

Racial Ideology and Psychosocial Implications among African Americans: Integrating
Variable-Centered and Person-Centered Approaches

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Abstract

This study investigated Black racial ideology, or attitudes and beliefs Black/African Americans hold about what it means to be Black and how Black people should live and interact with society. The available literature suggests that such ideological views may function as value orientations and meaning-making systems that guide behaviors and define the relationships between the self, others, and society. Given this, the current study examined the relationship between racial ideology and psychosocial functioning in two samples of Black American adults ($Ns = 578$ and 353). In Study 1, exploratory factor analyses (EFA) were used to identify latent factors that underlie the relationships between scores on items derived from widely used measures of racial ideology. Five factors were identified: Ethnocentricity, Afrocentricity, Centrality, Critical Consciousness, and Individuality. The structural validity of these five factors was examined in Study 2, using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) and exploratory structural equation modeling (ESEM). The results revealed the superiority of ESEM models relative to CFA models in terms of improved goodness-of-fit. The findings also indicated a four-factor solution without Individuality best fit the data. In Study 3, cluster analysis was used to identify how the four dimensions of racial ideology were differentially configured within individuals and how these configurations were related to psychological distress, interpersonal relationships, and sociopolitical activism. Five distinct racial ideology clusters were identified: *Low Race Salience*, *Connected Conscious Inclusive*, *Low-Identity Afrocentric Ethnocentricity*, *High-Identity Conscious Ethnocentricity*, and *Power Evasive Non-Nationalism*. These clusters were significantly different on measures of psychological distress and sociopolitical activism. Overall, the findings highlight

important individual differences in how Black/African Americans think about their race and how these differences have significant implications for psychosocial experiences.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

One could argue that we are at a pivotal moment in American history. If the current immigration and fertility rates continue, the United States is projected to become a “minority-majority” nation by 2045, wherein people of color will collectively constitute a majority (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). Understandably, there has been growing attention placed on various indices and implications of this “diversification” of the United States (Scottham, Cooke, Sellers, & Ford, 2010). Much of this attention has attempted to answer one surprisingly difficult question: how does race shape the experiences of diverse groups in the United States? Some have likened the endeavor to understand race in this way to putting together a three-dimensional 1000-piece jigsaw puzzle in a dim light (Thompson & Tyagi, 1996). They argue that on one hand, race is about everything—history, politics, personal stories—on the other hand, race is also about nothing—a social construction that has changed dramatically over time and socio-political circumstance. This dialectical tension is evident when we consider how race—a human invention—can be used demarcate and ascribe morality, worth, and character (Thompson & Carter, 2013).

Within psychology, race-related inquiry has focused heavily on racial identity or the psychological meaning that is derived from or attributed to race, particularly among African Americans (Scottham et al., 2010). The Black racial identity literature is replete with theoretical and empirical analyses of what it means to be Black in the racially stratified United States (see Cokley & Vandiver, 2012 for a review). Early Black racial identity research suggested the existence of Black self-hatred that results from the internalization of the social stigma and denigration that comes from living in a racist society (Clark & Clark, 1939, 1940; 1947; Horwitz, 1939). Until the 1970s, the thesis of

Black internalized negativity and damaged psyche was a recurring trend in the empirical and theoretical literature (e.g., Allport, 1954; Fanon, 1952; Kardiner & Ovesey, 1951). However, with the advent of the Black Consciousness movement in the United States, the self-hatred hypothesis quickly fell out of favor (Harper & Tuckman, 2006). Moreover, the social transformations that followed the Black civil rights movement thrust many Black intellectuals to resist the perceived racism of mainstream psychology and embark on a new era of self-questioning and exploration (Mama, 1995). Some have reasoned that the emphasis on racial dignity and self-reliance during this era caused many Black people to see themselves anew (Harper & Tuckman, 2006). This changing socio-political climate set the stage for Black psychologists to pose new questions and present counter-narratives to the old ways of viewing Black self-concept.

This reconceptualization of Black racial identity was an important antecedent to our current understanding of racial identity as a complex, multidimensional construct in which behavioral, affective, and cognitive dimensions shape the way Black people understand themselves and relational interactions (Fhagen-Smith, Vandiver, Worrell, & Cross, 2010; Jackson, 2002). Moreover, our current understanding recognizes significant heterogeneity within racial groups, and therefore variability in African Americans' lived and cultural experiences (Betancourt & López, 1993). This variability is thought to manifest in notable intra-group differences in racial ideology, or the qualitative meanings Black people ascribe to their race (Rowley, Chavous, & Cooke, 2003; Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998).

This ideological dimension of racial identity, regarding the attitudes and beliefs Black Americans hold about what it means to be Black and how Black people should live and

interact with society, is the primary focus of the present study. There is a clear need to clarify this component of racial identity because it has not received theoretical and empirical parity with the other components of identity (Hunter & Joseph, 2010).

Ashmore, Deaux, and McLaughlin-Volpe (2004) suggested this lopsided focus on other elements of group identity (e.g., self-identification, importance of group to self-concept, evaluation of group by self and others, and behavioral involvement) in the existing literature might be attributable to the difficulty subsuming the qualitative meanings of group identity into a single construct. Moreover, others have highlighted how the limited research on this attitudinal dimension of racial identity lacks cohesion (e.g., Jackson, 2002). This state of affairs, characterized by a skewed focus on particular facets of racial identity at the exclusion of others (namely, ideology), along with isolated and fragmented conceptualizations of this construct, critically limits our understanding of how racial ideology should be defined theoretically and measured empirically. Barnum (1997) echoed these concerns in his discussion of the preponderance of various conceptualizations of facets of group identity with limited empirical investigation to establish equivalence. He argues that even when the conceptualizations convey relatively similar meanings, the equivocalness of these constructs of interest would nevertheless remain.

