form of oppression based on racial categories and systems of domination that treat one group as superior and the other(s) as inferior, and uses the imagined differences to justify inequity, exclusion, and domination (Bulhan, 1985). This system of racial oppression was used to justify slavery, and to subjugate Blacks in all areas of life thereafter.

Even when scholars began to write about the existence of culture in Blacks in North America (Herkovits, 1948; Du Bois & Edwards, 2008), Black cultural values were diminished as inferior to that of White European – Americans (Jones, 1980). Even as this notion has been dispelled, and Black culture has been regarded as *different*, Black culture has never been studied as a vehicle through which Blacks have found strength in a system of racial oppression. These cultural values were maintained despite the denigration of these customs perhaps because they were important to Black survival in the U.S.

### Cultural Value Orientations

In understanding Black culture, a framework of what culture means must exist. Culture is defined as a system of meaning with values, norms, behaviors, language, and history that is passed on from one generation to the next through socialization and participation in the group's organizations and institutions. One further way of understanding culture is through the analysis of cultural value orientations. Many cultures can be described by their orientations to human

nature, person nature, time, self, and social relationships. Stewart and Bennett (1991) use these and other subcategories to compare American culture to other cultures in an effort to facilitate better cross-cultural interactions. This perspective does not privilege one culture over another, but merely provides a framework for comparing two or more cultures (Stewart & Bennett, 1991). Black American culture is no different, showing signs of distinct cultural orientations to time, nature, etc. However, more often than not, Black culture been compared and deemed defective as compared to American (White) culture.

Stewart and Bennett (1991) make an important distinction between cultural assumptions, cultural values, and behaviors. The authors share that *cultural assumptions* refer to basic beliefs about the nature of reality while *cultural values* refer to the goodness or desirability of certain actions or attitudes in the culture. Behaviors are, but are not always, the result of cultural values as these values prescribe what one in a culture *should* do (Stewart & Bennett, 1991). The deficit model of Black culture in America ignores the ways in which Black cultural assumptions, values, and behaviors have served as sources of strength in the Black community. However, empirical research has “proven” otherwise.

What follows is an analysis of values, assumptions, and behaviors of Black culture both with regards to their cultural orientations and empirical evidence of their psychosocial benefits to Blacks in America. Further, the connections are made between how these values, assumptions, and behaviors work together to facilitate the process of intergenerational cultural transmission, links many contemporary scholars do not make.

## **Black Racial Identity: The Black “Self”**

Black racial identity theory and research offers a way of understanding Blacks' orientation to themselves. Stewart and Bennett (1991) using the term, *perception of the self*, refer to the American self-concept along with relation to others. The authors point to the individualism, self-reliance, and belief in self-motivation that permeates American culture and to a real lack of orientation to the other. Racial identity theorists offer a way to examine the variability that exists among Black Americans. In addition, Black racial identity theorists point to the degree to which Blacks prescribe to Black cultural values and beliefs, and thus behaviors.

## **Black Racial Identity Theory**

Generally, Black racial identity refers to an individual's sense of belonging to their racial group, a group that shares a similar and specific cultural heritage. Three main models of racial identity have been posited: Cross' Model of Black Nigrescence, Helms' Model of Black Racial Identity, and Sellers' Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity. All three have provided empirical evidence towards understanding what a psychologically healthy orientation to one's racial group may look like.

Using samples of African American college students from both predominantly White institutions and historically Black colleges and universities, researchers found Pre-Encounter Self-Hatred, (Black self-hatred) to be inversely related to self-esteem (Vandiver, et al., 2002). In addition, self-esteem was negatively correlated with other Pre-Encounter and Immersion-Emersion identities and one Internalization identity: Pre-Encounter Assimilation (-.23), Pre-Encounter Miseducation (-.12), Pre-Encounter Self-Hatred (-.34), Immersion-Emersion Anti-

White (-.12), and Internalization Afrocentric (-.01). While Cross (1991) posited no directional relationships between self-esteem and Black racial identity attitudes, these correlations revealed an inverse relationship between self-esteem and Pre-Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and some Internalization attitudes.

Elion et al.'s (2012) study of perfectionism, self-esteem, depression, and Black racial identity provides further support for the directional relationships between Black Racial Identity and self-esteem. In a sample of 219 African American college students at predominantly white institutions, Pre-Encounter Self-Hatred and Immersion-Emersion Anti-White subscale identities were negatively associated with self-esteem. Adding credence to a developing relationship between underdeveloped Black racial identity and low psychological functioning, researchers found positive relationships between Pre-Encounter Self-Hatred, Immersion-Emersion Anti-White, and Internalization-Afrocentric subscale identities and depression (.33 ( $p < .001$ ), .28 ( $p < .001$ ), and .16 ( $p < .05$ ), respectively). Conversely, Internalization Multiculturalist, a positive orientation toward one's own race and others' races, was negatively correlated with depression (-.15,  $p < .05$ ). Jones, Cross, and DeFour (2007) also found positive relationships between depression and the subscale identities of Pre-Encounter Self-Hatred and Internalization Afrocentric (.33,  $p < .05$ ; .12,  $p < .05$ ) in a sample of 262 African American and Caribbean female college students. Additionally, Pre-Encounter Self-Hatred and self-esteem were inversely related (-.42,  $p < .05$ ). While these studies provide support for Cross (1991) assertion that Pre-Encounter Self-Hatred would be related to overall negative mental health, they also showed other

Black racial stage identities such as Immersion-Emersion Anti-White and Internalization-Afrocentric are moderately associated with negative psychosocial health.

The work of Helms (1990) generally supports the positive directional relationship between a more integrated Black racial identity and psychological health. Over 30 years of empirical research using the Black Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (BRIAS) has shown that high scores on Pre-encounter and Encounter attitudes are associated with higher levels of anxiety and lower levels of self-regard and self-esteem (Carter, 1991; Parham & Helms, 1985a). In addition, Pre-Encounter (anti- Black, pro-White) and Immersion (anti-White, pro-Black) statuses have been positively associated with feelings of inferiority, anxiety, and hostility and negatively associated with mentally healthy self-actualizing tendencies (Parham & Helms, 1985). In general, greater psychological health and well-being is associated with more developed Black racial identity (Seller, Copeland – Linder, & L’Heureux Lewis, 2006; Pllay, 2005; Mossakowski, 2003).

Further, more recent empirical work of Helms and Carter have added an important aspect to Black racial identity research. Traditionally, the study of racial identity development and the psychological outcomes associated with it have been done at a group level. That is, researchers have well documented the mental health symptoms associated with a group’s (sample) mean racial identity status development. However, new progress in measurement has now allowed researchers to examine the mental health outcomes for each individual in a sample through the use of profile analysis. This type of analysis has afforded researchers a way to measure racial identity development that is more consistent with racial identity development theory. Pieterse



and Carter (2010) tested racial identity as a moderator of the relationship between perceived racism and psychological stress through both the traditional approach of using group means and the profile analysis approach. While neither the group means nor the profile analysis approach yielded statistically significant evidence that racial identity moderates the relationship between perceived racism and psychological stress, the authors did find that the profile analysis yielded interesting results. Internalization-dominant profile types were found to be correlated with lower levels of psychological and general stress and higher levels of psychological well-being. This finding is consistent with past literature, utilizing the traditional group-means approach that has found that internalization status attitudes are highly associated with greater levels of psychological well being and less psychological distress. However, these researchers also found that perceived racism did not differ by an individuals' profile type. That is, appraisal of an incident being race-based did not differ based on the racial identity configuration of an individual. This finding is surprising because past literature suggests variations in racial identity correspond with the way an individual understands racial information (Pieterse & Carter, 2010). The authors suggest that protection from psychological harm associated with racism may come less from the internal processes of an individual and more on other variables. Again, like in Cross' work, we see the role of the internal process of the individual to be important, but not the sole contributor in the relationship between Black racial identity and psychological functioning. The authors suggest other variables, such as racial socialization and spirituality that may play a role in the relationship between experiences of racial discrimination and its psychological harm.

Sellers' Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity focused on marrying two traditional

approaches to the broad study of racial identity. Sellers, et al. (1998) took the qualitative aspects of being African American and the universal properties of racial and ethnic identity to develop four dimensions of African American racial identity: salience, centrality, regard, and ideology. These dimensions represent manifestations of racial identity unlike the stage/status model of Helms'. Salience refers to how relevant an individual's race is to their self-concept at any give time. It is thought to be person and situation specific. A person's normative perception of self by race is centrality and this remains relatively constant. Regard is the feelings of negativity or positivity associated with being Black. It consists of both public (how one believes others view Blacks) and private (how one feels about Blacks) domains. One's beliefs and opinions about how Blacks should interact and be in society is ideology. Theorists argue that salience is the key dimension that links racial identity to behaviors. Despite nuanced differences in Black racial identity theory, common themes and empirical findings suggest consistency in understanding around how one is oriented to their race and how they are psychologically and socially impacted by this orientation. In sum, more psychological and psychosocial well-being is associated with Black pride and an appreciation of Black culture. Conversely, an orientation toward White culture and denigration of Black culture, or a rigid focus on Black culture and denigration of White culture are associated with the worst psychological outcomes.

### **Black Racial Identity and *Black Cultural Strength***

As is clear, aspects of Black Racial Identity serve to the betterment of Blacks' psychological functioning. In addition to having a profound impact on an individual's functioning, Black racial identity impacts the behaviors one engages in. In order for Africultural

practices and orientations to have lasted through centuries in a society that devalues them, there has to have been an appreciation and an evolutionary need for them. Those who possess positive views of their racial group and those of other racial groups have been shown to be the most psychologically healthy (Pieterse & Carter, 2010). These individuals inherently appreciate Black culture and thus may communicate the need for others to appreciate these cultural practices/values, especially their offspring. Historians, sociologists, and educators have written about the unwavering importance of the Black family (Gutman, 1987; Martin & Martin, 1985). The racial identity of the elders (grandparents, parents, uncles, and aunts) has historically been important mechanisms by which information and stories are passed down from generation to generation. The absence of a developed Black racial identity in these individuals may foreclose the important transmission of important lessons and messages about one's race to Black children thus creating a deficit in their ability to reach a developed and positive Black racial identity. A positive racial identity is first and foremost, a necessity in maintaining Black cultural strength through generations. Once one has developed a positive racial identity, they can pass on Black cultural values and beliefs to younger Blacks. This process by which racial practices are encouraged and by which racial orientations are fostered is *racial socialization*.

### **Black Racial Socialization**

Racial socialization offers a way to examine the Black cultural orientation to social relations. Stewart and Bennett (1991) highlight a theme of equality in American social relations where parties are considered of equal value is interpersonal interactions. The authors go on to point out that this theme of equality is problematic as in reality, equality has not been afforded to

African Americans. This “conspiracy of silence” (pp.93) actually maintains a system of inequality.

Racial socialization in Black communities might serve the function of helping Blacks negotiate the White American cultural value of equality with the harsh reality of inequality for Blacks. Some researchers define racial socialization as teachings about race relations and protection against racism, while others emphasize the process of learning about how to function as a member of the cultural group (Rotherman & Phinney, 1987). In either case, racial socialization is aimed at instructing Blacks about their social reality and how to navigate the world with this knowledge.

Racial socialization has been both constructed as the direct and indirect messages an individual receives *or* the beliefs a person holds as a result of receiving those messages. Elmore and Gaylord-Harden (2013) emphasize the importance of distinguishing between these two conceptualizations as they may impact the receiver’s views of race differently. However, generally racial socialization refers to the process of rearing children toward a positive racial identity and often involves preparing children for racial encounters. Peters (1985) noted that Black parents have the additional task of “...raising physically and emotionally healthy children who are Black in a society in which being Black has negative connotations” (p. 161).

Researchers have posited that racial socialization plays a protective role against negative racial messages Blacks receive about themselves (Peters, 1985; Stevenson, 1994,1995). Lesane-Brown (2006) defines racial socialization as “specific verbal and non-verbal messages transmitted to younger generations for the development of values, attitudes, behaviors, and

beliefs regarding the meaning and significance of race and racial stratification, intergroup and intragroup interactions, and personal and group identity.” For Blacks in general over time, racial socialization has been one mechanism through which generations pass down instructions about the rules and meaning of being a member of the Black racial group, but also how to exist and flourish as a Black person in U.S. society. The process of racial socialization has been conceptualized from three different perspectives: the ecological theory, the life course perspective, and social cognitive learning theory. Ecological theory asserts that multiple levels of the environment simultaneously influence social development. In the racial socialization process, the interplay of the levels of a child’s environment can lead to conflicting messages. For instance, the child’s macrosystem, or larger societal values and beliefs may contradict their ecosystem, such as the racial discrimination their parents face in the workplace. The ecological approach also includes a temporal dimension in which changes in the racial and political climate are considered.

The life course perspective further illuminates the importance of time on the racial socialization process. Through this perspective, the messages Black parents communicate to their children is inseparable from the social conditions and values of the time period (Lesane-Brown, 2006). Because of this important temporal component, the life course perspective asserts that the messages Black parents communicate about race must be responsive to changes in social and political climate and for this reason, racial socialization messages can vary from generation to generation.

Social cognitive learning theory works to understand how individuals’ interactions with

their society shape how they learn what behaviors, thoughts, etc. are acceptable in that society. Modeling, reinforcement, and imitation of behaviors, from this perspective, may shape the ways Blacks deal with race-related situations (Lesane-Brown, 2006). While these processes are important, the author notes that based on the experiences, beliefs, and values of the individual, some of these messages may be accepted, rejected, or challenged. This point is important when considering the impact of racial socialization on children versus adults.

What can be gathered from these three perspectives is that racial socialization exists within a system beyond the nuclear family and can involve the interaction of social issues, direct and indirect messages, influence of others besides parents, and the impact of the views and behaviors of their targets. Current racial socialization literature aims to understand and address the full complexity of this process and the many factors, such as time, deliverer of messages, and the composition of an individual's environment (Barr & Neville, 2014). The most comprehensive conceptualization of racial socialization is outlined by Lesane-Brown (2006) in which the expression of, content, source, and frequency onset and recency are identified as important aspects of racial socialization messages. In order to examine the most effective means of transmitting a positive Black image to targets of racial socialization, a more nuanced understanding of the variables within racial socialization should be understood.

First, expression refers to how racial socialization messages are communicated: verbally or non-verbally. Verbal messages include both direct conversations between parents and children and the vicarious messages children received from observing conversations between their parents and other parties. These messages are explicit and thus easily recalled (Lesane-Brown, 2006).

Non-verbal messages are less explicit and thus may be more difficult to recall. These messages can take on several different forms including selectively reinforcing children's behaviors and modeling cultural behaviors such as cooking culturally traditional foods. The intent of racial messages can be either deliberate or inadvertent (Lesane-Brown, 2006). Deliberate messages are purposeful and tied to the parents' race-related agendas. Inadvertent messages are often subtle and not deliberate but still communicate messages about the parents' values, beliefs, and behaviors around being in a low-status racial group. Parents have been reported to communicate both verbally and non-verbally, and deliberately and inadvertently.

Lesane-Brown (2006) suggests that content is another domain of study within racial socialization. There is some variation in the labels assigned to each content area but three major categories seem to exist: culture messages, minority experience, and mainstream experience. Culture messages focus on racial pride and specific teachings about Black culture. Minority experience messages aim at preparation and awareness of the oppressive environment Blacks must navigate. Mainstream experience messages emphasize personal qualities such as ambition in addition to emphasizing Black's co-existence in mainstream society while de-emphasizing race (Lesane-Brown, 2006; Boykin & Toms, 1985).

Respondents have identified other sources of racial socialization messages beyond parents (Thompson, 1994). Lesane-Brown, Brown, Caldwell, and Sellers (2005) found that the majority (77.8-85.3%) of adolescents and college students received racial socialization messages from multiple sources including parents, family, friends, and other adults. This finding is consistent with the way in which Black culture's child-rearing responsibilities are extended

beyond blood-relatives to members of the community (Collins, 2005). The source of these messages may be an important factor in understanding the impact of racial socialization on the psychological functioning of Blacks. Most research has focused solely on the impact of parent to child racial socialization messages while neglecting how messages from church members, neighbors, and older adult relatives may differentially impact the racial socialization process.

The rate, or frequency, at which the type (content) of messages are received may also effect the relationship between racial socialization and outcomes. While the content of messages has been shown to be important in psychosocial functioning, frequency of the types of messages can also be considered a vital part of inquiry. For instance, the psychological distress one may experience may be greater if more messages are aimed at building awareness to discriminatory practices than messages about cultural heritage and pride. In addition, the frequency of the different areas of content of racial socialization messages has been shown to differentiate between sources. For instance, in one study Black college students reported receiving the message that, “Whites think they are better” more from parents than from friends (Lesane-Brown, Brown, Caldwell, and Seller, 2005).

Knowing when racial socialization messages were first received and then last received may also be helpful in fully understanding the racial socialization process for Blacks. The temporality and duration of this process may differ from individual to individual and additionally impact psychosocial functioning. Onset and recency of racial socialization messages may communicate the varying degrees of time the racial socialization process has taken for an individual.



Lesane-Brown (2005) asserted knowing which messages were most useful to recipients would be helpful information in understanding particularly which messages were most helpful given an individual's point in life. More concretely, these researchers found that college students were more likely to identify messages about how their hard work can help them achieve anything while adolescents found that messages communicating race does not matter were the most helpful. This difference in the utility of these types of messages from adolescent to college student may be a product of changes in race relations, where the individual is in their academic trajectory, or both. Consistent with the all three perspectives of the racial socialization process, a complex interplay of the individual and their environment with the backdrop of the racial and political climate of the country converge to impact the racial socialization process.

As mentioned, the Social Cognitive Learning Theory perspective asserts that Black adults are not passive recipients of racial socialization messages but that based on a number of individual differences, they may accept, reject, or ignore some messages. Anticipatory socialization messages are messages that someone would pass on to their children. These messages communicate which messages were well received and thus likely to be passed on. Examination of this area of an individual's racial socialization highlights not only the importance of ascertaining which messages they accepted, but also attends to the intergenerational nature of the racial socialization process for Blacks in America.

As previously mentioned, the process of racial socialization takes places both verbally and non-verbally. However most attention is given to verbal messages. Socializing behaviors capture the non-verbal messages about race that Blacks receive. Research on socializing

behaviors has yielded examples such as being taken to Black museums and monuments and attending Black churches (Lesane-Brown, Brown, Caldwell, & Sellers, 2005). This non-verbal component of the socialization process may differentially impact mental health outcomes for Blacks versus verbal messages.

### **Black Racial Socialization and Psychosocial Health: Somewhat Mixed Findings**

Despite variations in definition and conceptualization of racial socialization, much work has been done to not only create a nuanced and comprehensive understanding of this process, but also unveil the effects of many aspects of racial socialization on Black Americans. While utilizing a multitude of measurement tools, researchers have found generally that racial socialization is an important aspect of Black life and different types of messages come with differential psychosocial outcomes. These outcomes span different domains of life including education, occupation, and psychological functioning.

Racial socialization has been documented as a strong correlate in the psychosocial health of Black Americans. In general it has been associated with higher levels of anger management, academic orientation, and ability to cope with discrimination (Elmore & Gaylord-Harden, 2013; Hughes, et al., 2006). Berkel and colleagues (2009) found that the more racial socialization the parent(s) or caregiver(s) used the higher the children's' self-pride.

However, a closer examination shows the content of specific messages seem to have variable impact on psychosocial health, some appearing more helpful than others. Black pride messages have been associated with fostering psychosocial health. Cultural pride reinforcement messages have been associated with lower levels of anxiety and increased peer self-esteem

(Bannon et al., 2009; Constantine & Blackmon, 2002). Not surprisingly, Davis and Stevenson (2006) found that cultural pride reinforcement was inversely related to lethargy and low self-esteem. In addition, Racial pride messages have been related to resilience in the face of discrimination, increased self-esteem, less unprovoked anger, and higher academic achievement (Barnes, 1980; Branch & Newcombe, 1986; Branscombe et al., 1999; Rumbaut, 1994; Spencer, 1983; Stevenson, et al, 1997; Smith et al.1999). Bennett (2006) found a positive relationship between racial socialization and achieved ethnic identity.

Messages increasing awareness about the inevitability of racial discrimination, along with messages aimed at preparing targets for these incidences have been examined in relation to psychosocial health in Blacks. Some researchers have suggested preparation for bias messages may serve to counteract negative expectations or stereotypes about minority student academic abilities (Mendoza-Denton, Downy, Purdie, Davis, & Pietrzak, 2002; Steele & Aronson, 1998). Conversely, some studies have documented negative effects of messages about racial biases on youth, documenting associations with decreased self-esteem and increased depression with these types of messages (Barnes, 1980; Branch & Newcombe, 1986; Branscombe et al., 1999; Rumbaut, 1994; Spencer, 1983). Further, Biafora et al. (1993) found that cultural mistrust was positively associated with deviant behavior.

While it seems messages that are anticipatory in nature help to prepare and offset the negative impact of racial discrimination and negative racial stereotypes, messages simply teaching about racial biases and to not trust other cultural groups may leave youth both informed but unarmed for negative racial encounters. In fact, two studies show Black youth who expected

discrimination or who had been taught racial mistrust exhibited more depression, deviant behavior, and greater conflict with parents (Rumbaut, 1994; Biafora et al., 1993). Coupling messages about preparation for bias and cultural pride yielded in lower levels of initiation of fights and fighting overall (Stevenson, Herrero-Taylor, et al., 2002). While preparing Blacks for instances of discrimination can be beneficial, it seems too much of these messages, and particularly when not paired with other racial socialization messages, can yield negative outcomes. To this point, Davis and Stevenson (2006) found that messages communicating awareness of discrimination led to a decrease in irritability; however, an increase in instrumental helplessness.

Relatedly, messages about the benefit of Blacks involving themselves in mainstream institutions led to higher levels of low energy, pessimism, guilt, low self-esteem, irritability, sad mood, and overall depression. Consistent with these findings, Constantine and Blackmon (2002) found that these same types of messages were negatively associated with school self-esteem. These socialization messages may impair functioning because often this goal and the reality for Blacks are incongruent. Distress may result as the goal of fitting into mainstream environments and the reality of discriminatory behavior clash.

These findings are consistent with Black racial identity theory. Individuals who reside in later stages/statuses of Black racial identity have formed a positive Black self-image. These later places in development have been associated with less psychological distress and more well-being. Stevenson (1995) asserts racial socialization processes "...precede, coincide with, and contribute to racial awareness and racial identity development across the lifespan. Socializing

one to have pride in one's racial group may be indicative of the racial identity of the transmitter. In addition, being socialized to have pride in one's racial group is associated with more developed racial identity. Empirical evidence supports this notion. An inverse relationship between racial socialization and Pre-Encounter racial identity attitudes was found (Stevenson, 1995). All of the racial socialization messages were correlated with Internalization racial identity attitudes with the exception of racism awareness teaching. As discussed previously, it is possible that messages about the harsh reality of a racially oppressive society without additional messages aimed at how to cope with this may leave targets feeling hopeless and unarmed in the face of such incidents.

While the content of racial socialization messages matter, as discussed, not all messages are explicitly stated. Some come in the form of implicit messages. Caughy, et al. (2002) demonstrated the impact of non-verbal racial socialization practices. The number of Afrocentric items in the household was associated with greater factual knowledge and better problem-solving skills in Black children. While taking on a more implicit form, these non-verbal messages may be highly correlated and an extension of verbal messages of Black cultural pride.

Less so, researchers have found no effect of racial socialization practices. Burt, Simon, and Gibbons (2012) found cultural socialization messages were not helpful in mitigating the effects of racial discrimination on criminal behavior. Elmore and Gaylord-Harden (2013) found no significant effect of racial pride or racial bias messages on internalizing behaviors, such as withdrawing and somatic complaints, and externalizing behaviors, such as delinquent or

aggressive behavior, in African American children overall. While inconsistent, these findings have been sparse.

### **Racial Socialization and *Black Cultural Strength***

Overall the process of racial socialization seems to be an effective strategy to pass on how to navigate the often harsh realities of living as a Black person in American society. Further, most racial socialization messages foster positive racial identity for Blacks. However, as racial identity theorists have contended, being a psychosocially healthy Black person in America not only involves a positive image of self as a Black person but also a positive social orientation toward the larger racial group. As mentioned, kinship is a central feature of Black Americans culture dating back to African ancestry (Stack, 1975). That is, socializing Blacks toward the Black racial culture ideally includes some message about the collaborative and communalistic orientation of Blacks.

