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THE ROLE OF SHAME IN AFRICAN AMERICAN RACIAL IDENTITY: A BRIDGE TO NEGATIVE AFFECT

By

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ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF SHAME IN AFRICAN AMERICAN RACIAL IDENTITY: A BRIDGE TO NEGATIVE AFFECT

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Past research has revealed that certain stages of Cross's African American racial identity development model are associated with particular forms of negative affect. Utilizing a sample of 168 African American university students, this study found that although feelings of shame and depression were not significantly correlated with Immersion-Emersion and Internalization attitudes, regression analyses revealed that shame feelings did seem to mediate the relationship between Preencounter attitudes and depression. Further, this study found no support for its hypothesis that Preencounter attitudes would act as a moderator between participant's self-ratings of skin color and feelings of shame. Finally, this study found no support for the hypothesis that Internalization attitudes would be negatively correlated with feelings of shame and depression.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my parents, Charles and Laura Jefferson.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Past research has revealed that certain stages of the process of African American racial identity development as conceptualized by Cross (1978) are associated with particular forms of negative affect (Parham & Helms, 1985a; Parham & Helms, 1985b; Munford, 1994). Specifically, both Preencounter and Immersion-Emersion attitudes have been found to be positively related to depression; and Immersion-Emersion attitudes have been found to be positively associated with hostility. The present study will examine the role of shame in these relationships. Specifically, shame is hypothesized to be a mediating variable in all of the aforementioned relationships. Additionally, this study will examine the role of cultural mistrust and Preencounter attitudes in the development of shame; and it will examine how skin color perceptions and Preencounter beliefs relate to feelings of shame. Finally, this study is also postulating that endorsing an affirmative stance towards being African American will be negatively related to feelings of shame and depression. The findings from this study will increase knowledge of certain affective components of African American identity development.

Nigrescence Theory

Personality theorists in recent decades have begun to focus increasing attention on various aspects of African American personality and racial identity development (Baldwin & Bell, 1985; Brookins, 1994; Cross, 1978; Parham & Helms, 1981). One of the major contributors to this area of research is William E. Cross, Jr., who proposed a theory of *Nigrescence* (1978). Nigrescence theory attempts to explain the

process of "psychological liberation under conditions of oppression" (Cross, 1971, p. 14) and the development of positive attitudes and identification of African Americans with the African American community. Cross has proposed five stages in the process of racial identity development: (1) Preencounter stage; (2) Encounter stage; (3) Immersion-Emersion stage; (4) Internalization stage; and (5) Internalization-Commitment stage.

The *Preencounter* stage is typified by an individual who disparages his/her African heritage while exalting a European worldview. "The person may have an intact and functional identity, but one which, in the overall scheme of things, makes being Black somewhat insignificant" (Cross, 1994, p. 122). This denial of self can result in identity confusion, and Cross posits that this individual is ripe for change. The *Encounter* stage, the second in Cross's theory, is the catalyst for such change. During this phase, the Preencounter individual experiences an event or learns some discordant piece of information that causes him/her to reevaluate the soundness of his/her Eurocentric orientation. Individuals in the encounter stage find their whole value system in turmoil. "The person in this stage begins to search for a Black identity, initially feeling guilty about previously holding attitudes that degraded his or her Blackness, and eventually becoming increasingly angry for having been trained in this way" (Sabnani & Ponterotto, 1992, p. 176). The contempt that was once turned against "Black-ness" is now turned against Whites. Driven by guilt and anger, the individual moves next into the *Immersion-Emersion* stage and begins to transform old self-denigrating cognitions into more self-affirming beliefs. During this stage, both African

heritage and people are exalted as well as idealized, while White people and culture are equally disparaged. "Superhuman and supernatural expectations are conjured concerning anything Black" (Cross, 1971, p. 18). While Immersion-Emersion individuals spend a great deal of time and energy constructing a pro-Black identity, they arrive at this more positive identity only through the denigration of their past idols.

> Persons who fixate or stagnate at this point in their development are said to have a "pseudo" Black identity because it is based on the hatred and negation of white people rather than on the affirmation of a pro-Black perspective which includes commitment to the destruction of racism, capitalism and Western dominance. (Cross, 1971, p. 19)

At the end of this stage, the extreme evaluations associated with the Immersion-Emersion stage are somewhat modulated by more realistic assessments of both European and African American groups. Eventually resolution occurs, and the dissonance that existed between the Preencounter and the Immersion-Emersion person is dissolved during the *Internalization* phase. "Tension, emotionality, and defensiveness are replaced by a calm, secure demeanor. Anti-White feelings decline to the point where friendships with White associates can be renegotiated. . .[and the] uncontrolled rage toward White people [is converted into] controlled anger toward oppressive and racist institutions" (Cross, 1978, p. 18). This leads directly into the fifth stage of Cross's theory, *Internalization-Commitment*. During this stage, the Internalization individual chooses to become politically active in fighting oppression. This last stage embodies "the proposition that in order for Black

identity change to have lasting political significance, the 'self' (me or I) must become or continue to be involved in the resolution of problems shared by the 'group' (we)" (1978, p 18).

Because this is a stage model, individuals are presumed to progress from one stage to the next in a more-or-less linear fashion. Despite this, progression across stages does not imply that stages are mutually exclusive, nor does it mean that movement between stages occurs only in one direction. Individuals involved in this process may still possess some attitudes from a previous stage (or stages) despite the fact that many more of their attitudes have become consistent with a later stage (and vice versa). This model represents a spectrum, and individuals can possess attitudes and beliefs, to lesser or greater degrees, from all points. Although a significant number of African Americans undergo such a process of identity development, not all African Americans necessarily experience all of these stages, nor is this the only way for African Americans to develop positive identification with the Black community.

Parham and Helms (1981) have developed the Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS) to measure the stages inherent in Cross's theory. Research has generally supported the internal consistency and factor structure of this measure (Parham & Helms, 1981; Ponterotto & Wise, 1987; Sabnani & Ponterotto; 1992), and support for its validity can be gleaned from looking at its relationship to other attitudinal variables (Mitchell & Dell, 1992; Parham & Helms, 1985a & b). In a study of the relationship of racial identity to Black students' preferences concerning

counselors' race, Parham and Helms (1981) found that "preencounter and encounter attitudes were significantly related to subjects' preferences for the same-race counselor" (p. 253). As participants' scores on the Preencounter stage increased, their preference for a White counselor also increased significantly while their preference for Black counselors decreased significantly. This suggests that Preencounter attitudes are related to pro-White/anti-Black attitudes. These researchers also found that "encounter and immersion-emersion attitudes were associated with pro-Black, anti-White counselor preferences" (1981, p. 255). These findings indicate that racial identity attitudes can influence African Americans' choices for mental health services, and that although Preencounter attitudes were associated with a preference for a White counselor, later stages in this model were associated with a preference for a Black counselor. Finally, Mitchell and Dell (1992) found that "the higher a person's pro-White, anti-Black (Pre-Encounter) attitudes, the less likely a person is to participate in cultural (i.e., Black-oriented) campus activities" (p. 42). All of these findings support the validity of the Racial Identity Attitude Scale and demonstrate that it adequately measures the stages of Cross's theory. While the Preencounter stage was found to be associated with pro-White/anti-Black behaviors, later stages were associated with choosing to affiliate with African Americans rather than European Americans.

In relating racial identity attitudes to psychological variables, there have been mixed findings. The self-actualization variable of *time competence* was found to be significantly related to the racial identity attitudes of 166 African

American college students from four predominantly European American universities. Time competence was defined as "the degree to which an individual lives in the past, the present, or future; high scores indicated an integration of past and future, which permits the individual to be content in the here and now" (Parham & Helms, 1985a, p. 433). Emphasizing the present was seen as more representative of self-actualization than fixating on the past or future.

> . . .preencounter, encounter, and immersion attitudes were significantly related to time competence. . . .Thus, the higher one's prowhite-antiblack (preencounter) attitudes and the higher one's problack-antiwhite (immersion) attitudes, the less present oriented the person. On the other hand, attitudes consistent with a decision to become black (encounter) were related to a tendency to be present oriented. (Parham & Helms, 1985a, p. 435)

This finding suggests that Preencounter and Immersion-Emersion attitudes are associated with feeling unhappy with the present, and experiencing less integration of thoughts concerning the past and future. Additionally, with regard to the self-actualization variable of *inner-directedness* (i.e., "whether a person's reactions are self or other oriented"; Parham & Helms, 1985a, p. 433), Preencounter attitudes were associated with a tendency to rely on others for intrapersonal support. These researchers concluded "that higher levels of preencounter attitudes consistently were associated with less self-actualization, and thus these attitudes were less psychologically healthy;. . . [and] that higher immersion attitudes . . . contributed to lower levels of self-actualization" (Parham & Helms, 1985a, p. 435).

Significant relationships have been uncovered between racial identity attitudes and other psychological variables. A study utilizing an African American college student sample (N = 95) found that "preencounter attitudes were significantly positively related to self-reported anxiety, memory impairment, paranoia, hallucinations, alcohol concerns, and global psychological distress" (Carter, 1991, p. 111). Immersion-Emersion attitudes were found to negatively relate to memory impairment, and positively relate to concerns about drug use (Carter, 1991). Another study (Munford, 1994) found that stronger Preencounter, Encounter, and Immersion-Emersion attitudes were each associated with higher depression scores. In addition, internalization attitudes were inversely related to measures of depression (this study utilized a sample drawn from African American university students and non-student community members). Parham and Helms (1985a) found that "high levels of preencounter and immersion attitudes were likely to be [positively] related to feelings of inferiority, personal inadequacy, and hypersensitivity. . . [as well as] anxiety" (p. 436). Preencounter attitudes were negatively associated with self-acceptance and Immersion-Emersion attitudes were positively related to feelings of anger and hostility. Although the relationship fell just short of reaching significance, Internalization attitudes were found to be positively associated with self-acceptance.

In terms of self-esteem, Preencounter and Immersion-Emersion attitudes have been found to be inversely related to self-regard, suggesting that the more strongly one endorses such attitudes, the lower one's self-regard (Parham and Helms, 1985b). Munford's work (1994) also found an inverse relationship between Preencounter attitudes and self-esteem, and a positive

relationship between Internalization attitudes and self-esteem. Again, these findings lead to the conclusion that while endorsing anti-Black beliefs is associated with lower self-esteem, internalizing pro-Black beliefs is related to higher self-esteem.

While Internalization attitudes were found to be negatively associated with anxiety, low self-esteem, and depression (Munford, 1994), some stages of Cross's Nigrescence theory were related to negative affect. From the description of these stages, one could accurately surmise that there are very definite idealizational processes occurring when individuals are in the Preencounter stage, and also when individuals are in the Immersion-Emersion stage. Preencounter individuals over-idealize European American culture and determinants, while Immersion-Emersion individuals over-idealize comparable African American qualities. For both groups, there appears to be a "drive" to live up to these ideals, along with a discrepancy between what these individuals idealize and what they perceive as their *actual* selves.

Preencounter Attitudes and Negative Affect

The idealization of European aesthetics that occurs during the Preencounter stage negates the development of positive identification with things African American. This is partly a function of the oppositional nature of these two identifications. For example, if one believes that pale skin and straight hair are the hallmark of beauty, then dark skin and curly hair cannot also be defined as beautiful. In fact, such features are likely to be seen as ugly or shameful. Although somewhat simplistic, this example describes a process likely to be occurring in the Preencounter stage. According to Cross, Preencounter individuals perceive Blacks as inferior (Cross, 1991), which is

illuminating in the light of the fact that certain theorists define shame as "the affect of inferiority" (Kaufman, 1996, p. 16) or as "a negative evaluation of one's self" (Harper & Hoopes, 1990, p. 3).

