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AN ASSESSMENT OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
RACIAL IDENTITY, PSYCHOLOGICAL
EMPOWERMENT, BLACK ACTIVISM, AND
PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING IN AFRICAN
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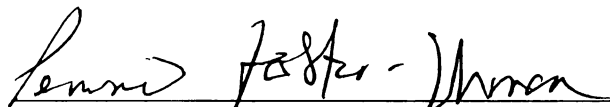
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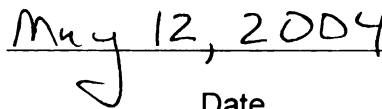
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AN ASSESSMENT OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RACIAL IDENTITY,
PSYCHOLOGICAL EMPOWERMENT, BLACK ACTIVISM, AND
PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING IN AFRICAN AMERICANS

By

Jonathan N. Livingston

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ABSTRACT

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RACIAL IDENTITY, PSYCHOLOGICAL EMPOWERMENT, BLACK ACTIVISM, AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING IN AFRICAN AMERICANS

By

Jonathan N. Livingston

Over the past 70 years, a number of studies have been conducted to assess the relationship between racial identity and psychological well-being in African Americans. Although there has been a good deal of disagreement concerning whether identification with one's respective racial or ethnic group leads to better psychological outcomes, few studies have assessed what factors may mediate the relationship between the aforementioned variables. In an effort to assess what factors may mediate the relationship between racial identity and psychological well-being, the present study examined the mediational roles of psychological empowerment and Black activism using Baron & McKinney's (1986) method for testing mediation. Utilizing a sample of 187 African Americans from a Midwestern church community, a series of regressions were conducted. Results of the study found that 1) racial identity was related to psychological well-being, 2) psychological empowerment partially mediated the relationship between various dimensions of racial identity, and 3) Black activism mediated the relationship between various dimensions of psychological well-being and racial identity. Additionally, the study found that psychological empowerment was related to Black activism. Results of the study suggest that future research is needed to assess the impact of psychological empowerment and Black activism on psychological well-being. Such

an analysis not only has implications for the therapeutic setting but also for community development, organizing, and social change.

DEDICATION

This manuscript is dedicated to all people who continue to define themselves in the struggle to simply be recognized as human beings.

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This document represents not only ten years of hard work and incredible sacrifice, but it also represents the thinking, hopes, dreams, and prayers of an entire community of individuals dispersed throughout the country whose guidance, consciousness, and commitment to social change provided me a wonderful example of what it means to be a human being. In completing this project, there are a number of individuals I must recognize. First and foremost, I want to acknowledge my chairperson, Dr. Pennie Foster-Fishman, for her assistance in helping me develop my ideas and carefully critiquing the organization of the document to assure that it was thorough and consistent. In addition, I would like to thank Dr. William Davidson who, likened to that of any supportive father, became and wiser and wiser as I navigated the doctoral process and began to reflect upon all the wisdom he bestowed upon me. I would also like to thank Dr. Harriette McAdoo whose commitment to scholarly excellence provided a wonderful example of what Black academicians and scholars should strive to be. Of my committee members, I would also like to thank Dr. Debra Johnson who, for two years, provided the critical feedback and emotional support I needed to complete this process. I would also like to thank Dr. Cris Sullivan for giving me guidance throughout my academic process and providing an example of how to fuse scholarship with community activism.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

How and under what context does healthy psychological functioning occur for African Americans have been topics of discourse debated in the social sciences literature for decades (Kardiner & Ovessey, 1951; Grier & Cobbs, 1968; Thomas & Sillen, 1972; King, et al., 1976; Parham & Helms, 1985; Franklin, 1991). A careful review of the literature suggested that there have been two competing arguments regarding whether healthy psychological functioning is possible for African Americans. The first argument was built upon the self-hate assumption pervasive throughout many of the early studies on Black psychological functioning (Baldwin, 1979). In this argument, social scientists suggested that healthy psychological development was impossible for African Americans given the social and economic challenges they faced in America. Additionally, they advanced the notion that African Americans' identification with and involvement in efforts to advance the Black community and negotiate the impact of racism and structural strain might lead to poor psychological functioning due to the negative stereotypes associated with being Black and the frustrations experienced when trying to seek inclusion into mainstream culture or ward off the impact of racism on the Black community (Clark & Clark, 1947; Kardiner & Ovessey, 1951; Grier & Cobbs, 1968).

The competing argument in the literature suggested that identification with one's respective group and involvement in efforts to advance and maintain the Black community led to better psychological outcomes and such identification and involvement may buffer African Americans from the negative impact of racism (Barnes, 1972; Lessing, 1973; Hilliard, 1974; Maish, 1977; Young, 1994; Chambers, et al., 1998;

Sellers, et al., 1998). Both Maish's (1977) and Barnes' (1972) studies conducted during the height of the Black Power Movement found that African Americans who scored high on measures of racial identity were more likely to be active in their respective communities and reported higher scores on measures of self-concept and psychological well-being than those African Americans who reported lower scores on measures of racial identity.

Although both arguments have gained prominence in the literature and have been heatedly debated for over the last 60 years, few empirical studies have investigated how racial identity is related to psychological well-being and what factors may mediate this relationship. Therefore, the primary purpose of the present study was to provide a better understanding of the relationship between racial identity and psychological well-being. As noted, from a review of the literature, there were studies proposing that the development of a healthy racial identity may be psychologically protective for African Americans (Carter, 1991; Chambers, et al, 1998; Sellers, et al, 1998). To advance the literature on this topic and provide a better understanding of this relationship, the researcher proposed that activism, or the behavior one engages in to advance the Black community, as well as psychological empowerment, or a critical awareness of one's socio-political situation and ability to identify and mobilize resources, may be directly related to both racial identity and psychological well-being. Thus, the current study proposed that the relationship between racial identity and psychological well-being would be mediated by activism and psychological empowerment. Therefore, the present study examined the role of activism and empowerment in the aforementioned relationships.

The primary hypotheses under investigation were: (1) There would be a positive relationship between racial identity and psychological well-being; (2) The relationship between racial identity and psychological well-being would be mediated by psychological empowerment; (3) The relationship between racial identity and psychological well-being would be mediated by Black activism; and (4) There would be a positive relationship between Black activism and psychological empowerment. The implications of and contributions to the advancement of such a model might not only bring clarity to whether the relationships between these variables still hold true for African Americans today, but this model might also have implications for the types of services delivered by human service professionals working with African Americans.

Such an assessment is critical at this juncture in history. In light of the problems facing the Black community, increased rates of suicide, mental illness, and Black-on-Black crime all each speak to a need for psychologists, counselors, and social workers, working within the Black community, to begin to adequately assess the historical impact of racism and structural strain on the Black community. Entertaining this line of inquiry, in particular, must address the effects of racism on Black psychological development and functioning (Wilson, 1990; Kambon, 1992). A better understanding of what factors are related to psychological health may assist in identifying methods that protect and foster healthy psychological development in African Americans. The implications of advancing such a strength-based model, which includes assisting individuals in developing stronger racial identity and fostering a sense of empowerment and community involvement, are all of critical import, for the model challenges the practitioners to begin to employ methods

that not only have implications for the therapeutic setting but will have a positive impact on the Black community as a whole.

Furthermore, a clear understanding of the relationship between psychological empowerment, Black activism, and psychological well-being may yield preventive measures and programs designed to improve psychological outcomes through racial awareness and community involvement, which as noted can be beneficial in improving the conditions of the African American community. In an effort to elucidate the relationship between racial identity, psychological empowerment, activism, and psychological well-being, 200 participants were sampled from a small Midwestern city.

Overview of the Literature

Initially, the literature review will provide insight on the current state of the African American community and those factors that may impede healthy psychological development for Black people. Secondly, the literature review will explore the early studies and reviews on African American mental health and psychological well-being. Thirdly, this literature review will attempt to bring clarity to our understanding of racial identity and the distinctions and continuity of the various measures of race-related attitudes as well as examine factors that have been found to be related to racial identity. This review will briefly define psychological empowerment and discuss its relationship between racial identity, activism, and psychological well-being. Finally, this review will define Black activism, briefly describe the history of activism in America, and provide an assessment of studies conducted to assess the relationships between Black activism, racial identity, psychological empowerment, and psychological well-being.

Context of the Problem: The state of the African American community

The nature and status of African American psychological well-being and mental health have been topics of debate in the social sciences for decades (Kardiner & Ovessey, 1951; Grier & Cobbs, 1968; Thomas & Sillen, 1972; King, et al., 1976; Parham & Helms, 1985; Franklin, 1991). Many of the early studies or reviews converged upon the assumption that positive mental health for African Americans was impossible under oppressive conditions (Clark & Clark, 1947; Kardiner & Ovessey, 1951). More recent reviews suggested that positive mental health for African Americans was dependent upon one's commitment to the Black community, level of activism within the Black community (Maish, 1977; Kambon, 1992), and the development of strong racial identity (Milliones, 1973; Akbar, 1975; Maish, 1977; Parham & Helms, 1985; Kambon, 1992). Although there had been much debate regarding how we conceptualize racial identity and its relationship with psychological well-being, the literature suggested that there was a need for a continued investigation into those factors related to African American mental health. The contributions or advancements of the present study, in regards to advancing our understanding of psychological well-being for African Americans, are of critical importance. First, in assessing the relationship between racial identity and psychological well-being, a more contemporary and sensitive measure representing the multidimensional nature of racial identity was employed. Although an assessment of the relationship between racial identity, activism, and psychological well-being was conducted during the Black Power Movement, there is a need for social scientists to understand the dynamics of this model under contemporary times. Moreover, a continued investigation into factors related to African American mental health may provide relevant

models of psychological well-being that could be employed in therapeutic and intervention settings. More importantly, although it was not the primary focus of the present study, it becomes imperative that social scientists investigating African American mental health assess the historical and socio-cultural factors that have impeded positive psychological development for African Americans.

The state of the African American community

Any discussion of African American psychological well-being would not be complete without a review of the history of slavery, Jim Crow, segregation, and the continued overt and institutional racism (racial profiling) and its impact upon the African American community. A review of history clearly pointed to the undeniable fact that people of African descent have experienced and continue to experience inhumane conditions here in America (Akbar, 1975; Madhubuti, 1990; Wilson, 1990; Kunjufu, 2001). Factors that have impeded healthy psychological development for Black people in contemporary society were well documented throughout the literature (Aptheker, 1943; Akbar, 1975; Wells, 1978; Wilson, 1990). Such impeding factors included: incarceration, violent crime, unemployment, underemployment, poverty, and police brutality. These impingements have a direct impact upon an individual's psychological well-being and his or her ability to live and self-actualize.

In many cities throughout America, the rate at which many of the aforementioned issues have affected African Americans has reached epidemic proportions. In some cases, scholars (Madhubuti, 1990; Kunjufu, 2001) and activists suggested that there should be a state of emergency for the African American community. For example, while African American men only comprised 6 % of the population, they comprised over 50%

of the penal population (Kunjufu, 2001). Increased rates of incarceration for Black women have also become issues of concern for the African American community. From 1989 to 1998, the number of women in our nation's prisons increased by more than 100% (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1998). Additional data suggested that Black females were the fastest growing segment of the prison population in America (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1998).

A great deal of this overrepresentation of African Americans in prison could be explained by America's so-called "war on drugs", wherein 74% of the individuals convicted of drug possession are African Americans. According to Kunjufu (2001), 33% of African American men between the ages of 20 and 29 were incarcerated. Furthermore, it was estimated that, by 2020, 65% of the African American males in this age group will have been incarcerated or involved in some form of the penal system (Kunjufu, 2001). Data on African American females in the same age group indicated the same malady wherein 14 % of African American females between the ages of 20 and 29 were involved in some form of the penal system.

Although a number of reports suggested that crime had decreased in the U.S., the impact of America's so-called "war on drugs" and the subsequent increase in violent crime has had a devastating impact upon the African American community. From 1985 until 1994, the crime rates in many urban centers increased by 20% (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1998). Statistics on homicide revealed that African American males between the ages of 18 and 25 were six times more likely to be killed than their White counterparts. In urban cities such as Washington, DC, one out of every twelve Black men was a victim of homicide (Kunjufu, 2001). Although many social scientists and

legislators have discussed the economic impact of the loss of Black men from many families, little discussion had been introduced to address the social and psychological impacts that crime and high Black male incarceration rates have on Black families and, consequently, Black communities. This removal of young men from the Black community, whether it was through incarceration or homicide, creates feelings of fear, hopelessness, and worthlessness and leads to many young men in those communities not envisioning themselves living beyond age 18. For many of these men, going to prison was believed to be a rite of passage. The psychological and emotional impacts of incarceration on Black women have been devastating. In many cities around the country, Black women could attest to the overwhelming fear that they experienced when their young male child left the house. This fear and sense of hopelessness was compounded when Black women, due to the incarceration of their spouses, were left as the sole financial provider for the children.

Unemployment figures revealed the same malady where, in many cities throughout the U.S., 25 % or more of African American males were unemployed. This persistent unemployment, in many urban areas, not only impeded the African American family's ability to provide for itself, but it also lead to a sense of hopelessness and desperation (Kunjufu, 2001; Parkin, 2002). Nationally, African Americans were twice as likely to be unemployed than Whites (Urban League Report, 2002). In regards to income and poverty, African Americans continued to lag behind Whites. The 1997 Census data suggested that 26% of Black families lived below the poverty level as compared to 6% of White families (Urban League Report, 2002). In light of America's economic success over the past decade and the gains in education made by Blacks during this period, many

Blacks continued to earn less than their White counterparts. Median household income for Blacks was \$15,000 less than Whites with comparable education. This increase in number of poor and underclass was further exacerbated by the increase in incarceration rates for Black men and women. This problem was further exacerbated in urban communities where higher unemployment, substandard living conditions, and crime created a culture of poverty marked with malnutrition, high morbidity, and overall poor health conditions (Christmas, et al., 1996).

Although the unemployment and poverty figures did not speak directly to the issue of psychological well-being, it is easy for one to see that such problems would not only impede African-Americans' ability to take care of themselves and their families but would also have a deleterious effect upon the individual's perception of self and psychological well-being. This effect could be seen in the increase in suicide and utilization of mental health services among African Americans. Suicide has been on the rise in the African American community. Over the past decade, there has been a 146 % increase in suicide among African American males (U.S. Statistical Abstract, 2000). Although suicide rates for Black females were lower than those for White females and both White and Black males, studies do show that African American females experience depression and engage in suicidal ideation and behavior consistent with that of their White counterparts (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994; Manetta, 1999).

The prevalence of mental disorders was estimated to be higher among African Americans than Whites. This difference was more prevalent among African Americans who were poor (Ramseur, 1991). According to Cheung & Snowden (1990), African Americans were also over represented in inpatient service. This increase, or more

specifically the over-representation of African Americans in public in-service treatment facilities, has continued over the last 10 years (Snowden, 2003). The rate has doubled that of Whites.

As noted, social scientists and human service professionals are at somewhat of an impasse such that they must go beyond the question of whether such conditions are systemic and intentional. Although this is not the primary focus of the study, social scientists must also address the plight of the African American community by posing the question, To what degree does racism, structural strain impede psychological functioning for African Americans. Increased rates of suicide, homicide, and mental illness all speak to a need for social scientists 1) to address the forementioned issues at the local, state, and policy levels affecting African Americans, 2) to identify barriers to African Americans developing psychological well-being, and 3) to identify factors that are related to developing healthy psychological outcomes for African Americans.

Thus, the purpose of this study is to assess what factors may be related to developing better psychological outcomes for African Americans. The researcher proposes that racial identity will be positively related to psychological empowerment as well as activism, and psychological empowerment will be positively related to one's level of activism, and racial identity, psychological empowerment, and activism will be related to psychological well-being in African Americans.

African American Psychological Well-being

Inhumane conditions bring about insanity. Oppression in its varied and sundried forms constitutes one of the most inhuman conditions. The unnatural pressures exerted on human life by the human abuse of oppression drives beings away from reality (Akbar, 1991).

Throughout much of the early research on Black people, social scientists have been interested in Black psychological functioning. In order to bring clarity to the early studies, a careful review of the racist theoretical and philosophical assumptions about Black people in general must be reviewed. Many of the early theorists writing on the issues of race and ethnicity converged upon the assumption that the African was inferior to other races. The African was depicted as sub-human, low in intellect, morally corrupt, and without a spirit or soul. The latter depiction gave justification for the institution of slavery (Ani, 1992). In the institution of slavery in America, the slave was perceived as child-like, brutish, obedient, servile, sub-human, and docile (Wells, 1978). The view or perception that the African was psychologically inferior was eloquently articulated and argued by the esteemed southern physician, Dr. Cartwright of Louisiana, when he advanced the notion that slaves who were not content with their servitude suffered from *dysaesthesia Aethiopica* and *drapetomania* (Thomas & Sillen, 1972). A diagnosis of *dysaesthesia Aethiopica* was given to slaves who were disobedient. He suggested that this was due to their instability of nerves and feeble mindedness. A diagnosis of *drapetomania*, or flight-from-captivity madness, was given to those slaves who tried to free themselves. According to Dr. Cartwright, the psychologically healthy African was faithful and content with his or her captivity. This notion or perception of the African as

psychologically inferior was harbored and advanced by academicians outside of the social sciences as well. Noted historian, Philip A. Bruce, in his book *The plantation Negro as freeman* (1889), suggested that freeing slaves would lead them to a state of moral degeneracy and would greatly compromise their social and psychological functioning, thus advancing the assumption that Black psychological health is dependent upon White supervision.

The perception that the African was inferior to other races was promulgated throughout every institution within America, and this negative view continued to be conveyed even after slavery had ended. This perception of Africans as beast-like and sub-human was best articulated by the esteemed scientist, Charles Darwin, who applied racism and psuedo-science in his conceptualization of the African's place on the evolutionary ladder. He stated: "At some future period, not very distant as measured by centuries, the civilized races of man will almost certainly exterminate and replace the savage races throughout the world. At the same time, the anthropomorphous apes will not be exterminated. The break will then be rendered wider, for it will intervene between man, in some more civilized state than the Caucasian, and some apes, as low as the baboon, instead of as at present state between the Negro, or Australian, and the gorilla". Such a perception by the scientific community had a profound impact upon Black life, and by the turn of the century, a number of laws were established to prevent African Americans from voting and entering schools of higher education (Ani, 1992). The prevailing argument was that Blacks were too dumb to educate. White educators articulated the position that Blacks did not have the ability to think abstractly and could only process the mundane (Ani, 1992).

This notion of African, or Black, inferiority had a significant impact upon the early studies and thinking of the so-called major theorists investigating African American mental health. Many of the early studies on Black psychological well-being and mental health were influenced by Charles Cooley's (1902) and George Mead's (1934) "Social Looking Glass" and "Generalized Significant Others" models of self-concept. These models supported the idea that the individual's concept of self arose through interaction with other members of the community. Social Looking Glass theory proposed that one's self-concept was influenced by how it was reflected through the eyes of his significant others. Therefore, if the significant others (i.e., family, peers, and community) reflected negative and derogatory images of Blacks to the individual, then the individual would internalize this negative view of self and develop a negative self-concept. In many of the early studies on Black psychological well-being, this particular model of self-concept development was seen as appropriate in explaining the influences of White racism upon Black people. In short, European Americans became the generalized significant others for African Americans, and Blacks internalized the negative views about themselves held by European Americans (Baldwin, et al., 1990). The assumption followed that, because one's self-concept was influenced by perceptions of the way one was viewed by others, society's negative views of African Americans must be internalized (Kardiner & Ovessey, 1951). Therefore, the prevailing opinion among psychologists at that time was that African Americans suffered from an inferiority complex and low self-esteem (Kardiner & Ovessey, 1951). Studies, such as those reported by Clark and Clark (1947) in which African American children revealed a preference for playing with White dolls, were interpreted as evidence that African American children hated themselves for being Black

and wished that they were White. Further studies involving Black children by Davis and Dollard (1940) also found that Black children preferred White skin and lighter skin to that of Black skin. The studies concluded that Black children had feelings of insecurity and inferiority. Kardiner and Ovessey's (1951) psychoanalytic studies concluded that the effect of racism had greatly depleted the self-concept of African Americans. They suggested that this depleted self-concept eventually developed into self-hate, depression, and idealization of Whites. Furthermore, they posited that it was impossible for African-Americans to develop healthy self-concept given the social and political conditions in which they lived.

According to Kardiner and Ovessey (1951), African Americans were prevented from developing a positive psychological well-being because of high levels of maladjustment, neuroticism, a low-level orientation toward achievement, and a sense of little personal control over his or her environment. As noted, a careful review of history found that the perception of poor Black psychological functioning, although articulated with much nicer language, was consistent with earlier views by scientists and mental health practitioners during slavery. Horowitz (1939) and Kardiner and Ovessey (1951) postulated that African Americans who identified strongly with being Black may be at a psychological risk as a result of the stereotypes associated with that identity. Kardiner and Ovessey further articulated the position that African Americans who actively resisted racism and the social caste system in America were more prone to psychological problems since their aggressive or confrontational behavior would only be met with hostility from the dominant society. Furthermore, they asserted that the frustration experienced would then lead many Blacks to become angry and depressed. Such notions

of Black maladjustment were advanced even into the 1970's and none so eloquently articulated as Mosby (1972) where, upon a review of his findings in a study using the MMPI on African Americans, he posited "As a result of continuous repressive restrictions, inferiority perceptions, and internalized inadequacies, Blacks at best achieve a precarious mental balance and such a state leaves them to be no more than fragile human beings."

Even contemporary social scientists investigating Black mental health argued that strong identification with their racial group can place African Americans at risk for adverse effects associated with the stigma attached with being Black (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Penn, Gaines, and Phillips, 1993). The assumption that African Americans were maladjusted and suffered from an inferiority complex and low self-esteem went virtually unchallenged until the late 1960s and early 1970s when researchers challenged this assumption on conceptual and methodological grounds (Banks, 1972; Gynther, 1972; McAdoo, 1974; Wells, 1978). Wells, in her meta-analysis of 83 studies on Black self-concept, contended that there were two major problems inherent in many of the early studies on Black self-concept: 1) the problem of a consistent conceptual definition of self-concept and self-esteem and 2) the problem of the validity of the instruments used to measure Black self-concept. Also, she noted that, even as psychometric instruments were created to measure self-concept in African Americans, problems remained in terms of the low numbers of African Americans sampled in the early construction of the scales (Wells, 1978). McAdoo (1974), consistent with Wells, clearly pointed out the deficiencies in the early studies on Black self-esteem. Both suggested that the inability of the early studies to adequately assess the relationship between racial identity and self-esteem might be due

to researchers' inability to employ more than one method in such studies. Whether it be faulty methodology or racist ideology, negative assumptions about Black psychological functioning have been pervasive throughout the Black social sciences literature. Such problems have also been prevalent in research comparing the results for African Americans with those for Whites on the MMPI and other instruments wherein African Americans obtained significantly higher scores than do Whites on scales measuring non conformity, alienation, and impulsivity (Gynter, 1972). Gynther (1972) stated that clinicians often interpreted these differences as indications that African Americans were more maladjusted than Whites.

More recent studies on Black psychological well-being contradict the earlier position taken by social scientists (Carter, 1991; Chambers, et. al, 1998). Gibbs (1985) found that the key factor for the level of a Black child's self-esteem was the general attitude held by significant others toward him. According to Gibbs, parents, teachers, and peers were significant others for Black children and, by extension, Black adults and the Black community. When these significant others were African American, a Black social context was the primary source of social comparison and self-evaluation, an evaluation that was often positive. Barnes (1972) argued that, under certain conditions, the Black family and community can act as mediators or filters of negative racist images and messages for the Black child or youth, and such a context may be conducive to maintaining and creating psychological well-being.