### **Communalism**

Stewart and Bennett (1991) report American cultural social relationships generally are devoid of obligation with an aversion to any social indebtedness. The authors point out how this cultural pattern does not seem to hold up in subcultures of the U.S. such as that of Blacks. Blacks, and other racial minorities groups in the U.S., are seen to adopt an affiliative orientation to social relationships. One reason offered for this culture of affiliation is that the sense of identity and belongingness that is bred in this type of cultural orientation lends itself to more social and political leverage (Stewart & Bennett, 1991). However, as discussed the cultural value

of kinship can be traced by to West African practices and is not solely the result of U.S. social dynamics.

Beginning in an African cultural value, this prioritizing of the needs of the community over the needs of the individual may have survived because of the extreme economic oppression Blacks have faced. A need to share resources and responsibilities is extended from the immediate family to other members of the community at large. Not only does this include sharing resources and goods, but also the shared responsibility of child rearing, teaching, etc. Researchers have attempted to understand this social interdependence in Black culture in a number of ways including the examination of collectivism and individualism.

The constructs of collectivism and individualism have been popular areas of research across cultural groups both internationally and within the context of the U.S. in the form of racial and ethnic groups (Vandello & Cohen, 1999; Constantine, Gainor, Ahluwalia, & Berkel, 2003). Collectivism has been defined as a cultural value system, which focuses on an interdependent sense of self, where social behavior is guided by the norms and expectations of the group. Considering the orientation toward community prevalent in Black culture, it seems reasonable to assume that Blacks in America would exhibit high collectivism and low individualism (Utsey et al., 2000). However, findings have not supported this notion. In an evaluation of theoretical assumptions and meta-analyses of collectivism-individualism studies, Oyserman, Coon, and Kemmelmeier (2002) found African Americans emerged as the most individualistic ethnic groups over and above European-Americans, Latino-Americans, and Asian Americans. In addition, African American collectivism was not significantly different from that of European

Americans. The researchers allude to an important distinction that should be made in this area of research. While African and African American culture are often assumed to be similar, the differences between these two cultures on collectivism and individualism highlight the uniqueness of the cultural orientations of Black Americans apart from Africans.

An examination of measurement tools of collectivism and individualism in the same study revealed that adding some assessment of a participant's valuation of personal uniqueness significantly increased Blacks endorsement of individualism. Additionally, assessing the valuation of privacy, personal competition, and self-knowledge increased individualism scores for Blacks. This highlights a limitation of using collectivism as a cultural value in Blacks in America. While the constructs of individualism and collectivism generally speak to differences across international cultures, it may not fully capture differences among ethnic groups in the U.S. Specifically, there seem to be distinct differences in individualism and collectivism of Blacks versus other American ethnic groups. Because of this, using collectivism to capture the orientation of Black Americans toward their communities may not be sufficient.

A construct employed to specifically and accurately describe the cultural value of the community for Blacks has been communalism. Boykin, Jagers, Ellison, and Albury (1997) describe communalism as the social interdependence of Black people. It is the belief that the success of the individual and the group are inseparable. Boykin (1983) defines communalism as an Afrocultural concept that

“denotes awareness of the [fundamental] interdependence of people. One's orientation is social rather than being directed toward objects. One acts in accordance



with the notion that duty to one's social group is more important than individual privileges and rights. Sharing is promoted because it signifies the affirmation of social interconnectedness; self-centeredness and individual greed are disdained" (Boykin, 1983, p. 345).

Boykin, et al. (1997) further went on to explain some of the complexity of communalism, describing five main components. These core components were primacy of social existence, sanctity of social bonds and relations, transcendence of group duties and responsibilities over individual concerns, anchoring of individual identity in the group, and an emphasis on sharing and contributing in support of the group. These components reveal the complexity of this cultural orientation for Blacks. Jagers and Mock (1995) found that a measure of communalism dovetailed, but was not identical to a collectivism scale. Although communalism was positively associated with collectivism and negatively associated with individualism, the construct seems to add something substantive to the study of this cultural orientation in Blacks.

### **Communalism and Psychosocial Health**

The study of communalism in Blacks provides strong and consistent evidence of the implications of this cultural orientation for the overall well-being of Blacks. Scholars in education have shown Black children and adolescents' communalism is positively associated with academic performance, positive attitudes toward task engagement and negatively associated with gang-related activity (Jagers, 1993; Jagers, 1996; Albury, 1993; Jagers & Mock, 1995; Dill & Boykin, 2000). In addition, there is evidence to suggest communalism leads to increased moral reasoning and engagement in volunteerism and decreased violence in Blacks. (Humphries,

Parker, & Jagers, 2000; Woods and Jagers, 2003; Mattis, et al., 2000; Jagers, Sydnor, Mouttapa, & Flay, 2007). Gooden (2013) found that communalism was positively associated with thriving in youth, a construct that indicates positive emotions, motivation, and purpose. Additionally, researchers found communalism to be a strong positive predictor of prenatal emotional health over and above other factors such as ethnicity and economic status (Abdou, et al., 2010).

### **Communalism and *Black Cultural Strength***

A main limitation of these findings, similar to the study of racial socialization, is that many study samples are made up of children and adolescents. In addition, researchers have primarily studied communalism as a singular cultural value, not as one influenced by and influencing other Black cultural values. Communalism can be seen as a byproduct of the racial socialization process. As discussed, often, racial socialization is aimed at orienting the target to the Black racial group. Therefore, while not commonly discussed in racial socialization research, an orientation toward a communalistic social orientation may be a more implicit part of this process, taking place mostly through modeling and vicarious learning. The strength of communalism in the Black American community is even displayed through consideration of the role of other members besides the parent(s) or primary caregiver(s) in racial socialization research. To date, only a few studies have studied communalism with other Black cultural values.

Jagers, Smith, Mock, and Dill (1997) conducted two studies; the first examining the endorsement and associations between communalism, spirituality, and affect, the importance of emotional receptivity and expressiveness. The authors found high endorsement of and moderate

positive associations between the three cultural values. In addition, this Afrocultural social ethos significantly predicted both a cooperative academic attitude and competitive academic attitude. In the second study, the social ethos made up of communalism, affect, and spirituality significantly predicted both empathy and views of human nature. However, in some post-hoc analyses only one cultural value was found as a significant predictor of the outcome variables. For instance, the affective orientation was found to be the only significant predictor of philosophies of human nature.

These studies provide some support for the usefulness of examining cultural values as interrelated constructs and not as isolated variables. However, there were numerous limitations in these studies including the use of measures with low internal consistencies, and both samples consisting of children and adolescents. The implications of these cultural values may change as children grow into adulthood, possibly becoming more aware of the inequalities for Blacks in many domains of their lives and finding more of a need for expression of these cultural values. It is imperative that parents, caregivers, and other adults be studied and understood, as they are the primary vehicles of the transmission of cultural values.

Despite the lack of adult research in this area, some research has linked communalism with other important Black cultural values. Brown, Love, Tyler, Garriot, Thomas, and Roan-Belle (2013)'s examination of parental attachment, communalism, and racial identity provides further proof for the need to look at cultural values together rather than separately. The authors found a strong positive association between communalism and the later stages of racial identity development in a sample of Black college students. In 2010, the same authors found evidence of

the predictive value of communalism for student self-efficacy and self-esteem (Tyler, Love, Brown, Roan-Belle, Thomas, and Garriot, 2010).

From these studies, it is clear that communalism has a positive impact on the growth, development, and overall well being of Blacks and it is clear that communalism has a generally positive impact on the functioning of Blacks. In addition, communalism may be indicative of the more implicit communications in the racial socialization process. Communalism, while tending to the needs of the larger group, also seems to have individual psychological rewards for Blacks.

### **Cultural Spirituality**

Mbiti (1970) describes African philosophy as grounded by a “spiritual disposition”, a faith in a transcendental force and a sense of vital solidarity (p.148)” Religion is the most observable expression of an overall African philosophy, shared by many African tribes (Jones, 1980). As such, religion was not seen as more an integral part and observable enactment of culture. To be human was to be religious.

African slaves integrated many of their past customs with their new lives in North America. We use cultural spirituality henceforth to denote the African cultural orientation of spirituality from a more Western view of religion or spirituality often not connected to one’s culture. Jagers and Smith (1996) contend that African spirituality is “a belief that all elements of reality contain a certain amount of life force and these life forces have governing roles in one’s life.” In addition, the authors state it possesses a sense of connection with one’s African ancestors.

There is often confusion around the distinction between religiosity and spirituality, the words often are used interchangeably. However, Jagers, et. al (1997) argue that spirituality goes above religious practices, guiding a person's everyday life. Nantambu (1998) writes that spirituality represents a direct connectedness/ inter-relatedness with nature, the cosmos, the universe, and that spiritual God-force, Amen-Ra, "the giver of life." While many African Americans are religious, spirituality stretches beyond religious practices and manifests in one's orientation toward everyday life.

Scholars' general examinations into spirituality and religion have argued for a distinct definition of the two constructs (Hill & Pargament, 2008). Burkhardt's (1989) concept analysis of spirituality resulted in an emergence of the themes of discovering meaning and purpose in life, harmony in relationship to others, self, and a higher being, and inner strength. The author contended religiosity be a form of spiritual expression. Similarly, Emblen (1992) examined definitions of spirituality and religion and concluded that these two constructs were distinctly different. While religion was the worship practices and beliefs an individual engaged in, spirituality was a personal life principle having to do with one's relationship to God. With that, spirituality was seen as encompassing religion. Meraviglia (1999) argues that religion is the beliefs and practices that nurture spirituality, the relationship with God. Dyson, et al (1997) had similar conclusions about the themes of spirituality including meaning, hope, and relatedness/connectedness.

From these definitions it seems while religiousness is the mechanism through which a relationship with God is cultivated, spirituality describes one's orientation to a higher being. This

orientation includes meaning, hope, harmony, and inner strength, and interconnectedness with others. These adjectives describe not only individual characteristics, but also one's connection with others. As discussed, communalism is the social orientation of African Americans. It spans from past African ancestry and has maintained African American life. Cultural spirituality, also serves as a means of interconnectedness between Blacks (Jagers & Mattis, 2001). Even theories of racial socialization and coping with racism include the importance of spirituality (Stevenson, 1994; Forsyth & Carter, 2012).

Past investigations into spirituality, while informative and important, often were based on writings and study samples that reflected mostly White culture and leave little information about spirituality as it functions in the Black community. Scholars have asserted that spirituality is a fundamental aspect of African culture (Jagers & Mock, 1993; Jagers, Boykin, & Smith, 1997), and thus is different from general spirituality. As mentioned, spirituality is present in African folk beliefs and traditions representing a more secular spirituality that can exist in the absence of religiosity (Mattis & Jagers, 2001). Further, African Americans have been shown to have higher rates of spirituality as compared to European Americans (Walker & Dixon, 2002). So researchers in Black spirituality often refer to it as less of a religious marker and more of a cultural construct that is telling of an individual's orientation to Black culture. Jagers (1997) and Jagers and Smith (1996) found significant relationships between spiritual orientation and communal orientation giving credence to this notion.

Youth who perceive their families to be communal, spiritual, and affective tend to be more empathic, engage in greater levels of perspective-taking, and participate in fewer acts of

aggression than their counterparts (Jagers, 1997). In the Black community, spirituality functions as a mechanism for cultivating a sense of community and is associated with a sense of connectedness to others (Mattis & Jagers, 2001). Due to spirituality's strong influence on the Black community, it is hypothesized that cultural spirituality, that specific to Black Americans, will be indicative of psychosocial health.

### ***Cultural Spirituality and Psychosocial Health***

The fields of education and psychology have contributed significantly to deepening our understanding of Black American spirituality. Mattis (2000) examined spirituality and religion, for Black women, and the connection to an internal and external power, consciousness of metaphysicality, understanding and accepting the self, positively influencing relationships with others, and life purpose and meaning. In some shape, these themes had also emerged in global investigations of spirituality. Interestingly, the themes of peace, guidance, life instruction, and facilitation of efforts to manage and cope with adversity were unique to this examination in Black women. Spirituality in this population played a larger role.

Newlin, Knafl, and Melkus (2002) conducted a content analysis of studies in psychology, nursing, and sociology that not only worked toward a common definition of African American spirituality, but also a comprehensive review of the antecedents, attributes, and consequences of this unique construct. Precursors to cultural spirituality were identified as life adversities such as poverty or grief, faith in God, belief in divine intervention, and cultural influences such as Black family and church. Attributions of Black spirituality included a central dimension of a higher power that is immaterial and irrational that influences all aspects of life. Other dimensions of a

personal, intimate, and egalitarian relationship with God, an interpersonal, altruistic relationship with others, spirituality as a source of peace, compassion, love, and protection, and the transformative dimension of spirituality in which spirituality was a source of healing emerged. As a result of having Black spirituality, the consequences of higher altruism, increased quality of relationships with others and love for others, more perceived sense of support, increased active coping, increased strength, and better physical health were identified (Newlin, Knafl, & Melkus, 2002). The positive outcomes associated with Black cultural spirituality are well supported in empirical studies reviewed in this analysis and beyond.

Findings suggest spirituality is a consistent predictor of good psychosocial health including a positive relationship with achieving sobriety and moderating the effect of racial stress on psychological well-being for Blacks (Krentzman, Farkas, & Townsend, 2010; Bowen-Reid & Harrell, 2002). In addition, spirituality has been associated with marital satisfaction, academic success, and existential well-being (Fincham, Ajayi, & Beach, 2011; Wood & Hilton, 2012). Spirituality was associated with overall psychological well-being and mediated the relationship between religiosity and psychological well-being in a sample of African American women (Reed & Neville, 2014). Researchers found links between spirituality and physical health implicating spirituality in a decrease in stress and concern about one's health and the health of their infant in a sample of spiritual African American mothers diagnosed with HIV and a factor in improving diabetes management (Polzer & Miles, 2007; Dalmida, Holstad, Dilorio, & Laderman, 2012). Black cultural spirituality has been proven to be a strong indicator in Black psychosocial health, positively impacting many domains of life. In addition, spirituality is



implicated in coping. In an examination of Black cultural strength, we aim to understand how Black Americans survive in a racially oppressive society. Not only is spirituality a marker of psychosocial health for Black Americans, but it has also been identified as one of the mechanisms through which Blacks cope with racism.

### **Racism-Related Coping**

The preceding Black cultural orientations have been examined both from their Afro-historical origins and how they have transformed as a result of Black life in the U.S. However, racism was a unique experience that Blacks faced in the U.S. While slavery and racial oppression did not originate in the United States, it has a profound impact on Blacks throughout their history in the U.S.

Racism can take on many forms, all of which impact the everyday lives of Black Americans. *Black cultural strength* refers to a construct that has allowed Blacks to survive a system of racial oppression, which includes repeated racial incidents. While most studies have used generic coping measures to understand the strategies Blacks use to cope with racial discrimination and racism, one measure exists that assesses coping specific to experiences of racial discrimination. Forsyth and Carter (2014) created a measure of racism-related coping, strategies that are specific to racism rather than general stressors. To date only one study beyond a validation study has been conducted with the Racism-Related Coping Scale (RRCS).

As discussed, Black racial identity plays a major role in the transmission of *Black cultural strength*. Forsyth and Carter (2014) examined the relationship between the important Black racial identity status attitudes and racism-related coping strategies. Again as discussed,

some Black racial identity statuses have been associated with greater psychosocial health.

Forsyth and Carter (2012) found four distinct cluster groups for racial identity status attitudes and racism related coping strategies exhibiting the interrelatedness of these two constructs.

The first cluster group, Encounter-Bargaining, included individuals with the highest mean scale score on the Encounter status of Black racial identity. These individuals relied heavily on Bargaining racism-related coping strategies, followed by Confrontation and Social Support strategies. The second cluster group was designated Preencounter-Constrained Resistance due to the Preencounter being the highest mean scale score for these individuals and their overall low (one standard deviation below the mean) use of all racism-related coping strategies. Immersion-Cultural Hypervigilance, the third cluster group was characterized by individuals with Immersion mean scale scores being the highest of all of the racial identity status attitude scores and their primary reliance on Hypervigilant, Spiritual and Racially Conscious strategies. This cluster group exhibited high use (one standard deviation above the mean) on all coping strategies but relied least on Confrontation Strategies. The final cluster, Internalization-Empowered Confrontation, consisted of individuals with racial identity subscale means highest for Internalization. These individuals relied primarily on Confrontation and Empowered Action to deal with experiences of racism. These clusters were then used to examine if there were differences in mental health outcomes based on cluster groups.

Consistent with Black racial identity theory, each cluster group was correlated with different patterns of psychological outcomes. The Encounter-Bargaining cluster group showed higher levels of anxiety, depression, hostility, and interpersonal sensitivity than those in the

Internalization-Empowered Confrontation cluster group. The Immersion-Cultural Hypervigilance cluster group seemed to experience more distress as evidenced by higher levels of anxiety, depression, hostility, somatization, and interpersonal sensitivity than those in the Internalization-Empowered Confrontation cluster group. The Internalization-Empowered Confrontation cluster group seemed to experience the least intense psychological consequences of all four clusters. Conversely, individuals in the Encounter-Bargaining and Immersion-Cultural Hypervigilance cluster groups showed more intense psychological symptoms.

Despite being the only study to date that has used a measure specifically to assess coping strategies specifically used to handle racial incidents; this study accomplished a number of things. First, the clustering of individuals based on their Black racial identity status configurations and racism-related coping strategies provide evidence that these two cultural variables are interrelated. In addition, the cluster groups for this sample indicate that an individual's racial identity configuration may influence the types of racism-related coping strategies used to cope with racial discrimination.

The configuration of the Encounter-Bargaining cluster group shows the highest scale mean score for Encounter, followed by similar scores on Preencounter and Immersion statuses, and lowest on Internalization. As Forsyth and Carter (2014) suggest, this configuration indicates a struggle with one's racial identity in which one's Preencounter and Immersion status attitudes conflict. The color-blind perspective of the Preencounter status conflicts with Immersion status attitudes that include budding racial pride and engagement in the Black racial group. The high levels of Encounter status attitudes suggest the struggle may have come about by an awareness

of the existence of racism. The increased levels of anxiety, depression, hostility and interpersonal sensitivity are consistent with past studies of Black racial identity and mental health. This cluster group utilized Bargaining strategies most, which may indicate low self-efficacy when dealing with racial incidents and uncertainty about whether they played a role in the encounter. In addition, the high use of Bargaining strategies may “reveal an attempt to deny the psychological and emotional significance of the incident by reframing it, focusing on positive aspects, and trying to have empathy for the perpetrator” (Forsyth & Carter, 2014, p.136). This uncertainty could have led to increased levels of distress for members of the cluster group.

In addition to providing evidence of the interrelation of Black racial identity status attitudes and racism-related coping strategies, this study had a number of methodological strengths. First, as mentioned this is the only study to date that has used a measure specifically designed to assess coping strategies to handle experiences of racial discrimination. Forsyth and Carter (2014) created the Racism Related Coping Scale. This scale construction yielded factors that describe the types of coping strategies one may use in coping with an experience of racial discrimination. Second, while this study examined racial identity subscale score means, the authors discussed Black racial identity scale score configurations. By examining the varying levels of racial identity status attitudes each cluster group exhibited, the discussion was more consistent with theory in which a person’s racial identity is made up of varying levels of all racial identity attitudes statuses. This study offers racism related coping strategies as another piece of the cultural transmission process for Blacks in America.

## **Statement of the Problem**

Blacks have not only survived, but also thrived through centuries of social and economic oppression in the U.S. Researchers in the fields of sociology, anthropology, and psychology have strived to understand the strengths of Black Americans in lieu of their harsh reality in the U.S. throughout history (Boykin, et al., 1997; Mattis & Jagers, 2001; Jagers & Smith, 1996; Helms, 1990; Gutman, 1976; Jones, 1980). Many constructs including racial identity, racial socialization, and communalism have attempted to capture some of the protective factors that have enabled Blacks to survive during these times. Many of these variables have been examined in isolation with only a few instances of researchers attempting to understand how they all interact together. The purpose of this study is to understand the relationships between these variables, in an effort to understand the factors that have enabled survival and progress for Blacks in the U.S.

Aspects of racial identity, racial socialization, communalism, cultural spirituality, and racism-related coping have been associated with positive social, academic, and psychological outcomes in children, adolescents, and some adults. The *Black cultural strength* model in this study aims to test the assertion that combined aspects of these variables serve to maximize the psychosocial health of Black adults.

## **Structural Equation Model and Hypotheses**

Mature Black Racial Identity was hypothesized to be an unobserved, latent variable predicted by three measured variables (i.e., Black Racial Identity -Internalization, MIBI – Private

Regard, and MIBI – Centrality). The measured indicators were hypothesized to be positively correlated.

Therefore, an increase in the measured indicators would predict the unobserved construct of Mature Black Racial Identity defined as an orientation toward one's racial group that is internally defined and includes an awareness and knowledge that being a member of the Black racial group is important and belief that membership in this group is a strength, while also being flexible in one's thinking about other racial groups.

Effective Racism – Related Coping was hypothesized to be a second unobserved construct predicted by four measured indicators (e.g., scales: constrained resistance, confrontation, empowered action, spiritual coping subscales) of the Racism-Related Coping Scale (RRCS, Forsyth & Cater, 2014). The Racism-Related Coping Scale was used because the instrument captures Black culturally-valid forms of coping with racism. Based on validation with an all-Black sample, some of these coping strategies include taking legal action and praying.

Cultural communalism was hypothesized to be an unobserved latent variable indicated by two measures (i.e., The Communalism Scale, African American Collectivism Scale). Communalism, defined as a fundamental interdependence between oneself and members of their racial group.

Cultural Spirituality was hypothesized to be an unobserved latent variable indicated by two measures (i.e., The Spirituality Scale, The Daily Spiritual Experiences Scale). Cultural Spirituality, defined as “a belief that all elements of reality contain a certain amount of life force.

It entails believing and behaving as if nonobservable and nonmaterial life forces have governing powers in one's everyday affairs. (p. 430)" (Jagers & Smith, 1996).

Positive Racial Socialization was hypothesized to be a latent variable predicted by two scales (i.e., scales: Preparation for Racial Bias and Cultural Socialization) of the Racial Socialization Scale (Hughes & Chen, 1997). Positive Racial Socialization, defined as messages received that prepared one to recognize and manage instances of racial bias as well as messages orienting one to Black history and cultural practices.

Psychosocial Health was hypothesized to be an unobserved latent variable predicted by two unobserved latent variables (i.e., scales: Mental Health Inventory – Well -Being and Satisfaction with Life Scale. The measured indicators were hypothesized to be positively correlated among each other and have a positive relationship with the unobserved constructs of Psychosocial Health. Therefore, an increase in the measured indicators would predict the unobserved construct of Psychosocial Health, defined as one's degree of positive psychological functioning and general contentment with their life circumstances.

**The hypotheses for the current study are as follows:**

**Hypothesis I:** Mature Racial Identity will be positively predictive of higher Internalization Black racial identity status attitudes, Black centrality attitudes, and Black private regard attitudes.

**Hypothesis II:** Effective Racism Related Coping will be positively predictive of higher use of racism-related coping strategies: constrained resistance, empowered action, spiritual (coping), and confrontation.

**Hypothesis III:** Cultural Spirituality will be positively predictive of higher scores on daily spiritual experiences and African-American spirituality.

**Hypothesis IV:** Positive Racial Socialization will be positively predictive of higher exposure to the racial socialization experiences of preparation for bias and cultural socialization.

**Hypothesis V:** Communalism will be positively predictive of higher orientation toward one's community as measured by The Communalism Scale and African-American Collectivism Scale.

**Hypothesis VI:** Black Cultural Strength will be positively predictive of Mature Racial Identity, Effective Racism-Related Coping, Positive Racial Socialization, Cultural Spirituality, and Communalism.

