This is to certify that the

dissertation entitled

Understanding the meaning of African-American Culture: An empirical examination of the framing of mental programs

presented by

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has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.d degree in Communication

William A. Gonzalez
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Date 9-30-96

UNDERSTANDING THE MEANING OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN CULTURE: AN EMPIRICAL EXAMINATION OF THE FRAMING OF MENTAL PROGRAMS

By

Dedra M. Campbell

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Communication

1996

ABSTRACT

UNDERSTANDING THE MEANING OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN CULTURE: AN EMPIRICAL EXAMINATION OF THE FRAMING OF MENTAL PROGRAMS

By

Dedra M. Campbell

The primary goal of this study was to examine the impact that race has on African-American culture. Although scholarly research, popular works, and media forums frequently discuss the concept "African-American culture," little empirical research had been conducted which globally assessed the core cultural elements shared by members of this racial group and if these factors transcend other important cultural influences such as education, socioeconomic issues, and contact and interaction with other racial and ethnic groups. In short, the goal of this research was to truly understand the impact race, among African-Americans, has on the development, sustainment and experience of culture.

To successfully examine these issues, this research took a three step approach. The first step provided an overview of the meaning of culture. The second reviewed and bridged prior research examining African-American culture, creating a model of the African-American cultural frames based on these theories and conceptualizations. Cultural frames were defined as the unique elements, circumstances, and salient issues which separate one national, social, racial, religious, or ethnic group from another. This, in effect, influences the collective thinking of the group leading to the manifestations that we identify as cultural values, norms, and behaviors. These cultural frames were: 1) a shared history of slavery and oppression and the continuing significance of race; 2) the

impact of segregation and separate social institutions; 3) a unique communication system; and 4) a shared African ethnic heritage. The third step of this research empirically assessed these frames by comparing and contrasting the reactions to them across groups of African-Americans that differ in terms of their income, age, and whether they live in predominately black, white or mixed environment.

The results of this study provide support for a shared African-American culture. There were significant differences in terms of attitudes and perceptions regarding African-American culture across income, age, and density groups. However, the similarities and small, albeit significant differences, do suggest that a "core" cultural frame may exist among African-Americans. Data examining significant differences between African-American and white Americans provided further support for this assertion. However, although a core African-American culture may exists, interracial encounters are not synonymous with intercultural interactions and must be addressed in intraracial and interracial communication theory and research.

This dissertation is dedicated to Thomas E. Archipley. Your friendship and unconditional support mean the world to me.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I'm extremely grateful to Yankelovich Partners Inc. for allowing me to utilize the wealth of data from the African-American MONITOR. This enabled me to explore ideas and concepts I otherwise wouldn't have had the resources or opportunity to tap into. I want to give a special thanks to Doug Haley for taking such an interest in my work and providing me with insight into the design of this dissertation.

Completing a dissertation geographically detached from the university was quite difficult for me and I couldn't have done it without the patience and guidance of my committee members. My recurring nightmare of my committee members forgetting that I existed caused me some apprehensive moments. But none of you did. Thank you Dr. William Donohue for helping me to see the big picture and rejuvenating my energy and excitement in my research when I hit mental blocks. I feel fortunate to have had such a charismatic advisor. Dr. Steven McCornack, I wouldn't be writing this acknowledgment if I hadn't been one of your students six years ago, present at the famous "graduate school" speech. You presented an opportunity and a challenge that started it all. Dr. Frank Boster, I appreciate your humor as much as your ability to keep me grounded and focused. Thanks for reminding me of the ultimate goal (to finish) when I seemed to have forgotten. You have a fascinating way with words. And Dr. Jacob Climo, it was

particularly enjoyable and important for me to receive your perspective on my research which in many ways challenged my comfortable "school" of thought. I've enjoyed our discussions over coffee.

Having people I could depend on to keep me balanced and drag me away from my work when I began hallucinating was critical to my mental health. This is only one of the many reasons why I value my dear friends, Sharon Lowery and Monica Sams.

And finally, I must thank my family (my mother, Bernell Hiler, my sisters, Melanie and Brenna Campbell, my fathers, James Campbell and Bill Hiler, and my Aunt Minnie) for all the torture you have lovely taken from me throughout this process. Believe me, I know I can be a pain, but you never stopped telling me how much you loved me.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

> Blackness as a sign is never enough. What does that black subject do, how does it act, how does it think politically. . . being black isn't really good enough for me. I want to know what your cultural politics are.
>
> bell hooks (1992)

Racial, ethnic, and cultural differences among people play a major role in the events of our times, in countries around the world, and have played a major role in the long history of the human race (Sowell, 1994). In the context of the United States, race in particular is a volatile issue buried within and throughout the fabrics of this society. What ever the biological reality, race as a social concept is a powerful force uniting and dividing people (Sowell, 1994; Terkal, 1992; Davis, 1993).

Ironically, although race as a social construct is extremely powerful, even considered to be an "American obsession" to some scholars, it is an elusive concept to define (Terkal, 1992; Webster, 1992). For example, defining what it means to be black, or as some prefer, African-American, differs depending on the perspective an individual adheres to. If one submits to the biological "one-drop rule," then all it takes is any known black ancestor to be considered African-American (Davis, 1994). For others, one must not only be officially classified as black to be *truly* black, but identify and have a "black" orientation as well (Mabry, 1995; Steele, 1991). For example, some black individuals may be rejected by other African-Americans for not being black enough. They are instead perceived as adopting the values, behaviors, communication style, and lifestyle that may be considered to be reflective of mainstream, white US society (Mabry, 1994; Smitherman,

1994; Sutherland, 1989). In other words, consistent with hooks' quote, looking black and passing all classification requirements is not always good enough - one must also identify and project the social, political, and cultural aspects stereotypical of representing an African-American cultural identity (hooks, 1992).

Thus, the meaning of being an African-American has the potential to be paradoxical based on the biological, ethnic, and cultural aspects involved. On one hand, it only takes one ancestor who is black to be classified as African-American in this society. Yet, in other cases, the same African-American can be suspect of his or her authenticity regarding their loyalties toward the black community if he or she does not adhere to the appropriate political and social views regarding African-Americans. These comparisons are examples of the often contradictory views regarding race, particularly when discussing African-Americans. In large part, this is a result of the interlocking associations between the biological, ethnic and cultural dimensions that are made when examining and focusing on issues regarding African-Americans (Asante and Mattson, 1992; Meyers, 1987; Kochman, 1981). These aspects, more times than not, are considered by scholars to be key aspects of "African-American cultural identity (Smitherman, 1994; Dent, 1992; Collins, 1991; Essed, 1991; Barnes-Harden, 1984; DeVos, 1975)."

Not surprisingly, this thinking can be infuriating and insulting for some African-Americans and in many cases, be a personal and social dilemma for blacks who do not fit into this imposed "mold." Being black, and understanding the implications it has in a society like the US is a lesson learned early on for most African-Americans. Yet, there

are people who are disappointed if an individuals' personal views, background, and lifestyle do not fit stereotypical images of African-Americans.

Marcus Mabry (1995) writes about his experience of being caught between a white privileged world and a black world and not fitting into either. In his book, White bucks and black-eyed peas (1995), Mabry tells his story of life from a poor all-black enclave in suburban Trenton, New Jersey to finding himself at the age of fourteen suddenly thrust into a white, affluent world after being awarded an academic scholarship to Lawrencenville. Lawrencenville is recognized as one of the nation's most prestigious prep schools. As he excelled academically, he grew painfully aware of the racial ignorance that shapes the lives of even the most well meaning people. However, attempting to obtain acceptance into the black campus community as a freshman at Stanford proved to be just as painful, if not more so. Because Mabry had spent the early formative years of his life in a predominately white environment, taking on interests perceived to be "upper-class white" he found that he did not fit in with other African-Americans, his family included. The following is an excerpt from his book.

> One of the first to arrive at the party, I stood next to the punch bowl and waited for other people to drift in. . .Over the next two hours I struck up a few conversations but none seemed to last very long. The guys were all talking jive and slapping backs like they had known each other all their lives. I thought back to my first visits home from Lawrencenville and my days of code shifting, when a speaker literally changes dialect to match the language of his listener. I considered trying to throw a little Black English around and shaking hands like a brother. I thought I had transcended this need to be something I wasn't. . .I resented them [the other black students; many of them were the sons and daughters of doctors and lawyers] for their money, but more importantly, for their claim that only they knew "blackness."
>
> Only after college did I learn that most of "them" were role-playing too that first day of BROC (Black Recruiting and Orientation Committee). The difference was that these people from all over the country, with

> divergent interests and beliefs, kept play-acting until they created a new cohesive community; while I was content to live in the white one. I wish I had know then that if I had kept going through the motions, I would have belonged too. Mabry (1995, p172-174).

Mabry's experience is an example of the double-edged sword some African-Americans encounter when they do not fit into what is considered to be representative of the "African-American culture or experience (Steele, 1991)." African-Americans who do not fit into this picture tend to be clumped into miscellaneous categories in which they are considered to be alternative or mainstreamed into the dominant society or out-casts in general. Rarely are they referred to as a part of or another dimension of a larger, diverse African-American culture. If their social and political views, lifestyles, communication styles and language, and so forth, do not fit into the prototypical African-American culture, the inference which can be made is that these individuals are "less" black socially, culturally, and politically.

This seems to be an unreasonable assessment when you take an individual such as Mabry (1995) with his unique experience and expect him to be like another African-American with a different life experience simply because they are both black. The author of this paper asserts that this narrow thinking is encouraged and reinforced by the constant focus on the similarities of African-Americans, those real and imaged, by scholarly research, popular work, media forums, and lay people of all races.

These issues raise the question of what African-American culture is, and what it means to be "inside" or "outside" this experience *even if you are unquestionably an African-American*. The complexity of synthesizing the various components of African-

American culture is a reflection of the scattered and diverse scholarly research in this field of study. In spite of this, African-American culture is often spoken from the lips of laypeople and scholars alike as if there were no doubts that not only does an African-American culture exist, but the factors that make this a unique culture are understood and agreed upon by all (Webster, 1992; Meyers, 1987; Barnes-Harden, 1984; Feagin, 1987; Sutherland, 1987).

Moreover, there is very little empirical research examining the propositions of what factors influence, sustain, and create African-American culture and how and if these factors transcend other important cultural elements such as education, occupation, socioeconomic status, and contact and interaction with other racial and ethnic groups. In short, the factors which have been discussed in previous research as being "core" African-American elements which are proposed to be the foundation of this culture have not been examined and/or challenged systematically. Thus, it is difficult to grasp how pervasive and influential these factors are in how they impact the lives of African-Americans with diverse backgrounds and experiences.

It is not the position of this author that there is no African-American culture. The opposition concerns the blind acceptance of a homogeneous culture, the lack of attention given to the diversity in cultural experiences and orientations within this racial group, and the lack of empirical research that supports this assertion. This research proposes that as a variable, race alone is not a determinant of culture. To truly understand cultural similarities that may exist, researchers need to explore the influence of other factors which interact with race (e.g., income level, interaction and involvement in mainstream society).

Thus, this research is on a quest of understanding the meaning of an "African-American culture" and the impact these proposed cultural frames have on African-Americans with diverse social, economic, political and personal experiences. Cultural frames are defined as the unique elements, circumstances and salient issues which separate one national, social, racial, religious, or ethnic group from another.

The goal of this research is to do what no prior study examining African-American culture has done. The first step is to explore prior literature examining this subject and develop a conceptual model of the core cultural frames proposed to represent African-American culture based on this review. The African-American key cultural frames identified by this comprehensive review are: 1) A shared history of slavery and oppression, as well as the continuing significance of race, racism and discrimination, 2) the impact of segregation and separate social institutions, 3) a unique communication system, 4) and a shared African ethnic heritage.

The second step is to explore the impact race has on perceptions of these cultural elements by accessing the impact of three variables. The three variables examined in this research are: income, age, and residence in particular African-American density areas. African-American density is defined as whether individuals reside in an US Bureau of the Census identified area which is high density black (at least 82% African-American), moderate density black (81% to 37% African-American) or low density black (less than 37% African-American). Figure 1-3 profiles the groups to be examined in this research.

Figure 1: Profile of Three African-American Income Groups

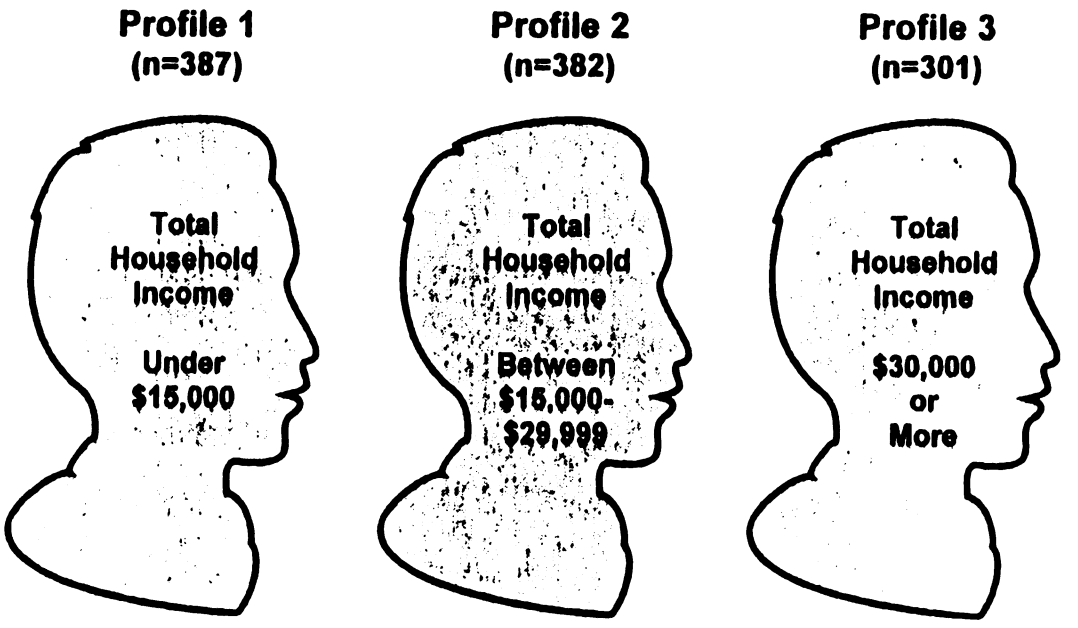


Figure 2: Profile of Three African-American Age Groups

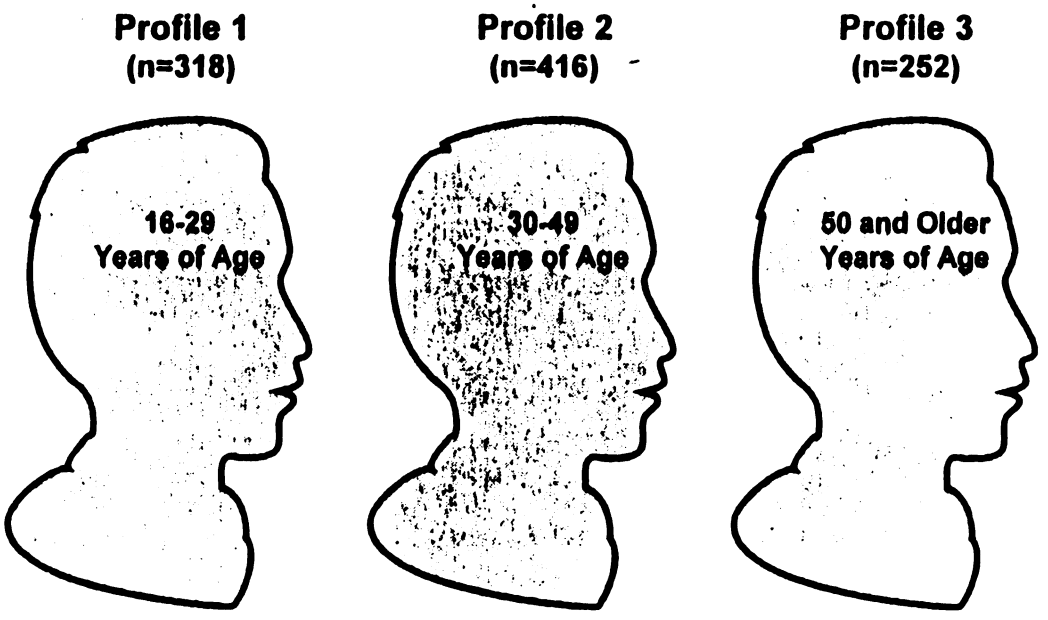
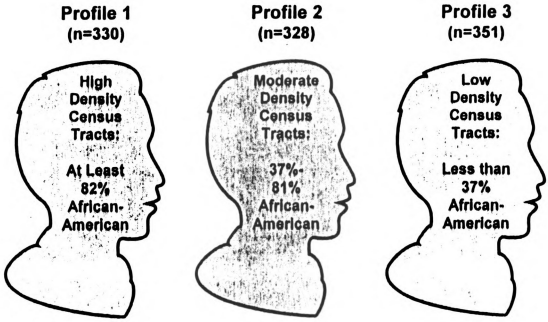


Figure 3: Profile of Residents of Low, Moderate, and High Density Groups



Rationale for profiling African-Americans by income, age, and residence in low, moderate or high density black areas

This research has chosen to examine household income, age and residence in a high, moderate, or low density black area (Census tracks) because of the opportunities (or lack thereof) and experiences these particular variables potentially influence. While there are other characteristics which may affect an individuals cultural experience, the author of this dissertation feels that these three variables are particularly compelling.

Income

For members of this society, which includes a plethora of races, ethnic groups, nationalities, religions and so forth, the "haves and have nots" are often measured by their financial worth. Simply put, an individual's financial comfort and security affords different experiences and opportunities than those who are struggling to barely get by and are located in what Derrick Bell describes as the "bottom of the well" (Bell, 1992). Mabry (1995) is an example of an individual who has lived in the world of economic poverty, and at times, despair, causing many problems and complications in family and community relations. Mabry also lived in a world with the children of the top one-half of one percent of the economic social structure, the rich and the super-rich (Mabry, 1995; Zweigenhaft and Domhoff, 1991).

Zweigenhaft and Domhoff (1991) explored situations similar to Mabry's in their book which documents the dramatic transitions faced by graduates of "A Better Chance (ABC)." In its' hey-day between 1964 to 1975, the ABC program saw more than one hundred schools participating in bringing black students from economically improvised

backgrounds to some of America's most exclusive prep schools and universities. Many of the participants of this program achieved positions of great power and prestige in medicine, law, literature, academia, and business (Zweigenhaft & Domhoff, 1991). Mabry and the participants of ABC are extreme examples of the relationship between race and economic class in this society, but their stories do pose important questions of how African-Americans of varying income levels perceive society, their level of participation in mainstream society and how society perceives and accepts them. For this research, income is viewed as a critical variable to examine in terms of how African-Americans perceive issues asserted by various scholars as reflecting parts of African-American culture.

Age

Age is another demographic characteristic that may have an important impact on the cultural experiences of an individual. In a world that is constantly changing and bears little resemblance to that of a mere half-decade ago, much less a generation ago, examining African-Americans in age cohorts is an important factor in understanding whether an African-American culture exists by looking at the pervasiveness in values, attitudes, and behaviors across different generational age groups.

For African-Americans, age is of particular interest because of the change of overt discrimination and racism that has taken place in recent decades. Having lived in a Jim Crow society prior to the Brown v. Board of Education, which removed the protective cover of laws that lent respectability to racist exclusion, may give individuals a different mental perspective than individuals who were active participants in the various

phases of the Civil Rights Movement. Furthermore, a generation who never personally experienced boycotts, marches and voter registration campaigns, but instead, dealt more with subtle, covert forms of racism and discrimination, may have a different perspective as well.

African-American density neighborhoods

Residence in a high, moderate, or low density area is rarely examined in research focusing on African-Americans. Whether or not one resides in a predominately black or white community will influence the social system in which interaction and learning occur. Considering that culture is learned and reinforced through social interaction and communication, it is a likely that the impact of living in a racially homogeneous or racially heterogeneous environment will influence collective thinking and behavioral manifestations. Individuals living in low density areas may also have less spontaneous contact with other African-Americans and feel that they identify and share more in common with non-African-Americans than other African-Americans. Moreover, residence in a low density black area may potentiality indicate higher participation in mainstream society as well as more interaction with non-African-Americans in a variety of situations such as in the workplace, educational arenas as well as social situations. On the other hand, African-Americans living in high density areas may potentially feel more comfortable and grounded among other blacks, thus, feeling there is a stronger cultural connection.

In summary, income, age, and residence in a low, moderate, or high density black neighborhood are proposed for the purposes of this dissertation to be important demographic characteristics to examine. If there is a shared African-American culture,

perceptions of the frames which reflect this culture should cross these demographic boundaries. If there is no true shared African-American culture, significant differences should be reflected in perceptions regarding the frames which reflect this culture.

Correlation's among the variables

Originally, the author of this dissertation wanted to combine the variables into a "profiled group," e.g., merging low density as a category with high income to create one group. However, examination of the correlation between each of these variables are not large enough to suggest that combined variables such as high income/low density would reflect a large enough segment of the African-American population to be generalizable to the African-American population outside of this sample. Therefore, income, age, and density will be explored individually. An empirical examination of the beliefs, attitudes and perceptions of the cultural frames identified in this research will be conducted across the various demographic groups of African-Americans to see if they diverge or converge on their perceptions of African-American cultural frames. Table 1 presents the correlation's between income, age and African-American density (see table 1).

Table 1: Correlations Between Income, Age and African-American Density

	Household Income	Age	African-American Density[1]
Household Income	1.00	-.12**	-.13**
Age	-.12**	1.00	.11**
African-American Density[1]	-.13**	.11**	1.00

** Significant at 0 01 level
[1] Higher density indicates a higher population of African-Americans in a census tract

Based on the results of this research, a better understanding will be obtained regarding the impact that race has on African-American cultural frames which in effect, determine whether a group is truly a culture or simply a group of people who share some physical attributes. Thus, the ultimate goal of this research is to not only provide a global empirical test of the meaning of African-Americans culture, but to also understand the true impact race alone has on determining an individual's cultural orientation. By incorporating other important factors that have an impact on our values, attitudes, norms, behaviors and our communication and social networks such as income level, age, and whether or not an individual is immersed in a black environment physically, a greater understanding of the impact that the social concept of race has on the lives of African-Americans with diverse backgrounds and day-to-day experiences will be achieved. This research will also begin to answer such questions and/or confirm previous propositions regarding the core frames that make up African-American culture and the extent to which these frames transcend other cultural boundaries such as socioeconomic status, lifestage, and enculturation into mainstream American society.

Organizational Overview

To successfully accomplish this goal, this research will take a three step approach. The first step is to provide an overview of the meaning of culture. The second is to review and bridge prior research examining African-American culture, creating a conceptual model of the African-American cultural frames based on these theories. The third step of this research is to empirically assess these frames by comparing and

contrasting reactions and perceptions of them across African-Americans of different income levels, age groups, and residence in different levels of black density areas.

This dissertation is divided into five chapters. The first chapter will review the theoretical conceptualizations of culture by the scholars in this field which will provide the theoretical parameters necessary for understanding the impact that the identified African-American cultural frames have on their values, norms, behavior and communication. The second chapter will review relevant research focusing on African-Americans and their experiences and present a conceptual model of African-American culture based on the cultural frames identified by scholars in this field. Research hypotheses will also be presented in this chapter. Chapter three will do an empirical assessment of these cultural frames by contrasting and comparing these responses across the different groups of African-Americans (See figure 1-3). Chapter four will present the results of these analyses and chapter five will discuss the findings and the implications of these results to African-American cultural research, making suggestions on directions for future research in this area of study.

Presentation of Hypotheses

The overall goal of this research is to obtain an overall perspective on the African-American perceptual frames that are hypothesized to influence the culture of this racial group. Thus, the macro question of the study is "do African-Americans in different demographic groups share similar values, attitudes, beliefs and perceptions of the perceptual frames which in effect drive the existence of a shared culture?" To examine this big question, the author of this dissertation has chosen to pose the hypotheses as one of not real difference and the alternative. In other words, the null hypothesis and the alternative hypothesis of difference when measuring the various perceptual frames will be posed (H_o = null hypothesis of no difference; H_a = alternative hypothesis of difference).