Defining African American psychological well-being

Although much of the literature on Black psychological functioning is replete with examples of psychopathology, a discussion of what constitutes healthy psychological

functioning for African Americans, or even White Americans for that matter, has rarely been tabled. A careful review of the literature, early and contemporary, on psychological functioning reveals that there is still a need for conceptual clarity on what constitutes psychological health. Therefore, social scientists are still at a point where they do not know what it means to be psychologically healthy. Thus, the following section will be an attempt to shed light on the various models and conceptualization of psychological well-being and mental health.

Akbar (1991) suggested that classification and description of African American mental health have failed to utilize one of the few "universals" associated with a meaningful definition of mental health. He further stated that a suitable definition of mental health should have as its origins the unalterable laws of physical life. Given this position, one of the primary axioms for physical life is that physical health for an organism means that its natural tendency to maintain life and perpetuate itself is functional. Therefore, physical illness for an organism would occur when forces within or outside the physical body begin to threaten the organism's natural propensity to live and survive (Akbar, 1991). According to Akbar, if one were to follow this line of logic and inquiry and transpose this concept to psychological health, then mental health would be reflected in those behaviors, which foster mental growth and well-being. Using Akbar's (1991) conceptualization, mental illness would then be the presence of ideas or forces within the mind that threaten awareness and actualization. According to Akbar (1991), if social scientists are to extend this line of logic to an extended concept of self, proposed by Nobels (1973), then they have to advance the notion that mental illness is seen as any behaviors or ideas, which threaten the survival of the collective self or tribe.

By placing this definition in an ecological context, wherein a critical cultural critique of collective behavior is in order, one can understand the classification of an entire society as mentally ill if that society, according to Nobels (1973), were entrenched in a set of ideas and behaviors geared toward the control, domination, and oppression of the people within that society. Although such an analysis is not the focal point of the current study, an adequate assessment, by mainstream psychologists, of the degree to which this society creates conditions, which foster pathology and stifle emotional and psychological development, especially that of the oppressed, is overdue. However, as noted, that is subject for another line of inquiry.

In regards to what constitutes healthy psychological functioning, Akbar (1991) stated, "Traditional definitions of mental health in the Western world have been normative definitions." He further posited that there exists a considerable uncertainty as to what constitutes a normal human being. In an effort to discern healthy mental behavior from unhealthy, he advances the notion that a democratic sanity has been established. Thus, according to Akbar (1991), a consensus among clinicians and human service professionals has been established to create a definition of what constitutes adequate mental functioning. As a result, mental health practitioners determine insane behavior on the basis of the degree to which it deviates from the majority behavior in a given context. By employing this line of logic, we have to conclude that the concepts of healthy, or normal, and unhealthy, or abnormal, are only meaningful with reference to the defining culture (Akbar, 1991).

Lazarus (1975) provided further support for this position in his comprehensive review of existing models and research on psychological health. He posited that there

were two important issues that must be assessed before discussing a model of psychological health. First, Lazarus pointed out a central issue, the role of values and culture. He suggested that the critical reader or researcher must ask the question, what roles do the values of the theorist and the community have to do with determining the definition of psychological health? Secondly, he identified areas of consensus among theorists on central characteristics of psychologically healthy people. He identified five characteristics: 1) acceptance of self, 2) the ability to be intimate with others, 3) competence, 4) an accurate perception of reality, and 5) autonomy and independence (Lazarus, 1975).

Marie Jahoda's (1958) classic discussion of the six themes of positive mental health perhaps best represented the multiple criteria approach to psychological health. She suggested that positive mental health referred to the stance that psychological, or mental, health was more than the absence of symptoms of mental disorder. Psychological, or mental, health involved the presence of positive health characteristics. Based on the social science literature, Jahoda came up with six aspects of the healthy person: 1) positive and realistic attitudes towards the self, 2) growth and self actualization, 3) integration or balance of psychological forces and, consequently, stress resistance, 4) autonomy, 5) accurate perception of reality, and 6) environmental mastery of the ability to love work, play, and be efficient in problem solving (Jahoda, 1958). Both Jahoda (1958) and Lazarus (1975), in their assessment of mental health, proposed the idea that mental health and mental illness were culturally relative. However, mental health and mental illness differed in that the theoretical underpinnings, which drove or fueled their conceptualization of mental health so that it stressed the need for autonomy

and independence, were inconstant or contradictory to the concept of mental health offered by Akbar (1991).

Contrary to many European theorists, recent literature on African American mental health suggests that a positive sense of collective self, or group, a critical awareness of and belief that one can facilitate change in his/her respective context, and active involvement in efforts to bring about such change are also essential to Black mental health (Akbar, 1981; Nobels, 1986; Brookins, 1994). Consistent with that of the forementioned theorists, Ramseur (1991) further postulated the importance of a healthy collective self-concept and involvement within one's respective community in the assessment of African American mental health. He also outlined six characteristics that were essential to mental health for African Americans: 1) maintaining overall positive conception of self, 2) maintaining a positive conception of Blacks as a group and a positive sense of connection and involvement with the Black community and its culture, 3) maintaining an accurate perception of the social environment, including its racism, 4) adapting to both Black and White communities/cultures and using effective, non-destructive ways to cope with both, 5) developing and maintaining emotional intimacy with others, and 6) maintaining a sense of competence and an ability to work productively.

How successfully an individual confronts these issues and is able to discriminate between successful and dysfunctional adaptation may be the measure of psychological health for Blacks. In assessing the work of the aforementioned theorist, it became fairly evident that there were some agreements and disagreements in terms of what constituted mental health and/or, more specifically, what constituted healthy psychological

functioning for African Americans. In an effort to one provide conceptual clarity and, secondly, not to revisit those mistakes made by many White social scientists in their conceptualization and efforts to develop scales to assess psychological functioning in African Americans, measures that assess characteristics of psychological health and were standardized on a predominantly African American sample will be utilized in the present study. Thus, for the purpose of the present study, psychological well-being will be conceptualized utilizing two components, identified in the literature, found to be essential to healthy psychological development in African Americans.

Self-esteem and coping in African Americans

For years, social scientists have found healthy self-esteem, one's individual subjective evaluation of self and feelings of self-worth (Wells, 1978), and coping to be indicators of and essential in understanding psychological health for African Americans. Healthy self-esteem has been related to higher levels of competence (Maish, 1977) and higher academic achievement (Meyers, et al., 1991). For African Americans, active coping (efficacious mental and physical vigor, a commitment to hard work, and a single-minded determination to achieve one's goal) has been related to diastolic blood pressure (James, et. al., 1987) and many researchers suggest that healthy self-esteem and one's ability to cope may buffer one against the negative effects of racism (Ramsuer, 1991; Crocker, et al., 1998). Overall, these studies highlight the importance of self-esteem and coping in understanding psychological health for Black people. As noted, racial identity has been another factor related to psychological well-being for African Americans. For years, researchers have found that both self-esteem and coping have been related to racial

identity in African Americans (Lessing, 1973; Maish, 1977; Parham & Helms, 1985; Carter, 1991; Speight, et al., 1996; Chambers, et al, 1998; Sellers, et al., 1998).

Racial Identity

It is a peculiar sensation, this double consciousness, one ever feels his two ness- An American, A Negro; two souls, two thoughts, though unreconciled strivings two warring ideals in one dark body; whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder (W.E.B. Dubois, 1905).

Racial identity in African Americans is defined as the significant and qualitative meaning that individuals attribute to their membership within a Black racial group (Cross, 1971; Parham & Helms, 1985; Sellers, et al, 1998). The definition proposed addresses the following questions: 1) How important is race in the individual perception of self and 2) What does it mean to be a member of one's respective racial group (Sellers, et. al., 1998). Given the importance of history and culture on an individual's conception of self, Cross (1991) suggested that we use an ecological analysis to understand identity for African Americans.

Cross (1991) posited that, from a psychological perspective, the social history of African Americans had been dominated by two competing processes: 1) "de-racination", or the attempt of American culture to erase Black consciousness, thus impeding the development of a Black identity; or 2) successful cultivation of a Black identity through the awareness of America's racist practices and a firm understanding of issues facing the African American community. Cross further posited that a careful review of history pointed to the undeniable fact that White collective and institutional behavior toward Blacks indicated a deliberate effort to de-culturalize Blacks and erase from their consciousness any remnant of African identity or culture. Such behavior was evident in

the context of slavery where the newly arrived African was given a new name, forbidden to speak his or her native tongue, and prohibited from engaging in behaviors which affirmed his or her culture (Aptheker, 1943). Current assessments of the educational system also pointed to the continued de-racination or mainstreaming of African Americans wherein each day the young Black child was educated in a context that did not resemble or reflect his cultural or historical reality. Furthermore, he was told to exhibit behaviors and was exposed to images, which affirmed and reinforced European or White culture and negate African culture. This deliberate de-culturalization and mis-education of African Americans not only led to a lack of appreciation for and confusion about African culture, but they also left African Americans pondering the questions: Who am I? How do I fit within American culture? Therefore, Cross (1991) and other social scientists suggested that many Blacks prior to understanding their Blackness exist in a state of de-racination, wherein many assume that being Black is not important to their self-concept, and some may harbor negative views of Blacks as a collective due to the negative stereotypes and negative value placed on being Black in the dominant society.

The earliest attempts to assess Black identity were undertaken during the height of the Black Power Movement, which lasted from 1968-1975 (Cross, et. al., 1991). Many of the early studies on Black identity were consistent with the type, or stage-typic, conceptualizations of personality prevalent in social and personality psychology, wherein racial identity theorists identified and differentiated between the traditional Negro and the Black militants (Milliones, 1973). Needless to say, such a conceptualization was not only overly simplistic and inadequate for understanding the complexity of Black identity or personality, but it postulated the idea that Black identity development was dependent

upon the perception and behavior of Whites. By 1970, more developmental theories of Black identity were being created. Although similar in construction to the stage-typic models, placing Black people into rigid categories of blackness, offered by earlier researchers, these developmental models suggested that Black identity was not static and should be understood from a developmental perspective, taking into account the experiences of racism and one's evaluation of such experiences (Thomas, 1971; Milliones, 1973; Jackson, 1975; Cross, et al., 1991).

The stage-typic theories have gained prominence in the literature on racial identity and race-related behavior, and for the last thirty years, a number of studies have been conducted using the stage-typic conceptualization (Helms, 1986; Jefferson, 1996). This stage-typic conceptualization, based on Cross' nigrescence theory of 1971, is an attempt to explain the development of identity in a racist context or, as Cross posited, psychological liberation under oppressive conditions (Cross, 1971). Stage-typic theories usually have four to five stages, which explain an individual's progression from a state of a weak Black identity, where one is dependent upon the dominant society for self-definition and worth, to that of a strong Black identity, which is defined independently of White perception and stereotypes. Consistent with that of Cross, both Thomas' (1971) and Jackson's (1975) theories of Black identity development proposed that identity development for Blacks evolved through a series of steps or stages wherein one is not conscious of his blackness to a state where being Black becomes central to the personality.

As noted, over the last twenty years, a number of studies have been conducted on racial identity in African Americans. Researchers have found that racial identity is not

only related to better psychological outcomes for African Americans (Carter, 1991; Munford, 1994; Arroyo & Zigler, 1995), but it is also related to higher academic performance (Baldwin, et al., 1987) and lower levels of alcoholism, as well as increased enrollment in Black Studies courses (Sellers, et al, 1998). Baldwin, et al.'s (1987) study of racial identity and academic performance on African Americans on both Black and White campuses found that African Americans who identified more with the African American community performed better in college than those who did not. Carter (1991) found that African Americans who were low in racial identity had higher levels of depression and reported higher rates of alcoholism. Munford (1994) in her assessment of ethnic identity, acculturation, and psychological well-being found that African Americans who reported lower levels of racial identity also reported higher levels of depression and lower levels of self-esteem. The findings suggested that racial identity may not only predict the degree of one's acculturation, but it also lends support to the argument that developing a strong racial identity may be psychologically protective for African Americans.

Other studies on racial identity have found racial identity to be related to involvement in Black cultural activities and student organizations (Lessing & Zagorin, 1973; Cheatem, 1990; Mitchell & Dell, 1992; Sanders-Thompson, 1999). Lessing and Zagorin (1973) found that Black students who had high racial identity were more likely to be involved in Black student organizations. Cheatem, et al. (1990) found that individuals who were involved in cultural activities in the Black community scored higher on measures of racial identity. Consistent with the findings of Lessing and Zagorin (1973), Mitchell and Dell (1992) found that African American college students' racial identity

attitudes were related to their participation in cultural or non-cultural events on campus. Students who were more pro-Black or had higher degrees of racial identity were more likely to engage in cultural activities than those individuals who were low in racial identity. Sanders-Thompson's (1999) study of African Americans also found racial identity to be related to a higher degree of racial socialization and interactions with other African Americans.

Operationalizing racial identity

As noted, over the last two decades, the literature on race-related attitudes has been dominated by the racial identity literature. However, there was a good deal of disagreement among scholars regarding the conceptualization of racial identity in African Americans. For example, many researchers disagreed with the widely used stage-typic conceptualization of racial identity proposed by Cross (1971) and Parham and Helms (1985) on the grounds that such a model of racial identity purported the idea that pro-Black attitudes were not cultivated until an individual experienced a racial provocation and successfully navigated each of the stages of transformation proposed by Cross (1971). Other researchers have questioned the model's ability to assess differences in racial identity across various contexts suggesting that pro-Black attitudes may be harbored and articulated more depending on the setting in which the African American individual resided (Sellers, et al, 1998). African-centered psychologists have criticized these stage-typic models on the grounds that any assessment of Black identity should begin with Africa as its foundation (Azibo, 1983; Nobles, 1986; Kambon, 1992). African-centered scholars suggest that Black behavior and psychological functioning are culturally based, and any assessment of Black psychological development should begin with Africa and the

African American community as its point of reference, not the White community nor its racism. Thus, they argue for measures that are rooted in and reflect an African American reality. From a review of the literature, there is great deal of debate regarding this issue.

To bring conceptual clarity to the study of racial identity, many contemporary scholars began to call for a multidimensional view of racial identity that encompasses items that measure not only whether one identifies with being Black, but it should also assess whether an individual has positive feelings toward Blacks as a group (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Burlew & Smith, 1991; Sellers, et. al., 1998). Therefore, the following section will attempt to outline the subtle distinctions and similarities of the various measures of racial identity. Burlew and Smith's (1991) review of the various measures of racial identity categorized the instruments into four major groups: developmental approach, Afrocentric approach, group-based approach, and measures of racial stereotype.

Burlew and Smith (1991) suggested that these four categories provided guidelines for researchers interested in racial identity and race-related attitudes. The *developmental approach* is characterized by an individual's progression through various stages. Cross' (1979) Stages Questionnaire and Parham and Helms' (1985) Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS), two of the most widely used racial identity measures, represent the developmental approach. Each instrument assesses the four theoretical stages of identity development: pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization. Thomas (1970) and Cross (1971), in their early investigation of race-related attitudes, provided the groundwork for much of the developmental racial identity measures (Burlew & Smith, 1991). Cross (1971) posited that, in order to fully develop a Black identity,

African Americans go through four stages. The first stage, pre-encounter, was characterized by an individual having anti-Black and pro-White attitudes. In this particular stage, an individual has denied his blackness and did not feel a need to be connected to the Black community. In the encounter stage, the development of a Black identity was, most often, preceded by a negative experience in which the previously held race neutral or pro-White/anti-Black position was challenged and reevaluated. The third stage, immersion/emersion, was characterized by an increased need to learn more about Black culture and Black people. Also, one made a conscious effort to develop social networks with only Black people. During this particular stage, a Black consciousness began to develop, and an individual became aware and concerned about the social and political systems effecting Black people. Continued strong pro-Black attitudes and a decrease in anti-White feelings characterized the fourth stage, internalization. Interracial contact was renewed. However, a strong commitment to the Black community was constant (Cross, 1979).

Burlew and Smith (1991) asserted that their second category, the *Afrocentric approach* to personality, assumes that adherence to a set of beliefs consistent with an African worldview is the optimal state for people of African descent. Thus, those individuals who are more Afrocentric in their orientation experience dissonance from the inevitable conflict between their orientation and the natural order of self (Nobles, 1986; Baldwin, 1992). Burlew and Smith (1991) stated:

Underlying these measures is the assumption that the healthy Black personality has incorporated at least a moderate level of traditional African values that, otherwise, might have resulted naturally without Western intervention as well as the ability to make

culturally appropriate accommodations to Western oppression (p. 57).

The African Self-Consciousness Scale is one of the most widely used Afrocentric measures of racial identity. The African Self-Consciousness Scale (ASCS) is a 42-item scale. The measure was derived from Baldwin's Afrocentric Theory of Black Personality, which posited that a healthy Black personality 1) had a strong biogenetic propensity to affirm African American life, 2) placed a high priority on the survival of African American institutions and culture, and 3) participated in activities that promote the survival, dignity, worth, and integrity of African people.

The *measures of racial stereotyping approach* assesses the degree to which an individual has internalized the negative images and stereotypes of his racial group. These types of scales examine a person's perception of members of his ethnic group. They differ from the developmental measures in that they do not assess the degree to which an individual considers race important to his self-concept. Taylor, et al.'s, (1972) Nadinolization Scale and Matthews and Prothro's (1966) Racial Stereotype Index both measure stereotypic attitudes historically held by Whites toward Blacks. Such scales ask participants to respond in agreement or disagreement to such items as "African Americans are more ignorant than Whites". Other similar scales include the Cultural Mistrust Inventory (Taylor & Terrell, 1991) and Stephen and Rosenfield's (1979) Stephen-Rosenfield Racial Attitude Scale.

The fourth, and final, category of racial identity measures, the *group-based approach*, is more comprehensive in that it measures one's affiliation or allegiance to one's racial group. Burlew and Smith (1991) posited that these measures seem to tap the

presence or absence of a sense of affiliation with one's racial group, one's evaluation of one's self and others as members of that group, and a commitment to the objectives of a specific movement or activist organization within the African American community. Furthermore, Burlew and Smith (1991) alleged that the group-based approach differed from the developmental approach in that it lacked the focus on a changing or stage-typic definition of self and Black identity inherent in the developmental approach. Also, the group-based approach differed from the Afrocentric approach because the African-centered philosophical orientation was not necessarily the foundation underlying the allegiance to the Black community. Banks' (1970) Black Consciousness Scale (BCS) and Wilderson's (1979) Black Awareness Scale are examples of group-based approaches in that they are effective in measuring an individual's allegiance and coalition with his racial group.

Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity

The instrument employed to measure racial identity in the current study, the MIBI, although multi-dimensional in nature, is consistent with the group-based measures of racial identity outlined in Burlew and Smith's (1991) categorization and assessment of the various instruments used to measure racial identity. The MIBI is consistent with the group-based racial identity measures, such as Davis' (1977) Black Group Identification Index, in that it measures the presence or absence of an allegiance to the Black community. However, the MIBI, like other group-based measures, differs from the developmental measures of racial identity, such as the Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS), in that it not only measures an individual's assessment of himself as a Black person, but it also assesses an individual's assessment of Black people worth as a

collective. The primary focus of the MIBI differs from the developmental approaches that it taps one's positive feelings toward and allegiance to the Black community. Thus the MIBI measures how important being Black is to one's self-concept, the degree to which one has positive feelings toward Black people as a group, and one's allegiance to the Black community, which goes beyond an assessment of how one feels about himself as a Black person. Thus, the MIBI, in its attempt to assess the complexity of racial identity for African Americans, may be more predictive of the actual behaviors in which one may engage in order to advance and maintain the Black community. Additionally, recent studies using the MIBI have found the measure to be positively related to acculturation, self-esteem, and other healthy psychological outcomes for African Americans (Sellers, et al, 1998; Helm, 2002).

The MIBI consists of three dimensions: a) centrality, the degree to which one feels that being Black is important to one's self-concept, b) private regard, the extent to which one feels positively or negatively towards Black people and their membership or allegiance to the group, and c) ideology, one's agreement with various race-related philosophies designed to address racism and oppression (assimilationist, humanist, oppressed minority, and nationalist). For the purpose of this study, only the centrality and private regard dimensions will be used. The rationale for only using the centrality and private regard components, and not the ideological component, of the MIBI is consistent with the position advanced by Malcolm X (Meier, et al., 1971) and a number of contemporary activists (Sharpton, 2000) in that such an investigation into and comparison of which ideological method one employs not only tease at old arguments among activists in the Black community, but they are divisive in nature and obscure our focus on the one

objective shared by each Black person, which is to be respected and recognized as a human being in this society, whether he be assimilationist, humanist, oppressed minority, or nationalist. Sellers, et al's (1998) Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity is an attempt to assess the complexity of racial identity for African Americans and proposes that the construct racial identity must be measured in such a way that it takes into consideration the influences of context, experience, and social location. Sellers, et al (1998) proposed that much of the research on racial identity has been dominated by the stage-typic conceptualization. The stage-typic, or developmental, conceptualization is one in which identity development for Blacks is dependent upon or initiated by a reckoning that one is Black. This reckoning that one is Black, suggested by many stage-typic racial identity scholars, is preceded by a stage where an individual feels that race is not important to one's self-concept. Thus, one does not identify with the Black community nor does one define one's self as being Black. Sellers, et al. (1998) proposed that the degree to which one feels that race is important to his/her self-concept is critical to understanding racial identity in African Americans. Thus, for the purpose of the present, the centrality subscale of the MIBI will be used to assess racial identity in African Americans. Sellers, et al. (1998) further proposed that private regard, or the views that one has about the African American collective, is separate from centrality and a key component of racial identity. Sellers, et al. argued that it is quite possible for one to feel that being Black is central to his/her self-concept and not have a positive view of Black people as a group and vice versa. Thus, in his theoretical conceptualization and empirical validation of the MIBI, he suggested that racial centrality and private regard are two independent constructs that reflect two independent dimensions of racial identity.

Thus, they should be assessed separately so that researchers can see the complexity of Black identity.

Both centrality and private regard have been found to be positively related to higher levels of self-esteem and self-concept in African Americans. Sellers, et al. (1998) found that centrality and private regard were positively related to self-esteem in African American college students. African American college students who felt that being Black was important to their self-concept and had positive views of Black people as a group had higher levels of self-esteem.

From an examination of the literature on racial identity and race-related attitudes, the literature suggested a need for a more comprehensive examination of the construct racial identity and factors related. Burlew and Smith's (1991) review of the various instruments used to measure racial identity and race-related attitudes among African-Americans brought clarity to the similarities and differences between the various measures of racial identity. Additionally, Sellers, et al.'s (1997) Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity advanced our understanding of the complex nature of racial identity by creating a measure that not only encompasses how one feels about being Black, but it also assesses how important being Black is to one's self concept and the positive feelings that an individual may have toward Black people as a group. Therefore, for the purpose of the present study, the MIBI will be employed to measure racial identity among the participants in the present study.

African American Psychological Well-being and Racial Identity

As noted, recent studies in the area of racial identity suggest that the development of a healthy racial identity may also be psychologically protective and an indicator of

positive mental health (Carter, 1991; Pyant & Yanico, 1991; Munford, 1994; Sells et al., 1998; Ford, 2001). In Pyant and Yanico's (1991) investigation of the relationship between racial identity and psychological well-being in African American female college students, they found that African American females who were higher in pre-encounter attitudes, characterized by anti-Black/ pro-White attitudes, also indicated a lower degree of well-being, as measured by the Psychological Well-being scale. In addition, these females indicated lower levels self-esteem, as measured by the Rosenberg Self-esteem scale, and higher levels of depression, as measured by the Beck Depression Inventory. Munford's (1994) study of the relationship between self-esteem, depression, and racial identity also lent support to the psychologically protective nature of developing a strong Black identity and pro-Black attitudes. Results of her study indicated that African American students who scored higher in the internalization stage of Parham and Helms' Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS) also had lower levels of depression. African American students who scored higher in the pre-encounter stage reported higher levels of depression. Although Munford's study did not find significant relationships between racial identity subscale and self-esteem, the study did support the researcher's hypothesis that the development of pro-Black attitudes may be psychologically protective for African Americans.