**Hypothesis VII:** Psychosocial Health will be positively predictive of psychological well-being and life satisfaction.

**Hypothesis VIII:** Black Cultural Strength will be positively predictive of Psychosocial Health.



## Chapter III

### METHOD

#### **Data Collection**

Approval to begin the study was first received from the Teachers College, Columbia University Institutional Review Board (IRB). After approval, participants were recruited through email, listserv and social media postings. In addition, individuals were asked to forward the announcements for the study to other potential participants who met the study inclusion criteria. All online announcements and correspondence included a link to the online survey through Qualtrics.com. In order to maximize the number of participants who might exhibit high levels of *Black Cultural Strength*, as the model suggests, participants were recruited from organizations and societies that have goals to improve the lives of Blacks/African-Americans including *BlackLivesMatter* Facebook groups, listservs for historically Black fraternities and sororities, student and professional organizations for Black and racial/ethnic minority related issues (ex. Black Student Union, NAACP-student chapter, and Division 45 of the American Psychological Association). The email invitation letter (see Appendix B) included a link to the online survey that brought potential participants to the informed consent and participant's rights pages (see Appendix C & D). After potential participants agreed to the informed consent by clicking on "I agree" they were then brought to the survey (see Appendix E). Once the participants completed all of the study items, they were immediately directed to an external website where they could provide their email address in order to be entered into the raffle for the \$200 giftcard. Next, the

debriefing page (see Appendix F) which included the principal investigator's contact information was presented and participants were thanked for their participation.

### **Selection and Exclusion Criteria**

Based on the current study foci, the following selection criteria were used: 1) Self-identification as racially Black, 2) 18 years of age or older, and 3) Born in U.S. Individuals who did not self-identify as Black, were under the age of 18, or who were born outside of the U.S. were excluded from the study.

### **Participants**

A total of 1,314 individuals logged on to the survey. Of the 1,314 participants, 46 participants did not agree to the informed consent form. Of the 1,263 participants who agreed to the informed consent, 1,060 participants identified as Black, African-American. The remaining 203 participants identified as White, Hispanic/Latino, or Asian/Pacific Islander and were excluded based on the first selection criterion. Of the remaining 1,060 participants, 89 participants were not born in the U.S., and thus were excluded from the study on the basis of the third selection criterion. Of the remaining 971 participants, 495 individuals completed the study in its entirety. Therefore, the response rate was approximately 51%.

Study participants included 495 self-identified Black Americans. Their ages ranged from 18 to 80 years with a mean age of 31.46 (SD=12.08). They were mostly female (74.9%, n = 371) with 23.2% identifying as male (n =115), and 1.8% (n = 9) identifying as transgender. Most of the sample identified as heterosexual (75.6% %, n =374), with some identifying as bisexual (17.2%, n = 85), and a small portion of the sample identifying as gay or lesbian (6.9%, n = 34).

Thirty-five participants identified as lower class (7.1%), 198 as working class (40%), 220 as middle class (44.4%), 40 as upper middle class (8.1%), and 2 as upper class (.2%). Highest level of education in the study sample were as follows: no schooling ( $N = 3$ , .6%), nursery school to 8<sup>th</sup> grade ( $N = 1$ , .2%), some high school, no diploma ( $N = 8$ ; 1.6%), high school graduate, diploma or equivalent (e.g., GED), some college ( $N = 124$ ; 25.1%), trade or vocational training ( $N = 14$ ; 2.8%), associate's degree ( $N = 33$ , 6.7%), bachelor's degree ( $N = 147$ ; 29.7%), master's degree ( $N = 98$ ; 19.8%), professional degree ( $N = 14$ ; 2.8%), and doctoral degree ( $N = 22$ ; 4.4%). Lastly, the majority of the sample was single, never married ( $N = 335$ ; 67.5%). Further demographics details can be found in Table 1.

Due to the low response rate, participant demographics for the study sample ( $N = 496$ ) were compared to participant demographics of those who met study criteria but did not finish the survey ( $N = 475$ ). Demographic characteristics of the participants who did not finish the survey were somewhat similar to those of the study sample. Participants in this section of the sample were only slightly younger, lower in social class, and less educated. Those who did not finish the survey ranged from 18-80 years old ( $M = 28.7$ ,  $SD = 11.04$ ). Those participants who did not finish the survey were slightly lower in social class. Seventy participants identified as lower class (9.2 %), 272 as working class (35.6 %), 247 as middle class (32.3 %), 61 as upper middle class (8.0%), and 6 as upper class (.8%). One hundred and eight (14.1%) participants did not report their social class. Four hundred and eighty (62.8%) of this portion of the sample identified as heterosexual, with the remaining 126 (16.5%) identifying as bisexual, and 49 (6.4%) identifying as gay or lesbian. Compared to the study sample, more participants who did not finish the study

identified as sexual minorities. Highest level of education in those who did not complete the survey were as follows: no schooling ( $N = 3$ , .4%), nursery school to 8<sup>th</sup> grade ( $N = 1$ , .1%), some high school, no diploma ( $N = 8$ ; 1%), high school graduate, diploma or equivalent (e.g., GED) ( $N = 86$ ; 11.3%), some college ( $N = 195$ ; 25.5%), trade or vocational training ( $N = 21$ ; 2.5%), associate's degree ( $N = 53$ , 6.9%), bachelor's degree ( $N = 161$ ; 21.1%), master's degree ( $N = 95$ ; 12.84%), professional degree ( $N = 13$ ; 1.7%), and doctoral degree ( $N = 20$ ; 2.6%). Participants who did not complete the study were mostly single, never married ( $N = 494$ ; 64.7%). Discussion of the slight differences between the study sample, and those who did not complete the survey will be discussed in the limitations of the study in Chapter V.

## **Instruments**

**Personal Demographic Questionnaire.** Participants completed a self-report demographic questionnaire that solicited their personal and educational background including age in years, race (Black, White, Hispanic/Latino, Asian/Pacific Islander, Native American), gender (male, female, transgender), country of origin (open response format), sexual orientation (heterosexual or straight, gay or lesbian, bisexual), highest level of education (i.e., high school graduate or equivalent such as GED, vocational training), social class (lower class, working class, middle class, upper middle class, and upper class), and marital status (single, never married, married or domestic partnership, widowed, divorced, or separated).

**Black Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (BRIAS).** The Black Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS-B; Parham & Helms, 1981; Helms, 1990) is a 50- item scale that measures racial identity status attitudes. Participants respond by using a 5-point Likert-scale (5 strongly agree, 1 strongly

disagree). Scores for each racial identity status attitude scale are obtained by summing responses to the appropriately keyed items. Higher scores indicate more racial identity attitudes. The RIAS-B was designed to capture the essence of these attitudes and was intended to be a personality measure evolving from a Black perspective that could be used to theorize about and assess the personality characteristics of Black samples (Parham & Helms, 1981). There are four subscales that correspond to the four statuses of Black racial identity development (Preencounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization). Preencounter attitudes are characterized by one's reliance on White culture for self-definition. An individual in this status would possess negative attitudes about one's own Blackness. White culture and society are seen as ideal. Race is not a salient aspect of one's identity and this individual will attempt to deny membership in this group (i.e. anti- Black, pro-White). Encounter attitudes are characterized by ambivalence and confusion concerning one's own socioracial group commitment. This status begins when an individual has a personal and challenging racial experience. Consequently, an individual in this status will experience a growing need to become more aligned with one's Black identity. Individuals high on Immersion/emersion status attitudes idealize their racial group and denigrate things that are considered "White" (Helms, 1990). According to Carter (1991), "psychologically, the individual may feel anxious about his or her new identity and hostile and angry toward Whites" (p. 106). Internalization status attitudes are characterized by a positive commitment to one's own socioracial group, internally defined racial attributes, and capacity to assess and respond objectively to members of the dominant group. Individuals with high levels of Internalization attitudes are believed to have a positive Black identity and investment in the culture.

***Reliability and Validity Estimates.*** Parham and Helms (1981) have reported the following internal consistency reliability coefficients for the four statuses: Pre - encounter .76, Encounter .51, Immersion–Emersion .69 and Internalization .80. Bailey et al. (2011) found similar reliability coefficients ranging from .69 to .80. Additionally, Forsyth and Carter (2014) found consistent reliability coefficients: Pre-encounter, .78, Encounter, .53, Immersion– Emersion, .76, and Internalization, .66. For the purposes of the current investigation, only the Internalization scale was used with a reliability coefficient of .69.

As evidence of the validity of the scale, statuses have been found to be differentially related to respondents' strategies for coping with racism and psychological health variables (Forsyth & Carter, 2014), and life satisfaction (Heads & Castillo, 2014). Ponterotto and Wise (1987) examined the construct validity of the RIAS–B and found strong support for the constructs of Preencounter, Immersion–Emersion, and Internalization. Concurrent validity of the RIAS-B has been established by positive correlations between racial identity statuses and constructs such as cultural mistrust and African self-consciousness (Woodard, 2014; Fontaine, 2013).

### **Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI)**

The Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers, et al., 1997) includes 51 items designed to assess the underlying constructs of the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI). The MMRI and its constructs focus on African Americans' beliefs regarding the significance of race in (a) how they define themselves and (b) the qualitative meanings that they ascribe to membership in that racial group. Thus, the primary phenomena that the MMRI attempts to describe are attitudes and beliefs that may influence behaviors. In an attempt to delineate the significance and meaning of race in the self-concepts of African Americans, the

researchers of the MMRI have delineated four dimensions: identity salience, the centrality of the identity, the ideology associated with the identity, and the regard in which the person holds African Americans. Salience and centrality refer to the significance of race, whereas ideology and regard refer to the qualitative meaning that individuals ascribe to their membership in the Black community. Of the four dimensions, only salience is situationally influenced, the other dimensions are believed to be relatively stable across situations (Shelton & Sellers, 1996). The 51-item version of the MIBI (Sellers et al., 1997) consists of four 9-item Ideology subscales, a 7-item Private Regard subscale, and an 8-item Centrality subscale. For the purposes of this investigation, the Private Regard and Centrality subscales of the MIBI were used.

***Reliability and Validity Estimates.*** Sellers et al (1997) found adequate internal consistency estimates of subscale scores with Cronbach's alphas ranging from .60 to .79. In the current study, reliability coefficients for the two MIBI subscales of Private Regard and Centrality were .78 and .80, respectively.

Sellers et al. (1997) also reported convergent and concurrent validity evidence with the Centrality and Nationalist subscales being negatively correlated with the Contact with Whites subscale ( $-.46$  and  $-.41$ , respectively), and positively correlated with the Contact with Blacks subscale ( $.39$  and  $.40$ , respectively) of the Interracial Contact Scale (Wegner & Shelton, 1995). Sellers, Copeland-Linder, Martin, & L'Heureux Lewis (2006) found that Private Regard was positively correlated with psychological well-being ( $r = .28$ ,  $p < .05$ ) and both Private Regard and Centrality were negatively correlated with depression ( $r = -.18$ ,  $r = -.02$ ,  $p < .05$ , respectively).

### ***Racism-Related Coping Scale (RRCS)***

The Racism-Related Coping Scale (RRCS; Forsyth & Carter, 2014) includes 59 items designed to assess situational coping strategies used to deal with and resist racism. The scale assesses the frequency of usage of specific coping strategies for the type of racial encounter on a 4 point Likert scale: 0-did not use, 1-used a little, 2-used a lot, 3-used a great deal. The eight subscales included in the RRCS are: Bargaining, Hypervigilance, Social Support, Confrontation, Empowered Action, Spiritual, Racial Consciousness, and Constrained Resistance. Higher scores on each subscale mean more frequent use of the scale's respective racism-related coping strategy.

*Bargaining* strategies refer to mostly cognitive coping strategies focused on respondents making sense of their experience, examining their responsibility in the occurrence of the incident, and modifying their behavior in an effort to manage others' perceptions. *Hypervigilant* strategies include caution and sensitivity in cross-racial interactions, the use of avoidance to prevent future racial incidents, and cognitive preoccupation with the incident. *Social support* refers to strategies include many efforts to find and provide support to oneself and others.

*Confrontation* strategies include direct expression of anger and/ or communication with perpetrator in racial incident. *Empowered Action* strategies are focused on utilizing community and/or legal resources to make perpetrators involved in the racial incident accountable for their actions. *Spiritual* strategies include seeking support from religious institutions, figures, or books, or through spiritual practices such as prayer, meditation, and/or singing. *Racial consciousness* refers to efforts to connect with or express one's cultural heritage and history and to take action



against racism. *Constrained Resistance* strategies refer to both passive efforts to resist racism such as work-slowing strategies or use of drugs and alcohol and active efforts such as used of intimidation.

Forsyth & Carter (2014) found differential associations between Black racial identity statuses, psychological symptoms and the racism-related coping scales. In the current study, racism-related coping strategies that have been found to be positively correlated with mature racial identity and psychological health (i.e., BRIAS-Internalization) were used (Forsyth & Carter, 2014). These coping strategies included Spiritual Coping, Empowered Action, Constrained Resistance, and Confrontation.

***Reliability and Validity Estimates.*** In a study that utilized this scale with a sample of 233 Black American adults Cronbach's alpha coefficients were as follows: Bargaining = .80, Hypervigilance = .90, Social Support = .87, Confrontation = .87, Empowered Action = .87, Spiritual = .85, Racial Consciousness = .85 and Constrained Resistance = .81. As mentioned, in the current study on the following scales were used, Confrontation, Empowered Action, Spiritual, and Constrained Resistance. The current study's reliability coefficients were as follows: Constrained Resistance (.78), Empowered Action (.87), Spiritual (.89), and Confrontation (.86).

Construct validity was established for this scale through examination of bivariate correlations with the Africultural Coping Systems Inventory (ACSI), a measure of culture-specific coping strategies for African Americans. All of the RRCS subscales were associated with the scales of the ACSI (Forsyth & Carter, 2014).

### ***The Communalism Scale***

The Communalism Scale (Boykin, Jagers, Ellison, & Albury, 1997) is comprised of 40 items, 31 items related to a communal social ethos and 9 control items. The communal items assess the degree to which respondents are socially interdependent, value social relationships, and adhere to a group orientation. Items responses are on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from 1-completely false to 6-completely true. A sum of the 31 items is used to score the Communalism scale then divided by 31 to generate a score of 1-6. Higher scores indicated higher orientation to communalism.

***Reliability and Validity Estimates.*** Initial validation of this scale yielded Cronbach's alpha coefficients ranging from .84 - .87 with 4 samples totaling to 135 African American college students (Boykin, Jagers, Ellison, & Albury, 1997). In addition, test-retest reliability was .89. In a sample of 188 African American undergraduate students, a Cronbach's alpha of .86 was found (Harris & Molock, 2000). A Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .82 was found with a sample of 83 African American adults with a mean age of 33.6 years (Bediako & Neblett, 2011). In the current study, the scale reliability coefficient was .90.

Construct validity for the scale was established by examining the relationships between the scale and the Scales of Social Interdependence (Johnson & Norem-Hebeisen, 1979) showing that cooperative attitudes were positively correlated with Communalism scores. Additionally, Communalism scores were inversely related to competitive attitudes (Boykin, Jagers, Ellison, & Albury, 1997).

### ***African –American Collectivism Scale***

Lukwago, Kreuter, Bucholtz, Holt, and Clark (2001) created a six-item collectivism scale for African Americans was established in order to capture the extent of one’s belief that the basic unit of society is the family, not the individual. Items from this scale include, “In your opinion, how important is it that you and your family do everything you can to help each other move ahead in life?” Responses are measured on a 4-point Likert scale from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 4 (Strongly Agree).

***Reliability and Validity Estimates.*** This scale was found to have high internal consistency ( $\alpha = .93$ ), as well as test-retest reliability ( $r = .85, p < .001$ ) in a sample of urban African American women (Lukwago, Kreuter, Bucholtz, Holt, & Clark, 2001). No validity information is currently available for this scale. In the current study, the Cronbach’s alpha was .86.

### ***The Spirituality Scale***

Jagers, Boykin, and Smith (1997) created The Spirituality Scale which is a 20 item measure designed to assess spirituality from an Africultural perspective (Jagers & Smith, 1996). Response options are on a 6 point Likert scale ranging from 1-completely false to 6-completely true.

***Reliability and Validity Estimates.*** Initial validation of the scale yielded Cronbach’s alphas of .84-.87 and test-retest reliability was reported as .88. An internal consistency coefficient of .78 was reported for a sample of 362 Black adults (Smith & Suto, 2012). In the current study, the Cronbach’s alpha for this scale is .83.

Convergent validity is established through positive associations with scales measuring personality agency, spiritual well-being, and religious motivation (Jagers & Boykin, 1994). In addition, discriminant validity is evidenced by the scale capturing a unique Africultural spirituality in the Black community, shown by disparate associations between Blacks and Whites with the Spirituality Scale and existential well-being (Jagers & Smith, 1996). A sample item from the scale is as follows: “Though I may go to the doctor when I’m ill, I also pray.”

### ***Daily Spiritual Experiences Scale***

The Daily Spiritual Experiences Scale (DSES; Underwood & Teresi, 2002) is a 16-item self-report measure designed to assess one’s spiritual experiences as an important aspect of how religiousness/spirituality is expressed in daily life for many people. The measure includes constructs such as awe, gratitude, mercy, sense of connection with the transcendent, compassionate love, and desire for closeness to God. It also includes measures of awareness of discernment/inspiration and transcendent sense of self. Fifteen items are scored on a 6 point Likert scale from 1 (many times) to 6 (never). A sample item is “I feel God’s love for me through others.” The last item asks respondents, “In general how close do you feel to God” and respondents can respond on a Likert scale from 1 (not at all) to 4 (as close as possible). This item is then reverse-scored.

***Reliability and Validity Estimates.*** The measure has been consistently reliable, with Cronbach’s alpha typically above .89 (Underwood, 2011). In the current study, the Cronbach’s alpha is .97.

Underwood and Teresi (2002) established convergent validity, with participants who did not follow a religion reporting low daily spiritual experiences and those who did follow a religion reporting frequent daily spiritual experiences.

### ***Racial Socialization Scale***

Hughes and Chen (1997) developed a scale of racial socialization, designed to assess how one has been socialized around their racial group membership. The scale includes three subscales: preparation for racial bias, cultural socialization, and racial mistrust. A sample item from the preparation for racial bias subscale, made up of 7 items, is “Did your parents ever talk with you about racism or discrimination?” The cultural socialization subscale also includes 7 items, in which one item reads, “Did your parents take you to your group’s cultural events?” The racial mistrust subscale, made up of two items, includes “Did your parents teach you not to trust other groups?” Each item is scored on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (never) to 5 (always). Convergent validity was established through positive correlations between those who received preparation for bias and cultural socialization subscales and those who had communicated messages related to preparation for bias and cultural socialization (Hughes & Chen, 1997). Psychometric properties of the Racial Socialization Scale subscales were not reported in the initial validation manuscript (Hughes & Chen, 1997). Therefore, the preparation for bias and cultural socialization subscales were used in the current study.

***Reliability Estimates.*** Reliability coefficients of .86 and .81 for Preparation for Bias and Cultural Socialization, respectively have been reported (Hughes & Johnson, 2001). In the current

study, Cronbach's alphas were as follows: Preparation for Bias (.90) and Cultural Socialization (.88).

### ***The Satisfaction with Life Scale***

The Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS; Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985) is a five-item Likert-type scale intended to evaluate a person's judgment about their overall satisfaction with life. In completing the SWLS, participants indicate their degree of agreement or disagreement with each item using a 7-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree). Scores on the SWLS range from 5 to 35, with higher scores indicating greater life satisfaction.

***Reliability and Validity Estimates.*** This scale has been used with Black adult samples with acceptable reliability coefficients ranging from .72 to .82 (Utsey, Ponterotto, Reynolds, & Cancelli, 2000; Utsey, Payne, Jackson, & Jones, 2002). In the current study, the Cronbach's alpha for the SWLS was .88.

### ***Mental Health Inventory-38***

The MHI-38 (Viet & Ware, 1983) is a measure used to assess mental health emotions and symptoms. The measure has 38-items and consists of two global scales, Psychological Distress and Psychological Well-Being, six subscales, and the Global Mental Health Index. Only the Psychological Well-Being scale will be used in this study as the theoretical model proposes *Black Cultural Strength* as a measure of well-being. Higher scores on the Psychological Well-Being subscale indicate more participant well-being. Forsyth and Carter (2014) found a

Cronbach's alpha of .95 for the well-being scale in a student of Black American adults. In the current investigation, the Psychological Well-Being subscale's Cronbach's alpha was .88.

### **Data Analysis Plan**

The purpose of this study was to test a proposed theoretical model of *Black Cultural Strength*. Given the extreme social and economic oppression that Black people have faced in the U.S., it is important to understand how this group was able to survive and thrive within this society. Work from historians and anthropologists suggest that Blacks were able to hold onto African cultural values throughout American slavery and post-slavery America (Du Bois, 1924; Du Bois & Edwards, 2008). Further, these scholars suggest these cultural values, such as being oriented toward the well-being of the group rather than focused on the needs of one individual, made the survival of Blacks possible. Empirical research supports this assertion as measures of communalism, cultural spirituality, positive elements of racial socialization, effective coping with racism, and mature racial identity have been found to be positively correlated with psychological health. However, researchers have generally studied these cultural values in isolation or looked at the relationship between only two (e.g. racial identity and racial socialization). A model of *Black Cultural Strength* was investigated in which these cultural variables were examined together as cultural orientations that were associated with psychological health and one's general satisfaction with their lives. Structural equation modeling was used to test the model and its various elements.

Structural equation modeling (SEM) is a multivariate data analytic strategy that provides a direct method of examining the relation between responses to items and the latent trait the

responses represent (Kline, 2005). It can be viewed as a combination of factor analysis and regression or path analysis (Byrne, 2013). Unlike most approaches, SEM takes a confirmatory approach to data analysis where patterns of relations among variables are specified a priori based on theoretical expectations. To measure how well the theoretical model being tested actually matches the data at hand, goodness-of-fit statistics are examined. In the present study model fit was determined by five goodness-of-fit indices: the chi-square test, comparative fit index (CFI), Tucker-Lewis index (TLI), standard root mean square residual (SRMR) and root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA).

SEM offers the opportunity to test the relationship of the theorized measurable cultural variables together, as well as test the existence of latent, or non-measured constructs, *Black Cultural Strength*.

### **Overview of Proposed Structural Equation Model**

For the purpose of testing the model of Black Cultural Strength, the current study's model, depicted in Figure 1, consisted of the following latent variables: Communalism, Cultural Spirituality, Effective Racism-Related Coping, Positive Racial Socialization, and Mature Black Racial Identity as indicators of *Black Cultural Strength*, another latent variable. In addition, the observed variables: psychological well-being and life satisfaction were indicators of the latent variable, *Psychosocial Health*. The relationship between the latent variables, *Black Cultural Strength* and *Psychosocial Health*, was tested as well. The existence of the latent variables was tested in the measurement model (Figure 1). The relationship between the latent variables of *Black Cultural Strength* and *Psychosocial Health* was tested in the structural model (Figure 4).



## Overview of Original Measurement Model

The Measurement Model which tests the relationships of the observed measured indicators to the latent variables. The measurement model tests the correlations between the latent variables, and the correlations among the error associated with the observed indicators (Kline, 2005). For example, constrained resistance, empowered action, spiritual coping, and confrontation are indicator variables (i.e., pictorially depicted as rectangles) hypothesized to measure the proposed latent variable of effective racism-related coping.

The measurement model was derived from the proposed model of *Black Cultural Strength*, informed by research in the areas of Black racial identity, racial socialization, communalism, cultural spirituality, and racism-related coping. The theoretical model tested included the constructs theorized to combine to create the underlying construct of *Black Cultural Strength*. These constructs included mature Black Racial Identity status attitudes, Communalism, cultural spirituality, positive racial socialization, and effective racism-related coping strategies.

The latent construct, mature Black Racial Identity is indicated by the total score of the 12 items of the Internalization subscale of the Black Racial Identity Attitudes Scale, and the total sum scores of the 7- item Private Regard and 8- item Centrality scales of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity. Communalism is indicated by two measures of communalism, the total sum score of the 40 items of The Communalism Scale (Boykin, Jagers, Ellison, & Albury, 1997) and the total sum score of the 6 items of the African American Collectivism Scale (Lukwago, Kreuter, Bucholtz, Holt, & Clark, 2001). Indication of cultural spirituality was done with the total sum score of the 25 items of the Spirituality Scale (SS; Jagers, Boykin, & Smith, 1997) and the total sum score of the 16 items of the Daily Spiritual Experiences Scale

(Underwood & Teresi, 2002). Positive racial socialization was indicated by the total sum scores of the 7 item Cultural Socialization and 7 item Preparation for Bias subscales of the Racial Socialization Scale (RSS; Hughes & Chen, 1997). Lastly, effective racism-related coping was indicated by total sum scores comprised of the items of the Empowered Action (9 items), Constrained Resistance (6 items), Spiritual coping (7 items), and Confrontation (8 items) subscales of the Racism Relating Coping Scale (RRCS; Forsyth & Carter, 2014). See Figure 1.