The null hypothesis (H_o) refers to the idea that the data in question are due only to chance. A significant difference is, therefore, one for which we have excluded chance as the explanation, or one for which we have rejected the null hypothesis (Sprinthall, 1990). The opposite of the null hypothesis is the alternative hypothesis (H_a) which states that the data in question is different. Therefore, the samples used represent different populations (Sprinthall, 1990).

The primary purpose of this research is to determine if an African-American culture exists across demographic groups or is race simply a physical characteristic that does not determine culture. Thus, unlike some research endeavors, to accept the null hypothesis is to accept that the data suggest that an African-American culture exists. To reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternative hypothesis would suggest that there is no umbrella of an African-American culture and that being black does not determine that individuals perceptual frames which drive culture, but instead, other factors may play a role (e.g., income, age).

Chapter One

AN OVERVIEW OF THE THEORETICAL CONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF CULTURE

Culture has been conceptualized in varying ways by scholars in cultural and intercultural communication studies (Collier & Thomas, 1988). Many definitions provide lists of shared background characteristics, such as histories, institutions, core values, beliefs, and attitudes or world views, heritage and traditions, technologies, as well as shared behavioral characteristics, such as verbal and nonverbal message styles (Harley, 1995; Asante & Mattson, 1992; Hecht et al., 1993; Dodd, 1987; Samovar, Porter, & Janin, 1981; Sarbaugh, 1979). Other scholars have defined culture in relation to negotiation processes (Wilson, Cai, Campbell, Donohue, & Drake, 1995; Cai, 1994; Francis, 1991; Graham, 1985a, 1985b), communication effectiveness (Gallois, Franklyn-Stokes, Giles, and Coupland, 1988; Kim & Gudykunst, Stewart, and Ting-Toomey, 1985), and values and worldviews (Nadler, Nadler, & Broome, 1985). Culture can refer to ethnicity, gender, profession, or any other symbol system that is salient to an individual or group. In short, culture can be conceived as everything that is human-made or as involving shared meaning (Gudykunst, 1987).

Conceptual Definitions

The objective of this chapter is to present a theoretical framework of culture deriving from prior research. While there are numerous ways of defining culture, the definition used in this dissertation is that "culture is generally a dynamic collage of shared values, norms, and behaviors within a group driven by a collective mental programming of the mind."

This research also adheres to the perspective that culture and communication are not truly separable (Hecht, Collier, Ribeau, 1993; Collier & Thomas, 1988). Communication is meaningful because of the culture that frames it and culture must be expressed to exist. This is due to the social nature of mental programming which is learned and shared by cultural groups. Mental programming refers to the social system of stable and predictable patterns of behavior in which a "collective" way of thinking and viewing the world is inferred. Cultural frames are in essence the unique elements, circumstances and salient issues that separate one cultural group from another. In other words, cultural frames are the special elements that lead to a particular collective mental program which drives and motivates the cultural manifestations of a group. This chapter will explore these concepts further and the role each plays in the development and sustainment of cultures prior to the discussion on African-American culture specifically, which will be dealt with in Chapter three. This chapter is divided up into two sections. The first section examines Hofstede's (1984) collective mental programming theory. The second section focuses on the cultural manifestations which are driven by a social group's collective mental programming.

Collective mental programming

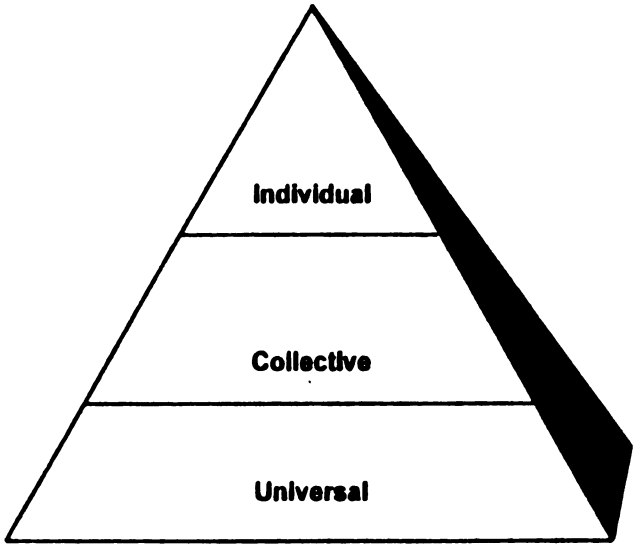
According to Hofstede's (1984) theory of culture, a key aspect of culture is a collective programming of the mind, i.e., a social groups' mental programming. Mental programming essentially refers to the stable and predictable patterns of behaviors of a group in which we infer from it the presence of stable mental programs. Hofstede (1984)

states that every individual's mental programming is partly unique and partly shared with others. Therefore, mental programs are broadly distinguished at three levels of uniqueness: the universal, the collective, and the individual (Hofstede, 1984). The universal level is the least unique but most basic of mental programming which is shared by all, or almost all, mankind. This is the biological "operating system" of the human body, but it includes a range of expressive behaviors which are found in higher animals.

The collective level of mental programming is shared with some but not with other people; it is common to people belonging to a certain group or category, but different among people belonging to other groups or categories. This level of mental programs is where human culture is located. It includes the language in which we express ourselves, how we interpret and judge the behavior of others - in short, our overall outlook in the world around us.

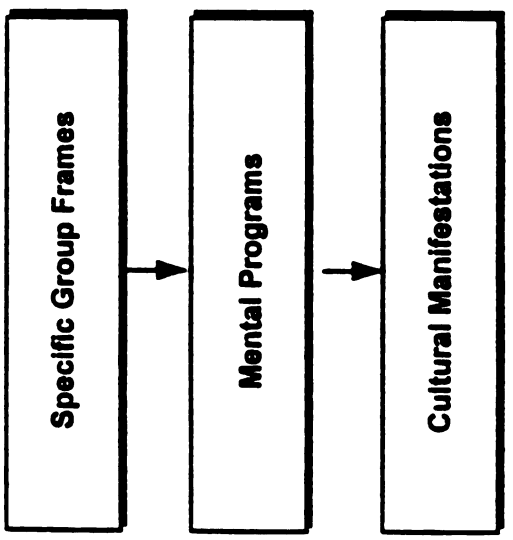
The individual level of human programming is the truly unique part - no two people are programmed exactly alike, even if they are identical twins raised together. This is the level of individual personality, and it provides for a wide range of alternative behaviors within the same collective culture. Figure 4 presents a model of Hofstede's three levels of mental programs.

Figure 4: Three levels of uniqueness in Human Mental Programming



It is at the collective level where cultures exist, therefore, being of primary interest to this research. At this level of mental programming, Hofstede (1984) asserts that most or all of our mental programming is learned, which is shown by the fact that we share it with people who went though the same learning process but who do not have the same genes. The transfer of collective mental programs is a social phenomenon that should be explained socially. Societies, organizations, and groups have ways of conserving and passing on mental programs from generation to generation with an obstinacy that many people tend to underestimate. Thus, at the cultural level of mental programs, specific group frames which are unique, salient and significant to a group play an important role in developing collective mental programs that lead to the cultural manifestations. The next section of this chapter will look at the manner in which culture manifests itself. These manifestations are often the primary way in which researchers can infer collective mental programs (Hofstede, 1984). Figure 5 depicts the relationship between cultural frames, mental programs and cultural manifestations.

Figure 5: Overview of Culture



Cultural manifestations

The previous section discussed the notion of how mental models are formed by specific group frames. This level of conceptualization is not "visible" however. We infer a groups' collective mental programming based on their beliefs and perceptions of core cultural frames as well as their behavioral manifestations. Traditionally, values, norms, and behaviors have been identified as the core elements of a cultural/ethnic group. These values, norms, and behaviors within a cultural organization all act together to develop, reinforce and sustain another important element of culture - shared knowledge and a common sense of origin. This perception of "commonality," whether it be a common belief system, shared behaviors, or common origins or a common sense of survival, has been recognized as being a great motivator in uniting individuals into self-defining cultural or ethnic groups (DeVos, 1975). It is this shared knowledge and common sense of origin that allows individuals to know how to communicate with others and how to interpret others' behavior within a cultural social organization (Hecht, Collier, & Ribeau, 1993).

Thus, a key factor in uniting a cultural group into self-defining groups is a sense of common origins, common beliefs and values, and a common sense of survival derived from perceptions of shared values, norms, and behaviors (DeVos, 1975; Shibutani & Kowan, 1967). Perceptions of common ancestry, both real and mythical, have been important to both the group's self definition and an outsider's definition (Feagin, 1989).

The following categories or sections in this dissertation are not meant to be distinct and mutually exclusive. Rather, these categories are meant to identify the key elements of culture that are highlighted by researchers and scholars in this field of study. The following sections will review these key concepts which describe how a cultural system is manifested.

Values

Rockeach (1972) describes values in relation to modes of conduct and end-states of existence. To say that a person has a value is to say that he/she has an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct is personally and socially preferable to alternative modes of conduct (Rockeach, 1972).

Porter (1973) asserts that a value is one of the most significant factors that influences culture. He defines a value as "an enduring conception that a given end state of existence is preferable or not preferable to certain end states." They provide order and direction to our thoughts and actions. Within a cultural group, value systems are maintained through sets of positive and negative sanctions. Thus, the affirmation of basic values implies various moral and ethical standards for a given culture (Porter, 1973).

An individual's value system significantly affects that person's perception of a particular situation. The more an individual fundamentally accepts a basic system of values, the more he or she is likely to view his or her own interpretation of an act as the morally correct one and the other person as falling short of grace (Cushman & King, 1985; Nadler, Nadler, Broome, 1985).

In an intercultural negotiation context, for example, certain values may influence what interactants bring to the conflict, the process of negotiation, and eventual modes of conflict resolution. Values that influence how one manages conflict might relate to one's worldview, activity orientation, perception of self, sense of time, and perception of social relations.

In essence, values are what Ting-Toomey (1985) refers to as "cultural demands." Cultural demands are the set of cultural ideologies or implicit standards that a collective group of individuals more or less ascribe to. They pose the "oughtness" of how things should be done. Our values provide our structural belief systems or ideologies, that prevent or discourage group members from thinking in a particular direction (Ting-Toomey, 1985). Values provide the structure for our norms and behaviors, which will be discussed in the next section.

In summary, a value is an enduring belief that guide people in determining appropriate modes of conduct and actions with ourselves and others. Our values are developed and taught to individuals by their social group and maintained through positive and negative sanctions that vary from culture to culture.

Norms

What values are to beliefs, norms are to behavior. Norms can be defined as rules of conduct, blueprints for behavior, and cultural expectations (Gudykunst & Kim, 1992). There are three attributes of norms that have been isolated in the literature: 1) a collective evaluation of behavior in terms of what ought to be; 2) a collective expectation as to what behavior will be; and 3) particular reactions to behavior including attempts to apply

sanctions or otherwise induce a particular kind of behavior (Gudykunst & Kim, 1992) Put another way, norms can be defined as socially shared guidelines for expected and accepted behaviors, violation of which leads to some form of sanction from one's culture group.

Thus, norms are the rules and codes that govern the behavioral appropriateness of a given gesture, or words and phrases in a given socio-cultural context (Ting-Toomey, 1985).

Behavior

Culture consists of the integrated pattern of human behavior that includes thought, speech and artifacts and depends on human being's capacity for learning and transmitting knowledge to succeeding generations. The behavioral aspect of culture refers to the phenomenal reality, i.e., the culturally specific patterns of behavior. Participation in this phenomenal reality provides one's life with a sense of direction, a sense of what is appropriate and inappropriate behavior (Cushman & King, 1985).

Gudykunst (1982) asserts that the behavioral aspect of culture serves at least three functions: legitimization, motivation, and integration. Legitimization provides its members with socially legitimate patterns of interpretation and behavior for dealing with culturally relevant problems. Motivation provides its members with a hierarchical motivational structure that links their identity to culturally relevant roles and values. Integration provides its members with a symbolically integrated framework that regulates social interaction and goal attainment through the creation of cultural meanings (Cushman & King, 1985).

As discussed previously in this paper, values provide the cultural belief system which drive our norms or blueprints for behavior. It is through actual behavior that our cultural demands and constraints discussed in the previous two sections are manifested. These manifestations also take the form of how culture is transmitted to group members through communication and how language is used. The next section will explore this in more detail.

The process of transmitting culture through communication

Borden (1991) states that the cultural dimension of communication is the nonconscious ideologies we carry with us that may suggest what our normal communicative behavior would be. Some scholars view culture and communication as two interrelated concepts that cannot be understood without understanding the other (e.g., Gudykunst & Kim, 1992; Hall, 1959). Hecht et al. (1992) express this thinking by stating that communication and culture are not truly separable. Communication is meaningful because of the culture that frames it. Moreover, culture must be expressed to exist (Hecht et al., 1992). Therefore, communication exists in a cultural context and all culture is communicated (Hall, 1959).

Gudykunst and Kim's (1992) research reflects this thinking. They state that the development of human culture is made possible through communication and talk, and that it is through communication that culture is transmitted from one generation to another. Goodwin (1990) states that talk is a resource utilized by participants to build both their ongoing social organization and the phenomenal world they inhabit as the situated product of interactive practices. Interaction occupies a central place in the organization of human social behavior. From an ethnological perspective, "all social life in animals depends on the coordination of interactions between them (Goodwin, 1990). Thus, interaction is central to the organization of culture as well as social interaction. In order to coordinate their behavior with that of their co-participants, human beings must display to each other what they are doing and how they expect others to participate in the activity of the moment (Goodwin, 1990).

Language as a marker for cultural affiliation

Other than serving the means for transmitting the values, norms, and behaviors of a culture, communication also serves the role of providing the actual qualities of language and speech style as a signal for cultural affiliation.

Therefore, key aspects to the communicative dimension of culture is language and speech styles. These variables have been identified as being a critical means of sustaining the vitality and boundaries of a cultural group (Smitherman, 1994; Goodwin; Gallois et al., 1988). Cultural behaviors of communication refer to linguistic qualities such as language, dialect, vocabulary, speech style or paralinguistic behavior such as tone of voice or speech rate. Gallois et al., (1988) state that members of subordinate ethnic groups are more likely to retain their linguistic style if they see language as an important dimension of their group and are less likely to want to learn the language/dialect/accent of the dominant group (Gallois et al., 1988).

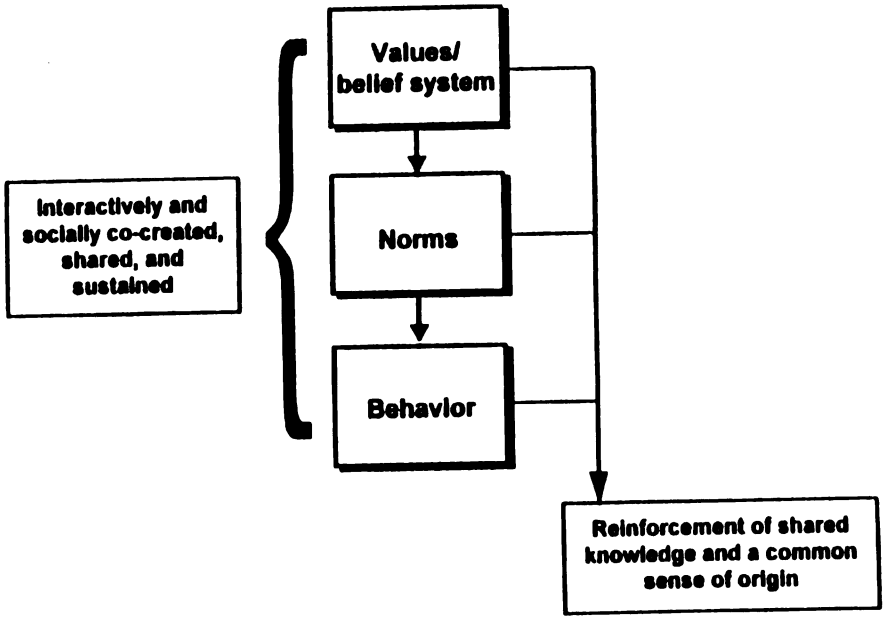
Understanding how culture is manifested

These aspects discussed in this chapter as being manifestations of culture are not meant to be distinct and/or exhaustive categories. It is obvious that it is difficult to talk about mental programs without discussing cultural manifestations or vice versa. There are also more specific and definitive manners of describing the meaning of culture. However, as noted previously in this paper, the purpose of this chapter is to provide a general overview of culture.

It is also important to note that none of the concepts discussed in this chapter define culture by itself - it is the dynamics of our group frames, mental programs, and cultural manifestations that together create culture.

Although culture is a dynamic phenomenon, with interactions back and forth between these variables, Figure 6 presents the basic structure this author is proposing we would see if we took a conceptual "snap-shop" of the manifestations of culture.

Figure 6: Conceptual Overview of Culture Manifestations



Summary

Culture is a complex construct. The primary goal of this chapter was to provide a framework, based on prior research, by presenting the key factors which describe the meaning of culture. The next task of this dissertation involves a specific population, i.e., African-Americans and the cultural frames identified by researchers in this field as causing African-Americans to share a collective mental program which in turn, drive cultural manifestation (i.e., similar values, norms, symbols and meaning, communication and language, and a shared knowledge and common sense of origin). These issues will be explored further in the next chapter.

Chapter Two

THE CORE FRAMES OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN CULTURE

The majority of research examining the meaning of an African-American culture propose that historically, politically, economically and socially, African-Americans occupy a unique position within US society that has been positioned as a different society or reality altogether when compared to nonblack people (Hecht et al., 1993; Feagin, 1991). The existence of what has been referred to as "two separate societies" - one black, and one white assumes that these two societies have also developed as separate cultures with distinct mental programs and cultural manifestations (Hecht et al., 1993).

However, while attention to the diversity of white Americans often focus on the impact and influence of socio-economic issues, education, geographical location, ethnic heritage, religion, and so forth, on an individual's cultural experience, African-Americans are often considered to be homogenous in their collective mental program regardless of these other factors. This is driven by the underlying assumption that being black in this society determines ethnic and cultural experience (Hecht et al., 1993; 1989; Boton & Smitherman, 1991; Fine & James-Meyers, 1989; Oliver, 1989; James-Meyers, 1987; Semmes & Makalani, 1985; Barnes-Harden, 1984).

The first purpose of this chapter is to examine the propositions by scholars in this field of the significant role that race plays in determining a collective mental program and how this is played out in the values, norms, and behavior of this group. The second purpose is to challenge these propositions in the form of hypotheses and research questions by proposing how the core frames may differ across the various demographic

groups of African-Americans examined in this research. This will ultimately give researchers and scholars a better understanding of the impact, if any, that African-American cultural frames have on the diverse lives and experiences of black people.

Approaches To Examining African-American Culture

Although the body of research in this area is very diverse, expansive, and somewhat fragmented, prior scholarship regarding African-American culture generally employ one of the following perspectives or approaches. The first view focuses on the historical context in which African-Americans were taken from their homeland and tribal affiliations and thrust into a life of slavery and dehumanization in which an oppressed and displaced society emerged and continues to exists today (Harley, 1995; West, 1993; Asante & Mattson, 1992; Hecht et al., 1993; Feagin, 1986). A similar, but different view focuses less on the historical origins of African-Americans and more on contemporary forms of discrimination, racism, and prejudice that permeate the fundamental systems of our society and continue to oppress African-Americans and other nonwhites with unequal opportunities (Terkel, 1992; Essed, 1991; Feagin, 1991; van Dijk, 1987; Feagin, 1986; Crosby, Bromley, Saxe, 1980; Eckberg, 1980).

A third approach focuses more on the African cultural elements that have been retained for almost four centuries of living in America (Barnes-Harden, 1984). These "African survivals" are proposed to continue within the behavior and worldviews of blacks, giving them a unique cultural center (Dent, 1992; Watts, 1992; Webster, 1992; Thompson, 1990; London & Giles, 1987; Sutherland, 1989; Meyers, 1987).

Irrespective of the approach taken by a particular scholar (s) or school of thought, the following reoccurring themes tend to dominate this research:

- A shared history of slavery and oppression as well as the continuing significance of race, racism and discrimination targeting African-Americans
- The impact of segregation and separate social institutions
- A unique communication system
- A shared African ethnic heritage

Decades of research, both conceptual and theoretical have presented these issues as being key determinants of a unique African-American culture. The goal of this chapter is to explore each of these cultural frames in detail as well as to explore the importance of their impact on African-Americans.

A Shared History of Slavery, Racism, Discrimination and Oppression

Scholars have long focused on the devastating effects a legacy of slavery, combined with the continuing impact of institutional racism and discrimination, has had on the psyches of black people (Husenmoller Nightingale, 1993; Asante & Mattson, 1992; Webster, 1992; Terkal, 1992). The black experience is generally presented as one of exceptional racial victimization. Most race-relations texts claim that, although most nonwhites are historical victims of racially motivated discrimination, the ancestors of African-Americans were particularly subjected to an extreme form of exploitation - slavery. This forced migration is said to be a unique feature of the black experience (Webster, 1992).

Hecht et al.'s (1993) research is consistent with this perspective. These authors discuss how African-Americans share a unique culture due to an experience of slavery and segregation, the migration north, and the civil rights and black power movements. Politically and socially, African-Americans share a past of voter disenfranchisement and separation from formal channels of power, with an economic life that is at best disadvantaged compared to white Americans with comparable skills and training. The profound effects of this history of oppression and slavery on African-Americans has helped to create, in some cases, a value system plagued by resentment, nihilism and despair (West, 1993; Lemon, 1991; Comer, 1980; Bagmen, 1969).

In other ways, the fight and struggle against racism has assisted in creating a culture and perception of a shared heritage that is born out of exceptional strength and resilience. In recent history, African-Americans are bound together by two major social movements that have changed the political, economic, and social status of blacks in many ways. The defeat of the Jim Crow laws and the struggle to end segregation was viewed by African-Americans as an opportunity to join a prosperous and robust post-World War II mainstream economy from which Blacks had by and large been excluded (Price, 1995). This was followed by the Civil Rights Movement to finish the work of the first movement. The success of the Civil Rights Movement was won with boycotts, marches, and voter registration campaigns that rendered the remaining traditional practices of segregation and overt acts of racism socially unacceptable to maintain. This unquestionably placed those with solid education's, ample family support, personal drive and a healthy dose of luck on an upward escalator economically and socially (Robinson & Tidwell, 1995).

Many look to the successes of select African-Americans as proof that racism and discrimination targeting blacks is a thing of the past - a part of history but not a current reality by any stretch of the imagination (Robinson & Tidwell, 1995; Feagin, 1991; Blaumer,1989; Wilson, 1978). But others disagree with the notion that racism and discrimination is nonexistent. This latter camp purports that racism is still abroad in the land of opportunity. Though subtler, and somewhat less pervasive now, it is still a well documented and undeniable reality in employment, housing, lending practices, and the like (Price, 1995; Robinson & Tidwell, 1995). Although there are increased opportunities for African-Americans as well as other minorities, there are two very distinct groups left in the wake of these two movements. The first group is referred to by Price (1995) as the "Equal Opportunity Generation," the offspring of families who emerged from the Great Depression and World War II sufficiently developed and economically strong to take advantage of the unprecedented opportunities available after 1964.

It is the other, much larger group of African-Americans, whose situation is dismal and on a cycle of poverty, characterized by despair and nihilism. These individuals, referred to by Price (1995) as "Those who were left behind," were essentially unaffected by the movements. Slavery and the era of Jim Crow undermined their family structures. Many were then brutally exploited as sharecroppers or fled to conditions that were little better in urban centers. In this weakened state, these families were essentially unprotected from the economic ravages of the Great Depression. Their children were in no position to take advantage of the new opportunities, and the conditions of their lives have been steadily deteriorating since the 1960s.

Millions of African-Americans in these circumstances, as well as other ethnic groups, remain stuck on the down escalator, headed nowhere or worse. These individuals remain walled off in inner-city and rural enclaves, ill-equipped and excluded far outside the American mainstream, yet they are reminded daily by various media channels of just how irrelevant they are economically, socially and politically. Surrounded by other black people in similar circumstances, their perception and personal realities will differ from more fortunate individuals in terms of how they view racism and discrimination. Howard (1995) asserts that it is racism, discrimination, and apathy in the United States that have allowed conditions to breed where whole communities feel abandoned.