In Carter's (1991) study of the relationship between racial identity and psychological functioning, he also found that pre-encounter scores, characterized by anti-Black attitudes and acceptance of mainstream ideology, were positively correlated with higher levels of depression, anxiety, paranoia, and more alcohol-related problems. Both Carter's (1991) and Pyant and Yanico's (1991) findings were consistent with that of the

studies of the early Nigrescence theorists, such as Cross (1971) and Parham and Helms (1985a), which asserted that the denial of one's blackness, or African American culture, and acceptance of mainstream ideology may be associated with a variety of self-reported psychological stressors or symptoms. In Parham and Helms' investigation of racial identity and self-esteem in African American students, they found that encounter and immersion attitudes, characterized by higher pro-Black attitudes than the pre-encounter stage, which was characterized by pro-White/anti-Black attitudes, were positively correlated to self-esteem.

Consistent with the forementioned research studies, more contemporary investigations by Sellers, et al (1998) and Ford (2001) found racial identity to be positively related to self-esteem among African American college students. Using the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Inventory (MIBI), Sellers, et al. (1998) found that students who considered race important to their self-concept (racial centrality) and had more positive feelings toward Blacks as a collective had higher levels of self-esteem. Ford (2001), using Cross' stage-typic conceptualization (nigrescence) in an effort to assess the relationship between racial identity, depression, self-esteem, and anxiety, found that pre-encounter, or anti-Black/pro-White, attitudes were related to more negative psychological outcomes for African American college students.

Although there is a great deal of literature investigating the relationship between racial identity and self-esteem and a number of other psychological outcomes, few studies have investigated the relationship between racial identity and coping. Coping, or the ability to negotiate stressors, is key in understanding psychological health for African Americans, given that they live in a context or culture in which they are marginalized and

constantly appraising and negotiating challenges (e.g., poverty, racism, racial profiling, etc.) that disproportionately affect the ethnic group. Studies investigating the relationship between coping and racial identity have focused primarily on college students on predominantly White campuses. The primary focus of many of these studies was to assess how African American students negotiate the challenges of being in a predominantly White setting. Neville, et al. (1997), in a study of 90 African American college students, found that racial identity was related to coping and that the immersion/emersion phase of racial identity was a significant predictor of coping responses in African American students. Pierre's (2002) study of 130 African American men, using the RIAS and ASC, found that pre-encounter attitudes and low levels of ASC were related to psychological distress and African American men who used the White majority as a reference group for identification experienced more psychological distress.

The literature suggested that racial identity is positively related to psychological well-being, and African Americans who have higher degrees of racial identity reported better psychological outcomes. The question that remains is how do increased levels of racial identity lead to higher levels of self-esteem and coping. What factors facilitate this process? Such lines of inquiry may not only better help us understand the relationship between the two variables, but they may also provide valuable information on factors that may be conducive to or impede healthy psychological development. Thus, to bring clarity to the forementioned questions, the present study proposed that the degree to which African Americans feel that being Black is important to the self-concept would be directly related to self-esteem and more adaptive levels of coping. Additionally, the study

proposed that the degree to which one has a positive view of Black people as a collective would also be directly related to self-esteem and more adaptive levels of coping.

Psychological Empowerment

From a review of citizen participation literature on community involvement and self-help groups, empowerment seems to be a key factor in understanding why individuals are motivated to bring about change and improve themselves as well as their communities. Zimmerman (1995) posited that empowerment, as a process and theory, links individual well-being with that of a larger socio-political context. He further suggested that psychological empowerment connects mental health to mutual help and collective action because it changes the way we think about pathology and social problems. It moves the social scientist to thinking about psychological health instead of illness, competence instead of deficits, and strengths instead of weaknesses (Zimmerman, 1995). His definition is consistent with that of the Cornell empowerment group (1989), which defines empowerment as:

An intentional ongoing process centered in the local community, involving mutual respect, critical reflection, caring, and group participation, through which people who lack an equal share of resources gain greater access to and control over those resources.

Rappaport (1987) described empowerment as a process by which people gain control over their lives and democratic participation in the life of their community. Social scientists who study empowerment describe it as a process that develops over time and can be seen across various contexts. Many researchers of empowerment suggest that it is a multileveled construct and can occur in a number of different contexts (Rappaport, 1987; Spreitzer, 1995; Dalton, et al., 2001). Zimmerman (1995) suggested that

empowerment can occur in individuals, organizations, and communities. For example, an individual in a neighborhood can become empowered through taking on leadership roles within an organization. Such a process was investigated by Keiffer (1984) in his study of 15 community activists from neighborhoods across the U.S. Keiffer found that the participants in his study gained a sense of empowerment through their involvement in their respective communities, whether or not they were successful in effectuating change. Interviewees in the study indicated that, through their involvement, they developed citizen participation skills and became aware of the social and political issues affecting their community as well as an ability to organize community resources. Additionally, an organization can empower its employees through a profit sharing program as well as letting employees play a part in making decisions within an organization. Spreitzer (1995), in an investigation of managers in a Fortune 500 company found that departments that were more employee-centered and allowed workers to play a role in decision making reported higher levels of empowerment than departments that did not provide the same support.

Empowerment-oriented intervention is not only focused on addressing social problems, but it becomes a process by which individuals become involved, develop skills, and become aware of their social context. Thus, from a review of empowerment literature, one may find social scientists describing empowerment as a state or construct as well as a process (Rappaport, 1981; Zimmerman, 1987; Zimmerman, 1995; Dalton, et al., 2001). A careful review of the literature suggested that there were a number of definitions of what empowerment is and how it evolves. Rappaport (1985) suggested that we, as social scientists, have trouble defining it, but we know it when we see it. He

suggested that it seemed to be missing in people who feel helpless and pervasive in those who are empowered and involved in effectuating change in their community. Rappaport (1985) further proposed that psychological empowerment had components that were both psychological and political and was seen in one's ability to have control over, and make a difference in, the world around him. For African Americans, historically, having a belief that one can change his/her environment is at the core of, and the expected outcome, all social change movements in the Black community. To be aware of issues that effect Black people and to be able to identify and mobilize resources needed to bring about change and address community concerns, have always been issues of key import in any social change efforts in the Black community. A historical view of psychological empowerment indicates that psychological empowerment for African Americans is more than a psychological belief that one can make change, but it also encompasses a set of behaviors geared toward bringing the community's desired goals to fruition.

Operationalizing empowerment

As noted, there are a number of definitions for empowerment, but Zimmerman (1995) provides the framework for better understanding the process and outcomes of such empowerment. He suggests that psychological empowerment has three components: 1) an intrapersonal component, where an individual feels that he/she has some sense of control over his/her environment and a certain degree of competence, 2) an interactional component, where one has a critical awareness about the issues effecting his/her community, an understanding of his/her socio-political context, and possesses the ability to identify and mobilize resources in his/her community. The third component is a behavioral component, which refers to the action taken by an individual to advance his

community and bring about change. Such behaviors include participation in events, voting, and organizing.

Although Zimmerman (1995) provided three components in understanding his conceptualization of psychological empowerment, for the purpose of the present study, only an assessment of the interactional component was assessed, and a measure relevant to the Black experience was created from his theoretical conceptualization. The rationale for not employing the interpersonal and the behavioral components was that the present study only wanted to focus on the cognitive and psychological processes that precede and dictate African American activism in their respective communities and not assess differences in locus of control or other personality differences among African Americans. The interactional component is reflective of the cognitive processes that precede one's activism and involvement in the African American community. Such cognitive processes as an increased consciousness or awareness of one's socio-political context have been found to be related to increased levels of activism. Banks (1970), employing the Black Consciousness Scale, found that a critical awareness of one's socio-political context was related to self-esteem. Barnes (1972) also found that Black consciousness and a critical awareness of issues that affect the Black community were related to higher levels of involvement in the community and higher levels of self-esteem. The rationale for not utilizing the behavioral component of Zimmerman's model was because the present study already employed a measure of activism that was more reflective of actual activist behavior among African Americans. Therefore, for purpose of the present study, psychological empowerment was defined in the following manner: 1) possessing a critical awareness about the issues effecting his/her community, 2) having an understanding of

his/her socio-political context, and 3) possessing the ability to identify and mobilize resources in the Black community. Therefore, psychological empowerment, for the present study, referred to Black people's understanding of the socio-political issues affecting their community, developing a critical awareness of their environment, and knowledge of the resources needed to facilitate change in their respective communities. Additionally, the interactional component of psychological empowerment includes the development of skills and the development of decision-making and problem solving skills.

For the purpose of the present study, the researcher proposed that the interactional component of psychological empowerment in African Americans would be directly related to racial identity as well as psychological well-being, and psychological empowerment would mediate the relationship between racial identity and psychological well-being. Thus, African Americans who identify with the Black community will have more of a critical awareness about the socio-political context in which they are embedded, be able to understand the causes for social impingements effecting their community, and be better at identifying, mobilizing, and managing resources needed to address concerns in and improve their community.

Psychological Empowerment and Psychological Well-being

Psychologists and other social scientists, for decades, have contended and advanced the notion that psychological empowerment is related to psychological well-being in that individuals who are conscious of their socio-political context, and have a belief that they can be instrumental in bringing about change, have better psychological outcomes (Hoffman, 1978; Lappe & Dubois, 1994; Borg, 1998; McClain, 2002).

Hoffman (1978), in his assessment of one's locus of control and commitment to the United Farm Workers Movement, found that there was a positive relationship between one's self-esteem and the belief that he or she could play a part in bringing about social change. Using Rosenberg's self-esteem scale on a sample of 122 Mexican American male seasonal farm workers, Hoffman found that their sense of commitment to the movement yielded better psychological outcomes. Borg's (1998) study, assessing the impact of health realization and empowerment on psychological well-being, found that community participants, who participated in a Health Realization Program designed to empower low-income families to be more aware of issues in the community affecting their health and information on resources available to assist them in addressing their health needs, reported better affective states and psychological outcomes in a pre-/post test design.

McClain (2002), employing Zimmerman's empowerment construct or model, found that intrapersonal, as well as behavioral, empowerment was positively related to psychological well-being. The Black women in the study who had higher degrees of empowerment reported higher levels of coping skills and perceived control. McClain (2002) proposed that the study may prove important and be applicable for Black women in organizations that are concerned with the impact of racism and sexism against Black women. From a review of the literature in community development, as well as mental health, the literature suggests that psychological empowerment is linked to better psychological outcomes. Researchers have consistently posited the therapeutic utility of such empowerment in organizing neighborhoods around community issues and its application in the health and counseling settings wherein programs developed to educate

one about his or her particular health needs or issues have led to increased awareness and a belief that one has some control over his or her respective psychological disorder or illness.

For the purpose of the present study, the researcher proposes that psychological empowerment will be positively related to psychological well-being and African Americans who have a greater awareness of their socio-political context, are able to understand the causes of issues effecting their community, and are able to identify resources in their community will report higher levels of self-esteem and active coping.

Psychological Empowerment and Racial Identity

From a review of literature on African American psychological functioning, a number of studies have been conducted assessing variables that are related to racial identity (Carter, 1991; Chambers, et al., 1998; Sellers, et al., 1998). Racial identity has been positively related to self-concept, depression, and academic achievement in African Americans, but few studies have been conducted to assess the relationship between racial identity and psychological empowerment. A number of theoretical, as well as empirical, reviews posit that increased awareness of one's socio-political situation and political efficacy are logical reactions of one's developing a strong racial identity. Banks (1970) and Lessing (1973) found that African American students who identified with the African American community were more conscious of the socio-political context in which Black people existed in America and were more apt, or empowered, to engage in efforts to facilitate change. More contemporary investigations of the relationship between racial identity and psychological empowerment by Thompson (1990) and Mcwherter (1999) found that the two were positively related. Thompson's (1990) study on factors effecting

African American identification found that African Americans who had high levels of racial identity not only were more active in social and political organizations to advance the Black community, but they also reported a critical awareness of issues effecting the Black community and a belief that they had some control over how these issues were effecting them. Mcwherter's (1999) study of African American mothers and their parenting styles found that their daughters reported higher degrees of self-efficacy when mothers stressed the importance of developing a high racial identity.

Thompson (1990) and other scholars suggested that this relationship may even be reciprocal in that increased levels of racial identity may prompt one to become more cognizant of information on the Black collective, and such increased awareness of the historical and cultural factors affecting Black life in America may lead to increased levels of identification with the Black community. From a review of the studies on racial identity and psychological empowerment in African Americans, a sense of identification and belongingness to one's respective community may lead to increased levels of consciousness and a belief that one can facilitate change. However, few contemporary studies have been conducted since the advent of the Civil Rights Movement. Such an assessment is imperative in that our understanding of this relationship may lead to the development of better models and strategies on how to motivate and organize Black people to engage in activist efforts.

Consistent with Zimmerman's (1995) conceptualization of the interactive component of psychological empowerment, the researcher proposed that stronger levels of racial identity, wherein an individual feels that being Black is important to his/her self-concept and, more importantly, covets positive views about Black people as a group,

would be related to one's developing a critical awareness about issues effecting the community and being abreast of and the ability to manage the resources needed to b about change in the Black community.

Psychological Empowerment: A mediator between racial identity and psychological being

As noted in the literature, psychological empowerment is related to both racial identity and psychological well-being. Researchers posited that a feeling of empowerment is a logical reaction to one's developing an increased identification with one's ethnic group, and empowerment has been related to better psychological outcomes. The question that remains is what role does psychological empowerment play in the relationship between the two variables. The present study proposes that psychological empowerment mediates the relationship between racial identity and psychological well-being. To better understand this relationship, the current line of logic is proposed. For example, individuals who consider race to be important to their self-concept and have a positive view of Black people as a group are usually more apt to read material on the cultural and history of Black people. Such a review reveals a history of greatness and struggle in spite of the oppression and social impingements placed upon Black people. Recognition of such history and struggle leads to a sense of pride and a feeling that one can overcome any obstacle no matter how seemingly insurmountable. This sense of pride and empowerment is seen throughout all Black protest literature and spirituals where Black people, likened to true existentialists, understand that life is what they choose to make it and realize that, through a recognition of the struggles that their ancestors have had to overcome, they too can make it. Additionally, to support the forementioned line

logic, individuals who develop a strong identification with their ethnic group, through a review of history, culture, and the social location of Black people in America, understand that it is important to develop 1) a critical awareness of the issues effecting Black people, 2) a clear understanding of how certain issues impact the Black community, and 3) an ability to identify individuals and resources needed to bring about change in their respective community. Furthermore, individuals who identify with the Black community are not only more apt to involve themselves in activities that reinforce, affirm, and celebrate Black culture and life, but such a context provides an opportunity for an individual learn skills from and be mentored by individuals who are involved in efforts to bring about change in the Black community. This recognition of one's history, culture, and those social impingements upon the Black collective, as well as a sense that one can bring about change through awareness and mobilization of resources, inspires a feeling of control over one's life and destiny and instills a sense of competence. Both, according to the literature, have been found to be predictors or indicators of psychological health. If we follow the forementioned line of reasoning, then activism or involvement in efforts to bring about change in one's community is the logical outcome. Then, we must ask the question, what role does one's active involvement in efforts to advance and maintain the Black community play in the relationship between racial identity and psychological well-being.

Black Activism

Our people have made the mistake of confusing the methods with the objectives. As long as we agree on the objectives we should never fall out with each other just because we believe in different methods or tactics or strategy.... We have to keep in mind at all times that we are not fighting for integration, nor are we fighting for separation. We are fighting for recognition as free humans in this society. Malcolm X (1963)

The following section on activism will provide the reader with a definition of activism and a brief history of efforts employed by people of African descent to counter racism and oppression here in America since the late 1950's. In addition, this section will discuss efforts undertaken by early and contemporary social scientists to empirically define and assess the construct activism for African Americans. For the purpose of this study, activism is defined as efforts one engages in to advance and promote changes in the political, economic, and social lives of Black people. This is determined through a person's consistent involvement in organizations whose purpose and goals are specifically designed to maintain, protect, and advance the Black community. The behavior of an activist is further displayed in one's tendency to speak out and organize around issues that are relevant to the survival of the Black community.

While the current discussion of activism only addresses those efforts employed by African Americans since the Civil Rights Movement, active resistance to racism has been central to the Black experience here in America (Maish, 1977; Livingston, 1999; Thomas, 2001). From the first uprising of slaves on the plantation to the current efforts exhibited by African Americans to end racism and advance the Black community,

individuals of African descent have been steadfast and consistent in their response to racism and structural strain. As Malcolm X so eloquently indicated, although the ideological positions and methods employed to advance the Black community have differed, a response has been consistent.

The Civil Rights Movement

Most historians would agree that the efforts employed by African Americans to secure the rights that many Americans enjoy today began earlier than the uprisings of the 1960's. The ideological thrust advanced and efforts employed by the NAACP and Marcus Garvey, most notably, at the turn of the century, laid the groundwork for much of the activism demonstrated during this particular scene of history. The successes by the NAACP, in regards to school desegregation at both the compensatory and the collegiate levels, gave Blacks better opportunities to receive better education and access into institutions of higher education in the 1960's (Meier, et al., 1971; Cone, 1993). These efforts, along with the work of the Southern Leadership Christian Conference, were instrumental in assuring Black participation in the mainstream economic and political processes in the South and organizing several marches and bus boycotts, most notably, the Birmingham and Montgomery bus boycotts (Cone, 1993). Through education, public awareness, and voter registration, they were successful in staging sit-ins at mainstream establishments that refused to serve Blacks and increasing voter participation in rural southern communities. By the mid-1960's, the work of the NAACP, SNCC, and CORE had garnered the support of both Whites and the Black middle class, and at this particular point, the Civil Rights Movement had reached national attention (Meier, et al., 1971; Cone, 1993).

By the late 1960's, individuals began to question whether the nonviolent strategies employed in the Civil Rights Movement were effective at challenging racism and segregation. At the international level, countries in East and West Africa were employing more violent and aggressive forms of activism to overthrow European colonial hegemony. Their successes and the speeches and writings of Patrice Lumumba and Kwame Nkruma were read by many young Blacks during this particular time, thus, creating a context for reevaluating the methods employed and the perceived gains of the Civil Rights Movement. This reevaluation of nonviolent activist strategies, the successes of many African countries in overthrowing European imperialism, and the inability of mainstream Americans to change as much and as fast as the young civil rights activists wanted, subsequently, led to the creation of the Black Power Movement.

Black Power Movement

Consistent with the ideological underpinnings of the Civil Rights Movement, the Black Power Movement began at the turn of the century. Karenga (1982) stated that Jamaican-born Marcus Garvey was the father of modern Black Nationalism and laid the groundwork for the Black Power Movement. Karenga also indicated that Garvey's message spoke to the needs of the masses of Black people and argued a larger strategy for liberation and a higher level of life for Blacks. Garvey wrote and spoke extensively on all four components of Black Power: economics, politics, religion, and culture. Economically, he advocated autonomy, arguing that "A race that is solely dependent upon others for its economic existence sooner or later dies" (Karenga, 1982). Thus, he advocated a need for factories, businesses, and commerce based on self-help and self-reliance in the Black community.

Politically, Garvey posited “Race first” as a principle theory and practice, i.e., an Afro-centric approach to the definition, defense, and development of Black interests. He used nation and race interchangeably and, thus, argued for a global Pan-Africanism which sought to free “Africa for the Africans at the home and abroad” (Karenga, 1982). Thus, he laid the theoretical basis for all subsequent Black power assertions. Likewise, his practice-politics, organization, and institution building have served as models for all subsequent nationalist thrusts (Karenga, 1982). Such a thrust had a profound impact upon the Nation of Islam, SNCC, and their various leaders (e.g., Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael). The “Black Power Movement”, embodying many of the political, economic, and social directives proposed by Garvey and Malcolm X, was conceived in response to a need for more effective and direct means to counter racism, structural strain, and, thus, was evidence of the continuity of Garvey’s philosophy in the 1960’s.

The inception of the Black Power Movement, as noted, also began as a response to the inability of the Civil Rights Movement to effectively dismantle racism and segregation. Thus, advocates of the Black Power Movement advanced the idea, consistent with Garvey and Malcolm X, that Black progress could only come through a Black independent movement concerned with community control and self-help. By the late 1960’s, the Black Panther Party for Self-defense had begun. Although portrayed in the media as violent, gun-toting militants, the Black Panthers were successful in organizing free-lunch programs and reading programs for Black people throughout the country. This theme of Black power articulated by the Black Panthers and some members of SNCC made its way into mainstream academic institutions. This theme was most notably expressed by the Black Student Union and the Third World Liberation Front who

were arguing for the creation of a Black Studies program and an increase of African Americans in the universities. This movement to create freestanding Black Studies programs soon became an issue for many activists on college campuses around the country, where students were arguing not only for Black Studies programs but also for changes in curriculum and hiring practices as they related to minorities (Meier, et al., 1971). By the mid-'70's, many of the Black power organizations had been destroyed or their membership had greatly decreased by various acts perpetrated by police forces and governmental agencies throughout the country (Meier, et al., 1971; Maish, 1977; Madhubuti, 1990; Harrell, et. al, 1991). The efforts of both the Civil Rights Movement and the Black Power Movement are both evidence of African Americans' consistent resistance to racism and oppression.

Contemporary activism

Although African Americans have achieved a great deal of advancement since the Civil Rights Movement and the passing of civil rights legislation, this theme of constant resistance is still evident among contemporary African Americans. One such activist is Jesse Jackson, who, for decades, has lobbied and advocated for better working conditions, access to higher education, and equal housing for African Americans. His relentless strive for social justice and self-pride were eloquently articulated when he stated, "I am somebody 'cause God don't make no junk" (Chicago Rainbow Coalition speech, 1972). This resistance and cry for social justice was also articulated in Los Angeles (1992) when the crowd in the Rodney King riots was destroying property and shouting, "No justice. No peace" (Los Angeles Times, 1992). Even at the state and local levels, African Americans all around the U.S. are still engaged in efforts to address racism and improve

the Black community. At the state level, in South Carolina, various Black leaders called for an economic boycott of South Carolina for continuing to fly the Confederate flag (Thomas, 2001). In North Carolina, at the local and grassroots levels, organizations such as the Urban League and Fighting Back are organizing neighborhood groups to address drugs, unemployment, poverty, and crime in their respective communities (National Urban League Report, 2002). At local levels throughout the country, neighborhood improvement associations are being developed in an effort to create better Black communities. Additionally, efforts are being made to create African-centered charter schools in an effort to address the public schools' so-called inability to educate Black children (Green, 1999). Even in the academic community, African American students and faculty are engaged in efforts to improve the educational experiences of African American students by challenging the administration to change curriculum and develop efforts to recruit more African American students as well as faculty (Jones, 2002). These are examples of African Americans' continued activism. Again, a review of Black people's history in America will point to a consistent effort to confront racism and protect and advance the Black community.

Operationalizing activism

As noted, active resistance to racism has been consistent throughout the Africans' experience in America. However, few attempts have been made to conceptually and empirically define Black activism. Initial attempts to empirically assess Black activism in African Americans were influenced by the social and political uprisings in the 1960's. Black and White social scientists were interested in understanding campus unrest and the

relationship between political activism and political orientation in Black and White college students.

Efforts to empirically assess activism were undertaken by Katz in 1967 when he sampled 451 African American students from a predominantly White university to assess their levels of activism and attitudes in relation to the Black student movement and the riots in urban areas throughout the country. Katz (1967) found that there were five types of activists among African American students: 1) radical activist, who was characterized by a long history of activism, 2) militant, who was characterized by materialism and less serious commitment to the Black community, 3) revolutionary, characterized by the value to which the individual places on being Black, 4) anomic, rebel without a cause, usually involved in gangs and less serious about educational advancement, 5) conforming Negro, took the passive role in the struggle, was an individual achiever with a nonpolitical philosophy, and was also non-involved. Although such an analysis of Black activist behavior seemed elementary and akin to that of personality assessment, this study represents one of the first attempts to empirically assess the construct. Kerpelman's (1972) review of the studies of Black activism in the late 1960's posited the notion that many of the studies were more speculative than empirical, and in many instances, the studies were contaminated by over-generalizations and the inability of White social scientists to differentiate actual activist behavior from that of the endorsement of a particular political ideology.