In addition, Psychosocial Health was indicated by psychological well-being and life satisfaction. Psychological well-being was operationalized by the total sum score of the 5 items from the Mental Health Inventory – 38 well-being subscale (Veit & Ware, 1983). Life satisfaction was operationalized by the total sum score of the 5 items of the Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985).

The structural model tested the relationship between the two latent variables of *Black Cultural Strength* and *Psychosocial Health*, such that *Black Cultural Strength* would be positively associated with psychosocial health.

### **Power Analysis and Necessary Sample Size**

Soper's (2017) online power calculator is designed to estimate the minimum sample size required to reach one's desire level of power, given the complexity of the structural model (i.e., number of observed and latent variables) and anticipated effect size. Given the desired power of .80, fifteen observed variables and 7 latent variables (see Figure 1), and anticipated medium effect size (.30), a minimum sample size of 170 was recommended to detect a medium effect and 366 was recommended given the complexity of the model.

In addition, Weston and Gore (2006) recommend 10-20 participants for each parameter being estimated in the model. For the proposed model (Figure 1), 29 parameters were being estimated, therefore according to Weston and Gore (2006), a sample size of 290 – 580.

### **Model Fit Indices**

The measurement model was tested for “goodness of fit” to determine how well the hypothesized model “fits” the observed, sample data. “Goodness of fit” essentially refers to the extent to which the *predicted* co-variances (or correlations/relationships) differ from the *observed* co-variances (Barrett, 2007).

When testing complex models in SEM, as noted by Kline (2005), reporting multiple fit estimates is necessary given that different statistics reflect different dimensions of model fit. It is suggested that at least three indices meet criteria for the model to demonstrate a good fit (Hu & Bentler, 1999).

The Chi-Square test statistic ( $\chi^2$ ) “assesses the magnitude of discrepancy between the sample and fitted covariance matrices” (Hu & Bentler, 1999, p. 2). Models demonstrating a “good fit” would yield an insignificant result (Barrett, 2007). Chi-square is highly sensitive to large sample size and multivariate normality, and as such has substantial limitations as an estimate of absolute fit.

Similar to the Chi-Square statistic, the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) tests the extent to which relationships between variables predicted by the model differ from those that emerged in the observed data. Although acceptable values of the RMSEA range from .05 to .10, scholars agree that a good fitting model should have a value below .06, or not exceed .07 (Steiger, 2007). The Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR) is another

absolute fit index and its value should be .08 or lower to demonstrate a reasonable fit, and less than .05 to indicate a good fitting model (Hu and Bentler, 1999).

The comparative and incremental fit indices Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI), Comparative Fit Index (CFI), assess fit relative to a baseline model (Hooper et al., 2008). The CFI statistic values range from 0.0 and 1.0, with values closer to 1.0 indicating a good model fit. Although there is some debate over the recommended cut-off values for the CFI, values between .90 and .95 are generally accepted as reflecting adequate to good model fit (Hooper et al., 2008; Hu & Bentler, 1999). The Tucker Lewis Index (TLI) values between .90 and .95 are generally accepted as reflecting good model fit (Hooper et al., 2008).

### **Test of Measurement Model**

MPLUS, Version 7.3 was used to test the originally Proposed Measurement Model (Figure 2) which included the aforementioned indicators of the latent variables: mature Black racial identity, positive racial socialization, effective racism-related coping, communalism, and cultural spirituality. Due to the slight non-normality of the indicator variables, the maximum likelihood parameter estimation method was utilized due to its robustness in the face of non-normal data (Anderson & Gerbing, 1984).

The measurement model was tested first to ensure its validity prior to evaluating the structural model (Byrne, 2001). Confirmatory factor analysis was used to test the fit of the proposed measurement model. The findings pertaining to the correlations between the latent variables as well as whether the observed indicators measured the latent variables they were hypothesized to measure are presented in the Chapter that follows.

The results of the measurement model were compared with fit indices (chi-squared with df and corresponding p value; CFI, TLI, RMSEA, and SRMR). Although parameter adequacy

was evaluated, the crucial factor in evaluating the measurement model is to determine the factor loadings of the scales and the overall fit of the model. The strength of the factor loadings provides evidence of the reliability of the observed indicators to measure the underlying factor.

## Chapter IV

### RESULTS

#### **Preliminary Data Analyses**

Preliminary analysis included checking for missing data, outliers, assumptions of causal models. Missing data included participants who did not fill out the survey in its entirety. The study data assessed for both univariate and multivariate outliers. Multivariate normality is a common assumption in the data of SEM. It means that all univariate distributions are normal, that the linear combinations of the variables are normal and that all bivariate scatterplots are linear and homoscedastic (Kline, 2005). Appendix Y depicts the normality statistics for all variables and indicates that some variables had a skew or kurtosis on the borderline. For this reason, steps were taken in order to conduct primary analyses that accounted for the skewness and kurtosis in the study variables (i.e., using the maximum likelihood method for SEM to account for non-normality in variables).

The descriptive statistics for the overall sample are presented in Table 2, which shows the means, standard deviations, range, and alphas of the BRIAS-Internalization, MIBI – Private Regard, MIBI – Centrality, Racism-Related Coping Scale subscales: Confrontation, Empowered Action, Constrained Resistance, and Spiritual, The Mental Health Inventory – Well-Being, Satisfaction with Life Scale, Racial Socialization Scale subscales: Cultural Socialization, Preparation for Bias, and The Communalism Scale and African American Collectivism Scale.

A Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) was conducted to determine whether statistically significant differences in model variables were present among demographic groups (gender, education level, social class, sexual orientation, marital status) within the sample.

Gender, educational level, social class, sexual orientation, and marital status were entered as independent variables and the study scales were entered as dependent variables.

Prior to conducting the MANOVA some of the levels of the demographic variables were collapsed due to small sample sizes. There were only nine participants who identified as transgender. Therefore, in order to reduce the risk of finding significant results for gender based on a disproportionately low number of trans-identified people in the sample, those nine individuals were removed from the sample for these analyses. Further, there were only two participants who identified as upper class. These individuals were added in with the forty participants who identified as upper middle class. Due to only twelve participants, combined, identifying as having some high school or lower (i.e., nursery school to 8<sup>th</sup> grade) as their highest level of education, these groups were collapsed to make a group of twelve with ‘less than high school education.’ Similarly, participants who said their marital status was ‘divorced’ ( $N = 36$ ), ‘widowed’ ( $N = 4$ ), or ‘separated’ ( $N = 8$ ) were collapsed into a ‘Separated or Formerly Married’ group. Using a Bonferroni correction, the significance level was reduced to .002, in order to protect against a Type I error.

None of the demographic variables had a significant impact on the study variables. Gender did not significantly impact scores on the study variables ( $F(15,30) = 1.392, p = .002$ ). Socioeconomic status and highest level of education also did not significantly impact scores on study variables ( $(F(15, 45) = 1.171, p = .016; F(15, 120) = 1.164, p = .016)$ , respectively). Lastly, marital status and sexual orientation did not have a significant impact on participants’ scores on study variables ( $(F(15, 30) = 1.410, p = .007; F(15, 30) = 1.243, p = .002)$ , respectively)). Full MANOVA results can be found in Table 3.

Multicollinearity can cause problems with SEM, essentially indicating that some variables, if too highly correlated, are redundant (Weston & Gore, 2006). Kline (2005) recommends that bivariate correlations higher than .85 can be possibly problematic. Interscale correlations between all model variables (e.g. BRIAS-Internalization, MIBI – Private Regard, MIBI – Centrality, Racism-Related Coping Scale subscales: Confrontation, Empowered Action, Constrained Resistance, and Spiritual, The Mental Health Inventory – Well-Being, Satisfaction with Life Scale, Racial Socialization Scale subscales: Cultural Socialization, Preparation for Bias, and the Communalism Scale and African American Collectivism Scale: Table 3). Based on these correlations, there is no evidence of multicollinearity issues.

### **Structural Equation Modeling Results**

The results will be organized in the following manner 1) Original measurement model results (relationship of indicators to latent variables), 2) Re-specified Measurement model, 3) Structural Model Results, and 4) a summary of findings as they relate to the original theoretical and empirical hypotheses.

As seen in Table 4, all of the maximum likelihood estimates of the factor loadings (i.e., the unstandardized factor loadings) are statistically significant. In addition, all of standardized factor loadings are above the commonly use standards of .30 or .40 (Kline, 2005). In substantive terms, these findings indicate that all of the observed indicators are well related to the latent variables that they are presumed to measure.

However, the hypothesized model could not be established based on the fit indices. With respect to the goodness-of-fit indices for the proposed indicators of each first-order latent variables (Mature Racial Identity, Positive Racial Socialization, Effective Racism Related Coping, Communalism, and Cultural Spirituality, Psychosocial Health; and second-order latent



variable, Black Cultural Strength, results of the confirmatory factor analysis indicate that the model does not fit the data well. Specifically, the model chi-square statistic is statistically significant  $\chi^2$  (df = 84, N = 496) = 628.695,  $p < .001$ , indicating that this model does not reproduce the observed covariances well. The chi-square degrees of freedom ratio (CMIN/df) was 7.48 which is outside of the recommended ration of 3-5. In addition, the Comparative Fit Index (CFI) is .78 and the Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI) is .73, both of which are below the recommended cut-offs. Further, the RMSEA is .11 and the SRMR is .10 both of which are outside of their recommended ranges.

### **Re-Specification of Measurement Model**

#### *Modification Indices*

Weston and Gore (2006) note that rarely does the proposed model result in the best fitting model. In addition, these authors assert that modifications to a poor fitting model should be done judiciously and with regard to theory. Examination of modification indices produced by MPLUS (Table 5) shows modifications to the original model that can result in a statistically significant (3.84 or higher) decrease in the  $\chi^2$ . Of these, the modification that stands out is ‘Cultural Spirituality by Spirituality Scale.’ This modification index indicates that while in the original model the Spirituality Scale total sum score factor loading on *Cultural Spirituality* was estimated to be 0, if the Spirituality Scale were freely estimated, it would result in a standardized loading of .738 on *Cultural Spirituality*. In addition, allowing this parameter to be freely estimated would decrease the  $\chi^2$  by 241 points. Given that this is a large, originally un-estimated factor loading, the modification was further considered. An additional modification index suggested that if freely estimated, there would be a .382 correlation between the errors associated with the latent variables: *Positive Racial Socialization* and *Effective Racism-Related Coping*. Further, allowing

these errors to be correlated (as opposed to being zero in the original model), would decrease the  $\chi^2$  by 31.41 points.

### *Theoretical Considerations for Model Modifications*

In re-specifying a model in confirmatory factor analysis, it is important to do so thoughtfully and only if the modification is theoretically sound. In the current study, two potential model modifications were considered. First, modification indices suggest that racism-related spiritual coping loads on to two factors: Effective Racism-Related Coping (as originally proposed) and Cultural Spirituality. As discussed in previous chapters, cultural spirituality refers to one's belief (and associated behaviors) that nonmaterial and nonobservable life forces have governing powers in one's life. Racism related spiritual coping refer to one's reliance on faith in God or a higher power, prayer, and seeking guidance from religious institutions and literature. It is reasonable to accept that one's level of cultural spirituality, or oneness with nonmaterial life forces could be associated with one's reliance on this aspect of their life as a means of managing difficult situations including instances of racism. In fact, some researchers offer empirical findings that may support this notion. Lewis- Coles and Constantine (2006) found an association between general use of spiritual-centered coping and levels of institutional racism-related stress. Further, one's general use of prayer and seeking guidance from religious leaders and institutions served as a buffer between neuroticism and negative affect following a racist incident (Pearson, Derlega, Henson, Holmes, Ferrer, & Harrison, 2014). Unlike the current study, measures of spiritual and religious coping were not specific to racism, they do provide empirical rationale for the proposed modification and thus this modification was made in the re-specific measurement model.

Modification indices also suggested that errors associated with *Positive Racial Socialization* and *Effective Racism Related Coping* were moderately correlated. Positive racial socialization experiences are one's designed to both orient someone to the Black cultural group (e.g., visiting an African-American art exhibit) and prepare one to encounter racial bias in some form. Effective racism-related coping can include utilizing strategies such as taking legal action, working slower as a means of resistance, approaching the perpetrating party(ies) in order to get one's point across, or praying. By definition, racial socialization includes an element of preparation for racial bias. Therefore, racial socialization may reflect not only someone's socialization experiences that were designed to prepare them that racial bias exists, but further how to manage these instances when they arise. Scott (2003) found that adolescents' use of approach coping strategies (i.e., seeking social support, making a plan then doing it) was positively correlated with racism related racial socialization messages. Alternatively, racism related racial socialization messages were not related to avoidant coping strategies (i.e., distancing and internalizing). The effective racism-related coping strategies used in the current study from Forsyth and Carter's (2014) effective racism-related coping scale include strategies that at face value seem to be approach coping strategies. Therefore, the correlated errors between positive racial socialization and effective racism-related coping may reflect an unexamined latent variable, *promotion and use of approach coping strategies*. This notion will be discussed further in Chapter 5, however given the theoretical and empirical evidence for the validity of these errors being correlated, *Positive Racial Socialization* and *Effective Racism-Related Coping* were correlated in the re-specified measurement model.

Therefore, the re-specified measurement model consisted of seven latent factors: *Mature Racial Identity* was indicated by the total sum scores of BRIAS – Internalization, MIBI – Private

Regard, and MIBI- Centrality; *Cultural Spirituality* was indicated by the total sum scores of the Daily Spiritual Experiences Scale, Spirituality Scale, and Spiritual coping scale of the Racism-Related Coping Scale (Forsyth & Carter, 2014); *Communalism* was indicated by the total sum scores of The Communalism Scale and the African-American Collectivism Scale; *Effective Racism–Related Coping* was indicated by the Constrained Resistance, Spiritual coping, Empowered Action, and Confrontation scales of the Racism-Related Coping Scale; and *Positive Racial Socialization* was indicated by the total sum scores of the Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias scales of the Racial Socialization Scale.

Further, the latent variables of *Mature Racial Identity*, *Cultural Spirituality*, *Communalism*, *Effective Racism-Related Coping*, and *Positive Racial Socialization* indicated the second-order latent variable, *Black Cultural Strength*. The errors associated with Effective Racism Related Coping and Positive Racial Socialization were freed (in order to allow them to be correlated). Lastly, the total sum scores of MHI-38 psychological well-being scale and the Satisfaction with Life Scale indicated the latent variable, *Psychosocial Health*.

#### *Comparing the Original and Re-Specified Measurement Models*

With respect to goodness-of-fit indices for the overall re-specified model (see Figure 3): Confirmatory Factor Analysis results indicate that the model fits the data moderately well. Specifically, the model fit indices were:  $\chi^2 (N = 496; df = 82) = 285.453$ ,  $p < .001$ ; CMIN/df = 3.84; CFI = .92, TLI = .90; RMSEA = .071, and SRMR = .061, all of which indicate a good fit. Results are shown in Appendix AD.

As seen in Table 6, all of the maximum likelihood estimates of the factor loadings (i.e., the unstandardized factor loadings) are statistically significant. In addition, all of the standardized factor loadings are well above the commonly used standards .30 or .40 (Kline,

2005). In substantive terms, these findings indicate that all of the observed indicators are related to the latent variables that they are presumed to measure. Based on these results, the revised measurement model was deemed to accurately reflect the latent variables in the study.

To ensure that the re-specified model is a better fitting model than the original measurement model, it is recommended to compare the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) predictive fit index. This fit index has little utility in examining the fit of one model, but is useful when comparing two models, with lower scores indicated better fit. The AIC for the original measurement model is 47001.411, while the AIC for the re-specified model was 46634.192. Therefore, given the improvement of the CFI, TLI, RMSEA, SRMR, and lower AIC, it is concluded that the re-specified model fits the data better than the original measurement model.

#### **Test of Black Cultural Strength SEM Structural Model**

The structural model examined the relationship between the latent variable, Black Cultural Strength, and the latent variable: Psychosocial Health, which was indicated by total sum scores on measures life satisfaction and psychological well-being. Goodness of fit indices were:  $\chi^2$  (df = 83,  $N = 496$ ) = 321.578,  $p < .001$ . Again, because finding a statistically significant model chi-square is fairly common in large sample sizes, other goodness-of-fit indices are reported. The CMIN/df however was acceptable (3.87). Alternative indices indicated an acceptable fit including the Comparative Fit Index (CFI) = .90, Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI) = .90, Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR) = .069, and the Root Mean Error of Approximation (RMSEA) = .076 (CI = .068 – .085). Given five of the six fit indices were acceptable, the model was deemed an acceptable fit. The direct effects in the path diagram (i.e., the “path coefficients”), are presented in Figure 4 and maximum likelihood estimates for the model are included in Table 7. Overall the results support the proposed structural equation model

hypotheses and are briefly discussed below. The implications of these results including study limitations are discussed in the next chapter.

***Hypothesis I: Mature Racial Identity will be positively predictive of higher Internalization Black racial identity status attitudes, Black centrality attitudes, and Black private regard attitudes.*** The direct effects from *Mature Racial Identity* to BRIAS-Internalization, MIBI – Centrality, and MIBI – Private Regard are consistent with theoretical expectation (Hypothesis 1). That is to say, the more mature racial identity Black Americans possess, the more Black racial identity Internalization status attitudes ( $\beta = .945, p < .001$ ), Black centrality attitudes ( $\beta < .513, p < .001$ ), and Black private regard ( $\beta = .457, p < .001$ ).

***Hypothesis II: Effective Racism Related Coping will be positively predictive of higher use of racism-related coping strategies: constrained resistance, empowered action, spiritual (coping), and confrontation.*** The direct effects from *Effective Racism Related Coping* to Constrained Resistance, Empowered Action, Spiritual (coping), and Confrontation are consistent with theoretical expectation (Hypothesis 2). That is, the more effective racism-related coping Black Americans utilize, the more they use strategies of Constrained Resistance ( $\beta = .437, p < .001$ ), Empowered Action ( $\beta = .855, p < .001$ ), Spiritual ( $\beta = .272, p < .001$ ), and Confrontation ( $\beta = .753, p < .001$ ).

***Hypothesis III: Cultural Spirituality will be positively predictive of higher scores on daily spiritual experiences and African-American spirituality.*** The direct effects from *Cultural Spirituality* to Daily Spiritual Experiences and African-American spirituality are consistent with theoretical expectation (Hypothesis 3). That is, the more cultural spirituality Black Americans

possess, the more daily spiritual experiences they endorse ( $\beta = .924, p < .001$ ). In addition, the more cultural spirituality Black Americans endorse, the more African-American spirituality they endorse ( $\beta = .831, p < .001$ ).

While this hypothesis was supported by the data, given the modification to the original measurement model, *Cultural Spirituality* also was positively predictive of racism-related spiritual coping ( $\beta = .701, p < .001$ ). The implications of this adjustment will be discussed in the next chapter.

***Hypothesis IV: Positive Racial Socialization will be positively predictive of higher exposure to the racial socialization experiences of preparation for bias and cultural socialization.*** The direct effects from *Positive Racial Socialization* to the racial socialization experiences of preparation for bias and cultural socialization were consistent with theoretical expectation (Hypothesis 4). The more positive racial socialization Black Americans have been exposed to, the more preparation for bias experiences they endorse ( $\beta = .738, p < .001$ ) and the more cultural socialization experiences they endorse ( $\beta = .866, p < .001$ ).

***Hypothesis V: Communalism will be positively predictive of higher orientation toward one's community as measured by The Communalism Scale and African-American Collectivism Scale.*** The hypothesized relationships between *Communalism* and communalistic attitudes were upheld in the current investigation. That is, direct effects show that the more *Communalism* Black Americans possess, the higher their endorsement of orientation to their community on The Communalism Scale ( $\beta = .900, p < .001$ ) and African-American Collectivism Scale ( $\beta = .717, p < .001$ ).

***Hypothesis VI: Black Cultural Strength will be positively predictive of Mature Racial Identity, Effective Racism-Related Coping, Positive Racial Socialization, Cultural Spirituality, and Communalism.*** Direct effects are consistent with theoretical expectations (Hypothesis 7) and show that higher endorsement of Black Cultural Strength predicts the more endorsement of Black cultural values of Mature Racial Identity ( $\beta = .736, p < .001$ ), Effective Racism-Related Coping ( $\beta = .408, p < .001$ ), Positive Racial Socialization ( $\beta = .585, p < .001$ ), Cultural Spirituality ( $\beta = .641, p < .001$ ), and Communalism ( $\beta = .868, p < .001$ ).

***Hypothesis VII: Psychosocial Health will be positively predictive of psychological well-being and life satisfaction.*** Direct effects are consistent with theoretical expectations (Hypothesis 8) and show that higher endorsement of Psychosocial Health predicts higher self-reported psychological well-being ( $\beta = .675, p < .001$ ) and life satisfaction ( $\beta = .778, p < .001$ ).

***Hypothesis VIII: Black Cultural Strength will be positively predictive of Psychosocial Health.*** Direct effects are consistent with this hypothesis and *Black Cultural Strength* positively predicts *Psychosocial Health* ( $\beta = .542, p < .001$ ).



## Chapter V

### Discussion

Given the history of Africans in North America, from slavery to post-slavery social and economic oppression, Black Americans today persist due to their ancestors' ability to withstand about four hundred years of harsh treatment. In the U.S., Blacks were thought to be culturally deficient, and for that reason any common practices among them were considered byproducts of treatment by and interactions with Whites. However, scholars from anthropology, history and psychology have identified cultural values that originated in African tribal communities and were retained in Black American communities today. Despite an initial view of Blacks as culturally deficient (Resek, 1960; Gutman, 1976), work of these scholars has moved perspectives on Black culture to culturally different (Boykin, et al., 1997; Jagers, Smith, Mock, & Dill, 1997; Gutman, 1976; Jones, 1980) from the dominant White culture in the U.S. Based on the historical writings of Blacks throughout slavery and post-slavery (e.g., Jim Crow era), specific cultural values have been linked to the promotion of psychosocial health, despite extreme oppression. The current study proposed a strengths-based model of Black culture.

Empirical evidence provides support for a set of interrelated Black cultural values that are positively associated with psychological well-being, life satisfaction, quality of life, and other prosocial variables such as self-esteem and optimism, and negatively related to depression and PTSD (Hughes, Kiecolt, Keith, & Demo, 2015; Watlington & Murphy, 2006; Gooden, 2013; Elmore & Gaylord-Harden, 2013; Forsyth & Carter, 2014; Utsey, Adams, Bolden, 2000). Scholars tend to study the relationships between these cultural values and practices in isolation or between two of these values. So, some studies have shown positive relationships between mature racial identity and racial socialization messages preparing one for racial bias and aimed at

socialization to cultural norms (Anglin & Wade, 2007; Demo & Hughes, 1990; Stevenson, 1995; Sanders-Thompson, 1995). Brown, Love, Tyler, Garriot, Thomas, and Roan-Belle (2013) found similarly higher self-reported communalism was associated with later stages (more mature) racial identity development. Bediako and Harris (2017) found that communalism is an important moderator in understanding the relationship between racial centrality (aspect of mature racial identity) and help-seeking behaviors in the context of pain. Other studies have shown relationships between racism-related coping and racial identity and found that some coping strategies are more closely related to mature racial identity (Forsyth, 2010; Forsyth & Carter, 2012). Additionally, communalism has been associated with cultural spirituality (Jagers, Smith, Mock, & Dill, 1997). These studies lend support for the notion that cultural values are related to one another, but no other studies have examined their cumulative effects on psychosocial health.

The purpose of the current study was to investigate a strengths-based model for Black American culture by considering cultural values that promote psychosocial health. As such, the study sought to identify the cultural values that are related to psychosocial health, investigate their interrelatedness (indicators of one latent factor), and test the relationship between this factor and psychosocial health. The study had two main hypotheses. The first stated that mature racial identity, positive racial socialization, communalism, cultural spirituality, and effective racism-related coping would load onto one latent factor, Black cultural strength. That is, the first aim was to establish if one factor could positively predict higher scores on measures of these cultural values and practices.