Past research has underscored the need for more empirically informed theories in the study of race and the potential importance of racial ideology for variety of psychosocial outcomes (Ashmore et al., 2004; Cokley, 2007). Given this, the goal of the current research was to advance the literature on Black racial identity by integrating variable-centered and person-centered analytic approaches to examine the nature and

content of Black racial ideology. The three aims were to 1) identify the latent factors that underlie the relationships between scores on items derived from widely used measures of racial ideology, 2) examine how these underlying dimensions may be differentially configured at the individual level to identify subgroups of relatively homogeneous Black racial ideology profiles, and 3) investigate how these configurations are related to psychosocial outcomes. At its core, the present study aimed to encourage a more nuanced and sophisticated understanding of the African American experience. Moreover, the interest in how different ideological views may be related to psychosocial outcomes might reveal useful information to clinicians, policy-makers, and scholars in their efforts to develop interventions and policies that enhance the social citizenship and positive life outcomes among diverse populations.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Theories and Measures of Racial Ideology

Research on racial ideology is situated within the context of a multidisciplinary interest in the beliefs people hold about themselves and the world based on group membership (e.g., race, gender, sexual orientation, religion, etc.). However, relative to those based on other group identities, race-based ideological positions have received substantially more interest (Ashmore et al., 2004). In this section, I survey the most influential and prevalent theories and models of racial ideology in the psychological literature. While not an exhaustive review of the entire literature, the upcoming discussion focuses on historical and contemporary models that have significantly advanced the understanding of racial ideological views, particularly with regard to how this construct should be defined theoretically, how it can be measured empirically, and how it relates to other psychological constructs.

I begin by examining how Black racial attitudes have historically been studied and construed within the discipline of psychology. In particular, I discuss how early studies on Black self-concept propagated narrow and unscientific conclusions, perhaps reflecting greater social stratification between racial groups at the time. I then examine two contemporary bodies of literature that provided insight on race-based attitudes and ideological views, namely, the theoretical and empirical work on Black racial identity and the study of intergroup dynamics in social psychology. My discussion of the theories and models of Black racial identity focuses on the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI; Sellers et al., 1998) and Cross's (1971, 1991; Cross & Vandiver, 2001; Worrell, Cross, & Vandiver, 2001) Nigrescence theory. Both Sellers and Cross are notable as

representatives of the paradigm shift in the study of Black self-concept, forward-thinking in their multidimensional view of racial identity and corresponding racial attitudes, and generative in their empirical study of race. I end by discussing the social-psychological research on intergroup relations, explicitly, the three often-discussed ideological views about racial diversity: colorblindness, multiculturalism, and polyculturalism

Earliest Conceptualizations of Black Racial Attitudes

The earliest writings on race-related ideology or attitudes were two independent research programs initiated in the 1930s: the Horowitz and Clark studies. Ruth and Eugene Horowitz published the first empirical studies of Black racial attitudes and self-concept. In his dissertation, Eugene Horowitz found that Black children showed a slight but statistically significant preference for pictures of White people over pictures of Black people when asked questions such as “Who do you like best?” and “Who would you sit next to?” (E. Horowitz, 1936). Ruth Horowitz (1939) then aimed to further her husband’s work, using various projective techniques such as puppets, dolls, and pictures to uncover Black children’s racial attitudes, which she conceptualized as an implicit dimension of personality. Based on her findings that some Black children self-identified with a White picture, Horowitz suggested that Black children engage in what she termed a “wishful activity.” That is, although Black children knew they were Black from an early age, they identified themselves with White people because they wished they were White.

Contemporary scholars have highlighted the methodological errors and unsystematic nature of these studies, namely, their small sample sizes, selective interpretation of results that support a Black self-hatred hypothesis, and the young age of the participants (Cross, 1991; Mama, 1995).

The Horowitz studies represented the first of a series of research that found a negative self-concept among Blacks as a result of their internalization of social stigma and denigration. In the late 1930s, Mamie and Kenneth Clark began a similar research program that seemed to support Horowitz's theorization that self-denigration and a sense of inferiority characterized Blacks' self-concept. The pair presented White and Black school-aged children with a dark-skinned and light-skinned doll and asked questions such as, "Which is the smart doll?" "Which is the bad doll?" and "Which is the pretty doll?" They found both White and Black children tended to see the dark-skinned doll as bad and ugly and the light-skinned doll as smart and pretty (Clark & Clark, 1939, 1940). On the basis of these findings, Kenneth Clark would later posit that low self-concept was stable, persistent, and an important dimension of the "negro personality" (Clark, 1955). Several researchers have since criticized these famous "Doll studies," citing methodological and validation issues (Banks & Grambs, 1972; Cross 1991). For example, Cross (1991) criticized the authors for failing to account for the fact that White preference seemed to disappear after the age of 7. Moreover, Cross demonstrated that many of their conclusions were incongruent with their data and suggested that they selectively overgeneralized the negative self-concept remarks of some Black children, many of whom were undergoing psychiatric treatment, to reflect the identity of Black Americans unilaterally.

The thesis of Black internalized negativity and damaged psyche due to racism, and other systems of oppression was a recurring theme in empirical and theoretical studies that followed (Allport, 1954; Fanon, 1952; Kardiner & Ovesey, 1951). There were notable exceptions that failed to support the Black negative self-concept hypothesis,

some even demonstrating that Black Americans had higher self-esteem than their White counterparts (e.g., Deutsch, 1960; Pettigrew, 1964; Rosenberg & Simmons, 1972).

Nevertheless, the Black negative self-concept narrative became a popular rhetorical tool for the Black civil rights movement, whose leaders argued that segregation and racism led to Black self-hatred (Cross, 1991; Mama, 1995). While some of the early empirical and theoretical works were controversial, they nonetheless represented groundbreaking efforts to capture the “Black experience” as a psychological construct. Indeed, the lasting impression of this research has been the theme that sociopolitical positioning (e.g., race) has critical implications for the attitudes and beliefs people hold about themselves and their world.

Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity

Eschewing early racial identity researchers’ unilateral representation of Black identity as problematic, Robert Sellers and colleagues (1998) introduced the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI). According to the model, Black racial identity is a multidimensional construct that consists of both stable and situationally determined components. The model also assumes variability among African Americans in how they conceptualize the self and in the significance and qualitative meanings they ascribe to being Black. Taking an integrative view of Black racial identity, MMRI comprises four distinct but conceptually related dimensions: centrality, salience, regard, and ideology (Sellers et al., 1998). *Centrality* refers to the extent to which an individual defines her- or himself based on race. *Salience* refers to the extent to which race is relevant to a person’s self-concept at a particular moment in time. Racial centrality is thought to be a stable component of identity, whereas racial salience is assumed to be

context-dependent. *Regard* refers to the personal feelings and evaluative judgments an individual holds about his/her race (*private regard*) as well as perceptions of others' views of his/her group (*public regard*). The final dimension, *ideology*, is defined as an "individual's beliefs, opinions, and attitudes with respect to the way she or he feels that the members of the race should act" (Sellers et al., 1998, p. 27).

Sellers and colleagues (1998) further posited the existence of four Black racial ideologies as part of their MMRI: Nationalist, Oppressed Minority, Assimilationist, and Humanist (see figure 1). The *nationalist* ideology emphasizes the uniqueness of being African American. According to the MMRI, the endorsement of this ideology reflects the belief that the Black experience is distinct from that of any other group, particularly vis-à-vis racism and oppression. The *nationalist* ideological position is also associated with a preference for Black spaces and a deep appreciation and awareness of Black culture and accomplishments. The *oppressed minority* ideology emphasizes the similarities between African Americans and other oppressed groups such as other people of color, sexual minorities, or women. Individuals who endorse this ideological position often view coalition-building as an appropriate strategy for social change.

The *assimilationist* ideology is a philosophical position that stresses the similarities between African Americans and the rest of American society. Individuals who endorse this ideology do not necessarily de-emphasize or reject their Blackness, but rather believe African Americans should work within mainstream institutions for social change. Subscribers to this ideology also tend to rank their identity as Americans as more important or more central than their minority-group identity. Finally, the *humanist* ideology stresses the commonalities among all humans and de-emphasizes the importance

of social categories such as race, gender, or class. Individuals who endorse this view are instead are more likely to view all people as belonging to one race—the human race.

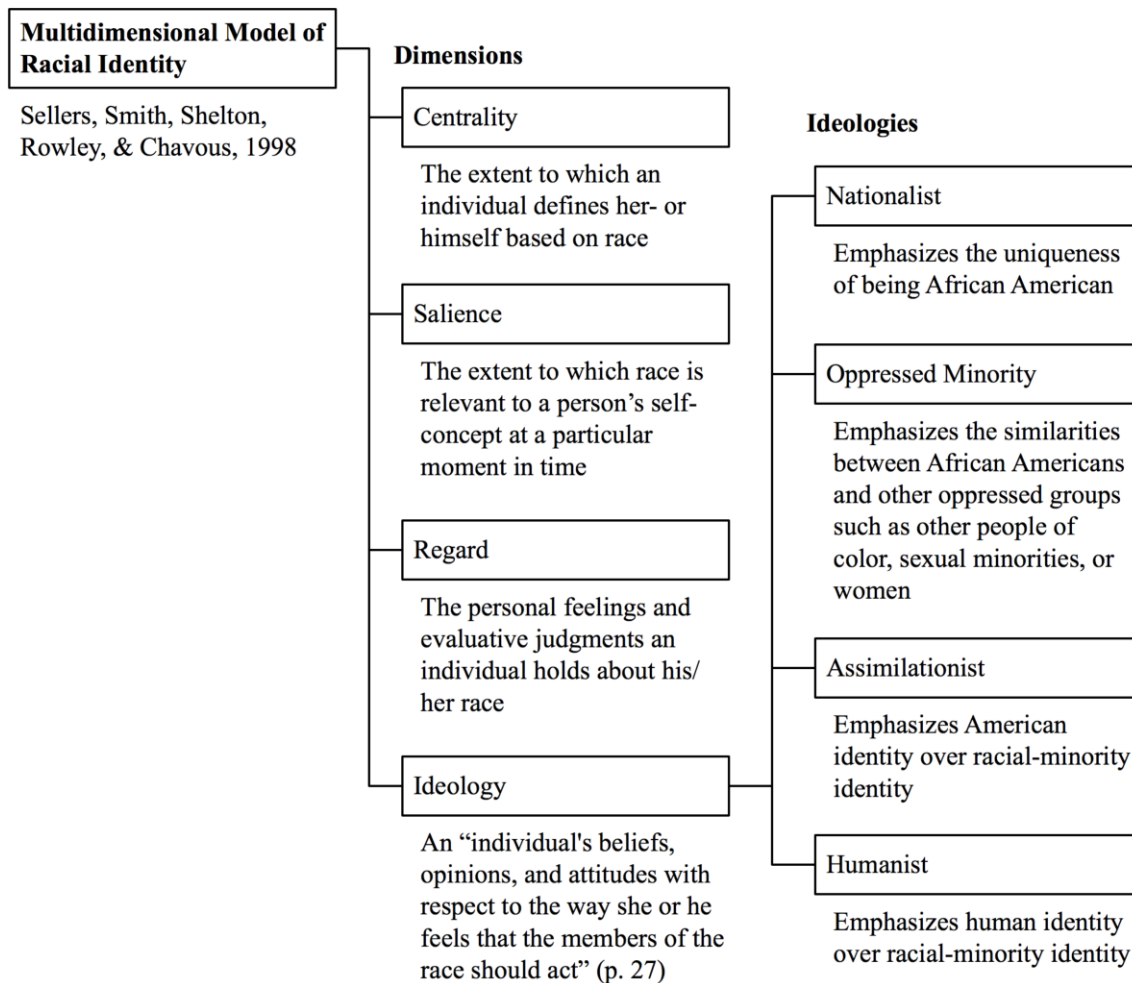


Figure 1. Illustrative summary of the MMRI

The available identity literature has shown relatively little interest in these qualitative gradations in the beliefs individuals construct about their racial group. There is a general consensus among researchers that identity can be seen as having two parts, process and content, but the former is better understood than the latter (Scottham et al., 2010; Syed & McLean, 2015). The *process* of Black racial identity has a developmental focus and refers to the ways in which people form race-related cognitions, feelings, and

behaviors, as well as how these change over time. In contrast, the *content* of Black racial identity has an individual differences focus and refers to content of these cognitions, feelings, and behaviors (such as positive or negative feelings about being Black or specific attitudes about how Black people should live and interact with society). Therefore, the process of Black racial identity concerns “how” Black people construct an identity based on race, whereas the content of Black racial identity concerns “what” this identity actually looks like.