Preencounter individuals who endorse anti-Black attitudes may indeed experience shame because they belong to a group that they hold in contempt. Empirical research has demonstrated that "preencounter attitudes were inversely related to self-acceptance, indicating that prowhite-antiblack attitudes were indicative of difficulty in accepting oneself in spite of the absence of identifications with one's ascribed racial group" (Parham & Helms, 1985a, p.436). To date, research is lacking with regard to empirically examining the relationship between shame and Preencounter attitudes. A comparison of these two constructs indicates that the Preencounter stage is conceivably typified by a specialized form of *racial shame*. Further, it implies that Preencounter attitudes and shame ought to be positively related. Support for this hypothesis can be gleaned from research which has focused on increasing our understanding of the concept of shame.

Shame

Many theorists have contributed to our understanding of shame. Darwin (1899) described shame as "a strong desire for concealment" (pp. 321-322) signified by downward cast eyes and blushing. Additionally, he assumed that "self-attention directed to personal appearance, in relation to the opinion of others [and one's moral conduct], was the exciting cause" (1872, p. 326) of shame. Although Freud's contribution to this area of research has been described as minimal (Kaufman, 1996; Lewis, 1987a; Morrison, 1983), several psychodynamically oriented theorists have done much to refine our

understanding of this construct.

Lewis (1987a) described shame in terms similar to Darwin. "Shame makes us want to hide. We avert our gaze or hang our heads in shame" (Lewis, 1987a, p. 1). Additionally, Lewis suggested that shame was more prevalent in the human experience than previous analytic research acknowledged, and that it, like other emotions, often occurs outside of awareness. She also suggested that shame could be linked to other emotions. "Feeling ridiculous, embarrassment, chagrin, mortification, humiliation, and dishonor are all variants of [the] shame state" (Lewis, 1987b, p. 191). Rage, according to Lewis, could also be linked to shame (Scheff, 1987). Despite relating shame to a constellation of experiences, Lewis distinguished shame from guilt. "Shame is about the *self*; guilt is about *things* done or undone" (Lewis, 1987b, p. 192).

In contrast to this particular formulation, Tomkins (1963), working from the perspective of affect theory, considered the feeling of shame to be at the core of a number of negative emotional states including guilt. "Guilt is not a different innate affect, but instead is viewed, as a theoretical concept, as *moral shame*" (Kaufman, 1996, p. 25). Tomkins defined shame as "an innate auxiliary affect and a specific inhibitor of continuing interest and enjoyment" (Tomkins, 1963, p. 123). Tomkins was working from the perspective that "it is the affects rather than drives which are the primary motives" (Nathanson, 1997, p. 111) in the human experience. "Affect, says Tomkins, makes good things better and bad things worse; it makes us care about different kinds of things in different ways" (Nathanson, 1997, p. 115). He identified nine innate

affects of which *shame-humiliation* was one (Tomkins, 1963, p. 120). Shame is feeling inferior or humiliated and it results from desiring something that is thwarted, withdrawn, or given away. "Insofar as there may be impediments, innate or learned, to any. . . [desired] objects, there is a perpetual vulnerability to idiosyncratic sources of shame" (Tomkins, 1963, p. 188).

The significance and purpose of shame have been examined at length. "To begin with, shame plays a vital role in the development of conscience" (Kaufman, 1996, p. 5) and self-esteem. Shame also "figure[s] prominently in theories regarding such important domains as the regulation of moral behavior and the formation of psychological symptoms" (Tangney, 1996, p. 471). The adaptive purpose of shame is that it helps one focus on personally or interpersonally unacceptable behaviors or thoughts; it also encourages one to modify behavior when necessary (Kaufman, 1996). Additionally, shame is vitally important in identity development itself. "Answers to the questions, 'Who am I?' and 'Where do I belong?' are forged in the crucible of shame" (Kaufman, 1996, p. 5). This places shame at the core of such phenomena as loneliness, perfectionism, and inferiority. Finally, although shame can be incapacitating, its primary role is to amplify experience (Kaufman, 1996). Despite this, shame is also associated with a number of negative affective states.

Although traditional psychoanalytic theory has suggested that depression results from anger being directed at the self, other theorists have placed shame at the center of explaining depression (Kaufman, 1996; Lewis, 1987b; Tomkins, 1963). Kaufman (1996) has asserted that "although directing anger

inward is a secondary means of reproducing shame, it is not itself the source of depression" (p. 135). Bibring, as cited by Lewis (1987b), arrived at a similar conclusion:

> In fact, he [Bibring] regards depression as "essentially independent of the vicissitudes of aggression" (p. 40). He hypothesizes further that the observed "turning of aggressive impulses against the self is *secondary* to the breakdown of self-esteem" (p. 45; Italics added). (1987b, p. 38)

Finally, Tomkins (1963) describes depression as "a syndrome of shame and distress, which also reduces the general amplification of all impulses" (pp. 126-127). These theorists strongly argue for placing shame at the fore in explaining depression, and empirical work has demonstrated a consistent and strong relationship between shame and depression.

Cook (1994) has conducted extensive research in measuring the construct of shame. Working from Tomkins's (1963) definition that shame is a collection of emotions consisting of guilt, humiliation, shyness, and embarrassment, Cook has created a 30-item scale called the Internalized Shame Scale (ISS). The ISS's validity has been demonstrated primarily through its relationship with other affective variables and its relationship with self-evaluative cognition. Specifically, the ISS shame scale has been shown to be significantly related to depression in multiple samples of college students, and in various clinical samples (Cook, 1991 & 1994). Across clinical and non-clinical samples, the correlation of the ISS with the Beck Depression Inventory has been found to range from .59 to .79 (Cook, 1994). Additionally,

when a sample of 185 psychiatric patients were divided into four categories of depression (i.e., asymptomatic, mild depression, moderate-severe depression, and extreme depression), the following was found:

> . . . subjects reporting the highest levels of current depressive symptoms also had the highest levels of internalized shame. The post-hoc test (Newman-Kuels) indicated that all the symptomatic categories were differentiated form the categories below them on the ISS . . . . Based on these result, scores on the ISS of 60 or above are very likely to be accompanied by multiple symptoms of depression. (Cook, 1994, p. 24)

Further, research examining a possible curvilinear relationship between the ISS and positive affect found no support for such a relationship, suggesting that "at even relatively low levels of shame, greater shame correlated with decreased levels of Positive Affect" (1994, p. 23). With regard to self-esteem, the ISS has been consistently found to be negatively related to various measures of this construct.

> It would be expected that the ISS would be convergent with various measures of self-esteem and self-concept. In studies analyzed so far the Shame total correlates -.52 with Coopersmith Self-Esteem Scale (N=92); -.66 with the Tennessee Self Concept Scale total score and -.72 with the Personal Self subscale (N=118); and -.80 with the Janis-Field feelings of Inadequacy Scale (N-[=]113, all females). (Cook, 1991, p. 414)

Finally, the ISS has been shown to strongly correlate positively with both State Anxiety and Trait Anxiety for a mixed sample of college students and

adults, and for a sample of inpatient adolescents being treated for substance abuse (Cook, 1990).

Considering Preencounter attitudes in the context of shame research and theory, there is strong support for hypothesizing a relationship between these variables: Both shame and Preencounter attitudes have been found to be negatively related to similar measures of psychopathology; both involve a negative evaluation of a significant aspect of the self.

Cultural Mistrust: Gateway to Shame

The relationship between Preencounter attitudes and shame is a complex one. The Preencounter stage is exemplified by attitudes that place low value on being Black or by attitudes that demonstrate an overtly anti-Black bias (Cross, 1991). Preencounter individuals are equally prone to idealizing all things European. This constellation of attitudes could reasonably be expected to create a significant amount of cognitive tension in the psyches of individuals caught in this stage, pushing them to arrive at a method for reducing this inner conflict. Extrapolating from Cross's theory, one could conclude that Preencounter individuals might ideally prefer to resolve this tension by shirking their actual racial status in favor of a European designation. However, it is equally probable that individuals in the Preencounter stage perceive the impossibility of such a transformation, and therefore settle for a compromise: They minimize the importance of race in their lives. This allows them to identify with people of European descent by emphasizing the commonality of both groups, which are then viewed simply as "human" or "American." An example of minimizing the importance of race can be seen in the lyrics of Michael Jackson and Bill Bottrell's 1991 song,

"Black or White." With this song, these lyricists state that they will not spend their lives being any color, and that it does not matter if one is White or Black. Ironically, these lyricists seem unaware of a paradox: If race were an inconsequential matter, there would be no inspiration for their song. What is defined as "Human/American" is by default all too often based on norms that people of European descent have established, not on norms that are African-centered. As Preencounter individuals struggle to become more "human," they essentially, albeit indirectly, struggle to adopt the values of Western culture, a culture with a long history of denigrating the experiences of African people. Individuals in the Preencounter stage who embrace a Western worldview will also internalize this negative bias.

Research in this area has been inconclusive to date. A study by Fordham has (1988) suggested that one strategy that African American adolescents utilize to succeed in predominantly European American educational settings is to adopt a "raceless persona" (p. 57).

> In an effort to minimize the effects of race on their aspirations, some Black Americans have begun to take on attitudes, behaviors, and characteristics that may not generally be attributed to Black Americans. Out of their desire to secure jobs and positions that are above the employment ceiling typically placed on Blacks, they have adopted personae that indicate a lack of identification with, or a strong relationship to the Black community in response to an implicit institutional mandate: Become "unBlack." (1988, p. 58)

Fordham concludes that for African Americans and other minority

groups, this racelessness phenomenon is associated with high academic performance. Nevertheless, this study has limited generalizability because Fordham utilized a qualitative design, the study was conducted at a single school, and the methods utilized do not allow causal statements to be made concerning any of the relationships examined. Additionally, excerpts from Fordham's interviews further suggest that despite participants' high academic performances, they were also experiencing significant personal and social conflicts concerning racial identity issues. One respondent poignantly described the following strategy as a method that many African Americans utilize in order to gain acceptance in predominantly European American settings:

> They [Raceless African Americans] consciously choose their speech, their walk, their mode of dress and car; they trim their hair lest a mountainous Afro set them apart. They know they have a high visibility, and they realize that their success depends not only on their *abilities* [emphasis added], but also on their white colleague's feeling comfortable with them. (Campbell, 1982, p. 32 [as cited by Fordham, 1988, p. 60])

This commentary suggests that African Americans who are attempting to adopt a raceless identity actively work to distance themselves from the physical and interpersonal attributes that cause European American peers to take notice of racial differences. European Americans in these settings oftentimes reinforce the adoption of a raceless identity by making statements such as the following: "We're

colorblind here . . . . We don't see black students or white student, we just see students" (1988, p. 61). Racial differences are not perceived as qualities to be celebrated; rather, they are to be minimized and hidden. The difficulty involved in hiding such a readily apparent aspect of the self may leave many African Americans feeling exposed in this area, and feelings of exposure are synonymous with shame (Kaufman, 1996). Thus, despite the possible benefits of adopting a raceless orientation, there may be significant psychological and social costs to such a decision. Hall (1998), utilizing a sample of deaf African American high school students from six different schools in the Midwest and Northeast, found no support for a relationship between academic performance and racelessness. Arroyo and Zigler (1995), utilizing a sample of 243 African American public school students, also found a lack of support for a relationship between academic performance and the endorsement of racelessness. Despite this, the latter study did find small but significant positive relationships between racelessness attitudes and both anxiety and introjective depression.

