2009

Examining the Relations between Racial Identity Attitudes, Afrocentrism, and Dating Preferences and Behaviors among African Americans

Michelle Ocen

BARRY UNIVERSITY

Examining the Relations between Racial Identity Attitudes, Afrocentrism, and Dating
Preferences and Behaviors among African Americans

by

Michelle Ocen

Barry University

A THESIS

Submitted to the Faculty of
Barry University in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Science

Miami Shores, Florida

5/7/2009

BARRY UNIVERSITY

A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirement for the degree of
Master of Science

Examining the Relations between Racial Identity Attitudes, Afrocentrism, and Dating
Preferences and Behaviors among African Americans
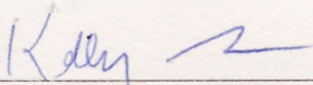
by

Michelle Ocen

Approved:

_____
Laura Ferrer-Wreder, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of Psychology

_____
Karen A. Callaghan, Ph.D.
Dean, College of Arts and Sciences

_____
Kelly Laurence, Ph.D.
Instructor, Department of Psychology

_____
May 8, 2009
Date

Abstract

In the present study, the relations between racial identity attitudes, affective meaning of race, Afrocentrism, and dating preferences and behaviors were examined in a sample of 65 adult African Americans. Results indicated that individuals whose salient identity feature is that of being of African descent are more likely to prefer to date and date intra-racially. Individuals who adopt a Black identity and two or more other non-racial identities tend to date interracially. Implications of findings as they related to racial identity attitudes, personal beliefs, and interpersonal relationships will be discussed.

Examining the Relations between Racial Identity Attitudes, Afrocentrism, and Dating

Preferences and Behaviors of African Americans

Ego Identity Development

The study of racial identity has been influenced by the ego identity development theories of Erik Erikson and James Marcia (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Erikson (1969) referred to ego identity as a person's feeling of oneness and constancy that provides him or her with a unique sense of self and influences choices in important areas of life. Ego development is a process that occurs over several years and culminates during adolescence when the individual is first faced with the crisis of identity formation (Erikson, 1969). The important task during this period is for the adolescent to reconcile his or her own personal traits, characteristics, wishes, desires, and goals with that of larger society. Once this is done, the individual has developed a unique sense of self and identity. Without proper resolution of the identity crisis, the individual experiences role confusion.

The study of ego identity was furthered by the research of Marcia (1969). Marcia operationalized two concepts that were essential to the formation of an ego identity: exploration of identity issues and commitment within relevant domains. These concepts form the foundation of the identity status model. The diffused status applies to individuals who have no unique identity and are not actively pursuing one. The foreclosed status applies to those who have accepted the identity ascribed to them by significant others and/or society. The moratorium status describes individuals who are actively exploring their own interests, goals and personalities and who they will become. The most developmentally advanced status is achievement. Here individuals have

explored their identity and resolved their search for their role in society and are comfortable with who they have become. Individuals have both explored their personal characteristics and committed to their ego identity. The development of a unique identity is also important in the context of racial identity.

Racial identity development and general identity development are important complimentary processes. The determination of one's role in society can be both positively and negatively influenced by one's cultural background. A complete knowledge of your own culture's history is an essential element in the discovery of the self as a whole. Additionally, it is speculated that general identity development is a precursor to the racial identity development, and identity exploration is a normal part of discovering a healthy racial identity (Branch, 2001).

Ethnic/Racial Identity

Ethnic identity research has emerged as a relevant area of study in the past several years in part due to the multicultural makeup of the United States. Many researchers have focused on ethnic identity development irrespective of race and others have focused on the development of a multicultural identity. It is first important to differentiate between racial identity and ethnic identity. These two terms are often used interchangeably but have markedly different political and social implications.

Race can be "defined as a social construct created with the intention of maintaining social norms, often driven by the dominant social group" (Sherry, Wood, Jackson, & Kaslow, 2006, p. 1366). It is often used to continue inequalities and disparities in resources, economics, and institutions. Racial identity is conceptualized as

a person's identity as it relates to the dominant society's perception of that race (Sherry, Wood, Jackson, & Kaslow, 2006).

"Ethnicity refers to the national, regional, or tribal origins of one's ancestors and the customs, traditions, and rituals transmitted across generations" (Sherry, Wood, Jackson, & Kaslow, 2006, p. 1366). Phinney (1989) defined ethnic identity as an important aspect of the self that includes a sense of membership in an ethnic group and the attitudes and feelings associated with that membership. For the purpose of this research, the term racial identity will be used to describe all individuals of African descent that have a shared history of oppression, discrimination, and similar values and belief systems.

Like ego identity, racial identity is also theorized to be the result of a developmental process that occurs over several years and multitude of experiences. Many theorists have proposed stages of development of racial identity. Many of these theorists have based their work on the research and writings early social psychologists (Phinney & Ong, 2007). For example, Tajfel and Turner (1986) theorized that ethnic identity is one component of an individual's overall social identity, which is how and why individuals identify with and behave as a part of any particular group. Tajfel and Turner (1986) defined ethnic identity as the element of a person's self-concept that is created by his or her knowledge, experiences, and emotional attachment in reference to a particular social group membership.

One such theory is Phinney's model of ethnic identity development (1989). This theory is unique in that it does not propose a developmental pattern for one race in particular, instead a general guideline for the development of any racial/ethnic identity.

Phinney's model divides the development of an ethnic identity into three stages. In the unexamined stage, individuals have not examined their ethnic identity. They have neither positive nor negative feelings associated with being a member of their ethnic group. Additionally, they place very little importance on the ethnic backgrounds of others. In the ethnic identity search and exploration stage individuals begin to search for the meaning of being a member of their ethnic group. They reflect on the cultural contributions and historical significance of their heritage. In the achieved ethnic identity stage, individuals have explored their ethnic group membership, understand the meaning and importance of being a part of their cultural group, incorporate their it into their self- concept, and recognize its importance in social contexts.

Recently, Phinney and Ong (2007) modified this theory to include several other important components of ethnic identity. More specifically, they identified self-categorization, exploration, commitment and attachment, and ethnic behaviors as important components of ethnic identity. Self- categorizing is an individual self defining himself or herself as a member of a group or ethnicity. Self- identification is an important first step in measuring an individual's level of ethnic identity. Exploration is the process of searching for information about customs, traditions, and history of one's culture. Exploration can involve informal activities such as speaking with others, listening to music, attending cultural festivals and learning about cultural practices, or more formal activities such as academic studies about one's culture. Commitment and attachment refer to an individual's sense of belonging and personal investment in a group. Ethnic behaviors are an important aspect of racial/ethnic identity and have been included as constructs in several ethnic/racial identity measures (Mutisya & Ross, 2005; Phinney &

Ong, 2007). These behaviors are usually tailored to one ethnic or racial group in particular and include activities such as listening to the music, eating ethnic food, being involved in cultural activities, and associating with members of one's group.

Racial Identity in People of African Descent

Pioneers in the fields of ethnic and racial identity have determined that African Americans have a rich and unique cultural and historical background and that the experiences and perceptions of being Black in America are worthy to be studied in their own right. Several theorists have defined racial identity specifically for people in the African Diaspora and have developed theories of Black racial identity development. Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, and Chavous (1998) defined racial identity in African Americans as the significance and meaning that individuals attribute to their membership within the Black racial group and within their self-concept.

The importance of the development of a healthy racial identity in African Americans has been studied since the work of early African American psychologists. In their famous doll study, Clark and Clark (1947) found that African American children chose dolls with Caucasian characteristics over dolls with African American characteristics when asked which doll was pretty, nice, and most desirable to play with . Additionally, when asked to color a portrait of themselves they tended to color their skin lighter than their natural complexion (e.g., using yellow or beige crayons instead of brown). This implied that African American children internalized the negative views and stereotypes associated with the African American race and ethnicity from the dominant oppressive society, which resulted in a preference for the majority population. Additionally, these findings suggested that without the encouragement of developing a

healthy racial identity, African American children failed to internalize and take pride in their own culture. These results were so significant that they were used in the Brown v. Board of education case to help overturn racial segregation in the school system. These results made it clear that the development of a healthy racial identity is necessary for African Americans.

Although the political and social climate in the United States has changed since the seminal work of Clark and Clark (1947), African Americans are still an oppressed minority that is disenfranchised from the larger American society. Devos and Banaji (2005) found through six separate studies involving several different ethnic/racial groups (African American, Asian American, and White) that both implicitly and explicitly the term Black was not synonymous with American, but the term White was. Based on these findings the authors implied that some African Americans may not perceive themselves as American. This may be due to a lack of resources or opportunities at what some call "the American dream." Additionally, these results suggested that individuals who are members of other cultural groups in the United States may not view African Americans as Americans either. So in their own eyes and the eyes of others, African Americans may still be perceived as less a part of American culture than their White counterparts.

These findings that African Americans may not be perceived or may not perceive themselves as American intensifies the argument that the development of a healthy African American identity is necessary for the contemporary African American. One may argue that if African Americans are not perceived as a part of the mainstream ideal it becomes imperative that they create a unique and positive identity for themselves. Not only is it important for their self- concept, but the development of a racial/ethnic identity

can serve as a buffer against distress (Jones, Cross, & DeFour, 2007; Quintana, 2007; Seaton, Sellers, & Scottham, 2006).

Research has shown that African Americans perceive racism in their immediate environment even when subjected to ambiguous stimuli (Bennet, Merrit, Edwards, & Sollers, 2004). These researchers exposed African American participants to ambiguous interpersonal conversations that contained both ambiguous and overtly racist content and examined their affective responses. Although researchers found that negative affect was higher in the blatantly racist condition, negative affect was higher than what would be expected in the ambiguous condition with no racist content. These findings suggested that due to the oppressive history of African Americans and presumed previous experiences with racism, some African Americans frequently perceive racial discrimination. Researchers have also suggested that African Americans today may not experience blatant acts of racism but rather several small acts of racism known as daily life stressors, that over a life time may result in stress and depression (Jones, Cross, & DeFour, 2007; Meyers, 2003). Daily life stressors can include small acts of discrimination such as being followed around a supermarket, not being able to hail a taxicab, or being pulled over by the police due to racial profiling. Considering these findings, it is evident that the development of a racial identity is important for the psychological well being of African Americans, as researchers have found that a healthy racial/ethnic identity serves as a buffer against racist acts and prejudice (Jones, Cross, & DeFour, 2007; Quintana, 2007).