Accordingly, the MMRI operationalizes the content of race-related attitudes and beliefs. This is notable because while a concomitant examination of process and content is likely crucial to understanding racial identity as the two are deeply intertwined, the available literature has generally prioritized process over content (Scottham et al., 2010). This limitation is understandable as the *process* of racial identity may be more conducive for the development of straightforward models of identity development that would be applicable to different racial groups (e.g., Phinney, 1992). The content of racial identity is inherently less generic and more complex because one would expect great variability in qualitative meanings that people attribute to their racial group membership and these meanings likely change based on proximal and distal contextual factors (Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997). Nevertheless, a better understanding of the beliefs and attitudes Black individuals hold about being Black and how to relate to other groups is vital because such ideological views likely function as value orientations and meaning making systems that define the relationship between the self and others as well as guide action (Fhagen-Smith et al., 2010).

The Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI) is a measure created to operationalize the three dimensions of the MMRI that are considered stable across situations (centrality, regard, and ideology) (Sellers et al., 1997). As noted previously, the salience dimension is thought to be context-dependent and thus does not lend itself to measurement by questionnaire. The MIBI includes four subscales corresponding to the four ideological positions, a Centrality scale, and two Regard subscales (private and public). In their original introduction to the MIBI, Sellers and colleagues (1997) reported evidence of the MIBI's construct and concurrent validity within a sample of college students using exploratory factor and correlational analyses. Over the years, several studies have also shown that the sub-scales of the MIBI have adequate internal consistency in other college student samples (Cokley & Helm, 2001), in adult samples (Rowley, Sellers, & Smith, 1998; Sellers, Chavous, and Cooke 1998), and in samples of older adolescents (Chavous et al., 2003)

Correlates of MIBI Ideology Scales

As previously noted, the racial ideology component of the MMRI has not received empirical parity with the other components. Nevertheless, the limited research available indicates that ideologies associated with racial group membership have significant implications for people's lives. For example, Hunter and Joseph (2010) found associations between strong endorsement of the oppressed minority ideology and interdependent self-construal. Rowley and colleagues (2003) used a person-centered approach to cluster a sample of African-American college students into five ideological profiles based on the four ideologies delineated by the MMRI. They found evidence that racial ideology was related to the racial context in which the students grew up and

seemed to govern their race-related choices in college. Specifically, they found students in the Separatist group (characterized by an aversion to the assimilation ideological perspective and by moderately negative endorsement of the oppressed minority ideology) were more likely than others to have grown up in neighborhoods and attended high schools with larger concentrations of African Americans, to have a Black best friend, and to take Afrocentric courses in college.

Sellers, Chavous, and Cooke (1998) examined the relationship between racial identity and academic performance and found that racial centrality moderated the relationship between racial ideology and GPA among African American college students. They reported that the assimilation and nationalist racial ideologies were negatively associated with GPA among those whose racial group membership was central to their self-concept, whereas the oppressed minority ideology was positively related to academic performance among those who score highly on racial centrality. Along similar lines, Smalls and colleagues (2007) examined the relationship between racial ideologies, racial discrimination experiences, and academic engagement outcomes among African American adolescents. Their findings indicated that Black adolescents' endorsement of assimilation and nationalist ideologies predicted academic disengagement. Additionally, assimilation ideology predicted public-oppositional academic identification (the fear of being viewed as high-achieving by peers) and behavioral problems in school. The endorsement of oppressed minority ideology predicted positive academic engagement outcomes. Humanist ideology was not correlated with any particular outcome.

To explain this apparent link between racial ideology and academic outcomes, scholars have suggested that nationalist ideology may heighten an individual's sensitivity

to racism, which may ultimately function as an academic risk factor by creating feelings of alienation and isolation (Hunter & Joseph, 2010; Sellers, Chavous, & Cooke, 1998). They reasoned that the assimilation ideology might likewise serve as a risk factor by minimizing race and thus leaving individuals less capable of navigating a race-conscious society. On the other hand, the emphasis on the shared experience of oppression that characterizes the oppressed minority ideology might be protective. The role of the humanist ideology's broad in-group orientation (i.e., a focus on membership in the human race rather than membership in a racial group) on academic outcomes remains unclear and warrants more attention. It is important to note that while the aforementioned studies have examined relationships between racial ideology and life outcomes, the MMRI draws no normative conclusions about the relative "correctness" or "desirableness" or "healthiness" of the four ideologies. These findings do suggest, however, that racial attitudes matter in concrete ways. This further underscores the need for better understanding of the complex nature of racial ideology—it is likely that there is a dynamic relationship between individual differences in perceptions of what it means to be African American and contextual demands (Harper & Tuckmen, 2006). And these differences seem to matter for psychosocial outcomes.

Psychometric Properties of the MIBI

Since its introduction, research studies using the MIBI have been numerous and diverse in their empirical questions (Vandiver, Worrell, & Delgado-Romero, 2009). Despite the appeal of the MIBI and the integrative framework on which it is based, researchers have voiced concerns about the instrument's psychometric properties. Cokley and Helm (2001) were the first to extend Sellers and colleagues' (1997) original

psychometric examination of the MIBI. They reported results from confirmatory factor analysis and item analysis of the MIBI in a sample of 279 African American undergraduate students from historically Black colleges and universities as well as from predominately White colleges and universities. They reported that the internal consistency estimates for their sample ranged from .72 to .83, which were higher than Sellers et al.'s (1997) estimates of .60 to .79. They used confirmatory factor analyses to compare the seven-factor model (four ideologies, public and private regard, and centrality) with several other possible models and concluded, "the fit indexes for the final seven-factor model were marginal at best and poor at worst" (p. 91). The item analysis revealed that ideology scale items were particularly problematic in that they failed to effectively define and distinguish the dimensions of Black racial ideology. For instance, Cokley and Helm noted that some of the humanist items (e.g., "Blacks should not consider race when buying art or selecting a book") seem to create a false dichotomy between Black values and human values. They also point out the problematic conflation of Black affirmation and empowerment with anti-White or separatist sentiments in the nationalist subscale. After noting several other inadequacies, they concluded the MIBI is clearly in the early stages of development and warrants revision both on an item and a theoretical level.