Grier and Cobbs (1968) have suggested that for African Americans "survival in America depends in large measure on the development of a 'healthy' cultural paranoia" (p. 161). These authors have asserted that African Americans must balance a certain level of justified suspiciousness of Western culture against succumbing to inaccurate perceptions of persecution. This suspiciousness is believed to be healthy because it is a self-protective response to a legitimate threat from society, and it may serve to buffer against the internalization of negative attitudes about being African American.

Researchers interested in empirically studying this suspiciousness have described this phenomenon as "cultural mistrust" (Terrell & Terrell, 1981, p. 180).

Terrell and Terrell (1981) examined four areas of the mistrust that African Americans experience when interacting with European Americans. These domains include: (1) educational and training settings, (2) interpersonal relationships, (3) laws and politics, and (4) employment and business relationships.

> Typically, it is assumed that Blacks become mistrustful as a result of direct or vicarious mistreatment by whites. More precisely it has been proposed that as a result of either being exposed to racism or treated unfairly by whites, Blacks become mistrustful of whites. (1981, p. 180)

Much of this research has examined the effect of cultural mistrust on interracial counseling relationships, for example, a White therapist and an African American client. Findings from such studies have demonstrated that African Americans who are higher in their mistrust of Whites are more prone than low mistrust individuals to discontinue therapy at an earlier date (Terrell & Terrell, 1984); to have lower expectations for the success of the counseling process (Watkins & Terrell, 1988); and to perceive White counselors as less credible than comparable African American counselors (Poston, Craine, & Atkinson, 1991). Additionally, higher mistrust has been found to predict that African American clients would make less intimate disclosures in the absence of direct discussion of racial issues during therapy sessions (Thompson, Worthington, & Atkinson, 1994), and research in this area suggests that

higher cultural mistrust seems to be related to a decreased inclination to seek out psychological services at predominantly White staffed clinics (Nickerson, Helms, & Terrell, 1994).

These findings demonstrate that Terrell and Terrell's operationalization of cultural mistrust is related behaviorally to how African Americans perceive and respond to Whites. African Americans who have strongly endorsed the items of the Cultural Mistrust Inventory (CMI) have been shown to behave in a doubting or cautious fashion toward Whites. The relationship of cultural mistrust to other psychological domains, such as shame, has yet to be investigated.

Cultural mistrust, as Terrell and Terrell have conceptualized it, also ought to relate to how much African Americans embrace European American or mainstream culture. Specifically, cultural mistrust ought to be inversely related to Preencounter attitudes. Preencounter attitudes have been found to be positively associated with anxiety, depression, and some forms of lower self-esteem in African Americans (Munford, 1994; Parham & Helms, 1985a and b). This suggests that African Americans who embrace European American culture are prone to experiencing negative affect. This negative affect is hypothesized to be a function of the shame that comes from belonging to an ethnic group of which one is contemptuous, and this shame is further hypothesized to come from internalizing the negative messages perpetuated by mainstream European American culture. Thus, the more an African American individual trusts European American culture, the more strongly he/she will internalize a negative bias against Blacks, endorse a Preencounter stance, and, therefore, experience more shame. Shame has

been described as a key variable in depression, and it is hypothesized that shame probably accounts for a significant part of the variance in the relationship of Preencounter attitudes to depression.

Immersion-Emersion Attitudes and Negative Affect

The Immersion-Emersion stage of Cross's Nigrescence theory also needs to be studied further with respect to its relationship to negative affect. As individuals move from anti-Black to pro-Black attitudes, the Immersion-Emersion process necessitates a profound psychological shift.

> During this period of transition, the person begins to demolish the old perspective and simultaneously tries to construct what will become his or her new frame of reference. . . . [T]he person is more familiar with the identity to be destroyed than the one to be embraced. . . . In effect, the new convert lacks knowledge about the complexity and texture of the new identity and is forced to erect simplistic, glorified, highly romantic speculative images of what he or she assumes the new self will be like. (Cross, 1991, p. 202)

Individuals involved in this stage have a tendency to "deify Black people and Black culture" (Cross, 1978, 17), and also attribute "[s]uperhuman and supernatural [qualitites to]. . . anything Black" (Cross, 1991,p. 203). This suggests that Immersion-Emersion individuals establish personal standards of Blackness that are extremely unrealistic. Additionally, while this stage is the point at which such individuals idealize and embrace their African heritage, they are simultaneously attempting to rid themselves of their deeply entrenched, anti-Black beliefs. These separate but related processes create

two contradictory self-schemas, and the discrepancy between these "selves" has an implied ideal self vs. actual self duality. The ideal self is one who loves all things African and denigrates everything opposed to this value, and the actual self is one filled with self-doubt and ambivalence about embracing an African heritage. Cross has defined this as "Weusi anxiety" (1991, p. 205), which is anxiety about not being *Black enough* (*Weusi* is a Swahili word for "black"). This inability to actualize an ideal self suggests that shame plays a role in Weusi anxiety because "whenever expectations are thwarted or disappointed, shame is . . . activated" (Kaufman, 1996, p. 30). The disappointment that comes from not attaining a Black ideal is likely to cause individuals in the Immersion-Emersion stage to experience shame.

Shame as a Gateway to Hostility

If shame is a prominent affect of the Immersion-Emersion stage, then there will be a strong motivation to reduce its effects. Rage is a reaction that serves to ward off shame. "Whether in the form of generalized hostility,. . . chronic hatred, or explosive eruptions, rage protects the self against exposure" (Kaufman, 1996, p. 97) to shame. Other theorists also recognize that the experience of shame can initiate a sequence of emotional reactions culminating in feelings of anger (Scheff, 1987). In keeping with this view, Tangney, Wagner, Fletcher, & Gramzow (1992) have succinctly summarized Lewis's (1971) perspective on shame and hostility:

> According to Lewis, in shame, hostility is initially directed toward the self. But because shame also involves the imagery of a rejecting, disapproving other, this hostility is easily redirected in retaliation toward the rejecting other. Lewis sees this as a

> defensive maneuver an attempt to turn the tables and to right the self, which has been impaired in the shame experience. At some level, the shamed individual recognizes this humiliated fury as inappropriate or unjust (Lewis, 1987), and this recognition may lead to further shame or guilt. (Tangney et al., 1992, p. 670)

This process has been described as an "escalating spiral" (Retzinger, 1987, p. 151). Retzinger believes that this spiral fuses rage and shame into what she describes as resentment. Empircal research has supported a significant relationship between higher shame scores and higher scores on the Buss-Durkee Hostility Inventory's Resentment (r = .42) and Suspicion (r = .40) scales (Tangney et al., 1992). "Shame-proneness was consistently positively correlated with anger arousal, suspiciousness, resentment, irritability, a tendency to blame others for negative events, and indirect (but not direct) expressions of hostility" (1992, p. 673). Shame has also been found to be positively related to other measures of anger affect (Tangney et al., 1992; Tangney, Wagner, Marschall, Hill-Barlow, Marschall, & Gramzow, 1996), supporting a relationship between shame and hostility.

Hostility

To avoid the ambiguity inherent in global definitions of hostility, Buss and Durkee (1957) attempted to identify and measure various facets of hostility. These researchers identified the following seven categories: Assault, Indirect Hostility, Irritability, Negativism, Resentment, Suspicion, and Verbal Hostility. Based on these categories, they constructed the Buss-Durkee Hostility

Inventory (BDHI). "Factor analysis of college men's and women's inventories [for these combined subscales] revealed two factors: an attitudinal component of hostility (Resentment and Suspicion) and a 'motor' component (Assault, Indirect Hostility, Irritability, and Verbal Hostility)" (p. 349). Other researchers have found support for a virtually identical two-factor model of Hostility. Bushman, Cooper, and Lemke (1991) in their meta-analysis of factor analytic studies which utilized Buss-Durkee Hostility Inventory data from a variety of populations (e.g., men, women, as well as various ethnic groups) found the following:

> . . . that the seven subscales of the Buss-Durkee Hostility Inventory measure two dimensions of aggressiveness, one that can be called overt and one that can be called covert. The overt factor consists primarily of the Assault and Verbal Hostility subscales, whereas the covert factor consists primarily of the Resentment and Suspicion subscales. (p. 349)

Covert hostility has been described as "the experience of hostility. . . which consists of feelings of anger, suspicion, and resentment" (Felston, 1996a, p. 180). Furthermore, because it has consistently been found to be associated with anxiety and neuroticism -- unlike overt hostility -- covert hostility is often referred to as neurotic hostility (Seigman, Dembroski, & Ringel, 1987; Felsten, 1996a). Overt hostility, in contrast, has often been referred to as expressive hostility, and has been described as consisting of such behaviors as "frequent expressions of anger and annoyance, a tendency to argue in a loud voice, and the capacity to resort to physical aggression if provoked" (Felston, 1996a, p. 181).

Past research has demonstrated a relationship between Immersion-Emersion attitudes and feelings of hostility (Parham and Helms, 1985a). This is consistent with Cross's theory because feelings of anger, suspiciousness, and resentment typify how Immersion-Emersion individuals feel toward Western culture and White people. Consequently, there ought to be a positive relationship between Immersion-Emersion attitudes and covert hostility. Additionally, the Immersion-Emersion stage represents a movement away from the shame of the Preencounter stage through a strategy similar to what Kaufman (1996) has described as reactionary *contempt*. This reaction is a defense against shame and, further, implies that shame may be a salient experience for Immersion-Emersion individuals as well. Shame has also been found to be positively associated with hostility (Tangney et al., 1992; Tangney et al., 1996). Therefore, shame is believed to mediate the relationship of Immersion-Emersion attitudes and Hostility.

Internalization and Negative Affect

Cross asserts that Internalization attitudes act to buffer against the development of anti-Black attitudes and feelings of cultural isolation.

> From a psychodynamic point of view, the internalized identity seems to perform three dynamic functions in a person's everyday life: (1) to defend and protect the person from psychological insults that stem from having to live in a racist society; (2) to provide a sense of belonging and social anchorage and; (3) to provide a foundation or point of departure for carrying out transactions with people, cultures, and situations beyond the world of Blackness. (Cross, 1991, 210)

The adoption of such an orientation permits individuals to relate to the world in a manner that does not allow society's prejudices to tarnish their valuation of their group. This stage represents an authentic positive identification with the African American community, and, unlike the Preencounter and Immersion-Emersion stages, it is not expected to leave one vulnerable to feelings of shame and depression. Support for this inference can be gleaned from past research which has demonstrated that Internalization attitudes were negatively correlated with depression and positively correlated with self-esteem (Munford, 1994). Therefore, this study hypothesized that there would be an inverse relationship between Internalization attitudes and both feelings of depression and shame.

Racial Identity and Skin Color

While Cross has conceptualized African American racial identity in terms of stages, others have suggested that attitudes about skin color might also serve as a useful means of assessing such beliefs (Averhart & Bigler, 1997; Clark & Clark, 1940 & 1947; Hall, 1998; Wade, 1996). Research emphasizing the latter approach has yielded highly inconsistent and markedly speculative results, particularly when researchers have attempted to assess how skin color attitudes relate to the affective experiences of African Americans. The present study attempted to add clarity to this area of inquiry by examining how Cross's model of racial identity relates to skin color factors (e.g., beliefs and experiences).