The second main hypothesis was, if the theory of a one factor Black cultural strength could be established, it will be positively predictive of psychosocial health. Therefore, the second aim was to test if psychosocial health could be predicted by Black cultural strength.

## Review of Data Analysis

The model of Black Cultural Strength, which was tested using Structural Equation Modeling (SEM), hypothesized that the presence of specific Black cultural values and practices would be positively associated with one's psychosocial health. SEM is a statistical procedure that is a confirmatory technique used to determine if a model is valid for the data in conjunction with prior research. This procedure makes it possible to test the existence of unobserved latent variable which are not directly measured. The structural (i.e., theoretical) model was proposed to test the relationship between two unobserved latent variables (e.g., Black cultural strength and psychosocial health). The measurement model (i.e., actual scales and their relationships to the latent variables) consisted of 7 unobserved latent variables and the following indicators (i.e., observed variables or scale scores) which were established during preliminary analyses as adequate observed measures for each latent variable. The unobserved latent variable *Mature Racial Identity* was predicted by the scale scores of the Black Racial Identity Attitudes Scale – Internalization scale (Parham & Helms, 1981; Helms, 1990), Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity – Centrality scale, and Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity – Private Regard scale (Sellers, et al., 1997). The latent variable *Cultural Spirituality* was predicted by the scale scores of the Daily Spiritual Experiences Scale (Underwood & Teresi, 2002) and the Spirituality Scale (Jagers, Boykin, and Smith, 1997). *Communalism* was predicted by scale scores of The Communalism Scale (Boykin, Jagers, Ellison, & Albury, 1997) and the African-American Collectivism Scale (Lukwago, Kreuter, Bucholtz, Holt, and Clark, 2001). The unobserved, latent variable, *Effective Racism-Related Coping*, was predicted by the scale scores of four scales of the Racism-Related Coping Scale (Forsyth & Carter, 2014): Constrained Resistance, Spiritual (coping), Empowered Action, and Confrontation. *Positive Racial*

*Socialization* was predicted by scale scores of two scales (Preparation for Racial Bias and Cultural Socialization) of the Racial Socialization Scale (Hughes & Chen, 1997). *Psychosocial Health* was predicted by scale scores on the Mental Health Inventory- 38 Well-Being scale (Viet & Ware, 1983) and the Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). It was hypothesized that Black Americans' Black Cultural Strength; indicated by the Black cultural values and practices of mature racial identity, cultural spirituality, communalism, effective racism-related coping, and positive racial socialization; would have a positive effect on their psychosocial health; indicated by one's self-reported psychological well-being and overall satisfaction with life. Although all of the proposed hypotheses were supported, two important modifications were made to the model to achieve model fit. Given that these modifications were made with consideration of past theory and empirical findings, the results of the study showed an overall acceptable model fit. The results therefore provide strong evidence for the assertion that the possession and utilization of specific Black cultural values and behaviors has a positive effect on one's psychosocial health.

### **Black Cultural Strength Structural Equation Model**

To determine if the assertion that Black Cultural Strength was positively predictive of psychosocial health was a good fit for the data, several goodness-of-fit indices were examined. As previously noted, the model fit indexes were as follows:  $\chi^2$  (df =82, N =496) = 285.453,( p < .000), CMIN/df = 3.48, Comparative Fit Index (CFI) = .92, Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI) = .90, Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR) = .061, and the Root Mean Error of Approximation (RMSEA) = .071 (CI = .062 – .080).

The results indicated that the direct structural path between the independent unobserved (latent) variable, Black Cultural Strength, and the dependent unobserved (latent) variable,

Psychosocial Health was significant. The standardized regression coefficient suggests that for every standard deviation increase in Black Cultural Strength, one's Psychosocial Health will increase approximately half a standard deviation. Based on these results, the re-specified measurement model was deemed to accurately reflect the latent variables in the study. In other words, Black Americans possess culturally-specific values and perform culturally-specific practices and behaviors. These cultural values and practices are predictive of one's psychosocial health, which is consistent with the proposed hypothesis. The following explanations are given for the findings.

The present study's findings of the positive effect of Black Cultural Strength on psychosocial health were tested using SEM. The findings provide support that Black Americans who possess and utilize higher levels of Black cultural strength in turn experience higher levels of psychosocial health. The Black cultural strength latent variable, as defined by SEM, is comprised on five factors: mature racial identity, communalism, cultural spirituality, effective racism-related coping, and communalism. One way to understand this finding is that Black Americans possess a variety of interrelated Africultural values and practices that help them function and maintain psychosocial health, even in a racist society.

### **Black Cultural Strength**

As mentioned, Black cultural strength was proposed as a collection of Black cultural values and practices that are interrelated. Based on standardized beta weights, mature racial identity most strongly predicted internalization, followed by private regard, and then centrality. All three indicators were statistically significant indicators of mature racial identity. This finding supports the assertion that select aspects of Black identity, specifically esteem about the Black racial group, feeling one's identity as a Black person is central to their identity, and a positive

commitment to one's own socioracial group with a capacity to assess and respond objectively to members of the dominant group are related to a mature Black identity. It is not surprising that Internalization was mostly strongly predicted by the latent variable, given that this aspect of racial identity encompasses one's view of self and other. That is, internalization does not just assess one's view of themselves as a Black person, but also how they view members of the dominant racial group. The flexibility that those with internalization dominant racial identity statuses may be particularly beneficial to one's psychosocial health, as these individuals may be less distressed by interactions with Whites. The flexibility with which someone with Internalization dominant racial identity status attitudes has, may afford them the ability to be more authentic, especially in cross-racial interactions, because they are not burdened by hostile feelings toward Whites, or the threat of possible racism in these interactions. Further, these individuals may be more equipped to manage race-based conversations and problems in these interactions, that is they may have developed and honed effective ways to cope with racism and practice implementing these strategies.

Private regard and centrality are also important aspects of mature racial identity; however, they were not as strongly predictive of mature racial identity as Internalization racial identity status attitudes. One explanation for this finding is that perhaps because centrality and private regard only capture one's feelings about other Blacks, it misses an important part of the mature racial identity picture which is one's feelings about and ability to tolerate interactions with others outside of the racial group. For example, one may feel positively about being Black and have positive feelings about other Black people (e.g., I think other Blacks are smart and hardworking) and this may lead to overall high self-esteem. However, this same person may also hold hostile feelings toward Whites (e.g., Whites cannot be trusted). Due to feelings of animosity

toward Whites, this person may struggle in their everyday life, given how pervasive cross-racial interactions are in the daily activities of Black Americans. So, someone who just feels that being Black is central to them and has high regard for other Blacks, this attitudes may not be sufficient given that Black Americans spend most of their time as a minority in various settings (e.g., workplace, school).

Another explanation of the finding that Internalization was the strongest predictor of mature racial identity, is that the development of a mature racial identity, as defined by the Helms' (1990) model, is a process by which a Black person does away with a color-blind viewpoint and begins to develop an understanding of how race is important in their lives and in the lives of others. This process is usually prompted by a negative race-based experience. A person can then move into a rigid worldview, where being Black is paramount and they develop an "us versus them" mentality in relation to Whites. A person who possess attitudes dominant in this worldview (Immersion in Helms' model), will be high on Black racial centrality and private regard, that is they will believe that being Black is the most important part of their identity and think positively about other Blacks. Racial centrality and private regard, as stated, are positively associated with a number of positive psychological variables (e.g., self esteem) and therefore racial centrality and private regard seem to promote psychosocial health for Blacks. However, if one stays in this worldview, it can become problematic.

Whites are still a numerical majority in the U.S. and while projections elude to the possibility that there will be no numerical racial group majority by 2050 (Cohn & Caumont, 2016), this assertion can be misleading. While Whites may not make up over 50% of the country, they are projected to still be the largest racial group in the U.S. Further, being a numerical majority or not, does not change the fact that Whites make up an overwhelming majority of both

the House of Representatives and Senate, 80% and 94%, respectively and this trend is also reflected in everyday life, where Whites are more likely to be supervisors, managers, owners, and gatekeepers to numerous institutions (e.g., housing, bank and private loans, etc.). This is all to say, that possessing a high level of Black centrality and private regard at face value is positive, however if one has not developed an ability to face the reality that they will have to work with and for, and rely on Whites to an extent, they may be left particularly vulnerable to frustration when confronted with this reality. Further, Blacks with high private regard may also find it particularly distressing that while they hold positive, possibly even excessively positive views of other Blacks, this does not reflect the views of the majority of Americans. Therefore, instances of racial profiling, discrimination, and violence may result in a higher level of distress for these individuals.

The process of moving past a rigid Afro-centric worldview to a more flexible and balanced view of Blacks and other racial groups may include involvement by other cultural variables of Black cultural strength. For instance, the development of a more integrated Black racial identity may influence one's behaviors and thoughts in specific ways. With regard to racial socialization, one might give more weight to messages they've received that communicated being Black was important but less importance to messages about mistrusting Whites. In turn, they may also pass on racial socialization messages that reflect their mature racial identity (e.g., Not all Whites are racist). A mature racial identity may also influence the types of racism-related coping strategies a person uses. For example, someone who understands that not all Whites are oppressive, may be comfortable using confrontation as a means of coping with racism, and have faith in the efficacy of this method, as opposed to someone who believes Whites will not be capable of understanding the viewpoints of Blacks. What is clear is that one's feelings about



themselves as a Black person and other Blacks is not enough, and that consideration of Blacks' place in the social, political, and economic structure of the U.S. is also important to Black cultural strength.

Two separate measures were used as indicators of communalism. The latent variable, Communalism was strongly predictive of scores on both, The Communalism Scale and the African-American collectivism scale. The discrepancy between how well the latent variable predicted each may point to conceptual concerns. Even after a scale was devised to measure collectivism in a culturally-specific way for Blacks, this seems to not resolve the debate about whether Black Americans are truly collectivistic. Scholars have found that African Americans typically score high on measures of individualism and low on collectivism (Komarraju & Cokley, 2004). These findings might suggest that communalism, a culturally specific approach to understanding interconnectedness between one and their community, is superior to collectivism, even when attempts are made to make this concept more culturally based.

Another alternative explanation may be that being individualistic and collectivistic for African Americans are not mutually exclusive. That is, the previous empirical finding that African Americans score high on individualism may be an important cultural consideration for this group, and not a product of poor or culturally devoid constructs. It may be that Black Americans score high on individualism because independence and self-reliance are important especially in majority White environments. For example, Black American students attending predominantly White colleges may find that independence and self-reliance are not only highly valuable, but essential to survival in these settings. Further, this individualism may not seem to be separate from Blacks' high value of the needs of their communities. That is, one's individual talents and uniqueness can be particularly beneficial to the group overall, such as being the only

person from the family to attend college and serving as a role model for younger generations. Conceptually, if collectivism is defined as opposite of or not related to individualism, this can misrepresent the usefulness of individualism for Blacks in relation to their community orientation.

Cultural spirituality was indicated by a measure of generic spirituality, African spirituality, and racism-related spiritual coping. Generic spirituality was most strongly predicted by the latent variable, cultural spirituality, followed by Africultural spirituality, and then racism-related spiritual coping. This is somewhat unexpected given that a culturally-syntonic spirituality should be more related to Black cultural strength and ultimately psychosocial health than general spirituality. The finding that cultural spirituality was more predictive of generic spirituality, than culturally-specific spirituality may have to do with issues with measurement. Items from the Spirituality Scale (Jagers & Smith, 1996), at face value, seem to reflect one's connection to an immaterial higher power but nothing specifically related to Black culture. Therefore, the measure designed to assess a cultural-based spirituality, in fact may measure generic spirituality and further, not as well as a more widely used measure, the Daily Spiritual Experiences Scale.

Conceptually, it may be that spirituality is a not necessarily a culturally-bound value, that is, it may not differ significantly between Blacks and other racial groups. However, its function in the lives of Black Americans may be different as compared to other racial groups. For instance, one's belief in a higher power and connectedness with spiritual forces is positively correlated with self – actualization (functioning at full potential, positive outlook on life and human nature) and self-reported meaning in life regardless of race (Ivtzan, Chan, Gardner, & Prashar, 2013). It may be that spirituality for Black Americans is particularly useful in allowing Black Americans to find meaning in their experiences especially in the context of racial

oppression. So, Blacks may find that spirituality and the belief that there is a higher power or forces that control their life circumstances, may alleviate feelings of anger, disappointment, and sadness given their position in the social structure in the U.S. While spirituality may not be fundamentally different for Black Americans, it may serve an important role in the psychosocial health of Blacks.

There were significant differences in the strength of the way the latent variable, effective racism-related coping, predicted each of the racism-related coping strategies with the latent variable predicting empowered action strongest, followed by confrontation, then constrained resistance, and finally spiritual coping. Ultimately, these findings support earlier work with the Racism-Related Coping Scale (Forsyth & Carter, 2012; 2014) in which empowered action and confrontation were both associated with Internalization status attitudes and lower-than-average psychological distress. Constrained resistance was also associated with lower-than-average psychological distress, however this strategy was also associated with Pre-encounter status attitudes, that reflect low maturity in racial identity (Forsyth & Carter, 2012). Given that the Black cultural strength model includes mature Black racial identity, this finding shows that while those with Pre-encounter dominant status attitudes use constrained resistance, those with mature racial identity may also use this strategy, and it is beneficial to them as well.

Additionally, racism-related spiritual coping was the least predictive of effective racism-related coping, as compared to constrained resistance, empowered action, and confrontation. This finding coupled with the fact that spiritual coping also loaded onto the latent factor, cultural spirituality, points to the possibility that spiritual coping may be more indicative of one's general level of spirituality, than solely as a means of dealing with racism. One explanation for this finding is that racism-related coping strategies (e.g., praying, reading religious texts) are not

specific coping tools related to one's spirituality, but simply behavioral manifestations of one's level of spirituality. Given this, it is possible that level of spirituality is mostly responsible in enriching the lives of Black Americans, even when unrelated to experiences of racism.

Another way to understand the finding that spiritual coping loaded onto both cultural spirituality and effective racism-related coping, is that racism-related spiritual coping is a passive coping strategy that is interrelated with more active coping strategies (confrontation, empowered action, and some aspects of constrained resistance). A more culturally –syntonic spirituality for Blacks may combine an external and internal locus of control. An external locus of control may involve the belief that a higher power has control over their life circumstances and that perhaps experiences of racism are trials that they must endure in life. This belief may then translate into more passive coping strategies such as working slower. An internal locus of control, in which they as individuals believe they have some agency in the way that things turn out and in combating racism in their lives may contribute to use of active coping strategies such as taking legal action. Therefore, spiritual coping may tap into the complex way in which Blacks think about their agency in a racist society. Spirituality for Blacks may combine both a belief that an altruistic higher power is looking out for their best interest and racism is part of the stressful life events that people must endure, but also be balanced by a knowledge that they must be active participants in combating racism.

This assertion is further strengthened given that effective-racism related coping and positive racial socialization were correlated in the model. This finding supports the explanation that perhaps a unique aspect of Black cultural strength is both a reliance on belief in higher power but also a simultaneous understanding that one must be active in coping with the effects of racism. The knowledge of both how to effectively cope with racism and that will need to be

proactive in this process, may rise from positive racial socialization. That is, messages may have been transmitted with cultural knowledge of historically how Blacks have combatted racism (e.g., lawsuits and protests in the civil rights era). These messages then provide some background of how Blacks throughout history have coped with and sought justice in the face of racism in the past perhaps leading to more use of active coping strategies.

Positive racial socialization only predicted cultural socialization slightly stronger than preparation for bias. These findings support the assertion that both being oriented to cultural practices and norms and being prepped for inevitable racial bias were positively predicted by Black cultural strength. Further, these findings are consistent with past empirical research on racial socialization, where researchers have found that these racial socialization practices are related to academic orientation, self-pride, and self – esteem (Barnes, 1980; Branch & Newcombe, 1986; Branscombe et al., 1999; Rumbaut, 1994; Spencer, 1983; Stevenson, et al, 1997; Smith et al.1999).

One understanding of positive racial socialization's role in Black cultural strength is its means of facilitating increase in other cultural values. For instance, positive racial socialization may lead to more knowledge about and appreciate for the contributions that Blacks have made historically and in present-day, through one's cultural socialization. This appreciation may increase one's Black centrality and private regard, and thus influence levels of mature racial identity. In addition, preparation for racial bias may lead to the development of effecting strategies for coping with racism. For instance, efforts to communicate that racism exists and that as a Black person one will encounter racial bias in some form may open up a dialogue that leads into sharing accounts of how each person has dealt with racism and which methods were effective.

Interpretation of the beta weights from that latent variable, Black cultural strength, to its indicators (mature racial identity, communalism, effective racism-related coping, positive racial socialization, and cultural spirituality) for the final structural model, show that each was significantly and positively predicted by Black cultural strength. Communalism was most strongly predicted by Black cultural strength, followed by mature racial identity, cultural spirituality, positive racial socialization, and lastly, effective racism-related coping.

This pattern of least to most strong indicators speaks to the interrelated and interdependent nature of the Black cultural values that make up Black cultural strength. First, one's level of connectedness with other Blacks may be an essential part of Black cultural strength, in that without a communalistic orientation, one's ability to develop a mature racial identity, recognize and then learn to effectively cope with racism, and absorb racial socialization messages is compromised. Alternatively, communalism may be a byproduct of other Black cultural values or practices. For instance, as one is socialized as a Black person, part of that process may involve teachings about how one can and should rely on other Blacks, even those outside of their immediate family or social network (i.e., seeking out Black administrators at work for help).

It is not surprising that mature racial identity was also strongly predicted by Black cultural strength. It has been associated with most of the other Black cultural practices including racism-related coping and racial socialization. One's understanding of race in their lives and their regard toward the Black racial group is an essential component of Black cultural strength, and certainly impacts the way that parents socialize their children, and thus how Black cultural values are passed intergenerationally (Thomas & Speight, 1999).

The fact that positive racial socialization and effective racism-related coping were additional correlates in the model speaks to the possibility that some racial socialization messages, particularly those geared toward preparation for bias, may also include recommendations about how to effectively cope with racism. If this is true, perhaps racial socialization messages are focused on both effective strategies and other coping tools (i.e., bargaining, hypervigilance) that are not necessarily learned strategies, but results of emotional distress related to the racial incident. Overall the model suggests that Black cultural values are interconnected with each of these values being important to Black cultural strength but varying in the ways they influence and are facilitated by one another.

### **Black Cultural Strength and Psychosocial Health**

Mature racial identity, cultural spirituality, communalism, positive racial socialization, and effective racism-related coping are a combination of cultural values that reflect one's means of navigating the world as a Black person, including views about oneself, other Blacks, other racial groups, all in the context of a racist society. The current study found that higher levels of these cultural values were associated with increased psychosocial health. This finding is supportive of and consistent with literature asserting that there are specific Black cultural values that reflect psychosocial health in Black Americans.

For instance, Pieterse and Carter (2010) found in a sample of Black adults, those with internalization-dominant racial identity profiles (one factor contributing to the mature racial identity factor) had the highest levels of psychological well-being (one factor contributing to the psychosocial health latent factor). Similarly, other scholars have found a positive correlation between Internalization status attitudes and psychological well-being (Franklin, 2002; Hughes, Kiecolt, Keith, & Demo, 2015). Others have documented the relationship between Black

centrality and private regard (two factors contributing to the mature racial identity factor) and psychological well-being (Sellers, Copeland-Linder, Martin, & Lewis, 2006; Seaton, Upton, Sellers, Neblett, & Hammond, 2011; Utsey, Hook, Fischer, & Belvet, 2008). Heads and Castillo (2014) found a slight positive association between Internalization status attitudes and life satisfaction (the second factor contributing to the psychosocial health latent factor). To date, no other researchers have tested the cumulative effects of more than one measure of racial identity, and specifically isolating mature aspects of Black racial identity. The current study was able to establish rationale for the use of more than one racial identity measure, as perhaps each have their contributions to make in the study of Black culture.

Daily spiritual experiences (one factor contributing to the cultural spirituality latent factor) has been found to be positively associated with quality of life and optimism (Underwood & Teresi, 2002) and negatively associated with depression and PTSD (Watlington & Murphy, 2006). Africultural spirituality (the other factor contributing to the cultural spirituality latent factor) has been found to be positively associated with both psychological well-being and life satisfaction (Reed & Neville, 2014). Scholars have also found that Africultural spirituality is positively correlated with existential well-being (Jagers & Smith, 1996). It was also found to be more strongly correlated with one's internal locus of control, or one's belief that events are a function of personal agency, than one's external locus of control, one's belief that events are a function of luck, fate, or a powerful other. This finding may explain the finding that racism-related spiritual coping was an additional indicator of the latent factor, cultural spirituality. Given that one's reliance on prayer and spiritual guidance in managing instances of racism was positively predicted by cultural spirituality seems to suggest that Black Americans' spirituality



provides them with an internal sense of agency, and belief that prayer, along with other coping strategies, will resolve or help them resolve racial incidents.

Communalism (one factor contributing to Black cultural strength) has also been shown to be positively associated with psychosocial health in Blacks. Scholars have found communalism is positively related to positive emotions, motivation, and sense of purpose as well as emotional health (Gooden, 2013; Abdou et al., 2010). One's connectedness and interdependence with others in the Black racial group may serve to help maintain a feeling of connection to a community and/or seek out other members of the racial group to connect with, in spite of being required to interact with those of the dominant racial group in almost every aspect of daily life (e.g., attending a predominantly White institution but forming a study group with other Black peers). Further, historically a communalistic orientation (i.e., kinship) facilitated the sharing of resources and support among Blacks. This cultural orientation may continue to facilitate this process, in turn providing Blacks with resources beyond those possessed by their immediate family members (e.g., housing) and ultimately leading to higher self-reported life satisfaction. This sharing of resources may also alleviate one's overall level of stress, in turn promoting higher psychological well-being.

Racial Socialization is the process by which Black Americans learn how to function as members of the cultural group within a racist society (Rotherman & Phinney, 1987). This process of socialization includes orienting one toward the cultural norms of the group, and also includes preparing recipients (of the socialization) for inevitable racial bias. This process may also involve transmitting messages about racial mistrust. While racial socialization messages orienting one to Black cultural norms (e.g. attending a Black history month event) and preparing one for racial bias (e.g., you'll have to work twice as hard to achieve the same as your White

peers) are associated with increased anger management, academic orientation and problem-solving skills, and self-pride (Elmore & Gaylord-Harden, 2013; Hughes, et al., 2006; Berket et al., 2009), messages about racial mistrust are related to increased depression and deviant behavior, and decreased self-esteem (Barnes, 1980; Branch & Newcombe, 1986; Branscombe et al., 1999; Rumbaut, 1994; Spencer, 1983; Biafora et al., 1993).

While select racial socialization messages appear to promote psychosocial health (e.g., more affective control, self pride), they are not explicitly beneficial. Preparation for bias messages, while associated with decreased irritability, have also been found to be associated with increase feelings of helplessness (Davis & Stevenson, 2006). These messages serve the role of educating the recipient to the harsh reality that racism does exist. While this knowledge may increase one's understanding of how their race impacts their daily lives, and possibly help them create meaning of potentially ambiguous and confusing race-based incidents, it also may create an unfortunate acceptance that racism will occur.

One finding in the current study was that there is a significant correlation between positive racial socialization and effective racism-related coping (both indicators of the latent variable Black cultural strength). Given that racial socialization messages alone may educate but leave one helplessly visible to the reality of racism, it is reasonable that racial socialization messages, only if coupled with ways of effectively managing racism in one's life, would be indicative of Black cultural strength. Without the tools necessary to combat racism, the knowledge of how being a member of the Black racial group may work against one can be particularly distressing.

Racism-related coping, a relatively new area of empirical research, suggests that strategies of constrained resistance, empowered action, confrontation, and spiritual (coping) are

all associated with psychological well-being (Forsyth, 2010). While the existence of scales that assessed coping specific to racism is somewhat new (Forsyth & Carter, 2014; Utsey, Adams, Bolden, 2000), empirical work with these scales and measures of generic coping used by Black Americans point to the efficacy of certain coping strategies for this group. For instance, Constantine, Donnelly, and Myers (2002) and Utsey, Bolden, Williams, Lee, and Lanier (2007) found positive associations between spiritual coping, collective self-esteem and quality of life.