Contemporary assessments of Black activist behavior, as noted, is rooted in much of the citizen participation literature, wherein social scientists have assessed Black participation in the mainstream political process (Thomas, 2001). Thus, such behaviors as

voting and organizing for elections and lobbying for respective candidates have been assessed. Bobo and Gilliam's (1990) study is an example of such an assessment in which they investigated community and political participation in the Black community. Their study focused on two components of participation: political and community. The political participation component, or instrument, asked respondents questions about voting behaviors during the 1980 and 1984 elections and their campaign strategies such as attending meetings and fundraising. The community component assessed the degree to which African Americans were involved in developing community groups and organizing to solve community problems (Thomas, 2001). The study found that some African Americans described their participation in efforts to advance the Black community as being independent of their efforts to address issues in the Black community. Although these measures asked respondents about their involvement in the Black community at the grass root and local levels, they did not focus on what individuals were doing specifically to advance the Black community. Other attempts to assess Black activism were conducted by Zimmerman, et al (1992). The participation scale consisted of four measures of participation. The first measure assessed the number of organizations in which an individual was involved. The second measure assessed an individual's leadership role. The third component assessed one's level of involvement in a primary organization in which he or she was involved. The fourth measurement examined the number of community activities in which an individual participated. Respondents in the study were asked questions about actions they had taken to address a community issue, such as attending public meetings and writing public officials (Thomas, 2001). Consistent with Bobo and Gilliam (1990), Zimmerman, et al (1992) represented an attempt to assess

African Americans' level of involvement in the political process and municipal government, but they were inadequate in assessing those behaviors that Black people engage in specifically to advance the Black community.

Thomas (2001) suggested that such measures were too broad and inadequate in understanding the complexity of Black activism. She suggested that the scales did not ask respondents about their involvement in efforts to alleviate racism and problems specific to the Black community (Thomas, 2001). Such behaviors include involvement in programs or organizations specifically geared toward helping the Black community, contributing money to specific Black causes, i.e., United Negro College Fund, Black community centers fundraisers, registering Black voters for Black politicians, or contacting public officials to address an issue that one felt adversely effected the Black community. From a review of the earlier measures, many of them lack the complexity needed to understand Black activism and involvement. Such complexity can be seen in the African American community in the efforts of churches and community organizations to both participate in the mainstream political process by voting and rallying around candidates who support Black issues and, through their grass root efforts, address issues pertinent to the Black community.

Historically, such venues as the Black church and Black community organizations have been used to organize efforts to incite and facilitate change in the mainstream political process as well as address concerns specific to the African American community like police brutality, poverty, homelessness, and drug and crime prevention. Thus, Thomas (2001) and other scholars posited that an assessment of Black participation and activism should not only encompass voting behavior, but it should also investigate the

degree to which one was engaged in efforts to end racism and bring about social change in the Black community.

To address this lack of conceptual clarity presented by the early developers of activism scales and to address the lack of current research on Black activism in the literature, Thomas (2001) proposed the development of a measure of Black activism that measures what Black people do specifically to advance and maintain the Black community. Although she proposed that activism in the Black community should encompass the complexity or multidimensional nature of Black involvement, taking account that there are ideological components which undergird one's actions to enhance and protect the Black community as well as one's preference for social change, the most noted contribution to the literature on Black activism is that of her subscale that measures actual behavior one engages in to advance and maintain the Black community. Thomas (2001) proposed three dimensions: attitudinal, social change strategy preference, and behavioral. The behavioral component, Black activist participatory behavior, assesses actual behavior in which one engages in order to bring about change in the Black community. Items on this particular measure specifically ask individuals to indicate whether they have participated in efforts to bring about change in the Black community such as voting for Black politicians, organizing rallies, and raising money for Black causes. Although Thomas' (2001) Multidimensional Measure of Black Activism advances our understanding of the complex nature of activism within the African American community, by outlining the ideological positions which have undergirded strategies or types of activism employed to bring about change in the Black community, for the purpose of the present study, only the actual activist behaviors of the behavioral

dimension will be used to assess the relationship between racial identity, psychological empowerment, activism, and psychological well-being. Consistent with the argument proposed for not including the ideological component of the racial identity measure of the MMBI, the primary rationale for only employing the actual activist behavioral component to assess one's activism in the present study, and not the attitudinal and social change preference subscales, is that, again, such assessments are divisive and obscure the primary focus of the present study, which is to understand and assess specifically what Black people are doing for the Black community. Thus, for the purpose of the present study, the Black participatory subscale of the MMBA will be used to measure activism in African Americans.

Activism and African American Psychological Well-being

Consistent with that of the literature assessing the relationship between African American racial identity and activism, research elucidating the relationship between psychological well-being and activism has been understudied. Much of what is known about the relationship between psychological well-being and community activism for African Americans came from studies conducted in the 1960s and 1970s and contemporary community organizing and citizen participation literature on mainstream or non-minority populations, wherein researchers were suggesting that there may be a therapeutic utility in being active and involved in making changes in one's perspective community (Hilliard, 1974; Maish, 1977; Zimmerman, 1995). Hilliard's (1972) study comparing self-esteem of Black students who were active to those who were not active found that students who were active had higher levels of self-concept. He further suggested that they were more self-enhancing and were aware of their motives as by a

psycho-diagnostic interview (Hilliard, 1972). A review of contemporary studies on minority communities indicated that community activism and citizen participation lead to better psychological outcomes (Zimmerman, 1995; Lappe & Dubois, 1994).

Lappe & Dubois (1994) described this process in their assessments of the relationship between community and psychological empowerment in community activists where the potential activist developed a sense of belongingness and identification with a particular community. This belongingness led to heightened commitment, a critical awareness about issues affecting the community, a creation of support groups, and a context in which ideas were shared. Participants in both studies suggested that this involvement in the community gave them a sense of control over their community and individual circumstances which, in turn, gave them feelings of pride, serenity, and well being (Lappe & Dubois, 1994). Support for this relationship can be found in Fedi, et al.'s (2001) study of political activism and self-representation. In their study comparing 100 political activists to 100 non activists, they found that the activists reported higher levels of self-esteem and an internal locus of control.

The therapeutic utility of being active was found in Brashers, et al.'s (2002) study of social activism, self-advocacy, and coping with HIV illness. In their study of 170 activists and non-activists, they found that activists were not only better at coping with their illness, but they also reported better psychological outcomes. Although a number of studies have been conducted in an effort to assess the relationship between psychological well-being and racial identity in African Americans, contemporary studies investigating the relationship between psychological well-being and activism are limited as well as studies assessing the mediational role of activism between racial identity and

psychological well-being. Thus, there exists a need to elucidate the relationship under current psycho-political themes (e.g., desegregation, integration and enforcement of civil rights legislation). Such a line of inquiry, again, may not only broaden our understanding of the therapeutic nature of activism, but it may also better explain how racial identity and psychological well-being are related.

Activism and Racial Identity

As noted, there have been few contemporary studies assessing the relationship between racial identity and Black activism. Early attempts by social scientists to assess racial identity have investigated the relationship between racial identity and community activism (Lessing & Zagorin, 1970; Davidson, 1974; Maish, 1977). Lessing's (1973) study of Black power ideology and student activism found that African American students who identified with the Black community and were in agreement with pro-Black or race-first political objectives were more active at school and in their community. Davidson's (1974) study of Black group identification and activism found that Blacks who indicated that they were active in the Black community also identified with the Black community and were more likely to attend Black functions and socialize with African Americans. In Maish's (1977) study of activism, political orientation and mental health, she found that African Americans who were more active scored higher on measures of racial identity and race-related attitudes.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, there were a number of studies assessing the relationship between race-related attitudes and one's level of involvement in one's respective community. Black political orientation and Black consciousness were both related to activism in African American college students. Researchers found that African

American college students, who were in agreement with Black Nationalist objectives, were more active within their respective campuses and communities (Katz, 1967; Sigall & Page, 1970; Edwards, 1970; Kerperlin, 1972).

As noted, there has been very little contemporary research conducted on African American activism. Much of the contemporary literature has focused on participation in mainstream political process. Additionally, few contemporary studies have focused on the relationship between African American racial identity attitudes and community activism. Although the relationship between the two variables has been proposed and advanced or articulated as a logical response to developing a stronger racial identity in a number of recent theoretical reviews, few empirical studies amongst African Americans have been conducted to support this relationship (Kambon & Hopkins, 1993; Livingston, 1999).

Although empirical support for this relationship has been supported by studies conducted during the 60's and at the height of the Black Power Movement, the question that remains concerns the relationship between racial identity and community activism under current psycho-political themes. Does heightened identification with the African American community and a conscious awareness of the social and political impingements that the African American community faces compel one to become active? Does this increased identification lead to an ideological commitment to race-first objectives and, thus, a commitment to challenging racism and advancing the Black community through collective action? Furthermore, since much of the literature on racial identity suggested that identifying with one's ethnic group and maintaining pro-Black attitudes were associated with psychological well-being for African Americans, is being active within

one's respective community associated with better psychological outcomes for African Americans?

Activism: A mediator between racial identity and psychological well-being

As noted in the literature, activism is related to both racial identity and psychological well-being (Maish, 1977). Researchers during the height of the Black Power Movement found that activism was related to stronger levels of racial identity and better psychological outcomes. The question that remained was what role does activism play in the relationship between the two variables. The present study proposed that activism mediates the relationship between racial identity and psychological well-being. To better understand this relationship, the current line of logic was proposed. For example, individuals who consider race to be important to their self-concept and have a positive view of Black people as a group are usually more apt to read material on the culture and history of Black people. Such a review of history outlines centuries of European hegemony, encroachment, slavery, lynching, rape, murder, and other forms of oppression. A reckoning of the forementioned leads to one undeniable fact: Active resistance to the forementioned impingements have been integral to the lives of people of African descent in this country. In fact, to put it plainly, to be born Black in America is to be born into a struggle for the very right to exist as a human. Thus, from a reckoning of this historical reality, one not only becomes aware of such history, but one is also compelled to become cognizant of contemporary issues effecting the vitality and advancement of the Black community. Thus, one is compelled to get involved in efforts to facilitate change in the Black community.

This activism gives one a sense of purpose and reinforces the notion to be committed to the struggles and plight of Black people in spite of what setbacks might occur. This notion of commitment and resiliency in the face of defeat was eloquently articulated by Ralph Ellison when a reporter asked about some of the setbacks of the Civil Rights Movement. Ellison responded by suggesting that, in spite of setbacks, Black people as a whole have to proceed with cautious optimism. Such an assertion articulates the belief that Black people, as a collective, have to continue to fight for their right to exist and thrive in this culture through collective action, vigilance, and a commitment to advancing the Black community. This commitment to the community and efforts taken to better the condition of one's respective community lead one to reevaluate self, and this reevaluation of self is positive due to the investment that one has made in bettering his or her respective community. Additionally, a logical reaction to such activism is the development of competencies and a belief that one can control and master one's environment. This positive reevaluation of self and sense of control over one's life and environment through activism are both indicators of psychological health. Such involvement and altruistic extension of one's self has been argued by both Black and White theorists for decades (Adler, 1964; Erickson, 1982; Ramseur, 1991).

Activism and Psychological Empowerment

Social scientists, as well as activists and organizers in their respective communities, have posed the simple question concerning how one can motivate individuals to get involved in efforts to address and community and social issues in an effort to bring about change. From a review of the citizen participation literature, social scientists have found psychological empowerment to be positively related to activism

(Keiffer, 1984; Lappe & DuBois, 1994; McMillan, et al., 1995). These studies show that individuals who are aware of issues facing the community and have a belief that they can better their communities will be more likely to engage in organizations and activities to advance those communities. A careful review of the literature also reveals the fact that, by embedding one's self in such involvement and activism, one becomes more psychologically empowered as well. Keiffer's (1984) study of 15 activists discussed the process. Participants in the study suggested that psychological empowerment was an outcome of their involvement, and evidence of this empowerment is seen in a new awareness of issues affecting their community, a critical understanding of why and how certain issues impact their respective communities, and the development of new skills and competencies needed to facilitate change. McMillan, et al. (1995), in support of the forementioned assertions, found that empowerment was related to one's participation level among 260 participants in a community task force. Individuals in the study who participated in more activities and were more involved in the organization's effort to address community issues reported a stronger sense of empowerment. McMillan, et al. (1995) suggested that, since empowerment is strongly related to one's participation, organizers interested in getting individuals involved and active within their respective communities should provide members and perspective members with a variety of activities to facilitate such empowerment.

As noted, from a review of the literature on psychological empowerment, psychological empowerment and activism were found to be related in mental health populations as well as community organizing and development efforts (Lappe & DuBois, 1994). However, few have investigated the relationship between empowerment and

activism. Studies that have been conducted have assessed the relationship between psychological empowerment and Black people's participation in the mainstream political process. The purpose of the present study is to assess whether African Americans' awareness of their sociopolitical context, awareness of causes of issues impacting their community, and ability to identify and mobilize resources needed to bring about change are related to what Black people specifically do to advance, maintain, and protect the Black community.

Overview of the Current Study

Rationale

The purpose of the present study was not only to examine the relationship between racial identity, psychological empowerment, Black activism, and psychological well-being, but it also a) challenged the self-hate assumption, b) provided a better understanding of the relationship between psychological well-being and racial identity by identifying factors that may mediate that relationship, and c) advanced our understanding of racial identity by employing a measure that captured the multidimensional nature and complexity of racial identity for African Americans.

A review of the literature on racial identity has shown a positive relationship between racial identity and psychological well-being among African Americans (Pyant and Yanico, 1991; Munford, 1994; Chambers, et. al, 1998; Sellers, et al., 1998). A review of the literature on racial identity and activism suggested that African Americans who identified themselves as Black, maintained a positive conception of Blacks as a group, and had a heightened awareness of oppressive conditions in the Black community were more active within their respective communities (Barnes, 1972; Maish, 1977;

Kambon, 1993; Blash and Unger, 1995). Although few studies have been conducted to assess the relationship between racial identity and psychological empowerment, theoretical reviews suggested that heightened psychological empowerment may be a logical outcome for individuals who identified with the Black community and became aware of the social impingements effecting their community (Kambon, 1993). A review of the citizen participation literature suggested that psychological empowerment is related to activism in that individuals with higher levels of psychological empowerment are more likely to be involved in their community (Lappe & DuBois, 1994). Additionally, studies on mutual help and self-help found that contexts that had the elements of psychological empowerment were related to better psychological well-being (Maton & Salem, 1995). These studies not only challenged the early studies that advanced the Black self-hate assumption, but they also suggested that African Americans who identified with the Black community, had positive perceptions of Black people in general, and were empowered and active in effectuating change had more positive psychological outcomes.

Thus, the purpose of the present study was to empirically assess the mediating roles of psychological empowerment and activism in the relationship between racial identity and psychological well-being by proposing the following research questions and hypotheses:

Research Question 1: Is racial identity related to better psychological outcomes for African Americans? The literature on racial identity showed that racial identity is related to psychological well-being in African Americans (Helms & Parham, 1985; Chambers, et al., 1998; Sellers et. al, 1998). Thus, African Americans who were high in racial identity reported better psychological outcomes.

Hypothesis 1: Racial identity was expected to be positively related to psychological well-being. Thus, the present study proposed that higher levels of racial identity would be related to psychological well-being among African Americans. The proposed relationships between sub-dimensions of these variables were as follows:

- 1a. Racial centrality will be positively related to self-esteem.
- 1b Racial centrality will be positively related to active coping.
- 1c. Private regard will be positively related to self-esteem.
- 1d. Private regard will be positively related to active coping.

Research question 2: How are racial identity and psychological well-being related?

What factors mediate the relationship between racial identity and psychological well-being? Although the literature posited a direct relationship between racial identity and psychological well-being, few studies have elucidated how the two are related. The present study proposed that the relationship between racial identity and psychological well-being is mediated by psychological empowerment as well as activism.

Hypothesis 2: The relationship between racial identity and psychological well-being will be mediated by psychological empowerment.

- 2a. Psychological empowerment will mediate the relationship between centrality and self-esteem.
- 2b. Psychological empowerment will mediate the relationship between centrality and active coping.
- 2c. Psychological empowerment will mediate the relationship between private regard and self-esteem.

2d. Psychological empowerment will mediate the relationship between private regard and active coping.

Hypothesis 3: The relationship between racial identity and psychological well-being will be mediated by activism.

3a. Activism will mediate the relationship between centrality and self-esteem.

3b. Activism will mediate the relationship between centrality and active coping.

3c. Activism will mediate the relationship between private regard and self-esteem.

3d. Activism will mediate the relationship between private regard and active coping.

Research question 3: What is the relationship between psychological empowerment and activism? Do increased levels of psychological empowerment lead one to become more active within his/her respective community? The literature on psychological empowerment suggested that a conscious awareness of conditions effecting one's community and a belief that one can exert some control over issues effecting his/her community led one to be more active (McMillan, et al, 1995).

Hypothesis 4: Psychological empowerment will be positively related to activism.

Chapter 2

Methodology

Design

The present study was designed to assess the relationship between racial identity, psychological empowerment, activism, and psychological well-being in African Americans who are 18 years of age and older. A series of regressions were employed to assess the direct and mediating relationships between the independent predictors, racial identity (centrality and private regard), psychological empowerment, activism, and psychological well-being, in a sample of 187 African Americans from a Midwestern community.

Power Analyses

A power analysis was conducted to ascertain the minimum detectable effect size given the fixed study parameters. The minimum detectable effect size is .26 when alphas and power are set at the conventional levels (0.05 and 0.80, respectively) with the smallest group size being 200. Lipsey and Wilson (1993), in their classic meta-analysis, found that the average effect size in studies of psychological adjustment was .59, with a median of .53 and a mode of .25. The median effect sizes were between 0.02 and 0.51. In the current study in order to get a medium effect size power is set at .80 and alpha is .05 a sample 102 was needed. The sample size appropriate for the Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) is 200 according to Tabachnick & Fidell (2000).

Participants

In an effort to assess the relationship between racial identity, activism, psychological empowerment, and psychological well-being, a convenience sample of 206

African Americans (61% women and 39% men) from the Greater Lansing church community was recruited. Participants solicited to participate in the present study were self-described as African American, with a mean age of 42.16 (See Table 1). Data collected from individuals who identified themselves as Caribbean or African were omitted from the current study.

Because African Americans represent less than 20% of the population in the greater Lansing area and are dispersed throughout the Greater Lansing community, selection of participants for the study was conducted in venues in which African Americans frequent or congregate on a weekly basis. Initially, 206 participants were solicited. However, due to missing data and the omission of participants who did not identify themselves as African Americans, 19 participants were removed from the sample. Of the 206 participants, six did not self-identify as African American. Two participants did not meet the age criteria of the study. Eleven participants were omitted from the study because they either failed to complete one of the surveys or did not complete at least half of the items on any of the scales. Thus, for the purpose of this investigation, 187 African Americans were recruited from the African American church community at church services as well as church sponsored and affiliated events such as Bible study, choir rehearsal, revivals, and meetings. Key church informants and clerical staff indicated that additional venues from which to solicit participants should include church celebratories, picnics, festivals, debutantes, and talent shows. They suggested that participants would be more amenable and have more time to finish the evaluation. Thus, such venues were included for solicitation of participants.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics for African American Church Sample

Variable	Mean	SD	n	
Age	41.71	15.57	187	
Gender				
Female	40.92		113	60.4%
Male	42.91		74	39.6%
Racial Composition of Neighborhood				
75-100% African American			60	32.1%
50-74% African American			33	17.7%
25-49% African American			36	19.2%
less than 25% African American			57	30.3%
na			1	0.5%
Pretax income				
15,000 or less			17	9.1%
15,001-30,000			25	13.3%
30,001-45,000			25	13.3%
45,001-60,000			35	18.7%
60,001-80,000			24	12.8%
80,001-100,000			27	14.4%
over 100,000			32	17.1%
na			2	1.1%
Participants' Level of Education				
8 th grade or less			1	0.5%
some high school			1	0.5%
high school grad			8	4.3%
some college			61	32.6%
college grad			50	26.7%
grad school			66	35.2%
Consider Self an Activist				
Activist			77	41.2%
Non-activist			104	55.6%
No response			6	3.2%

Procedures

Training of research assistants

To assist in the collection of data on campus and entering data for analysis, seven undergraduate students were trained in interviewing and data entry. Each assistant was given instruction on how to collect the data and to ensure and protect the confidentiality of participants. Assistants were specifically instructed to give participants a signed copy of the consent form and to place the additional copy in an envelope separate from the surveys administered to participants. Assistants were instructed that consent forms were to be kept in a locked and secured area in the research office.

Only the dissertation chair, principal investigator, and research assistants have access to the data kept in the research office. Once data was collected, assistants were given instruction on how to enter data for each sample. Specific responsibilities for the undergraduate assistants included the following: Three students were primarily responsible for administration and interviewing participants, and four students were responsible for creating a code book and entering data.

Churches

In order to obtain a representative sample of African Americans in the Greater Lansing community, the following churches were contacted and solicited to participate in the proposed study: St. Stephens Community Church, Union Missionary Baptist Church, Trinity AME, Pentecostal Outreach, Mt. Zion Baptist Church, Mask Memorial C.M.E., Ebenezer Baptist Church. Additional churches, Bethany-Pembroke Baptist Church and Antioch Baptist Church, from Detroit, Michigan were also contacted for solicitation. From discussions with key informants from the Lansing community, the researcher

obtained information suggesting that parishioners of the forementioned churches represented a broad section of the Greater Lansing community. The rationale for choosing the forementioned churches was that these churches have large African American congregations and their membership included individuals across class levels as well as skilled and unskilled laborers and professionals. Moreover, as indicated by key informants, each of these churches varied in its degree of racial identity and activism (See Table 2).

To secure participants from the forementioned churches, the pastors and the secretarial staff of each facility were contacted and forwarded a letter explaining the proposed study and asking for their participation. A meeting was scheduled with the respective leaders (pastor, secretary, etc.) to: (a) explain the purpose of the study; (b) obtain permission to recruit participants; and (c) determine the appropriate dates and times to recruit participants from their congregation.

Once the principal investigator received permission to recruit participants from the forementioned churches, an announcement was made during church services soliciting participation in the research project. During the announcement, church members were informed about the focus of the study. They were told the following: My name is Jonathan Livingston. I am a doctoral candidate at Michigan State University. I am currently conducting research on psychological well-being in African Americans. Your participation in this study is voluntary, and any information given will be kept confidential. Additionally, completion of the questionnaire will only take about 45 minutes. For your participation in the current study, your name will be placed in a drawing for four cash prizes of \$100, \$50 and two for \$25. The researcher then set up

tables in the vestibules after church services to solicit participants. Actual administration of instrument was conducted on the following Sunday, thus, giving parents enough time to plan for the administration of the instrument.

After church service on the following Sunday, the researcher and adults, over the age of 18 and interested in participating in the research project, convened for 10-15 minutes. During this time, the principal investigator provided information regarding confidentiality, anonymity, and voluntary participation in the study. The interview began with an introduction of the research assistant followed by a brief overview of the study. Each participant was then asked to read, sign, and date two consent forms (one for the participants and one filled out by the research team) (See Appendix A). Both consent forms were signed by the research assistant. Before administering the survey, each participant was then asked if he or she had any questions and/or concerns regarding the study. After answering and questions and/or addressing any concerns of the participants, the participants were also instructed that consent forms would be kept locked in a secured area in the research office, and only the chair, principle investigator, and research assistants would have access to the data kept in the research office. Participants were instructed, prior to beginning the survey, to place their consent forms in an envelop separate from that of their surveys to ensure that there would be no way to identify participants with their responses. The researcher then gave the survey to participants for them to complete. Over 80% of the participants elected to fill out the survey after church service. Twenty percent of the sample requested to take the survey home and return it during the next church service.