In his book, Black Beauty: A History and Celebration, Ben Arogundade (2000) delineates the process by which Western cultures have historically vilified the meaning of blackness, and subsequently questioned the validity of

African beauty. With regard to the first issue, Arogundade suggests that the linkage between the color black and evil was not firmly established in Western culture until the third century. At this time, Christian leaders "introduced the theme of darkness as the enemy of spiritual light" (p. 14). Although this darkness was not originally associated with skin color, a connection was forged when the Church depicted black skinned Muslims as demons because their heathenism was seen as a threat to the Church's mandate of Christian supremacy. To further cement this relationship, Arogundade and others have suggested that the cursing of Canaan by Noah was used to justify the dehumanization and enslavement of African people by Europeans.

> The original story in Genesis 9 and 10 was that after the Flood, Ham had looked upon his father's "nakedness" as Noah lay drunk in his tent, but the other two sons, Shem and Japheth, had covered their father without looking upon him; when Noah awoke he cursed Canaan, son of Ham, saying that he would be a "servant of servants" unto his brothers. (Jordan, 1982, p. 9)

Although Arogundade (2000) asserts that "the curse of Canaan was first equated with blackness in medieval Talmudic texts" (p. 14), Jordan (1982) states that he has found no direct mention of "blackness" being associated with Canaan's curse. He hypothesizes that the aforementioned association was applied retroactively. Thus, because Western culture had already been primed to believe that "blackness could scarcely be anything *but* a curse" (p. 10), this prejudice was used in later interpretations of this story to bridge the logical gaps in the assumption that because someone has dark skin he/she is inferior and

should be enslaved.

According to Jordan (1982), for hundreds of years the English words "white and black connoted purity and filthiness, virginity and sin, virtue and baseness, beauty and ugliness, beneficence and evil, God and the devil," respectively (p. 6). He also suggests that the timing of England's contact with dark skinned Africans was such that the aesthetic of the day cast beauty in terms wholly antithetical to what the African represented. Specifically, beauty was epitomized by Queen Elizabeth's white powdered face, small sharp nose, and rosy cheeks. "By contrast, the Negro was ugly, by reason of his color and also his 'horrid Curles' and 'disfigured' lips and nose" (p. 6).

Thus, the very language of Europeans, particularly the English, vilifies things black, and this, according to Fanon (1967), has significant cultural and psychological ramifications. "To speak means to be in a position to use a certain syntax, to grasp the morphology of this or that language, but it means above all to assume a culture, to support the weight of a civilization" (Fanon, pp 17-18). Fanon is suggesting that the use of a particular language conveys to the speaker not only a means of communication, but also a set of cultural values, many of which are implicit. It is this implicit part of language that allows us to understand euphemism and metaphor. Thus, Africans in America who learned English as their first, and often only, language may have, through a sort of cultural osmosis, been saturated with a bias that sets their positive sense of self in direct opposition to the values transmitted by their new culture. Therefore, it is not surprising that research has

revealed that African Americans demonstrate a negative bias regarding things black, even with regard to the topic of skin color.

The issue of skin color bias in the African American community has a shorter, but no less profound, history, conceivably dating back to when Africans were first enslaved by Europeans. Some researchers assert that African American intra-group stratification by color began to occur when slaveholders begot children with enslaved Africans. This created a new class of people who, although still perceived as inferior, had a blood kinship with their oppressors. This kinship is thought to have bestowed significant, if somewhat limited, advantage to these mixed blooded individuals. (Hughes & Hertel, 1990; Keith & Herring, 1991) Thus, as Reuter (1918) describes it, mixed race individuals

> ...enjoyed opportunities somewhat greater than those enjoyed by the rank and file of the black Negroes. In slavery days, they were most frequently the trained servants and had the advantages of daily contact with cultured [White] men and women....They were considered by the white people to be superior in intelligence to black Negroes and came to take great pride in the fact of their white blood" (p. 378).

With regard to socioeconomic variables, the findings of recent studies demonstrate that even today, skin color influences the experiences of African Americans. Specifically, Keith and Herring (1991) found that possessing lighter skin tones is still

> . . . a significant predictor of such outcomes as educational attainment, occupation, and income among black Americans. Moreover, [their]...analyses showed that skin tone and other contemporaneous

factors were more strongly related to stratification outcomes than were such background characteristics as parental socioeconomic status (p. 777).

Using a probability sample of 510 African American adults, Seltzer and Smith (1991) also found that "darker-skin respondents were less likely to have completed high school, had lower occupational prestige scores, and were more likely to report below-average family income at the time the respondent was 16 years of age" (p. 282) than lighter respondents. It should be noted, however, that with the latter finding by Seltzer and Smith, this difference in income disappeared when respondents' incomes at the time of the survey were compared.

A more recent longitudinal study of African American men by Hill (2000) further supports the general finding that some advantage is conveyed to individuals of mixed heritage and light complexions. Hill compared death certificates of 1,232 African American men who died between the years of 1980 through 1985 with US Census data collected on these men in 1920 when these men ranged in age from 0 to 9 years old. The age at death for these individuals spanned between 60 to 74 years old. Skin color was assessed by census takers who, at that time, were responsible for recording the racial admixture of individuals by their racial phenotype. In summary, Hill found that although parental socioeconomic status (SES) is most predictive of adult SES, when other childhood variables were controlled for (i.e., participants were matched on childhood characteristics like SES and education of parents), a small but significant color effect remained such that skin color seemed to play a significant and independent role in predicting

adult SES. This study is simply one of the most recent of a growing body of research studies that have consistently found that light skin seems to be associated with higher SES or educational attainment in African American communities.

With regard to assessing the relationship between physical attractiveness attitudes and skin color bias within African American communities, the picture is complicated. Researchers exploring this issue have utilized a myriad of approaches, some emphasizing external social forces, and others focusing on the values and beliefs of individual African American respondents. The work of Keenan (1996) aptly illustrates the former approach. Specifically, this researcher examined the role of color bias in mass media by comparing pictures of African American editorial authors with pictures of African American models in general advertisements in both African American and European American focused magazines. His thesis was that mainstream and African American focused magazines both tend to utilize models with lighter complexions than is representative of the average Black person's skin color.

The findings from his study supported this thesis. Keenan (1996) found that "the blacks found in [both mainstream and African American focused] magazine advertisements appeared to be more Caucasian looking than those in editorial photographs. Differences are in the same direction for complexion...[and] eye color...with black people in ads having lighter complexions, [and] lighter eyes" (p. 909). Additionally, when African American models from both mainstream and Black focused magazines were compared, the models in Black focused magazines were generally found to have lighter complexions than those found in mainstream magazines.

If we shift our focus to simply skin color, research again supports the hypothesis that this variable influences definitions of attractiveness. For example, Hall (1998) found that self-rated dark and light skinned respondents had different perceptions of the hue of "pretty skin." When asked to complete the sentence, "Pretty skin is ____" (p. 239) with a skin color rating, dark skinned respondents rated darker skin as more attractive, while light skin respondents rated lighter skin as more attractive.

Other researchers who have examined the topic of skin color and perceptions of attractiveness have found that gender seems to play a salient role in this phenomenon. For example, a study by Wade (1996) found that although "fair-skinned females' and dark-skinned females' self-ratings of sexual attractiveness did not differ, . . . [self-identified] dark-skinned males rated themselves higher in sexual attractiveness than fair skinned males rated themselves" (p. 366). With regard to dating and mate selection, Ross (1997) found another gender disparity. Specifically, "being male predicted preference to date and marry lighter-complexioned persons. Being male also strongly predicted having dated lighter-complexioned persons" (p. 562). Similar findings were not found for women in this study.

When research has examined the relationship between reported satisfaction with one's physical appearance (i.e., skin color, hair texture, etc.) and experimenter rated degree of African facial features, findings suggest that a third variable, racial identity, may moderate this relationship (Smith, Burlew, Lundgren, 1991). Thus, in their study of African American female college students, Smith, Burlew, Lundgren (1991) found that "among those [respondents] with more African facial features, women with high Black

consciousness were more satisfied with their overall appearance then women with low Black consciousness. The opposite finding occurred for women with fewer African facial features" (Smith et al., p. 280).

Research attempting to assess the relationship of skin color and self-esteem has also yielded inconsistent results. Although Wade (1996) found no relationship between self-ratings of skin color and self-esteem in his sample of 40 college educated adults, this finding was only partially supported in a study of younger respondents. Utilizing a sample of African American adolescents, Robinson and Ward (1995) found that self-ratings of skin color satisfaction were unrelated to self-esteem scores. Additionally, these researchers did not find a significant difference between "the self-esteem means for students who desired to be 'lighter'" (p. 264-265) and those who desired to be "darker." However, it is noteworthy that these researchers did find that the mean self-esteem rating for self-identified "darker" adolescents was lower than the means for self-identified "lighter" and "somewhere in between" adolescents.

In summary, it seems that although a number of distinctly African physical features seem to influence the treatment and experiences of African Americans, the research presently cited has consistently supported the role of skin color in predicting socioeconomic status, definitions of attractiveness, educational attainment, and, to a more limited extent, negative and positive psychological states for African Americans. Further, this research suggests that racial identity may moderate the relationship between the type and degree of African features possessed and psychological variables. The present study attempts to blend and further clarify these findings.

Toward this end, Preencounter attitudes are hypothesized to moderate the relationship between skin color and feelings of shame. The rationale behind this hypothesis is that if African Americans believe that they are dark skinned, and they have internalized a significant amount of negative beliefs about having such a complexion (i.e., endorse higher levels of preencounter attitudes), then they may be more likely to experience greater levels of shame than individuals who shares the same level of preencounter beliefs but who have lighter skin. However, this relationship ought not to occur if a person is low on internalized Preencounter attitudes.

CHAPTER TWO

DESIGN OF CURRENT STUDY

Cultural mistrust and Preencounter attitudes are hypothesized to play a role in contributing to the development of feelings of shame. Specifically, low levels of cultural mistrust leave one prone to internalizing negative attitudes about being African American, and this is hypothesized to lead to the development of Preencounter attitudes. Preencounter attitudes are characterized by attitudes and behaviors that venerate European American culture while denigrating African American culture (Cross, 1991). Endorsing such attitudes will likely leave individuals vulnerable to experiencing a negative evaluation of the self. This feeling of low self-regard is a prominent characteristic of shame (Kaufman, 1996). Thus, Preencounter attitudes ought to be positively related to shame. Further, because shame has consistently demonstrated a strong relationship with depression (Cook, 1994), shame is therefore hypothesized to mediate the relationship between Preencounter attitudes and depression.

Shame also likely plays a role in mediating the relationship between Immersion-Emersion attitudes and depression, and also between Immersion-Emersion attitudes and hostility. The Immersion-Emersion stage can be thought to consist of movement away from the shame of the Preencounter stage; however, this movement introduces new feelings of shame concerning not having attained an idealized African American identity. Depression is likely to develop as a function of feelings of shame, suggesting that shame mediates the relationship between Immersion-Emersion attitudes and depression. Further, if shame is such a salient variable during the Immersion-Emersion stage, this would further explain the relationship of Immersion-Emersion attitudes and hostility. Contempt and rage are strategies utilized to escape feelings of shame (Kaufman, 1996), and these strategies may account for the hostility that coincides with Immersion-Emersion attitudes. Shame, thus, likely mediates the relationship between Immersion-Emersion attitudes and hostility.

Finally, this study examined the relationship between skin color perception, feelings of shame, and Preencounter attitudes. Simply put, the present study hypothesized that if a relationship exists between self-ratings of skin color and feelings of shame, this relationship would almost certainly have to be moderated by internalized anti-Black beliefs (i.e., Preencounter attitudes).

The specific hypotheses of this study were as follows:

Hypothesis 1: Preencounter attitudes and shame were expected to mediate the relationship of cultural mistrust and depression. This hypothesis was evaluated in two parts (see Figure 1):

Part 1. Preencounter attitudes were expected to mediate the

relationship between cultural mistrust and shame.