A healthy racial identity for the African American entails having an understanding of the historical plight of African Americans in the United States. This entails recognizing that historically African Americans were, and arguably still are, an

oppressed minority. This awareness supports later interpersonal relationship dynamics, and functioning within an oppressive society for African Americans (Quintana, 2007). Racial/ ethnic identity serves as both an awareness of racism and a protective factor against its harmful effects.

In addition to acting as a buffer against race- related negative experiences, a strong sense of racial identity has also been found to have several positive associations within African American research samples (Dubois & Hirsch, 1990; Phinney et al. 2005; Quintana, 2007; Seaton,Sellers, & Scottham, 2006; Thomas, Townsend, & Belgrave 2003). Several studies have highlighted the relation between racial/ethnic identity and self-esteem. Buckley and Carter (2005) found that having a strong Black identity was associated with higher levels of self- esteem and more androgynous sex roles among Black adolescent girls. Phinney, Cantu and Kurtz (2005) found that a sense of cultural belonging was associated with higher levels of self-esteem in a sample of Black adolescents. Additionally, Pierre and Mahalik (2005) found that more mature stages of racial/ethnic identity based on the Racial Identity Attitude Scale (i.e., more achieved statuses) were associated with Afrocentric orientation, less psychological distress, and higher self- reported levels of self-esteem among African American males. Additionally, Seaton, Sellers, and Scottham, (2006) found that African Americans with a stronger sense of racial/ethnic identity had fewer depressive symptoms when compared to African Americans who did not identify strongly with their race/ethnicity. These findings suggest that developing a strong sense of racial/ethnic identity instills a sense of pride in an individual. This sense of pride and positive affect towards one's culture and racial group may contribute to a positive self-concept and in turn higher levels of self- esteem.

Contemporary research has suggested that the positive associations with racial identity also impact the academic aspect of individual's lives. In a review of recent literature Quintana (2007) found that African Americans with a well developed sense of racial/ethnic identity performed better in school when compared to African Americans with lower levels of racial/ethnic identity. DuBois and Hirsch (1990) also found that racial/ethnic identity among African Americans was associated with better academic performance. A possible explanation for this finding is that individuals with a positive ethnic or racial identity are better adjusted than those without positive ethnic or racial identities, and this facilitates school performance. Additionally, these individuals may see themselves as representatives of the Black race, and take a great deal of pride in providing positive images about it.

Racial Identity Development

There can be many factors associated with the development of racial identity. One of the more pervasive and well supported catalysts that may stimulate racial identity development is exposure to a racist event (Cross, 1971; 1991; French, Seidman, Allen, & Aber, 2006; Hamm, Brown, & Heck, 2005; Sherry et al., 2006). Many theorists have proposed that prior to a racist event, race or ethnicity is not salient in many African Americans' lives or individual self-concepts, nor do they apply significant meaning to the races of others; they regard themselves and others as part of the human race. It is only when their status as minorities has been made salient by dominant society that they begin to place importance on the role of race in their lives (Cross, 1971; 1991; French 2006; Quintana, 2007; Sherry, Wood, Jackson, & Kaslow, 2006). Experiencing a racist event is often perceived as the first step towards developing an African American racial identity.

This hypothesis has been supported by a great deal of empirical research. For example, moving from a racially homogenous environment to a racially heterogeneous environment has been found to stimulate racial exploration within minorities (French, 2006). Although moving to a racially heterogeneous environment is not a racist event per se, it may be seen as a significant event for individuals whose race was not previously salient. Pahl and Way (2006) found that ethnic identity exploration declined from middle to high school among African Americans, but this deceleration was partially mediated by perceived discrimination. These results suggested that as levels of perceived discrimination increased, ethnic/racial exploration also increases. This suggests that as individuals perceive discrimination in their environment they continue to explore their ethnic and racial identities. In another examination of racist events and ethnic identity in a sample of low income African Americans, Sherry et al. (2006) found that as the number of racist events one experienced increased so did levels of ethnic behaviors and exploration. Of these, the strongest association was found between life- time racist events and ethnic behaviors. Additional findings were that as African Americans experienced more racist events, they increased their identification with the African American race and decreased their affiliation with people of other ethnic backgrounds. These findings suggest that as African Americans are oppressed, discriminated against, and treated unequally by the dominant society, they seek out information about their cultural heritage and create ways in which to derive meaning and pride based upon membership in the African American culture. These findings provide support for the idea that racism and discrimination are important factors in the development of ethnic and racial identity among African Americans.

Another important influence on the development of an African American racial identity is family context and socialization. Adolescents who are raised in homes which encourage knowledge about African and African American history and display a sense of pride in their cultural heritage are more likely to have positive feelings towards their race (Branch, 2001). In an examination of African American families and socialization practices, McHale et al. (2006) found that when African American mother's cultural socialization was associated with their children's ethnic identity development their children. This implies that as mothers engaged in more cultural socialization with their children the children developed a sense of ethnic identity and pride.

Additional findings suggest that the combination of mother's and father's racial socialization was associated with higher levels of locus of control among children. This implies that if both the mother and father engage in racial socialization with their children, the children will have a greater sense of control over their environment and future. Mutisya and Ross (2005) found a relation between racial socialization practices and Afrocentricity. Results of this research indicated that as parents racially socialize their children, they are concurrently teaching them about Afrocentric values and customs. Afrocentricity is an important aspect of a healthy ethnic identity due to its appreciation for and knowledge of African history and cultural values. Bennet (2006) explored several neighborhood factors that relate to racial identity. He found that urban hassles were negatively associated with ethnic identity; however, this relation was influenced by parental socialization practices. This implies that urban hassles may be associated with the strength of racial identity but if parents socialize their child in preparation for these hassles and stresses, these negative influences may not affect the quality of children's

ethnic identity. These studies provide support for the notion that parental socialization, neighborhood contexts, and racial socialization influence racial identity development and quality among African Americans.

Cross' Nigrescence Model

One of the first and most influential theories of Black racial identity was Cross' Nigresence model (Cross, 1971; 1991), which was developed by Cross in 1971 and has undergone several revisions. The most recent revision, the expanded Nigrescence theory (NT-E; Cross & Vandiver, 2001) describes several different racial identity attitudes an individual can have. The NT-E consists of four identity attitudes: Pre-encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization.

Individuals in the Pre-encounter stage are those African Americans who have adopted and accepted the values and norms of the dominant White society, while concurrently rejecting traditionally Black values and norms. These individuals are described as having Black self- hatred and pro-White attitudes. Due to the self- hatred they are believed to suffer from low self-esteem, poor mental health, and impaired personality (Vandiver, 2001). This hypothesis has been supported by empirical work of Pierre and Mahalik (2005) who found that African Americans with this racial identity attitude had lower levels of self-esteem and greater psychological distress than those in more achieved stages.

The NT-E Pre-encounter identity has three sub categories. Pre-encounter assimilationists describes Black individuals who embrace a social identity that does not reflect a particular group identity. For example, he or she will embrace being American and or an individual as opposed to being African American. As a result of this, this

individual is disengaged with the Black community and may work to alleviate "race based" programs (e.g., race specific after school programs) and has a disdain for Black culture. The Pre-encounter self-hatred identity describes those individuals who have accepted and internalized negative stereotypes about African Americans, and as a result, hate the Black race in general and hate being Black. Pre-encounter miseducation describes individuals who accept as truth stereotypical information about Blacks. As a result of this, this individual perceives very little strength in the Black community and is disengaged with it. Additionally, this individual is not impacted by these negative beliefs because he or she compartmentalizes the fact that he or she is Black.

The immersion-emersion social attitude describes individuals who have immersed themselves in Black history and culture. This immersion is so intense it is described as romanticizing Black culture (Vandiver, 2001). This sudden immersion into Black culture affects many aspects of the African American's life, including social and political ideology, fashion, behavior, and speech. As a result, a strong pro-Black / anti-White ideology is adopted (i.e., everything Black is good and everything White is bad). Emersion involves an affective calming and reexamination of race and race relations. Following this reevaluation, individuals balance their emotional ties to African American culture and their beliefs about other races which will lead to the loss of an anti-White ideology.

The internalization social attitude involves both internalization of a racial identity and commitment to the Black culture. Internalization is best described as an affective and cognitive acceptance of being Black in America. Commitment refers to when an individual combines his or her Black love and acceptance with political and community

involvement. This can be manifested by fighting for civil rights for African Americans, giving back to the African American community through volunteering education, or scholarly work to uplift African Americans.

Cross and Vandiver (2001) defined three identities an individual can adopt within Internalization: Black Nationalist, Biculturalist, and Multiculturalist. For the Black Nationalist, being Black is the only salient identity. For the Bicultualist, there is a combination of two cultural identities. For example, being Black and being American. The Multiculturalist identity applies to those individuals who have three or more salient identity features. These may include ethnic or racial identities, gender identities, sexual orientation identities, general ego identities, and so on. African Americans with internalization racial identity attitudes are thought to be psychologically healthy well adjusted (Cross & Vandiver, 2001).

The NT-E is a widely accepted theory of racial identity attitudes. Researchers have begun to focus on the meaning that one attributes toward being a member of the African American race. Sellers (1998) developed the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI) in order to measure the meaning that African Americans attribute to membership in the Black race.

Multidimensional Inventory of Racial Identity (MMRI)

The MMRI (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998) measures racial identity along four dimensions: salience, centrality, regard, and ideology. Salience refers to the extent to which race is a relevant part of one's self-concept at a particular moment or in any given situation. For example, how often does an African American individual feel that his or her race is an important characteristic at that moment (e.g., while at a party

or at the grocery store). Centrality deals with the extent to which individuals normatively define themselves with regard to race (i.e., in evaluating their many identity facets how important is being Black in relation to their identity). Regard refers to a person's affective and evaluative judgment of her or his race in terms of positive or negative emotions. Regard is measured in terms of an individual's private and public regard. Private regard refers to the extent to which individuals feel positively or negatively towards African Americans as well as how positively or negatively they feel about being an African American. Public regard refers to extend to which individuals feel that others view African Americans positively or negatively. Ideology is the individual's beliefs, opinions, and attitudes with respect to the way that he or she feels that members of their race should behave.