However, "Those who were left behind" are not the only African-Americans continuing to experience discriminatory practices. Feagin (1991) asserts that regardless of one's social class or status, that being an African-American in this society means that you will still be faced with discrimination and viewed as a "second-class citizen." Pearce (1980) investigated discriminating practices in the real estate field targeted toward African-Americans. She sent black and white couples (matched in income) into the field to see if differential treatment by real estate brokers would occur. She found very little discrimination regarding quality of financial advice and personal courtesy. However, Pearce found discrimination in terms of the houses shown and the amount of time spent with the couples. Black couples were less likely to be shown a house on the first visit and were steered to different, less desirable housing compared to white couples (Pearce, 1980).

In another study, Feagin (1991) purports that although much of the literature on contemporary US racial relations tends to view black middle-class life as substantially free of traditional discrimination, race continues to have a significant impact on the lives of blacks. Feagin (1991) asserts that regardless of one's social class or status, that being an African-American in this society means that you will still be faced with discrimination and looked upon as a "second-class citizen." Feagin examines middle-class African-Americans because while non-blacks may acknowledge that lower class African-Americans continue to experience discrimination, partially due to the impact of having less education and economic opportunities, middle-class blacks are "proof" to the dwindling significance of race.

Feagin (1991) draws on accounts of discrimination given by 37 middle-class blacks. Based on these accounts, the majority of his interviewees experienced racial discrimination from majority members ranging from blatant verbal insults from strangers to not getting proper service in restaurants. These participants maintain that racial discrimination exists in this society, but whites cannot believe it because they do not experience it first hand nor do they understand the ongoing impact that racism has on the psychological health of blacks, as well as other minorities in this society.

Feagin goes on to highlight two significant aspects of the discrimination faced by all black Americans regardless of their social and economic status: (1) the cumulative character of an individual's experience with discrimination, and (2) the group's accumulated historical experiences as perceived by the individual. Moreover, Feagin (1991) argues that the cumulative impact of racial discrimination accounts for the special

way that blacks have of looking at and evaluating interracial incidents. One of Feagin's interviewees discusses the notion of a "second eye" that she feels blacks possess. She states that the impact of racial discrimination "causes you (blacks) to look at things from two different perspectives. You have to decide whether things that are done or slights made are because you are black or simply because the person is just rude, unconcerned and/or uncaring (Feagin, 1991, p. 115)."

Feagin states that the language of the "second eye" suggests that blacks look at white-black interaction through a lens colored by personal and group experiences with cross-institutional and cross-generational discrimination. What many whites see as black "paranoia" is simply a realistic sensitivity to white-black interactions created and reinforced by the two types of cumulative discrimination (Feagin, 1991).

The most important impact that discrimination and racism play on the psyches of African-Americans is the extra burden placed on blacks that white Americans do not have to experience. This burden influences the entire worldview of African-Americans. Moreover, the accumulation of racist experiences add wear and tear to the mental being of an individual. One of Feagin's interviewees states that by being black, one must be constantly prepared to assess accurately a potentially discriminating incident and decide on the appropriate response. Another woman interviewed by Feagin discussed how her ascribed characteristic of "blackness" takes precedence over her achieved middle-class characteristics and that the grouped thinking of racism obscures anything about her that is individual and unique.

In summary, prior scholarly discussions of the historical impact and the continuing force and impact of discrimination and racism is one of the key cultural frames shared by African-Americans. It is one of the common forces binds African-Americans together and assists in shaping the beliefs, norms, and behaviors of this group.

However, it would seem unlikely that all African-Americans would experience and have similar perceptions of discrimination and racism targeting African-Americans. Income, age, and residence in certain African-American density areas may influence this as well. To explore this issue further, the first two hypotheses are proposed.

$H1_0$: If there is a common African-American culture, African-Americans of all income groups, age groups, and black density areas will have no significant differences in how they perceive racism, discrimination, and negative stereotypes targeting African-Americans.

$H1_a$: If there is not a common African-American culture, African-Americans in different income groups, age groups, and black density areas will have significant differences in how they perceive racism, discrimination, and negative stereotypes targeting African-Americans.

The impact of segregation and separate social institutions

Prior research has also identified the impact of segregation and separate social institutions on the development and sustainment of African-American culture. It is argued that understanding the cultural reality of African-Americans can only be accomplished by recognizing the complexities of life in a segregated America and the social elements that fundamentally shape their existence (Hecht et al., 1993; Dent, 1992). In this discussion, unless specified otherwise, segregation refers to separation motivated by personal choice, economics, or geography and not legalized, forced segregation experienced prior to the 1954 Brown vs. The Board of Education ruling. This form of segregation is also fueled by the inability of African-Americans to comfortably blend into the melting pot of mainstream America due to distinct physical attributes.

Hecht et al. (1993) state that the conditions in the United States have not been conducive to positive interethnic relationships or experiences. Moreover, the growth of the African-American underclass which occupies the bottom position in every segment of our society is an indicator of social and economic disenfranchisement that has encouraged a system of separate societies, one black and one white (Pinkney, 1986). Thus, African-American social institutions have traditionally acted as a haven for African-Americans. The institutions of the black church, educational institutions, and the family have especially been critical in constituting and sustaining a unique African-American culture (Hecht et al., 1993). The next section will explore the institution of religion and its' impact on African-Americans.

The Black Church - Religion

The traditional black church refers to the Protestant denominational sects, dating back to enslavement, that fused African styles of worship and beliefs with white American tenets of Christianity (Smitherman, 1994). The African-American church is considered to be a purveyor of the cultural and spiritual cornerstone of the community. It is viewed as a structural and organizational element for the social life among African-Americans (Frazier, 1963). The church is also key in establishing the moral fabric of the community and often serves as a network for a plethora of opportunities including training programs and business ventures (Richardson, 1994).

Other cultural elements deriving from the church are the spirituals, which is a precursor to Gospel music, also serving as the heart and soul of rhythm & blues and rock & roll. Moreover, the African-American style of preaching has created numerous orators such as Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Jesse Jackson, and the Rev. Dianne Beverly just to name a few. The church is not only viewed as a spiritual cornerstone of the community, but as a significant aspect of the African-American social reality in general (Smitherman, 1994; Hecht et al., 1993; Baraka, 1963).

An important element of African-American culture is the dialogue or interactive form of communication characteristic of African-American sermons. It is not "A" lecturing to "B." It is "A" and "B" having an interactive experience even if "A" is one person and "B" is an entire audience. The idea is that constant exchange is necessary for real communication to take place. It has been ritualized in the traditional black church,

particularly in the back and forth exchange between the preacher and the congregation during the sermon (Smitherman, 1995; Hecht et al., 1993).

Moreover, the black church has been noted as a significant force in nurturing the surviving African language and cultural traditions of African-Americans over the centuries and serving as a rich reservoir of the African-American oral tradition. Smitherman (1994) states that:

> In the spirit-getting, tongue-speaking, vision-receiving, Amen-saying, sing-song preaching, holy-dancing Traditional Black Church, the Oral Tradition is Live!

Another important aspect of the church is that it has not been pressured to take on Eurocentric culture and speech. As one of few independent African-American institutions, the black church does not have to answer to white America (Smitherman, 1994). This makes the church a truly special haven for African-Americans who are of minority status in many other aspects of American society.

The religious, spiritual dimension of the church is, of course, also central to the African-American experience. Although the church did adopt EuroAmerican Christianity, it was Africanized. The black church maintained the African concept of unity between sacred and secular worlds. That is, all of life is viewed as holy. An example of this is the many African-American popular singers who came out of the church and comfortably shift back and forth between the church and the world outside the realm of religion (i.e., Whitney Houston, Boy-to-Men, Aretha Franklin) .

Prior research also suggests that African-Americans and white Americans tend to have different perceptions of religion and levels of participation in church based activities.

Data from the 1992 and 1995 Yankelovich MONITOR show that not only does religion play a more important role in the lives of African-Americans compared to whites, but that African-Americans participate in more church based activities. This finding suggests that overall, religion is more important as an institution to African-Americans than white Americans. However, the question remains to be answered if it plays the same role and/or has the same implications to African-Americans in different socioeconomic positions, age groups and levels of integration and socialization into mainstream American society. The following hypotheses, $H2_0$ and $H2_a$, are proposed.

$H2_0$: If there is a common African-American culture, African-Americans of all income groups, age groups, and black density areas will have no significant differences in how they perceive the importance of the role of religion and the church in their lives.

$H2_a$: If there is not a common African-American culture, African-Americans of various income groups, age groups, and black density areas will have significant differences in how they perceive the importance of the role of religion and the church in their lives.

Education

As with all Americans, education is the historic gateway for improving the social and economic status of African-Americans. In short, it is often the only vehicle for a better way of life for blacks (McBay, 1995). As a result of legal racial segregation, black

colleges and universities were formed starting in 1837 with Cheyney University and expanding to over a hundred by 1936 (Harley, 1995; Asante & Mattson, 1992). There has always been a strong relationship between historically black colleges and universities and the African-American community. The status of the black population greatly influenced the development of black colleges just as black colleges has had and continues to have a great impact on the progress made by this population in improving their status in the United States (Price, 1995; Richardson, 1994). Private charities, churches, and freedman's societies are examples of other alternative educational institutions during the era when African-Americans were not allowed to attend school with white Americans (Asante & Mattson, 1992; Haley, 1995; Hecht et al., 1993). Although integration of predominantly European American schools and institutions occurred on a large scale in the late fifties and early sixties, many black lawyers, dentists, and teachers in the United States today continue to receive their degrees from black institutions of higher learning (Harley, 1995; Hecht et al, 1993). Furthermore, because schools are traditionally located where African-Americans enact cultural rituals that sustain and reinforce ethnic identity (such a s nonverbal and verbal communication forms discussed later in this dissertation) college bound African-Americans often feel more comfortable in an environment where they are not "the only one."

Elementary and secondary education for the majority of African-Americans is a public enterprise, primarily due to socioeconomic circumstances. Although school desegregation has been mandated with the 1954 Brown v. The Board of Education ruling and the Civil Rights act of 1965, geographic isolation has played a critical role in the continuing separation of racial groups in many public institutions (Harley, 1995; Hecht et

al. 1993; Kochman, 1982). Unfortunately, after some forty years after the Brown v. The Board of Education, the majority of African-American children remain in schools that are separate and decidedly unequal (McBay, 1995; Richardson, 1994). Nevertheless, these educational institutions provide fertile ground for the creation and maintenance of cultural behaviors that remain group specific.

In short, the road to middle-class status in this society has often been through hard work and academic achievements. Educational achievement among African-Americans continues to lag behind that of all other racial and ethnic groups, despite numerous examples of individual accomplishments under segregated circumstances. Inadequate preparation in unequal schools and continued racial prejudice have trapped more than a third of African-Americans in a cycle of poverty and a quality of life comparable to that of many Third World countries (Howard, 1995).

Historically, low educational achievement among African-Americans has resulted not only from poverty and prejudice, but also from structured expectations in our schools that African-American children will fail. As a consequence of this self-fulfilling prophecy, millions of African-American youth are left behind and are unprepared for the future (McBay, 1995; Steele & Aronson, 1995).

Once again, this research will examine two issues relevant to African-American and education. The first issue will examine if there are differences among income groups, age groups, and black density areas in terms of the role that education plays in the lives of African-Americans. The second issue will examine perceptions of educational barriers encountered by African-Americans. The following hypotheses, $H3_0$, $H3_a$, $H4_0$, $H4_a$ are posed.

$H3_0$: If there is a common African-American culture, African-Americans of all income groups, age groups, and black density areas will have no significant differences in how they perceive the importance of education.

$H3_a$: If there is not a common African-American culture, African-Americans of different income groups, age groups, and black density areas will have significant differences in how they perceive the importance of education.

$H4_0$: If there is a common African-American culture, African-Americans of all income groups, age groups, and black density areas will have no significant differences in their perceptions regarding educational barriers experienced by African-American.

$H4_a$: If there is not a common African-American culture, African-Americans of different income groups, age groups, and black density areas will have significant differences in their perceptions regarding educational barriers experienced by African-American.

Family

Along with education and the institution of the church, family has also been identified by researchers as a key conduit of African-American identity and cultural codes (Stevenson, 1995; Jaynes & Williams, 1989). Hecht et al. (1993) state that this is the first social institution were the young begin to define and negotiate their worlds. This is where language acquisition and the identification of significant group symbols are developed. In African-American families, these group symbols manifest themselves in the use of what has been referred to as "Black English," music, and world views.

Unfortunately, most family structures discussed regarding African-American families tend to be negative. Economic conditions and single parent homes, primarily female-headed homes, have been purported as having a significant impact on the value structure and social and economic prospects for the next generation (Jaynes & Williams, 1989). Although a comprehensive theory of African-American families has yet to be developed, two issues stand out in the work conducted on Black families (1) Enslaved Africans utilized their cultural backgrounds and experiences in creating family life in American which include respect for elders and mothers, and the practice of extended family ties; and (2) Economic, geographic, and public policy changes affected the development of family traditions (Stevenson, Jr., 1995; West, 1993; Husenmolder Nightingale, 1993).

While there have been significant changes in most American families in the past 30 years, higher divorce rates, lower marriage rates and teen pregnancy have lead to a larger amount of African-Americans living in poverty. For example, during the 1980s, 30% of

all African-Americans lived below the poverty line ($11,000 per year for a family of 4). 27% earned less than $4,000 a year, and 2% earned an income of over $25,000 a year (Pinkney, 1986). Although previous research surveys have shown that white and black families are similar in size, with African-Americans having slightly larger household (an average of 3 versus 2.9 for whites) (Yankelovich MONITOR, 1992; Yankelovich African-American MONITOR, 1992), it is with the composition of the household where critical differences are observed. Twenty-eight percent of African-American families are single parent homes (one parent, multiple children) compared to only 5% of white families (white families are more likely to compose of two parents, one child). Furthermore, household income for African-Americans in these studies are $26,400 versus $46,900 for whites (1992 Yankelovich MONITOR; 1992 Yankelovich African-American MONITOR).

In previous years such as the 50s, 60s and early 70s, when young parents were getting started or when good paying jobs were scarce, many extended black families lived together and were better able to make ends meet and to absorb wage losses (Swinton, 1993). But, with many extended families now living further apart from one another, many family units can no longer pool their earnings or share living expenses. Many black children who used to be supported by or cared for by the efforts of two parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles now often have only one parent at home and have grandparents who are themselves living on the margin. Thus, the economic situation is posited as one of the most powerful influences on the family structure (Jaynes & Williams, 1989).

Because previous research examining black families tend to focus on those with lower incomes, often on the edge of survival, there are issues that are relevant to these circumstances that would not be for families, black or otherwise, who are not financially distressed. Previous research also suggests that when individuals do not perceive themselves to be successful outside of the family structure, they must rely on their family and/or peer groups more for their sense of identity and self esteem (Gallois, Franklyn-Stokes, Giles, and Couplan (1988). The perceptions of family as it relates to an individuals' self identity may vary depending on how they perceive their status in the world. This perception could be influenced by an individual or the family's financial position, lifestage, and experiences and interaction outside their racial group. This issue will be explored further in the following hypotheses.

$H5_0$: If there is a common African-American culture, African-Americans of all income groups, age groups, and black density areas will have no significant differences in their degree of satisfaction experienced from their family versus outside activities.

$H5_a$: If there is not a common African-American culture, African-Americans of different income groups, age groups, and black density areas will have significant differences in their degree of satisfaction experienced from their family versus outside activities.

A unique, pluralistic communication system: Black English

As discussed previously in this document, communication serves many key functions in maintaining and co-creating culture. Culture, as adhered to in this research, is fundamentally a social phenomena. Conversation is therefore a key aspect of culture. For African-Americans, "Black English," is a unique way of communicating characteristic of African-Americans. This form of interaction has been identified as a means of displaying solidarity and maintaining cultural and ethnic identity (Smitherman, 1994; Hecht et al., 1993; Gallois et al., 1988). Black English is perceived negatively or positively depending on what perspective one has of communication or the particular social situation in which the communication occurs.

Black English: Negative perspective

Scholars who take a negative view have examined and identified Black English from the standpoint of a deviant or deficient form of mainstream or standard American English (Smitherman, 1977; Smitherman-Donaldson, 1988). Others have identified it as developing from African forms of speech (Hecht et al., 1993; Smitherman, 1977; Labov, 1982). When considering that Black English language patterns were originally developed in the context of no language teachers, little encouragement to learn more than a little English, and segregation, African language patterns and meanings survived to create a unique cultural form that exists today.

Although legitimized in some circles, it does not minimize the fact that social, economic, and political upward mobility in the dominant, mainstream society requires that racial/ethnic cultures be "fluent" in mainstream English (Seymour & Seymour, 1979). Although traditionally, Black English vernacular is a reference point to which African-Americans hold a positive regard, as well as a language that is held in high ethnic esteem, signaling in-group solidarity, the stigma attached by dominant culture to nonstandard speech forms does cause a double bind for Black English users (Garner & Rubin, 1986; Jenkins, 1982).

African-Americans may react to this stigma by code switching (selective use of Black English and mainstream English depending on the situation (Hecht et al., 1993; Giles et al., 1977; Doss & Gross, 1992; Botan & Smitherman, 1991). Seymour and Seymour (1979) identify three types of code switchers, each varying in its facility with Black English and mainstream English. The first group of code switchers consists of

African-Americans who are less formally educated and have difficulty (or no interest) in using mainstream English. When mainstream English is situationally sanctioned, this group can be stigmatized or penalized, choosing instead to remain silent. The second group is formally educated, fluent in mainstream English but has difficulty expressing themselves in Black English, and therefore experiencing problems or embarrassment when Black English is preferred such as in the example of Mabry (1995) cited in the introduction. The final group is educated and able to use both language systems. This third group is considered a prototype of pluralistic language use (Hecht et al., 1993).

Code-switching, and the three different types associated with it, can have greater implications than simply changing one's language and communication styles. It can signal a change in one's cultural orientations. In the case of African-Americans with pluralistic language abilities, the conscious and intentional process in choosing which communication system to use in a given situation may be aligned with appropriate situational attitudes, beliefs, norms, and so forth. In other words, this individual may have dual cultural orientations, recognizing that there is a time and place for each speech and language styles. Neither is necessarily judged as good or bad in isolation, but rather as situationally appropriate. In the case of the other two code switchers, there may be overall cultural orientations that one form of communication is "wrong" and the other one "better."

Black English: Positive perspective

Other studies conducted by scholars examining the communication style of African-Americans assert that Black English is a creative and cultural manifestation.

This communication system is proposed to be a unique language (along with other linguistic markers) which has been fondly referred to as Black English or Black Talk (Smitherman, 1994; Hecht et al., 1993). According to Smitherman (1994), Black English or Talk crosses sex, age, region, religion, and social class boundaries. This transcendence which occurs with Black Talk is due to the common source of this language form: the African-American experience and the oral tradition embedded in that experience.

The dictionary of Black Talk (Smitherman, 1994) exemplifies the importance of this communication system. This language goes beyond mere words - it is a cultural map that charts word meanings along the highways and byways of African-American life and history. In order to understand idioms like "Handkerchief Head," "Are you right," and "BooJee," an understanding of how and why this nation within a nation developed its own unique way of using the English language is needed (Smitherman, 1994). (Note- "Handkerchief Head" is an Uncle Tom-type person who defers to European Americans and their authority; may also act against the interests of Black people. "Are you right?" (1) is a traditional black church phrase, raising a question about one's spiritual status, that is, "Are you saved?" "Are you right with God?" (2) By extension, used outside of the church to refer to a person's moral status, such as, "Are you honest and principled?" "Do you have good intentions?" "BooJee" is an elitist, uppity-acting African-American, generally with a higher educational and income level than the average Black, who identifies with European American culture and distances him/herself from other African-Americans (derived from bourgeois/ bourgeoisis (Smitherman, 1994)."

As far as some historians, linguists, and other scholars are concerned, during the first half of this century it was widely believed that enslavement had wiped out all traces of African languages and cultures, and that Black "differences" resulted from imperfect and inadequate imitations of European American language and culture. Today many scholars agree that the African heritage was not totally wiped out, and that both African-American language and African-American culture have roots in African patterns. Over time, and after prolonged contact with white Americans, African-Americans adopted some Eurocentric patterns, and their African patterns of language and culture were modified - but they were not erased. African-American language and culture, then, reflects a dual heritage; one of being African and another American (DuBois, 1903).

The uniqueness of black English is evident in three areas: (1) Patterns of grammar and pronunciation, many of which reflect the patterns that operated in West African languages. (2) Verbal rituals from the oral tradition and the continued importance of the word, as in African cultures. (3) Lexicon, or vocabulary, usually developed by giving special meanings to regular English words, a practice that goes back to enslavement and the need for a system of communication that only those in the enslaved community could understand (Jenkins, 1982; Smitherman, 1977; Dillard, 1977; Botan & Smitherman, 1991).

Proof of the important role that Black English plays in the lives of African-Americans is seen when words, phrases, or idioms cross over to mainstream America. The absorption of African-American English into "Eurocentric culture" masks its true origin and reason for being. Black English is not simply a way of adding a " little style" to ones' conversation or being knowledgeable in the latest hip-hop vernacular. It is a

language born from a culture of struggle, a way of talking that has taken surviving African language elements as the basis for self expression in an alien tongue. Through various processes such as "semantic inversion" (i.e., taking words and turning them into their opposites), African-Americans stake their claim to the English language, and at the same time, reflect distinct black values that are at odds with Eurocentric standards (Smitherman, 1994; Hecht et al., 1993). Therefore, when words, expressions, or phrases cross over into US mainstream society, they become suspect and are no longer used in the black community. A new term must be generated to take its place. On the other hand, language, expressions, words, and so forth that do not cross over, regardless of how old they are, continue to be used.

Smitherman (1994) argues that this way of communicating, Black Talk, is the commonality that goes across demographic boundaries. Regardless of ones job or social position, most African-Americans experience some degree of participation in the community. In other words, black women get their hair done in black beauty shops, black men and women worship in black churches, black college students join black fraternities and sororities, and African-Americans attend black social events.

Prior qualitative research has stressed the crucial role that communication plays in interaction among African-Americans. This form of communication is proposed to be shared with other African-Americans symbolizing solidarity and shared cultural and ethnic identity. However, there is no empirical research which examines the impact that income, age and residence in low, moderated, or high black density areas may have on 1) whether or not individuals feel black English exists and 2) whether they have negative or positive perceptions of it. The following hypotheses are posed:

$H6_0$: If there is a common African-American culture, African-Americans of all income groups, age groups, and black density areas will have no significant differences in their beliefs of whether there is such a thing as "black English."

$H6_a$: If there is not a common African-American culture, African-Americans of all income groups, age groups, and black density areas will have significant differences in their beliefs of whether there is such a thing as "black English."

$H7_0$: If there is a common African-American culture, African-Americans of all income groups, age groups, and black density areas will have no significant differences in whether they perceive black English as a form of communication that is positive and appropriate or a negative, inappropriate way of communicating.

$H7_a$: If there is not a common African-American culture, African-Americans of all income groups, age groups, and black density areas will have significant differences in whether they perceive black English as a form of communication that is positive and appropriate or a negative, inappropriate way of communicating.

$H8_0$: If there is a common African-American culture, African-Americans of all income groups, age groups, and black density areas will have no significant differences in their personal use of black English.

$H8_a$: If there is not a common African-American culture, African-Americans of all income groups, age groups, and black density areas will have significant differences in their personal use of black English

A shared African ethnic heritage

Another cultural frame explored by scholars in discussions of African-American culture is the shared African ethnic heritage. Put another way, African-Americans share a common historical bond, that being racial and ethnic origin.

Asante and Mattson (1992) state that African-American culture is African at its most elemental and fundamental level; from the construction of sentences to the choosing of music. The legacy and heritage of thousands of years of human response to the African environment fused with almost 400 years of the African-American existence in North America has served to create a unique cultural experience (Asante and Mattson, 1992).

These researchers are among others who hold the perspective that African-Americans are not absolutely detached from the long history and cultural tradition of the continent of Africa itself. The enslaved ancestors of present day African-Americans brought with them all of the complex rituals, symbols, and ideas of Africa that are alive in many ways in contemporary Black American culture today (Asante & Mattson, 1992).

In a 1989 opinion poll conducted by Geneva Smitherman regarding the name change from "Black" too "African-American," some African-Americans felt that we have been in the United States to long to have any African in us - we are more American than African. These individuals are doubtful that African-Americans could possibly have retained any elements of African survivals after being forcibly separated from their homeland and subjected to slavery (Barnes-Harden, 1984). Many in this survey, however, felt that there is a connection between us and Africa, its origin and cultural identity being that primary bond (Smitherman, 1994).