Part 2. Shame was expected to mediate the relationship between Preencounter attitudes and depression.

Hypothesis 2: Shame was expected to mediate the relationship between Immersion-Emersion attitudes and depression, and also between Immersion-Emersion attitudes and covert hostility (see Figure 2).

Hypothesis 3: Internalization attitudes were expected to be inversely related to shame and depression.

Hypothesis 4: Preencounter attitudes were expected to moderate the relationship between self-rated skin color and shame.

CHAPTER THREE

METHOD

Participants and Procedures

A sample of 168 students (95 women, 72 men, 1 no sex reported) was recruited from various locations and organizations at a large midwestern university. Forty percent of this sample was recruited from the psychology subject pool, and the remainder was enlisted to participate through direct verbal or e-mailed appeals to individuals and African American organizations across the campus.

Although 74% of this sample was recruited to participate by the use of a random drawing for a $50 award, 26% were alternately recruited by the use of a $10 stipend. The latter enticement was implemented toward the

Hypothesis 1:

Cultural Mistrust ⟶ Preencounter Attitudes ⟶ Shame ⟶ Depression

Part 1:

Cultural Mistrust ⟶ Preencounter Attitudes ⟶ Shame

Part 2:

Preencounter Attitudes ⟶ Shame ⟶ Depression

Figure 1. This model illustrates the role of Preencounter attitudes and shame in mediating the relationship of cultural mistrust to depression.

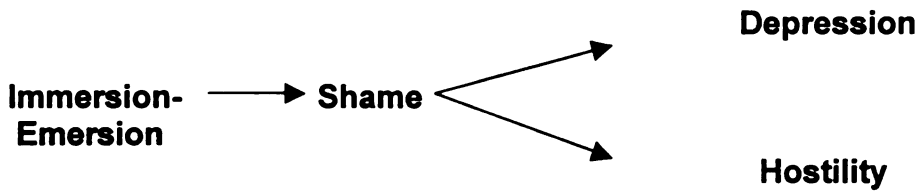

Figure 2. This model illustrates the role of shame in mediating the relationship of Immersion-Emersion attitudes to depression, and Immersion-Emersion attitudes to hostility.

end of the data collection process and was specifically focused to encourage more males to participate (though one female in this sample was paid $10). The latter subjects did not participate in the drawing for the $50 award. Further, it should be noted that subject pool participants received course credit for their participation in addition to any monetary awards.

Participants were required to attend a single group or individual administration session of approximately one hour in length. The principal investigator first asked all participants to complete a consent form and a demographic questionnaire, and then participants were asked to complete a series of written, self-report measures to assess their attitudes concerning issues of racial identity, perceptions of skin color, cultural mistrust, depression, shame, and hostility. Questionnaires were presented in a completely randomized order to account for possible ordering effects.

The average age of participants was 20.92 (SD = 3.65; range 17 – 39), and although graduate students made up a markedly smaller proportion of this sample (i.e., 6.5%), the undergraduate population seemed to be somewhat evenly distributed across the four undergraduate classifications: Freshpersons (21.4%), Sophomores (23.2%), Juniors (23.2%), and Seniors (25.6%). The average grade point average of participants was 2.72 (SD = .51).

Measures

This study employed five widely used measures: The (1) Racial Identity Attitude Scale; (2) Buss-Durkee Hostility Inventory; (3) Center for Epidemiologic

Studies Depression Scale; (4) Internalized Shame Scale; and (5) Cultural Mistrust Inventory. Additionally, participants were asked to complete a consent form, a skin color perception ratings form, and a brief demographic questionnaire.

The Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS)

This scale was created to measure an individual's attitudes and behaviors concerning African American identity (Parham & Helms, 1985). Respondents are asked to rate from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) their endorsement of racial identity attitudes. This measure merges the last two stages of Cross's model (i.e., the Internalization and the Internalization-Commitment stages) and therefore has four rather than five subscales. The last two stages were merged because the relevant theoretical constructs for each were thought to be so similar that they could adequately be measured by one subscale. A factor analysis of RIAS conducted by Ponterotto and Wise (1987) identified three theoretically consistent factors: Preencounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization. Scores for each subscale are obtained by summing the respective items and dividing by the number of items in the subscale. Higher scores are indicative of greater endorsement of the measured construct. Subscales of the RIAS have demonstrated adequate internal reliablitiy: .76 for Preencounter attitudes, .51 for Encounter attitudes, .69 for Immersion-Emersion attitudes, and .80 for the Internalization stage (Sabnani & Ponterotto, 1992, p. 177).

This study utilized the Preencounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization subcales of this measure. The Preencounter subscale consists of 18 items.

Examples include: (1) "I believe that large numbers of Blacks are untrustworthy," (2) "I believe that Black people should learn to think and experience life in ways that are similar to White people's ways," and (3) "the people I respect most are White." The Immersion-Emersion subscale consists of 12 items. Examples include: (1) "I constantly involve myself in Black political and social activities (such as art shows, political meetings, Black theater, and so forth)," (2) "I limit myself to Black activities as much as I can," and (3) "Black people who have any White people's blood should feel ashamed of it." And finally, the Internalization subscale consists of 14 items. Examples include: (1) "I believe that being Black is a positive experience;" (2) "People, regardless of their race, have strengths and limitations;" and (3) "I have a positive attitude about myself because I am Black."

Buss-Durkee Hostility Inventory (BDHI)

This measure consists of 66 true-false hostility items which are grouped into seven hostility subscales, and a 9-item guilt subscale. Multiple factor analyses of the BDHI have led researchers to conclude that this inventory measures two hostility factors: Covert and Overt (Felston, 1996a). Covert hostility is typified by suspiciousness, anger, and resentment while overt hostility consists of such expressive aspects of hostility as arguing in a loud voice, being physically aggressive, and expressing anger frequently (Felston, 1996b). Test-retest reliability for a seven-to-ten day period for the total BDHI was .92 (Moreno, Fuhriman, & Selby, 1993). Additionally, this measure achieved content validity by using strict criteria in item selection: Items had to refer to only one type of

hostility, be specific with regard to the hostile behaviors described, and provide justification for the hostile acts described. In addition, the scale also utilized positively and negatively worded items in order to avoid response bias (Buss & Durkee, 1957). Finally, the BDHI has demonstrated its construct validity by being positively correlated with other measures of anger affect such as the State-Trait Anger Inventory and the Multidimensional Anger Inventory (Riley & Treiber, 1989; Moreno, Fuhriman, & Selby, 1993).

The covert hostility subscale of the BDHI consists of 18 items and combines the suspicion and resentment subscales of the BDHI. It includes questions such as the following: (1) "I know that people talk about me behind my back;" and (2) "I don't seem to get what's coming to me" (Buss & Durkee, 1957, p. 346). The overt hostility subscale consists of 33 items and combines the assault, indirect, irritability, and verbal hostility subscales of the BDHI. It consists of items such as the following: (1) "When I really lose my temper, I am capable of slapping someone;" (2) "I can remember being so angry that I picked up the nearest thing and broke it;" (3) "I sometimes carry a chip on my shoulder;" and (4) "When I get mad, I say nasty things" (Buss & Durkee, 1957, p. 346).

Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CESD)

This 20-item scale was designed to measure the affective elements of depressive symptomatology for both normal and clinical populations. "The major components of depressive symptomatology [as measured by this scale]. . .included: depressed mood, feelings of guilt and worthlessness, feelings of helplessness and hopelessness, psychomotor retardation, loss of appetite, and

sleep disturbance" (Radloff, 1977, p. 386). Participants are asked to rate "how often in the past week did you [feel]. . .happy[,]. . .lonely[,]" (p. 387) etc. This measure utilizes a Likert scale range from 0 (none of the time) to 3 (most of the time). Responses are summed across items to yield a total score, with higher scores indicate more depressive symptoms. Internal consistency for this measure was .85 for the general population and .90 for clinical samples (Radloff, 1977). Other researchers, utilizing a sample of 142 African American men, have reported an internal consistency coefficient of .83 (Gary & Berry, 1985). Zich, Attkisson, and Greenfield (1990) concluded from their study that the "the BDI [Beck Depression Inventory] and the CES-D performed comparably when stringent cut-off scores were used" (p. 271). This finding supports the construct validity of the CES-D. The eight week test-retest reliability has been reported to be .59, and the 12 month test re-test reliability has been found to range from .32 to .49 (Radloff, 1977). These findings demonstrate that the CES-D is an adequate measure of depression.

Internalized Shame Scale (ISS)

This 24 item shame scale is scored using a Likert scale range from zero to four (i.e., never=0, seldom=1, sometimes=2, frequently=3, and almost always=4). ISS scores are derived by summing all shame items. Higher scores are indicative of greater internalized shame. Sample items from the ISS include the following: (1) I feel like I am never quite good enough, (2) I see myself as being very small and insignificant, and (3) I could beat myself over the head with a club when I make a mistake (Cook, 1994, pp. 67-68). Research indicates that the

internal consistency of the total shame scale of the ISS ranges from .96 to .84 (Cook, 1994). Additionally, "two non-clinical samples (N=157, 60) were retested over periods ranging from four to nine weeks producing stability coefficients of .82 and .85" (Cook, 1994, p. 4).

Cultural Mistrust Inventory (CMI)

This 48-item measure, developed by Terrell and Terrell (1981), asks African American participants to rate their agreement with statements related to how much they trust or mistrust Whites as a group on a scale from 0 (strongly disagree) to 9 (strongly agree). Items were deleted during the original construction of this measure if they were found to correlate significantly with the Jackson Social Desirability scale. These procedures yielded a measure that is free of the influence of social desirability. This measure includes items such as, "Black parents should teach their children not to trust White teachers," "It is best for Blacks to be on their guard when among whites," and "Whites deliberately pass laws designed to block the progress of Blacks" (Terrell & Terrell, 1981, p. 184). The CMI total mistrust score is calculated by adding all scores together with negatively keyed items reverse scored. Internal consistencies for this scale have been reported to range from .89 (Nickerson, Helms, & Terrel, 1994) to .86 (Poston, Craine, & Atkinson, 1991). Additionally, a two week test re-test reliability was .86 (Terrell & Terrell, 1981) for the full scale.

Other Questionnaires

The demographic questionnaire utilized in this study was created for this study and assessed variables related to age, parental income, college major and class, etc. The skin color measure employed in this study was also created specifically for this study and assessed attitudes concerning group and self-evaluations of skin color (e.g., "My skin color is: 1= very light; 2 = light; 3 = dark; 4 = very dark"). See Appendix A and B for copies the demographic and skin color perception measures, respectively.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

Before conducting the analyses for this study, the data were reviewed to assure accurate entry, account for missing values, and ensure that the distribution of the data fit with the basic assumptions of multivariate analysis. In this process, mean values were inserted for missing values for the following variables: RIAS (preencounter, immersion-emersion, internalization subscales), ISS, CESD, and CMI. Additionally, after the preceding step, some variables were transformed to reduce the acuteness of their skew and kurtosis. Specifically, CESD and ISS scores were subjected to square root transformations, and Preencounter scores were subjected to a logarithmic transformation. Pre- and post-transformation mean values, as well as standard deviations, are provided on these variables in Table 1.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics on Variables Transformed to Reduce their Skew and Kurtosis

	Preencounter Subscale		CESD Scale		Internalized Shame Scale	
	(LOG[a])	(RAW)	(SQRT[b])	(RAW)	(SQRT[b])	(RAW)
Mean	1.54	35.83	3.67	15.08	4.65	24.83
Std. Deviation	.09	8.11	1.26	9.80	1.79	17.07
Skewness	.35	1.05	.17	1.14	.00	.83
Kurtosis	.19	1.60	.14	1.33	-.47	.25

[a]Logarithmic transformation of data. [b]Square root transformation of data.