There are four major ideologies: Nationalist, Oppressed Minority, Assimilationist, and Humanistic. The Nationalist ideology stresses the uniqueness of being Black. Individuals with this view perceive the African American experience as being different from others and believe African Americans should be in control of their lives and communities with little interference from other races. The Oppressed Minority ideology draws on the oppression felt by all minorities. The Assimilationist ideology refers to focusing on the similarities between African Americans and American society as a whole. These individuals place a great deal of value on being American. The final ideology is Humanistic, which emphasizes the similarities between all humans. These individuals do not perceive others in terms of race, gender, or class, but simply as fellow human beings.

Dating Behaviors and Preferences

The racial and ethnic composition of the United States is one of many different cultural heritages and backgrounds. As such, it is a reasonable assumption that this racial diversity would influence the composition of friendships and dating practices. Many people in the United States take advantage of the multicultural society in which they live while considering friendships and dating partners. Several theorists have dealt with the factors that influence the decision to have multiethnic friendships and dating partners.

Social contact theory helps to explain the development of multicultural interpersonal relationships. Research based on this theory has mostly been applied to cross- ethnic and cross- race friendships (Hamm, Brown, & Heck, 2005), but its concepts may be applied to romantic relationships. Social contact theory holds that regular, persistent contact with members of different ethnic and racial backgrounds will increase the likelihood of forming cross ethnic/race interpersonal relationships. This theory, applied to dating, would suggest that the more multicultural the community an individual lives in, the more likely it is that that person would have more contact with individuals of different races and subsequently begin interpersonal and dating relationships with them.

Dating Preferences among African Americans

Much of the empirical research on the dating preferences among African Americans revolves around preferred physical characteristics, most notably skin tone (Ross, 1997). It has been found that African American males, more so than females, prefer a partner with lighter complexion (Ross, 1997). Researchers have suggested that this is due to the effects of a lighter preference from both Whites and Black beginning in

times of slavery, when lighter skinned African Americans were treated better than darker skinned African Americans.

In examining the preferences of African American high school students, Smith (1996) found that interpersonal qualities (i.e., fun to talk to, honest, loyal) were strongly preferred over more materialistic qualities (i.e., nice car and clothes). This implies that African Americans consider personality traits as important factors in dating preferences and romantic partner selection. In a sample of African American college students, Ross (1997) found that physical attractiveness, skin tone, and social status were important factors in the dating preferences and partner selection. More specifically, African American females were found to look at social status as an important characteristic in their preferences for a romantic partner while African American men looked at physical attractiveness and skin tone as important factors in their selection.

In an examination of ethnocentrism in dating preferences in a multicultural college sample Lui, Campbell, and Condie (1995) found that ethnocentrism and similarity were major factors in dating preferences. African Americans in particular showed strong ethnocentrism in partner preferences. This suggests that African Americans preferred to date members of their own racial background more so than members of different racial backgrounds. Additionally, it was found that African Americans rated opposite sex members of the African American race as more attractive than opposite sex members of different races. Many other researchers using both qualitative and quantitative methods have found that African American women overwhelming prefer to date members of the Black race, (Childs, 2005; Porter & Bronzaft, 1995) partly due to their similarity in cultural activities and backgrounds.

Interracial Dating among African Americans

Social contact theory predicts that the more exposure people have with individuals of another race, the more likely they are to be involved interpersonally with members of different races. This trend has been evident in the United States as the number of interracial couples has increased from the 1960's to present day (Levin, Taylor, & Caudle 2007). According to the 2000 United States Census, there were slightly over 1.5 million interracial marriages in the United States. Additionally, scholars have found further support for social contact theory in dating. Yancey (1997) found that attending an interracial school was positively related to the likelihood to interracially date. Furthermore, it has been found that people living in small, rural communities with little ethnic and racial diversity are less likely to date interracially (Yancey, 1996).

Contemporary research suggests that nearly half of all African Americans have interracially dated (Levin et al, 2007; Yancey, 2007). Attitudes toward interracial dating among members of the African American community may be moderated by several factors. Childs (2005) found that African American women are less likely than African American men to date interracially. Additionally, African American women's reluctance to date interracially may stem from perceived societal pressures to date within the race.

One would assume that ethnic and racial identification would be an important factor in dating preferences and behaviors; however research in this area is scant. Racial identity attitudes have not been studied in relation to dating interracially in depth. However, research on interracial marriages has found that among African Americans in an interracial marriage, higher levels of racial identity were associated with higher levels of marital satisfaction (Leslie & Letiecq, 2004). The authors proposed that this was due to

the more mature levels of racial identity emphasis on a love for one's own race and an appreciation for other races. Additionally, Lewis, Yancey, and Bletzer (2005) found that nonracial factors (e.g., political values and occupation) were important factors in Black individual's decision to marry interracially.

It is necessary to examine the influence that personal beliefs about membership in the Black race (e.g., racial identity attitudes and affective meaning of race) has on African Americans propensity to date interracially or intra-racially.

Afrocentric Worldview

An Overview of the Afrocentric Worldview

African Americans living in America today have several competing societal demands. Scholars have previously highlighted the unique dilemma that African Americans face living in a society that is dominated and driven by racist ideologies. African Americans have a dual role: One is that of a person of African descent and the other is that of an American. In his work, *Souls of Black Folk (1903),* W.E.B. DuBois described the plight of being at once an American and a Negro as a double consciousness. He described the concurrent roles as ones which do not allow the African American any true self-consciousness, instead only a self-concept that is defined by the dominant society. He wrote, "One ever feels his twoness- an American, a negro; two souls; two thoughts..." (p. 3). For DuBois, the goal of the African American is to reconcile his or her African identity with his or her American identity while simultaneously maintaining the integrity of both. He wrote that one does not want to "Africanize America" nor "bleach his negro soul in flood of White Americanism" (p. 3). The African American simply wishes to be both a Negro and an American.

Contemporary researchers have described the feeling of being African American as having multiple levels. Boykin and Toms (1985) described being African American as a triple quandary that includes orientations towards being a minority, being an American, and being African American. According to this theory, people of African descent living in America have a three- fold experience. One type of experience is that of being a minority. African Americans share this minority experience with all other minorities in America. These experiences include common themes recurrent in the lives of all minorities such as poverty, lower levels of education, and discrimination. Another experience the African American has is that of being American. This is an experience the African American shares with all other people living in the United States and includes common and recurrent themes in American culture such as patriotism, democracy, and hard work. The final experience is that of being an African American and is experienced exclusively by members of the African American race. These experiences include things such as a history of slavery in the United States, battling for civil rights, Jim Crow Laws, and cultural experiences that are found most exclusively in African American communities (e.g., the large role of the church, extended family, and collectivism).

Using theories of the unique experiences of being African while simultaneously being American, scholars have developed a framework or perspective which encompasses traditional African values in one's daily living. This perspective is known as the Afrocentric worldview. The Afrocentric worldview, first popularized by Asante (1987), has its foundation based on the historical, cultural, and philosophical traditions of African people. It calls for people of African descent to reject the cultural values and

norms of dominant Eurocentric society and to adopt in their personal lives behaviors, values, and norms based on traditions of African people.

Researchers have discussed differences in Eurocentric and Afrocentric cultural values. The values of competition, physical gratification and characteristics, materialism, and power are said to be important in Eurocentric cultures, while the values of spirituality, character, holisticness, gender equality, and cultural awareness are said to be important in Afrocenric cultures (Mutisya & Ross, 2005).

The Afrocentric worldview is driven by several principles: Spirituality, harmony, collective responsibility, sensitivity to emotions, concurrent time orientation, community orientation, balance, and authenticity (Belgrave, Chase-Vaughn, Gray, Addison, & Cherry, 2000). These guiding principles are the ways in which scholars in the field believe people of African descent should live their lives. Incorporating these elements into daily living personally and within a family context are believed to be the way of living which promotes the most psychological health in people in the African diaspora. It is hypothesized to be a positive worldview for the African and people of African descent because it is a worldview that focuses on the perspectives, experiences, and customs of the African as the center and not merely as a peripheral phenomenon to European culture.

Contemporary researchers have recently begun to examine the interplay between racial identity and the endorsement of an Afrocentric worldview. Many researchers have found they are related variables (Cross & Vandiver, 2001). For example, African American girls with higher levels of racial identity also adopted more androgynous views, which is one of the core elements of the Afrocentric worldview (Buckley & Carter, 2005). Additionally, Mutisya and Ross (2005) found that when parents racially

socialize their children, they are also teaching their children about the Afrocentric worldview.

Summary

Racial identity is a unique part of an individual's overall identity. Although a great deal of research has been conducted to date about its development and associations with discrimination, self-esteem, well-being, and academic performance, few researchers have examined the relations between racial identity and dating practices/preferences and its association with Afrocentricity.

Because past research has implied that racial identity influences friendship choice (Hamm, Brown, & Heck, 2005), it is expected that racial identity will also be related to an individual's choice of dating partner such that those with high levels of racial identity would be more likely to have intra-racial dating practices. Additionally, because high levels of racial identity include having a sense of awareness and involvement in important aspects of cultural history, it may be presumed that individuals with high levels of Black racial identity would more inclined to adopt practices traditionally associated with the African Diaspora and African culture than those with low levels of Black racial identity. Furthermore, because racial identity involves a personal and emotional acceptance, pride, and appreciation of one's culture, it was presumed that those with high levels of racial identity will also have strong affective feelings associated with membership in the Black race.

This study was designed to examine the relations among several variables in a sample of emergent adult and adult individuals of African Descent: Racial identity

attitudes, Afrocentricity, dating preferences/ practices, and the affective meaning associated with being Black.