Barnes-Harden (1984) contends that no matter how oppressed the African slave was or how much his or her cultural heritage suppressed, African-Americans have managed to retain some parts of the original African way in his or her safekeeping (Barnes-Harden, 1984). She refers to these African retentions as "Africanisms" or African continuities or survivals. The Africanisms can be recognized easily as they appear in either obvious or readily comparable forms in black life. She notes that a number of Africanisms are disguised and work undetected by even blacks themselves.

Alene Barnes-Harden, a professor at Kent State University, gives the example of her African-American student who had African neighbors. He initially noted that the foods of his African neighbors appeared strange and unappealing. As he became more familiar with these people, he realized that the ingredients of their dishes were basically foods he also eats himself. Professor Barnes-Harden asserted to her student that when the taste of that soul food dinner delicacy of collard greens and cornbread is enhanced by sopping it up off the dinner plate with his hands, that is no disregard for etiquette, *it is the African way* - thus, a cultural concept that is a positive act as opposed to the negative ones that separates rather than unites black people (Barnes-Harden, 1984).

Other Africanisms which can be traced in the lives of black people throughout North American, Central America, and South America include:

Adornment

- cornrowing of hair; elaborate braiding of hair
- wrapping the hair with string and beads
- wearing of jewelry: ankle bracelets; piercing of the nose; piercing of the ear to hold several earrings; wearing of jewelry by men
- dress - the wearing of loud, harmonious colors

Music

- syncopation-playing between the beat
- improvisation-creating without a written score
- emotional or hot performance practice-highly emotional and exciting
- polymeter-several contrasting rhythmic systems occurring simultaneously
- unity of song and dance (African music combines song and dance)
- leader-chorus vocal practice-responsorial style of singing
- call and response

Dance

- individual performance
- physical involvement in dance-use of total body and pelvic movements
- particular black American dance forms

Art forms

- basket weaving
- wood carving

Spirituality

- religious motivation
- conjuring (working with the supernatural)
- recipes for warding off evil spirits

Philosophical Assumptions

- continuum of spirit and matter
- dynamic unity of all things

Family

- practice of extended family ties
- respect for elders
- respect for mothers

Community

- cooperative economic and labor endeavor
- mutual-aid societies
- secret societies
- military techniques

Agriculture

- industrial habits (in the use of mortar and pestle)
- working rhythmically
- specific planting methods
- practice of herbology
- closeness to nature

These Africanisms can be used to unify not only African-Americans but blacks in the entire Diaspora whether they are in northern American cities or southern rural areas; the Georgia Sea Islands or Surinam; Barbados; Haiti, Trinidad, or Jamaica; Cuba, Puerto Rica, or Brazil; Grenada or Guyana. Black people are still connected to the various geographical parts of mother Africa (Barnes-Harden, 1984; 1987).

It can be hypothesized that African-Americans who interact and socialize with other African-Americans are more likely to feel connected to their ethnic heritage. Moreover, those with less income are more likely to embrace positive aspects of their lives, such as ethnic identity, instead of focusing on mainstream definitions of success and achievement. African-Americans who interact more with non-African-Americans and who have achieved at least a moderate level of financial success will be less likely to rely and feel the need to commit to ethnic heritage.

A counter-argument regarding this thinking is that as African-Americans become more isolated from other blacks, they are more likely to be committed to their ethnic heritage and actively seek out elements of their racial and ethnic heritage because this is an aspect of themselves that is not expressed daily due to less involvement with other African-Americans than individuals in who are interacting regularly with other African-Americans. The following hypotheses are posited.

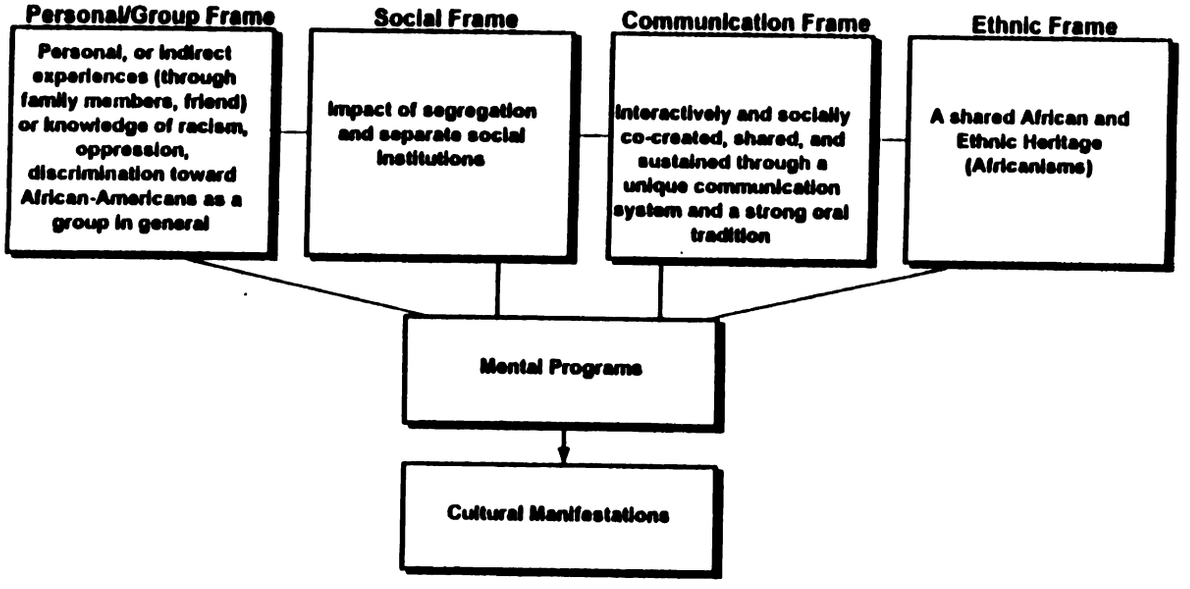
$H9_0$: If there is a common African-American culture, African-Americans of all income groups, age groups, and black density areas will have no significant differences in their commitment and interest in their African-American heritage.

$H9_a$: If there is not a common African-American culture, African-Americans of all income groups, age groups, and black density areas will have significant differences in their commitment and interest in their African-American heritage.

Summary

The cultural frames identified in this chapter as having a significant impact on African-American's collective mental program, which in effect drives the manifestations of culture, are not by any means the only issues relevant to the discussion of African-American culture. They are, however, critical factors that have been discussed in various works and forums as influencing an African-American perspective on the world. These issues highlight the impact that race has had on the cultural experience of blacks. In other worlds, the underlying assumption of presenting race as a determinant of culture is that African-Americans are never simply "American." They are black first and foremost. Figure 7 presents the conceptual model of African-American culture.

Figure 7: African-American Cultural Frames



This approach to examining African-American culture stresses that the cultural frames discussed in this chapter transcend boundaries that would otherwise separate groups of people such as socio-economic factors, lifestage, status, and so forth. In other words, race in this society is such a powerful social reality that it truly determines an African-American's cultural experience. For example, an African-American may be very well educated, successful, affluent and well respected in their career and community. However, as long as he or she is black, he or she will be bound or connected to a similar cultural experience similar to the person who has very little education and is working a minimum wage job with no hope for a better future. Thus, the underlying assumption of this research is that race is a primary determinant of culture regardless of other factors involved. The limitations to this assumption and others will be discussed in the next section.

Limitations of this Approach

The primary limitation of this research concerns the global focus on the similarities of the "African-American experience." It fails to truly challenge this model of African-American culture by exploring how other important individual experiences may impact how these cultural elements impact African-Americans in a variety of circumstances, environments, and lifestyles.

Collier & Thomas (1988) view this as an a priori concern. By defining an individual's cultural identity based on race alone ignores the complex identities and mental programs that individuals have. These authors maintain that a priori predictions from racial memberships are an over simplification because one's racial identity may have a

different meaning or significance to one group member. Moreover, race is not always salient in all situations or interactions (Collier & Thomas, 1988; Lian, 1982). Cultural mental programs are not birth rights, they are instead formed through naming or locating the self in socially recognizable categories where particular collective thoughts and behaviors are taught and sanctioned. Thus, researchers can not assume that race is a primary determinant of culture for all African-Americans.

This shortcoming is related to a second limitation. The majority of research that has examined African-American culture consists of qualitative work. No quantitative research has measured these global aspects of African-American culture across different groups of African-Americans. For example, with the differing degrees of interaction with non-black populations, one would expect that unless race alone predicts culture (i.e., values, norms, etc.,) that interaction within nonblack populations would influence a different type of enculturation process that would impact the influence of African-American cultural frames on individuals.

The next chapter will analyze the research hypotheses presented in this paper to assist in assessing the role that race plays in determining collective mental programs and culture by examining these frames across demographically distinct groups of African-Americans.

Chapter Three

METHOD

Introduction

The following chapter will discuss the sample used for this research, the methodology and the specific measurements used to examine the hypotheses and research questions.

Sample

The sample for this study is extracted from the 1995 Yankelovich African-American data base. The Yankelovich African-American MONITOR sample is collected through the entire contiguous United States. The data contained in this second wave study (the first study was conducted in 1992) of African-American values, attitudes, norms, and behaviors, are based upon personal interviews conducted among a nationally representative sample of 1,009 African-Americans 16 years of age or older. Interviews were conducted from June 1995 to September 1995. Each interview was approximately 90 minutes and all interviewers were African-American.

Eighty-eight percent of the interviews were conducted in the respondents' homes. Twelve percent were conducted at central facilities after telephone recruitment of the respondent. Central facility interviews were encouraged only if the location of the respondent's home was deemed too dangerous, or if the respondent preferred to have the interview conducted away from home. One hundred and twenty-six such interviews took place.

The basic data used in implementing this sample were African-American final population statistics for states and Metropolitan Statistical Areas as compiled in the 1990 Census of the United States and updated by Yankelovich Partners to reflect the African-American population as of December 31, 1994.

A multistage random sample approach was used in selecting individual respondents.

- Based on data from the United States Bureau of the Census, the country was divided into three strata of African-American neighborhoods (or census tracts). The final data represent equal proportions from each of the three strata- -
    - One-third representing high density African-American Census tracts (at least 82% African-American)
    - One-third representing moderate density areas (between 81% and 37% African-American)
    - One-third representing the low density African-American Census tracts (less than 37% African-American).

For purposes of efficiency, we eliminated from consideration those Census tracts with a minuscule percentage of African-Americans (less than 1%). These tracts represent 10% of all African-Americans. Therefore, we have developed a sample that represents approximately 90% of all African-Americans.

Sampling Procedures

The total population of the United States was stratified by the 9 Census Divisions:

- Division 1: New England
- Division 2: Middle Atlantic
- Division 3: East North Central
- Division 4: West North Central
- Division 5: South Atlantic
- Division 6: East South Central
- Division 7: West South Central
- Division 8: Mountain
- Division 9: Pacific

A random start point (with street name and household/apartment address) was selected for each of the sampling units. Interviewing proceeded sequentially from the initial start point until six interviews (3 men and 3 women) were completed in that tract.

- Interviewing hours were from 4pm to 9pm on weekdays and all day (9am to 9pm) on weekends and holidays in order to ensure a representative sample of household members (those who work as well as those at home during the day).
- Interviewers were required to make three attempts per household (initial contact plus two callbacks) before taking that address off the potential contact sheet.

Once a household qualified then one of the household members 16 years of age or older within the household was randomly selected for the interview. At least three attempts were made to interview the designated respondent if he/she did not happen to be at home at the time of the household selection. Respondents were paid $20 for completed interviews.

Sampling Balancing Procedure

Design Weight

A number of weighting procedures were applied to the raw sample data in order to adjust for certain built-in-sampling efficiencies. First, a design weight was applied to readjust for sampling efficiencies of "high," "moderate" and "low" density Census tracts. On average, all high density tracts were oversampled by a rate of 2, and were given a design weight to bring them back into the correct proportion of one-third of the neighborhoods. Moderate density cluster were sampled at the correct proportion, while low density neighborhoods were sampled at half the normal rate. To bring the clusters back into proper balance, the following design weights were applied:

Density	Design Weight
High	1
Moderate	2
Low	4

Final Sample Balance

The total sample of 1,009 African-Americans was run through a separate sample balancing program to ensure the African-American MONITOR results were reflective of a national profile of African-Americans based on the most recent US Census information. Seven variables were used in the national sample balancing input:

- Sex
- Age within sex
- Marital status
- Education
- Household ownership
- Region

Administering the African-American Yankelovich MONITOR

The developmental work prior to the first African-American Yankelovich MONITOR survey revealed that four problems needed to be taken into account in administering the questionnaire to the sample respondents:

1. avoiding any chance of respondent reticence in answering questions that might be construed as sensitive
2. the logistic difficulties involved in any instrument where a large number of visual exhibits are used

3. maintaining respondent attention at peak level while still conducting a conversation in which many of the answers were in the form of statement numbers and/or letters (as opposed to verbal answers)
4. avoiding biases due to item order (with attitudinal and sensitive items in particular)

Several mechanisms were used to overcome these potential pitfalls:

1. To avoid respondent reticence: The respondent physically held the visual exhibits on which all scale items and multiple-choice items were shown. These were all identifiable by numbers or letters. (The visual exhibits were 8 1/2'' x 11'' in size and spiral-bound together for convenience in handling and to insure that the order of the exhibits would be maintained. The interviewer's questionnaire (for sensitive questions) did not physically show the content of the items, only its numerical or alphabetical symbol. The interviewer, therefore, could not by word, gesture or facial expression indicate comprehension of an answer.
2. Overcoming the logistical difficulties: Periodically, throughout the interview, nonsensitive items were listed in their entirety on the interviewer's question form. Thus, from time to time, the interviewer could check an actual answer given.
3. Maintaining respondent interest: The subject matter itself was probably the most helpful element in maintaining respondent interest. However, there was some concern about possible deflection of this interest because of the

mechanisms being used to offset respondent reticence (namely, having the respondent answer questions with numbers and letters). Accordingly, several times throughout the interview, self-administering sets of questions were introduced, where the interviewer handed several pages of the questionnaire to the respondent for him or her to fill in. This device served as a change-of-pace element; it also permitted the most sensitive items in the African-American Yankelovich MONITOR questionnaire to be answered by the respondent without interchange of any type with the interviewer.

4. To avoid biases due to item order, two rotations of the questionnaire were administered. For attitudinal items (e.g., discrimination that affects you most), items were rotated to insure that item selection was not due to the order in which the item choice appeared. For non-attitudinal/non sensitive, behavioral items (e.g., magazines you currently subscribe to), no rotations were conducted. Respondents either subscribed or they did not.

Specific measures used to test research hypotheses

A shared history of slavery, racism, discrimination and oppression

Hypotheses 1_0 & 1_a

$H1_0$: If there is a common African-American culture, African-Americans of all income groups, age groups, and black density areas will have no significant differences in how they perceive racism, discrimination, and negative stereotypes targeting African-Americans.

$H1_a$: If there is not a common African-American culture, African-Americans in different income groups, age groups, and black density areas will have significant differences in how they perceive racism, discrimination, and negative stereotypes targeting African-Americans.

A factor of four items was created to measure the extent to which African-Americans perceive that negative stereotyping and racism targeting blacks still exists. The items for this factor are measured by a four point scale:

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Factor H1: alpha = .70

1. White people don't understand who black people are
2. African-Americans are judged by their race first, and as individuals second
3. Discrimination is still a part of most African-Americans' day-to-day lives
4. When I interact with white people, they only see a black person, not me

Another issue will also be measured to examine how perceptions of racism and discrimination are passed on to future generations by exploring what respondents believe African-Americans should be telling their children about this society.

Item H1: Statements African-American parents should be telling their children (Multiple choices allowed):

- Anyone can be successful in this country if they are willing to work hard
- You will have to work harder than White people to get the same amount of credit
- You should never use being black as an excuse for your problems
- American institutions are biased in favor of White people
- Most white people can not be trusted

The impact of segregation and separate social institutions

Religion: Hypotheses 2_0 & 2_a

$H2_0$: If there is a common African-American culture, African-Americans of all income groups, age groups, and black density areas will have no significant differences in how they perceive the importance of the role of religion and the church in their lives.

$H2_a$: If there is not a common African-American culture, African-Americans of various income groups, age groups, and black density areas will have significant differences in how they perceive the importance of the role of religion and the church in their lives.

The purpose of hypotheses 2_0 & 2_a is to answer the question of whether or not there is a difference in religious commitment and activity based on income, age and density level of the African-Americans in the respondents' neighborhood. There are three items measuring this issue.

Item H2A

People have different feelings about the role of religion in their lives. How important would you say religion is in your life? Would you say it is:

- Very important
- Fairly important
- (or) Not very important

Item H2B

Of the activities listed on your card, which do you do at least occasionally?

- Listen to religious programs on the radio
- Attend a house of worship
- Watch religious programs on TV
- Read religious publications (such as magazines or books)
- Give donations to religious organizations
- Participate in social activities sponsored by religious organizations
- Do volunteer work for a religious organization
- Read a holy Book (such as the Bible, Koran, Torah)
- Pray

Item H2C

People tell us that they attend church for many different reasons. Looking at your card, please tell me which of the following roles your church plays in your life.

- Source of spirituality
- Source of social contact and activity
- Source of community involvement/volunteer work in the community
- Source of political/civic information
- Source of education for children
- Source of musical outlet/entertainment

Education: Hypotheses 3_0 & 3_a

$H3_0$: If there is a common African-American culture, African-Americans of all income groups, age groups, and black density areas will have no significant differences in how they perceive the importance of education.

$H3_a$: If there is not a common African-American culture, African-Americans of different income groups, age groups, and black density areas will have significant differences in how they perceive the importance of education.

Previous research suggests that white Americans and African-Americans view the purpose of education differently (Yankelovich MONITOR, 1994, 1995). African-Americans are more likely to see education as a way of getting ahead (a means to an end) whereas white Americans are more likely to view it as a goal in and of itself, i.e., obtaining education because the act of learning itself is reward enough.

Item H3

Which one of the statements listed on your card comes closest to your own feeling about education?

- Education is important to me as a means of getting ahead in the world.
- Education is important to me as a means of becoming a more cultured, well-rounded person.
- Education is important to me for its own sake.
- Education is not important to me.

Educational barriers: Hypotheses 4_0 & 4_a

$H4_0$: If there is a common African-American culture, African-Americans of all income groups, age groups, and black density areas will have no significant differences in their perceptions regarding educational barriers experienced by African-American.

$H4_a$: If there is not a common African-American culture, African-Americans of different income groups, age groups, and black density areas will have significant differences in their perceptions regarding educational barriers experienced by African-American.

Hypotheses 4_0 & 4_a is measured by a three item factor which focuses on perceptions of barriers in education that African-Americans experience.

Factor- H4: alpha = .58

1. African-American's can't get the education they need to succeed
2. Education is unattainable for most African-Americans
3. African-American kids are less exposed to computers and technologies at an early age, therefore they will have a difficult time competing in the workforce

Family: Hypotheses 5_0 & 5_a

$H5_0$: If there is a common African-American culture, African-Americans of all income groups, age groups, and black density areas will have no significant differences in their degree of satisfaction experienced from their family versus outside activities.

$H5_a$: If there is not a common African-American culture, African-Americans of different income groups, age groups, and black density areas will have significant differences in their degree of satisfaction experienced from their family versus outside activities.

Hypotheses 5_0 & 5_a examine the importance of family life. The following question explores this issue.

Item H5

Which one statement describes your feeling toward your family?

- All or almost all of my satisfaction comes from my home and family
- Most of my satisfaction comes from home and family
- I get about as much satisfaction from my home and family as from away-from-home activities
- Most of my satisfaction comes from away-from-home activities
- All or almost all of my satisfaction comes from away-from-home activities

Communication (black English): Hypotheses 6_0, 6_a, 7_0, 7_a, 8_0 &8_a

The following hypotheses examine the attitudes regarding communication that the different demographic groups possess.

Does black English exists?

$H6_0$: If there is a common African-American culture, African-Americans of all income groups, age groups, and black density areas will have no significant differences in their beliefs of whether there is such a thing as "black English."

$H6_a$: If there is not a common African-American culture, African-Americans of all income groups, age groups, and black density areas will have significant differences in their beliefs of whether there is such a thing as "black English."

The following question measures these hypotheses.

Item H6A

Some people think that African-Americans speak to each other in a special way that can be called "Black English." Which one statement comes closer to describing your attitude toward Black English?

- I believe there is such a thing as "Black English"

OR

- I don't believe there is such a thing as "Black English"

Is black English a positive or negative form of communication?

$H7_0$: If there is a common African-American culture, African-Americans of all income groups, age groups, and black density areas will have no significant differences in whether they perceive black English as a form of communication that is positive and appropriate or a negative, inappropriate way of communicating.

$H7_a$: If there is not a common African-American culture, African-Americans of all income groups, age groups, and black density areas will have significant differences in whether they perceive black English as a form of communication that is positive and appropriate or a negative, inappropriate way of communicating.

Factor -H7: alpha = .40

The following is a five item factor measuring attitudes toward black English.*

1. I am most comfortable when I communicate in Black English (R)
2. People who speak Black English will not succeed in this society
3. Black English is inappropriate in most situations
4. It is acceptable for marketers to use black English when marketing to African-Americans (R)
5. I feel that advertisers are stereotyping African-Americans when they use black English

Do you speak black English?

Item H8B

Do you yourself ever speak Black English?

- Yes
- No

Ethnic identity: Hypotheses 9_0 & 9_a

$H9_0$: If there is a common African-American culture, African-Americans of all income groups, age groups, and black density areas will have no significant differences in their commitment and interest in their African-American heritage.

$H9_a$: If there is not a common African-American culture, African-Americans of all income groups, age groups, and black density areas will have significant differences in their commitment and interest in their African-American heritage.

Hypotheses 9_0 & 9_a taps into respondents interest in their African-American ethnic identity. This factor consists of six items.

Factor H9: alpha = .74

1. I like activities that celebrate my African-American heritage
2. Advertising featuring African-Americans is more likely to grab my attention
3. I prefer my children choose African-Americans as role models
4. I seek out products which reflect my African-American culture
5. I believe we should pass on religion/traditions to children
6. There should be more advertisements and commercials catering to African-Americans

Chapter Four

RESULTS

Specific analyses used to test hypotheses

When the data output are percentages from an item (e.g., 50% of the respondents in the high income group stated that religion is very important to them), a t-test statistic is employed to test if the two independently selected samples represent a single population. Because there are three groups within each of the demographic groups examined in this research (i.e., high, moderate, low income groups; 16 to 29 years of age, 30 to 49 years of age, and 50 and older; low, moderate, high black density neighborhood groups) a total of three t-tests per item are conducted within a demographic groups (e.g., within age groups, t-tests between group 1 and 2, group 1 and 3, and group 2 and 3 are conducted).

When the data output are means from a factor, one-way analysis of variance is employed. In cases were the analysis cannot measure the direct relationship between the variables, contrast analyses are used to directly examine these relationships.

Demographic characteristics of groups

This section of the analyses focuses on the demographic distribution of the groups within income, age, and black density neighborhoods.

Income

Respondents in the high income group ($30,000 and over) are more likely to be in households with larger family incomes and have larger individual incomes than those in the lower income group (under $15,000) and the moderate income group ($15,000 -

$29,999). Individuals in the $30,000 or more group are also more likely to be residents of low black density neighborhoods and have a higher level of education. There are more women than men in the under $15,000 group as there are separated, divorced, and widowed respondents.

Those in households of $30,000 or more annually are also more likely to be married, husband and/or wife with children, and employed full-time (see table 2 through table 4 for the details of the demographic distribution of the three income groups examined in this research).

Age

Respondents in the 16 to 29 age group are in households with the largest income (mean - $31,718) compared to those who are 30 to 49 years of age (mean - $29,716). However, the younger group is more likely than not to be a child of the household with parents, residents of low black density neighborhoods, with full-time jobs or be single and students compared to those 30 to 49. Those in the 30 to 49 age group are more likely to be married, the husband or wife in a dual earning family and employed full-time. Individuals in the 50 and older group are more likely to be residents of moderate density neighborhoods, with less education, married or separated/divorced/or widowed, and retired. The children of the respondents 50 and older (the majority are parents) are adults and not living with them (see table 2 through Table 4 for details of the demographic distribution of the three age groups examined in this research).