Simmons, Worrell, and Berry (2008) similarly examined MIBI's psychometric properties with a sample of 225 African American undergraduate students from historically Black colleges and universities as well as from predominately White college and universities. They reported internal consistency estimates ranging from .59 to .78. The results of their exploratory factor analytic procedures did not support the seven-

factor structure originally proposed by Sellers et al. (1997). They instead proposed a five-factor structure, retaining only 34 of the 56 original items of the MIBI. Factor I, labeled *Black Pride*, included 5 of the 6 private regard items and four centrality items that were all positive affirmations about being Black. Factor II, labeled *Public Regard*, was made up of 4 of the 6 Public Regard items, an assimilation item, a humanist item, and an oppressed minority item. Factor III, labeled *Humanist*, had 4 humanist and three assimilation items. Factor IV, labeled *Oppressed Minority*, was made up of 7 of the 9 oppressed minority items. Lastly, Factor V, labeled *Nationalist*, consisted of 5 of the 9 nationalist items. Like Cokley & Helm (2001), they conclude that the MIBI does not seem to adequately operationalize the MMRI.

Vandiver and colleagues (2009) conducted a recent psychometric examination of the MIBI. They assessed the measure's factor structure in sample of 272 African American college students using confirmatory and exploratory factor analyses. Using confirmatory factor analytic procedures, they compared MIBI's seven-factor operationalization of the racial identity constructs theorized in the MMRI against two higher-order models (see Figure 2, reprinted from Vandiver et al., 2009). The MIBI as it stands aligns with the MMRI's theoretical framework, which postulates seven measurable latent constructs (Salience is not measured). This seven-factor or first-order model comprises the seven MIBI subscales previously described: Centrality, Private Regard, Public Regard, Nationalist, Oppressed Minority, Assimilation, and Humanist. In contrast, the second-order (two-factor higher order) model contains the Regard (including the public and private subscales) and Ideology (including the four ideology subscales) dimensions. Given that the framework conceptualizes Centrality as a dimension on the

same level as Regard and Ideology but one that is defined by scale items rather than latent constructs (in contrast to Regard and Ideology), Centrality was treated as a first-order factor. The third-order (one-factor higher order) model, labeled Racial Identity, contained the two-factor model and the respective seven factors as well as Centrality.

Vandiver and her team reported that the fit indices from their confirmatory analyses did not support the seven-factor first-order model or the two alternative higher-order models. In light of these findings, they then conducted a post-hoc exploratory factor analysis on the same data to determine its relationship to Simmons and colleagues' (2008) findings. The post-hoc exploratory factor analysis suggested that the MIBI items are best represented by a five-factor structure. Factor I, labeled *Centrality*, included six of the eight centrality items, two nationalist items, and two private regard items. Factor II, labeled *Public Regard*, included the six public regard items and one oppressed minority item (with a negative coefficient). Factor III, labeled *Oppressed Minority*, consisted of five oppressed minority items and one humanist item. Factor IV, labeled *Integrationist* and conceptualized as a willingness to work with other groups in society, consisted of six nationalist items (negative coefficient), one humanist item, and one assimilation item. Factor V, labeled *Assimilationist*, included three of the nine assimilationist items. As such, only two of the five factors reported by Simmons et al. (2008) were identified in the Vandiver et al. sample—the two research teams found correspondence for the Public Regard and Oppressed Minority factors. Additionally, Vandiver et al. reported that 22 scale items did not have salient coefficients on any of the aforementioned factors, specifically, one nationalist item, two centrality items, three oppressed minority items, four private regard items, five assimilation items, and seven humanist items. Like Cokley

and Helm (2001) and Simmons et al. (2008), Vandiver et al. concluded that MIBI scores do not seem to appropriately operationalize the MMRI, noting the ideology dimension as particularly problematic.

While many studies report adequate internal consistency estimates for the MIBI, the preponderance of the evidence indicates that MIBI scores may not be a valid measure of the MMRI's dimensions of racial identity. As long as the instrument's construct validity in measuring the dimensions of the MMRI is in question, so are the inferences that can be made from MIBI scores. There is a degree of consensus among researchers that racial identity is a multidimensional construct and, therefore, that the MMRI is an important addition to the racial identity literature. However, there is a clear need to build upon the MMRI and MIBI toward a better understanding of the dimensions of racial identity. As Cokley and Helm (2001) put it, "[a]lthough it certainly would strengthen the psychometric properties of the instrument to drop these items and add stronger items, another solution should be considered at the theoretical level" (p. 92).

Following that advice, this study aims to re-examine the current conceptualization and measurement of racial ideology by identifying other content areas related to racial ideology but absent from the MMRI. This could reveal a more meaningful and parsimonious organizational structure for the multitude of racial ideological views and address some of the conceptual limitations with how the MMRI demarcates its four dimensions. Moreover, given this body of evidence suggesting the advisability of intermingling items from the different dimensions, the current investigation will consider all items of the MIBI (i.e., even those not delineated as ideology items) in search of a better way to demarcate and conceptualize these dimensions. For example, an item meant

to capture whether race is a core part of an individual's self-concept (Centrality) may inadvertently better capture the meaning the individual ascribes to being Black (Ideology).

Nigrescence Theory

Apart from the MMRI, one of the most influential and longstanding theoretical frameworks for understanding Black racial attitudes is Cross's (1971) nigrescence theory. The theory was originally developed as a means for describing the process of "becoming Black". It emerged in the context of the Black civil rights movement and mapped the gradual progression from a belief system of Black devaluation and White identification to one of Black self-confidence and affirmation. Originally conceptualized as a stage theory, the nigrescence model posited that Black individuals moved through five stages—pre-encounter, encounter, immersion-emersion, internalization, and internalization commitment—culminating in increased self-awareness and acceptance.