Hypotheses

H1: Pre-encounter racial identity attitudes (as measured by the CRIS) will be inversely related to intra-racial dating preferences and behavior, as well as positive feelings about membership in the Black race (as indexed by centrality and private regard, MIBI), and an Afrocentric worldview (as measured by the AS).

H2: Internalization multiculturalist inclusive and internalization Black nationalist racial identity attitudes (as measured by the CRIS) will be positively associated with intra-racial dating preferences and behaviors, a positive Black identity (i.e., centrality and private regard), and an Afrocentric worldview (as measured by the AS)

H3: Internalization Black nationalist racial identity attitudes (as measured by the CRIS) and a positive Black identity (i.e., centrality and private regard, MIBI) will be significant predictors of dating behavior. Specifically, it is predicted that these variables will significantly predict intra-racial behaviors.

H4: Internalization multiculturalist racial identity attitudes (as measured by the CRIS) will be significant predictor of dating behavior. Specifically, it is predicted that multicultural internalization racial identity attitudes will predict intra-racial dating behavior.

Method

Participants

Participants were 65 adults of African descent. Of the participants, 51 were female and 14 were male. Participant's ages ranged from 16 to 55 with a mean age of 27

years old. Participant's levels of education ranged from having received a high school

diploma to having received a graduate degree.

Measures and Procedure

This was a cross sectional study. Participants anonymously completed all surveys

on the internet. The survey items were randomized. The following measures were

completed:

Racial Identity Attitudes. Current racial identity attitudes were assessed by the

use of the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS; Worrell, Vandiver, & Cross, 2004). The

CRIS has six subscales of five items each designed to capture beliefs about the attitudes

proposed in the NT-E theory: Pre-encounter Assimilation, Pre-encounter Self-Hatred,

Pre-encounter Miseducation, Immersion-Emersion, Internalization Afrocentricity, and

Internalization Multicultural Inclusive. All responses to CRIS items are on a 7-point

Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly Agree*). Participant's

scores were calculated by summing the total response options per subscale.

An example of an item from the Pre-encounter Self- Hatred Subscale is "I go

through periods when I am down on myself because I am Black." High scores on the Pre-

encounter Self-Hatred Scale Score indicate a dislike for the Black race and disdain

towards membership in the Black race. Internal consistency for this subscale was .90 in

the present sample. An example of an item on the Pre-encounter Miseducation Subscale

is, "Too many Blacks 'glamorize' the drug trade and fail to see opportunities that don't

involve crime." High scores on the Pre-encounter Miseducation Scale Score indicate

racial identity attitudes that perceive very little strength in the Black community and a

disengagement from it. The internal consistency for this subscale was .85 in the present

sample. An example of an item on the Pre-encounter Assimilationist Subscale is, "I think myself primarily as an American, and seldom as a member of a racial group." High scores on the Pre-encounter Assimilation Scale Score indicate racial identity attitudes that are not reflective of racial group membership, but membership is American culture as a whole. The internal consistency of this subscale was .91 in the present sample. An example of an item on the Immersion-Emersion Subscale is, "I have strong feelings of hatred and disdain for all White people". High scores on the Immersion-Emersion Scale Score indicate strong pro-Black and anti-White beliefs. The internal consistency for this subscale was .93 in this sample. An example of an item on the Internalization Afrocentricity Subscale is, "I see and think about things from an Afrocentric perspective." High scores on the Internalization Afrocentricity Scale Score indicate a Black Nationalist racial identity attitude, which is an identity that is centered around membership in the Black race. Internal consistency for this subscale was .83 in this sample. An example of an item on the Internalization Multiculturalist Inclusive Subscale is, "As a multicultralist, I am connected to many groups". High scores on the Internalization Multicultural Inclusive Scale Score indicate a Multiculturalist racial identity attitude, which is an identity that has two or more salient identity features. Internal consistency for this subscale was .85 in the present sample. All pre-encounter subscales were combined in order to create an overall Pre-encounter Racial Identity Attitudes Scale Score.

Meaning Attributed to Race. Two subcales of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997) were used to

assess the meaning an individual puts on being a member of the Black race: the Centrality Subscale and the Private Regard Subscale.

The Centrality Subscale consists of 10- items designed to assess the extent to which being African American is central to a participant's self-concept. An example of an item on this scale is "Being black is an important reflection of who I am." High scores on the Centrality Subscale Scale Score indicate a self-concept that is centered around membership in the Black race. Internal consistency for this subscale was .74 in this sample. The Private Regard Subscale consists of seven items. An example of an item on this scale is "I am happy to be Black". Internal consistency for this subscale was .92 in the present sample. High scores on the Private Regard Scale Score indicate positive private feelings about membership in the Black race.

Responses to all items on the MIBI ranged from 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly Agree*). Selected items were reverse coded and scores were calculated by summing the relevant response options per subscale.

Dating Behavior. Dating behaviors were assessed by an 11-item questionnaire created by the researcher. Questions were designed to assess the current and previous dating practices of the participant in reference to racial background. An example of an item is, "I never date outside my race." Responses were on a Likert type scale ranging from 1(*Strongly Disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly Agree*). Higher scores on the Dating Behavior Scale Score indicate more frequent intra-racial dating behaviors. Internal consistency for this scale was .86 in the present sample.

Dating Preferences. Dating preferences were assessed by an 8-item questionnaire created by the researcher. Questions reflected the participants' desired characteristics of

his or her dating partner. An example of an item is, "Dating other Black individuals is my preference." Responses ranged from 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly Agree*). Higher scores on the Dating Preference Scale Score indicated more frequent intra-racial dating preferences. Internal consistency for this scale was .84 in the present sample.

Afrocentricity. Afrocentricity was assessed by the Afrocentricity Scale (AS; Cokley, & Williams, 2005). The AS is an 11-item scale designed to measure participant agreement with values proposed by the Afrocentric worldview. An example of an item is, "Blacks should build and maintain their own communities." Responses ranged from 1 (*Strongly Disagree)* to 7 (*Strongly Agree)*. Higher scores on the AS Scale Score indicate endorsing values of the Afrocentric worldview. Internal consistency for this scale was .65 in this sample.

Demographics. Participants reported their age, ethnic background, level of education, and institutional status (i.e., historically Black institution or majority institution) and gender.

Results

Preliminary Analysis

Multivariate normality was evaluated using statistical methods in SPSS 17.0. An examination of univariate indices of skewness and kurtosis for all continuous study variables revealed no skewness or kurtosis values above an absolute value of 2.0 and no outliers were detected. List-wise deletion of the main study variables showed 41% missing data for this sample.

Correlations Analysis

A Pearson's product moment correlational analysis was conducted to examine relations between the CRIS (Pre-encounter Scale and Internalization Subscales), MIBI (Centrality Subscale, Private Regard Subscale), Dating Behaviors and Preferences Scales, and the AS (See Table 1).

Hypothesis Related Correlational Analyses

Results related to Pre-encounter Scale Score were significantly and negatively related to the AS Scale Score (r=-.70, p <.001), the Centrality Scale Score (r= -.41, p<.001), and Private Regard Scale Score (r =-.69, p < .001). This shows that pre-encounter racial identity attitudes are negatively associated with positive affective meaning of race and endorsing the Afrocentric worldview. The Internalization Afrocentricity Scale Score was significantly and positively related to the Dating Behavior Scale Score (r= 45, p<.001), Dating Preferences Scale Score (r = .46, p<.001), and Racial Centrality Scale Score (r = .45, p <.001). This implies that internalization Black nationalist racial identity attitudes are positively associated with intra-racial dating behaviors and preferences, and racial centrality. The Internalization Multiculturalist Inclusive Scale Score was significantly related to the Private Regard Scale Score (r= .33, p <.01) and significantly and negatively related to the Dating Behavior Scale Score (p =-.30, p <.01). This implies that internalization multiculturalist racial identity attitudes are associated with interracial dating and positive feelings about membership in the Black race.

Table 1

Study Variable Correlations

	Dating Beh.	Dating Prf.	AS	IMI	IA	PRE	CEN	PRI
Dating Beh.	-	.83**	24	-.30*	.45**	-.11	.60**	.32*
Dating Prf.		-	.32*	-.17	.46**	-.21	.62**	.36*
AS			-	.16	.19	-.70**	.52**	.73**
IMI				-	-.29*	-.19	-.17	.33*
IA					-	-.05	.45**	-.01
PRE						-	-.41**	-.69**
CEN							-	.52**
PRI								-

Note: Dating Beh: Dating Behaviors Scale; Dating Prf: Dating Preferences Scale; AS:

Afrocentricity Scale; IMI: Internalization Multiculturalist Inclusive Subscale; IA:

Interanlization Afrocentricity Subscale; PRE: Pre-encounter Scale; CEN: Racial

Centrality Subscale; PRI: Private Regard Subscale.

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

Hypothesis Related Multiple Regression Analyses

Two multiple regressions were conducted in order to examine study hypotheses 3 and 4. In regression one, the Internalization Afrocentricity Scale Score, Racial Centrality Scale Score, and the Private Regard Scale Score were the predictor variables and the outcome variable was the Dating Behavior Scale Score (see Table 2). The predictor variables accounted for 42% of the variance in dating behavior ($R^2 = .42$). Beta weights indicated that both the Internalization Afrocentricity Scale Score (std. $\beta = .29$, $p < .05$) and the Racial Centrality Scale Score

(std. $\beta = .42$, $p < .05$) were significant predictors of the Dating Behavior Scale Score (i.e., intra-racial dating behaviors). The Private Regard Scale Score predictor variable was not a significant predictor of dating behavior (std. $\beta = .10$, $p =$ n.s).

Table 2

Summary of Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Dating Behavior (N = 65)

Variables	B	SE B	β
Interanlization Black Nationalist	.29	.14	.29*
Racial Centrality	.48	.19	.42*
Private Regard	.19	.17	.10

Note. $R^2 = .42$, $F (3, 45) = 10.11$, $p < .001$; B: Unstandardized Beta Weight; SE B: Standard Error; β: Standardized Beta Weight.

* $p < .05$

In regression two, the Internalization Multiculturalist Inclusive Scale Score was the predictor variable and the outcome variable was the Dating Behavior Scale Score (see Table 3). Beta weights indicated that the predictor variable significantly and negatively predicted the outcome variable (std. $\beta = -.30$, $p<.05$). The predictor variable accounted for less than 1% of the variance in dating behavior ($R^2 = .09$).