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Density

Respondents living in low black density neighborhoods have higher household incomes and educational levels, are younger, more likely to be married, full-time employees, and tend to be in household types with husband/wife and children than those living in moderate and high black density neighborhoods.

There is less distinction between individuals residing in moderate and low black density neighborhoods. However, respondents living in moderate density neighborhoods tend to be a little older than those living in high black density areas, be in households with slightly higher income levels, and are married with less education (See table 2 through Table 4 for details of the demographic distribution of the three density groups examined in this research). The next sections report the results of the hypotheses tests. These hypotheses examine if there are significant differences between income groups, age groups, and density groups on items measuring African-American cultural frames. A t-test score between group one and group two is presented as $t_{(1,2)}$, between group one and group three as $t_{(1,3)}$ and between group two and group three as $t_{(2,3)}$. For example, among age groups, 16 to 29 is group 1, 30 to 49 is group two, and 50 and older is group 3. Thus, a t-test comparison between 30 to 49 and 50 and older would be presented as $t_{(2,3)}$. A t-test was conducted between each of the three income groups, age groups, and density groups.

Table 2: Demographic Characteristics of Groups*

		Income			Age			Density		
	Total African-Americans	Group 1 Under $15,000	Group 2 $15,000-$29,999	Group 3 $30,000+	Group 1 18-29	Group 2 30-49	Group 3 50+	Group 1 Low	Group 2 Moderate	Group 3 High
	(1000)	(307)	(302)	(301)	(318)	(416)	(252)	(330)	(320)	(351)
Household Income		$7000	$22,543	$61,583	$31,718	$29,716	$23,461	$35,629	$26,084	$24,358
Respondent Individual Income		$3,000	$13,003	$21,703	$7,643	$17,284	$8,058	$12,613	$11,178	$12,019
Age										
Mean	38	42	39	38	22	38	63	35	43	41
Density										
Low	33	25%	35%	43%	41%	33%	22%	100%	-	-
Moderate	32	38%	30%	27%	27%	32%	42%	-	100%	-
High	34	37%	35%	30%	32%	36%	36%	-	-	100%
Educational Level[1]	3.01	2.54	3.16	3.70	3.07	3.38	2.56	3.32	2.85	3.04
Gender										
Men	45	41%	47%	49%	45%	45%	48%	45%	46%	44%
Women	55	59%	53%	52%	55%	55%	52%	55%	54%	56%

The number of respondents in each cell reflect weighted numbers.

[1] Range between 1 to 4 where 1=Less than 8th grade, 2=Less than High School degree, 3=High School degree, and 4=Some college or more

Table 3: Demographic Characteristics of Groups (cont.)

		Income			Age			Density		
	Total African-Americans	Group 1 Under $15,000	Group 2 $15,000-$29,999	Group 3 $30,000+	Group 1 18-29	Group 2 30-49	Group 3 50+	Group 1 Low	Group 2 Moderate	Group 3 High
	(1000)	(307)	(302)	(301)	(316)	(416)	(252)	(330)	(328)	(361)
Marital Status										
Married	35%	19%	30%	51%	14%	42%	46%	30%	35%	28%
Unmarried cohabitating couple	7%	11%	5%	5%	12%	6%	3%	9%	5%	7%
Single	34%	36%	34%	31%	71%	28%	7%	35%	32%	36%
Separate/divorced/widow(er)	24%	34%	22%	13%	3%	26%	44%	17%	28%	26%
Household Size	3.1	2.9	2.9	3.4	3.5	3.3	2.3	3.1	3.0	3.0
Household Type										
Husband/wife with children	30%	16%	29%	50%	34%	34%	19%	30%	26%	24%
Husband/wife no children	14%	9%	16%	17%	4%	11%	20%	12%	15%	13%
Female with children	23%	33%	22%	11%	29%	27%	10%	18%	24%	27%
Male with children	6%	5%	7%	6%	7%	6%	5%	4%	5%	9%
Living alone	17%	24%	17%	9%	9%	13%	33%	15%	19%	16%
Living with non-relative	9%	11%	9%	9%	16%	9%	4%	8%	8%	9%
Parents	73%	78%	67%	70%	45%	62%	91%	68%	78%	72%

Table 4: Demographic Characteristics of Groups (cont.)

		Income			Age			Density		
	Total African-Americans (1000)	Group 1 Under $15,000 (307)	Group 2 $15,000-$20,000 (302)	Group 3 $30,000+ (301)	Group 1 18-29 (316)	Group 2 30-49 (416)	Group 3 50+ (252)	Group 1 Low (330)	Group 2 Moder-ate (328)	Group 3 High (351)
Occupational Status										
Full-time	42%	19%	54%	61%	38%	59%	17%	49%	36%	40%
Part-time	10%	12%	8%	10%	12%	10%	6%	10%	9%	10%
Unemployed	11%	18%	9%	4%	11%	15%	4%	11%	10%	12%
Housewife/husband	16%	17%	8%	3%	12%	10%	6%	8%	12%	9%
Student	9%	8%	6%	14%	28%	2%	-	11%	8%	9%
Retired	10%	27%	15%	6%	-	3%	66%	11%	25%	10%
Occupation										
Blue Collar	33%	33%	37%	28%	32%	44%	17%	35%	31%	33%
White Collar (net)	28%	12%	32%	45%	28%	37%	11%	27%	24%	33%
Professional/executive	9%	2%	6%	19%	6%	12%	6%	10%	7%	9%
Other White Collar	19%	10%	26%	25%	22%	26%	4%	17%	16%	24%
Political Perspective										
Conservative	33%	33%	38%	29%	29%	35%	35%	29%	37%	34%
Moderate	38%	37%	33%	47%	37%	41%	38%	41%	37%	38%
Liberal	20%	20%	20%	20%	22%	17%	21%	20%	18%	22%
Radical	4%	7%	5%	1%	7%	3%	4%	6%	5%	3%

Hypotheses 1 to 9: Results of Analyses

Perceptions of racism and discrimination targeting African-Americans

Hypothesis 1:

Hypothesis 1 examines if there are differences across income, age, and density groups in how they perceive racism, discrimination and negative stereotypes targeting African-Americans.

For the first measure of this hypothesis, the results of a discriminate analysis suggests that there are not differences in factor H1 in perceptions of discrimination and racism targeting African-Americans across the income, age, and density groups examined in this research.

Across income groups, there is no significant difference in perception of discrimination and racism targeting African-Americans. Respondents at all income levels feel that discrimination and racism targeting African-Americans continues to be a concern (eta^2 = .0016, df = 1, 328, P > .05).

Examination of the means, however, show a nonlinear relationship between perception of discrimination and income groups (see table 5). Contrast analyses were conducted to pull out the linear correlation and measure the nonlinear relationship directly. Contrast values were applied to the means of the three income groups.

Income:	Under $15,000	$15,000 to $29,999	$30,000 or over
mean:	3.0	2.9	2.9
contrast:	+2	-1	-1

N = 330 (weighted)

The contrast analyses showed that these means are significantly different ($F = 2.2$, $df = 328$, $p < .05$). Individuals in the lower income group are significantly more likely to feel that African-Americans are the targets of racism, discrimination, and negative stereotyping.

Across age groups, there is not a significant differences between age and perception of discrimination and racism targeting African-Americans ($eta^2 = .0075$, $df = 1, 328$, $p > .05$). Examination of these means, however, show a curvilinear relationship between perception of discrimination and age groups that the discriminate analysis may not be able to read (See Table 5). Contrast analyses were conducted to take out the linear component and measure the nonlinear relationship directly. Thus, contrast values were applied to the means of the three age groups.

Age:	16-29	30-49	50+
mean:	2.9	3.0	2.9
contrast:	-1	+2	-1

N = 329 (weighted)

The contrast analyses showed that these means are significantly different ($F=2.2$, $df = 328$, $p < .05$) and that individuals in the 30 to 49 age group are significantly more likely to feel that African-Americans are discriminated against compared to individuals under 30 and those 50 and older.

Density

Across density groups, the differences between density and perceptions of discrimination and racism targeting African-Americans is not significant (eta^2 = .0052, df = 1, 328, $p > .05$).

Examination of these means, however, show a curvilinear relationship between perception of discrimination and age groups that the discriminate analysis may not be able to read (See Table 5). Contrast analyses were conducted to take out the linear component and measure the nonlinear relationship directly. Thus, contrast values were applied to the means of the three density groups.

Density:	Low	Moderate	High
mean:	2.9	3.0	3.0
contrast:	-2	+1	+1

N = 336 (weighted)

The contrast analyses showed that these means are significantly different (F = 2.19, df = 336, $p < .05$) and that individuals in low black density areas are significantly less likely than individuals residing in moderate and high density areas to feel that discrimination and racism is a serious concern among African-Americans..

The second part of this hypotheses examines what African-Americans feel they should be telling African-American children to prepare them for society what parents tell their children will reflect their views regarding discrimination and racism targeting African-Americans. There are five statements measuring this issue.

1. Anyone can be successful in this country if they are willing to work hard
2. You will have to work harder than white people to get the same amount of credit
3. You should never use being black as an excuse for your problems
4. American institutions are biased in favor of White people
5. Most white people can not be trusted

No significant differences were observed in statement 1 across income, age, or density groups. Overall, approximately eight in ten African-Americans agree that parent should be telling their children that "anyone can be successful in this country if they are willing to work hard."

For statement two, over four in ten respondents agree that parents should tell their children that "you will have to work harder that white people to get the same amount of credit." There were no significant differences across income and density groups for statement two.

However, there are age differences. Younger African-Americans (16-24) compared to older respondents are significantly less likely to agree that parents should be telling their children that "you will have to work harder than white people to get the same amount of credit"($t_{(1,2)} = 3.24$, df = 1, 365; $p < .01$ $t_{(1,3)} = 4.05$, df = 1, 283, $p < .01$; $t_{(2,3)} = 1.25$, df = 1, 332, $p > .05$).

For statement three, nearly seven in ten African-Americans feel parents should be telling their children that "you should never use being black as an excuse for your problems." There are significant differences between income and age groups in terms of

agreement that African-American parents should be telling their children that "You should never use being black as an excuse for your problems." There are, however, no significant differences between density groups.

Regarding income groups, the high income group is more likely than the two lower income groups to agree that African-American children should be told by their parents that "you should never use being black as an excuse for your problems" ($t_{(1,2)}$ = .02, df = 1,343, $p > .05$; $t_{(1,3)}$ =2.80, df = 1, 342, 2.80, $p < .01$; $t_{(2,3)}$ =2.40, df = 1, 299, $p < .03$) (see table 5).

There are also age differences regarding statement three. Group three (50 and older) is less likely than group one (16 to 29) and significantly less likely than group two (30 to 49) to agree that black children should be told that they should never use being black as an excuse for their problems ($t_{(1,2)}$ = 1.76, df = 1, 365, $p > .05$; $t_{(1,3)}$ =1.49, df = 1, 283, $p > .05$; $t_{(2,3)}$ = 3.23, df = 1, 332, $p < .01$).

Regarding statement four , over 3 in 10 African-Americans agree that "American institutions are biased in favor of white people. There is a significant difference between income groups for statement four. While only 27% of the respondents in the under $15,000 and 28% of the respondents in the $15,000 to $29,999 income groups agree that African-American parents should be telling their children that American institutions are biased in favor of white people," 39% of the individuals in the $30,000 and over income group agree that parents should be telling their children this sort of information ($t_{(1,2)}$ = .30 , df = 1, 343, $p > .05$; $t_{(1,3)}$ =3.34, df = 1, 342, $p < .01$; $t_{(2,3)}$ = 2.86 , df = 1, 299, $p < .01$).

No significant differences were found between age and density groups with statement four (see table 5 for details of hypotheses H1).

No significant differences were found in response to statement five, "most white people can not be trusted," across income, age, and density groups. Approximately two in ten African-Americans agree that black parents should be telling their children this information.

Table 5: Perception of Discrimination and Racism Targeting African-Americans*

Hypothesis 1

		Income			Age			Density		
	Total African-Americans	Group 1 Under $15,000	Group 2 $15,000-$29,999	Group 3 $30,000+	Group 1 18-29	Group 2 30-49	Group 3 50+	Group 1 Low	Group 2 Moderate	Group 3 High
	(1000)	(307)	(302)	(301)	(310)	(410)	(252)	(330)	(328)	(351)
Factor H1: Perception of Racism/Discrimination Targeting African-Americans	3.0	3.0	2.9	2.9	2.9	3.0	2.9	2.9	3.0	3.0
Statements African-American parents should be telling their children:										
1. Anyone can be successful in this country if they are willing to work hard	83%	82%	85%	83%	85%	85%	80%	85%	83%	82%
2. You will have to work harder than white people to get the same amount of credit	47%	43%	49%	49%	[38%]	[50%]	[55%]	48%	48%	47%
3. You should never use being black as an excuse for your problems	68%	[64%]	[85%]	[74%]	[67%]	73%	[61%]	70%	66%	66%
4. American institutions are biased in favor of white people	32%	[27%]	[28%]	[38%]	29%	35%	28%	35%	27%	31%
5. Most white people can not be trusted	20%	19%	23%	17%	17%	21%	20%	20%	18%	23%

* Strongly agree = 4, Strongly disagree = 1

** Boxed numbers indicate significance at the .05 level

Table 6: Responses to Specific Items in Factor H1 (alpha = .70)*

		Income			Age			Density		
	Total African-Americans	Group 1 Under $15,000	Group 2 $15,000-$29,999	Group 3 $30,000+	Group 1 18-29	Group 2 30-49	Group 3 50+	Group 1 Low	Group 2 Moderate	Group 3 High
	(1000) %	(307) %	(302) %	(301) %	(318) %	(416) %	(252) %	(330) %	(328) %	(351) %
Most white people don't understand who Black people are	[28] 48	[29] 47	[28] 50	[28] 49	[29] 52	[32] 44	[22] 52	[21] 57	[44] 24	[33] 44
African-Americans are judged by their race first, as individuals second	[27] 52	[29] 49	[25] 53	[28] 56	[25] 58	[33] 48	[22] 56	[29] 48	[27] 54	[25] 55
Discrimination is still a part of most African-American's day-to-day lives	[40] 47	[41] 51	[40] 44	[40] 47	[39] 48	[44] 45	[36] 50	[38] 48	[42] 48	[42] 44
When I interact with white people, they only see a black person, not me	[13] 33	[15] 33	[14] 34	[8] 31	[8] 34	[18] 33	[14] 31	[17] 34	[15] 31	[7] 33

* Boxed numbers represent "strongly agree;"
Unboxed numbers represent "agree"

Summary: Hypothesis 1

Significant differences in perceptions of discrimination and racism where found among income, age, and density groups, albeit not large. Among income groups, individuals in the low income group (under $15,000) are more likely to feel African-Americans are continuing to be targets of discrimination, racism, and negative stereotypes. Individuals in the highest income group ($30,000 and more) are significantly more likely than the lower income groups to feel that African-American parents should be telling their black children that they should never use being black as an excuse for their problems. Interestingly, the higher income group is also significantly more likely than the other income group to agree that parents should also tell their children that "American institutions are biased in favor of white people." No other differences across the three income groups were reflected in the data for hypothesis one.

Individuals in the middle-aged group, 30 to 49 years of age, are significantly more likely to perceive that racism and discrimination continues to target African-Americans than individuals in the young age group (16 to 29 years of age) and the older age group (respondents 50 and older). The middle-aged group (30 to 49 years of age) are more likely than the other age groups to feel that black parents should tell their children that they should "never use being black as an excuse for your problems." Younger individuals (16 to 29) are significantly less likely than their older counterparts (30 and older) to agree that parents should tell their African-American children that "you were have to work harder than white people to get the same amount of credit." No other differences across the three age groups were reflected in the data for hypothesis one.

Although this difference is small, respondents living in low density black areas are significantly less likely to feel that there is discrimination and racism targeting African-Americans compared to respondents living in moderate and high black density neighborhoods. No other differences across the three density groups were reflected in the data for hypotheses one.

The impact of segregation and separate social institutions

Hypothesis 2: Religion

The second hypothesis examines differences in the impact religion and the church have in the lives of African-Americans different income, age, and density groups.

Importance of religion

The first part of this hypothesis looks at the overall importance that religion has in the lives of African-Americans. The analyses suggests that there are no differences across income and density groups in terms of the importance of religion. Approximately seven in ten African-Americans in all income and density groups state that religion is very important to them. There are age differences, however, in terms of the importance of religion. Religion is more important to African-Americans 50 and older (79%) and those 30-49 (75%) ($t_{(1,2)} = 4.06$, df = 1, 365, $p < .01$; $t_{(1,3)} = 4.61$, df = 1, 283, $p < .01$; $t_{(2,3)} = 1.18$, df = 1, 332, $p > .05$) compared to only 61% of those 16 to 29 who state that religion is "very important." There is no significant differences between the two older groups in perceptions of the important role that religion plays in their lives. Both these groups differ significantly from the young group (16 to 29).

The role that religion plays in the lives of African-Americans

The second part of hypothesis 2 looks at the variety of roles that religion plays in the lives of African-Americans across income, age, and density groups. The following are the choices regarding the role of religion that that respondents had to choose from (multiple choices allowed):

- Listen to religious programs on the radio
- Attend a house of worship
- Watch religious programs on TV
- Read religious publications (such as magazines or books)
- Give donations to religious organizations
- Participate in social activities sponsored by religious organizations
- Do volunteer work for a religious organization
- Read a holy Book (such as the Bible, Koran, Torah)
- Pray

The results of the analyses show that overall "source of spirituality" is the most important role that church plays in the lives of African-Americans, with "source of social contact and activity" and "source of education for children" coming in at a far second (see table 7).

There are differences across income and age groups for several of these choices. For the three income groups, there are differences regarding religion as a "source of spirituality" Individuals in the high income group ($30,000 and over) are more likely to see religion as a "source of spirituality" (87%) compared to individuals in the under $15,000

income group and the $15,000 to $29,999 age group (79% and 76% respectively) ($t_{(1,2)}$ = .92 , df = 1, 343, p >.05 ; $t_{(1,3)}$ =2.74, df = 1, 342, p < .01; $t_{(2,3)}$ =3.48 , df = 1, 299, p < .01). Respondents in the high income group are also more likely to see religion as a "source of community involvement/volunteer work in the community" (45% compared to the low income group (35%) and the moderate income group (37%) ($t_{(1,2)}$ = .54, df = 1, 343, p > .05; $t_{(1,3)}$ =2.66 , df = 1, 342, p < .01; $t_{(2,3)}$ = 2.00 , df = 1, 299, p < .05).

Higher income groups are also more likely to see church as a source of political/civic information (23%) compared to low (14%) and moderate income group (18%) ($t_{(1,2)}$ = 1.43 , df = 1, 343; p > .05; $t_{(1,3)}$ =3.05, df = 1, 342, p < .01; $t_{(2,3)}$ =1.52, df = 1, 299, p > .05). Fifty-six percent of respondents in the middle aged group, 30-49, feel that religion is a "source of education" for children compared to 48% of those 19-29 and 40% of those 50 and older ($t_{(1,2)}$ =.65 , df = 1, 365, p > .05; $t_{(1,3)}$ =2.7 , df = 1, 283, p < .01; $t_{(2,3)}$ =2.27 , df = 1, 332, p < .03).

Age differences regarding attitudes toward religion were also found in the data. African-American respondents 50 and over are more likely to view religion as a "source of spirituality" (86%) compared to the two younger groups (77% of those 16-29, and 79% of those 30 to 49 feel this way) ($t_{(1,2)}$ = 2.15 , df = 1, 365; p < .04; $t_{(1,3)}$ =1.19, df = 1, 283, p > .05; $t_{(2,3)}$ =4.01, df = 1, 332, p < .01).

No significant differences were found across density groups in perceptions of the role of religion in the lives of the respondents of this study (see table 7 for details of hypotheses two).

Religious activities done at least occasionally

The third aspect of hypotheses 2 examines the religious activities that African-Americans of different income, age, and density groups participate in, at least occasionally. For all African-Americans in this sample, praying, attending a house of worship, and reading a holy book are the top three religious activities done at least occasionally. The data, however, indicates significant differences across income, age, and density groups.

Individuals in the high income group are more likely to "attend a house of worship" (69%) compared to the low (60%) and moderate (60%) income groups ($t_{(1,2)}$ = **, df = 1, 343; $p > .05$; $t_{(1,3)}$ = 2.44, df = 1, 342, $p < .01$; $t_{(2,3)}$ =2.31, df = 1, 299, $p < .03$).

Individuals in the high income group are also more likely to "give donations to religious organizations" (62% compared to low (48%) and moderate (52%) income groups ($t_{(1.2)}$ =1.04, df = 1,343, $p > .05$; $t_{(1,3)}$ = 3.66, df = 1, 342, $p < .01$; $t_{(2,3)}$ = 2.48, df = 1, 299, $p < .01$) and "read religious publications" (52% compared to low (40%) and moderate (38%), income groups) ($t_{(1,2)}$ =.53, df = 1, 343, $p > .05$; $t_{(1,3)}$ = 3.14, df = 1, 342, $p < .01$; $t_{(2,3)}$ =3.46, df = 1, 299 , $p < .01$).

The data also showed significant age differences regarding participation in religious activities as well. Older individuals (50 and older) are more likely to "attend a house of worship" (69%) compared to younger African-Americans, 16 to 29 (62%) ($t_{(1,2)}$ =.82, df = 1, 365, $p > .05$; $t_{(1,3)}$ =1.74, df = 1, 342, $p > .05$; $t_{(2,3)}$ = 2.59, df = 1, 332, $p < .01$).

Respondents 50 and over are also more likely to "give donations to religious organizations" (61%) compared to their younger counterparts (47% of those 16-29 and 53% of those 30-49 give donations to religious organizations) ($t_{(1,2)}$ =1.61, df = 1, 365, p > .05;

$t_{(1,3)}$ =3.33, df = 1, 283, p < .01; $t_{(2,3)}$ = 2.02, df = 1, 332, p < .04).

Younger African-Americans are less likely to participate in certain religious activities compared to their older counterparts over 29. Individual 30 and older are more likely to watch religious programs on TV than those under 30. Only 34% of respondents 16-29 state that they "watch religious programs on TV" versus 52% of those 30 and older ($t_{(1,2)}$ =4.87, df = 1, 365, p < .01; $t_{(1,3)}$ =4.32, df = 1, 283, p < .01; $t_{(2,3)}$ = **, df = 1, 332).

Moreover, 33% of the younger age cohort under 30 read religious publications compared to 49% of those 30 to 49 and 47% of those 50 and older. ($t_{(1,2)}$ =4.35, df = 1, 365,p < .01; $t_{(1,3)}$ =3.4 0, df = 1, 283, p < .01; $t_{(2,3)}$ =.50, df = 1, 332, p > .05).

Differences in participation of particular religious activities across density groups were also observed. Individuals residing in low density African-American neighborhoods are more likely to "pray" (80%) compared to individuals living in moderate and high black density areas (72% and 73% respectively) ($t_{(1,2)}$ =2.40, df = 1, 327, p < .02; $t_{(1,3)}$ = 2.15, df = 1, 337, p < .03; $t_{(2,3)}$ = .29, df = 1, 337, .p < .05). Moreover, low black density residents are also more likely to state that they "attend a house of worship" (70%) compared to individuals living in moderate and high black density areas (59% and 60% respectively) ($t_{(1,2)}$ =2.95, df = 1, 327, p < .01; $t_{(1,3)}$ = 2.73, df = 1, 337, p < .01; $t_{(2,3)}$ =.27, df = 1, 337, p > .01).

Association with whites in church/religious functions

Previously in this dissertation, the black church as an institution was hypothesized as being one that has historically been racially segregated. Therefore, an additional analysis was conducted across income, age, and density groups to examine how much interracial interaction occurs in the religious/church domain. Respondents were asked if they regularly associated with white people at church/religious functions. Overall, only three out of ten African-Americans state that they regularly associated with white people at these types of functions. Age differences were the only group distinctions observed. Individuals 50 and older are more likely to regularly associate with white people at church/religious functions (39%) than individuals 16 to 29 (24%) and those 30 to 49 (31%) ($t_{(1,2)}$ =2.09, df = 1, 365, $p < .04$; $t_{(1,3)}$ = 3.89, df = 1, 283; $t_{(2,3)}$ =2.12, df = 1,332, $p < .03$). See tables 7 through table 8 for details of hypothesis 2).