In the *pre-encounter* stage, individuals have yet to consider the value of being Black. They tacitly accept the norms and pervasive prejudices of the dominant culture, leading to feelings of devaluation and uncritical acceptance of White hegemony. In the *encounter* stage, a crisis occurs that raises an individual's consciousness about Black culture and the ways it has been oppressed. Cross (1978) described this racial epiphany as "a shocking personal or social event that temporarily dislodges a person from his old world view, making the person receptive (vulnerable) to a new interpretation of his identity and his condition" (p. 17). The epiphany may follow, for example, a confrontation or encouragement by a fellow Black person or a racially prejudiced interaction with the dominant culture.

The *immersion-emersion* stage is described as an intense transitory period, typified by a struggle to shed one's old identity and perspectives and move towards a more racially conscious worldview. This stage is characterized by an embrace of Blackness, rejection of Whiteness, unrealistic expectations regarding efficacy of Black power, polarized thinking, and the desire to prove one's Blackness. This sometimes reactionary and potentially dramatic stage is expected to moderate over time, leading to *internalization*. This fourth stage represents a resolution of the tensions and insecurities of the earlier stages: individuals feel more confident in their personal standards of Blackness, become more psychologically open, and give up their "uncontrolled rage" in favor of "controlled anger" toward the dominant culture and its systems of oppression. The final stage, *internalization-commitment*, represents a long-term commitment to the ideological views characteristic of the internalization stage and a deeper sense of Black communalism.

The theory has undergone two revisions since its inception in 1971: the revised version of 1991 and the expanded version of 2001 (see Vandiver, Cross, Worrell, & Fhagen-Smith, 2002 for a more detailed discussion of the theory's evolution). In the revised and expanded versions of the nigrescence theory, there was a shift from a developmental-stage model with an invariant sequence of stages to an attitudinal theory that conceptualizes identity as a set of orthogonal ideological views about what it means to be Black (Cross 1991; Cross & Vandiver, 2001; see figure 3). The expanded Nigrescence theory posits eight Black racial attitudes that fall under three thematic categories: *pre-encounter*, *immersion-emersion*, and *internalization*.

The pre-encounter category comprises what Cross and Vandiver (2001) termed

Assimilation, Miseducation, and Self-Hatred attitudes, which together reflect a low or even negative regard for Black culture. Assimilation is associated with a pro-American orientation and a de-emphasis of racial characteristics. Miseducation is typified by moderately negative race-salience (an individual's self-reported opinion of how important race is to her or his identity) and the endorsement of negative stereotypes about the African American community. Self-hatred is characterized by intensely negative race-salience and a personal rejection of Blackness. The Immersion-Emersion category includes two attitudes: Anti-White (an intense anger toward White culture, the unfairness of American society, and toward the self for not previously recognizing these dynamics) and Intense Black Involvement (a deep immersion in Black culture). As in the original theory, these themes are thought to become salient after a transformative racial epiphany (Worrell & Watson, 2008). Individuals for whom these ideological views are most prominent may be intolerant toward those with Pre-encounter attitudes as this ideological position seems to be characterized by polarized thinking and idealization of all things Black (Vandiver, Fhagen-Smith, Cokley, Cross, & Worrell, 2001).

Internalization racial attitudes include Afrocentric, Biculturalist, Multiculturalist Inclusive, and Multiculturalist Racial ideological views. These attitudes are characterized by high race salience and acceptance of being Black while acknowledging other salient identities in self and other (Worrell & Watson, 2006). Afrocentric Internalization attitudes reflect the belief that Afrocentric values should guide how Black people structure their lives and emphasize the empowerment of other Black people. In addition to pro-Black attitudes, individuals for whom Biculturalists attitudes are most prominent, intersect their Black identity with another salient cultural identity (e.g., gender, sexual

orientation). Both Multiculturalist Inclusive and Multiculturalist Racial Internalization attitudes reflect pro-Black attitudes, however, they differ in cultural inclusivity.

Multiculturalist Inclusive attitudes reflect an openness to building coalition with all other cultural groups (including non-racial minority groups and Whites), whereas

Multiculturalist Racial attitudes reflect a disinterest in coalition building beyond racial minority groups (Cokley & Vandiver, 2012).