Table 3

Summary of Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Dating Behavior (N=65)

Variable	B	SE B	β
Internalization Multiculturalist	.-.34	.15	-.30*

Note. $R^2 = .09$, F (1, 51) = 4.77, $p <.05$; B: Unstandardized Beta Weight; SE B: Standard Error; β: Standardized Beta Weight.

*$p <.05$

Non- Hypothesis Related Correlational Analyses

The Private Regard Scale Score was significantly and positively related to the Dating Behavior Scale Score ($r= .32$, $p<.01$), the Dating Preferences Scale Score ($r= .36$, $p<.01$), the Afrocentricity Scale Score ($r=.73$, $p<.001$), and the Centrality Scale Score ($r= .52$, $p<.001$). This implies that having positive feelings towards membership in the Black race is associated with intra-racial dating preferences and behaviors, endorsing an Afrocentric worldview, and racial centrality.

The Dating Behaviors Scale Score was significantly and positively related to the Dating Preferences Scale Score ($r=.83$, $p<.001$), the Centrality Scale Score ($r=.60$, $p<.01$), and Private Regard Scale Score ($r= .32$, $p<.01$). This implies that intra-racial dating behaviors are associated with intra-racial dating preferences and indicators of a

positive Black identity. The Afrocentricity Scale Score was positively and significantly related to the Dating Preferences Scale Score ($r= .32$, $p<.01$) and the Centrality Scale Score ($r=.52$, $p<.001$). This implies that endorsing an Afrocentric worldview is associated with self-concepts that have being Black as central and intra-racial dating preferences. The Internalization Multiculturalist Inclusive Scale Score was significantly and negatively related to the Interanlization Afrocentricity Scale Score ($r= -.29$, $p<.01$). This implies that internalization multiculturalist attitudes are negatively associated with a racial identity attitude that has being of African descent as the pertinent identity feature.

Discussion

This study was designed to examine relations between racial identity attitudes, the meaning that individuals ascribe to being Black, dating preferences and behaviors, and views about an Afrocentric world view among individuals of African descent. Several statistically significant relations were yielded from the analyses.

Hypothesis one predicted that pre-encounter racial identity attitudes would be negatively associated with dating preferences and behaviors, indicators of positive affective meaning of race (i.e., private regard and racial centrality) and endorsing an Afrocentric worldview. This hypothesis was partially supported. Results of correlational analysis indicated that pre-encounter racial attitudes were negatively related to positive feelings about being a member of the Black race, the centrality of being Black to one's self- image, and endorsing views from the Afrocentric worldview. These results imply that individuals who are reporting social attitudes of an identity that is not centrally organized around a sense of pride in being African American are subsequently reporting a disdain and disengagement with Black culture. These individuals are also likely to

report negative feelings about being Black and a rejection of historical African values. This finding supports the notion that these individuals value themselves primarily as Americans (Cross & Vandiver, 2001) and less as a member of any other social group.

Pre-encounter attitudes had a non-significant association with dating preferences and behaviors. The lack of statistical significance may be attributed to the fact that, for this sample, the Pre-encounter Scale lacked variability (average participant scores for these subscales ranged from one to four on a scale that ranged from one to seven) thus implying that no participant in this sample had strong pre-encounter racial attitudes. This lack of variability may also have been due to social desirability. Participants may not have wanted to endorse negative statements about their culture, even if they personally agreed with those statements. Type II error may have also been involved in the lack of statistical significance between these variables. With a small sample size, the researchers decreased the probability of detecting a significant relation.

Hypothesis two predicted internalization multiculturalist and internalization Black nationalist racial identity attitudes would be positively associated with intra-racial dating preferences and practices, endorsing an Afrocentric worldview, and having a positive affect about being Black. This hypothesis was partially supported.

A significant positive association was found between internalization multiculturalist racial attitudes and an indicator of positive Black identity (e.g., private regard). These results imply that individuals whose identities are a fusion between a Black racial identity and two or more other nonracial identities have a positive view of being Black and of Black culture. These results provide support for the assertion of Cross and Vandiver (2001) that individuals with this racial identity attitude are psychologically

in no conflict with their racial group membership nor in conflict with other racial groups, although racial group membership is not central to their self-concept.

A significant negative association was found between internalization multiculturalist racial identity attitudes and dating behaviors. These results do not offer support for aspects of hypothesis two. These results indicate that Black individuals who embrace multiple identities tend to date interracially. These individuals, while having a strong sense of pride in being Black can also incorporate other aspects of lives into their interpersonal and social relationships.

These results provide further evidence for the implications of Leslie and Letiecq (2004) who found that Blacks in interracial marriages with strong senses of racial identity were happier in their marriages than Blacks who did not have a strong sense of racial identity. It was implied that these individuals can appreciate and have a pride in their own race, while having a respect and appreciation for different cultures, thus allowing them to find value in the cultural differences with their spouses. These findings also provide support for Lewis, Yancey, and Bletzer (1997) who found that amongst Black/White interracial relationships, non-racial factors had a greater impact on the relationship than racial factors (i.e., common interests, political interests, values, etc.). Due to their multiple identities, these individuals are able to relate with other individuals on many different levels. Additionally, these individuals are presumably, because of their multiple identities, involved in several different organizations and social groups which increase their contact with individuals of different cultural backgrounds, and subsequently may influence their dating behaviors. These results provide support for Allport's (1954) social

contact theory, which claims that increased contact with individuals of different races will increase the likelihood of social involvement amongst different races.

A Black nationalist racial identity attitude (as measured by the CRIS) was positively related to an indicator of a positive Black identity (i.e., racial centrality). These results indicated that individuals who are reporting being Black as their pertinent identity feature are also reporting their race as central in their lives. A Black nationalist racial identity attitude was not significantly associated with adopting an Afrocentric worldview. This contradicts the findings of Pierre and Mahalik (2005) who found that more mature stages of racial/ethnic identity were associated with adopting an Afrocentric orientation among African Americans. A possible explanation for this is that individuals may actively describe their pertinent identity feature as an African American due to external factors (e.g., an acute awareness of minority status as a result of discrimination), but not have strong positive perceptions about being Black nor any inclination to adopt practices commonly associated with traditional African cultures. This explanation is supported by the current research findings of a non-significant relationship between having an internalization Black nationalist racial identity attitude and having positive perceptions about membership in the Black race (i.e., private regard).

High scores on the Internalization Afrocentricity Scale Score (a measure of Black nationalist racial identity attitudes) were also positively associated with scores on the Dating Preferences Scale and the Dating Behaviors Scale. This implies that individuals who describe their major identity as that of a person of African descent tend to prefer to date and date intra-racially. These individuals would most likely be involved in a great deal of culturally related events (Cross and Vandiver, 2001) where other Blacks are likely

involved and are subsequently becoming exposed to individuals of similar cultural heritage to date. The positive association between internalization Black nationalists racial identity attitudes and an in-group dating preferences also provides support for the findings of Lui, Campbell, and Condie (1995) who found that some African Americans showed a strong preference for dating intra-racially. This may imply that African Americans with high levels of racial identity tend to have an in-group preference for dating.

Hypothesis three predicted that internalization Black nationalist racial identity attitudes (as measured by the CRIS) and a positive Black identity (i.e., centrality and private regard, MIBI) would be significant predictors of dating behavior. This hypothesis was partially supported. Scores on the Internalization Afrocentricity Scale Score and Racial Centrality Scale Score accounted for almost half of the variance in the Dating Behavior Scale Score. These results imply that individuals whose identity is centralized around membership in the Black culture will likely date intra-racially. The Private Regard Scale Score was not a significant predictor for dating behavior. This implies that having a positive view about being Black and the Black culture does not predict intra-racial dating behaviors. This provides support for the findings of Leslie and Letiecq (2004) who found that Blacks with positive feelings about Black group membership were still married to non-Black spouses.

Hypothesis four predicted that internalization multiculturalist racial identity attitudes (as measured by the CRIS) would be a significant positive predictor for dating practices. This hypothesis was not supported. In line with the correlation results, internalization multiculturalist racial identity attitudes predicted interracial dating. These

results indicate that if an African American individual has an identity that is comprised of three or more identity features, they will be more likely date interracially. This is most likely due to the individuals multiple identity features and social involvement in many aspects of society that do not focus on race or culture (Vandiver & Cross, 2001).

Several significant associations that were not predicted were yielded. Positive feelings about being Black and the Black culture were related to intra-racial dating practices and preferences, adopting values and beliefs traditionally associated with the African heritage, and having a self-concept that is centered around Black group membership. The association between private regard and adopting an Afrocentric worldview supports one of the aspects of Phinney's model of ethnic identity development (1989). In this model, individuals with a sense of pride in their cultural heritage will display attachment to ethnic practices by adopting values, beliefs, and practices traditionally associated with their cultural heritage. Additionally, these findings are consistent with the theoretical model of Afrocentrism. Because Afrocentrism focuses on positive characteristics of the African heritage, it is expected that adopting this view would be associated with positive feelings about being Black and other Black people.

Dating behaviors and preferences were positively associated. This implies that individuals dating behavior patterns in reference to race are connected to their preferences for dating partners in reference to race. Intra-racial dating behaviors were also associated with racial centrality. This implies that individuals whose self-concept is centered on membership in the Black race tend to date intra-racially.

Internalization muliticulturalist racial identity attitudes were negatively related to internalization Black nationalist racial identity attitudes. Additionally, internalization

multiculturalist attitudes were not related to racial centrality. These findings are consistent with the theoretical model of the NT-E (Cross & Vandiver, 2001). In this model, individuals' identities are comprised of several different pertinent identity features, all of which are equally important to the individual's self- concept. Internalization multiculturalist racial identity attitudes were associated with positive feelings about being Black and the Black community. These findings are also consistent with the theoretical model of the NT-E (Cross & Vandiver, 2001). In this model, one of the many identity features of individuals with this racial identity attitude is a positive Black identity. These individuals have positive feelings associated with Black group membership, while also having positive feelings about their membership in other non-racial groups.