N = 168

Table 2

Mean Differences Between Men and Women on Depression, Shame, Racial Identity, Hostility, Cultural Mistrust, and Self-Rated Skin Color Scores

	SEX	N	Mean	SD
Center for Epidemilogic Studies Depression Scale[1]	Men	72	3.59	1.26
	Women	95	3.74	1.27
Internalized Shame Scale[1]	Men	72	4.59	1.87
	Women	95	4.71	1.73
RIAS Preencounter Subscale[2]	Men	72	1.53	.09
	Women	95	1.55	.09
RIAS Immersion-Emersion Subscale	Men	72	24.58	5.94
	Women	95	23.63	4.90
RIAS Internalization Subscale	Men	71	57.17	5.53
	Women	95	56.72	4.90
Buss Durkee Overt Hostility Subscale	Men	72	18.85	4.64
	Women	95	18.43	4.51
Buss Durkee Covert Hostility Subscale	Men	72	8.71	3.26
	Women	95	8.11	3.03
Cultrual Mistrust Inventory	Men	72	191.01	48.92
	Women	93	178.67	49.61
Self-Rated Skin Color	Men	72	2.49	.75
	Women	95	2.57	.71

Note. No significant differences were found between the means of men and women on these variables.

[1]Scores have undergone square root transformations.

[2]Scores have undergone logarithmic transformations.

Independent samples t-tests revealed no differences between the means of men and women on any of the main variables of this study (see Table 2). Also, a one-way multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was performed to assess if participants scores on the main variables of this study differed significantly as a function of the type of recruitment incentive they experienced (i.e., males paid $10, males entered into a drawing for $50, and females entered into a drawing for $50). Again, significant differences were not found on any of these main variables: Wilk's Lambda = .91, $F(18, 304) = .78$, ns (see Table 3). Thus, unless otherwise stated, all analyses utilized combined data from both male and female participants, as well as data from across the three incentive recruitment groups.

With the exception of findings for the true-false BDHI and self-ratings of skin color, means, alpha coefficients, and standard deviations (along with RIAS intercorrelations) for the total sample on the remaining salient variables are summarized in Tables 4 and 5. Mean and standard deviation values for the two BDHI subscales utilized in this study are as follows: Covert Hostility (Mean = 8.38; SD = 3.13) and Overt Hostility (Mean = 18.63, SD = 4.55). Mean and standard deviation values for self-ratings of skin color were 2.53 and .72, respectively.

Hypothesis 1

The first prediction of this study posited that Preencounter attitudes and shame would mediate the relationship between cultural mistrust attitudes and depression. As previously mentioned, this hypothesis was evaluated in two parts (see Figure 1), and each part consisted of the three regression

Table 3

Descriptive Statistics for MANOVA Examining Mean Differences for the Nine Key Variables of this Study as a Function of Recruitment Incentive Group

Nine Key Variables (Dependent Variables)	Incentive Groups (Independent Variable)	Mean	SD	N
Internalized Shame	Females in Drawing for $50	4.75	1.74	92
	Males Paid $10	4.59	1.87	42
	Males in Drawing for $50	4.58	1.93	29
CESD Scores	Females in Drawing for $50	3.76	1.26	92
	Males Paid $10	3.58	1.14	42
	Males in Drawing for $50	3.55	1.44	29
RIAS Preencounter Scores	Females in Drawing for $50	1.56	.09	92
	Males Paid $10	1.54	.09	42
	Males in Drawing for $50	1.53	.10	29
RIAS Immersion-Emersion Scores	Females in Drawing for $50	23.63	4.96	92
	Males Paid $10	25.09	6.17	42
	Males in Drawing for $50	24.04	5.65	29
RIAS Internalization	Females in Drawing for $50	56.62	4.93	92
	Males Paid $10	57.45	5.37	42
	Males in Drawing for $50	56.77	5.82	29
Cultural Mistrust Scores	Females in Drawing for $50	179.83	48.60	92
	Males Paid $10	197.78	48.08	42
	Males in Drawing for $50	181.03	50.11	29
Overt Hostility	Females in Drawing for $50	18.46	4.57	92
	Males Paid $10	18.52	4.64	42
	Males in Drawing for $50	19.25	4.74	29
Covert Hostility	Females in Drawing for $50	8.15	3.01	92
	Males Paid $10	8.82	3.32	42
	Males in Drawing for $50	8.55	3.29	29
Skin Color Ratings	Females in Drawing for $50	2.57	.72	92
	Males Paid $10	2.50	.70	42
	Males in Drawing for $50	2.48	.83	29

Table 4

Cronbach's Alphas, Means, and Standard Deviations for the Internalized Shame Scale, Cultural Mistrust Inventory, and the Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale

	Cronbach's Alpha	Mean	Standard Deviation
Internalized Shame Scale	.94	24.83	17.07
Cultural Mistrust Inventory	.92	184.27	49.40
Center for Epidemologic Depression Scale	.88	15.08	9.80

Table 5

Intercorrelations and Alpha Coefficients for the Three Subscales of the Racial Identity Attitude Scale in the Present Study

	PREEN	IM/EM	INTERNAL
Preencounter (PREEN)	**.76**	.05 (167)	-.04 (166)
Imm/Emersion (IM/EM)		**.66**	.07 (166)
Internalization (INTERNAL)			**.58**
Mean	1.54	*24.06*	*56.89*
SD	.09	5.37	5.16

Note. Alpha coefficients are in the bold diagonal. Sample sizes are in parentheses.

Equations (Baron & Kenny, 1986). First, the mediator is regressed on the independent variable; second, the dependent variable is regressed on the independent variable; and finally, both the mediator and the independent variable are simultaneously regressed on the dependent variable.

To demonstrate mediation using this method, the independent variable must significantly affect the mediator and the dependent variable in the first and second equations, respectively. Also, the mediator in the third equation must be significantly affect the dependent variable. Finally, "if these conditions all hold in the predicted direction, then the effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable must be less in the third equation than in the second" (Baron & Kenny, 1986, p. 1177).

In order to examine the role of Preencounter attitudes in mediating the relationship of cultural mistrust attitudes with shame, the following three regressions were conducted: (1) Preencounter scores were regressed on cultural mistrust scores, (2) shame scores were regressed on cultural mistrust scores, and (3) shame scores were regressed on both cultural mistrust and Preencounter scores.

To summarize, after all necessary preconditions are met in the present example, Preencounter attitudes can be defined as a mediating variable if the effect of cultural mistrust attitudes on shame is less in the third equation than in the second. Identical analyses have been utilized to evaluate the other mediation testing hypotheses of this study.

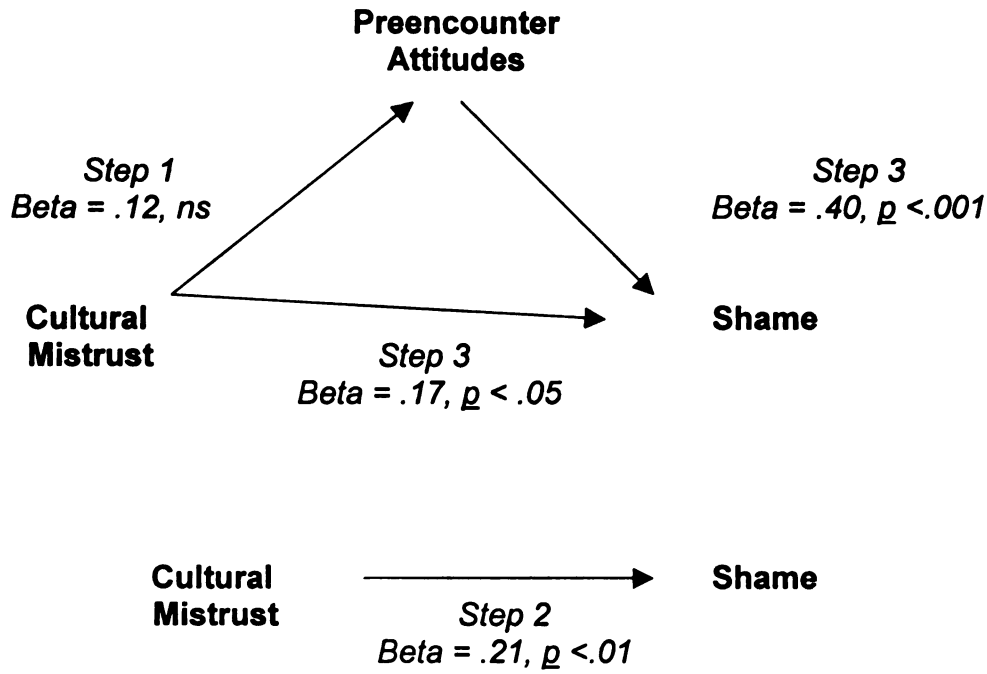

Figure 3. Standardized regression coefficients utilized to assess the role of Preencounter attitudes in mediating the relationship between cultural mistrust and shame.

Part 1

Results from testing the hypothesis that Preencounter attitudes mediate the relationship between cultural mistrust attitudes and shame did not support this prediction. The first regression equation demonstrated that Preencounter scores were not significantly associated with this study's measure of cultural mistrust $F(1, 164) = 2.36$, ns (see Figure 3 for standardized beta coefficients). Thus, because this finding does not fulfill the first criterion in demonstrating mediation, Preencounter attitudes cannot be a mediator in this model.

Part 2

Results from the present study support the hypothesis that shame acts as a mediator in the relationship between Preencounter attitudes and depression. Again, the first and second regression equations needed to demonstrate mediation yielded significant results, as required. Specifically, when two separate simple regression equations were used to regress Preencounter scores on shame and depression scores; both shame scores, F (1, 166) = 30.60, $p < .001$, and depression scores, F (1, 166) = 21.00, $p < .001$, were respectively found to be positively associated with Preencounter scores (see Figure 4 for beta coefficients). Further, the third regression equation in testing for mediation, regressing depression scores on both Preencounter and shame scores simultaneously, also yielded significant results, explaining 49% of the variance of depression scores, F (2, 163) = 78.12, $p < .001$ (see Figure 4 for beta coefficients). These findings support the hypothesis that shame mediates the relationship between Preencounter attitudes and depression.

Table 6

Correlations between Immersion-Emersion Attitudes and both Shame and Depression

		Shame	Depression	Overt Hostility	Covert Hostility
Immersion-Emersion Attitudes	*Total Sample*[a]	.05	.03	.21**	.18*
	Females[b]	.12	.12	.25*	.21*
	Males[c]	-.01	-.06	.09	.18

[a] N = 168. [b] n = 95. [c] n = 72.