Church sponsored events

Solicitation of participants at church sponsored events held off of church premises were also included in the present study. As noted, such events included church celebratories (n = 18), men's ministries meetings (n = 10), and community forums (n = 7). The forementioned events were suggested as appropriate venues for solicitation by pastoral staff and secretaries during initial contact meetings. Once permission to solicit participants was granted by appropriate church staff, the researcher then set up tables at the forementioned church sponsored events to solicit participants. Prior to administration the researcher and adults met for 10-15 minutes to review the procedures. During this meeting, potential participants were asked if they had completed a survey during the regular church service. If participants had completed a survey during church service, they were instructed that they could not fill out an additional survey. To assure that no participant was sampled twice, participants were asked to fill out their names on a sign in sheet for their respective church. The principal investigator then provided information regarding confidentiality, anonymity, and voluntary participation in the study. The interview began with an introduction of the research assistant followed by a brief overview of the study. Each participant was then asked to read, sign, and date two consent forms (one for the participants and one filled out by the research team). Both consent forms were also signed by the research assistant. Before administering the survey, each participant was then asked if he or she had any questions and/or concerns regarding the study. After answering and questions and/or addressing any concerns of the participants, the participants were also instructed that consent forms would be kept locked in a secured area in the research office, and only the chair, principle investigator, and research

assistants would have access to the data kept in the research office. Participants were instructed, prior to beginning the survey, to place their consent forms in an envelope separate from that of their surveys to ensure that there would be no way to identify participants with their responses. The researcher gave the survey to participants for them to complete.

Collateral nomination

In an effort to make the study more rigorous and to alleviate the problems inherent in much of self-report data, participants were given a questionnaire that asked them to nominate two individuals age 18 or older to speak upon their level of activism in the Black community. Along with the activism measure, participants were given a form asking them to write down the names, phone number, and home and email addresses of individuals who could speak to their level of activism.

Once this information was collected, the individuals nominated by the participants were contacted by phone and asked to discuss the nominating participant's involvement in efforts to advance and bring about change in the Black community. Of the 187 participants, 120 participants agreed to nominate one collateral. To verify participants' levels of activism, these 120 nominees were contacted by phone to set up interviews. However, only 39 agreed to participate in the study. The 39 individuals who agreed to participate provided collateral information on 40 participants. Hence, one collateral was nominated by two different participants. Nominees who elected to participate were either interviewed by phone or in person at their homes, schools, or church-sponsored events and asked questions indicating the degree to which they know the nominating participant, his/her affiliations and roles within various groups, and his/her duration of involvement.

Additionally, they were given the activism scale to ascertain the nominating participant's level of activism.

Table 2.

Church Levels of Racial Identity and Activism

Church	Location	Racial Identity	Activism	# of Participants
Church 1	Lansing, MI	High	High	n = 25 (13.4%)
Church 2	Lansing, MI	Medium	Medium	n = 24 (12.8%)
Church 3	Lansing, MI	Low	Low	n = 25 (13.4%)
Church 4	Lansing, MI	Medium	Medium	n = 36 (19.3%)
Church 5	Lansing, MI	Low	Low	n = 35 (18.7%)
Church 6	Lansing, MI	Medium	Medium	n = 9 (4.8%)
Church 7	Lansing, MI	Medium	High	n = 14 (7.5%)
Church 8	Detroit, MI	Low	High	n = 7 (3.7%)
Church 9	Detroit, MI	High	High	n = 12 (6.4%)

Measures

Demographic information, measures of racial identity, psychological empowerment, activist behavior, self-esteem, and active coping were administered to participants in the present study.

Demographic questionnaire

Age, income, educational level, and ethnic community were assessed to obtain demographic information on each participant. Age was measured as a continuous variable; where participants were asked to write their age in total years. Income and education was assessed categorically, wherein participants were asked which category or item best depicted their level of income and education, respectively. Information on the ethnic makeup was assessed categorically, where participants were asked to assess the racial makeup of their community. To assess participant's level of activism, the questionnaire asked participants to indicate, in a continuous or categorical format, if they were currently active within their respective communities.

The questionnaire asked participants whether they have ever been active within their communities and if they have held any leadership positions with any community or political organizations. Although the study did not posit any differences in the relationship between the variables under study by recruitment venue, discussions with key informants suggested that there might be differences. Therefore, a variable or question representing each recruitment venue was included in the data so that this assumption of differences across venue could be tested. Additionally age was co-varied out given the likelihood that they may be confounds in the present study.

Psychological empowerment

A 15-item scale, which was created from Zimmerman's (1995) classic conceptualization of psychological empowerment, was used to assess psychological empowerment in the present study. Zimmerman (1995) posited that empowerment has three dimensions: 1) an interpersonal component, 2) an interactional component, and 3) a behavioral component. For the purpose of the present study, only the interactional component was assessed. Zimmerman suggested that the interactional component of psychological empowerment assesses the degree to which one has developed a critical awareness of his/her environment, understands the causes behind issues effecting his/her community, develops skills needed to organize his/her community and, lastly, has the ability to identify and mobilize resources needed to address problems or bring about change in his/her community. Examples of items reflecting critical awareness were: "I think it is important for one to understand the socio-political context in which he or she exists" and "Being aware of those issues that effect Black people or my community is not that important to me". Examples of items reflecting skill development were: "I can usually organize people to get things done" and "I find it very hard to talk in front of a group". Examples of items reflecting one's ability to identify and mobilize resources needed to address problems in the community were: "I can identify and mobilize the resources in my community" and "I know who to contact if I need to get something done in my community". Participants were asked to respond on a five-point Likert scale to such items as the following: "I am often a leader in groups" and "Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what is

going on". Items on this scale were both negatively and positively valenced. Reverse-scored items were re-coded.

Principle component analysis (AAPES)

To assess the factor structure of the African American Psychological Empowerment Scale, a principle component analysis with a varimax rotation was conducted. Four criteria were used to assess the factor solutions: 1) eigenvalues greater than 1.0, 2) a review of the item total correlation, 3) theoretical relevancy, 4) a Scree test. The eigenvalues were 6.172 for factor one, 1.57 for factor two, and 1.041 for factor three. The two-factor solution represented 51.61% of the variance. Initially, the AAPES was a 15-item scale. Item 15 was deleted because it was a one-item factor. Using the four criteria above, items 4, 5, and 6 were deleted because they failed to load strongly on either of the two remaining factors. The remaining items loaded on two factors. Items 1, 2, 3, and 10 loaded on one factor, and items 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, and 14 loaded on the second factor.

A content analysis determined that items 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, and 14 represented the socio-political awareness component of the AAPES. Items 1, 2, 3, and 10 represented the resource identification and mobilization component of the AAPES. To further investigate the factor structure, an additional factor analysis was conducted on the two factors. The findings were consistent with the content analysis because it yielded a two-factor structure for the African American Psychological Empowerment Scale. The eigenvalues were 4.83 for the first factor and 1.47 for the second factor. The first factor, socio-political awareness, accounted for 44% of the variance, and the factor loadings ranged from .607 to .838. The second factor, resource identification and mobilization,

accounted for 13.4% of the variance, and the factor loadings ranged from .634 to .806. Table 3 outlines the results of the factor analysis and the two-factor solution for the AAPES.

Psychometric properties of the AAPES

The item means, standard deviations, and corrected item total correlations are presented in Table 4. Scoring involved calculating the mean for each subscale and averaging them to get a final mean score. The corrected item total correlations for the two subscales of the AAPES ranged from .32 to .73, the alpha reliability for the socio-political awareness scale was .72, and the resource mobilization scale was .87.

Table 3

Factor analyses for the AAPES (varimax rotation)

Scale and items		Factor 1	Factor 2
Social political awareness			
Item 4	(Whom to contact if I need to get something done)	0.64	0.23
Item 5	(Who would be willing to help out)	0.65	0.23
Item 6	(People who will be willing to help out)	0.61	0.33
Item 8	(I know who to contact)	0.67	0.33
Item 9	(I know how to address problems)	0.77	0.33
Item 10	(Organize people to get things done)	0.84	0.00
Item 11	(Other people usually follow my ideas)	0.81	0.00
Resource Identification			
Item 1	(How decisions made by politicians and leaders)	0.00	0.63
Item 2	(Issues that affect the Black community)	0.34	0.73
Item 3	(I keep track of decisions that are made)	0.19	0.83
Item 7	(Don't track much time keeping track of issues)	0.23	0.33
Eigenvalues		4.83	1.43
% variance		0.44	0.13

Note: Item 7 is negatively keyed.

Table 4

AAPES scores and correlation coefficient

Scale and items		Scores	Item to total
		(Mean/S.D.)	correlation
Social political awareness			
Item 4	(Whom to contact if I need to get something done)	3.8±0.9	0.59**
Item 5	(Who would be willing to help out)	3.4±1.1	0.58**
Item 6	(People who will be willing to help out)	3.9±0.9	0.60**
Item 8	(I know who to contact)	3.1±1.0	0.65**
Item 9	(I know how to address problems)	3.5±0.9	0.73**
Item 10	(Organize people to get things done)	3.5±1.0	0.69**
Item 11	(Other people usually follow my ideas)	3.5±0.9	0.64**
Resource Identification			
Item 1	(How decisions made by politicians and leaders)	4.4±0.8	0.41**
Item 2	(Issues that affect the Black community)	4.1±0.8	0.59**
Item 3	(I keep track of decisions that are made)	3.8±1.0	0.64**
Item 7	(Don't track much time keeping track of issues)	3.7±1.1	0.30**

Note: Item 7 is negatively keyed. ** $P < 0.01$ by Spearman rank correlations.

Racial identity

Racial identity was measured by the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI). The MIBI is a 51-item instrument, which consists of three subscales: centrality, private regard, and ideology. For the purpose of the present study, only the centrality and private regard scales were used. The Centrality sub-scale consists of 8 items and measures the degree to which race is a core part of one's self-concept. For example, respondents were asked to indicate their agreement to questions such as "In general, being Black is an important part of my self-image". The Private Regard sub-scale consists of 7 items, which measure the extent to which an individual feels positively or negatively towards African Americans and his membership in the group (Sellers, 1996). Thus, individuals were asked to respond to questions such as "I feel good about Black people" and "I feel that Blacks have made major accomplishments and advancements".

Both measures were scored on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 7 (Strongly agree). Alphas for both the centrality and private regard scales were .72 and .51 respectively. Prior to running the analysis, the psychometric properties of the scale were investigated in the present study and are presented in Table 5. Analysis revealed that the factor structure and internal consistency of both of the scales were best with items 9 and 10 removed due to poor factor loading and inter-item correlations. The reliability analysis for the Centrality scale was .72, and the reliability analysis for the Private Regard scale was .51. To score the MIBI, a mean was derived for each of the subscales.

Black activism

The Multidimensional Measure of Black Activism (MMBA) is a 97-item survey

that assesses activist behavior and attitudes in African Americans. The MMBA was standardized on a sample of 271 African Americans (Thomas, 2001). The scale consists of three main components or sub-scales: attitude, social change strategies, and activist behavior (Thomas, 2001). The subscale employed to assess activism in the current study was the Black Activist Participatory Behavior component of the MMBA. The actual activist behavioral component consists of 18 items designed to assess whether one has engaged in actual activist behaviors within the last five years. Some examples of the items are as follows: “Within the past five years, have you raised money for a Black cause?” and “Have you demonstrated or participated in a rally for a Black cause?”. Responses to the items were answered on a 4-point Likert scale (1 = frequently to 4 = never). In the current study, the Black Activist Participatory Behavior scale had an alpha of .95. To score the Black Activist Participatory Behavior Scale, means were computed for the activism at five years subscale.

Use of collaterals

As noted, in an effort to make the study more rigorous and to alleviate the problems inherent in much of self-report data, participants were given a questionnaire that asked them to nominate an individual age 18 or older to speak upon their level of activism in the Black community. Thus, these associates were contacted and administered the Black Activism Participatory Behavior scale and asked to speak upon the participant’s level of activism. Collaterals were instructed to respond on a 4-point Likert scale (1 = frequently to 4 = never). Some examples of the items the collaterals were given are as follows: “Within the past five years, has your associate raised money for a Black cause?” and “Has he/she demonstrated or participated in a rally for a Black cause?”. To score the

Black Activist Participatory Behavior scale, means were computed for activism at five years. Alphas for collaterals were .91

Self-esteem

Taylor's Inventory of Self-esteem (Taylor & Tomasic, 1991) was used to measure one dimension of psychological well-being in African Americans. The scale was developed in an effort to assess self-esteem in African Americans. Taylor's Inventory of Self-esteem (See Appendix J) is a 16-item instrument created and revised from a random sample of 444 participants, of which 84% were African American. The stability of Taylor's Inventory of Self-esteem was evaluated by Wilson (1985) who reported a four-month test-retest reliability of .93.

Respondents were instructed to read each statement completely and to indicate the frequency with which the thoughts or feelings articulated in the items applied to them. A Likert scale (0 = never to 8 = always) was used for rating each statement on the self-esteem scale. Subjects were asked to respond to such statements as "I feel happy inside" and "I have a sense of purpose". A low scale score indicates low self-esteem, whereas a higher score indicates higher self-esteem. To score Taylor's Inventory of Self-esteem, a mean was computed for the entire scale.

Active coping

The John Henryism Scale for Active Coping is a 12-item scale, which assesses three interrelated dimensions of active coping in African Americans: efficacious and physical vigor, a commitment to hard work, and a single-minded determination to achieve one's goal (James, et al., 1987). The instrument was initially conceptualized from the legacy of John Henry, the steel driving man, who, according to folklore, defeated a

machine in a steel driving contest (Johnson, 1929). The measure was created to assess active coping in African Americans, but it has been used on Hispanic or Latino, as well as European, populations. Responses to each item range from “Completely true” (5) to “Completely false Score (1). Affirmative responses suggest higher levels of active coping. In the current study, the Cronbach alpha for this measure was .76. To score the John Henryism Scale for Active Coping, a mean was computed for the entire scale.

Chapter 3

Results

The purpose of the present study was to examine the relationship between racial identity, psychological empowerment, Black activism, and psychological well-being among African Americans. The study examined the mediating roles of psychological empowerment and activism in the relationship between racial identity and psychological well-being. A series of multiple regressions were computed to test the relationships between the aforementioned constructs.

Preliminary Analysis

Research assistants randomly selected twenty surveys, at four different intervals, to double check for data entry mistakes. Few mistakes were found, they were corrected, and data were reentered.

Demographics

The demographic data were analyzed to generate descriptive statistics for the sample using SPSS, version 10.0 for Windows. Means and frequencies for demographic variables were created. Additionally, descriptive analyses were employed to verify that data were within acceptable ranges and that the distributions of variables were acceptable for subsequent analyses. Thus, frequencies and distributions were generated to assess outliers and missing data. Participants in the study who neither self-identified as African American nor met the age criteria for the study were omitted. Individuals who did not answer at least one item on the activism measure were excluded from the sample. Demographic characteristics were examined to assess gender, ethnicity, and socio-economic status. Sixty percent of the sample were female and 40% were male. Over

50% of the individuals were of middle income. Over one-third of the sample indicated they had some college education. Forty-one percent considered themselves to be activists. (See Table 1)

Differences across church venue

To assess the impact of church venue across each of the primary variables of the study (i.e., Black activism, both dimensions of racial identity, and both dimensions psychological empowerment, psychological well-being), mean differences and standard deviations were assessed for each church. (See Tables 5,6,7,8, 9 and 10) ANOVAs were computed to assess significant differences across the churches for the primary study variables (i.e., racial identity, psychological empowerment, Black activism, and psychological well-being). No significant differences were found for churches on racial identity psychological empowerment, self –esteem or active coping. However, as expected, there was a significant difference in the levels of activism for the churches perceived as high in activism and low in activism. To assess these differences, churches were categorized as high, medium, and low in activism. A one-way ANOVA with a Tukey and Scheffe post-hoc comparison was conducted. Significant differences were found between churches that were high in activism and low in activism, $F(2, 187) = 3.39$, $p < .05$. (See Table 11)

Table 5

Mean differences between churches on Activism

Church Activism	N	Mean	SD
High			
Church 1	25	2.36	0.73
Church 8	7	2.41	0.79
Church 9	12	2.36	0.89
Medium			
Church 7	14	2.13	0.92
Church 6	9	2.09	0.99
Church 4	36	2.15	0.76
Low			
Church 2	24	2	0.76
Church 3	25	2.06	0.6
Church 5	35	1.88	0.45

* Churches are ranked by level of Activism and Racial Identity.

Table 6

Mean differences between churches on Private Regard

Church levels for Private Regard	N	Mean	SD
High			
Church 1	25	4.62	0.40
Church 8	7	4.75	0.25
Church 9	12	4.31	0.70
Medium			
Church 7	14	4.44	0.59
Church 6	9	4.47	0.60
Church 4	36	4.70	0.40
Low			
Church 2	24	4.48	0.46
Church 3	25	4.46	0.53
Church 5	35	4.56	0.45

* Churches are ranked by level of Activism and Racial Identity.

Table 7

Mean differences between churches on Centrality

Church levels of Centrality	N	Mean	SD
High			
Church 1	25	4.20	0.73
Church 8	7	3.80	1.08
Church 9	12	3.59	0.85
Medium			
Church 7	14	3.76	0.59
Church 6	9	3.79	0.59
Church 4	36	3.70	0.78
Low			
Church 2	24	3.76	0.64
Church 3	25	3.78	0.61
Church 5	35	3.56	0.78

* Churches are ranked by level of Activism and Racial Identity.

Table 8

Mean differences between churches on Psychological Empowerment

Church levels of Psych Empowerment	N	Mean	SD
Church 1	25	3.94	0.54
Church 8	7	3.67	0.62
Church 9	12	4.10	0.70
Church 7	14	3.45	0.84
Church 6	9	3.79	0.67
Church 4	36	3.92	0.50
Church 2	24	3.71	0.53
Church 3	25	3.81	0.52
Church 5	35	3.59	0.68

* Churches are ranked by level of Activism and Racial Identity.

Table 9

Mean differences between churches on Self-esteem

Church levels of Self-esteem	N	Mean	SD
Church 1	25	5.68	0.85
Church 8	7	4.89	1.15
Church 9	12	5.72	0.93
Church 7	14	5.22	1.37
Church 6	9	5.69	0.80
Church 4	36	5.94	0.72
Church 2	24	5.65	0.74
Church 3	25	5.94	0.72
Church 5	35	5.66	0.88

* Churches are ranked by level of Activism and Racial Identity.

Table 10

Mean differences between churches on Active coping

Church levels of Active coping	N	Mean	SD
Church 1	25	3.96	0.54
Church 8	7	4.01	0.21
Church 9	12	3.86	0.71
Church 7	14	3.74	0.54
Church 6	9	4.12	0.40
Church 4	36	4.10	0.41
Church 2	24	4.10	0.47
Church 3	25	4.23	0.42
Church 5	35	3.90	0.55

* Churches are ranked by level of Activism and Racial Identity.

Table 11

Summary of a Two-way Analysis of Variance for churches and Activism

<i>Source</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>
<i>Church</i>				
<i>Between</i>	2	4.15	2.07	3.39*
<i>Within</i>	184	112.41	.611	
<i>Total</i>	187	953.48		

* $p < .05$ *Preliminary Analysis of Correlations between Primary Variables*

Initial analysis of the relationships between racial identity, psychological empowerment, Black activism, psychological well-being, and the covariate, age, indicated moderate to strong correlations between the variables. Psychological empowerment was positively related to both centrality and private regard and activism at five years. Psychological empowerment was also positively related to self-esteem, active coping, and age. Small to moderate positive correlations were found between activism, centrality, and private regard. Positive correlations were also found between self-esteem, active coping, and age. Although age was negatively related to centrality, there was no significant relationship with private regard. A small positive correlation was found between age and self-esteem. However, there was no relationship between age and active coping. (See Table 12).

Table 12

Correlation table for primary variables

<i>Variable</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>
Centrality	1.00						
Private Regard	.27**	1.00					
Psych Empowerment	.15**	.27**	1.00				
Activism 5 years	.28**	.14**	.45**	1.00			
Self-esteem	-.13	.28**	.49**	.21**	1.00		
Active Coping	-.01	.23**	.44**	.22**	.57**	1.00	
Age	-.13*	-.010	.25**	.28**	.161*	.083	1.00

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

Hypothesis One

The first prediction of this study was that racial identity would be positively related to psychological well-being. As indicated, racial identity and psychological empowerment have two dimensions. To test these hypotheses, a series of multiple regressions were conducted, controlling for age, with centrality and private regard as predictors and self-esteem and active coping as outcome variables. Thus, the hypotheses and their findings were as follows:

Hypothesis 1a and b: Racial centrality will be positively related to psychological well-being

Overall regression analysis indicated that centrality was not related to psychological well-being. Contrary to what was hypothesized, racial centrality was not significantly related to self-esteem, $F(2, 186) = 2.44$, ns (See Table 13), or active coping, $F(2,186) = .635$, ns. (See Table 14).

Hypothesis 1c and d: Private Regard will be positively related to Psychological Well-being

On the other hand, private regard was found to be positively related to both indicators of psychological well-being, thus providing support for hypotheses 1c and d. Specifically, private regard was found to be significantly related to both self-esteem, $F(2, 186) = 10.95$, $p < .001$ (See Table15) and active coping, $F(2, 186) = 6.01$, $p < .001$ (See Table16). Thus, private regard had a statistical influence on one's self-esteem and active coping. (See beta coefficients on Diagrams 4 and 5)

Mediating Relationships

Diagram 1

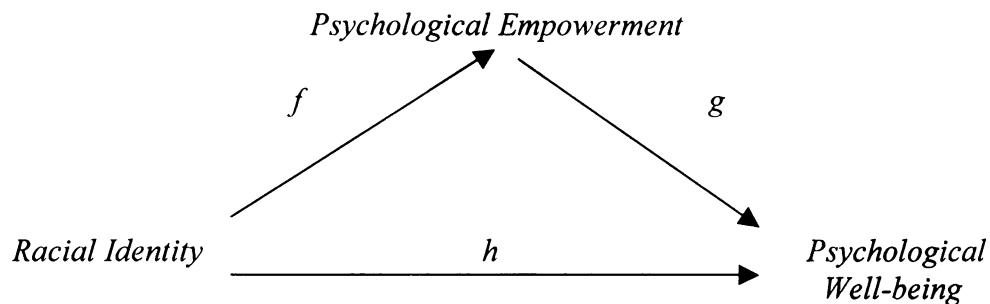
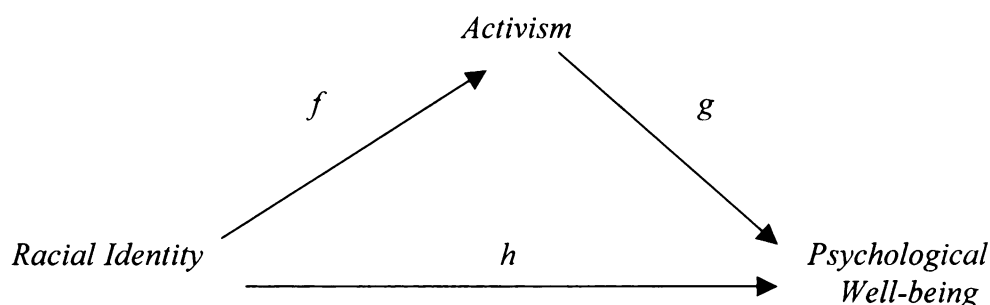


Diagram 2



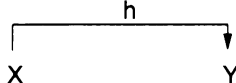
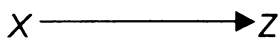
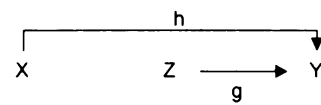
Mediation in the present study

In order to test the mediational roles of psychological empowerment and activism in the present study, a series of regressions were conducted using Baron and Kenny's (1986) procedure for examining mediating relationships. Furthermore, since both the predictor variable, racial identity, and the outcome variable, psychological well-being, had two subscales, a series of regressions were run to assess the mediational roles of psychological empowerment and activism between the indicators of both constructs. For example, three regressions were run to assess the mediational roles of psychological empowerment and Black activism upon the relationships between centrality and self-esteem, centrality and active coping, private regard and self-esteem, and private regard and active coping. The first series of regressions regressed the predictor variable, racial identity, onto the outcome variable, psychological well-being. In the second analysis, the researcher regressed the predictor variable, racial identity, onto the mediating variables,

psychological empowerment and Black activism. The third regressed the predictor variables for racial identity, and the mediating variables, psychological empowerment and Black activism, on to the outcome variables for psychological well-being. According to Baron and Kenny (1986) and McKinnon (2000), mediation occurs when the regression coefficients from the first two regressions are found to be significant, and in the third regression, the mediating variable remains significant, even after the predictor variable is entered into the regression equation. Additionally, in the third regression, the beta coefficient between the predictor and outcome variable should decrease and become non-significant in the presence of the mediator. If all three criteria are met, full mediation has occurred. If step three is not met and the relationship between the predictor and the outcome variable remains significant, there is evidence of partial mediation. (See Diagrams 4, 5)

Thus, in the present study, evidence for full mediation must meet the three criteria outlined above and the initial relationship between racial identity and psychological well-being must be fully explained by the two mediators, psychological empowerment and Black activism.