The finding that the active coping strategies of confrontation, constrained resistance, and empowered action, combined with the less active spiritual coping strategies is in contrast to findings of researchers who have posited that perhaps Black Americans who use spiritual coping may rely less on active coping strategies because it reflects a lack of faith in a higher power to resolve these issues (Constantine, Wilton, Gainor, & Lewis, 2002). However, the positive correlation between one's level of spirituality and their use of spiritual coping strategies found by Constantine and colleagues (2002) does further support the current study's finding that spiritual coping loaded both on the latent variable effective racism-related coping and the latent variable cultural spirituality.

Empowered action as an indicator of the latent variable Black Cultural Strength contradicts one researcher's hypothesis that Black Americans, in light of historical oppression and mistrust of some institutions, may not rely on support from external agencies (e.g., police, legal system; Brondolo, Brady, Pencille, Beatty, & Contrada, 2009). However, as explicit racism becomes increasingly unacceptable and exposure to the different forms that racism can take (e.g., changes in voter registration laws as institutional racism) grows, Black Americans' utilization of empowered action may reflect more faith in institutions previously thought to be untrustworthy.

In the current study, confrontation in the face of racism was an indicator of effective-racism related coping. Forsyth (2010) found that racism-related confrontational coping was positively associated with psychological well-being. Other findings have been mixed. Some scholars have found that confrontation was positively associated with self-efficacy (i.e., the perpetrator was educated), but also positively related to rumination-related behaviors, such as regret and emotional upset (Hyers, 2007). One reason the current study may have found that effective racism-related coping (one indicator of the latent variable Black cultural strength) was predictive of confrontation, is that in the proposed model, confrontation does not exist alone, but in the presence of other cultural variables that may buffer its potential negative effects (e.g., rumination, loss of social support, exacerbation of racial discrimination). For instance, one might confront their boss about discriminatory practices in the workplace. While this action may empower the person, it may also cause them to feel anxious and ruminate about potential later consequences of their actions. However, the use of another racism-related coping strategy such as spiritual coping (e.g., praying about the matter) may decrease the emotional distress originally introduced by using confrontation.

While these findings support the individual contributions of each of the Black cultural values that make up Black cultural strength, they do not provide the comprehensive analysis of these five cultural values, together. The current study gives evidence for the interrelatedness and dependence of each of these cultural variables and their collective positive impact on psychosocial health.

## **Limitations of the Study**

The interpretations and findings of the current study should be taken with caution given threats to external validity (i.e., limitations related to generalizability) and internal validity (i.e., instrumentation and replication of findings).

### **Threat to External Validity - Generalizability: Applicability to all Black Americans**

One major limitation of the current study findings are threats to external validity. First, the Black cultural strength model may not be generalizable to all Black Americans. Despite finding no mean differences for study variables on the basis of demographic variables including gender, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation, highest level of education, and marital status, this finding does not discount a multitude of differences that can exist in the Black cultural strength model based on one's demographic grouping.

For instance, scholars have found that spirituality and religiosity in Black sexual minorities is often negatively impacted by the existence of homophobia and AIDS-phobia (Miller, 2007). Conversely, Black sexual minorities have been found to endorse more spirituality than religious connection for the same reasons (Ritter & O'Neill, 1989; Sweasey, 1997). In this instance, it may be possible that cultural spirituality, and possibly spiritual coping, for non-heterosexual Blacks varies (more or less important) from that of heterosexual Blacks. In another example, Newsome (2004) found that women endorsed more Black racial identity internalization attitudes than their male counterparts, as well as more racism-related stress. These findings may indicate that gender could significantly and differentially impact endorsement of mature racial identity and indirectly (via differential levels of racism-related stress) the types racism-related coping strategies they rely on.

## **Threats to Internal Validity - Selection, Instrumentation: Racism-Related Coping Scale and Replication of Findings**

One potential threat to internal validity is self-selection that emerges because the response rate from the study was 51%. This means that about half of the participants who initiated taking the survey did not finish it. With the survey being long, it is very possible that fatigue was a major factor in the large amount of participant drop-off. However, it is possible that despite fatigue, important other variables are impacting the findings of the study due to who was able to complete the study and those who were not. For example, it is possible that participants from specific demographic groups were able or motivated to finish the survey while others were not. When demographics were compared between those who did and did not finish the survey, those who did not finish the survey were slightly younger, with slightly lower social class standing, and slightly less education. While these differences were not sizeable, it is possible that the findings in the study are in some ways related to these individuals who were seen to hold more social class and were slightly older. One simplistic answer is that these individuals simply had more time and flexibility to finish the survey. They may be afforded extra leisure time and more autonomy during the day to complete the study than someone who is working in a structured environment. In addition, these individuals may have been more motivated to finish the survey because they, by virtue of more educational experiences, have come to understand the benefits of research and value their ability to contribute. Another possibly byproduct of these demographic differences is that those who completed the survey have more Black cultural strength (more positive use of effective racism-related coping, more positive racial socialization) and therefore found themselves more easily able to respond to the

survey questions and possibly affirmed by getting to share about experiences that they personally feel have been important.

Another potential threat to internal validity is a problem with the operationalization of effective racism-related coping. The Racism-Related Coping Scale (Forsyth & Carter, 2014) was originally validated on a sample of roughly 200 Black American participants who were asked first to first describe a memorable incident of racial discrimination, before responding to the racism-related coping items. In the current study, participants were not primed to reflect on one specific incident of racism, but rather asked: *How often would you say you used the following strategies to deal with or resist situations where you were mistreated because of your race?*

This distinction may be important for two main reasons. First, asking respondents to reflect on one memorable experience of racism may elicit responses that are specific to that experience or similar experiences. In response, participants may be able to better recall, and in turn more accurately reflect, the types of racism-related coping strategies they use. This becomes important as some studies suggest Blacks report engaging in more anger expression (e.g., confrontation) than they actually do, but rather higher reported anger expression is actually a reflection of Blacks' frequent consideration (e.g., rumination) of anger expression as a possible course of action (Hyers, 2007). Asking respondents to endorse racism-related coping strategies without a prime, as done in the current study, may have led participants to respond more generically, and report strategies that they use, but also strategies that they have considered using. Use of the measure the way that it was originally administered may offer a more accurate report of the strategies one uses to manage racial incidents.

Another important possible threat to internal validity is that the current study model was proposed prior to analyses, based on theory and previous empirical findings. Given that

modifications were made to the structural equation model, Kenny (2011) recommends that a replication of the test of the model be undertaken. This scholar argues that re-specification of a model increases likelihood of capitalization on chance or over-fitting the model, that is adding unnecessary parameters to the model. Achievement of a good model fit with a separate sample would provide more confidence in the findings, and decrease the likelihood that finding a good model fit was purely based on over-fitting the model or by chance.

### **Implications for Research and Practice with Black Americans**

Despite its limitations, the current study makes several significant contributions to psychology, coping, and racial identity literature, as well as carrying important clinical implications. The findings show that select traditional Africultural values, collectively, can predict psychosocial health in Blacks. These cultural values can be traced back to Black Americans' African ancestry, which further supports the notion that the cultural values are not byproducts of American slavery. Further, the findings point to cultural values that should be promoted and reinforced for Black American clients in therapy. These clients may be facing pressures in a variety of settings (e.g., academic, work, social) to conform to cultural values traditionally related to dominant White culture. For instance, in school, a Black student may be amongst non – Black peers who prefer to work independently, versus studying in groups. The students' preference for studying in groups may reflect their communalistic orientation, and overall sense of oneness with others. The student may adopt the practice of studying alone, in light of their peers' preferences however this could leave the student feeling unsupported and lonely. Clinicians should consider ways in which the student may regain their sense of communalism, even within an institution which does not predominantly reflect their own cultural



values. A therapist may suggest the student consider joining the Black student union or a historically Black Greek organization.

With respect to coping strategies, clinicians should be aware that some coping strategies are more related to one's psychosocial health than others. Clients may use therapy (and the therapist) as a sounding-board for considering how to manage difficult racial incidents. Clinicians may serve the role of additional racial socializers, and suggest strategies that have been empirically proven to be effective. For instance, a clinician may recognize that following a incident of workplace racial discrimination, a client is engaging in bargaining, mostly cognitive coping strategies focused on individuals making sense of their experience, examining their responsibility in the occurrence of the incident, and modifying their behavior in an effort to manage others' perceptions. The clinician may draw on their knowledge of effective racism-related coping and suggest that rather than solely engaging in bargaining, they can "get out of their head" and confront the parties involved in order to be heard. Further, if the client is spiritual, a clinician can rely on their knowledge of the client's spirituality to suggest they also utilize spiritual coping strategies as well (e.g., praying).

In making informed suggestions about racism – related coping, as suggested, clinicians can possibly step into the role of racial socializers. One important assessment that clinicians should make is distinguishing the client's level of maturity with regards to racial identity. A client with predominant preencounter racial identity status attitudes may likely not recognize the role of race in their life, and thus not benefit from racial socialization messages about preparation for bias. However, mental health professionals, particularly Black clinicians, may take on the role of cultural socializers, suggesting literature and other psychological resources that are culturally syntonic for their Black American clientele.

Also, mental health professionals should be aware and understand that spirituality is not synonymous with religiosity and that for Black Americans, cultural spirituality can be seen as a factor that is related to psychosocial health, but also can reflect one's use of spiritual coping strategies in the face of racism. Clinicians should consider the clients level of spirituality and spiritual coping, even if the individual does not regularly engage in religious practices or follow a formal religion.

The current study also made contributions to the literature on racial identity and racism-related coping. First, this study confirms past literature finding centrality, private regard, and internalization status attitudes as positive correlates with psychological health (Pillay, 2005; Sellers, Copeland Linder, Martin, & Lewis, 2006). In his analysis of racial identity measures, Cokley (2007) suggests, given the complexity and differences in what is measured by various racial identity measures, researchers should use multiple indicators of racial identity in their work. This study employed this method, and supports the notion that using multiple measures of racial identity may be advantageous over singular measures. This assertion is based on the finding that mature racial identity was indicated by two different measures of Black identity.

The use of Forsyth & Carter's (2014) Racism-Related Coping Scale is relatively new, however the current study's findings document some important information about how Blacks cope with racism that lead to more psychosocial health. These authors found that individuals who used empowered action and confrontation coping strategies were also found to be mature in their racial identity, and less psychologically compromised. Additionally, those who utilized constrained resistance strategies, while immature in their racial identity, also were found to be less psychologically compromised than others who used other racism-related coping strategies (e.g., bargaining, hypervigilance). The current study supports and adds to the findings from this

work, showing that use of empowered action, constrained resistance, spiritual, and confrontation are not only related to less psychological distress, but more psychological well-being and life satisfaction.

### **Directions for Future Research**

There are multiple future areas of research to be pursued given the findings of the current study. First, the Black cultural strength model will need to be replicated with a larger sample that is more representative of the larger population. As outline in Chapter 3, the current study sample identified as majority heterosexual, majority working and middle class, and majority possessing at least a Bachelor's degree. This sample does not fairly represent the cultural values of gender non-conforming Blacks, as well as less educated Blacks. Additionally, replication of the model on a different study sample provides more confidence in the findings, given that some modifications were made to the proposed model. Ideally, the modified model will be tested on a different sample to confirm its validity.

Another area of research to be explored is measurement invariance. As mentioned, it is possible that this model is different (i.e., different indicators, factor loadings, etc.) for different demographic groups. Measurement invariance demographic groups such as for gender, socioeconomic status, and marital status should be established. This will test the external validity of the Black cultural strength model for all Black Americans.

The need for exploration of measurement invariance of the Black Cultural Strength model is substantiated by findings of differential levels of Black cultural values for different subgroups within the larger Black community. For instance, Black centrality was found to differ, and be significantly higher, for younger, urban, less educated Black Americans. This finding raises concern about the homogeneity of the Black American cultural group in terms of

endorsement and utilization of Black cultural values and practices, particularly as they relate to geographic region, age, and education level (Broman, Neighbors, & Jackson, 1989; Rockquemore, 2002). Further, Lee and Ahn (2014) found that gender moderated the relationship between distress and centrality/private regard and Black preencounter racial identity attitudes. The authors found that for women, these relationships were decreased. That is, the relationship between Black preencounter racial identity attitudes (immature racial identity) and distress was not as strong for women and suggests that perhaps Black women are not as harmed by having color-blind, White-centric racial identity attitudes as Black males. Conversely, the relationship between centrality/private regard and distress for Black men was also suppressed for women, suggesting that Black women may benefit less from possessing centrality and private regard (aspects of mature racial identity) than Black men. These findings provide evidence of the need to test the Black cultural strength model for different demographic groups.

Future research may also want to focus on identifying additional Black cultural values that may be related to psychosocial health in Black Americans. While this model includes the most commonly studied cultural values, it is by no means an exhaustive list of Black cultural values that facilitate psychosocial health in Black Americans. One possible addition to this model is the cultural value toward time orientation which researchers have found to generally differentiate across racial and ethnic groups, with Black Americans' future orientation to time found to be related to self-efficacy and (Carter, 1991; Burns & Dillon, 2005). Another possible cultural value to be considered is one's views on human nature which can vary between an orientation toward human nature as evil, where people are born with evil inclinations and society must create rules to control these inclinations, good, where people are inherently good natured, and mixed in which people are both. This cultural value could potentially be important to

understanding psychosocial health in Blacks, particularly in the presence of other cultural values. One's belief in the good-ness or evil-ness of other humans, especially in a system of racial oppression with which they find themselves at the bottom, may contribute to one's ability to make meaning and cope in a racist society. If one's belief is that humans are inherently evil, it may further exacerbate emotional reactions to racism, and influence the efficacy of coping strategies differently than for someone who views human nature as good.

### **Summary and Conclusion**

In sum, this study was able to empirically validate a model of Black Cultural Strength, where the Black cultural values of mature racial identity, cultural spirituality, communalism, effective racism-related coping, and positive racial socialization converge and are positively related to psychosocial health. This study was able to identify several important aspects of Black culture that are relevant to Black psychology, research and practice. It also provided a conceptual basis for understanding wellness in Black Americans. It is hoped that the present study will serve to encourage researchers in the areas of cultural competence in psychology, to reframe their understanding of Black culture as a complex interplay of values that enrich and strengthen health in the lives of Black Americans.

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Figure 1. Composite Structural Equation Model



Figure 2. Standardized Coefficients for Confirmatory Factor Analysis - Original Measurement Model

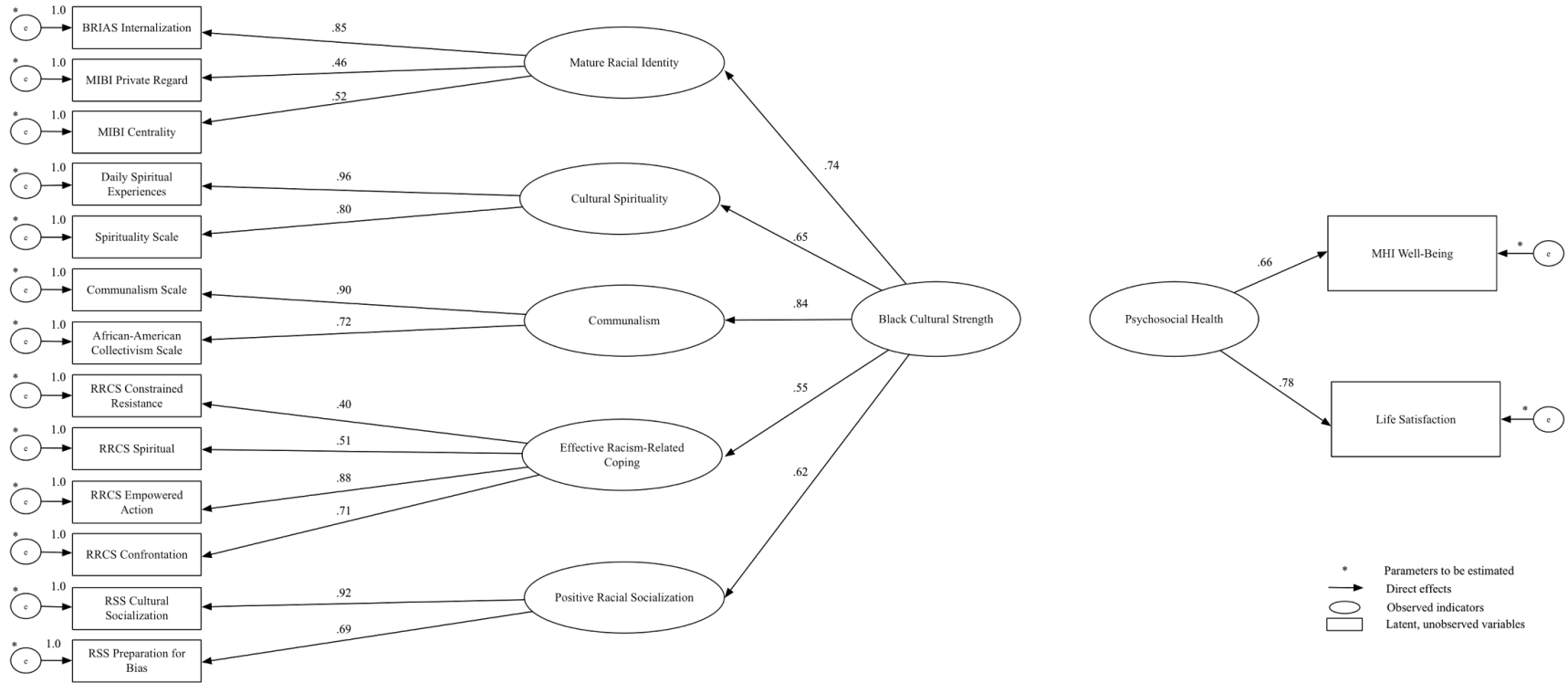


Figure 3. Standardized Coefficients for Confirmatory Factor Analysis - Re-Specified Measurement Model

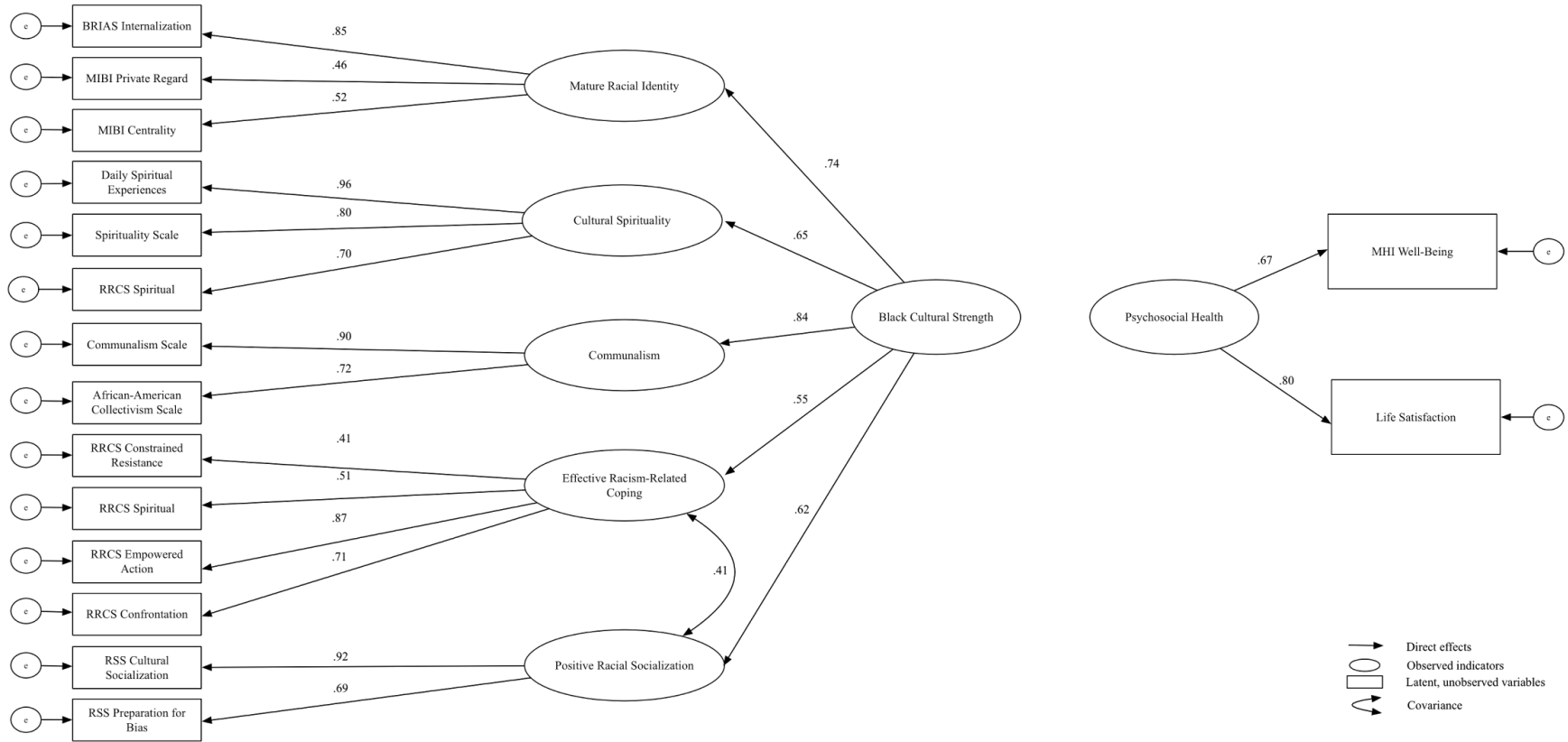


Figure 4. Standardized Coefficients – Black Cultural Strength Structural Model



Table 1. Frequencies and Percentages of Demographic Variables ( $N = 495$ )

Variables		Frequency	Percentage
Gender	Male	115	23.2
	Female	371	74.9
	Transgender	9	1.8
Social Class	Lower Class	35	7.1
	Working Class	198	40
	Middle Class	220	44.4
	Upper Middle Class	40	8.1
	Upper Class	2	0.4
Highest Level of Education	No Schooling	3	0.6
	Nursery to 8th grade	1	0.2
	Some High School, no diploma	8	1.6
	High School graduate, diploma or the equivalent (i.e., GED)	31	6.3
	Some college credit, no degree	124	25.1
	Trade/technical/vocational training	14	2.8
	Associates degree	33	6.7
	Bachelor's degree	147	29.7
	Master's degree	98	19.8
	Professional Degree (i.e., JD)	14	2.8
	Doctoral degree	22	4.4
Sexual Orientation	Heterosexual or Straight	374	75.6
	Gay or Lesbian	34	6.9
	Bisexual	85	17.2
	Missing	2	0.4
Marital Status	Single, never married	335	67.7
	Married or domestic partnership	112	22.6
	Widowed	4	0.8
	Divorced	36	7.3
	Separated	8	1.6

Table 2. Means, Standard Deviations, Ranges, and Reliability Coefficients for Study Variables\* (*N* = 495)

Scale	M	SD	Range (Lower)	Range (Upper)	Alpha	# of items
BRIAS Internalization	49.45	5.66	28	60	0.688	12
MIBI - Private Regard	44.64	5.04	22	49	0.776	7
MIBI - Centrality	43.72	8.67	10	56.00	0.802	8
The Communalism Scale	137.74	21.28	50	184	0.904	32
African-American Collectivism Scale	20.58	3.19	6	24	0.87	6
RRCS - Constrained Resistance	7.88	2.77	6	22	0.775	6
RRCS - Empowered Action	16.02	6.28	9	36	0.87	9
RRCS - Spiritual	14.74	6.23	7	28	0.887	7
RRCS - Confrontation	17.67	5.9	8	32	0.858	8
The Spirituality Scale	75.42	16.54	27	118	0.834	20
Daily Spiritual Experiences Scale	61.12	22.66	16	94	0.97	16
RSS - Preparation for Bias	21.83	7.34	7	35	0.899	7
RSS - Cultural Socialization	20.73	7.41	7	35	0.895	7
MHI - Well Being	19.9	5.46	6	30	0.877	5
Satisfaction With Life Scale	20.65	7.37	5	35	0.879	5

\* Black Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (BRIAS), Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI), Racism-Related Coping Scale (RRCS), Racial Socialization Scale (RSS), Mental Health Inventory (MHI)

Table 3. MANOVA Results - Demographic Variables on Study Variables with Bonferroni Correction

Effect	Wilks' Lambda Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
Intercept	.072	347.166 <sup>b</sup>	14.000	377.000	.000
Gender	.897	3.100 <sup>b</sup>	14.000	377.000	.002
SES	.846	1.542	42.000	1119.128	.016
Highest Level of Education	.684	1.317	112.000	2655.367	.016
Marital Status	.879	1.797 <sup>b</sup>	28.000	754.000	.007
Sexual Orientation	.792	3.332 <sup>b</sup>	28.000	754.000	.002

Table 4. Intercorrelations among Study Variables\*\*\* (N = 495)

	Correlations														
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. BRIAS - Intern	1	.590**	.438**	.487**	.435**	-0.02	.261**	.284**	.224**	.302**	.395**	.303**	.260**	.274**	.324**
2. MIBI - Pr Reg	.590**	1	.510**	.283**	.338**	-.097*	.124**	.110*	.111*	.145**	.252**	.140**	0.078	.189**	.212**
3. MIBI - Cent	.438**	.510**	1	.289**	.192**	0.084	.246**	0.047	.241**	.095*	.147**	.233**	.191**	0.011	.110*
4. The Comm Sc	.487**	.283**	.289**	1	.646**	0.056	.333**	.438**	.220**	.424**	.481**	.456**	.312**	.282**	.296**
5. A.A. Collectivism	.435**	.338**	.192**	.646**	1	-0.02	.240**	.280**	.156**	.326**	.363**	.350**	.208**	.195**	.229**
6. RRCS - Con Res	-0.02	-.097*	0.084	0.056	-0.02	1	.347**	.144**	.409**	.124**	-0.02	.125**	.209**	-.191**	-0.04
7. RRCS - Emp Act	.261**	.124**	.246**	.333**	.240**	.347**	1	.437**	.636**	.274**	.250**	.403**	.377**	0.005	.149**
8. RRCS - Spir	.284**	.110*	0.047	.438**	.280**	.144**	.437**	1	.273**	.669**	.712**	.345**	.272**	.242**	.247**
9. RRCS - Confr	.224**	.111*	.241**	.220**	.156**	.409**	.636**	.273**	1	.102*	0.078	.311**	.374**	-0.08	0.012
10. Spir Sc	.302**	.145**	.095*	.424**	.326**	.124**	.274**	.669**	.102*	1	.771**	.258**	.202**	.149**	.216**
11. DSES	.395**	.252**	.147**	.481**	.363**	-0.02	.250**	.712**	0.078	.771**	1	.308**	.200**	.370**	.361**
12. RSS - Cul Soc	.303**	.140**	.233**	.456**	.350**	.125**	.403**	.345**	.311**	.258**	.308**	1	.639**	.164**	.221**
13. RSS - Prer Bias	.260**	0.078	.191**	.312**	.208**	.209**	.377**	.272**	.374**	.202**	.200**	.639**	1	0.066	.157**
14. MHI - WB	.274**	.189**	0.011	.282**	.195**	-.191**	0.005	.242**	-0.08	.149**	.370**	.164**	0.066	1	.525**
15. SWLS	.324**	.212**	.110*	.296**	.229**	-0.04	.149**	.247**	0.012	.216**	.361**	.221**	.157**	.525**	1

\*\*\* Black Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (BRIAS), Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI), Racism - Related Coping Scale (RRCS), Racial Socialization Scale (RSS), Mental Health Inventory (MHI)

\*\* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

\* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).