Table 7: Role of Religion

Hypotheses 2

		Income			Age			Density		
	Total African-Americans (1000) %	Group 1 Under $15,000 (387) %	Group 2 $15,000-$29,999 (382) %	Group 3 $30,000+ (381) %	Group 1 18-29 (318) %	Group 2 30-49 (416) %	Group 3 50+ (262) %	Group 1 Low (330) %	Group 2 Moderate (328) %	Group 3 High (351) %
Importance of Religion in Your Life										
Very important	71	72	71	73	61	75	79	74	69	72
Fairly important	21	21	18	21	31	17	13	18	23	22
Not very important	8	5	9	5	7	8	8	8	7	4
What role Does Religion Play in Your Life										
Source of spirituality	80	79	78	87	77	79	86	82	78	80
Source of social contact and activity	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	49	44	45
Source of education for children	49	46	50	52	48	56	40	48	46	52
Source of community involvement/volunteer work in the community	39	35	37	45	37	42	38	40	36	40
Source of musical outlet/ entertainment	28	26	26	31	29	27	27	31	24	29
Source of political/civic information	18	14	18	23	19	18	17	21	13	20

Table 8: Role of Religion

Hypotheses 2 (cont.)

		Income			Age			Density		
	Total African-Americans	Group 1 Under $15,000	Group 2 $15,000-$29,999	Group 3 $30,000+	Group 1 18-29	Group 2 30-49	Group 3 50+	Group 1 Low	Group 2 Moderate	Group 3 High
	(1000) %	(387) %	(382) %	(301) %	(319) %	(418) %	(262) %	(330) %	(328) %	(351) %
Of the activities listed on your card, which do you do at least occasionally?										
Pray	75	75	73	77	75	75	75	80	72	73
Attend a house of worship	62	60	60	69	62	58	69	70	59	60
Read a holy book (such as the Bible, Koran, Torah)	58	58	56	63	54	61	58	65	56	55
Give donations to religious organizations	53	48	52	62	47	53	61	58	54	50
Listen to religious programs on the radio	49	49	50	49	38	51	59	49	50	49
Watch religious programs on TV	48	49	41	48	34	52	52	44	47	48
Read religious publications	43	40	38	52	33	49	47	47	40	42
Participate in social activities sponsored by religious organizations	38	38	40	38	36	38	45	45	33	37
Do volunteer work for a religious organization	27	28	27	30	23	29	28	32	23	28
Regularly associate with white people										
Church/religious functions	31	28	32	34	24	31	39	29	33	31

Summary: Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2 examined the impact of religion and church among African-Americans in different income, age, and African-American density groups. No differences in terms of the importance of religion in an individuals life were observed across income groups. There were significant differences, however, regarding the role that religion plays in an individual's life and religious activities done at least occasionally. Individuals in the high income group ($30,000 and older) are significantly more likely than the low (under $15,000) and moderate ($15,000 to $29,999) income group to state that religion is a source of spirituality and community involvement. Individuals in the high income group are also significantly more likely to attend a house of worship, give donations to the church and read religious publications. No other differences across income groups were reflected in the data for hypothesis 2.

Religion is not as important to younger African-Americans, 16 to 29, as it is to individuals 30 and older. Regarding the role of church in their lives, older African-Americans 50 and older, are significantly more likely to see religion as a source of spirituality. Individuals 30 to 49 are significantly more likely than the youngest group (16 to 29) and the oldest group (50 and older) to see religion as a source of education. Moreover, this is the one area were the younger group (16 to 29) feels more strongly than the oldest group (50 and over) about the role of religion.

In terms of religious activities done at least occasionally, older respondents (50 and older) are more likely to listen to religious programs on the radio, attend a house of worship, and give donations compared to individuals under 50. Individuals 30 and older are more likely to watch religious programs on TV and read religious publications than individuals under 30.

In terms of interracial interaction at religious/church functions, there is a positive relationship between interactions with whites at these particular functions and age. In other words, the older an individual is, the more likely they are to interact at church functions with white Americans.

There are not significant differences across density groups regarding the importance of religion and the role that religion plays in their lives.

Differences were observed, however, in reports of religious activities done at least occasionally. Respondents living in low density black neighborhoods are significantly more likely to state that they attend a house of worship, participate in social activities sponsored by religious organizations, read a holy book and pray. No other differences across density groups were reflected in the data for hypothesis 2.

Hypothesis 3: Education

Hypothesis 3 examines how African-Americans perceive education and the importance of getting an education. Respondents were asked to choose among four statements which one statement comes closets to their own feelings about education.

- Education is important to me as a means of getting ahead in the world.
- Education is important to me as a means of becoming a more cultured, well-rounded person.
- Education is important to me for its own sake.
- Education is not important to me.

Six out of ten African-Americans as a group feel that "education is important to them as a means of getting ahead in the world." Less than three in ten state that "education is important to them as a means of becoming a more cultured, well-rounded person. There were no significant differences across income, age, and density groups (see table 9 for details).

Table 9: Perceptions of Education

		Income			Age			Density		
	Total African-Americans	Group 1 Under $15,000	Group 2 $15,000-$30,000	Group 3 $30,000+	Group 1 18-29	Group 2 30-49	Group 3 50+	Group 1 Low	Group 2 Moderate	Group 3 High
	(1000) %	(307) %	(302) %	(301) %	(318) %	(410) %	(252) %	(330) %	(328) %	(351) %
Which one statement comes closest to your own feeling about education?										
Education is important to me as a means of getting ahead in the world	60	60	58	61	61	62	54	57	61	60
Education is important to me as a means of becoming a more cultured, well-rounded person	27	23	29	31	29	27	27	30	25	28
Education is important to me for its own sake	9	11	9	5	8	8	11	7	10	8
Education is not important to me	2	3	3	-	1	2	4	2	3	2

Hypothesis 4: Educational barriers

This hypothesis examines if there are different perceptions of educational barriers across income, age, and density groups. African-Americans in general are leaning toward the spectrum of agreeing that educational barriers exists for black people (group mean = 2.5 with 4= strongly agree and 1 = strongly disagree). Across income, age and density groups, there is not a significant correlation between these variables and perceptions of educational barriers targeting African-Americans.

Further examination of the income means, however, suggest a direct linear relationship between income level and perceptions of educational barriers that is not being picked up by the discriminate analysis (See Table 10). These contrast analyses were conducted to measure this linear relationship directly. Contrast values were applied to the means of the income three age groups.

Income:	**Under $15,000**	**$15,000-$29,999**	**$30,000+**
mean:	**2.6**	**2.5**	**2.40**
contrast value:	**+1**	**0**	**-1**

N = 330 (weighted)

The contrast analyses showed that these means are significantly different from each other and that individuals in households with lower incomes are more likely to perceive that there are educational barriers experienced by African-Americans ($F= 6.6$, (1,328), $p < .01$)

An additional analysis was examined to understand the extent of interracial interaction between black and white Americans in school/educational functions. Moreover, differences across different income, age, and density groups is also of interest for this research.

Overall, nearly one in two African-Americans state that they regularly associate with white people in school/educational functions. The findings of this analysis also show income, age, and density differences in the amount of interaction with whites at school/educational functions.

Regarding income groups, the findings suggests that African-Americans in the high income group ($30,000 and over - 56%) are significantly more likely than the low income group (under $15,000 - 41%) and moderate income groups ($15,000 to $29,999 - 46%) to interact with whites during school/educational functions ($t_{(1,2)} = 1.26$, df = 1, 343, $p > .05$; $t_{(1,3)} = 3.86$, df = 1, 342, $p < .01$; $t_{(2,3)} = 2.46$, df = 1, 299, $p < .05$.

There are also age differences in terms of interaction with whites during school/educational functions. This relationship is negative which suggests this finding is a function of age, i.e., older people are less likely to participate in school/educational functions than younger people. Younger people (16 to 29) are significantly more likely to interact with white people during school/educational functions (60%) than people 30 to 49 (48%). However, respondents 30 to 49 are significantly more likely to participate in these activities than people 50 and older (28%) ($t_{(1,2)} = 3.23$, df = 1, 365, $p < .01$; $t_{(1,3)} = 7.61$, df = 1, 283, $p < .01$; $t_{(2,3)} = 5.10$, df = 1, 332, $p < .01$).

Individuals in the low density group (51%) are significantly more likely than the moderate (43%) and high density (46%) group to interact with whites during school/educational functions ($t_{(1,2)} = 2.06$, df = 1, 327, $p < .04$; $t_{(1,3)} = 1.30$, df = 1, 337, $p > .05$; $t_{(2,3)} = .79$, df = 1, 337, $p > .05$) (see tables 10 through 12).

Table 10: Perceptions of Educational Barriers

		Income			Age			Density		
	Total African-Americans	Group 1 Under $16,000	Group 2 $16,000-$30,000	Group 3 $30,000+	Group 1 16-29	Group 2 30-49	Group 3 50+	Group 1 Low	Group 2 Moderate	Group 3 High
	(1000)	(387)	(302)	(301)	(316)	(416)	(252)	(330)	(320)	(351)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Which one statement comes closest to your own feeling about education?										
Factor H4 — Perceptions of barriers in education faced by African-Americans*	2.5	2.6	2.5	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5

* Strongly agree = 4, Strongly disagree = 1

Table 11: Responses of Specific Items in Factor H4 (alpha - .58)

	Total African-Americans	Income: Group 1 Under $15,000	Income: Group 2 $15,000-$29,999	Income: Group 3 $30,000+	Age: Group 1 18-29	Age: Group 2 30-49	Age: Group 3 50+	Density: Group 1 Low	Density: Group 2 Moderate	Density: Group 3 High
	(1000) %	(307) %	(302) %	(301) %	(318) %	(410) %	(252) %	(330) %	(320) %	(351) %
African-Americans can't get the education they need to succeed	[9] 30	[10] 34	[8] 30	[7] 23	[8] 32	[9] 25	[8] 35	[8] 28	[9] 30	[6] 28
Education is unattainable for most African-Americans	[8] 26	[9] 26	[8] 29	[8] 24	[7] 26	[8] 27	[10] 25	[5] 23	[9] 28	[11] 26
African-American kids are less exposed to computers and technologies at an early age, and therefore they will have a harder time competing in the workforce	[22] 45	[22] 46	[19] 48	[22] 44	[20] 44	[23] 46	[20] 47	[16] 42	[24] 45	[25] 42

* Boxed numbers represent "strongly agree;"
Unboxed numbers represent "agree"

Table 12: Interactions with White Americans in School/Educational Functions

		Income			Age			Density		
	Total African-Americans	Group 1 Under $15,000	Group 2 $15,000-$29,999	Group 3 $30,000+	Group 1 18-29	Group 2 30-49	Group 3 50+	Group 1 Low	Group 2 Moderate	Group 3 High
	(1000)	(307)	(302)	(301)	(316)	(416)	(252)	(330)	(320)	(351)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Regularly associate with white people during:										
School/educational functions	47	41	46	56	60	48	28	51	43	46

Summary: Hypothesis 4

Hypothesis 4 examines perceptions of educational barriers experienced by African-Americans. No differences were observed across age and density groups. However, individuals in the low household income group are more likely to feel there are educational barriers experienced by blacks than individuals in the higher income group. Differences across income groups were also observed in terms of interracial interaction during school/educational functions. Respondents in higher income households are more likely to interact with whites during these functions than individuals with less money. Moreover, younger African-Americans and individuals living in low black density neighborhoods are also more likely to interact with whites during school/educational functions.

Hypotheses 5: Family

This hypothesis examines the role that family plays in the lives of African-Americans. The results of this analyses show that overall, almost 4 in 10 African-Americans obtain "all or almost all of their satisfaction from their family." Three in 10 receive "most of their satisfaction from their home and family," and 2 out 10 African-Americans receive "as much satisfaction from home and family as from away-from-home activities." Only less than one in ten African-Americans receive "most or all of their satisfaction from away-from-home activities." There were no differences observed across income groups. However, significant differences across age and density groups occurred.

Individuals 30 to 49 and 50 and older are significantly more likely to get all or almost all of their satisfaction from their home and family (42% and 45% respectively) versus only 28% for those 29 and under ($t_{(1,2)}$ =3.91, df = 1, 365, $p < .01$; $t_{(1,3)}$ =4.21, df = 1, 283, $p < .01$; $t_{(2,3)}$ =.76, df = 1, 332, $p > .05$). Likewise, individuals 16 to 29 (24%) and 30-49 (21%) are more likely to feel that they get as much "satisfaction from their home and family as from away-from-home activities" compared to only 15% of respondents 50 and older ($t_{(1,2)}$ = .97, df = 1, 365, $p > .05$; $t_{(1,3)}$ =2.67, df = 1, 283, $p < .01$; $t_{(2,3)}$ = 7.26, df = 1, 332 , $p < .01$).

There are also age differences in terms of obtaining satisfaction from away from home activities. As African-Americans get older, they are less likely to obtain satisfaction from mostly away from home activities ($t_{(1,2)}$ =3.67, df = 1, 365, $p < .01$; $t_{(1,3)}$ =2.57, df = 1, 283, $p < .01$; $t_{(2,3)}$ =.61, df = 1, 332, $p < .01$).

There were also differences across density groups. Individuals living in moderate and low black density areas are more likely to feel that all or almost all of their satisfaction comes from their home and family (42% and 40% respectively) compared to 31% of individuals living in low density areas ($t_{(1,2)} = 2.93$, df = 1, 327, $p < .01$; $t_{(1,3)} = 2.45$, df = 1, 337, $p < .01$; $t_{(2,3)} = .27$, df = 1, 337, $p > .05$). Likewise, 39% of individuals living in low density areas feel that "most of their satisfaction comes from home and family compared to 27% of those living in moderate density areas and 28% of respondents living in high density areas ($t_{(1,2)} = 3.04$, df = 1, 327, $p < .01$; $t_{(1,3)} = 3.27$, df = 1, 337, $p < .01$; $t_{(2,3)} = .29$, df = 1, 337, $p > .05$).

Additional analyses were examined regarding home life to obtain an understanding of whether non-African-Americans are a part of their home experience. Respondents were asked if they regularly associated with white people at either their home or that person's home. Twenty-five percent of the African-American respondents stated that they regularly associate with white people in their home or in that person's home. No differences were observed across different income, age, and density groups (See table 13).

Table 13: Attitudes Toward Family

Hypothesis 5

		Income			Age			Density		
	Total African-Americans	Group 1 Under $15,000	Group 2 $15,000-$29,999	Group 3 $30,000+	Group 1 16-29	Group 2 30-49	Group 3 50+	Group 1 Low	Group 2 Moderate	Group 3 High
	(1000) %	(307) %	(302) %	(301) %	(318) %	(410) %	(252) %	(330) %	(320) %	(351) %
Which one statement describes your feeling toward your family?										
All or almost all of my satisfaction comes from my home and family	38	42	35	35	28	42	45	31	42	40
Most of my satisfaction comes from home and family	32	31	29	36	34	29	34	39	27	28
I get about as much satisfaction from my home and family as from away-from-home activities	20	18	25	19	24	21	15	21	18	24
Most of my satisfaction comes from away-from-home activities	6	6	7	5	11	4	5	4	10	5
All or almost all of my satisfaction comes from away-from-home activities	3	3	3	4	3	4	2	3	3	3
Regularly associate with white people by:										
Visiting at your home or their home	25	25	25	25	25	25	24	27	25	23

Summary: Hypothesis 5

The purpose of hypothesis 5 is to explore the role that family has on African-Americans in various income, age and density groups. No differences were observed across income groups. However, there were significant differences across age and density groups.

Younger African-Americans (16 to 29) are less likely to get their satisfaction from home and family. Younger people are more likely to obtain most of their satisfaction from away-from-home activities.

Individuals living in low density neighborhoods are less likely to state that all or almost all of their satisfaction comes from home and family compared to individuals living in moderate or high density black neighborhoods. Individuals in low black density neighborhoods are more likely to state that most of their satisfaction comes from home or family.

No differences were observed across income, age, and density groups in terms of associating with whites at their own home or at that person's home. Approximately one-quarter of all African-Americans state that they have interracial interactions in the context of home.

Additional analyses - segregation and separate social institutions

This section has reported findings regarding attitudes toward religion, education, and family, as well as including additional analyses regarding interracial interaction with whites in the realms of these particular institutions and situations. Additional analyses were also conducted to explore differences in interaction in the following situations: At work/business functions, social functions, parties, nightclub situations and dating. Differences were found across income, age, and density groups.

Differences were found across income groups regarding interaction levels at work/business functions and at social functions (no differences were found across income groups in interracial interaction levels at parties, nightclubs and dating situations). At work/business functions, there is a significant correlation between income and interaction with whites. Specifically, the higher income group (82%) is significantly more likely to interact with whites at work/business functions than the lower income group (46%) and the moderate income group ($t_{(1,2)} = 6.58$, df = 1, 343 , $p < .01$; $t_{(1,3)} = 2.76$, df = 1, 342, $p < .01$; $t_{(2,3)} = 1.41$, df = 1, 299, $p > .05$).

Individuals in the two higher income groups ($15,000 to $29,999 and $30,000 and over) are significantly more likely to interact with whites at social functions (34% and 36% respectively) than individuals in the under $15,000 group (24%) ($t_{(1,2)} = 6.58$, df = 1, 343 , $p < .01$; $t_{(1,3)} = 9.64$, df = 1, 342, $p < .01$; $t_{(2,3)} = .53$, df = 1, 299, $p > .05$).

Individuals in the $30,000 and over group are more likely than other income groups to state that they spend their leisure time equally with African-Americans and non-African-Americans.

Analysis across age groups show differences across groups in terms of interaction during work/business functions, social functions, nightclubs and parties.

At work/business functions, respondents 30 to 49 are significantly more likely to interact with white Americans (74%) than their younger cohorts 16 to 29 (66%) and older counter parts, 50 and over (46%) ($t_{(1,2)} = 2.36$, df = 1, 365, $p < .02$; $t_{(1,3)} = 4.79$, df = 1, 283, $p < .01$; $t_{(2,3)} = 7.28$, df = 1, 332, $p < .01$).

During social functions, individuals under 50 are significantly more likely to interact with whites than individuals 50 and over ($t_{(1,2)}$ = .29, df = 1, 365, p > .05; $t_{(1,3)}$ = 2.38, df = 1, 283, p < .02; $t_{(2,3)}$ = 2.75, df = 1, 332 , p < .01).

Younger people (16 to 29) are significantly more likely than individuals 30 to 49 to interact with whites at nightclubs. Likewise, respondents 30 to 49 are more likely to interact with whites at nightclubs than those 50 and over ($t_{(1,2)}$ = 2.35, df = 1, 365, p < .02; $t_{(1,3)}$ = 4.43, df = 1, 283, p < .01; $t_{(2,3)}$ = 2.66, df = 1, 332, p < .01).

Likewise, younger people (under 50) are also significantly more likely to interact with whites at parties than respondents over 49 ($t_{(1,2)}$ = 1.30, df = 1, 365, p > .05; $t_{(1,3)}$ = 3.99, df = 1, 283, p < .01; $t_{(2,3)}$ = 3.03, df = 1, 332 , p < .01).

There are differences in interaction with whites across density groups. Individuals in low density areas are more likely than individuals living in moderate and high density areas to interact with whites at work/business functions ($t_{(1,2)}$ = 4.56, df = 1, 327, p < .01; $t_{(1,3)}$ = 3.06, df = 1, 337, p < .01; $t_{(2,3)}$ = 1.58, df = 1, 337, p > .05).

Likewise, individuals living in low density areas are more likely to interact with whites at parties than individuals living in moderate and high density areas ($t_{(1,2)}$ = 2.91, df = 1, 327, p < .01; $t_{(1,3)}$ = 2.27, df = 1, 337, p < .01; $t_{(2,3)}$ = .71, df = 1, 337 , p > .05). See tables 14 for details of these additional analyses for segregation and separate institutions.

Table 14: Activities/Leisure-Time with Non-African-Americans

Additional Analyses for Segregation and Separate Institutions

		Income			Age			Density		
	Total African-Americans	Group 1 Under $15,000	Group 2 $15,000-$29,999	Group 3 $30,000+	Group 1 18-29	Group 2 30-49	Group 3 50+	Group 1 Low	Group 2 Moderate	Group 3 High
	(1000)	(307)	(302)	(301)	(318)	(416)	(252)	(330)	(328)	(351)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Thinking about your leisure time, do you usually spend that time with:										
Only African-Americans	27	29	29	23	27	28	25	26	24	31
Mostly African-Americans	48	49	45	49	49	48	51	48	52	45
Equally with African-Americans and non-African-Americans	23	19	23	26	22	24	23	26	22	21
Mostly non-African-Americans	1	1	–	1	1	1	–	–	1	1
Only non-African-Americans	1	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1
Situations in which you regularly associate with white people:										
At work/business functions	64	46	71	82	66	74	46	73	56	62
Social functions	30	24	34	36	32	33	23	34	27	29
Parties	19	15	19	23	24	20	11	24	15	17
Nightclubs	11	10	13	11	17	11	5	10	11	12
Dating	6	6	6	6	9	6	3	6	4	7

Hypotheses 6: Belief in whether black English exists

This hypothesis examines if there are differences across income, age, and density groups in agreement regarding the existence of an African-American communication system, i.e., "black English." In general, 44% of African-Americans agree that they "believe there is such a thing as black English." There are differences, however, across income, age, and density groups in agreement over this issue.

Respondents in the two lower income groups, under $15,000 and $15,000 to $29,999, are less likely to agree that they believe that black English exists (40% and 42% respectively) compared to 52% of the individuals in the $30,000 and over income group ($t_{(1.2)}$ = .34, df = 1, 348, p > .05; $t_{(1.3)}$ =2.11, df = 1, 153, p < .03; $t_{(2.3)}$ = 1.68, df = 1, 140, p > .05).

There were also differences across age groups. Belief that "there is such a thing as black English" decreases with age. Individuals between the age of 16 to 29 are more likely to believe that there is a special language referred to as black English (53%) compared to individuals 30 to 49 (45%). Moreover, individuals 39 to 49 are more likely than the older group to agree that black English exists ($t_{(1,2)}$ = 1.55, df = 1, 187, p >.05 ; $t_{(1,3)}$ = 2.88, df = 1, 119, p > .05 ; $t_{(2,3)}$ = 1.81, df = 1, 141, p > .05).

There are also differences across density groups in terms of belief that black English exists. Individuals in low (48%) and high (47%) density groups are more likely to feel that black English exists compared to only 38% of those living in moderate black density neighborhoods ($t_{(1,2)}$ = 1.70, df = 1, 142, p > .05; $t_{(1.3)}$ =.18, df = 1, 162, p > .05; $t_{(2,3)}$ = 1.51, df = 1, 147, p > .05) (see table 15).

Table 15: Belief in the Existence of "Black English"

Hypotheses 6

		Income			Age			Density		
	Total African-Americans	Group 1 Under $15,000	Group 2 $15,000-$29,999	Group 3 $30,000+	Group 1 18-29	Group 2 30-49	Group 3 50+	Group 1 Low	Group 2 Moderate	Group 3 High
	(1000)	(153)	(139)	(156)	(167)	(212)	(76)	(165)	(124)	(158)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
I believe there is such a thing as "black English"	44	40	42	52	53	45	33	48	38	47

* 1=Positive attitudes toward black English/4 = Negative attitudes

Summary: Hypothesis 6

The goal of hypothesis 6 is to explore the perception of black English and whether or not individuals agree that African-Americans do have a unique communication system.

The findings show that the high income group ($30,000 and over) are more likely to believe there is such a thing as black English than the low and moderate income group.

Among the three age groups, there was a negative relationship between age and belief that black English exists. Put another way, the older the respondent, the less likely he or she agreed that African-Americans have a unique way of communicating.

Among density groups, low and high density groups agreed more to the existence of black English than individuals residing in African-American moderate density neighborhoods.

Hypothesis 7: Attitudes toward black English

The following hypothesis examines if attitudes toward black English are positive or negative (the items for this factor were only asked of those who originally stated that "they believe that there is such a thing as "black English"). Across income groups, the is no significant difference in belief that there is such a thing as "black English" ($eta^2 = .0007$, $df = 1, 144$, $p > .05$). Examination of the means, however, show that there is a nonlinear relationship between perception of the belief that black English exists and income levels. Contrast analyses were conducted to pull out the linear correlation and measure the nonlinear component directly. The following contrast analyses were applied to the means of the three income groups.