** $p < .01$

* $p < .05$

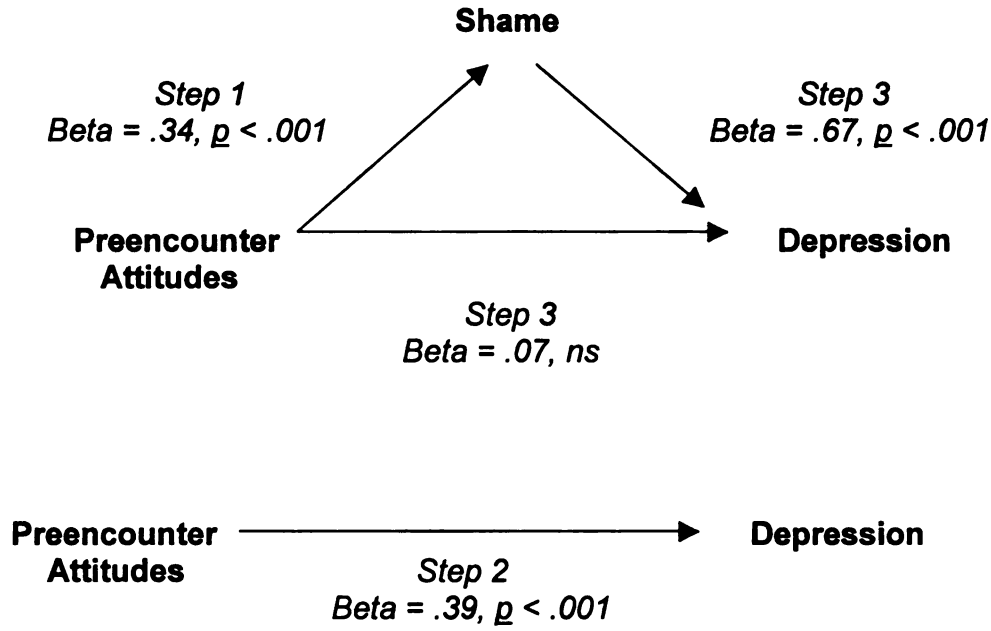

Figure 4. Standardized regression coefficients utilized to assess the role of shame attitudes in mediating the relationship between Preencounter attitudes and depression.

Hypothesis 2

The second prediction of this study posited that shame scores would mediate the relationship between Immersion-Emersion scores and depression scores, and also between Immersion-Emersion scores and covert hostility scores. Unfortunately, Immersion-Emersion scores were not found to be significantly associated with shame scores; therefore, shame could not act as a mediator in any of these relationships (see Table 6). Further, although Immersion-Emersion scores were not significantly associated with self-ratings of depression, they were significantly associated with this study's measure of hostility – both covert and overt (see Table 6). Although this relationship reached significance for both the overall sample and the all-female subgroup, this relationship was not significant for the all-male subgroup (see Table 6).

Hypothesis 3

The hypothesis that Internalization scores would be significantly negatively correlated with shame and depression scores was not supported by the findings of this study. Specifically, the correlations of Internalization scores with shame and depression scores were -.05 and -.12, respectively, ($\underline{N}$ = 167) with neither correlation reaching significance.

Hypothesis 4

Finally, the last hypothesis of this study posited that Preencounter scores ought to moderate the relationship between self-ratings of skin color and shame scores. This hypothesis was assessed utilizing a succession of hierarchical multiple regressions outlined by Baron and Kenny (1986):

Table 7

Results from Hierarchical Regressions Utilized to Test the Prediction that Preencounter Attitudes Would Moderate the Relationship Between Skin Color Ratings and Shame Scores (Dependent Variable: Shame Scores)

Step	Independent Variables Entered	R^2	R^2 Change	Beta	F Change	F
1.	Preencounter Scores	.16	.16*	.39*	30.60*	30.60*
2.	Preencounter Scores, Skin Color Rating	.16	.00	.40 -.01	.02	.02
3.	Preencounter Scores, Skin Color Rating, Preencounter Scores X Skin Color Rating	.16	.01	.17 -1.04 1.09	1.14	.29

*$p < .001$

> ...if the independent variable is denoted as X, the moderator as Z, and the dependent variable as Y, Y is regressed on X, Z, and XZ [-- the product of the two independent variables]. Moderator effects are indicated by the significant effect of XZ while X and Z are controlled. (p. 1176)

Thus, shame scores were regressed on skin color ratings, Preencounter scores, and the interaction term (i.e., skin color ratings multiplied by Preencounter scores) using hierarchical multiple regression. As apparent in Table 7, the interaction term utilized in this analysis did not significantly explain the variance of depression after controlling for shame scores and skin color ratings. Therefore, contrary to the prediction posited by the fourth hypothesis of this study, Preencounter scores were not found to moderate the relationship between self-ratings of skin color and shame scores.

Post-hoc analyses

Post-hoc analyses revealed some unpredicted and interesting findings for the overall sample, as well as the separate subgroups of women and men. Due to the exploratory nature of the following analyses, two-tailed tests of significance at the .05 level or higher were utilized throughout.

Overall Sample

For the overall sample, reported grade point averages were negatively correlated with CESD scores ($r = -.17$, $N = 167$, $p < .05$), indicating that students with higher grades endorsed lower levels of depression compared to students with lower grades. Also, covert and overt hostility scores were both found to be significantly positively correlated with internalized shame and CESD scores (see

Table 8

Correlation of Covert and Overt Hostility with Both the CESD[1] and the Internalized Shame Scale for the Overall Sample of Men and Women

	CESD[1]	Internalized Shame Scale
Covert Hostility Subscale	.43***	.48***
Overt Hostility Subscale	.36***	.35***

N = 168.

[1]Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale

***p < .001

Table 9

Correlation Between the Cultural Mistrust Inventory and Both the Internalized Shame Scale and the CESD for the Total Sample, Female Subgroup, and the Male Subgroup

		Internalized Shame Scale	CESD[1]
Cultural Mistrust Inventory	*Total Sample*[a]	.20**	.19*
	Women[b]	.29**	.28**
	Men[c]	.10	.11

[a]N = 166. [b]n = 93. [c]n = 72.

[1]Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale

*p < .05

**p < .01

Table 8). This suggests that for this sample, elevated feelings of shame or depression are associated with increased levels of hostility, and that lower levels of the former two variables are associated with a decline in hostility. Finally, Internalization scores were found to be positively associated with overt hostility scores (r = .22, N = 167, p < .01); indicating that for this sample, endorsing a well-integrated sense of racial identity is associated with the open expression of hostility.

Women

Findings for the all female subgroup help to clarify some of the more general findings for this study. For example, although shame and depression scores both seemed to be significantly correlated with cultural mistrust scores for the overall sample (see Table 9), further analyses revealed that these findings are misleading. Specifically, when these relationships were examined for male and female subgroups separately, it was discovered that these relationships were significant only for the female subgroup of this study, and not the male subgroup (see Table 9). Thus, it appears that this finding is more accurately attributed to the female subgroup rather than the combined male and female sample.

Also, it appears that as age and level of education increase, so do the college grade point averages of female participants in this sample (see Table 10 for respective female and male correlations). In contrast, grade point averages for women in this sample seem to be inversely related to both covert and overt hostility scores (see Table 10 for respective female and male correlations); suggesting that women in this sample with lower grades seem to endorse

Table 10

Correlation of Grade Point Average with Age, Level of Education, and Covert and Overt Hostility for Male and Female Subgroups

		Age	Level of Education[1]	Covert Hostility	Overt Hostility
Grade Point Average	Women[a]	.26*	.34**	-.24*	-.32*
Grade Point Average	Men[b]	.18	-.03	-.10	-.05

[a] $n = 84$. [b] $n = 66$.

[1]Level of education was defined as academic status (i.e., freshperson, sophomore, junior, etc.).

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

Table 11

Correlation of the Percentage of African Americans in the Student Body of the Last School Attended with Shame, Racial identity, and College Grade Point Averages for Male and Female Subgroups

		Internalized Shame Scale	Preencounter Subscale	Immersion-Emersion Subscale	College Grade Point Average
Percentage of student body at last school environment of same race	Men	**-.11** (67)	**-.12** (67)	**.29*** (67)	**-.41**** (62)
	Women	**-.29**** (91)	**-.32**** (91)	**.06** (91)	**-.15** (81)

Note. Sample sizes are in parentheses.

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

elevated feelings of hostility, and vice versa. Also, significant negative correlations were found between the reported percentage of African Americans in the student body of the last school female participants attended prior to college, and both Preencounter and internalized shame scores (see Table 11 for respective female and male correlations). These findings suggest that female participants whose previous academic environments had higher levels of African American students seem to endorse fewer Preencounter attitudes and experience less shame than female students coming from environments with smaller African American student bodies. Finally, a significant relationship was found between self-referent skin color ratings and overt hostility for the women in this study ($\underline{r} = .21$, $\underline{n} = 95$, $\underline{p} < .05$). This suggests that women who describe their complexions as lighter also tend to express their hostility more directly. This relationship was not significant for the men in this study ($\underline{r} = .13$, $\underline{n} = 72$, ns).

Men

This study also uncovered some unique findings for the all-male subgroup that were not significant for the all-female subgroup. For example, although age was inversely related to both depression and overt hostility scores for men in this sample, age and cultural mistrust scores were positively correlated (see Table 12 for respective male and female correlations). Therefore, this indicates that younger men in this sample endorsed less depression and overt hostility compared to older men, but older men seem to have endorsed higher levels of cultural mistrust than younger men. Additionally, a positive correlation was found to exist between cultural mistrust scores and both level of education and

Table 12

Correlation of Age with Depression, Overt Hostility, and Cultural Mistrust for Male and Female Subgroups

		CESD[1]	Overt Hostility Subscale	Cultural Mistrust Inventory
Age	Men	-.32** (71)	-.24* (71)	.27* (71)
	Women	-.10 (95)	-.06 (95)	.19 (93)

[1]Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

Table 13

Correlation between Cultural Mistrust Inventory and Both Level of Education and Preencounter Subscale Scores for Female and Male Subgroups

		Level of Education[1]	Preencounter Subscale
Cultural Mistrust Inventory	Males[a]	.28*	.29**
	Females[b]	.10	.11

[a] $n = 72$. [b] $n = 93$.

[1] Level of education was defined as academic status (i.e., freshperson, sophomore, junior, etc.).

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

Preencounter scores for men (see Table 13 for respective male and female correlations). Thus, more academically advanced male students in this sample seem to more strongly endorse cultural mistrust beliefs compared to less advanced students. It also seems that males who endorsed higher levels of cultural mistrust beliefs also endorsed higher levels of pro-White/anti-Black attitudes. Further, men in this study who reported that their last school boasted a high proportion of African American students were found to report lower college grade point averages and a higher endorsement of Immersion-Emersion attitudes than students whose previous schools had a lower proportion of African American students (see Table 11 for respective male and female correlations). Finally, a negative correlation was found between self-ratings of skin color and Immersion-Emersion scores ($\underline{r}$ = -.26, $\underline{n}$ = 72, $\underline{p}$ < .05), suggesting that lighter skinned male participants more strongly endorsed Immersion-Emersion attitudes than darker male participants. Again, this relationship was not found for the female subgroup ($\underline{r}$ = -.02, $\underline{n}$ = 95, ns).

In summary, only one of this study's hypotheses was supported. Specifically, Preencounter attitudes were not found to mediate the relationship of cultural mistrust beliefs and shame (Hypothesis 1, Part 1); however, shame was found to mediate the relationship between Preencounter attitudes and feelings of depression (Hypothesis 1, Part 2). Also, no support was found for the supposition that shame would mediate the relationship between Immersion-Emersion attitudes and feelings of depression and shame, respectively (Hypothesis 2). Nor was support found for the hypothesis that Internalization

attitudes would be significantly negatively correlated with either feelings of shame or depression. Finally, Preencounter attitudes were not found to act as a moderator in the relationship of skin color self-ratings and feelings of shame.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

The present study attempted to clarify past findings that have ostensibly demonstrated that certain African American racial identity attitudes are directly associated with negative affect and hostility. Although support for the various hypotheses of this study was inconsistent, the role of shame as a mediator in these relationships has been more fully clarified; and this study has also somewhat elucidated the relationship of skin color beliefs and feelings of shame. Despite these findings, this study also calls into question certain aspects of the validity of the RIAS.