Diagram 3

	<i>Analysis</i>	<i>Visual Depiction</i>
<i>Step 1</i>	Conduct a simple regression analysis with X predicting Y to test for path <i>h</i> alone, $Y = B_0 + B_1X + e$	
<i>Step 2</i>	Conduct a simple regression analysis with X predicting Z to test for path <i>f</i> , $Z = B_0 + B_1X + e$.	
<i>Step 3</i>	Conduct a multiple regression analysis with X and Z predicting Y, $Y = B_0 + B_1X + B_2Z + e$	

Hypothesis two: Empowerment as a mediator between Racial Identity and Psychological Well-being

Consistent with that of the steps proposed by Baron and Kenny (1986) to investigate mediation, a series of regressions were conducted, with age as a covariate, to assess the relationship between each dimension of racial identity (centrality and private regard) and psychological well-being (self-esteem and active coping). Tables 13, 14, 15, and 16 contain the standardized and unstandardized regression coefficients, *t* tests, R^2 , and *F* tests for the regression analyses examining the mediating effect of psychological empowerment between racial identity and psychological well-being.

Hypotheses 2a and 2b. Centrality, psychological empowerment, and psychological well-being

Overall, centrality was found to be significantly related to psychological empowerment and African Americans who reported that race was central to their self-concept reported higher levels of psychological empowerment, $F(2, 186) = 9.72, p < .001$. However, as indicated, the first step of mediation was not met, and centrality was not significantly related to self-esteem or active coping. (Diagrams 5 and 6) Thus, the first step of mediation was not met, and the subsequent mediational analysis only included the private regard dimension of racial identity. Tables 13 and 14 contain the standardized and unstandardized regression coefficients, t tests, R^2 , and F tests for the regression analysis examining the mediating effect of psychological empowerment between centrality and self-esteem.

Diagram 4. Standardized regression coefficients utilized to assess the role of psychological empowerment in mediating the relationship between Centrality and Self-esteem.

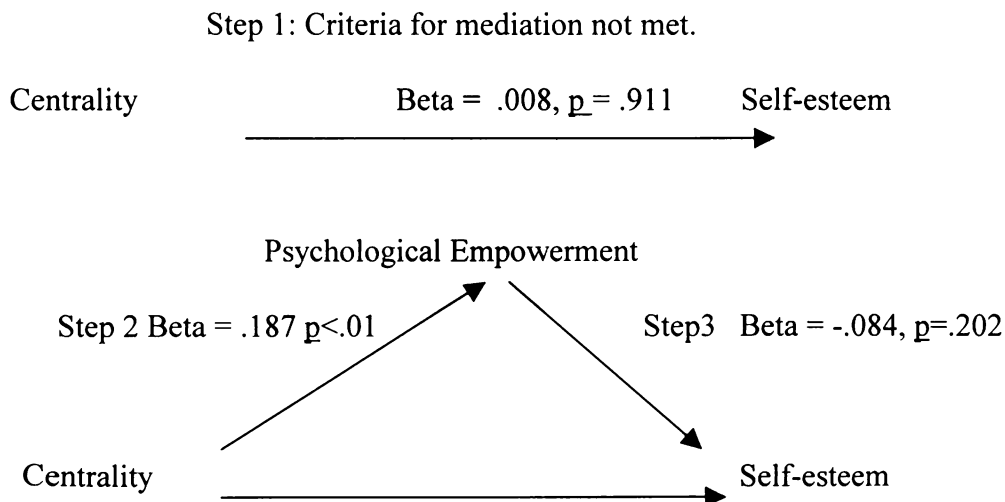


Diagram 5. Standardized regression coefficients utilized to assess the role of psychological empowerment in mediating the relationship between Centrality and Active coping.

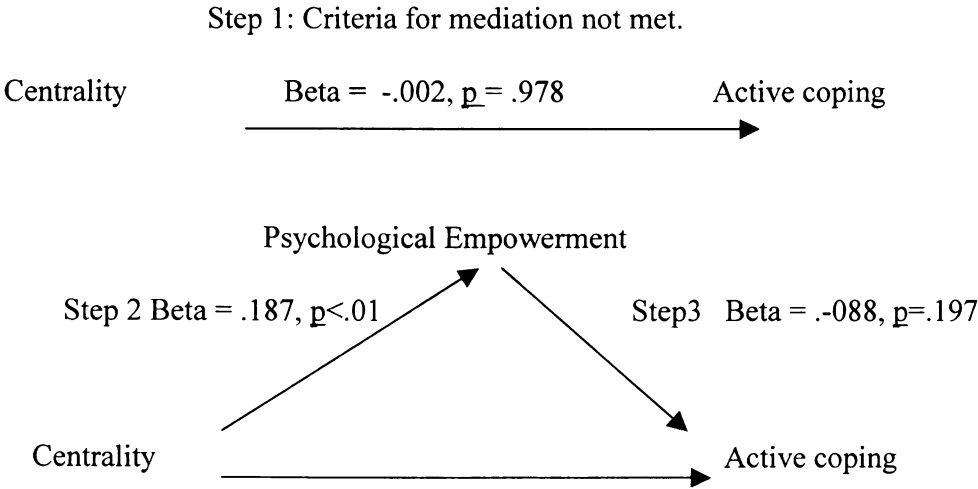


Table 13

Psychological Empowerment mediating the relationship between Centrality and Self-esteem

Outcome and Predictor		B	Beta	t	R ²	F
Step 1						
Outcome	Self-esteem					
Covariate	Age	.010	.161	2.21*	.02	4.89*
Predictors	Centrality	.010	.008	.11	.02	2.44
Step 2						
Outcome	Psych Empowerment					
Covariate	Age	.011	.272	3.84**	.06	12.04**
Predictors	Centrality	.153	.187	2.65**	.09	9.72**
Step 3						
Outcome	Self-esteem					
Covariate	Age	.002	.027	.40	.02	4.89**
Predictors	Psych Empowerment	.747	.495	7.33**		
	Centrality	.104	-.084	-1.28	.24	20.01**

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

Table 14

Psychological Empowerment mediating the relationship between Centrality and Active coping

Outcome and Predictor		B	Beta	t	
Step 1					
Outcome	Active coping				
Covariate	Age	.003	.082	1.11	0.26
Predictors	Centrality	-.001	-.002	-.028	0.98
Step 2					
Outcome	Psych Empowerment				
Covariate	Age	.011	.272	3.84**	.0001
Predictors	Centrality	.153	.187	2.65*	.01
Step 3					
Outcome	Active coping				
Covariate	Age	-.001	-.042	-.611	.54
Predictors	Psych Empowerment	.375	.459	6.60**	<.001
	Centrality	-.59	-.088	-1.3	.2

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

Hypotheses 2c. Psychological empowerment will mediate the relationship between Private Regard and Self-esteem

Overall regression analysis indicated that two of the criteria for **met**, and the relationship between private regard and self-esteem could **explained** by the mediating role of psychological empowerment. Table

standardized and unstandardized regression coefficients, t tests, R^2 , and F tests for the regression analysis examining the mediating effect of psychological empowerment between private regard and self-esteem.

Results of the first regression indicated that private regard was positively related to self-esteem, $F(2, 186) = 10.95$, $p < .001$, explaining 10% of the variance and meeting the first criteria for mediation. In the second regression equation, private regard was positively related to psychological empowerment, $F(2, 186) = 14.643$, $p < .001$, thus meeting the second criteria for mediation. The third regression, with self-esteem as the outcome variable, included both private regard and psychological empowerment. Results of the regression indicated that private regard was positively related to self-esteem, $F(2, 186) = 10.95$, $p < .001$, and psychological empowerment only partially mediated the relationship between racial identity and self-esteem. Psychological empowerment added 15% of the variance in self-esteem beyond the 10% contributed by private regard alone. Additionally, the standardized regression (beta) coefficients for private regard from step one to step three were decreased from .28 to .17. Overall, evidence supporting the three steps of mediation was found, and the relationship between private regard and self-esteem can be partially explained by the mediational role of psychological empowerment.

Diagram 6. Standardized regression coefficients utilized to assess the role of psychological empowerment in mediating the relationship between Private regard and Self-esteem.

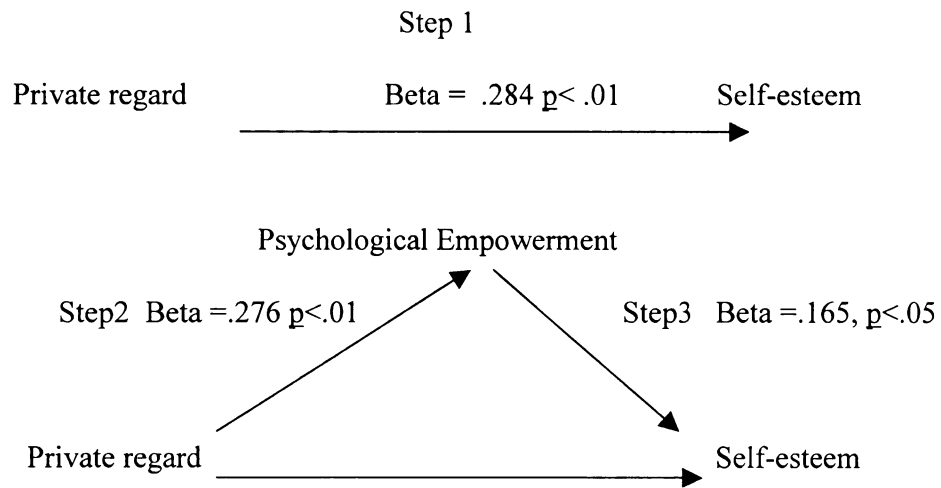


Table 15

Psychological Empowerment mediating the relationship between Private Regard and Self-esteem

Outcome and Predictor		B	Beta	t	
Step 1					
Outcome	Self-esteem				
Covariate	Age	.010	.163	2.34*	
Predictors	Private regard	.55	.284	4.07**	
Step 2					
Outcome	Psych Empowerment				
Covariate	Age	.010	.25	3.65**	
Predictors	Private regard	.352	.276	4.03**	
Step 3					
Outcome	Self-esteem				
Covariate	Age	.003	.06	.85	
Predictors	Psych Empowerment	.648	.429	6.30**	
	Private regard	.318	.165	2.5*	

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

Hypothesis 2d. Psychological Empowerment will mediate the relationship between Private Regard and Active Coping.

To test the aforementioned hypothesis, a series of multiple regression analyses were conducted. To **test** hypothesis 2d, which proposed that psychological empowerment would mediate the relationship between private regard and active coping, three hierarchical regression analyses were conducted. In the first analysis, private regard was entered as the predictor and active coping as the outcome. In the second analysis, private regard and psychological empowerment were entered as predictors and active coping as the outcome. In the third analysis, private regard and psychological empowerment were entered as predictors and self-esteem as the outcome.

relationship between private regard and active coping. Results from these analyses are found on Table 16. Overall results of the first regression indicated that private regard was positively related to active coping, $F(2, 186) = 6.01, p < .005$, explaining only 5% of the variance. In the second regression equation, private regard was positively related to psychological empowerment, $F(2, 186) = 14.643, p < .001$. The third regression, with active coping as the outcome variable, included both private regard and psychological empowerment. Results of the third regression indicated that private regard was not related to active coping, $F(3, 186) = 15.62, p < .001$, and psychological empowerment fully mediated the relationship between racial identity and active coping. Thus, the relationship between private regard and active coping can be fully explained by psychological empowerment. Psychological empowerment added 19% of the variance to active coping. Additionally, the Beta coefficients for private regard from step one to step three were decreased from .23 to .12. (See Diagram 4 for Beta coefficients.) Overall, the three steps of mediation outlined by Baron & Kenny (1986) were met, and the relationship between private regard and active coping can be explained by the mediating role of psychological empowerment.

Diagram 7. Standardized regression coefficients utilized to assess the role of psychological empowerment in mediating the relationship between Private Regard and Active Coping.

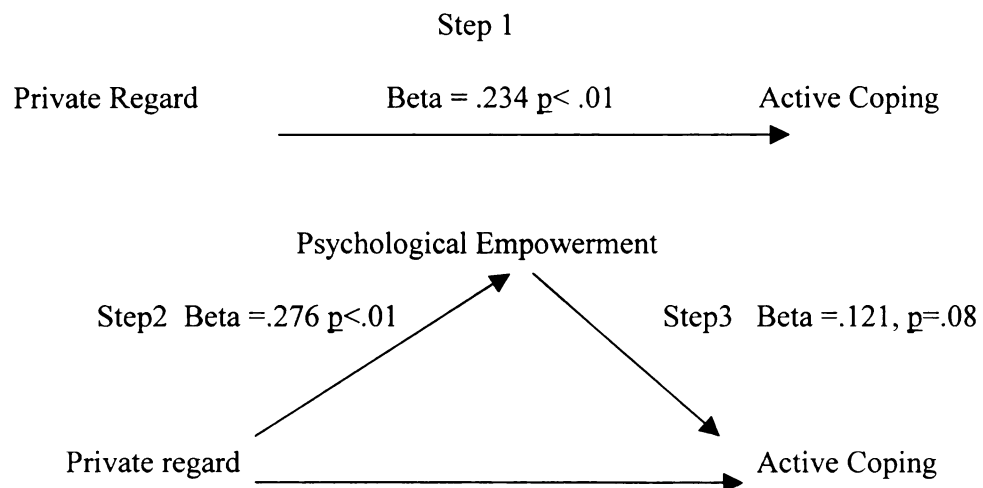


Table 16

Psychological Empowerment mediating the relationship between Private Regard and Active Coping

Outcome and Predictor		B	Beta	t	R ²
Step 1					
Outcome	Active coping				
Covariate	Age	.003	.085	1.19	.00
Predictors	Private regard	.243	.234	3.27**	.05
Step 2					
Outcome	Psych Empowerment				
Covariate	Age	.010	.25	3.65**	.06
Predictors	Private regard	.352	.276	4.03**	.13
Step 3					
Outcome	Active coping				
Covariate	Age	-.001	-.016	-.241	.00
Predictors	Psych Empowerment	.332	.406	5.72**	
	Private regard	.126	.121	1.76	.19

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

Hypothesis three: Activism as a mediator between Racial Identity and Psychological Well-being

Consistent with that of the steps proposed by Baron and Kenny (1986) to investigate the mediational role of activism, a series of regressions were conducted with age as a covariate, to assess the relationship between centrality and self-esteem and

centrality and active coping. Tables 17 and 18 contain the standardized and unstandardized regression coefficients, t tests, R^2 , and F tests for the regression analysis examining the mediating effect of activism between centrality and both dimensions of psychological well-being.

Hypotheses 3a and 3b: Activism as a mediator between centrality and psychological well-being

Although the second criteria of mediation was met and centrality was found to be positively related to activism, $F(2, 186) = 19.93, p < .001$, as noted in the above analysis of hypothesis 1, the first step of mediation was not met for either hypothesis 3a or 3b. (See Tables 17 and 18) Thus, the findings suggest that the relationship between centrality and psychological well-being is not mediated by activism.

Table 17

Activism mediating the relationship between Centrality and Self-esteem

Outcome and Predictor		B	beta	t	R ²	F
Step 1						
Outcome	Self-esteem					
Covariate	Age	.010	.161	2.21*	.02	4.89*
Predictors	Centrality	.010	.008	.11	.02	2.44
Step 2						
Outcome	Activism					
Covariate	Age	.016	.319	4.74**	.07	15.41**
Predictors	Centrality	.336	.321	4.76**	.17	19.93**
Step 3						
Outcome	Self-esteem					
Covariate	Age	.006	.098	1.28	.02	4.89*
Predictors	Activism	.235	.20	2.53*		
	Centrality	-.069	-.056	-.73	.04	3.81*

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

Table 18

Activism mediating the relationship between centrality and active coping

Outcome and Predictor		B	beta	t	R ²	F
Step 1						
Outcome	Active coping					
Covariate	Age	.003	.082	1.11	0	1.28
Predictors	Centrality	-.001	-.002	-.028	0	.64
Step 2						
Outcome	Activism					
Covariate	Age	.016	.319	4.73	.07	15.41**
Predictors	Centrality	.336	.321	4.76	.17	19.93**
Step 3						
Outcome	Active coping					
Covariate	Age	.001	.005	.070	0	1.28*
Predictors	Activism	.153	.241	3.04		
	Centrality	-.05	-.08	-1.04	.04	3.53*

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

Hypothesis 3c. Activism as a mediator between private regard and self-esteem.

To test the mediational role of activism between private regard and self-esteem, a series of multiple regressions were run to test the hypothesis, which proposed that activism would mediate the relationship between private regard and self-esteem. Results from these analyses can be found on Table 18. Results of the first regression indicated that private regard was positively related to self-esteem, $F(2, 186) = 10.95$, $p < .001$, explaining 10% of the variance. In the second regression equation, private regard was

positively related to activism, $F(2, 186) = 9.86, p < .001$. The third regression, with self-esteem as the outcome variable, included both private regard and activism. Results of the regression indicated that private regard was positively related to self-esteem, $F(3, 186) = 8.65, p < .001$, after partialing out the variance accounted for by activism. Activism was found to be unrelated to self-esteem. (See Table 18) Thus, activism did not mediate the relationship between private regard and self-esteem. Hypothesis 3c3 was not supported, and the third step of mediation was not met. Subsequent investigations of the standardized regression coefficients for private regard and activism from step one to step three revealed that the Beta coefficient decreased from .28 to .26 after partialing out the effects of activism. Beta coefficients for activism, across the three steps, decreased from .18 to .14. (See table 9) Further review of the relationship between these variables indicates a suppressor effect. According to Cohen & Cohen (1983), the term suppression can be understood to indicate that the relationship between the independent variables, or causal variables, is hiding or suppressing their real relationship with y . In the present case, the relationship between the mediator, activism, and the outcome variable, self-esteem, is being suppressed by the independent, or causal, variable, private regard.

Diagram 8. Standardized regression coefficients utilized to assess the role of activism in mediating the relationship between private regard and self-esteem.

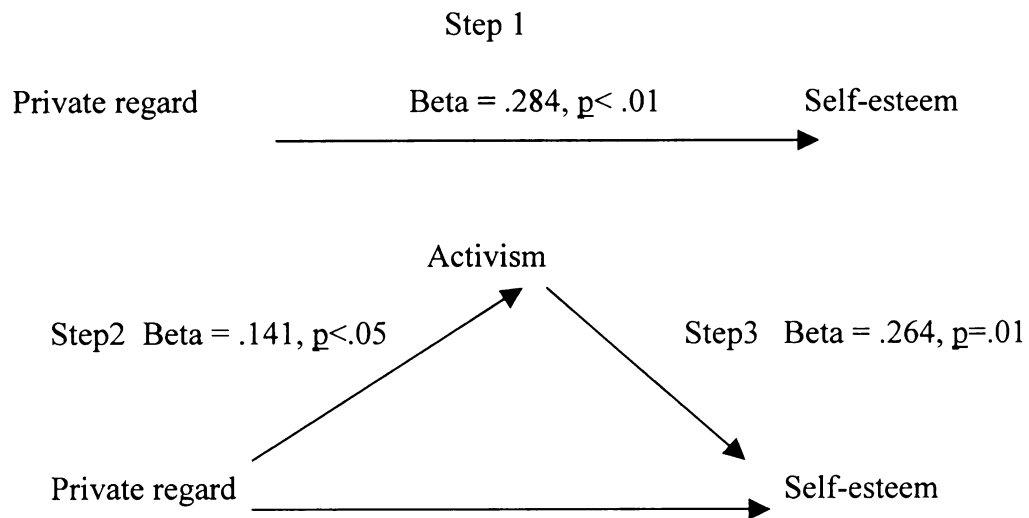


Table 19

Activism mediating the relationship between Private Regard and Self-esteem

Outcome and Predictor		B	beta	t	R ²	F
Step 1						
Outcome	Self-esteem					
Covariate	Age	.010	.163	2.34*	.02	4.89*
Predictors	Private regard	.55	.284	4.07**	.10	11.00**
Step 2						
Outcome	Activism					
Covariate	Age	.014	.279	3.98**	.07	15.41**
Predictors	Private regard	.23	.141	2.02*	.09	9.86**
Step 3						
Outcome	Self-esteem					
Covariate	Age	.007	.124	1.72	.02	4.89*
Predictors	Activism	.165	.141	1.93		
	Private regard	.51	.264	3.75**	.11	8.65**

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

Hypothesis 3d. Activism will mediate the relationship between private regard and active coping.

To test mediation, a series of multiple regressions were run. Results from these analyses can be found on Table 20. Results of the first regression indicated that private regard was positively related to active coping, $F(1, 186) = 6.01, p < .005$, explaining 10% of the variance. In the second regression equation, private regard was related to activism, $F(2, 186) = 9.86, p < .001$. The third regression, with active coping as the outcome variable, included both private regard and activism. Results of the regression indicated that private regard was positively related to active coping, $F(3, 186) = 6.13, p < .01$, after partialing out the variance accounted for by activism. Thus, activism only partially mediated the relationship between racial identity and active coping. Activism added 2% of the variance in active coping beyond the 5% contributed by private regard alone. Additionally, the standardized regression coefficients for private regard from step one to step three were decreased from .23 to .21. (See Diagram 10) Overall, all three steps of mediation were met, and the relationship between private regard and active coping can be partially explained by the mediational role of activism.

Diagram 9. Standardized regression coefficients utilized to assess the role of activism in mediating the relationship between Private regard and Active coping.

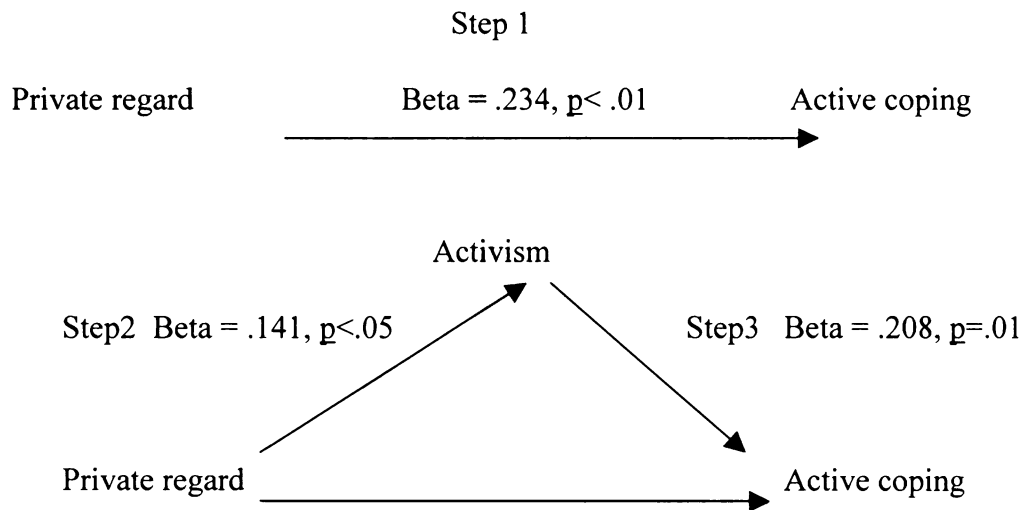


Table 20

Activism mediating the relationship between private regard and active coping

Outcome and Predictor		B	beta	t	R ²	F
Step 1						
Outcome	Active coping					
Covariate	Age	.003	.085	1.19	0	1.28
Predictors	Private regard	.243	.234	3.27**	.05	6.02**
Step 2						
Outcome	Activism					
Covariate	Age	.014	.279	3.98**	.07	15.41**
Predictors	Private regard	.23	.141	2.02*	.09	9.86**
Step 3						
Outcome	Active coping					
Covariate	Age	.001	.034	.467	0	1.28
Predictors	Activism	.116	.182	2.46		
	Private regard	.216	.208	2.92	.08	6.14**

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

Hypothesis Four: Psychological empowerment will be positively related to activism.