Income:	**Under $15,000**	**$15,000-$29,999**	**$30,000+**
mean:	**2.5**	**2.6**	**2.6**
contrast:	**-1**	**+.5**	**+.5**

N = 146 (weighted)

The contrast analysis show that these means are significantly different ($F = 2.2$, $df = 144$, $p < .01$). Individuals in the income group under $15,000 are significantly less likely to agree that "they believe there is such a thing as "black English" compared to individuals in the $15,000 and over income group.

Across age groups, the is no significant difference in belief that there is such a thing as "black English" ($eta^2 = .0329$, $df = 1, 146$, $p > .05$). Examination of the means, however, show that there is a nonlinear relationship between perception of the belief that black English exists and age groups. Contrast analyses were conducted to pull out the linear correlation and measure the nonlinear component directly. The following contrast analyses were applied to the means of the three age groups.

Age:	**16-29**	**30-49**	**50+**
mean:	**2.4**	**2.6**	**2.6**
contrast:	**-1**	**+.5**	**+.5**

N = 148 (weighted)

The contrast analysis show that these means are significantly different ($F = 5.85$, $df = 146$, $p < .01$). Younger individuals, 16 to 29 years of age, are significantly less likely to agree that they believe that there is such a thing as "black English" compared to people 30 to 49 and over 50 years of age.

Across density groups, the is no significant difference in belief that there is such a thing as "black English" ($eta^2 = .0173$, df = 1, 147, $p > .05$). Examination of the means, however, show that there is a nonlinear relationship between perception of the belief that black English exists and density groups. Contrast analyses were conducted to pull out the linear correlation and measure the nonlinear component directly. The following contrast analyses were applied to the means of the density groups.

Density:	**Low**	**Moderate**	**High**
mean:	**2.6**	**2.6**	**2.5**
contrast:	**+.5**	**+.5**	**-1**

N = 149 (weighted value)

The contrast analysis show that these means are significantly different ($F = 2.25$, df = 147, $p < .01$). Individuals living in high density black neighborhoods are significantly less likely to state that they believe there is such a thing as "black English (see tables 16 and 17)."

Table 16: Attitudes Toward "Black English"

Hypothesis 7

		Income			Age			Density		
	Total African-Americans	Group 1 Under $15,000	Group 2 $15,000-$29,999	Group 3 $30,000+	Group 1 18-29	Group 2 30-49	Group 3 50+	Group 1 Low	Group 2 Moderate	Group 3 High
	(447)	(163)	(139)	(106)	(167)	(212)	(75)	(165)	(124)	(158)
Hypothesis 7										
Factor #7 attitudes toward "black English"	2.5	2.5	2.6	2.6	2.4	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.5

Table 17: Responses to Specific Items in Factor H7 (alpha=.40)*

		Income			Age			Density		
	Total African-Americans	Group 1 Under $15,000	Group 2 $15,000-$30,000	Group 3 $30,000+	Group 1 18-29	Group 2 30-49	Group 3 50+	Group 1 Low	Group 2 Moderate	Group 3 High
	(1000)	(307)	(302)	(301)	(310)	(410)	(252)	(330)	(328)	(351)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
I am most comfortable when I communicate in black English (R)'	11 41	10 40	11 38	13 46	14 46	8 38	11 33	7 35	13 46	14 42
People who speak black English will not succeed in this society	9 20	9 21	9 18	9 21	8 19	12 22	10 15	11 23	9 19	7 18
Black English is inappropriate in most situations	12 48	12 46	10 41	9 54	10 41	17 58	8 55	14 43	12 56	11 46
It is acceptable for marketers to use black English when marketing to African-Americans (R)	10 43	12 44	7 43	12 43	10 46	11 46	7 36	11 52	9 35	11 40
I feel that advertisers are stereotyping African-Americans when they use black English	28 44	30 42	31 36	24 53	25 46	31 43	29 36	34 60	21 43	29 36

*1 = Positive attitudes toward "black English"
4 = Negative attitudes toward "black English"
(R)' = Reversed in Factor

Hypotheses 8: Use of black English

The following hypothesis examines the utilization of black English among respondents who agree that black English exists. Among those who believe it exists, 32% state that they do speak it. There are differences across age groups.

Younger people (16 to 29) are more likely to say they speak black English (41%) compared to individuals 30 to 49 (31%) and individuals over 49 (23%)($t_{(1,2)} = 2.02$, df = 1, 187, $p < .04$; $t_{(1,3)} = 2.7$, df = 1, 119, $p < .01$; $t_{(2,3)} = 1.31$, df = 1, 141, $p > .05$) (see table 18)

Table 18: Attitudes Toward "Black English"

Hypothesis 8

		Income			Age			Density		
	Total African-Americans	Group 1 Under $15,000	Group 2 $15,000-$29,999	Group 3 $30,000+	Group 1 18-29	Group 2 30-49	Group 3 50+	Group 1 Low	Group 2 Moderate	Group 3 High
	(447)	(163)	(129)	(155)	(167)	(212)	(75)	(166)	(134)	(150)
Hypothesis 8										
Do you yourself ever speak "black English?"										
Yes	32%	29%	32%	37%	41%	31%	23%	35%	28%	37%

Hypothesis 9: Attitudes toward African-American Heritage

The following hypothesis examines if there are differences in African-American ethnic identity across income, age, and density groups. The results of a discriminate analysis show that there are marginal differences across means within different age and density groups.

Across income groups, there are no significant differences across those groups ($eta^2 = .0021$; $df = 1, 328$, $p > .05$). Examination of these means, however, show a nonlinear relationship between income and respondent ethnic identity that the discriminate analysis may not be able to read. Contrast analyses were conducted to take out the linear component and measure the nonlinear component directly. Thus, contrast values were applied to the income means directly.

Income:	**Under $15,000**	**$15,000-$29,999**	**$30,000+**
mean:	**2.4**	**2.4**	**2.3**
contrast value:	**+.5**	**+.5**	**-1**

N = 330 (weighted)

The contrast analysis show that these means are significantly different ($F = 2.64$, $(1, 328)$, $p < .01$) and that individuals in the two low income groups (under $15,000 and $15,000 to $29,9999) have a higher ethnic identity than individuals in the highest income group ($30,000 and over).

Across age groups, there were marginally significant differences (eta^2 = .0168; df = 1, 328, $p < .05$). Examination of these means, however, show a nonlinear relationship between age and respondent ethnic identity that the discriminate analysis may not be able to read (see table 19). Contrast analyses were conducted to take out the linear component and measure the nonlinear component directly. Thus, contrast values were applied to the age means directly.

Age:	**16-29**	**30-49**	**50+**
mean:	**2.4**	**2.4**	**2.2**
contrast value: -	**+1**	**+1**	**-2**

N = 329 (weighted)

The contrast analysis show that these means are significantly different (F = 8.77, (1, 327), $p < .01$) and that individuals under the age of 50 are significantly more likely to have a stronger ethnic identity than African-Americans 50 and older.

Across density groups, there were marginally significantly differences (eta^2 = .0092; df = 1, 334, $p < .05$). However, examination of these means show a nonlinear relationship between density and respondent ethnic identity that the discriminate analysis may not be able to read (see table 19). Contrast analyses were conducted to take out the linear component and measure the nonlinear component directly. Thus, contrast values were applied to the density means directly.

Density:	**Low**	**Moderate**	**High**
mean:	**2.3**	**2.3**	**2.4**
contrast value:	**-.5**	**-.5**	**+1**

N = 336 (weighted)

The contrast analysis show that these means are significantly different ($F = 2.24$, $(1, 334)$, $p < .05$) and that individuals living in high black density areas are more likely to have a stronger ethnic identity than people living in low and moderate density areas (see tables 19 through 20).

Table 19: Attitudes Regarding African–American Ethical Heritage

Hypotheses 9

		Income			Age			Density		
	Total African-Americans	Group 1 Under $15,000	Group 2 $15,000-$29,999	Group 3 $30,000+	Group 1 18-29	Group 2 30-49	Group 3 50+	Group 1 Low	Group 2 Moderate	Group 3 High
	(1000)	(307)	(308)	(301)	(310)	(410)	(262)	(330)	(330)	(361)
Factor #9:										
Attitudes toward African-American Heritage*	2.3	2.4	2.4	2.3	2.4	2.4	2.2	2.3	2.3	2.4

* 4 = Strong African–American ethnic identity
1 = Weak African–American ethnic identity

Table 20: Responses to Specific Items in Factor #9 (alpha = .74)

		Income			Age			Density		
	Total African-Americans	Group 1 Under $15,000	Group 2 $15,000-$30,000	Group 3 $30,000+	Group 1 16-29	Group 2 30-49	Group 3 50+	Group 1 Low	Group 2 Moderate	Group 3 High
	(1000) %	(307) %	(302) %	(301) %	(310) %	(414) %	(252) %	(330) %	(328) %	(351) %
I like activities that celebrate my African-American heritage	27 / 58	28 / 53	29 / 62	25 / 63	31 / 66	29 / 53	19 / 60	25 / 56	28 / 53	28 / 64
Advertising featuring African-Americans is more likely to grab my attention	19 / 58	22 / 56	19 / 61	15 / 60	20 / 64	18 / 45	18 / 56	17 / 57	19 / 43	20 / 60
I prefer my children choose African-Americans as role models	21 / 36	19 / 36	21 / 42	23 / 36	22 / 46	22 / 46	20 / 37	17 / 42	23 / 36	23 / 21
I seek out products which reflect my African-American culture	14 / 48	15 / 45	14 / 50	13 / 51	18 / 53	15 / 42	11 / 52	12 / 54	15 / 43	15 / 47
I believe we should pass on religion/traditions to children	33 / 48	32 / 47	32 / 48	35 / 52	32 / 47	32 / 48	34 / 52	27 / 53	35 / 47	36 / 46
There should be more advertisements and commercials catering to African-Americans	23 / 58	23 / 51	21 / 53	27 / 68	23 / 52	24 / 51	23 / 45	21 / 50	22 / 48	27 / 48

Summary of hypothesis 9

Hypothesis 9 examines if there are differences in ethnic identity across income, age, and density groups. The findings suggest that individuals with household incomes under $30,000 are more likely to have a more intense African-American ethnic identity than individuals with incomes $30,000 and over.

Age also plays a significant factor in the degree of an individuals' ethnic identity. African-Americans under 50 are significantly more likely to measure higher on the ethnic identity factor than respondents over 50.

Residence in a particular African-American density neighborhood also is related to ethnic identity. Individuals living in high African-American density neighborhoods have a higher ethnic identity than individuals who live in low or moderate African-American density neighborhoods.

Attitudes Regarding African–American Ethical Heritage

		Income			Age			Density		
	Total African-Americans	Group 1 Under $15,000	Group 2 $15,000-$29,999	Group 3 $30,000+	Group 1 18-29	Group 2 30-49	Group 3 50+	Group 1 Low	Group 2 Moderate	Group 3 High
	(1000)	(307)	(302)	(301)	(318)	(416)	(262)	(330)	(328)	(351)
Attitudes toward African-American Heritage*	2.3	2.4	2.4	2.3	2.4	2.4	2.2	2.3	2.3	2.4

* 4 = Strong African–American ethnic identity
1 = Weak African–American ethnic identity

Chapter Five

DISCUSSION

The goal of this dissertation was to obtain a greater understanding of what it means to have an "African-American culture" and to empirically examine if one indeed exists. The premise of this study is to challenge the assumption underlying much of the research in this field that race, particularly in discussions of African-Americans, is a major predictor of culture. It was never the position of this author that there is no African-American culture. The opposition concerns the blind acceptance of a homogeneous culture, the lack of attention given to the diversity in cultural experiences and orientations within this racial group, and the lack of empirical research that supports this assertion. This research proposed that other factors, such as certain demographic groups, should be examined as well. For example, different income, age, and density groups may influence perceptions of the perceptual cultural frames proposed as being the key drivers of a shared African-American culture.

Thus, this study focused on the later limitation of this body of research by examining the meaning of an African-American culture and quantitatively assessing the pervasiveness of these identified elements, which make up this culture, across three variables: income, age and residence in African-American density neighborhoods (density is defined by the US Bureau of the census as the percentage of African-Americans residing in a census track). In short, the goal of this research was to truly understand the impact race, among African-Americans, has on the development, sustainment, and experience of culture.

Several steps were taken to accomplish this goal. The first step was to identify the factors which drive and impact culture in general. This step provided the foundation for the conceptualization of African-American culture and the cultural frames which are proposed by previous researchers as being the driving force of a collective African-American culture. These cultural frames were: 1) a shared history of slavery and oppression and the continuing significance of race; 2) the impact of segregation and separate social institutions; 3) a unique communication system; and 4) a shared African ethnic heritage.

Grouping African-Americans by three different income, age, and residencies in black density neighborhood groups was conducted to explore if there were significant, systematic differences across these demographic groups. In general, the nine hypotheses proposed if differences were observed, this would suggest that an African-American culture did not exist. If no differences were observed, this would suggest that African-Americans share a common culture.

The results of this study provide support for a shared African-American culture. There were significant differences in terms of attitudes and perceptions regarding African-American culture across income, age, and density groups. However, the similarities and small, albeit significant differences, do suggest that a "core" cultural frame may exist among African-Americans. Data examining significant differences between African-American and white Americans discussed later in this chapter provide further support for this assertion.

Because of the wealth of data explored in this paper, the following sections will discuss the data from two "angles." The first angle will discuss the differences found across different income, age, and density groups, i.e., support that there is no collective African-American culture. The second will focus on the similarities that crossed demographic boundaries, i.e., support of a collective African-American culture.

Differences across demographic groups

Out of the three demographic variables examined in this research, income was the largest discriminator followed by age. Density proved not to be as important a variable as far as its' discriminating power across the groups. This is potentially due to the high interaction with other African-Americans during leisure time activities, regardless of the black density of an individual's neighborhood. Income and age, however, proved to have a greater influence a person's attitudes regarding certain African-American cultural frames.

Income groups

High income group ($30,000 and over)

The prototypical African-American in the high income group (household income of $30,000 and over annually) is significantly less likely to feel that African-Americans continue to experience racism and discrimination and that they are the targets of negative stereotyping compared to individuals in the under $15,000 income group. Individuals in this high income group are also significantly less likely than individuals in the lower income groups ($15,000 to $29,000 and under $15,000) to state that African-Americans "should never use being black as an excuse for your problems." However, this income group ($30,000 or more) is significantly more likely to feel that children should be told that "American institutions are biased in favor of white people."

These findings suggest that individuals in the high income group have had or created more opportunities to succeed and "make it" in this society. Although these individuals are more likely than not to feel that African-Americans continue to live in a society were they, as African-Americans, are not treated fairly, they recognize that black people must not focus and exert a lot of energy on these aspects to be successful and somewhat happy with their situation in this world.

Moreover, this high income group has different day-to-day experiences in life compared to individuals in the low income group (under $15,000) that would impact their perceptions of racism and discrimination. As discussed in the demographic profile (located in the results section), African-Americans in the high income group not only have more money, but they tend to be more educated, younger, employed full-time, and married (as opposed to divorced) compared to individuals in the lowest income group. Therefore, individuals in the high income group may be less likely to experience certain discriminatory acts related to other issues such as poverty, age, unemployment and so forth.

Consistent with this thinking, this group is also significantly less likely than individuals in the two lower income groups to perceive that African-Americans are the products of educational barriers. However, comparable to their perceptions of racism and discrimination targeting African-Americans, this group is still more likely than not to agree that educational barriers exists for black people. Yet, perhaps due to their own educational accomplishments, they are more positive and optimistic, compared to the two lower income groups, about the opportunities which exists for black people to obtain the education they need to be successful. In other words, when a person has actually done something (e.g., finished high school, earned a college degree, completed postgraduate work, achieved success and satisfaction with their chosen career) they are going to be more likely to feel that it can be done and that opportunities are available; African-Americans may just have to work harder to go after them.

However, in spite of the higher income groups' more positive outlook regarding racism and educational barriers targeting African-Americans, this group is more likely than

the two lower income groups to perceive that all else being equal, American institutions are biased to favor white people. These perceptions are perhaps influenced by the fact that individuals in the high income group are less likely to be socially segregated from non African-Americans than their lower income counterparts. These individuals are significantly more likely to interact with non African-Americans in a variety of contexts such as at work/business, school/educational, and social functions. Their chances are increased of having first hand on experience of being allowed into institutions that, in many cases, in recent history were not open to African-Americans (Price, 1995). However, a feeling of not truly feeling comfortable, accepted and a part of the power structure may continue to linger. Some upward mobile African-Americans who are striving to make it to the top of their professions and academic careers may be affected by the extreme lack of other African-Americans not already at the finish line urging them on and offering advise and words of encouragement on how they too can make it. Thus, because their issues and concerns are different, the high income group may have a sense of racism and discrimination that is on a different level than individuals in the lowest income group.

In terms of communication issues, the high income group is also significantly more likely than the moderate and low income group to agree that there is such a thing as "black English." Moreover, out of the individuals who agree that such a thing as "black English exists" this group ($30,000 and over) is more likely to state that they speak this language. This finding may seem surprising at first glance, but the high income group is more likely to employ "code-switching" (see p. 52 for further discussion). Because individuals in the

high income group are more likely, than the other two income groups, to interact with non blacks in a variety of contexts from business to social functions, they are in positions to be more conscious of the differences in their speech, language style and nonverbals when interacting with non African-American associates in a work setting versus with African-American friends and family during their leisure time.

However, this group is less positive attitudinally toward black English than the lowest income group. Once again, because of their high involvement in "mainstream" America in business and educational settings, they may have more acute sensitivities to the negative stigmas placed on individuals not utilizing society's "standard," accepted codes of communicating.

The results of these findings also suggest that individuals in this income category have less African-American ethnic identity than their lower income counterparts. One interpretation is related to the amount of interracial interaction experienced by the high income group. Because this group is more involved in a world that is not exclusive to any one racial group including their own, they may feel their identity is not only one of being black, but also defined by their profession, socioeconomic standing, leisure activities and so forth. The fact that significantly less individuals in the high income group agree that "when I interact with white people, they only see a black person, not me" supports this thought.

Moderate income group ($15,000 to $29,999)

The prototypical individual in the moderate income group share some cultural characteristics with their higher income counterparts as well as with their lower income counterparts. This group is most likely to have a transient group of individuals who have either moved into this group from a lower income background (e.g., through education and/or just entering into their first, white collar profession or by hard work in a blue collar profession that pays fairly well) or moved slightly back from the higher income group (i.e., as a result of retirement or loss of employment by oneself or a spouse). In other words, this group may be struggling to get ahead and enjoy the "American dream" while simultaneously fighting not to slip back into financial hard times and the poverty experienced by individuals in the lower income group.

Similar to the high income group, individuals in the moderate income group are significantly less likely, compared to the lowest income group (under $15,000), to perceive that African-Americans continue to be victims of racism, discrimination and negative stereotyping. Moderate incomers are more likely to have stable, full-time employment than individuals in the low income group. They are also more likely to be homeowners and have a stable home life. Therefore, this group has more opportunities to get ahead and stay ahead than the low income group as well as having the hope of achieving something better for themselves and their children. They recognize that racism and discrimination is a continuing concern for African-Americans but they have something that the low income group may not have as much of; hope of breaking and sustaining a cycle of poverty. On a day-to-day basis , this group, compared to the low income group may also experience less complications that go along with being in a depressive economic state.

However, compared to the highest income group, this group is not as optimistic regarding the educational opportunities for African-Americans. This group is more likely than the higher income group to feel that African-Americans must confront educational barriers because of their race. Again, the transient and middle of the road income level could influence these perceptions. While the higher income group may be able to afford the increasing high cost of education for their children or be children of parents who can afford to pay for their own education, individuals in the moderate income group may find these cost daunting. They may be in a position to provide the basic necessities and a few extras for themselves and their families such as shelter, food, clothes and entertainment and a modest vacation once a year, but not have the thousands of dollars in their budgets to fund a college education or live in areas that have competitive school systems (Hill, 1995). To make matters worse, African-Americans in the moderate income group often find themselves in a position where they have household incomes large enough not to qualify for government grants and loans to obtain a higher education, but do not earn enough to actually be able to afford the increasing costs of attending colleges or universities.

Regarding interracial interactions, this group is also less likely than the high income group to regularly associate with non African-Americans at work/business and school/educational functions. The differences observed in interaction in educational settings is primarily due to the fact that this group is older than the high income group, decreasing the chance of interracial interaction during school functions. In terms of work/business functions, there are a large amount of moderate income individuals who

state that they regularly interact with whites in these settings (71%). However, this group tends to be in jobs which are blue-collar versus white collar. Certain settings that are blue collar, such as construction, and factory and industrial jobs are characterized by environments that are more socially and racially segregated (Botan and Smitherman, 1991). Moreover, individuals in this income group who are in white collar positions tend to be in more service oriented versus executive positions (e.g., copy/mail room positions, secretaries, and so forth) which are not as conducive to interracial lateral communicative interactions. Instead, individuals in this group may experience more "one up/one down" encounters with non African-Americans (on the down end of the interaction)

Regarding communication issues, individuals in the moderate income group are significantly less likely than their higher income counterparts to state that they believe there is such a thing as "black English." Similar to individuals in the high income group, the moderate income group has less positive feelings toward black English than individuals in the low income group. As mentioned earlier in this section, the moderate income group is politically most conservative than the other income groups. Thus, black English may be viewed as deviant behavior and not the proper way to become upward mobile and successful in a society that does not necessarily have positive perceptions of African-Americans.

Low income group (Under $15,000)

The prototypical individual in this income group is most dissimilar to the prototypical individual in the high income group. This group does however share some similar attitudes and perceptions with the moderate income group.

Individuals in the low income group are significantly more likely than individuals in the moderate and high income groups to believe that African-Americans continue to be the victims of racism, discrimination and negative stereotypes. This group also has the highest perception that African-Americans face educational barriers not experienced by other racial groups compareda to their older counterparts. This is not surprising considering that the low income group is less educated and the deck is not stacked in their favor (Robinson & Tidwell, 1995). Moreover, this group is older, tends to be more single mothers, and retired. Thus, this group is in a position to experience a variety of different kinds of discrimination related to factors other than race.

In terms of communication issues, the low income group, similar to the moderate income group, is significantly less likely than their high income counterparts to believe that there is such a thing as "black English." However, low and moderate income groups may have different reasons for not believing that African-Americans share a unique language system. The low income group, compared to both the moderate and high income groups, is least likely to interact with white people in work/business and educational functions. Thus, this group is the least likely to be in positions where code-switching is employed and may view their communication patterns as the norm versus being a unique and special way of communicating (on the other hand, individuals in the moderate income group have

more negative attitudes toward black English and may state that it does not exist because they disapprove of it and will not acknowledge it). As mentioned previously, individuals in the high income group who have more interracial interactions are particularly more sensitive to the negative judgments placed on black people who do not adapt their communication patterns to particular situations and audiences.

Also similar to the moderate income group, the low income group is significantly more likely than the high income group to have a more intense African ethnic identity. This finding may be interpreted as being related to the amount of interaction individuals in the lower income group have with other African-Americans. In other words, the more an individual interacts and socializes with other African-Americans, the more likely they are to feel connected to their ethnic heritage. Moreover, those with less income may have a greater tendency to embrace positive aspects of their lives, such as their ethnic identity, instead of focusing on mainstream definitions of success and achievement that they may be lacking.

Age groups

16 to 29 years of age

The prototypical young African-American is significantly less likely than individuals 30 to 49 to perceive that African-Americans experience racism, discrimination and are the targets of negative stereotypes. Also, individuals 16 to 29 are significantly less likely than the two older groups to agree that black parents should be telling their children that they "will have to work harder than white people to get the same amount of credit." This, of course, can be attributed to differences in personal experiences and coming to age in a society that is more accepting of different ethnic and racial groups. This is not to say that African-Americans in this age group have not experienced racism and discrimination. However, this age group has spent a great deal more of their lives, compared to the other age groups during a point in time were the world should theoretically not deny them of their dreams and aspirations on the basis of race alone. This thought is supported by the fact that people 16 to 29 are significantly less likely than those 30 and older to agree that they "will have to work harder than white people to get the same amount of credit."