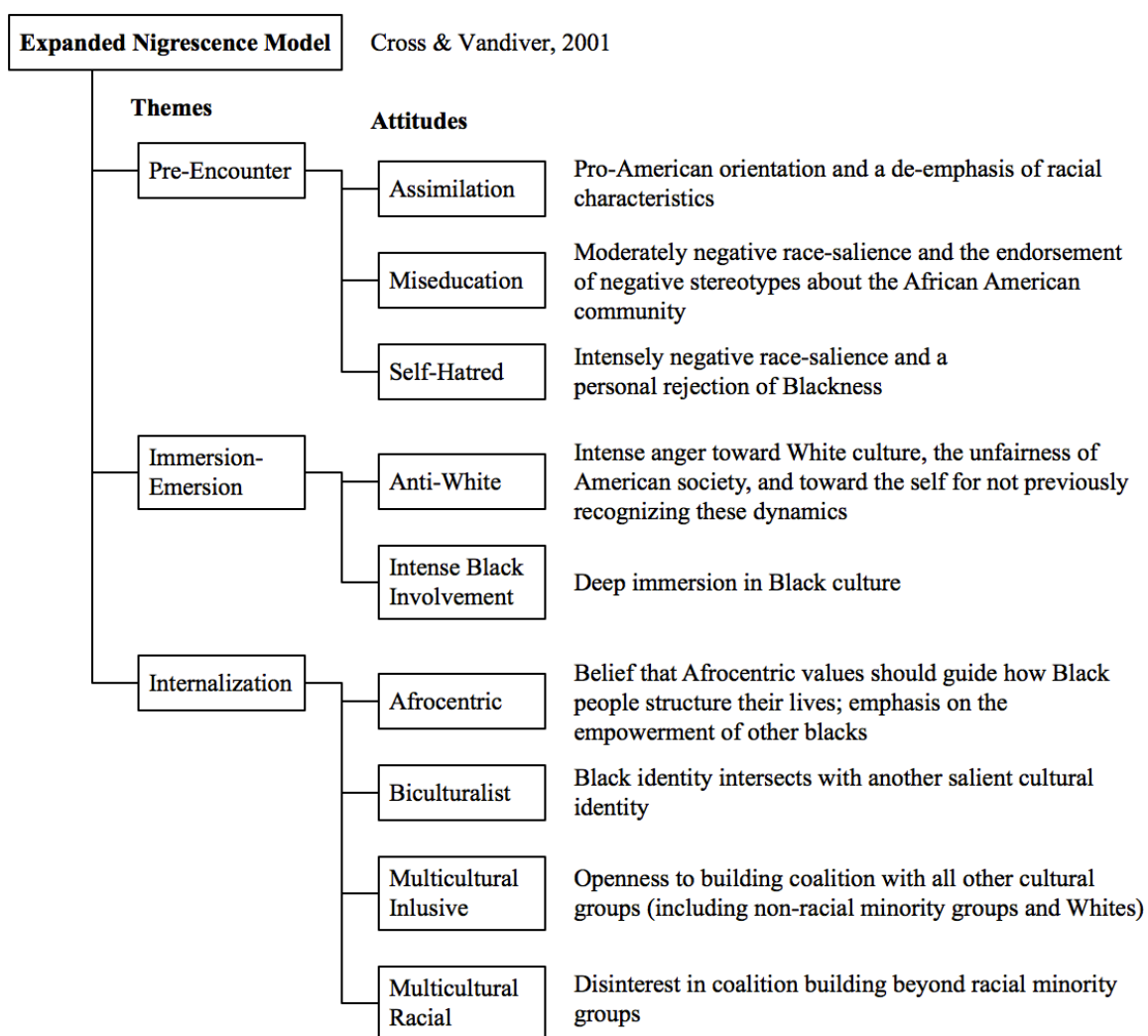


Figure 2. Summary of the Expanded Nigrescence Model

Psychometric Properties of the CRIS

The Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS; Vandiver et al., 2000) operationalizes the expanded nigrescence model. However, three of the nine nigrescence attitudes are not measured on the CRIS: the Biculturalist, Intense Black Involvement, and Multiculturalist Racial attitudes. The latter two are still in development, while the authors note that it is impractical to develop a Bicultural scale because there are countless other salient identities with which individuals may identify (Vandiver et al., 2002). In contrast to the MIBI, the CRIS has been lauded for the psychometric properties of its scores and its lengthy scale development process and series of validation studies (Burkard & Ponterotto, 2008; Cokley, 2007; Ponterotto & Park-Taylor, 2007; Worrell & Watson, 2008; Worrell et al., 2011).

Worrell and Watson (2008) reported internal consistence estimates of .78 and higher for each subscale in 10 studies using the CRIS. There is also substantial evidence for the structural validity of the CRIS. In the initial scale development study for the CRIS, an exploratory factor analysis supported the presence of the six CRIS subscales. Worrell and Watson also conducted a confirmatory factor analysis, comparing the six-factor model against seven other models: one-factor, two-factor, three-factor, four-factor, five-factor, and two higher-order models. They found support for the six-factor nigrescence model, which performed slightly better than a two-factor higher-order model. This adequately strong higher-order two-factor model consisted of Pre-Discovery (Pre-Encounter subscales) and Discovery (Immersion–Emersion and Internalization subscales). Since its initial validation study, there have been three published exploratory analysis studies of the CRIS, all generally reporting that its items loaded adequately on their corresponding subscales (see Gardner-Kitt & Worrell, 2007; Simmons et al., 2006;

Worrell et al., 2008). Worrell and Watson (2008) also conducted a confirmatory factor analysis of the CRIS and found support for the six-factor nigrescence model, which resulted in a better fit than alternative models.

While the evidence to date strongly supports the psychometric strength of the CRIS, its developers admit that the scale and underlying theoretical framework only represent a subset of the possible racial ideological views that exist for African Americans (Cross & Vandiver, 2001). This assertion raises three questions: Do the MIBI and CRIS individually capture the maximum domain of content related to Black racial ideology? Does each capture a unique conceptual space that the other does not? And, are there racial ideological spaces that neither CRIS nor MIBI capture and thus, may require a different conceptualization of racial ideology?

Other Conceptualizations of Racial Ideology

Researchers outside of the racial identity literature have proposed several ideological views that describe race's role in how people make sense of their cultural world. These belief systems, often referred to as intergroup ideologies, are prescriptive (i.e., how the world or individuals should be) rather than descriptive (i.e., how the world is) notions about racial diversity (Levy, West, & Rosenthal, 2012). Rosenthal and Levy (2010) identified the three most prevalent intergroup ideologies in the literature: multiculturalism, colorblindness, and polyculturalism. Much of the available research has focused on colorblindness and multiculturalism (e.g., Esses & Gardner, 1996; Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009; Rosenthal & Levy, 2010; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Ryan, Hunt, Weible, Peterson, & Casas, 2007; Verkuyten, 2009; Wolsko, Park, & Judd, 2006; Zirkel, 2008). The research on polyculturalism is relatively recent but growing (e.g.,

Bernardo, Rosenthal, & Levy, 2013; Pedersen, Paradies, & Barndon, 2015; Rosenthal & Levy, 2010; Rosenthal & Levy, 2012). These ideological positions generally capture out-group orientations, particularly worldviews regarding racial intergroup relations, and therefore have been conceptually discussed and empirically tested in relation to prejudice and its reduction (Levy et al., 2012).