The major findings of this research are that racial attitudes and meaning of being Black are significantly related to dating preferences and behaviors. Intra-racial dating was linked to high affective meaning of race (i.e., high levels of racial centrality), and reporting internalization Black nationalist racial identity attitudes. Dating interracially was related to elevated levels of internalization multiculturalist racial identity attitudes. Additionally, adopting an Afrocentric worldview was associated with having positive views about the Black culture and membership in the Black race.

Limitations

Although this research yielded several significant findings, there were several limitations to this study. The number of participants is one limitation. With a small sample size of 65, the researchers increased their likelihood of Type II error. The small sample size also minimized the researchers options for statistical analysis of data

collected. Additionally, the small amount of participants may have limited the variability in some subscales, namely the subscales measuring pre-encounter racial identity attitudes. In this sample, no participants reported strong pre-encounter racial identity attitudes, thus decreasing the likelihood of finding significant associations with this indicator. Additionally, this was a cross sectional study and as such, no causality may be inferred. Another limitation was that there was a large percentage of missing data. The researchers had to omit several cases that were missing a significant percentage of data. This omission lowered the number of participants and variability of scores among scales. Furthermore the method of data collection may be a limitation. Participants completed all measures on an internet websites. Although participants were asked to report demographic information, internet completion of surveys may diminish researchers' ability to discern actual age and race of participants.

Directions for Future Research

Directions for future research include duplicating this study with a larger sample size. A larger sample size may allow future researchers to obtain data that have greater variability. Greater variability will allow for an improved ability to observe significant relations, differences, and predictors among variables. Replicating this study with a larger sample size may also allow for different analysis of study variables. For example, future researchers may be able to examine differences in variable scores (i.e., dating practices and affective meaning of race) amongst different racial identity attitudes (as measured by the CRIS).

Future research should also focus on the impact an African American's communities demographic makeup (i.e., majority White or majority minority) has on

racial identity attitudes. For example, future researchers should compare racial identity attitudes among Blacks in environments that are predominately Black to those who are in environments that are culturally diverse. Continuing to examine demographic variables may provide more insight into the impact that social contexts have on identity development and interpersonal preferences. Because racial identity development has been conceptualized as a developmental process, an additional demographic variable of interest to future researchers should be the developmental status of participants and its association with racial identity attitudes and dating practices. Another variable that may influence racial identity attitudes of participants is the individual's ethnic background. For example, future research should focus on differences between Blacks of different ethnic backgrounds (e.g., Afro-Caribbean, Afro-Brazilian, Afro-Hispanic, etc.).

Future researchers of intra-racial and interracial dating practices should also examine the impact that demographic variables have on dating practices among minorities (i.e., do racially heterogeneous environments promote more interracial dating). Additionally, future researchers should examine the influence that being an extreme minority in an environment has on dating practices in reference to race.

References

Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice.* Cambridge: Addison- Wesley.

Asante, M. (1987). *The Afrocentric idea.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Belgrave, F. Z., Chase-Vaughn, G., Gray, F., Dixon-Addison, J. A., & Cherry, V. T.
(2000). The effectiveness of a culture and gender specific intervention for
increasing the resiliency among African American preadolescent females. *Journal
of Black Psychology, 26*(2), 133-147.

Bennett, G. G., Merritt, M., Edwards, C. L., & Sollers, J. J. (2004). Perceived racism and
affective responses to ambiguous interpersonal interactions among African
American men. *American Behavioral Scientist, 4(*7), 963-976.

Bennett, M. D. (2006). Culture and context: A study of neighborhood effects on racial
socialization and ethnic identity content in a sample of African American
adolescents. *Journal of Black Psychology, 32(*4), 479-500.

Boykin, A. W. & Toms, F. J. (1985). Black child socialization. In H. P. McAdoo and J.
L. McAdoo (Eds.), *Black children: Social, educational and parental
environments* (pp. 159-173). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Branch, C. W. (2001). The many faces of self: Ego and ethnic identities. *Journal of
Genetic Psychology, 162*(4), 412-429.

Childs, E. C. (2005). Looking behind the stereotypes of the "Angry Black Woman" an
exploration of Black women's responses to interracial relationships. *Gender &
Society, 19*(4), 544-561.

Clark, K. B., & Clark, M. K. (1947). *Racial identification and preference in Negro
children.* New York: Holt.

Cross, W. E. (1971). The Negro to black conversion experience. *Black World, 20 (*9), 13-27. Cross, W. E. (1991). *Shades of Black: Diversity in African American identity.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Cross, W. E., & Vandiver, B. J. (2001). Nigrescence theory and measurement. In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (pp. 371-394). Washington, D.C.: Sage.

Devos, T., & Banaji, M. R. (2005). American = White? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 88,* 447-466.

DuBois, D. L., & Hirsch, B. J. (1990). School and neighborhood friendship patterns of Blacks and Whites in early adolescence. *Child Development, 61*, 524-536.

DuBois, W.E.B. (1903). *The souls of Black folk.* New York: New American Library.

Erikson, E. H. (1959). *Identity and the life cycle.* New York: W.W Norton & Co. Inc.

Gardner-Kitt, D. L., & Worrell, F. C. (2007). Measuring nigrescence attitudes in school-aged adolescents. *Journal of Adolescence, 30*, 187-202.

French, S. E., Seidman, E., Allen, L., & Aber, J. L. (2006).The development of ethnic identity during adolescence. *Developmental Psychology, 42*, 1-10.

Hamm, J. H., Brown, B. B., & Heck, D. J. (2005). Bridging the ethnic divide: Student and school characteristics in African American, Asian-descent, Latino, and White adolescents' cross-ethnic friend nominations. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 15*, 21-46.

Jones, H. L., Cross, W. E., & DeFour, D. C. (2007). Race- related stress, racial identity attitudes, and mental health among Black women. *Journal of Black Psychology, 33,* 208-231.

Leslie, L. A. & Letiecq, B. L. (2004). Marital quality of African American and White partners in interracial couples. *Personal Relationships, 11,* 559-574.

Levin, S., Taylor, P. L., & Caudle, E. (2007). Interethnic and interracial dating in college: A longitudinal study. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 24,* 323-341.

Lewis, R. J., Yancey, G., & Bletzer, S. S. (1997). Racial and nonracial factors that influence spouse choice in Black/White marriages. *Journal of Black Studies, 28,* 60-78.

Liu, J. H., Campbell, S. M., & Condie, H. (1995). Ethnocentrism in dating preferences for an American sample: The ingroup bias in social context. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 25,* 95-115.

Marcia, J. E. (1966). Development and validation of ego identity status. *Journal of Social Psychology, 3,* 551-558.

McHale, S. M., Crouter, A. C., Kim, J. Y., Burton, L. M., Davis, K. D., Dotterer, A. M., & Swanson, D. P. (2006). Mothers' and fathers' racial socialization in African American families: Implications for youth. *Child Development, 77* (5), 1387-1402.

Meyer, I. H. (2003). Prejudice as stress: Conceptual and measurement problems. *American Journal of Public Health, 93,*262-565.

Pahl, K. M., & Way, N. A. (2006). Longitudinal trajectories of ethnic identity among urban Black and Latino adolescents. *Child Development, 77,* 1403-1415.

Phinney, J. S. (1989). Stages of ethnic identity in minority group adolescents. *The Journal of Early Adolescence, 9,* 34-49.

Phinney, J. S. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescence and adults: Review of research.

Psychological Bulletin, 108 (3), 499-514.

Phinney, J. S., Cantu, C. M., & Kurtz, D. T. (2005). Ethnic and American identity as predictors of self-esteem among African American, Latino, and White adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 26(*2), 165-185.

Pierre, M. R. & Mahalik, J. R. (2005). Examining African self-consciousness and Black racial identity as predictors of Black men's psychological well being. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 11,* 28-40.

Quintana, S. M. (2007). Racial and ethnic identity: Developmental perspectives and research. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 54* (3), 259-270.

Ross, L. E. (1997). Mate selection preferences among African American college students. *Journal of Black Studies, 27*(4), 554-569.

Seaton, E. K., Sellers, R. M, & Scottham, K. M. (2006). The status model of racial identity development in African American Adolescents: Evidence of structure, trajectories, and well-being. *Child Development, 77*(5), 1416-1426.

Sellers, R. M., Rowley, S. A., Tabbye, R., Shelton, N. J., & Smith, M. A. (1997). Multidimensional inventory of Black identity: A preliminary investigation of reliability and construct validity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 73(*4), 805-815.

Sellers, R. M., Smith, M. A., Shelton, N. J., Rowley, S. A., & Chavous, M. A. (1998). The Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity: A reconceptualization of African American racial identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 2,* 18–39.

Sherry, A., Wood, K., Jackson, E. B., & Kaslow, N. (2006). Racist events and ethnic identity in low income African Americans. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology,*

36, 1365-1380.

Smith, S. P. (1996). Dating partner preferences among a group of inner-city African

American high school students. *Adolescence, 31,* 79-90.

Thomas, D. E., Townsend, T. G., & Belgrave, F. Z. (2003). The influence of cultural and

racial identification on the psychosocial adjustment of inner-city African

American children in school. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 32,*

217-228.

Vandiver, B. J. (2001). Psychological nigrescence revisited: Introduction and overview.

Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 29, 165-173.

Vandiver, B. J., Fhagen- Smith, P. E., Cokley, K. O., Cross, W. E., & Worrell, F. C.

(2001). Cross' Nigrescence model: From theory to scale to theory. *Journal of*

Multicultural Counseling and Development, 29, 174-200.

Worrell, F. C., Vandiver, B. J., & Cross, W. E. (2004). The cross racial identity scale:

Technical Manual 2nd edition. Author.

Yancey, G. (1998). Who interracially dates: An examination of the characteristics of

those who have dated interracially. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 6,*
179-190.

Yancey, G. (2007). Homogamy over the net: Using internet advertisements to discover

who interracially dates. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 24,* 913-

930.