In terms of interracial interaction, young African-Americans are also significantly more likely to interact regularly with non African-Americans than older African-Americans in a variety of contexts including school/educational functions and at nightclubs. In these types of settings, young African-Americans may feel that not only do they share certain allegiances with non African-Americans who have common, youth related attitudes, but younger African-Americans may also feel socially dominant because these individuals in many cases influence popular, hip-hop culture that is adopted by non African-Americans in terms of music, fashion, entertainment, and dance nationally and internationally (The MEE report, 1992).

When exploring attitudes toward church and religion, younger African-Americans state that religion is less important to them than their older counterparts (however, it should be noted that although more older African-Americans, 30 and older, stated that religion is very important in their lives, the majority of young people agreed with this as well). This group is also significantly less likely than older African-Americans to participate in certain religious activities, compared to their older counterparts, such as listening to religious programs on the radio, reading religious publications, and watching religious programs on TV. This is not surprising considering that young people tend to be more interested in what their peers and friends are doing and less interested in tradition and conforming to the wishes of their parents and other older people in their community (The MEE Report, 1992).

These attitudes are also reflected in perceptions of family. This age group is significantly less likely than individuals in the older group to state that they get all or almost all of their satisfaction from home and family compared to individuals 30 to 49 and 50 and older. Once again, acceptance from peer group members may take precedence over that of family members. At a young age, family members are often taken for granted and not appreciated as much as peer group members and friends, thus suggesting a positive relationship between age and the importance of family (Yankelovich MONITOR, 1995).

In terms of communication issues, younger blacks are significantly more likely to believe there is such a thing as "black English." This group is also more likely to have positive attitudes toward black English and state that they speak this language. For

young people, this language is an important means of solidarity with peer group members and those they want to be like as well as being in "the know" of the latest street vernacular (The MEE Report, 1992; Gallois et al., 1988). Thus, black English is viewed by younger people as being a positive form of communication and a way to connect with other people perceived to be like them and/or who they would like to be associated with.

Younger African-Americans also have a more intense ethnic identity than individuals over 49. Individuals 16 to 29 share this in common with those 30 to 49. Looking at the specific items that make up the ethnic identity factor (see table 20), the focus on ethnic identity for younger African-Americans is particularly geared around having products or tangible symbols that communicate to other people and themselves their pride in their African heritage.

30 to 49 years of age

The prototypical African-American in this age group is significantly more likely to perceive that African-Americans are the target of discrimination, racism, and negative stereotypes. When the specific items that make up this factor are examined, this group feels particularly strongly about being "judged by their race first and as individuals second" and that "discrimination is still a part of most African-American's day-to-day experiences." This group is clearly more frustrated and concerned about these issues than younger (16 to 29) and older (50+) African-Americans. These individuals may be stuck between having attitudes and perceptions that reflect the view that things are much better for African-Americans than they once were but not yet equal to nonminorities.

These attitudes may stem from negative experiences in their work settings. Some of the individuals in this group were beneficiaries of Affirmative Action and in many cases, the first African-Americans to desegregate educational institutions and join the ranks of corporations and institutions throughout the country for the first time in the history of our nation. Considering that the majority of this group's interaction with non African-Americans take place in work/business type settings, their hopes, dreams and aspirations may not have been realized in light that their race continues to limit their opportunities.

Religion may be an important way of dealing with some of these bitter and disappointed feelings in other aspects of their lives. Similar to older African-Americans over 50, individuals 30 to 49 are significantly more likely to state that religion plays a very important role in their lives. They also participate regularly in many religious activities.

The data suggest that family is another important source of comfort for this age group. This group is significantly more likely to state that all or almost all of their satisfaction comes from home and family compared to individuals 16 to 29. Individuals in this age group, however, are just as likely as individuals 16 to 29 to state that they also get about as much satisfaction from their home and family as from away-from-home activities. This group, unlike individuals over 49, are more likely to be working full-time which may add to their increased involvement and satisfaction with away-from-home activities.

50 years of age and older

The prototypical African-American in this age group is significantly less likely than individuals 30 to 49 to believe that African-Americans continue to experience discrimination, racism and negative stereotyping (similar to individuals 16 to 29). This could be related to the fact that outside of church/religious functions, individuals 50 and older are significantly least likely to interact with non African-Americans in work/business functions, school/educational functions, social functions, parties, and nightclubs. The majority of this group are retired and living in either moderate or high density black neighborhoods. Hence, they may simply be less likely, compared to individuals 30 to 49, to be in situations were their race is a major issue.

Religion is most important to this group compared to the other age groups examined in this study. They are also significantly more likely than the younger groups to participate in a variety of religious activities such as attending a house of worship, giving donations to religious organizations (although they have the smallest personal and household incomes), and listening to religious programs on the radio. In other words, older African-Americans truly practice what they preach.

When examining communication issues, individuals in this age group are least likely to believe there is such a thing as "black English" compared to the younger groups. Moreover, among those who believe there is such a thing as black English, older African-Americans are least likely to state that they speak it. As mentioned in the previous sections, being aware of a special language such as black English, requires that individuals either personally make conscious efforts to code-switch or they are in situations where they see large distinctions in how people communicate. Because of the limited amount of interracial interactions experienced by this group, these issues may not be as salient to individuals in this group as it is to the other two age groups.

Density groups

Low density groups (residing in less than 37% African-American neighborhoods)

Prototypical individuals who are residents in low black density groups are less likely to believe that African-Americans are targets of racism, discrimination, and negative stereotypes. As in the case of individuals in the high income group, people in low density groups have higher incomes, are more educated and more likely to have full time jobs than those living in moderate and high black density areas. Thus, individuals in low density areas have potentially more opportunities, influenced by other factors, which in affect, may impact their perceptions of how they are treated and judged by non African-Americans.

Individuals residing in low black density neighborhoods are also significantly more likely to interact with non African-Americans than those residing in moderate and high density areas. Moreover, low density residents are more likely to interact with whites at work/business functions, school/educational functions, and parties.

This group is also significantly more likely than the moderate and high density groups to state that they receive most of their satisfaction from home and family as opposed to all or almost all of their satisfactions. This may be due to differences in lifestage. Individuals living in low density areas are more likely to be younger, employed full time, and have young children. Their focus may be more career-oriented and trying to provide for their young families, compared to moderate and high density groups. Thus, some of their satisfaction may stem from work and other non-family activities.

Interestingly, in terms of communication, low and high density residents have similar attitudes regarding the existence of "black English." Individuals in the low density

group are significantly more likely than individuals living in moderate density areas to believe there is such a thing as black English and state that they speak it. However, simil to the moderate density group, individuals in low black density areas are significantly mo likely to have negative attitudes regarding black English compared to individuals living ir high density areas. This is most likely due to the low density groups' high involvement with non African-Americans in educational and business setting. This will impact their perceptions of the stigmas placed on African-Americans, as well as other racial groups, i particular situations where they do not conform to "mainstream" vernacular.

Moderate density groups (residing in neighborhoods 37% to 81% African-American)

The prototypical individual in the moderate density group is significantly more likely to believe that African-Americans are targets of discrimination, racism and negativ stereotyping than individuals in low black density groups (similar to the beliefs of individuals in high black density groups).

In terms of interracial interaction, moderate density groups are less likely, compared to low density individuals, to interact with non African-Americans in the following contexts: work/business functions, school/educational functions, and parties. One reason for this finding is that many African-Americans in this group are older and either retired or only working part-time. Therefore, there are less opportunities for interracial interactions due to the lack of interaction in non leisure settings (e.g., work/business, school/educational functions) and the fact that most leisure time for all African-Americans examined in this research is spent with other blacks.

Individuals living in moderate density neighborhoods are significantly more likely than individuals living in low density areas to get all or almost all of their satisfaction from home and family. As mentioned previously, this group is older and less likely to be working full-time or at all. The majority of these individuals are parents and many are grandparents. Not surprisingly for this lifestage, family is especially critical for this group.

Regarding communication issues, individuals in this group are significantly less likely to believe there is such a thing as "black English" compared to people living in low and high density areas. Individuals living in moderate density areas are older and more conservative than the other two age groups. Thus, as mentioned in the previous section, older people are less likely to be engaged in a variety of situations such as work and educational situations. They are also less likely to regularly interact with non African-Americans. Therefore, individuals in the moderate density group are less likely to encounter situations where code-switching may occur. Also, due to the conservative nature of this group, they are also significantly less likely to state that they speak it compared to the other two density groups.

High density groups (residing in neighborhoods at 82% African-American)

The prototypical individual living in a high African-American density area is significantly more likely than individuals living in low density areas to believe that African-Americans continue to experience racism, discrimination and negative stereotyping targeting them. Again, their attitudes are similar to individuals in the low income group who have less income and opportunities related not only to race but their economic situation as well.

Also similar to individuals living in moderate density areas, high density group members are significantly less likely to interact with non African-Americans during work/business functions, school/educational functions, and at parties. This is not surprising considering that they live in areas that are primarily African-American and are more likely, than the other two groups, to work, go to school and entertain in their own communities.

Connection to family is also important to this group. Individuals living in high black density neighborhoods are significantly more likely than individuals living in low density areas to state that all or almost all of their satisfaction comes from home and family. Similar to individuals living in the low income group, this group is most likely to be single parents and therefore, focusing on children and family is potentially more critical to this group than others. Additionally, because of economic concerns, the outside world (i.e., outside of the family circle) may be more difficult and problematic making home and family a particularly appealing haven from the world.

In terms of communication, high density group members share more in common with individuals in low density areas than those in moderate density areas. People in high density areas are significantly more likely than individuals living in moderate density areas to believe there is such a thing as "black English." High density group members are also more likely than moderate group members to state that they speak this language. However, this group is also significantly more likely than the other two density groups to perceive that black English is a positive phenomenon versus negative. Because communication is a way of showing solidarity and enacting cultural rituals, individuals living in areas that are primarily black may see the positive aspects of a unique communication system shared among African-Americans. Similarly, individuals living in high density areas are significantly more likely than the other two groups to have a stronger ethnic identity and celebrate aspects of their history and lives that are unique to African-Americans.

Individuals living in low density areas, on the hand, may be more inclined to perceive that a "distinct" communication system may separate and marginalize African-Americans from mainstream society, therefore, being more wary of the positive benefits of this phenomenon.

Similarities across demographic groups

The previous section examined the differences in perceptions of African-American cultural frames. This section will examine similarities in perceptions of African-American cultural frames that cut across demographic boundaries.

As discussed in the previous section, significant differences were found in perceptions of racism, discrimination and negative stereotyping targeting African-Americans. However, the face value of the actual means tell their own story. The means which measure perceptions of racism and discrimination range between 2.9 to 3.0 out of a possible measurement of 1 to 4. This suggests that overall, African-Americans continue to be concerned about racism and discrimination. The lack of 1s and low 2s in the means indicates that the majority of African-Americans feel that their race plays a factor in their lives regarding how they are judged and perceived by others. The lack of 4s in the means indicates that the majority of African-Americans would feel uncomfortable stating that their race alone predicts their day-to-day lives and that their individualism and personal experiences play a large factor in how they are perceived by others.

This latter issue is supported by the fact that the majority of African-Americans (at least 80%) in all demographic groups examined in this research feel that African-American parents should be telling their children that "anyone can be successful in this country if they are willing to work hard." Moreover, the majority of African-Americans do not agree that African-American parents should be telling their children that "most white people can not be trusted."

The results of this data also suggest that religion is an important cultural factor for all African-Americans. With the exception of the youngest African-American group, 16 to 29, at least 70% of all African-Americans in this research state that religion plays a very important role in their lives (61% of the youngest group do state that religion is very important to their lives - still a large number). Moreover, at least three in four African-Americans share something in common - religion as a source of spirituality in their lives. There are also no differences across demographic groups in agreement that religion is an important source of social contact and activity (44 % to 49%).

When compared to white Americans, the significance of religion in the lives of African-Americans is truly emphasized. Data from the 1995 Yankelovich MONITOR show that religion is not as important for white Americans as it is for African-Americans. Forty-five percent (45%) of whites state that religion is "very important" in their lives compared to 73% of African-Americans ($t = 15.46$, $p < .01$). This finding provides additional evidence that religion is an important perceptual cultural frame for African-Americans.

Education is another important cultural frame for all African-Americans across demographic groups. Education is clearly seen as a "means of getting ahead in the world" versus as a "means of becoming a more cultured, well-rounded person." Thus, regardless of income level, age and immersement in non African-American environments, education continues to be the primary means of attaining the "American dream" for African-Americans.

Moreover, the importance of education as a tool for upward mobility is significantly more critical for African-Americans than white Americans. Sixty-one percent (61%) of African-Americans compared to 42% of white Americans state that education serves primarily as a "means of getting ahead in the world" ($t = 10.50$, $p < .01$). For white Americans, education as a means of becoming a more cultured, well-rounded person is just as important. This finding suggest that nonminority people are less focused on upward mobility and more on the experience itself, i.e., the nontangible rewards of the learning process. When considering that 42% of nonminorities state that their current economic condition is comfortable compared to only 23% of African-Americans, this suggests that the concern for getting ahead is less urgent when you are where you want to be ($t = 10.38$, $p < .01$) (Yankelovich MONITOR, 1995; Yankelovich African-American MONITOR, 1995).

Focusing back on the demographic groups among African-Americans only, another interesting aspect of the findings of this research is that although there were significant differences among different income groups in perceptions of educational barriers experienced by African-American, these means have a small range (2.4 to 2.6). Across age and density groups, there were absolutely no differences in perceptions of educational barriers (2.5 for all age and density groups). This clearly suggest that the majority of African-Americans are concerned by the obstacles that some black people must confront and overcome to obtain an education that assists in being competitive and successful in this society (supported by the lack of 1s in the means which indicate that no educational barriers exist).

Family was another cultural perceptual frame where differences were observed across age and density groups. Younger African-Americans and individuals who are residents of low density areas are less likely to state that all or almost all of their satisfaction comes from home and family. However, the majority of African-Americans are among those who state that at least *most* of their satisfaction comes from their home and family. Similar to religion and education, the data suggest that white Americans do not obtain as much or the same type of satisfaction from their home and family as do African-Americans. Only 25% of white Americans, compared to 38% of African-Americans, stated that all or almost all of their satisfaction comes from home and family ($t = 7.97$, $p < .01$).

When exploring interracial interaction, major differences emerge within income, age, and density groups in terms of regular interaction at work/business, school/educational and social functions with non African-Americans. These differences were not observed, however, when exploring interracial interaction during leisure time. The majority of African-Americans state that they spend their leisure with only African-Americans or mostly African-Americans. Moreover, very few African-Americans stated that they regularly have white Americans over to their house or visit with them in their homes. Thus, although there is racial integration for many African-Americans in some situations (e.g., work/business and educational/school functions) there continues to be a racially segregated "personal time." This has implications for the maintenance of cultural frames.

When examining ethnic identity, differences were observed across income, age, and density groups. However, once again, these significant differences were not drastic. The range was between 2.2 to 2.4. These means indicate that African-American ethnic identity is important - but it is just one factor in self-identification among many more.

There are additional key differences between African-Americans and white Americans that should be noted due to their potential impact on the cultural perceptual frames that each racial group, to some extent, may potentially adhere to. Data from a nationally representative telephone survey of 500 African-Americans and 500 white Americans taken on May 13, 1996 (Time/CNN poll, Yankelovich Partners, Inc., 1996) suggest that these two racial groups have significantly divergent perceptions on a variety of important issues. These issues include: 1) whether African-Americans can trust institutions run by whites, 2) what whites think about blacks and the best strategies for them to be successful, 3) the present and future state of discrimination targeting blacks, and 4) race relations between blacks and whites. The findings of this survey indicate that African-Americans are more suspicious toward white institutions and working within the mainstream to succeed than white Americans feel they should be. Moreover, African-Americans are significantly less optimistic about the improvement of race relations in this society and the amelioration of prejudice and discrimination targeting African-Americans.

The first question attempts to get at the issue of trust by asking respondents to "think about institutions such as businesses or government, which are primarily run by whites - how much confidence do you think black Americans can place in the willingness of those institutions to help end prejudice and discrimination against black Americans?"

Only 35% of black respondents state "a fair amount" compared to 49% of white Americans ($t = 4.48$, $p < .01$). This finding suggests that African-Americans are working from a different set of perceptual frames than white Americans, which judge how they view and perceive major institutions that have historically and in many cases, continue to be run by whites. There is an inherent feeling in blacks that their best interests, unless it benefits the interests of other parties or groups, are not a priority to these types of institutions.

The issue of where African-Americans should be focusing their energies to be successful in this society was also explored by asking respondents the following question: Do you think black Americans will be better off if they concentrate more on finding ways to succeed in the mainstream white society, or do you think they will be better off if they concentrate more on working only within black organizations and institutions?" Sixty-three percent (63%) of the African-Americans surveyed stated that blacks should concentrate more on finding ways to succeed in the mainstream versus 80% of whites ($t = 5.95$, $p < .01$). Twenty-three percent (23%) of African-Americans versus 7% of white Americans feel that African-Americans should concentrate more on working only within black organizations ($t = 7.08$, $p < .01$). Thus, the majority of both blacks and whites agree that the best place for African-Americans to focus their energies is through mainstream, white society. However, a significantly larger portion of blacks feel that African-Americans would be better focusing their energies on black organizations. This again indicates a double-edged sword that black people must deal with: 1) to join in with other Americans to achieve the success and rewards that all Americans strive for in some fashion

and risk being rejected, a permanent outsider, and losing a part of oneself or, 2) risks being marginalized and out of the loop on mainstream America (one choice not given to the respondents of this study is to make black organizations and corporations a part of the mainstream).

Looking at perceptions of stereotypes, 63% of African-Americans versus 22% of whites agree that "most whites believe that blacks are inferior to them" ($t = 13.11$, $p < .01$). Only 23% of blacks versus 69% of whites state that "they do not think that most whites believe that blacks are inferior to them" ($t = 14.59$, $p < .01$). Again, this data indicates that there is definitely baggage brought into interracial encounters and/or contexts, e.g., the work place or in school. Many African-Americans continue to feel that although things may be better in this society in terms of the negative stereotypes targeting them, black people feel that they are judged by their race and are often guilty until proven innocent of their talents, abilities and work ethics.

Moreover, when asked if "you think prejudice and discrimination against blacks in this country will ever be reduced" only 33% of blacks versus 65% of whites responded that it will be reduced ($t = 10.12$, $p < .01$). Fifty-six percent (56%) of African-Americans stated that they "do not think that prejudice and discrimination against blacks in this country will ever be reduced" compared to only 27% of whites ($t = 9.31$, $p < .01$).

Forty-four percent (44%) of African-Americans versus 65% of white Americans feel that "race relations in this country will get better than they are" ($t = 6.67$, $p < .01$). Again, this data has important implications for interracial interactions which will be discussed in the next section.

The implications of these findings on intraracial and interracial communication research and theory

Although significant differences were found in perceptions of the cultural perceptual frames across the various demographic groups examined in this research, the magnitude of these significant differences were not earth shattering. This suggests that a core African-American culture does exists. These findings have implications for both intraracial and interracial communication.

Earlier in this document, the manifestation and development of culture was proposed as being a communicative phenomenon. The findings of this research suggest that much of the maintenance of African-American culture occurs during leisure time. This is evident in the fact that the majority of African-Americans spend their leisure time and personal time primarily with other African-Americans. In other words, regardless if one is young or old, rich or poor, they are interacting with other black people regularly. Thus, to understand how culture is learned, maintained, and sustained among African-Americans, leisure time activities must be examined by researchers in this field. Also, because the data suggests that a core culture may exists, "personal time" will be a critical context to examine cultural manifestations of African-Americans.

However, African-Americans who are highly involved in work/business and educational setting that are primarily non-African-American may learn other "mini cultures" (e.g., adaptations to their corporate and/or professional worlds, educational environments, and other areas of their lives). These individuals still may share a common "cultural core" with other blacks that cross income, age and density groups due to their interpersonal relationship in leisure and personal contexts, but share core cultural frames with non African-Americans in other sub - cultures.

The implications of these findings on interracial communication is particularly compelling. In a previous paper (Campbell, 1995) the author of this dissertation argued against assumptions that interracial interactions were synonymous with intercultural interactions. This research supports this assertion. Depending on the setting and an individual's degree of interaction with non African-Americans, the encounter may be interracial but whether or not it is intercultural depends on a number of factors. Many of the African-Americans have regular interactions with non African-Americans, particularly in business and educational context (with some social settings as well). In these environments, some African-Americans will successfully adapt to these "mini- cultures" that are key and important aspects of their lives. These individuals are socially and communicatively in their element and may have a number of interracial encounters that are not intercultural because they are a part of that particular culture to varying degrees.

However, this author proposes that there are a number of factors that will not only influence the salience of race but cause a shift in cultural repertoires. For example, in a business/work scenario, two co-workers who share an office and work side-by-side share a common culture - their organizational culture. Race may have no relevance in the majority of their day-to-day interactions in their work settings although one person is black and another is white. However, if a race sensitive issue or topic emerges, then race can become suddenly salient and divergent perceptual frames may emerge, changing their encounter from interracial/intercultural to interracial/intracultural. The data from the CNN/Yankelovich pool indicates that African-Americans have different perceptions about race related issues compared to whites, that can cause communication breakdowns. As a

result, both blacks and whites may feel they have to tread lightly around these issues or avoid them all together in order to co-exists peacefully. Unfortunately the issues are still there and have a way of coming to the surface during interactions.

Another way divergent cultures could emerge during interracial interactions, such as in the scenario above, is by "crossing subcultures." A non African-American can potentially be a close work or school friend/associate in a given context but become blatantly foreign in another situation. An example of this is when co-workers of different races run across one another in another context. These two individuals may experience some awkwardness because another "cultural frame" is in effect. This "conflict of cultural frames" can occur with co-workers of the same race as well if they are only a part of a sub-culture. African-American family and friends who only participate in an individual's leisure and personal time and space could also cause conflicts when entering into contexts that are not the norm such as an educational or work context.

Thus, African-Americans who are interacting with non African-Americans, and have had little interaction with non African-Americans in any situations, may prove to be prime examples of interracial/intercultural interactions. These are situations where differences and race may be most salient. This is critical information that must be obtained from research participants when conducting studies that examine interracial interactions. It can not be assumed that the encounter is truly "intercultural" unless the respondents involved have very little interaction with other racial groups and/or the topic or subject matter is racially sensitive which would in effect, increase the salience of differences in race. The intercultural component of interracial encounters could also be heightened if the

communication context is unusual for the participants, e.g., if individuals are accustomed to association with one another in a professional context may feel that a "conflict of cultures" is a greater potential in a different context. But in situations were individuals of different races share a common sub-culture or "mini-culture," at work, at the gym, etc.," and race is not a relevant or salient issue, the encounter cannot be assumed to be intercultural.

Limitations of this research

There are a number of demographic groups among African-Americans which could have been examined in this research. Moreover, there is an infinite number of attitudinal/personality traits which also could have been examined. This particular study chose to focus on three demographic groups. Statistically significant differences were observed in some cases among income, age, and density groups, but they were not breathtaking differences. The differences between African-Americans and white Americans were much more noteworthy than those found within racial group. Hence, these findings suggest to this researcher that the similarities within African-Americans outweigh some of the differences and that a core culture based on the identified African-American cultural frames does exists.

Caution is suggested, however. More research is needed among different demographic and attitudinal African-American groups i.e., gender, education, region, political orientation, and so forth in examining the cultural perceptual frames to determine conclusively the pervasiveness in shared perceptions regarding these frames on African-

Americans. Likewise, more extensive perceptual cultural frame which have been identified in the literature should also be examined. The four identified in this research are pervasive in the African-American cultural and ethnic identity literature. Yet, these cultural perceptual frame are by no means the only issues and concerns that impact this racial group. Other issues, relevant to African-Americans as well as other ethnic groups, should also be examined.

A final and, perhaps the most important limitation to this study, concerns the "psychological" versus "communicative" data obtained in this research. Although it is critical to obtain data from the perceptual and mental level of analysis, the interactive component of understanding how the cultural frames are manifested is lost in this research. This data serves an important role in that it empirically examines the "mental program" and attitudinal level of a shared culture among African-Americans. However, future research must delve not only into empirically examining how these cultural frames are enacted in day-to-day encounters but in qualitatively exploring what these frames mean to the individual and how they impact interpersonal, interracial and intercultural relations (i.e., through personal interviews or focus groups).

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