The fourth prediction of this study proposed that psychological empowerment would be positively related to participants' level of activism. To test this hypothesis, a series of multiple regressions were conducted. Thus, the hypothesis was as follows:

Results of the regression indicated that psychological empowerment was significantly related to activism, $F(1, 186) = 48.30, p < .001$. (See Table 21) After covaring out age, 23% of the variance could be explained for by psychological empowerment.

Diagram 10

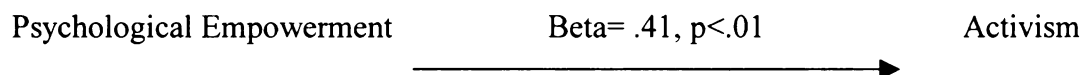


Table 21

Psychological Empowerment and Black Activism.

Outcome and Predictor	B	beta	t	R ²	F
Activism					
Psychological Empowerment	.58	.45	7.0**	.20	48.30**

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

Confirmatory Investigation: Use of collaterals

As indicated, the primary purpose of this study was to assess the relationship between racial identity, psychological empowerment, Black activism, and psychological well-being among African Americans. The study examined the mediating roles of psychological empowerment and activism in the relationship between racial identity and psychological well-being. To verify one's level of activism in the study, participants were asked to nominate an individual who could speak upon their level of activism. A regression was conducted to assess the relationship between the levels of activism reported by participants to that reported by collaterals. Results of the regression indicated that participant activism was not related to the activism levels reported by collaterals, $F(1,38) = .180$, ns. Thus, there was no statistical relationship between the levels of activism reported by the participant and collateral (See Table 21).

Post hoc Analysis

To further assess the relationship between participants' responses and that of the collaterals', two independent scales were created from seven items to which both collateral and participant had the highest frequency of responses. Means were computed for each 7-item measure. A paired-sampled T test was run $t(38) = -1.972$, $p > .05$, and no significant differences were found between participants' scores and collaterals' perceptions of participants' activism. Additionally, a multiple regression was run, $F(1,38) = .983$, $p > .05$, and there was no significant between participants' reported level of activism and that of the collateral (See Tables 22 and 23).

Table 22

Participants' level of activism and collateral perception of participants' activism.

Outcome and Predictor	B	beta	t	R ²	F
Activism					
Collateral	-.093	-.70	-424	.005	.180

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

Table 23

Group differences for seven-item activism scale for collateral and participant

Activism	<u>Collateral</u>		<u>Participant</u>		df	t
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>		
Seven paired items	2.05	.73	2.45	.91	38	-1.972

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

Table 24

Regression for seven-item paired scale for participant and collateral

Variable	B	SE B	b
Participant	-.128	.129	-.161

Note: R² = .026 (N = 39, *p < .05, **p < .01)

Chapter 4

Discussion

The present study attempted to elucidate the relationship between racial identity, psychological empowerment, and activism in African Americans. More specifically, the study assessed the mediational roles of empowerment and activism in the relationship between racial identity and psychological well-being. Such an endeavor may bring clarity not only to how race related attitudes and behaviors are related to mental health, but it may also provide a better understanding of what it means for African Americans to be psychologically healthy given the economic and social changes they must negotiate in America. Although support for the mediational roles of empowerment and activism and support for some of the primary hypotheses were found in the present study, a further assessment of the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity must be investigated. Such a line of inquiry may bring clarity to our understanding of race, identity, and psychological well-being in African Americans.

Hypothesis One: Racial Identity and Psychological Well-being

Although hypothesis one posited the notion that racial identity would be related to psychological well-being, this assertion was only partially supported. To assess the relationship between racial identity and psychological well-being, two measures of racial identity were employed. The first racial identity measure, centrality, as indicated, assessed the degree to which an individual felt that race was important to his self-concept, and the second dimension, private regard, assessed the degree to which an individual had positive feelings toward Black people as a collective (Sellers, et al., 1998). As noted, psychological well-being was conceptualized by a measure of self-esteem and a measure

of active coping. Results of the analysis indicated that racial centrality was not related to psychological well-being. Thus, African Americans who felt that being Black was important to their self-concept did not report higher scores on self-esteem and active coping. Although centrality was not related to positive psychological well-being, private regard, or one's perceptions of Blacks as a group, was related to self-esteem and active coping. This finding suggested that African Americans' perceptions of Black people and the value that they place on being connected to the Black collective are associated with better psychological outcomes and consistent with the work of Maish (1977) and Kambon (1993), which stated that such a connection and positive perceptions of Blacks as a group may be psychologically protective for African Americans. However, in regards to centrality, the present findings are inconsistent with contemporary studies, which found that identification with one's community is related to more positive psychological outcomes for African Americans (Carter, 1991; Chambers, et. al, 1998; Sellers, et. al, 1998). Such findings may suggest a need for more adequate measures and/or a more thorough assessment of the cultural and psychological make up of the population under study. In regards to measurement, given the low to moderate alpha reliabilities and high correlations between racial centrality and private regard, further assessment of the psychometric properties of the scale may be needed. Additionally, since no relationships were found between centrality and self-esteem in African Americans in the present study, the utility of such a measure for the current sample may need to be tabled.

A review on studies utilizing Sellers, et al's, (1998) Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity suggested that the earlier scales were normed or standardized on college and high school samples, and few investigations to this date have been conducted

employing these measures on a community sample. Therefore, social scientists investigating racial identity have very little information concerning how African Americans in the broader community respond on these inventories. Given that these measures have been standardized on African American students, who are trying to negotiate identity at such a young age in a sometimes hostile context, on predominantly White campuses, being race conscious may be seen as psychologically protective.

Therefore, the importance of race in how they identify themselves and the positive feelings that they have about the African American collective, in general, may be in response to context and not the development of a true sense of racial identity that one cultivates later in life. Thus, further assessments of this model of racial identity in the broader community must be conducted. In regards to the current sample, given the high degree of intercultural exchange and the race-neutral context of the population under study, characterized by integrated communities and interracial marriages, race may not be a central theme in how these individuals construct identity or self-concept.

In negotiating the forementioned assertions, Vandiver, et al. (2000) advanced the notion that, given the cultural, social, and economic diversity that has developed over time within the Black community due to migration and desegregation, it may be best for social scientists studying racial identity or race related attitudes to account for levels of acculturation in future studies. Additionally, these findings also called into question certain aspects of the validity and utility of the MIBI, which are discussed in the subsequent section of the manuscript. As noted, a number of researchers have found racial identity and race related attitudes to be related to positive psychological outcomes

in African Americans. However, few have assessed how they are related and what factors may mediate this process.

Hypothesis Two: Psychological Empowerment as a mediator

Hypothesis two advanced our understanding of the relationship between racial identity and psychological well-being by proposing that psychological empowerment mediated this relationship. Thus, hypothesis two brings clarity to how the forementioned are related. Although the present study did not find a relationship between centrality and psychological well-being, there was a significant relationship between racial centrality and psychological empowerment. Thus, African Americans who found being Black important to their self-concept did report higher levels of psychological empowerment. These findings are consistent with the proposed theoretical argument and that of previous studies, which found higher racial identity scores were associated with an awareness of one's socio-political context and political efficacy (Banks, 1970; Lessing, 1973; Thomas, 1990; McWherter, 1999). Banks (1970) and Lessing (1973), during the height of the Black Power Movement, both found that African American students who identified with the Black community were more conscious of the socio-political challenges facing their community. More contemporary assessments by Thomas (1990) also found that African Americans who reported higher levels of racial identity reported a critical awareness of issues affecting the Black community and believed that they had control over those issues affecting their community.

As noted, the present study did find that psychological empowerment partially mediated the relationship between private regard and self-esteem and fully mediated the relationship between private regard and active coping. These findings suggested that the

relationships between self-esteem, active coping, and private regard were closely linked to psychological empowerment. Thus, the relationships between the forementioned variables are better explained through the role of psychological empowerment as proposed in the theoretical argument of this study. As indicated, the processes involved in developing positive perceptions of Black people as a collective and a stronger commitment to the Black community (i.e., reading, researching Black history and culture, and embedding one's self in settings that affirm Black life) may accompany and foster a feeling of empowerment or a belief that one is compelled to, and can, be instrumental in bringing about change in his respective community. These feelings of empowerment and commitment to one's community were found, in part, to be related to better psychological outcomes. Although psychological empowerment only partially mediated the relationship between private regard and self-esteem, such findings provide greater clarity to how one's perceptions of and commitment to the community and psychological well-being were related. Given that the relationship between private regard and active coping was fully mediated by psychological empowerment, the utility of psychological empowerment in future studies of race related attitudes and psychological outcomes among African Americans may be needed. Moreover, furthering our understanding of psychological empowerment among African Americans may prove beneficial in the therapeutic setting for clinicians and other human service professionals who are working with clients who have negative perceptions of Black people as a collective, employ poor coping strategies, and have negative perceptions of themselves. By fostering a sense of empowerment, clients are made aware of the resources and support systems available to them, thus gaining the ability to identify and mobilize resources. This awareness and ability to



negotiate one's environment gives African American clients a sense of control and mastery over their lives as well as their fate. The use of such a model has been documented throughout the literature on mental health interventions (Rogers, et al., 1997).

Hypothesis Three: Activism as a mediator

Hypothesis three investigated the mediational role of activism in the relationship between racial identity and psychological well-being. Although few contemporary studies have investigated the mediational role of activism, Maish (1977) found that efforts engaged in to bring about change were related to racial identity and better psychological outcomes. Moreover, many theoretical reviews advanced the notion that a logical response to developing higher levels of racial identity is an increased propensity to become active and involved in efforts to advance one's community (Cross, 1991; Kambon, 1993). These increased levels of racial identity and activism lead to a reevaluation of self that, in many instances, is positive (Keiffer, 1984). Such a positive reevaluation of self and sense of control over one's life through activism have both been associated with psychological health (Kupers, 1993).

In the present study, activism was related to both measures of racial identity and both measures of psychological well-being. More specifically, in the present study, African Americans who reported that race was central to their self-concept and had positive views of Black people as a group reported higher levels of activism. While few contemporary studies have assessed this relationship, Lessing & Zagorin (1970) found that African American college students who identified with the Black community were more active within their respective campus and community organizations. Additionally,

Maish (1977) found that African Americans who identified with the Black community and subscribed to a more pan-Africanist political ideology were more active within the Black community. As indicated, activism was found to be related to both racial identity and psychological well-being. However, activism only partially mediated the relationship between private regard and active coping. Thus, the relationship between African Americans' perceptions about Black people as a collective and active coping can only be partially explained by their levels of activism.

In regard to private regard and self-esteem, the mediational role of activism needs to be further assessed. Further review of the data indicated that the effects of activism upon self-esteem were explained or suppressed by private regard. Private regard was strongly associated with self-esteem, and African Americans in the present study who had positive views of Black people as a group reported higher self-esteem. However, the nature of the relationships between private regard, activism, and self-esteem needs to be explored further. The data suggest that it might be possible that private regard, or one's views about Black people as a group, may mediate the relationship between activism and self-esteem instead, suggesting that identity development, or private regard in particular, may be an outcome of embedding one's self in a particular community and engaging in efforts to advance that community. This increased level of activism may lead to a reevaluation of one's identity and foster positive feelings about Black people as a collective. This new evaluation of self and the collective may then be related to higher levels of self-esteem.

The role of activism in the relationship between private regard and active coping, as indicated, only partially explains the variance in coping among African Americans in

the present sample. Thus, other factors may better explain this relationship between racial identity and self-esteem. Although the findings in the present study are inconclusive and the mediational role of activism needs to be explored, in the present study, the propensity to engage in efforts to bring about change and one's commitment to his community were found to be directly related to better psychological outcomes for African Americans. Such findings not only provided greater clarity to how one's perceptions of and commitment to the community and psychological well-being were related, but they also may prove to be beneficial in developing models of psychological health for African Americans.

Hypothesis Four: Psychological empowerment and activism

As expected, psychological empowerment was related to Black activism. Thus, in the present study, African Americans who were more aware of and attuned to issues affecting their communities and reported an ability to identify and mobilize resources were more active within their respective communities. Such findings are consistent with much of the literature on psychological empowerment, activism, citizen participation, and self-efficacy. Both Lappe and Dubois (1994) and Keiffer (1984) found that individuals who were more aware of issues facing their community were more likely to be active and involved in various organizations throughout their community.

Limitations

There were several limitations in the present study. Addressing them in future studies will provide a better understanding of the relationship between African American psychological functioning, racial attitudes, and propensity to engage in efforts to

effectuate change. The limitations in the study centered on sampling, methodology, and measurement.

Sampling

The first limitation was related to the sample in the present study. Researchers in the study chose to only use African Americans from the church community. Although the church is an integral part of the African American community, not all African Americans consistently attend church. Given that the participants sampled in the study were from all-Black churches and historically the Black church has been the primary context for affirmation of one's faith and a sense of empowerment, it is also a context that provides African Americans social support and community connectedness. Given that this is a highly integrated context where there are few all-Black spaces for African Americans to convene, African Americans who do not attend church may differ in regards to racial attitudes, sense of empowerment, community connectedness, and psychological well-being. Thus, these findings cannot be generalized to African Americans who do not attend church.

Methodology

Longitudinal or lifespan approach

Additionally, to assess the consistency of responding to these variables over time, a lifespan or longitudinal approach may provide better information on the mediational roles of psychological empowerment and activism over time. Such a line of inquiry may assess whether a sense of belonging, commitment, involvement, and psychological well-being are functions of age in that, as Blacks continue to navigate the life span and cultivate wisdom about themselves and their ecological space, they become wiser and

more psychologically healthy. Results of the present study indicated that age was positively related to psychological empowerment, activism, and self-esteem. Thus, older African Americans in the sample reported a higher sense of empowerment, involvement in the Black community, and higher self-esteem. Future studies employing a lifespan approach may be better able to discern the role of maturation in understanding the forementioned relationships. Given the complexity and difficulty in assessing psychological constructs among people of color, the utility of cross-sectional methods has been called into question. Researchers consistently point out the inability of cross-sectional research to provide an understanding of behavior across context, space, and time. Thus, future assessments of various psychological phenomena should employ a longitudinal design.

Use of collaterals

As indicated, additional data was collected from collaterals. The collaterals were chosen to speak upon participants' level of activism in the last five years. Results of the data indicated that there was no relationship between participants' reported level of activism and the collaterals' perceptions of participant activism. From a thorough review of the data, many of the collaterals indicated that, although they knew that the participants were active within the Black community, they could not speak upon specific activist activities conducted by the participants nor the frequency of such activities. Subsequent analyses were conducted to assess the relationship between items to which both participants and collaterals frequently responded. The results again indicated that there was no relationship. Such inconsistencies in reporting on the part of the collaterals and the participants do call into question the validity of the activism measure and could be

explained by over-reporting or under-reporting by both parties. However, given the cultural make up of the population under study and the social, geographical, and structural barriers (i.e., new highways, gentrification, and class separation) experienced over the years in their respective communities, collateral responses could be reflective of the limited interaction that they have with the participants due to the forementioned impingements. Also, given that the participants' reported level of activism and the collaterals' perceptions of that activism were self-report data and researchers have consistently cited problems with self-report data, future research investigating actual behaviors may find it best, when employing collaterals, to select individuals who are affiliated with the same group or engage in similar behaviors, which are the foci of the study. Researchers using collaterals to investigate health-related behaviors and mental disorders have found the use of collaterals exhibiting similar behaviors or diagnosed with the same disorders to be beneficial in verifying participants' behavior (Stasiewicz, et al., 1997). The use of such procedures in ascertaining activist behavior may provide more accurate information about participants' actual behaviors and make for a more rigorous analysis.

Use of qualitative techniques

Employing qualitative methods such as interviews and focus groups may be of critical import in furthering our understanding of psychological well-being, given African Americans' propensity toward the oral tradition and a reflexive, cognitive approach to solving problems and discussing issues relevant to their community (Nobels, 1976; Kambon, 1992). Recent research on African American parenting and perceptions of cancer treatment trials have found the use of focus groups beneficial in better



understanding how African American men socialize their adolescent children and identifying barriers to participation in cancer treatment trials for high risk African American women (Williams, et al., 2004). As noted, the use of qualitative techniques in understanding African American psychological functioning and challenges faced in their respective communities may provide social scientists with a more critical understanding of the African American community. Such clarity will lead to the development of more effective interventions, which are needed to address problems in the African American community.

Measurements

Reevaluating racial identity

As noted, much of the discourse on African American mental health and psychological well-being has been tabled by racial identity theorists (Horowitz, 1939; Parham and Helms, 1985; Chambers, et al., 1998; Sellers, et al., 1998). Although there have been a number of studies assessing the relationship between racial identity and self-concept, there does not seem to be conceptual clarity on how racial identity should be defined for African Americans. Results of the present study, employing two measures of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity, are evident of such inconsistencies in that only the private regard, and not racial centrality, was related to psychological health. Item analysis and factor analysis indicated that the MIBI had poor internal consistency, and many of the items did not load on the factors proposed by the author. Such inconsistencies in the present study and others suggest that: 1) These scales may need to be used independently of each other, and 2) There may be a need to reevaluate not only how social scientists think about identity but also a need to assess the contextual nature of

racial identity and race related attitudes, given the high degree of diversity and intercultural exchange since desegregation. Such an assessment is consistent with Harrell (1991), Burlew and Smith (1991), and Livingston (1999), who each argued for the creation and use of identity measures that not only are context specific but are reflective of contemporary psycho-political themes.

Implications

Although some of the primary hypotheses in the study were supported, the mediational roles of psychological empowerment and activism must be further explored. Navigating this line of inquiry not only has important implications for the advancement of the literature but, as noted, also has implications for the development of models of mental health, which are reflective of African American cultural and social experiences. An investigation into the roles of psychological empowerment and activism and the process of becoming empowered may shed light upon additional factors that are conducive to better psychological outcomes for African Americans. Additionally, a better understanding of one's activism and involvement in his or her respective community and how that relates to better psychological outcomes is of critical import. Consistent with that of empowerment, a better understanding of the role of activism in the Black community will advance our understanding of how active involvement in social change and resistance to racism have played important roles in the psychological and socio-cultural lives of Blacks here in America.

As noted, addressing the lack of conceptual clarity among social scientists investigating the relationship between racial identity and Black psychological functioning is of critical import. However, continued assessments of factors that may mediate this

relationship may bring more clarity to what factors are associated with healthy psychological functioning for African Americans. Research on empowerment and activism in the African American community and the political and ideological positions that undergird such behavior may give social scientists more insight in the relationship between African American mental health, identity, and behaviors they engage in to counter racism and structural strain. Furthering our understanding of the roles of psychological empowerment and activism and their relationship to psychological health will provide social scientists not only with more insight into the relationship between the formentioned variables, but it may also prove beneficial in the development of interventions to enhance the Black community. Given the importance of an individual's ecology in influencing his or her identity, self-concept, and psychological well-being, efforts should be directed towards creating settings and experiences, which facilitate and are conducive to developing strong racial identity, a sense of empowerment, racial solidarity, and respect for Black culture and Black people (Livingston, 1999).

Future Directions

The present study attempted to elucidate the relationship between racial identity, psychological empowerment, and activism in African Americans. Many of the hypotheses were supported. However, it becomes evident that further work is needed to determine how racial identity should be conceptualized for African Americans and bring clarity to what factors are conducive to developing positive psychological outcomes for African Americans. The present study furthers our understanding of such factors by assessing the relationships of activism and empowerment with that of identity and psychological well-being. Such an analysis moves the literature away from only investigating race and racial

attitudes, but in the present line of inquiry, social scientists gain a better understanding of how African Americans perceive their socio-political context and the subsequent behaviors they engage in to empower the Black community and counter racism. Broadening our understanding of factors related to psychological health in African Americans will lead to a better assessment of Black psychological functioning and development over the life span and prove beneficial in the development of appropriate models of mental health.

Future research assessing the relationships between African American racial identity, racial attitudes, empowerment, activism, and psychological well-being must also investigate other factors that may mediate the relationships between racial identity, race-related attitudes, and self-esteem. Factors such as enrollment in Black Studies courses, racial socialization, and one's experience with racism have all been found to be factors related to racial identity and psychological well-being (Horowitz, 1939; Banks, 1976; McAdoo, 1985; Baldwin, 1987; Carter, 1991; Livingston, 1999; Martin, 2001).

Additionally, future studies should adhere to the recommendations given by Burlew and Smith (1991) and Vandiver, et al. (2000) regarding investigating racial identity among African Americans. Burlew and Smith (1991), in their conceptualization of the four types of racial identity, suggest that measures of racial identity are not alike, and researchers should choose a measure of racial identity consistent with the research question they propose to investigate. Thus, if the researcher is interested in whether an African American sample adheres to a race-first political ideology and has a stronger propensity toward group solidarity, then a Group-based approach to racial identity should be employed. Furthermore, if the researcher is interested in whether African Americans'

identity is consistent with an African-centered worldview orientation then an African-centered approach to racial identity should be employed. In regards to Vandiver, et al. (2000), as indicated, in choosing a measure of racial identity, researchers should account for the intersection of race, class, and the degree of acculturation among African American participants. An assessment of the aforementioned may better explain the researchers' results and accounts for the diversity in Black behavior, attitudes, and cultural experiences.

Moreover, future studies of racial identity must include representative samples of the African American community. Many of the studies conducted over the last 30 to 40 years have primarily been conducted among a college-aged sample. Thus, likened to that of what we know about normative and non-normative behaviors among Whites, contemporary psychology is mostly built upon our understanding of individuals 19 to 22 years of age. Given that this is a transitory period in the development of most individuals, applying results from studies conducted on this demographic to the general population is problematic. Therefore, if we are to understand the complexity of Black behavior across the lifespan, a more representative group will have to be sampled.

In conclusion, future studies on racial identity, as indicated, must assess other factors that are related to psychological health in African Americans. Given the propensity toward an interdependent/collectivist and spiritual orientation among African Americans, future studies should assess what roles social support and spirituality play in the daily lives of African Americans. Furthermore, studies should assess how spirituality and communal connectedness, or an extended concept of self, are related to better psychological outcomes. Entertaining such a line of inquiry in future studies and

adhering to the aforementioned should lead to the creation of strength-based models of psychological health for African Americans and, hopefully, answer the question of how and under what context does healthy psychological functioning occur for African Americans.

APPENDICES

CONSENT FORM

Appendix A

African American Psychological Well-being

Participant consent form

The purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between racial identity, psychological empowerment, activism, and psychological well being in African Americans. The project is being conducted in conjunction with the graduate program in psychology at Michigan State University. The survey will take approximately 45 minutes to complete. You will be asked a series of questions to respond to and rate. Please respond as honestly as possible. There are no right or wrong answers to any question or statement to which you will respond.

All information you provide in the survey will be kept confidential and will only be available to Jonathan Livingston and members of his research staff. Your identity will be kept confidential. Only the researcher and research chairperson will have access to your responses. For your participation in the current study, your name will be placed in a drawing for one of four cash prizes (\$100, \$50, and two for \$25).