Appendix A: Cover Letter

Dear Respondent,

I am inviting you to participate in a research study that is studying racial identity, Afrocentric worldview beliefs, and dating preferences and behaviors. Along with this letter there are several short surveys that ask a variety of questions about the above mentioned topics. I am asking you to look over the surveys and, if you choose to do so, complete them on this internet website. It should take you no longer than 30 minutes to complete.

The results of this project will be used as data for a master's thesis. Through your participation I hope to understand the effects racial identity development has on dating preferences and behaviors, and the endorsement of an Afrocentric worldview. Should you chose to participate you will complete the surveys online via the internet website surveymonkey.

Completing the surveys poses no threat of physical danger to you. You may experience slight anxiety while completing the surveys. Benefits of this study include adding to the body of research on the psychology of Black individuals. Your survey submissions will be anonymous and will not contain any identifiable information. Because the surveys will be completed online from a home computer, there is a possibility that a participants IP address may be viewed by the PI or PI's advisor. Participants IP addresses will remain confidential.

Your participation in this study is voluntary and you have the right to refuse to participate or withdraw from participation. A possible alternative to participation is to not participate.
If you have any questions or concerns about completing the surveys or about being in this study, you may contact me at ocenm@bucmail.barry.edu or the faculty advisor, Dr. Laura Ferrer-Wreder via telephone at 305-899-3273 or via email at lwreder@mail.barry.edu.
The Institutional Review Board (IRB) at Barry University has approved this study. If you have any concerns about your rights as a participant in this study you may contact the Institutional Review Board Office by telephone
(305) 899-3020.

Sincerely,

Michelle Ocen
Principal Investigator
Barry University

Appendix B: Demographics Questionnaire

Demographics

Please enter demographic information.

1. Gender

[▼]

Gender

2. Please describe how you would best describe your ethnic/ racial background (e.g., Black/African American, African, Haitian etc.)

[ ]

Please describe how you would best describe your ethnic/ racial background (e.g., Black/African American, African, Haitian etc.)

3. Age:

[ ]

Age:

4. Please enter your current level of education.

| ⌐ Please enter your current level of education. High school diploma | ⌐ In college | ⌐ College Degree | ⌐ In graduate school | ⌐ Graduate degree |

5. Is your current, or if you are not in school, most recent school a historically Black institution.

⦿ Is your current, or if you are not in school, most recent school a historically Black institution.   ⌐

                                              No

Yes

Appendix C: Dating Preferences Scale
Note: Reverse score items 2, 6, & 7

Dating Preferences

The following are questions about your dating *preferences* (the type of person you would like to or prefer to date). Please describe the extent to which you agree with the statement ranging from 1=*strong disagree* to 7= *strongly agree*.

1. I would prefer to date a Black man or woman more than someone from another race.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2. I have no preference when it comes to the race of the individuals that I date.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

3. I think the perfect person for me to date would be someone of the same racial background as myself.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

4. I always like to date individuals who are Black.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

5. Dating other Black individuals is my preference.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

6. I prefer to date people of different racial backgrounds than myself.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

7. I never like to date individuals who are Black.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

8. If I had my choice, I would only date other Black people.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix D: Dating Behavior Scale
Note: Reverse score items 5, 7, 9 & 10
Dating Behavior

The following are questions about your dating *behavior* (the type of people you actually date). Please describe the extent to which you agree with the statement with 1 meaning *strongly disagree* and 7 meaning *strongly agree.*

1. The person I am currently dating is Black.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2. The person that I last dated was Black.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

3. I only date people from my same racial background.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

4. I often date Black men/ women.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

5. I only date people of different racial backgrounds as myself.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

6. I would date a Black man/woman before dating someone from another race.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

7. When dating, I never consider the race of the individual.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

8. I never date outside my race.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

9. I sometimes date individuals of a different race.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

10. I date interracially.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

11. The people I date are most often Black.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix E: Cross Racial Identity Scale
Cross Racial Identity Scale

1. As an African American, life in America is good for me.

| ⌐ 1.
strongly
disagree | ⌐ disagree | ⌐ somewhat
disagree | ⌐ neither
agree nor
disagree | ⌐ somewhat
agree | ⌐ agree | ⌐ strongly
agree |

2. I think of myself primarily as an American, and seldom as a member of a racial group.

| ⌐ strongly
disagree | ⌐ disagree | ⌐ somewhat
disagree | ⌐ neither
agree nor
disagree | ⌐ somewhat
agree | ⌐ agree | ⌐ strongly
agree |

3. Too many Blacks "glamorize" the drug trade and fail to see opportunities that don't involve crime.

| ⌐ strongly
disagree | ⌐ disagree | ⌐ somewhat
disagree | ⌐ neither
agree nor
disagree | ⌐ somewhat
agree | ⌐ agree | ⌐ strongly
agree |

4. I go through periods when I am down on myself because I am Black.

| ⌐ strongly
disagree | ⌐ disagree | ⌐ somewhat
disagree | ⌐ neither
agree nor
disagree | ⌐ somewhat
agree | ⌐ agree | ⌐ strongly
agree |

5. As a multiculturalist, I am connected to many groups (Hispanics, Asian-Americans, Whites, Jews, gays & lesbians, etc.)

| ⌐ strongly
disagree | ⌐ disagree | ⌐ somewhat
disagree | ⌐ neither
agree nor
disagree | ⌐ somewhat
agree | ⌐ agree | ⌐ strongly
agree |

6. I have a strong feeling of hatred and disdain for all White people.

| ⌐ strongly
disagree | ⌐ disagree | ⌐ somewhat
disagree | ⌐ neither
agree nor
disagree | ⌐ somewhat
agree | ⌐ agree | ⌐ strongly
agree |

7. I see and think about things from an Afrocentric perspective.

| ⌐ strongly
disagree | ⌐ disagree | ⌐ somewhat
disagree | ⌐ neither
agree nor
disagree | ⌐ somewhat
agree | ⌐ agree | ⌐ strongly
agree |

8. When I walk into a room, I always take a note of the racial make-up of the people around me.

| ⌐ strongly
disagree | ⌐ disagree | ⌐ somewhat
disagree | ⌐ neither
agree nor
disagree | ⌐ somewhat
agree | ⌐ agree | ⌐ strongly
agree |

9. I am not so much a member of a racial group, as I am an American.

| ⌐ strongly
disagree | ⌐ disagree | ⌐ somewhat
disagree | ⌐ neither
agree nor
disagree | ⌐ somewhat
agree | ⌐ agree | ⌐ strongly
agree |

10. I sometimes struggle with negative feelings about being Black.

☐ strongly disagree ☐ disagree ☐ somewhat disagree ☐ neither agree nor disagree ☐ somewhat agree ☐ agree ☐ strongly agree

11. My relationship with God plays an important role in my life.

☐ strongly disagree ☐ disagree ☐ somewhat disagree ☐ neither agree nor disagree ☐ somewhat agree ☐ agree ☐ strongly agree

12. Blacks place more emphasis on having a good time than on hard work.

☐ strongly disagree ☐ disagree ☐ somewhat disagree ☐ neither agree nor disagree ☐ somewhat agree ☐ agree ☐ strongly agree

13. I believe that only those Black people who accept an Afrocentric perspective can truly solve the race problem in America.

☐ strongly disagree ☐ disagree ☐ somewhat disagree ☐ neither agree nor disagree ☐ somewhat agree ☐ agree ☐ strongly agree

14. I hate the White community and all that it represents

☐ strongly disagree ☐ disagree ☐ somewhat disagree ☐ neither agree nor disagree ☐ somewhat agree ☐ agree ☐ strongly agree

15. When I have a chance to make a new friend, issues of race and ethnicity seldom play a role in who that person might be.

☐ strongly disagree ☐ disagree ☐ somewhat disagree ☐ neither agree nor disagree ☐ somewhat agree ☐ agree ☐ strongly agree

16. I believe it is important to have both a Black identity and a multicultural perspective, which is inclusive of everyone (e.g., Asians, Latinos, gays & lesbians, Jews, and Whites, etc).

☐ strongly disagree ☐ disagree ☐ somewhat disagree ☐ neither agree nor disagree ☐ somewhat agree ☐ agree ☐ strongly agree

17. When I look in the mirror at my Black image, sometimes I do not feel good about what I see.

☐ strongly disagree ☐ disagree ☐ somewhat disagree ☐ neither agree nor disagree ☐ somewhat agree ☐ agree ☐ strongly agree

18. If I had to put a label on my identity, it would be " American", and not African American

☐ strongly disagree ☐ disagree ☐ somewhat disagree ☐ neither agree nor disagree ☐ somewhat agree ☐ agree ☐ strongly agree

19. When I read the newspaper or a magazine, I always look for articles and stories that deal with race and ethnic issues.

☐ strongly disagree ☐ disagree ☐ somewhat disagree ☐ neither agree nor disagree ☐ somewhat agree ☐ agree ☐ strongly agree

20. Many African Americans are too lazy to see opportunities that are right in front of them.

☐ strongly disagree ☐ disagree ☐ somewhat disagree ☐ neither agree nor disagree ☐ somewhat agree ☐ agree ☐ strongly agree

21. As far as I am concerned, affirmative action will be needed for a long time.

☐ strongly agree ☐ disagree ☐ somewhat disagree ☐ neither agree nor disagree ☐ somewhat agree ☐ agree ☐ strongly agree

22. Black people cannot truly be free until our daily lives are guided by Afrocentric values and principles.

☐ strongly disagree ☐ disagree ☐ somewhat disagree ☐ neither agree nor disagree ☐ somewhat agree ☐ agree ☐ strongly agree

23. White people should be destroyed.

☐ strongly disagree ☐ disagree ☐ somewhat disagree ☐ neither agree nor disagree ☐ somewhat agree ☐ agree ☐ strongly agree

24. I embrace my own Black identity, but I also respect and celebrate the cultural identities of other groups (e.g., Native Americans, Whites, Latinos, Jews, Asian Americans, gays & lesbians, etc.)

☐ strongly disagree ☐ disagree ☐ somewhat disagree ☐ neither agree nor disagree ☐ somewhat agree ☐ agree ☐ strongly agree

25. Privately, I sometimes have negative feelings about being Black.

☐ strongly disagree ☐ disagree ☐ somewhat disagree ☐ neither agree nor disagree ☐ somewhat agree ☐ agree ☐ strongly agree

26. If I had to put myself into categories, first I would say I am an American, and second I am a member of a racial group.