Table 5. Maximum Likelihood Estimates for Indicator Variables - Original Measurement Model\* (N = 495)

Path	B	S.E.	Beta	C.R.	Sig.
<b>Mature Racial Identity</b>					
BRIAS - Internalization	1.000	0.000	0.848		0.00
MIBI - Private Regard	0.298	0.039	0.463	7.641	0.00
MIBI - Centrality	0.945	0.111	0.523	8.514	0.00
<b>Communalism</b>					
The Communalism Scale	1.000	0.000	0.903		0.00
African American Collectivism Scale	0.119	0.008	0.715	14.875	0.00
<b>Cultural Spirituality</b>					
Daily Spiritual Experiences Scale	1.000	0.000	0.955		0.00
The Spirituality Scale	0.659	0.045	0.799	14.644	0.00
<b>Effective Racism Related Coping</b>					
RRCS - Constrained Resistance	1.000	0.000	0.406		0.00
RRCS - Empowered Action	4.883	0.762	0.876	6.408	0.00
RRCS - Spiritual	2.831	0.516	0.511	5.486	0.00
RRCS - Confrontation	3.730	0.539	0.712	6.252	0.00
<b>Positive Racial Socialization</b>					
RSS - Preparation for Racial Bias	1.000	0.000	0.692		0.00
RSS -Cultural Socialization	1.624	0.103	0.924	15.770	0.00
<b>Psychosocial Health</b>					
Psychological Well-Being	1.000	0.000	0.661		0.00
Life Satisfaction	1.624	0.218	0.795	7.450	0.00
<b>Black Cultural Strength</b>					
Mature Racial Identity	1.000	0.000	0.738		0.00
Communalism	4.579	0.425	0.844	10.774	0.00
Cultural Spirituality	3.661	0.400	0.646	9.152	0.00
Effective Racism Related Coping	0.173	0.035	0.545	4.943	0.00

Positive Racial Socialization 0.883 0.133 0.616 6.639 0.00  
\*Black Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (BRIAS), Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI), Racism -  
Related  
Coping Scale (RRCS), Racial Socialization Scale (RSS)

Table 6. Modification Indices - Original Measurement Model \*

	M.I.	E.P.C.	Std E.P.C.	StdYX E.P.C.
<b>BY Statements</b>				
Communalism BY RRCS- Spirituality	62.519	0.14	2.668	0.432
Cultural Spirituality BY RRCS - Confrontation	31.598	-0.072	-1.444	-0.245
Cultural Spirituality BY RRCS- Spirituality	<b>241.102</b>	0.229	4.594	0.738
Psychosocial Health BY RRCS- Spirituality	45.02	0.608	2.19	0.352
Psychosocial Health BY Daily Spiritual Experiences	32.258	1.491	5.374	0.256
Black Cultural Strength BY RRCS- Spirituality	102.898	1.113	3.936	0.632
<b>WITH Statements</b>				
Daily Spiritual Experiences WITH RRCS- Spirituality	52.231	24.015	24.015	0.72
Psychological Well-Being WITH Daily Spiritual Experiences	30.397	15.535	15.535	0.609
Positive Racial Socialization WITH Effective Racism Related Coping	<b>31.407</b>	1.437	0.382	0.382

\* Bolded MI were used to modify measurement model based on theory and empirical evidence

Table 7. Maximum Likelihood Estimates for Indicator Variables - Re-specified Measurement Model\* (*N* = 496)

Path	B	S.E.	Beta	C.R.	Sig.
<b>Mature Racial Identity</b>					
BRIAS - Internalization	1.000	0.000	0.862		0.00
MIBI - Private Regard	0.289	0.038	0.457	7.605	0.00
MIBI - Centrality	0.911	0.107	0.513	8.510	0.00
<b>Cultural Spirituality</b>					
Daily Spiritual Experiences Scale	1.000	0.000	0.924		0.00
Spirituality Scale	0.710	0.034	0.831	20.882	0.00
RRCS - Spiritual	0.225	0.014	0.701	16.071	0.00
<b>Communalism</b>					
The Communalism Scale	1.000	0.000	0.900		0.00
African American Collectivism Scale	0.119	0.008	0.717	14.875	0.00
<b>Effective Racism Related Coping</b>					
RRCS - Constrained Resistance	1.000	0.000	0.437		0.00
RRCS - Empowered Action	4.424	0.686	0.855	6.449	0.00
RRCS - Spiritual	1.398	0.278	0.272	5.029	0.00
RRCS - Confrontation	3.660	0.488	0.753	7.500	0.00
<b>Positive Racial Socialization</b>					
RSS - Preparation for Racial Bias	1.000	0.000	0.738		0.00
RSS -Cultural Socialization	1.185	0.100	0.866	11.850	0.00
<b>Psychosocial Health</b>					
Psychological Well-Being	1.000	0.000	0.675		0.00
Life Satisfaction	1.558	0.200	0.778	7.790	0.00
<b>Black Cultural Strength</b>					
Mature Racial Identity	1.000	0.000	0.736		0.00

Cultural Spirituality	3.465	0.412	0.641	8.410	0.00
Communalism	4.630	0.459	0.868	10.087	0.00
Effective Racism Related Coping	0.138	0.027	0.408	5.111	0.00
Positive Racial Socialization	0.882	0.109	0.585	8.092	0.00

\*Black Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (BRIAS), Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI), Racism -Related

Table 8. Maximum Likelihood Estimates for Indicator Variables - Structural Model\* (N = 496)

Path	B	S.E.	Beta	C.R.	Sig.
<b>Mature Racial Identity</b>					
BRIAS - Internalization	1.000	0.000	0.862		0.000
MIBI - Private Regard	0.289	0.038	0.457	7.605	0.000
MIBI - Centrality	0.911	0.107	0.513	8.510	0.000
<b>Communalism</b>					
The Communalism Scale	1.000	0.000	0.900		0.000
African American Collectivism Scale	0.119	0.008	0.717	14.875	0.000
<b>Cultural Spirituality</b>					
Daily Spiritual Experiences	1.000	0.000	0.924		0.000
Spirituality Scale	0.710	0.034	0.831	20.882	0.000
RRCS - Spiritual Coping	0.225	0.014	0.701	16.071	0.000
<b>Effective Racism Related Coping</b>					
RRCS - Constrained Resistance	1.000	0.000	0.437		0.000
RRCS - Empowered Action	4.424	0.686	0.855	6.449	0.000
RRCS - Spiritual	1.398	0.278	0.272	5.029	0.000
RRCS - Confrontation	3.660	0.488	0.753	7.500	0.000
<b>Positive Racial Socialization</b>					
RSS - Preparation for Racial Bias	1.000	0.000	0.738		0.000
RSS -Cultural Socialization	1.185	0.100	0.866	11.850	0.000
<b>Psychosocial Health</b>					
Psychological Well-Being	1.000	0.000	0.675		0.000
Life Satisfaction	1.558	0.200	0.778	7.790	0.000
<b>Black Cultural Strength</b>					
Mature Racial Identity	1.000	0.000	0.736		0.000
Communalism	4.630	0.459	0.868	10.087	0.000

Cultural Spirituality	3.465	0.412	0.641	8.410	0.000
Effective Racism Related Coping	0.138	0.027	0.408	5.111	0.000
Positive Racial Socialization	0.882	0.109	0.585	8.091	0.000
Black Cultural Strength WITH Psychosocial Health	7.256	1.301	0.550	5.577	0.000
Effective Racism Related Coping WITH Positive Racial Socialization	1.990	0.523	0.410	3.805	0.000

\*Black Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (BRIAS), Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI), Racism -Related Coping Scale (RRCS), Racial Socialization Scale (RSS)

Appendix A  
Email and Social Media Announcement to Prospective Participant

Hello. I am a fifth year doctoral student in the Counseling Psychology Program at Teachers College, Columbia University. You are invited to participate in my dissertation study which is an examination of Black cultural values. Participation in this study includes reading a list of statements, and then indicating your agreement with the statements. This survey should take 30-40 minutes.

A number of safeguards will be in place to protect your identity. The information you provide will be kept anonymous and confidential on an encrypted and secure database online. No names will be associated with the data at any time; all data will be coded with a number to preserve anonymity. The results of the study may be presented in my final dissertation and subsequent journal articles, but individual participants will never be identified. In thanks for the contribution of your time, all participants will be able to opt to be enrolled in a raffle for a \$200 Visa gift certificate. If you choose to enter the raffle, you will be linked to a separate website at the end of the survey where you will provide your name and email. This personal information will then be replaced with a numerical code so as to ensure anonymity. Thank you very much for your consideration of this invitation!

This study has been approved by the Teachers College, Columbia University Institutional Review Board: Protocol #16-096. If you have any questions, concerns, or would like to know the results, please feel free to contact me at vej2105@tc.columbia.edu

If you are willing and eligible, please just click on the link below to continue. Thank you in advance for your time and please feel free to pass on to anyone who might be interested.

Eligibility Criteria:

- Must be 18 years or older
- Must identify as Black and/or African-American

If you meet the above criteria and are interested in participating, please click on the link below to begin the survey.

[https://atrial.az1.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV\\_3UXyX9KOoCe1Ym9](https://atrial.az1.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_3UXyX9KOoCe1Ym9)

Best regards,  
Veronica Johnson, B.S.  
Doctoral Candidate in Counseling Psychology  
Department of Counseling and Clinical Psychology  
Teachers College, Columbia University



Appendix B  
Informed Consent Form

Teachers College, Columbia University  
525 West 120<sup>th</sup> Street  
New York NY 10027  
212 678 3000  
[www.tc.edu](http://www.tc.edu)

**INFORMED CONSENT**

**DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH:** You are invited to participate in a research study on social attitudes about race. You will be asked to respond to a number of questions which are designed to assess your own feelings about race, racism, and spirituality. The research will be conducted through an online platform called Qualtrics and you are asked to participate from a private/personal computer.

**RISKS AND BENEFITS:** The risks and possible benefits associated with this study are minimal however some questions may cause subjects to recall difficult or painful past experiences that may cause slight discomfort. Any participant may discontinue participation at any time for any reason.

**PAYMENTS:** As a participant, you are automatically entered into a raffle to win a \$200 Visa giftcard with a 1 in 500 or .002% chance of winning.

**DATA STORAGE TO PROTECT CONFIDENTIALITY:** You will not be asked to provide your name or any contact information during this research study. All identifying information that you provide will be kept private and confidential. Each completed survey will be numerically coded to further ensure anonymity. The data will be temporarily stored on Qualtrics ([www.qualtrics.com](http://www.qualtrics.com)) until data collection is completed. At that time, the numerically coded data will be downloaded in to a password protected computer. The password will only be known to the principal investigator. When analysis of the data is complete, the data will be stored in a locked file cabinet and the data will be destroyed after 5 years.

**TIME INVOLVEMENT:** Your participation will take approximately 45 minutes.

**HOW WILL RESULTS BE USED:** The results of the study will be used to fulfill the principal investigator's dissertation requirement and inform the best clinical practices working with Black adults in counseling and therapy. It is possible that the results may be utilized for future educational purposes including publications and/or conference presentations.

Appendix C  
Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity

Please answer the following questions about your thoughts and values associated with being Black.

	Strongly Disagree (1)	Mostly Disagree (2)	Somewhat Disagree (3)	Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)	Somewhat Agree (5)	Mostly Agree (6)	Strongly Agree (7)
Overall, being Black has very little to do with how I feel about myself. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In general, being Black is an important part of my self-image. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My destiny is tied to the destiny of other Black people. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being Black is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

I have a strong sense of belonging to Black people. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I have a strong sense of attachment to other Black people. (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being Black is an important reflection of who I am. (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being Black is not a major factor in my social relationships. (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel good about Black people. (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am happy that I am Black. (10)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel that Blacks have made major advancements and accomplishments. (11)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

<p>I believe that because I am Black, I have many strengths. (12)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
<p>I often regret that I am Black. (13)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
<p>Blacks contribute less to society than others. (14)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
<p>Overall I often feel that Blacks are not worthwhile. (15)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
<p>Blacks who espouse separatism are as racist as White people who also espouse separatism. (16)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
<p>A sign of progress is that Blacks are in the mainstream of America more than ever before. (17)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Because America is predominantly White, it is important that Blacks go to White schools so that they can gain experience interacting with Whites. (18)

Blacks should strive to be full members of the American political system. (19)

Blacks should try to work within the system to achieve their political and economic goals. (20)

Blacks should strive to integrate all institutions which are segregated. (21)

Blacks should feel free to interact socially with White people. (22)

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Blacks should view themselves as being Americans first and foremost. (23)

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The plight of Blacks in America will improve only when Blacks are in important positions within the system. (24)

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Black values should not be inconsistent with human values. (25)

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Blacks should have the choice to marry interracially. (26)

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<p>Blacks and Whites have more commonalities than differences. (27)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
<p>Black people should not consider race when buying art or selecting a book to read. (28)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
<p>Blacks would be better off if they were more concerned with the problems facing all people than just focusing on Black issues. (29)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
<p>Being an individual is more important than identifying oneself as Black. (30)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

We are all children of a higher being, therefore, we should love people of all races. (31)

Blacks should judge Whites as individuals and not as members of the White race. (32)

People regardless of their race have strengths and limitations. (33)

The same forces which have led to the oppression of Blacks have also led to the oppression of other groups. (34)



The struggle for Black liberation in America should be closely related to the struggle of other oppressed groups. (35)

Blacks should learn about the oppression of other groups. (36)

Black people should treat other oppressed people as allies. (37)

The racism Blacks have experienced is similar to that of other minority groups. (38)

<p>There are other people who experience racial injustice and indignities similar to Black Americans. (39)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
<p>Blacks will be more successful in achieving their goals if they form coalitions with other oppressed groups. (40)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
<p>Blacks should try to become friends with people from other oppressed groups. (41)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
<p>The dominant society devalues anything not White male oriented. (42)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

<p>It is important for Black people to surround their children with Black art, music, and literature. (43)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
<p>Black people should not marry interracially. (44)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
<p>Blacks would be better off if they adopted Afrocentric values. (45)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
<p>Black students are better off going to schools that are controlled and organized by Blacks. (46)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
<p>Black people must organize themselves into a separate Black political force. (47)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	

<p>Whenever possible, Blacks should buy from other Black businesses. (48)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
<p>A thorough knowledge of Black history is very important for Blacks today. (49)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
<p>Blacks and Whites can never live in true harmony because of racial differences. (50)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
<p>White people can never be trusted where Blacks are concerned. (51)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Appendix D  
The Spirituality Scale

Please respond to each statement choosing the extent to which each statement is true or false for you.

	Completely False (1)	Mostly False (2)	Somewhat False (3)	Somewhat True (4)	Mostly True (5)	Completely True (6)
To me, every object has some amount of spiritual quality. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To have faith in each other is to have faith in God. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I pray before taking a test. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I believe that the world is not under our control but is guided by a greater force. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I believe more in politics than in religion as a way for people to come together. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
All people have a common core which is sacred. (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I act as though forces are at work. (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
We all need to have knowledge of the world's religions. (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Just because I have faith and beliefs does not mean I live that way all the time. (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

No preacher could ever understand the problems I have. (10)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Without some form of spiritual help, there is little hope in life. (11)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I pray before eating a meal. (12)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The most important part of me is the inner force which gives me life. (13)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My happiness is found in material goods I own. (14)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel that all life is simply made up of different chemicals. (15)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I pray before going on a trip. (16)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To me the world can be described as a big machine. (17)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If I had more money, life would be happier. (18)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I don't know where to find the answers to life's questions. (19)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

<p>To me an object's material worth is that object's value. (20)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○
<p>Though I may go to a doctor when I'm ill, I also pray. (21)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○
<p>The truth is what we learn in school. (22)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○
<p>To me, it is possible to get in touch with the spiritual world. (23)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○
<p>Since science and church both have an idea about man's beginnings, I don't know which is true. (24)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○
<p>I feel that life is made up of spiritual forces. (25)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○



Appendix E  
Black Racial Identity Attitudes Scale

Using the 5-point scale below, please give your honest rating about the degree to which you personally agree or disagree with each statement. Please be as open and honest as you can; there are no right or wrong answers.

	Strongly Disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Uncertain (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly Agree (5)
I believe that being Black is a positive experience. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I know through my personal experiences what being Black in American means. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am increasing my involvement in Black activities because I don't feel comfortable in White environments. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I believe that large numbers of Blacks are untrustworthy. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel an overwhelming attachment to Black people. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I involve myself in causes that will help all oppressed people. (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
A person's race does not influence how comfortable I feel when I am with her or him. (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I believe that White people look and express themselves better than Blacks (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel uncomfortable when I am around Black people (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel good about being Black, but do not limit myself to Black activities. (10)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

When I am with people I trust, I often find myself referring to Whites as "honkies", "devils", "pigs", "white boys", and so forth. (11)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I believe that being Black is a negative experience. (12)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I believe that certain aspects of "the Black experience" apply to me, and others do not. (13)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I frequently confront the system and the (White) man. (14)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I constantly involve myself in Black political and social activities (such as art shows, political meetings, Black theater, and so forth). (15)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I involve myself in social action and political groups even if there are no other Blacks involved. (16)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I believe that Black people should learn to think and experience life in ways that are similar to White people's ways. (17)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I believe that the world should be interpreted from a Black or Afrocentric perspective. (18)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

I am changing my style of life to fit new beliefs about Black people. (19)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel excitement and joy in Black surroundings. (20)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I believe that Black people came from a strange, dark, and uncivilized continent. (21)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People, regardless of their race, have strengths and limitations. (22)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I find myself reading a lot of Black literature and thinking about being Black. (23)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel guilty or anxious about some of the things I believe about Black people. (24)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I believe that a Black person's most effective weapon for solving problems is to become part of the White person's world. (25)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I speak my mind about injustices to Black people regardless of the consequences (such as being kicked out of school, disappointing my family, being exposed to danger). (26)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I limit myself to Black activities as much as I can. (27)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

I am determined to find my Black identity. (28)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I believe that White people are more intelligent than Blacks. (29)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I believe that I have many strengths because I am Black. (30)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel that Black people do not have as much to be proud of as White people do. (31)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Most Blacks I know are failures. (32)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I believe that White people should feel guilty about the way they have treated Blacks in the past. (33)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
White people can't be trusted. (34)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In today's society if Black people don't achieve, they have only themselves to blame. (35)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The most important thing about me is that I am Black. (36)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being Black just feels natural to me. (37)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other Black people have trouble accepting me because my life experiences have been so different from their experiences. (38)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Black people who have White people's blood should feel ashamed of it. (39)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sometimes, I wish I belonged to the White race. (40)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The people I respect most are White. (41)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
A person's race usually is not important to me. (42)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel anxious when White people compare me to other members of my race. (43)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I can't feel comfortable with either Black people or White people. (44)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
A person's race has little to do with whether or not s/he is a good person. (45)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
When I am with Black people, I pretend to enjoy the things they enjoy. (46)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
When a stranger who is Black does something embarrassing in public, I get embarrassed. (47)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I believe that a Black person can be close friends with a White person. (48)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am satisfied with myself. (49)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

I have a positive attitude about myself because I am Black. (50)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
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Appendix F  
The Communalism Scale

Please respond to each item openly and honestly and indicate the extent to which each statement is true or false for you.



	Completely False (1)	Mostly False (2)	Somewhat False (3)	Somewhat True (4)	Mostly True (5)	Completely True (6)
Although I might receive a lot of support from my close social relations, I don't think it is important to give a lot in return. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In my family it is expected that the elderly are cared for by younger generations. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
One should always try to focus on the good side of things. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I enjoy being part of a group effort. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I believe that I can know myself better by getting to know my family and close friends. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I don't mind if my aunts and uncles come to live with me. (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Mass media (TV, radio, etc.) is a powerful tool in forming today's society. (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
For me, increasing the quality of relationships with family and friends is one of the most productive ways to spend my time. (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

<p>I prefer to concern myself with my own affairs rather than involving myself with other people. (9)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○
<p>One big reason why people should own things is so that they can share with others. (10)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○
<p>In my family there are close friends which we consider family. (11)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○
<p>I think it is important for people to keep up with current events. (12)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○
<p>There are very few things I would not share with family members. (13)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○
<p>I am happiest when I am part of a group. (14)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○
<p>I believe there is too much emphasis placed on sports. (15)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○
<p>It is family group membership which gives me a sense of personal identity. (16)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○
<p>Older members of my family are often relied on for advice/guidance. (17)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○
<p>I don't mind if my cousins come to live with me. (18)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○

<p>I would prefer to live in an area where I know I have family members. (19)</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<p>I believe that a person has an obligation to work cooperatively with family and friends. (20)</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<p>It is not unusual for me to call close family friends "uncle" "aunt" or "cousin." (21)</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<p>I enjoy helping family members accomplish their goals. (22)</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<p>When I am in public, I always like to "put my best foot forward." (23)</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<p>I take care of my own needs before I consider the needs of others. (24)</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<p>I don't believe that people should view themselves as independent of friends and family. (25)</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<p>I seldom get the time to enjoy recreational activities. (26)</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

I am always interested in listening to what my older relatives have to say because I believe with age comes wisdom. (27)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I prefer to work in a group. (28)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am concerned with personal gains than those of my family and friends. (29)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Among my family members, it is understood that we should turn to one another in times of crisis. (30)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I think people need to be more aware of political issues. (31)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I place great value on social relations among people. (32)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I make sacrifices for my family and they do the same for me. (33)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My first responsibility is to myself rather than my family. (34)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am constantly aware of my responsibility to my family and friends. (35)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Since computers are so important to the society every household should have one. (36)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

<p>I believe that when people are "close" to one another (like family or friends) they should be accountable for each others' welfare. (37)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○
<p>I place high value on my duty to the group. (38)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○
<p>We all must depend on others for our existence and fulfillment. (39)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○
<p>I believe that everyone should try to develop a hobby of some kind. (40)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○

Appendix G  
Racism – Related Coping Scale

How often would you say you used the following strategies to deal with or resist situations where you were mistreated because of your race. Choose one of the four numbers that best corresponds to your response.