If you have any questions about the study, either now or later, contact Dr. Penny Foster-Fishman at (517) 353-5015 or Jonathan Livingston at (517) 487-1816. Your participation in this study is voluntary, and you may refuse to participate at any time.

If you have any questions regarding your rights as a human subject in this study, please contact the chair, Dr. Ashir Kumar, of Michigan State University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects, 202 Olds Hall (MSU), East Lansing, 48824-1046; call at (517) 355-2180, fax at (517) 432-4503, by email at ucrihs@msu.edu, or for additional information, visit the website at www.msu.edu/user/ucrihs.

By signing your signature below, you have read the above purpose and procedures of this study and agree to voluntarily participate in the study.

Signature _____

Name _____

Date _____

Research staff _____

Appendix B

Letter to Churches

The African American Activism and Psychological Well-being Project

Dear Potential Participants,

My name is Jonathan Livingston, and I am a doctoral student at Michigan State University in the Department of Ecological/Community Psychology. Currently, I am conducting a study to determine the relationship between racial identity, psychological empowerment, activism, and psychological well being among African Americans. To gain a better understanding of how these variables are related, I am soliciting various churches throughout the Greater Lansing area in an effort to secure permission to ask church members they would be willing to participate in the study.

The African American Activism and Psychological Well-being Project is designed to gather information from African Americans about their involvement in activities that are specifically designed to address the concerns and needs of the Black community as well as assess the psychological impact that activism and involvement have upon African Americans. To gain this information, we are asking your organization to allow us an opportunity to talk to your members about their possible participation in the project. For those members who agree to participate, we will ask them to complete a 40-45-minute questionnaire, which will include some basic background information and a few questions regarding racial attitudes, community involvement, and psychological well being.

Compensation: Individuals who agree to participate in this study will have their names placed in a cash drawing for one of four prizes (\$100, \$50, and two for \$25). At the completion of data collection, participants whose names were drawn will be notified and prizes awarded shortly after.

Confidentiality: Several steps have been taken to help ensure your rights to privacy. Participants will not be required to place their names on the questionnaires. Instead, code numbers will be applied to each measure. Only my staff and I will have access to the surveys. Thus, your privacy will be protected to the maximum extent allowable by law.

Prior to questionnaire and scale administration, participants in the study will be provided with a consent form and given the opportunity to ask questions and the right to refuse to answer any questions on the measures that makes them uncomfortable. This work has direct benefits not only for those human service professionals who work with African Americans, but it will also have a profound impact on the Black community's understanding of what factors are conducive to positive mental health for Black people. The project will also provide insight into how we, as African Americans, should best approach problems affecting the Black community. I will be contacting you in the next couple of weeks to set up a meeting. If you have any questions or wish to speak with me, please contact me at the number provided below.

If you have any questions regarding your rights as a human subject in this study, please contact the chair, Dr. Ashir Kumar, of Michigan State University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects, 202 Olds Hall (MSU), East Lansing, 48824-1046; call at (517) 355-2180, fax at (517) 432-4503, by email at ucrihs@msu.edu, or for additional information, visit the website at www.msu.edu/user/ucrihs

I appreciate your time given in reviewing this letter, and I look forward to meeting with you and your members to learn more about their experiences and perspectives.

Sincerely,

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Appendix C

Demographic Information

Please answer all questions as honestly as you can. There are no right or wrong responses.

1). Age _____ 2). Gender M____ F____

Please circle one of the following

3). Which of the following best characterizes the racial group to which you belong?

- a) African
- b) African-American/Black
- c) Chicano, Latino or of Hispanic Ancestry
- d) Puerto Rican
- e) White
- f) Caribbean
- g) Mixed race _____
- h) Other _____

4) Which of the following best approximates the racial composition of your hometown neighborhood?

- a) 75%-100% African American
- b) 50%-74% African American
- c) 25%-49% African American
- d) less than 25% African American

5). While in grade school, with which caregiver(s) did you live?

- a) Mother and Father
- b) Mother
- c) Father
- d) Grandparent
- e) Step parent
- f) Legal Guardian or member of extended family

6). Which of the following would best approximate your family's annual pre-tax income?

- a) \$15,000 or less
- b) \$15,001-\$30,000
- c) \$30,001-\$45,000
- d) \$45,001-\$60,000
- e) \$60,001-\$80,000
- f) \$80,001-\$100,000
- g) over \$100,000

7). Indicate highest level of education of mother or female guardian.

- a) 8th grade or less
- b) Some high school
- c) High school graduate
- d) Some college
- e) College graduate
- f) Graduate school
- g) Don't know

8). Indicate highest level of education of father or male guardian.

- a) 8th grade or less
- b) Some high school
- c) High school graduate
- d) Some college
- e) College graduate
- f) Graduate school
- g) Don't know

9). What is your highest level of education?

- a) 8th grade or less
- b) Some high school
- c) High school graduate
- d) Some college
- e) College graduate
- f) Graduate school

10). Are you currently enrolled in school?

- a) Yes
- b) No

11) As indicated in the information session, the present study is conducted in an attempt to assess the relationship between racial identity, empowerment, activism, and psychological well-being in the Black community.

For the purpose of this particular study, a Black activist is defined as:

A person who actively engages in efforts to advance and bring about changes in the political, economic, and social lives of Black people.

Do you engage in such behavior? Yes or No

Activism is determined through the person's consistent involvement in organizations whose purpose and goals are specifically designed to maintain, protect and advance the Black community.

Do you engage in such behavior? Yes or No

Activism is further displayed in one's tendency to speak out and organize around issues that are relevant to the Black community.

Do you engage in such behavior? Yes or No

Activism includes organizing, boycotting stores, writing letters to your local newspaper, participating on school boards, etc.....

Do you engage in such behavior? Yes or No

12. Do you consider yourself an activist? Yes or No

If NO, please skip questions 13 and continue with question 14.

13. Overall, how long have you been an activist? Please indicate in

years_____ months_____ weeks_____.

14. Approximately how many **HOURS PER WEEK** do you spend engaging or participating in efforts to assist in or bring about change in the Black community (e.g. volunteering, attending and organizing meetings and events etc.)?

- a) less than two hours a week
- b) two to five hours a week
- c) five to seven hours a week
- d) 7 or more hours a week

15. Please, explain briefly some of the work that you do to bring about change in the Black community.

16. Are you involved in any organization, group, and/or program whose primary mission is to uplift the Black community and improve the situation of Black people? (Place check beside your response) Yes_____ No_____

a If yes Please provide the name of the organization_____ If you are not involved in an organization likened to the one mentioned above then skip questions 17, 18, 19, 20 and answer 21.



17. If yes, with how many are you involved?

- a) 1
- b) 2
- c) 3
- d) 4

18. How long have you been involved with these organizations?

- a) less than one year
- b) one to three years
- c) three to five years
- d) more than five years

19. Have you held a leadership position within this organization?

- a) Yes
- b) No

If yes, what position did you hold _____ ?

If no, skip question 20.

20. How long did you hold this position?

- a) less than one year
- b) one to three years
- c) three to five years
- d) more than five years

21. Do you find being active and involved in efforts to bring about change in the Black community to be rewarding?

- a) not at all
- b) some what costly
- c) neutral
- d) some what rewarding
- e) very rewarding

22) Does being active and involved have a positive impact upon you?

- a) not at all
- b) some what negative
- c) neutral
- d) some what positive
- e) very positive

23) Have you experienced much success in your efforts to bring about change in the
Black community?

- a) None at all
- b) Very little
- c) Don't know
- d) Some success
- e) A great deal of success

24. Please list any organized events, marches, or other gathering held to address problems in the African American community held in the past two years that you have attended.

Appendix D
Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity

Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each statement by placing the number, which best represents how you feel, in the space provided.

Strongly Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Disagree	Unsure	Agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

1. ___ Overall, being Black has very little to do with how I feel about myself.
2. ___ In general, being Black is an important part of my self-image.
3. ___ My destiny is tied to the destiny of other Black people.
4. ___ Being Black is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am.
5. ___ I have a strong sense of belonging to Black people.
6. ___ I have a strong attachment to other Black people.
7. ___ Being Black is an important reflection of who I am.
8. ___ Being Black is not a major factor in my social relationships.
9. ___ I feel good about Black people.
10. ___ I am happy that I am Black.
11. ___ I feel that Blacks have made major accomplishments and advancements.
12. ___ I believe that because I am Black, I have major strengths.
13. ___ I often regret that I am Black.
14. ___ Blacks contribute less to society than others.
15. ___ Overall, I often feel that Blacks are not worthwhile.

Appendix E
Psychological Empowerment Scale for African Americans

Please indicate your agreement with the following statements. Read each statement carefully and give your honest feelings about the beliefs and attitudes stated below.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Unsure	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

1. ____ It is important for me to understand how the decisions made by politicians and leaders affect the Black community.
2. ____ I am aware of those issues that affect the Black community.
3. ____ I keep track of decisions that are made that have an impact upon the Black community.
4. ____ I know where to go to get what the Black community needs to address a problem or issue.
5. ____ I know how to find out what issues are affecting the Black community.
6. ____ I have no idea whom to contact if I need to get something done in Black community.
7. ____ I know whom to contact if I need to get something done for the Black community.
8. ____ If my church or school needs money, I know people in the community who would be willing to help out.
9. ____ If a problem arises in my community or child's school, I know who to contact.
10. ____ I don't spend too much time keeping track of issues that affect the Black community.
11. ____ I know who controls the resources in my community and how they are distributed.
12. ____ When a problem arises in my community; I know how to address it.
13. ____ I can usually organize people to get things done.
14. ____ Other people usually follow my ideas.
15. ____ I find it very hard to talk to people and in front of a group.

Appendix F
Black Activism Scale

Instructions: The following is a list of activities in which some people engage. Please indicate the extent to which you have participated in each activity WITHIN THE PAST 5 YEARS and WITHIN THE PAST 1 YEAR using the scale below.

1	2	3	4
Frequently	Occasionally	Once in a while	Never

- | | In The Past
5 Years | In The Past
1 year |
|--|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Involved in a program, project, group, and/or organization geared towards helping or uplifting the Black community. | _____ | _____ |
| 2. Attended a meeting where the discussion were on issues concerning Black people. | _____ | _____ |
| 3. Participated in a demonstration/rally for a Black cause. | _____ | _____ |
| 4. Registered voters for a Black politician. | _____ | _____ |
| 5. Contacted public officials to address an issue that you felt was pertinent to the Black community. | _____ | _____ |
| 6. Raised awareness or educated others on issues that you felt were pertinent to the Black community. | _____ | _____ |
| 7. Contributed money to a Black cause. | _____ | _____ |
| 8. Raised money for a Black cause. | _____ | _____ |
| 9. Mobilize Black people to take action on a particular issue. | _____ | _____ |

10. Picketed for a Black cause. _____
11. Participated in a boycott for a Black cause. _____
12. Participated in a protest for a Black cause. _____
13. Advocated for a Black cause. _____
14. Participated in a political campaign for a Black candidate. _____
15. Participated in a Black/African American social, civic, or professional organization. _____
16. Participated in an activity to help end racism, or other forms of racial injustices. _____
17. Published an article or newsletter on issues that you felt were pertinent to Black people. _____
18. Disseminated or passed out information on issues that you felt were pertinent to the Black community. _____

Appendix G
Collateral nomination form for participant activism

Throughout this project, we have asked participants to describe themselves and their attitudes about race and race-related behaviors. In an effort to gain more information about your level of activism, we would like for you to nominate one person who can speak upon your level of activism.

As usual, none of the information you've provided will be given to the people you nominate. Likewise, the information they give us will be confidential.

Please, take a few minutes now to think about an individual who knows you well, who you spend time with, and who you've been in touch with recently. This person may be a friend, non-live-in romantic partner, fellow student, co-worker, or roommate. The following questions ask you to provide some basic information about this person, so that we may contact him/her.

In signing below, you indicate that you have read the information given above and have been given explanations about your participation in this part of the data collection. You acknowledge that the project staff has satisfactorily answered all questions about this work. Finally, you give us permission to release your name to the nominated person below as a participant in this study.

Signature

date

1. Nominee Information

Name: _____

Age: _____

Telephone

number(s): _____

Address: _____

2. How well do you know this person?

- a. Not at all
- b. A little
- c. Pretty well
- d. Very well

3. How long have you known this person?
 - a. Less than 3 months.
 - b. 3-6 months
 - c. 7-12 months
 - d. Over a year
4. What is your relationship to this person? Check all that apply.
 - a. Co-worker or fellow student
 - b. Friend
 - c. Spouse or romantic partner
 - d. Relative
 - i. cousin
 - ii. brother or sister
 - iii. aunt or uncle
 - iv. grandparent
 - e. Other _____
5. When was the last time you were in touch with this person? This could include a telephone conversation or a letter.
 - a. Within the past 3 months
 - b. 3-6 months ago
 - c. 7-12 months ago
 - d. More than a year ago
6. In what situations do you spend time with this person? Check all that apply.
 - a. School or work
 - b. Church or religious activities
 - c. Organized activities (e.g., clubs)
 - d. Informal socializing (parties, talking on the phone, dating, neighborhood)
 - e. Other _____

CONSENT FORM

Appendix H

Nominee participant consent form

The purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between racial identity, psychological empowerment, activism and psychological well-being in African Americans. The project is being conducted in conjunction with the graduate program in psychology at Michigan State University. The survey will take approximately 10 minutes to complete. You have been nominated by a friend to speak upon his/her level of activism in the Black community. You will be asked a series of questions to respond to and rate. Please respond as honestly as possible. There are no right or wrong answers to any question or statement to which you will respond.

All information you provide in the survey will be kept confidential and will only be available to Jonathan Livingston and members of his research staff. Your identity will be kept confidential. Only the researcher and research chairperson will have access to your responses.

If you have any questions about the study, either now or later, contact Dr. Penny Foster-Fishman at (517) 353-5015 or Jonathan Livingston at (517) 487-1816. Your participation in this study is voluntary, and you may refuse to participate at any time.

If you have any questions regarding your rights as a human subject in this study, please contact the chair, Dr. Ashir Kumar, of Michigan State University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects, 202 Olds Hall (MSU), East Lansing, 48824-1046; call at (517) 355-2180, fax at (517) 432-4503, by email at ucrihs@msu.edu, or for additional information, visit the website at www.msu.edu/user/ucrihs.

By signing your signature below, you have read the above purpose and procedures of this study, and agree to voluntarily participate in the study.

Signature _____

Name _____

Date _____

Research staff _____

Appendix I

Questionnaire for collateral

You have been chosen by one of your associates to speak upon his/her level of activism in the African American community. Your responses to these questions will be confidential, and none of the information will be given to the individual who has selected you to speak on his/her behalf. Please take a few minutes to read over the questions that I have given you and respond as honestly as you can.

1. How likely would your associate, _____, be to participate in an event that would be conducted to address issues concerning the Black community?
 - a. Highly likely
 - b. Likely
 - c. Not likely

For the purpose of this particular study, a Black activist is defined as:

A person who actively engages in efforts to advance and bring about change in the political, economic, and social lives of Black people.

Does your associate engage in such behavior? Yes or No

Activism is determined through the person's consistent involvement in organizations whose purpose and goals are specifically designed to maintain, protect and advance the Black community.

Does your associate engage in such behavior? Yes or No

Activism is further displayed in one's tendency to speak out and organize around issues that are relevant to the Black community.

Does your associate engage in such behavior? Yes or No

Activism includes organizing, boycotting stores, writing letters to your local newspaper, participating on school boards, etc.....

Does your associate engage in such behavior?

Yes or No

2. Would you consider your associate, _____, to be an activist?

- a. yes
- b. no

If no, skip questions 3, 4, and 5.

3. Overall, how long has this person been an activist? Please indicate in

years _____ months _____ weeks _____.

4. Approximately how many **HOURS PER WEEK** do you think this person spends engaging or participating in activist activities?

- a) less than two hours a week
- b) two to five hours a week
- c) five to seven hours a week
- d) 7 or more hours a week

5. Please explain briefly some of the primary work that this person has done as an activist.

6. Is this person involved in any organization, group, and/or program whose overall goal is to uplift the Black community and improve the situation of Black people? Please provide the name of the organization _____. If your associate is not involved in an organization likened to the one mentioned above then skip questions 7, 8, 9, and 10.

7. If yes, with how many is this person involved?

- a) 1
- b) 2
- c) 3
- d) 4



8. How long has this person been involved with these organizations?

- a) less than one year.
- b) one to three years
- c) three to five years
- d) more than five years

9. Has this person held a leadership position within this organization?

- a) Yes
- b) No

10. How long did this person hold this position?

- a) less than one year.
- b) one to three years
- c) three to five years
- d) more than five years

11. Do you think this person finds being active and involved in efforts to bring about change in the Black community rewarding?

- a) Not at all
- b) some what costly
- c) neutral
- d) some what rewarding
- e) very rewarding

12) Do you think that being active and involved has a positive impact upon this person?

- a) Not at all
- b) some what negative
- c) neutral
- d) some what positive
- e) very positive

13) Has this person experienced much success in his/her activist efforts?

- a) None at all
- b) Very little
- c) Don't know

- d) Some success
- e) A great deal of success¹⁴. Please list an organized event, march, or gathering held to address problems in the African American community held in the past two years that this person has attended.

Instructions: The following is a list of activities in which some people engage.

Please indicate the extent to which your associate has participated in each activity

WITHIN THE PAST 5 YEARS and WITHIN THE PAST 1 YEAR using

the scale below.

1	2	3	4
Frequently	Occasionally	Once in a while	Never

	In The Past 5 Years	In The Past 1 year
15. Involved in a program, project, group, and/or organization geared towards helping or uplifting the Black community.	_____	_____
16. Attended a meeting where the discussion were on issues concerning Black people.	_____	_____
17. Participated in a demonstration/rally for a Black cause.	_____	_____
18. Registered voters for a Black politician.	_____	_____
19. Contacted public officials to address an issue that you felt was pertinent to the Black community.	_____	_____
20. Raised awareness or educated others on issues that you felt were pertinent to the Black community.	_____	_____

21. Contributed money to a Black cause. _____
22. Raised money for a Black cause. _____
23. Mobilize Black people to take action on a particular issue. _____
24. Picketed for a Black cause. _____
25. Participated in a boycott for a Black cause. _____
26. Participated in a protest for a Black cause. _____
27. Advocated for a Black cause. _____
28. Participated in a political campaign for a Black candidate. _____
29. Participated in a Black/African American social, civic, or professional organization. _____
30. Participated in an activity to help end racism, or other forms of racial injustices. _____
31. Published an article or newsletter on issues that you felt were pertinent to Black people. _____
32. Disseminated or passed out information on issues that you felt were pertinent to the Black community. _____

Appendix J
Taylor's Inventory of Self-esteem

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Never	Almost never		Sometimes		Almost	Always		Always

- ___ 1. I am satisfied with the kind of person I am.
- ___ 2. I later regret things I've said.
- ___ 3. I feel happy inside.
- ___ 4. My behavior is inconsistent with my values.
- ___ 5. I tackle my problem head on.
- ___ 6. I criticize myself over the least little things.
- ___ 7. I defend my opinions.
- ___ 8. I feel ashamed of things I do.
- ___ 9. I feel proud of the way I do things.
- ___ 10. I distrust my judgment.
- ___ 11. I think about things I've done well.
- ___ 12. My problems get the best of me.
- ___ 13. I have a sense of purpose.
- ___ 14. I worry.
- ___ 15. I follow through on decisions I make.
- ___ 16. I dwell on my faults.



Appendix K
John Henryism Active Coping Scale

The questions below concern how you see yourself, today, as a person living and doing things in the real world. Read each carefully, and then write the number of the response, which best describes how you feel, on the line next to the question. Each person is different, so there are no "Right" or "Wrong" answers. We would simply like an honest appraisal of how you generally see yourself.

For each of the following statements, please select one of these responses:

Completely True = 1
Somewhat True = 2

Don't Know = 3

Somewhat False = 4
Completely False = 5

- ____ 1. I've always felt that I could make of my life pretty much what I wanted to make of it.
- ____ 2. Once I make up my mind to do something, I stay with it until the job is completely done.
- ____ 3. I like doing things that other people thought could not be done.
- ____ 4. When things don't go the way I want them to, that just makes me work even harder.
- ____ 5. Sometimes, I feel that if anything is going to be done right, I have to do it myself.
- ____ 6. It's not always easy, but I manage to find a way to do the things I really need to get done.
- ____ 7. Very seldom have I been disappointed by the results of my hard work.
- ____ 8. I feel that I am the kind of individual who stands up for what he believes in, private regardless of the consequences.
- ____ 9. In the past, even when things got really tough, I never lost sight of my goals.

- ____ 10. It's not important for me to be able to do things the way I want to do them rather than the way other people want me to do them.
- ____ 11. I don't let my personal feelings get in the way of doing a job.
- ____ 12. Hard work has really helped me to get ahead in life.

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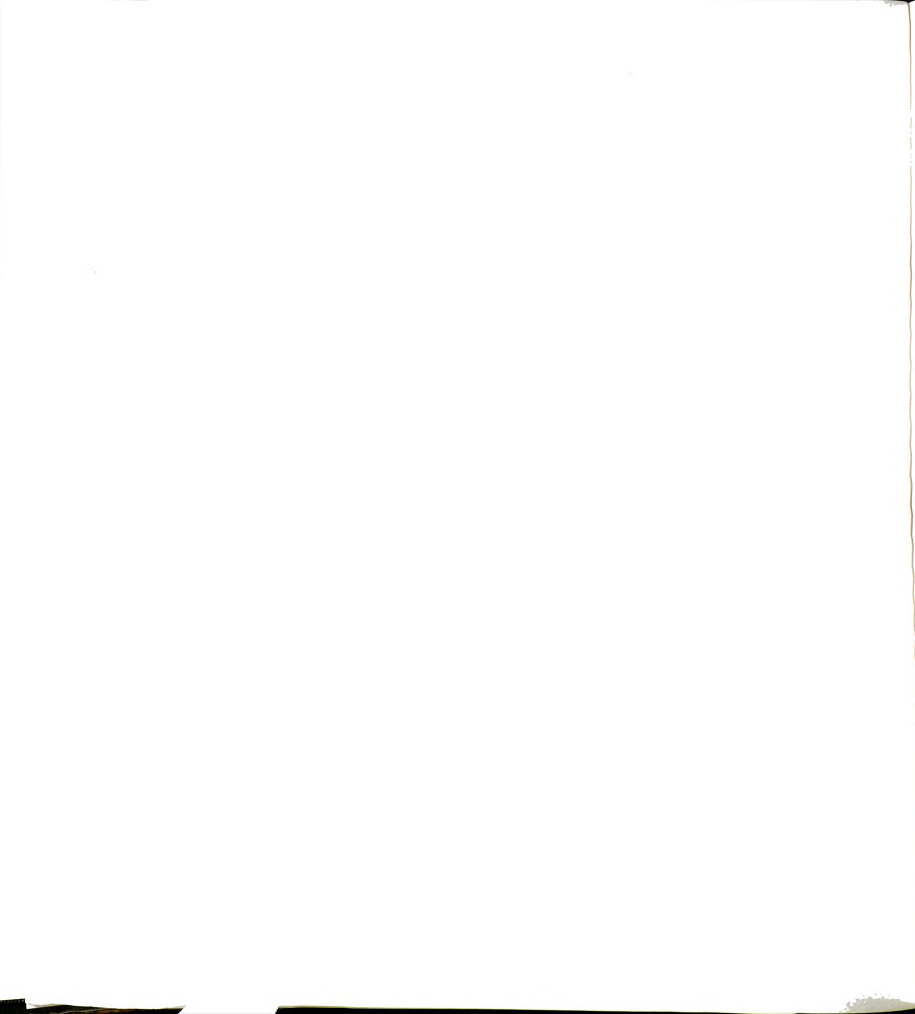


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