Although Preencounter attitudes were not found to be significantly associated with cultural mistrust beliefs for the overall sample, a significant positive correlation was found between these variables for the male subgroup. The finding of a positive correlation was surprising because while Preencounter attitudes are typified by a "worldview . . . dominated by [the endorsement of] Euro-American determinants" (Cross, 1978, p. 17), cultural mistrust beliefs are represented by "the tendency to be suspicious of whites" (Terrell & Terrell, 1981, p. 180) and European American cultures. Such descriptions suggest that these variables tap into antithetical constructs and ought to be negatively correlated; however, for men in this

study, the opposite occurred. One possible explanation for this relationship might be that the measures for these constructs both tap into a common factor related to how much an individual endorses prejudicial attitudes about social groups in general (e.g., women, gays and lesbians, or African and European Americans). It is possible that men in this study who happen to be more prone to internalizing stereotyped beliefs about various groups in society would be more likely to score higher on these measures than someone less prone to such thinking. If this explanation proves sound, then this calls into question the validity of one or both of these measures of racial attitudes. Future research needs to clarify these issues, as well as account for gender differences on these variables.

As hypothesized, shame was found to mediate the relationship between Preencounter attitudes and depression. This finding suggests that the depression associated with Preencounter attitudes is typified by "feelings of inferiority, worthlessness, inadequacy, [and] a sense of being diminished" (Cook, 1994, p. 2), and these feelings seem to be linked to endorsing negative beliefs about what it means to be African American. This has implications for clinicians working with clients who endorse feelings of depression and Preencounter attitudes concomitantly. Specifically, for such individuals, the core of their depression may center on themes of self-negation rather than despair concerning external factors in their lives. An extreme example of this might be an individual who, after experiencing some racist incident, blames him/herself and the fact of being African

American rather than the external racist system for this encounter. Further, due to the somewhat restricted range of the standard deviation of the transformed Preencounter subscale scores used in this study (see Table 1), the significant findings related to this subscale appear to be quite robust and offer further support for the construct validity of this subscale.

Contrary to this study's hypothesis, Immersion-Emersion attitudes were not significantly related to feelings of shame or depression in this sample, and therefore shame has not been supported as a mediator between Immersion-Emersion attitudes and depression. Additionally, shame was not found to mediate the relationship between Immersion-Emersion attitudes and covert hostility. Despite the latter finding, Immersion-Emersion attitudes were found to be positively associated with feelings of overt hostility. Curiously, this finding was applicable to both the overall sample and female subgroup. This could be an artifact of the differences in the sample sizes, or it suggests that men and women may cope differently with the burgeoning awareness of racial oppression.

Although this gender difference must be explored more fully in future studies, the finding that Immersion-Emersion attitudes are positively related to feelings of hostility is consistent with Cross's theory. Cross describes this stage as one wherein individuals are hostile to European American people and cultures, and these individuals are thought to be hostile with other African Americans that they deem are not sufficiently Black (Cross, 1991). It is possible that the hostility associated with this stage finds its atavism in

the experience of righteous indignation rather than a defensive reaction to shame.

Unexpectedly, Internalization attitudes were not found to be significantly associated with feelings of shame or depression. This study predicted that these variables would be inversely related because Internalization attitudes are thought to represent a healthy affirmation of ones racial identity, and these attitudes ought to serve as a buffer against the psychological distress caused by racism (Cross, 1991). The present findings suggest that these attitudes are not associated with greater or lesser vulnerability to feelings of shame or depression. Despite this lack of findings, Internalization attitudes were found to be positively associated with feelings of overt hostility for the overall sample. This suggests that these attitudes are associated with a willingness to frankly express feelings of anger or frustration, and such assertiveness would be expected of an Internalization stance because individuals in the advanced stages of this perspective are expected to directly combat racism and oppression.

Preencounter attitudes were not found to be significantly associated with self-evaluations of skin color, and these analyses also revealed that Preencounter attitudes could not act as a moderator in the relationship of skin color ratings with feelings of shame. These findings seem to suggest that the endorsement of shame attitudes by individuals of various skin hues is randomly distributed across this sample.

Further, although skin color evaluations were not found to be significantly

related to racial identity attitudes for the overall sample, some gender differences were uncovered that suggest that skin color beliefs are associated with different attitudes in men and women. Specifically, for men, an inverse relationship was found between self-rating of skin color and Immersion-Emersion attitudes; and for women, a positive association was found between describing oneself as having a lighter complexion and endorsing higher levels of overt hostility. If one considers that Immersion-Emersion attitudes have a hostile component, it would seem that male and female participants describing themselves as lighter seem to more strongly endorse somewhat hostile attitudes than their darker counterparts. Perhaps this is a reaction to the alleged discrimination that lighter skinned African Americans experience at the hands of both African Americans and European Americans.

Although it is a valid exploration of this area of inquiry, this study has some limitations. The most glaring of these limits is that it surveyed African American students attending a predominantly European American university, and this sample may not be representative of other populations. Additionally, the lack of any significant intercorrelations between the subscales of the RIAS is unusual, suggesting the possibility that this sample is again somewhat unique. Finally, post-hoc analyses yielded interesting findings that leave more questions than answers. From these analyses, it is clear that future research in this area will need to consider the role of interracial contact, age, and gender in any exploration of racial identity

attitudes in African Americans.

Other limitations include that Cross's theory and its measurement by the RIAS have undergone little revision in the last twenty years. Although it seems likely that Cross's theory still has relevance in the lives of contemporary African Americans, it is equally possible that gross and nuanced changes in the social status of African Americans may necessitate refinements in the operationalization of this theory. Specifically, the evolution of certain social desirability factors in the last twenty years (e.g., political correctness) may inhibit some individuals from answering certain questions of the RIAS honestly; particularly, questions that attempt to assess negative attitudes about being African American.

Further, the behavioral expression of certain stages may also have changed. It is possible that individuals who internalize negative beliefs about being African American in the 21st Century may experience less intensity in such beliefs than individuals in the 1970s, and as these individuals cascade through the latter stages of this theory, their experiences may be accordingly diminished. Additionally, the range of behaviors available to individuals in such a process are different today than they were twenty years ago. For example, contemporary Immersion-Emersion individuals may be less inclined to join a separatist African American group than Immersion-Emersion individuals from previous decades. This does not necessarily mean that they are any less committed to upsetting the racist status quo; rather, they may simply adopt different

strategies than their predecessors. Although this speculation needs to be validated by continued research, these possibilities may illuminate the lack of significant findings for a number of the hypotheses in the current study.

Despite the preceding limitations, this study offers greater insight into the affective concomitants of Cross's racial identity theory, as well as teaching us more about how skin color attitudes relate to racial identity beliefs and affect. It demonstrates that for some groups of African Americans, endorsing negative views about one's racial group is associated with feelings of shame, depression, and hostility. This finding has implications for how clinicians focus their interventions when confronted with such clients. Specifically, clinicians may need to address issues of racial identity when working with dysphoric clients who also endorse Preencounter beliefs. Further, these findings suggest that possessing a positive stance toward one's racial identity does not appear to be directly associated with feelings of shame or depression; neither have such attitudes been observed in this study to act in a fashion that directly protects individuals from these feelings. Finally, this study suggests that self-ratings of skin color as measured in the present study may be unrelated to feelings of depression and shame.

Although shame has been shown to play a role in the affective process of African American racial identity development, its role appears somewhat limited. However, the problems with the RIAS make this relationship more difficult to ascertain definitively. Specifically, shame seems to primarily explain the relationship of Preencounter attitudes and depression. It was not found to be

associated with the latter stage attitudes of Cross's model. Future research in this domain should work to clarify additional affective concomitants, especially for the latter stages of Cross's theory. Also, such inquiry would benefit from assessing both positive and negative affective concomitants (e.g., assessing what benefits come from adopting a Preencounter perspective). Finally, the present study suggests that further refinement of the RIAS is needed in order to explain how ostensibly diametrically opposed attitudinal positions were found to be either unrelated or positively related.

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APPENDIX A

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE
(Please do not put your name on this form)

Please use the space provided to answer the following questions.

1) Which of these racial designations do you feel most comfortable with (please check one)?

African American _____
Black _____
Biracial/Mixed heritage _____
Other (specify) _____

2) Sex: Male_____ Female_____ (Please check one)

3) What is your major field of study at MSU?

_____

4) What MSU classification are you (Freshperson, Sophomore, Junior, Senior)? _____

5) How old are you? _____

6) Please rate how religious and/or spiritual you would consider yourself to be on the following scale:

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all religious/ spiritual		Moderately religious/ spiritual		Very highly religious/ spiritual

7) Are you a member of any African American campus groups (i.e., As One, Black Student Association, etc.)? Yes_____ No_____. If so, in how many organizations are you involved? _____. What are their names?_____
_____
_____

8) Are you a U.S. citizen? Yes No (please circle one)

8a) If not, what nationality are you? _____

8b) How long have you been in this country? _____

9) What is your overall MSU Grade Point Average? _____

10) Growing up, do you feel that both of your parents were significantly involved in raising you? Yes____ No____ If you answered "no," who was most involved? _____(e.g., mom, dad, uncle, aunt)

11) What is the highest level of education that your father and mother completed? (circle one of the bold numbers and qualify where needed)

FATHER	**MOTHER**
1 = grades **1, 2, 3, 4, 5,** or **6**	***1*** = grades **1, 2, 3, 4, 5,** or **6**
2 = grades **7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12**	***2*** = grades **7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12**
3 = trade school, beauty school, etc.	***3*** = trade school, beauty school, etc.
4 = some college	***4*** = some college
5 = AA degree	***5*** = AA degree
6 = BA/BS	***6*** = BA/BS
7 = some grad school	***7*** = some grad school
8 = graduate degree	***8*** = graduate degree
(check the relevant degree below)	(check the relevant degree below)
_____ MA?	_____ MA?
_____ Ph.D.?	_____ Ph.D.?
_____ Law?	_____ Law?
_____ MD?	_____ MD?
9 = don't know _____	***9*** = don't know _____
12) Did he work outside of the home?	Did she work outside of the home?
1 = yes	1 = yes
2 = no	2 = no
13) If yes, what was his occupation? (please be as specific as possible)	If yes, what was her occupation? (please be as specific as possible)
_____	_____

14) What is your estimate of your father's and mother's yearly salaries growing up?

Mother's: $_____ Father's: $_____

15) Before attending Michigan State University, what was the percentage of your last school environment who were of your ethnicity/race?

_____

APPENDIX B

A Measure of Racial Attitudes

1) I developed my present beliefs about being African American...

5	4	3	2	1
Very Recently (within the last year)		Around the Middle of my Life		When I Was Very Young

2) My attitudes about **African Americans** have become more **negative** as I have gotten older.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

3) I developed my present attitudes about White people...

5	4	3	2	1
Very Recently (within the last year)		Around the Middle of my Life		When I Was Very Young

4) My attitudes about **White people** have become more **negative** as I have gotten older.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

5) I would rate my skin color as:

1	2	3	4
Very Dark			Very Light

6) My attitudes about **African Americans** have become more **positive** as I have gotten older.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree

7) Most African Americans are:

1	2	3	4	5
Much darker than I am		The same color as I am		Lighter than I am

8) My attitudes about **White people** have become more **positive** as I have gotten older.

1	2	3	4
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

9) My beliefs about being African American:

1	2	3	4	5
Have Never Changed		Are Often Changing		Are Always Changing