☐ strongly disagree ☐ disagree ☐ somewhat disagree ☐ neither agree nor disagree ☐ somewhat agree ☐ agree ☐ strongly agree

27. My feelings and thoughts about God are very important to me.

☐ strongly disagree ☐ disagree ☐ somewhat disagree ☐ neither agree nor disagree ☐ somewhat agree ☐ agree ☐ strongly agree

disagree   disagree

28. African Americans are too quick to turn to crime to solve their problems.

☐   ☐ disagree ☐ somewhat ☐ neither ☐ somewhat ☐ agree ☐ strongly
strongly   disagree   agree nor agree   agree
disagree   disagree

29. When I have a chance to decorate a room, I tend to select pictures, posters, or works of art that express strong racial and cultural issues.

☐ Strongly ☐ disagree ☐ somewhat ☐ neither ☐ somewhat ☐ agree ☐ strongly
disagree   disagree   agree nor agree   agree
                                                    disagree

30. I hate White people.

☐ Strongly ☐ disagree ☐ somewhat ☐ neither ☐ somewhat ☐ agree ☐ strongly
disagree   disagree   agree nor agree   agree
                                                    disagree

31. When I vote in an election, the first thing I think about is the candidate's record on racial and cultural issues.

☐ strongly ☐ disagree ☐ somewhat ☐ neither ☐ somewhat ☐ agree ☐ strongly
disagree   disagree   agree nor agree   agree
                                                    disagree

32. I respect the ideas that other Black people hold, but I believe that the best way to solve our problems is to think Afrocentrically.

☐   ☐ disagree ☐ somewhat ☐ neither ☐ somewhat ☐ agree ☐ strongly
strongly   disagree   agree nor agree   agree
disagree   disagree

33. I believe it is important to have both a Black identity and a multicultural perspective, because it connects me to other groups (Hispanics, Asian-Americans, Whites, Jews, gays & lesbians, etc.)

☐ Strongly ☐ disagree ☐ somewhat ☐ neither ☐ somewhat ☐ agree ☐ strongly
disagree   disagree   agree nor agree   agree
                                                    disagree

34. I have developed an identity that stresses my experiences as an American more than my experiences as a member of a racial group.

☐ strongly ☐ disagree ☐ somewhat ☐ neither ☐ somewhat ☐ agree ☐ strongly
disagree   disagree   agree nor agree   agree
                                                    disagree

35. During a typical week in my life, I think about racial and cultural issues, many, many times.

☐ strongly ☐ disagree ☐ somewhat ☐ neither ☐ somewhat ☐ agree ☐ strongly
disagree   disagree   agree nor agree   agree
                                                    disagree

36. Blacks place too much importance on racial protests and not enough on hard work and education.

⌐ strongly ⌐ disagree ⌐ somewhat ⌐ neither ⌐ somewhat ⌐ agree ⌐ strongly
disagree   disagree   agree nor agree   agree
                                          disagree

37. Black people will never be free until we embrace an Afrocentric perspective.

⌐ Strongly ⌐ disagree ⌐ somewhat ⌐ neither ⌐ somewhat ⌐ agree ⌐ strongly
disagree   disagree   agree nor agree   agree
                                          disagree

38. My negative feelings toward White people are very intense.

⌐ strongly ⌐ disagree ⌐ somewhat ⌐ neither ⌐ somewhat ⌐ agree ⌐ strongly
disagree   disagree   agree nor agree   agree
                                          disagree

39. I sometimes have negative feelings about being Black.

⌐ strongly ⌐ disagree ⌐ somewhat ⌐ neither ⌐ somewhat ⌐ agree ⌐ strongly
disagree   disagree   agree nor agree   agree
                                          disagree

40. As a multiculturalist, it is important for me to be connected with individuals from all cultural backgrounds (Latinos, gays & lesbians, Jews, Native Americans, Asian-Americans, etc.).

⌐ strongly ⌐ disagree ⌐ somewhat ⌐ neither ⌐ somewhat ⌐ agree ⌐ strongly
disagree   disagree   agree nor agree   agree
                                          disagree

Racial Identity   58

Appendix F: Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity

(Centrality and Private Regard Subscales)

Note: Reverse score items 1, 7, 8, & 14

The following questions refer to your feelings about membership in the Black race. Please indicate the extent to which you agree with the statements.

1. Overall, being Black has very little to do with how I feel about myself.

⌐ strongly disagree ⌐ disagree ⌐ disagree slightly ⌐ neutral ⌐ agree slightly ⌐ agree ⌐ strongly agree

2. I feel good about Black people.

⌐ I feel strongly disagree ⌐ disagree ⌐ disagree slightly ⌐ neutral ⌐ agree slightly ⌐ agree ⌐ strongly agree

3. In general, being Black is an important part of my self-image.

⌐ strongly disagree ⌐ disagree ⌐ disagree slightly ⌐ neutral ⌐ agree slightly ⌐ agree ⌐ strongly agree

4. I am happy that I am Black.

⌐ strongly disagree ⌐ disagree ⌐ disagree slightly ⌐ neutral ⌐ agree slightly ⌐ agree ⌐ strongly agree

5. My destiny is tied to the density of other Black people.

⌐ strongly disagree ⌐ disagree ⌐ disagree slightly ⌐ neutral ⌐ agree slightly ⌐ agree ⌐ strongly agree

6. I feel that Blacks have made major accomplishments and advancements.

⌐ strongly disagree ⌐ disagree ⌐ disagree slightly ⌐ neutral ⌐ agree slightly ⌐ agree ⌐ strongly agree

7. Being Black is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am.

⌐ disagree ⌐ disagree slightly ⌐ neutral ⌐ agree slightly ⌐ agree ⌐ strongly agree strongly disagree

8. I often regret that I am Black

⌐ strongly disagree ⌐ disagree ⌐ disagree slightly ⌐ neutral ⌐ agree slightly ⌐ agree ⌐ strongly agree

9. I have a strong sense of belonging to Black people.

⌐ disagree ⌐ disagree slightly ⌐ neutral ⌐ agree slightly ⌐ agree ⌐ strongly agree strongly disagree

10. I am proud to be Black.

⌐ strongly disagree ⌐ disagree ⌐ disagree slightly ⌐ neutral ⌐ agree slightly ⌐ agree ⌐ strongly agree

11. I have a strong attachment to other Black people.

⌐ strongly ⌐ disagree ⌐ disagree ⌐ neutral ⌐ agree ⌐ agree ⌐ strongly
disagree   slightly   slightly   agree

12. I feel that the Black community has made valuable contributions to this society.

⌐ strongly ⌐ disagree ⌐ disagree ⌐ neutral ⌐ agree ⌐ agree ⌐ strongly
disagree   slightly   slightly   agree

13. Being Black is an important reflection of who I am.

⌐ strongly ⌐ disagree ⌐ disagree ⌐ neutral ⌐ agree ⌐ agree ⌐ strongly
disagree   slightly   slightly   agree

14. Being Black is not a major factor in my social relationships.

⌐   ⌐ disagree ⌐ disagree ⌐ neutral ⌐ agree ⌐ agree ⌐ strongly
strongly   slightly   slightly   agree
disagree

Appendix G: Afrocentricty Scale
Note: Reverse score items 2, 7, 8, 11, & 12

The Afrocentricity Scale

1. I have very little faith in Black/African American people.

☐ strongly ☐ disagree ☐ disagree ☐ neutral ☐ agree ☐ agree ☐ strongly
disagree   slightly   slightly   agree

2. I have more confidence in White professionals, like doctors and teachers, than in Black/African American professionals.

☐   ☐ disagree ☐ disagree ☐ neutral ☐ agree ☐ agree ☐ strongly
  strongly   slightly   slightly   agree
disagree

3. It is important that Blacks/African Americans decide for themselves what to be called and what their needs are.

☐ strongly ☐ disagree ☐ disagree ☐ neutral ☐ agree ☐ agree ☐ strongly
disagree   slightly   slightly   agree

4. It hurts me when I see another Black/African American person discriminated against.

☐ strongly ☐ disagree ☐ disagree ☐ neutral ☐ agree ☐ agree ☐ strongly
disagree   slightly   slightly   agree

5. Blacks/African Americans should build and maintain their own communities.

☐ strongly ☐ disagree ☐ disagree ☐ neutral ☐ agree ☐ agree ☐ strongly
disagree   slightly   slightly   agree

6. Blacks/African Americans should make their community better than it was when they found it.

☐ strongly ☐ disagree ☐ disagree ☐ neutral ☐ agree ☐ agree ☐ strongly
disagree   slightly   slightly   agree

7. The success I have had is mainly because of me, not anyone else.

☐ strongly ☐ disagree ☐ disagree ☐ neutral ☐ agree ☐ agree ☐ strongly
disagree   slightly   slightly   agree

8. The problems of other Blacks/ African Americans are their problems, not mine.

☐ strongly ☐ disagree ☐ disagree ☐ neutral ☐ agree ☐ agree ☐ strongly
disagree   slightly   slightly   agree

9. I am doing a lot to improve my neighborhood.

☐   ☐ disagree ☐ disagree ☐ neutral ☐ agree ☐ agree ☐ strongly
  strongly   slightly   slightly   agree
disagree

10. I must do all I can to restore Blacks/African Americans to their position of respect in the world.

☐ strongly ☐ disagree ☐ disagree ☐ neutral ☐ agree ☐ agree ☐ strongly
disagree   slightly   slightly   agree

11. I am more concerned with reaching my own goals than with working for the Black/African American community.

⌐ strongly ⌐ disagree ⌐ disagree ⌐ neutral ⌐ agree ⌐ agree ⌐ strongly
disagree   slightly   slightly   agree

12. Blacks/African Americans need to stop worrying so much about "the community" and take care of their own needs.

⌐ strongly ⌐ disagree ⌐ disagree ⌐ neutral ⌐ agree ⌐ agree ⌐ strongly
disagree   slightly   slightly   agree