	Did not use/ Does not apply (1)	Used a little (2)	Used a lot (3)	Used a great deal (4)
I participated in organized efforts to combat racism and/or support Black people. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I informed external sources (media, civil rights organization, etc.). (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I threatened the person(s) or organization involved with violence. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I talked about it with the person(s) involved in order to express my feelings. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I became more cautious around people in positions of authority. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I tried to understand the perspective of the perpetrator. (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I read passages in the Bible (or other religious text) to give me strength and/or guidance. (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I fantasized about getting revenge. (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I worked to educate others about racism. (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I took legal action. (10)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

I exaggerated my anger in order to intimidate the person(s) involved. (11)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I talked about it with the person(s) involved in order to educate them. (12)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I avoided anything that might bring about a similar situation (people, places, topics of conversation, etc.). (13)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I looked for an explanation other than racism. (14)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I relied on my faith in God or a higher power. (15)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I fantasized about harming the person(s) involved or damaging or destroying their property. (16)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I sought out relationships/alliances with other people of color who are not Black. (17)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I sought legal advice. (18)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I only did the bare minimum to get by in my job as a form of resistance. (19)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I talked about it with the person(s) involved in order to understand their perspective. (20)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



I became more careful about what I say and do around people who are not Black. (21)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I tried to make something positive out of it. (22)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I prayed about it. (23)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I reacted with humor or sarcasm, or mocked the person(s) involved. (24)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I made a conscious decision to try to patronize only Black-owned businesses and establishments. (25)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I made a formal complaint. (26)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I did my job much slower or at my own pace as a form of resistance. (27)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I got into an angry verbal conflict with the person(s) involved. (28)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I avoided contact with White people unless absolutely necessary for a period of time. (29)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I gave the person(s) involved the benefit of the doubt. (30)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I sought spiritual guidance in books or other media. (31)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

I spoke my mind about race and racism, even if others were uncomfortable. (32)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I got other people involved who could help. (33)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I exaggerated behaviors that are perceived to be “Black” in order to intimidate people who are not in my racial group. (34)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I expressed my anger to the person(s) involved. (35)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I became more sensitive or cautious about interacting with people who are not Black. (36)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I tried to convince myself that it wasn’t that bad. (37)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I started going to church (or other religious institutions) more often. (38)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I participated in more activities that celebrated Blackness. (39)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I threatened the person(s) or organization involved with legal action. (40)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I got revenge. (41)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

I confronted the person(s) involved and told them that their actions were racist. (42)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I decided that I could no longer trust White people (or people who are not Black). (43)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I made a conscious decision not to assume all non-Black people are racist. (44)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I meditated. (45)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I supported other people in similar situations. (46)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I told my story in a public forum (“testified”). (47)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I told the person(s) involved off. (48)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I withdrew from people. (49)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I tried to stay positive no matter what. (50)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I surrounded myself with people who can relate to my experience. (51)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I demanded to speak to someone with greater authority (manager, supervisor, etc.) (52)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I tried to defend myself in some way. (53)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

<p>I continue to avoid contact with White people unless absolutely necessary. (54)</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<p>I started to dress or wear my hair in ways that celebrate my African heritage. (55)</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<p>I organized a group response (boycott, demonstration, etc.). (56)</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<p>I thought constantly about why this happened to me. (57)</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<p>I blamed myself for trusting people who are not Black. (58)</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<p>I was careful to never reveal my true feelings around White people. (59)</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Appendix H  
Racial Socialization Scale

Please respond with how frequently you had the following experiences during your upbringing.

	Never (1)	Seldom (2)	Sometimes (3)	Often (4)	Always (5)
Did your parents ever talk with you about racism and discrimination? (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Did your parents ever talk about physical differences between groups? (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Did your parents ever tell you that others would try to limit you? (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Did your parents warn you that you might be treated badly because of your group? (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Did your parents point out examples of racism on TV? (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Did your parents ever tell you that you have to work harder because of who you are? (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Did you ever observe one of your parents being treated badly? (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Did your parents ever talk about your ancestry? (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Did your parents ever do things to remember special group events/holidays? (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Did your parents read you books by your group's authors? (10)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Did your parents teach you about your group's history? (11)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Did your parents take you to your group's cultural events? (12)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Did your parents take you to other groups' cultural events? (13)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Did your parents encourage you to wear clothing/hair styles of your group? (14)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Did your parents teach you not to trust other groups? (15)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Did your parents encourage you to socialize solely with your group? (16)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Appendix I

## Daily Spiritual Experiences Scale

The list that follows includes items you may or may not experience. Please consider how often you directly have this experience, and try to disregard whether you feel you should or should not have these experiences. A number of items used the word "God." If this word is not comfortable one for you, please substitute another word which calls to mind the divine and holy to you.



	Many times a day (1)	Everyday (2)	Most days (3)	Some days (4)	Rarely (5)	Never (6)
I feel God's presence. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I experience a connection to all life. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
During worship, or at other time when connecting to God, I feel joy which lifts me out of my daily concerns. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I find strength in my religion or spirituality. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I find comfort in my religion or spirituality. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel deep inner peace or harmony. (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I ask for God's help in the midst of daily activities. (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel guided by God in the midst of spiritual activities. (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel God's love for me directly. (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel God's love for me, through others. (10)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am spiritually touched by the beauty of creation. (11)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel thankful for my blessings. (12)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

I feel a selfless caring for others. (13)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I accept others even when they do things I think are wrong. (14)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I desire to be closer to God or in union with the divine. (15)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

In general, how close do you feel God?

- Not at all (1)
- Somewhat close (2)
- Very close (3)
- As close as possible (4)

Appendix J  
Satisfaction with Life Scale

Below are five statements with which you might agree or disagree. Using the 1-7 scale below, indicate your agreement with each item by clicking the appropriate bubble that corresponds with the extent to which you disagree or agree with each statement. Please be open and honest in your responding.

	Strongly Disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Slightly Disagree (3)	Neither Agree nor Disagree (4)	Slightly Agree (5)	Agree (6)	Strongly Agree (7)
In most ways my life is close to ideal. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The conditions of my life are excellent. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am satisfied with my life. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
So far I have gotten the important things I want in life. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Appendix K  
Mental Health Inventory – Well-Being

Please answer the following questions about your emotions.

	None of the time (1)	A little of the time (2)	Some of the time (3)	A good bit of the time (4)	Most of the time (5)	All the time (6)
During the past month, how much of the time have you been a happy person? (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
How much time, during the past month, have you felt calm and peaceful? (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
How much time, during the past month, have you been a very nervous person? (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
How much time over the past month have you felt downhearted and blue? (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
How often, during the past month, have you felt so down in the dumps that nothing could cheer you up? (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Appendix L

*Normality Statistics for all Variables*

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Skewness	Std. Error	Critical Ratio	Kurtosis	Std. Error	Critical Ratio
BRIAS-Internalization	28	60	-0.78	0.110	-7.09	0.71	0.219	3.24
MIBI - Priv Regard	22	49	-1.80	0.111	-16.19	3.55	0.221	16.05
MIBI - Centrality	10	56	-0.85	0.111	-7.63	0.57	0.222	2.56
RRCS Con Res	6	22	2.03	0.110	18.42	4.40	0.219	20.10
RRCS Confront	8	32	0.17	0.110	1.55	-0.70	0.219	-3.21
RRCS Spiritual	7	28	0.57	0.110	5.15	-0.86	0.219	-3.93
RRCS Emp Act	9	36	0.97	0.110	8.85	0.31	0.219	1.39
The Spirituality Sc	27	118	-0.47	0.112	-4.21	-0.26	0.224	-1.18
Daily Spiritual Exp	16	94	-0.27	0.110	-2.44	-1.11	0.219	-5.07
A.A. Collectivism Sc	6	24	-1.17	0.110	-10.59	1.88	0.220	8.54
The Comm Scale	50	184	-0.27	0.115	-2.31	0.19	0.230	0.84
RSS - Prep for Bias	7	35	-0.12	0.110	-1.07	-0.98	0.219	-4.49
RSS - Cult Soc	7	35	0.05	0.110	0.45	-0.86	0.219	-3.95
Satisfaction with Life	5	35	-0.21	0.110	-1.88	-0.72	0.220	-3.26
Psych Well-Being	6	30	-0.35	0.110	-3.14	-0.69	0.220	-3.11

*Note.* Skewness and kurtosis critical ratios are similar to z-score indices (statistic relative to its standard error, (see Kline, 2005); values > |1.96| are considered significant.

Appendix M

*Means and Standard Deviations of Study Variables by Gender*

Variable	Male			Female			Transgender		
	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD
BRIAS -Intern	49.57	115.00	5.46	49.46	371.00	5.64	47.67	9.00	8.72
MIBI - Priv Regard	43.72	113.00	5.99	44.92	366.00	4.59	44.78	9.00	8.24
MIBI - Centrality	43.12	113.00	8.55	43.82	360.00	8.62	47.50	8.00	11.93
RRCS - Con Res	8.96	115.00	3.64	7.51	371.00	2.31	9.56	9.00	3.43
RRCS Confront	18.70	115.00	5.48	17.29	371.00	6.03	20.22	9.00	2.59
RRCS Spir	15.15	115.00	5.77	14.68	371.00	6.38	11.67	9.00	5.20
RRCS EmpAct	17.59	115.00	6.79	15.50	371.00	6.04	17.67	9.00	6.02
The Spirituality Sc	75.36	110.00	15.85	75.81	354.00	16.67	60.78	9.00	14.34
Daily Spiritual Exp	58.23	115.00	23.03	62.56	371.00	22.29	38.56	9.00	19.66
A.A. Collectivism	20.51	114.00	3.10	20.68	369.00	3.15	17.22	9.00	4.09
The Comm Scale	139.44	102.00	21.34	137.61	339.00	20.88	123.22	9.00	31.39
RSS - Prep for Bias	22.79	115.00	7.07	21.57	371.00	7.38	20.33	9.00	8.50
RSS - Cultural Soc	20.30	115.00	7.01	20.91	371.00	7.49	18.67	9.00	9.58
Life Satisfaction	20.80	115.00	6.92	20.79	367.00	7.45	11.75	8.00	4.86
Psych Well-Being	20.67	115.00	5.00	19.80	367.00	5.51	14.11	9.00	5.75

Appendix N

*Means and Standard Deviations of Study Variables by Social Class*

Variable	Lower Class			Working Class			Middle Class			Upper Middle Class			Upper Class		
	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD
BRIAS -Intern	47.63	35	6.34	48.74	198	5.78	49.98	220	5.40	51.73	40	5.03	48.50	2	2.12
MIBI - Priv Regard	41.60	35	6.38	44.82	191	4.88	44.70	220	4.85	46.23	40	4.51	42.00	2	8.49
MIBI - Centrality	42.09	35	9.06	43.41	193	8.76	43.78	211	8.80	45.98	40	6.81	49.50	2	7.78
RRCS - Con Res	9.06	35	3.90	7.90	198	2.70	7.74	220	2.68	7.33	40	1.91	13.50	2	0.71
RRCS Confront	18.83	35	5.94	17.37	198	5.88	17.65	220	5.92	17.83	40	5.69	26.00	2	1.41
RRCS Spir	14.00	35	5.76	14.14	198	5.99	15.17	220	6.33	15.93	40	6.96	16.00	2	11.31
RRCS EmpAct	17.14	35	7.22	15.48	198	6.11	16.01	220	6.23	17.73	40	6.41	16.50	2	4.95
The Spirituality Sc	75.00	34	18.75	74.18	188	16.55	76.25	210	16.22	77.56	39	16.49	69.50	2	17.68
Daily Spiritual Exp	53.49	35	25.70	60.64	198	23.14	61.80	220	21.73	66.73	40	21.06	55.50	2	40.31
A.A. Collectivism	20.11	35	3.14	20.65	196	3.36	20.69	219	3.00	20.18	40	3.17	18.00	2	8.49
The Comm Scale	131.17	30	22.70	137.38	182	21.12	137.98	198	20.07	143.29	38	25.00	139.00	2	52.33
RSS - Prep for Bias	22.89	35	8.34	21.07	198	7.25	22.10	220	7.21	23.50	40	7.42	17.00	2	1.41
RSS - Cultural Soc	19.54	35	10.01	19.94	198	7.01	21.38	220	7.21	22.05	40	7.73	20.50	2	0.71
Life Satisfaction	17.80	35	8.04	18.78	195	7.19	21.78	218	6.97	25.78	40	6.10	26.50	2	3.54
Psych Well-Being	17.60	35	5.58	19.29	196	5.45	20.46	219	5.40	22.03	39	4.82	18.00	2	0.00

Appendix O

*Means and Standard Deviations of Study Variables by Sexual Orientation*

Variable	Heterosexual or Straight			Gay or Lesbian			Bisexual		
	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD
BRIAS -Intern	49.91	374	5.44	49	34	6.52	47.74	85	5.92
MIBI - Priv Regard	44.74	368	4.92	45.38	34	4.02	44.01	84	5.88
MIBI - Centrality	43.37	365	8.80	45.65	34	6.99	44.43	81	8.70
RRCS - Con Res	7.80	374	2.76	8.88	34	3.67	7.85	85	2.38
RRCS Confront	17.47	374	5.85	17.59	34	6.72	18.68	85	5.71
RRCS Spir	15.90	374	6.27	11.62	34	5.13	10.85	85	4.02
RRCS EmpAct	16.31	374	6.43	15.18	34	6.26	15.22	85	5.55
The Spirituality Sc	78.53	355	15.62	64.88	34	15.15	66.60	83	16.09
Daily Spiritual Exp	66.45	374	20.89	46.15	34	22.96	43.56	85	18.34
A.A. Collectivism	20.87	372	2.98	19.88	34	3.39	19.57	84	3.73
The Comm Scale	139.83	339	20.65	130.70	30	23.54	131.25	79	21.70
RSS - Prep for Bias	22.27	374	7.29	20.29	34	6.52	20.54	85	7.76
RSS - Cultural Soc	21.36	374	7.26	17.44	34	8.21	19.33	85	7.31
Life Satisfaction	21.66	371	6.82	20.42	33	7.67	16.40	84	8.01
Psych Well-Being	20.85	370	5.16	18.85	34	5.64	16.32	85	5.12



Appendix P

*Means and Standard Deviations of Study Variables by Highest Level of Education*

Variable	No schooling completed			Nursery school to 8th grade			Some high school, no diploma		
	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD
BRIAS -Intern	46.33	3	1.53	58	1	.	49.13	8	6.31
MIBI - Priv Regard	37.33	3	7.02	43	1	.	43.13	8	9.26
MIBI - Centrality	40	3	3.61	34	1	.	42.88	8	7.47
RRCS - Con Res	10.33	3	6.66	8	1	.	9.63	8	3.78
RRCS Confront	17	3	6.56	22	1	.	18.88	8	6.33
RRCS Spir	13.67	3	6.35	26	1	.	14.88	8	3.8
RRCS EmpAct	17	3	8.89	26	1	.	16.13	8	7.22
The Spirituality Sc	82	3	15.87	90	1	.	77.88	8	15.51
Daily Spiritual Exp	60.67	3	16.8	93	1	.	60.88	8	17.24
A.A. Collectivism	20.33	3	2.52	24	1	.	21.5	8	3.66
The Comm Scale	135.33	3	18.58	159	1	.	151.14	7	21.89
RSS - Prep for Bias	26	3	3.46	23	1	.	22.63	8	4.69
RSS - Cultural Soc	24.33	3	5.51	27	1	.	21	8	6.63
Life Satisfaction	20.67	3	8.33	17	1	.	19.5	8	7.95
Psych Well-Being	16.67	3	4.04	26	1	.	16.5	8	6.32

Appendix P (cont.)

*Means and Standard Deviations of Study Variables by Highest Level of Education*

Variable	HS Diploma or equivalent (GED)			Some college credit, no degree			Trade/technical/vocational training		
	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD
BRIAS -Intern	46.97	31	7.55	48.85	124	5.39	47.43	14	6.94
MIBI - Priv Regard	44.26	31	6.45	44.95	122	4.58	42.57	14	6.64
MIBI - Centrality	43.5	30	9.54	43.72	116	8.89	41.79	14	10.4
RRCS - Con Res	7.68	31	2.41	8.04	124	2.88	7.29	14	1.73
RRCS Confront	17.45	31	6.63	18.73	124	5.97	19.71	14	5.95
RRCS Spir	12.55	31	6.63	13.56	124	5.7	19.86	14	4.64
RRCS EmpAct	13.06	31	3.99	15.74	124	5.59	18.43	14	6.31
The Spirituality Sc	63.3	30	16	73.67	120	16.69	89.38	13	10.78
Daily Spiritual Exp	44.35	31	22.35	55.52	124	22.63	77.64	14	13.07
A.A. Collectivism	19.32	31	4.06	20.44	123	3.2	21.29	14	3.17
The Comm Scale	130.27	26	24.74	135.73	111	19.78	139.38	13	23.01
RSS - Prep for Bias	19.16	31	7.16	21.86	124	7.63	24	14	7.6
RSS - Cultural Soc	18.23	31	6.75	19.36	124	7.47	23.21	14	8.89
Life Satisfaction	16.8	30	7.19	18.47	123	7.37	18.5	14	5.73
Psych Well-Being	18.65	31	4.94	18.28	123	5.6	20.71	14	5.3

Appendix P (cont.)

*Means and Standard Deviations of Study Variables by Highest Level of Education*

Variable	Associate's degree			Bachelor's degree			Master's degree		
	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD
BRIAS -Intern	50.55	33	5.64	49.32	147	5.93	50.31	98	4.95
MIBI - Priv Regard	44.21	33	4.39	44.51	142	5.43	44.93	98	4.25
MIBI - Centrality	41.73	33	9.58	43.53	146	8.68	43.77	94	8.39
RRCS - Con Res	7.7	33	2.82	7.95	147	2.94	7.88	98	2.58
RRCS Confront	16.91	33	6.43	16.99	147	5.4	17.49	98	5.81
RRCS Spir	14.79	33	7.04	14.12	147	5.95	16.58	98	6.51
RRCS EmpAct	16.24	33	7.22	15.91	147	6.55	16.87	98	6.57
The Spirituality Sc	73.77	31	16.48	74.27	138	17.28	80.08	96	13.08
Daily Spiritual Exp	61.27	33	23.31	60.54	147	23.7	69.26	98	18.43
A.A. Collectivism	21.24	33	3.03	20.21	145	3.36	21.27	98	2.43
The Comm Scale	140.73	30	26.13	135.51	134	21.68	142.55	91	18.35
RSS - Prep for Bias	21.88	33	8.01	21.8	147	7.27	22.14	98	6.97
RSS - Cultural Soc	20	33	8.21	21.07	147	7.28	22.22	98	6.85
Life Satisfaction	20.58	33	7.53	21.32	145	7.31	22.65	98	6.68
Psych Well-Being	19.42	33	6.24	20.4	145	5.46	21.08	97	4.88

Appendix P (cont.)

*Means and Standard Deviations of Study Variables by Highest Level of Education*

Variable	Professional Degree			Doctorate degree		
	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD
BRIAS -Intern	51.5	14	3.55	51.91	22	3.37
MIBI - Priv Regard	45.57	14	4.57	45.95	22	3.03
MIBI - Centrality	47.5	14	6.7	48.09	22	5.1
RRCS - Con Res	7.57	14	2.44	6.82	22	1.59
RRCS Confront	18.36	14	6.43	16.14	22	6.5
RRCS Spir	16	14	5.79	15.82	22	6.34
RRCS EmpAct	17.71	14	7.32	15.18	22	5.7
The Spirituality Sc	76.73	11	19.13	79.32	22	16.31
Daily Spiritual Exp	66.79	14	21.48	68.32	22	18.27
A.A. Collectivism	21.21	14	3.42	20.18	22	3
The Comm Scale	139.23	13	24.49	139.62	21	20.63
RSS - Prep for Bias	22.07	14	7.14	21.82	22	8.32
RSS - Cultural Soc	22	14	7.86	20.77	22	8.14
Life Satisfaction	25	13	6.31	24.14	22	7.07
Psych Well-Being	22.14	14	3.88	22.41	22	4.41

Appendix Q

*Means and Standard Deviations of Study Variables by Marital Status*

Variable	Single, never married			Married or domestic partnership			Widowed			Divorced			Separated		
	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD
BRIAS -Intern	48.88	335	5.83	50.22	112	5.15	50.50	4	4.43	51.67	36	4.67	52.00	8	6.28
MIBI - Priv															
Regard	44.51	329	5.23	44.58	111	5.03	42.75	4	3.77	45.92	36	3.51	46.13	8	2.30
MIBI -															
Centrality	43.71	325	8.44	43.56	109	9.65	39.25	4	5.38	44.97	35	8.32	42.63	8	6.97
RRCS - Con															
Res	7.77	335	2.58	8.13	112	3.14	6.25	4	0.50	7.97	36	2.72	9.75	8	4.83
RRCS															
Confront	17.48	335	5.85	18.43	112	5.93	16.00	4	2.45	17.00	36	6.46	18.50	8	6.28
RRCS Spir	13.88	335	6.02	16.55	112	6.05	16.50	4	6.03	16.42	36	7.16	16.75	8	6.94
RRCS EmpAct	15.46	335	6.04	16.89	112	6.07	16.75	4	9.03	17.92	36	8.06	18.50	8	6.44
The Spirituality															24.5
Sc	73.92	324	16.74	78.23	104	15.47	81.25	4	8.42	79.52	33	14.95	79.63	8	9
Daily Spiritual															25.0
Exp	57.98	335	22.79	66.95	112	21.05	72.75	4	14.91	71.11	36	20.56	60.38	8	3
A.A.															
Collectivism	20.44	335	3.23	20.56	110	3.27	21.25	4	3.20	21.40	35	2.58	22.75	8	1.58
The Comm										147.1			158.8		20.3
Scale	135.24	308	20.81	140.83	102	21.11	152.00	4	8.60	6	31	22.25	0	5	0
RSS - Prep for															
Bias	21.69	335	7.39	22.39	112	6.88	18.50	4	8.58	21.69	36	7.89	22.25	8	9.27
RSS - Cultural															
Soc	20.50	335	7.40	21.42	112	7.28	16.00	4	3.37	21.11	36	7.93	21.38	8	9.26
Life															
Satisfaction	20.17	332	7.35	21.96	111	7.43	19.75	4	2.22	22.00	35	7.37	16.63	8	6.44
Psych Well-															
Being	19.24	333	5.38	21.10	111	5.47	22.00	4	4.32	22.43	35	5.08	18.75	8	5.15



Appendix R

<i>Fit Indices for Measurement and Structural Models</i>			
Fit Index	Measurement Model	Re-Specified Measurement Model	Structural Model
Chi Square	628.695	285.453	285.453
Df (p value)	84 (p < .000)	82 (p < .000)	82 (p < .000)
CFI	0.780	0.918	0.918
TLI	0.727	0.895	0.895
RMSEA (90% CI)	.114 (.106, .123)	0.071 (.062, 0.80)	0.071 (.062, 0.80)
SRMR	0.101	0.061	0.061
AIC	47001.411	46634.192	-