Multiculturalism as an ideological view promotes the value of cultural pluralism and emphasizes the awareness, respect and appreciation of ethnic diversity (Fowers & Richardson, 1996). The multicultural ideological view suggests that prejudice develops partly due to a poor understanding of other cultures and therefore can be reduced by learning more about other cultures (Rosenthal & Levy, 2010; Ryan et al., 2007; Verkuyten, 2009). In a way, the colorblindness ideology takes the opposite view: that focusing attention on race is itself a form of prejudice, and that people should only be seen as unique individuals (Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004). Proponents of this view believe that race should be completely irrelevant to the way individuals and groups interact with each other (Rosenthal & Levy, 2010; Ryan, Casas, & Thompson, 2010). Some have found theoretical weaknesses in these two worldviews. Critics of multiculturalism have argued that it reifies racial differences and inadvertently fosters separatism and division (Fowers and Richardson, 1996). Others have noted that its emphasis on the distinctiveness of racial groups, even with affirming and positive intentions, could perpetuate stereotypes and result in discrimination (Rosenthal & Levy, 2010). As for colorblindness, some scholars have argued that it maintains the racial status quo and further perpetuates and justifies societal inequality because its race-neutral perspective blinds it to race- or ethnicity-based power hierarchies (Ebert, 2004; Neville,

Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000).

The research on polyculturalism is relatively recent and emerged somewhat in response to the aforementioned theoretical concerns with multiculturalism and colorblindness. Individuals who endorse this view are thought to focus on the interdependence, interactions, influences, and connections among racial groups throughout history and in the present day (Rosenthal & Levy, 2010). This view assumes that prejudice stems in part from a lack of awareness or attention to the historical and contemporary interactions among racial groups (Prashad, 2001). These interactions could be positive exchanges of ideas (e.g., cultural fusions in music and cuisine) but also negative historical intergroup interactions (e.g., discrimination, colonialism, slavery, war). Like multiculturalism and colorblindness, polyculturalism can conceivably lead to bad outcomes, according to some researchers. A selective focus on past negative intergroup relations could foster resentment and hostility, whereas a selective focus on positive group interactions could be viewed as naïve and glib (Rosenthal & Levy, 2010). In response to these concerns, Rosenthal and Levy suggest that polyculturalism may take a neutral form without an inherent valence, that is, an ideological view where both positive and negative connections and interaction between racial groups are recognized and highlighted.

At this point, it is important to understand the differences between the conceptualizations of racial intergroup ideologies in this section and those from the racial identity literature. Unlike the attitudes enumerated in the MMRI and nigrescence model, the intergroup racial ideologies generally do not focus on views of the self and people's dynamic psychological orientation to their own race and as it relates to other racial

groups. Moreover, these intergroup ideological views do not reflect the tension between race-based oppression and adaptation that characterizes the aforementioned racial identity model. Nevertheless, there is cause to suspect that these three attitudes account for a unique space that the MMRI and nigrescence model overlook.

For example, Ryan and colleagues (2007) examined intergroup racial ideologies in a community sample of Black and White Americans. As they hypothesized, their survey data across two studies indicated that African Americans endorsed multiculturalism more than colorblindness, whereas White Americans were more likely to endorse colorblindness. Interestingly, they also found that multiculturalism predicted stronger endorsement of racial stereotypes among Blacks, while colorblindness relative to multiculturalism predicted stronger stereotypes among Whites. The proposed explanations for these findings highlight the conceptual links between intergroup ideologies and racial identity ideology. Namely, some have suggested that African Americans are often socialized to derive pride and meaning from their racial group membership and see strong racial identity as a source of positive self-esteem—ideas that are incompatible with colorblindness (Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Judd, Park, Ryan, Brauer, & Kraus, 1995; Ryan et al., 2007). On the other hand, some have suggested that the higher tendency among Whites to endorse colorblindness is motivated by a desire to protect their group's dominant status by diverting attention from its negative effects on other groups (Knowles, Lowery, Hogan, & Chow, 2009; Neville et al., 2000; Ryan et al., 2007).

In the first and only empirical studies comparing the three intergroup racial ideologies, Rosenthal and Levy (2012) investigated the implications of endorsing

colorblindness, multiculturalism, and polyculturalism in racially diverse samples of adults and undergraduate college students. In their first study with undergraduates, like Ryan et al. (2007), they found that African Americans, along with Asian Americans, were more likely to endorse multiculturalism than Latino and White Americans. Unlike Ryan et al., they found no difference between racial groups in their tendency to endorse colorblindness or polyculturalism. The latter was, however, associated with higher opposition to social inequality; greater interest in, appreciation for, and comfort with diversity; and greater openness to intergroup contact. They found these associations across racial groups and even after controlling for contributions of multiculturalism and colorblindness to these outcomes. In contrast, they found statistically significant variation between groups in the predictive power of colorblindness and multiculturalism with respect to intergroup outcomes. For example, only in Whites was colorblindness significantly related to lower support for social equality and marginally related to less comfort with diversity. Multiculturalism, on the other hand, was marginally related to greater interest in diversity for White Americans but strongly related for Asian and Black Americans.

In their subsequent studies with the adult community samples, they found inconsistent trends in racial differences in endorsement of these ideologies. However, in general, they found that polyculturalism was associated with diversity-affirming attitudes as well as greater support for politically liberal affirmative action and immigration policies. Notably, racial group membership was only a significant moderator of the relations between polyculturalism and interest in diversity and not multiculturalism and colorblindness in the community samples. Specifically, polyculturalism had no

association with interest in diversity for Black Americans but a significant positive association for White Americans. When taken together, the research on intergroup ideologies suggests that African Americans do not only hold these belief systems but the ideologies may function in unique ways for this group. Moreover, given the possibility that these intergroup ideologies matter for identity, as discussed above, there is a clear need to better understand if and how intergroup ideological views may be tied to a more global belief about how people define themselves as African American and how that that might related to their views of intergroup relations.

Measures of Intergroup Ideologies

The research studies on intergroup racial ideologies have used a wide variety of measures. Wolsko and colleagues (2006) developed a measure for multiculturalism to extend their previous experimental studies (Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000) examining the effects of being presented messages advocating multiculturalism or colorblindness on intergroup judgments among White American college students. Their 6-item measure of multiculturalism assessed the extent to which individuals believed that recognition and appreciation of the different, but equally valid, attributes of different racial groups is necessary for social harmony. Their analysis of the measure yielded a single-factor structure and an internal consistency estimate of .70.

Berry and Kalin (1995) introduced one of the oldest and better-known operationalizations of multiculturalism to inform Canada's policies towards cultural diversity. Their Multicultural Ideology Scale (MCI) is a 10-item, bipolar, unidimensional measure that assesses respondents' support for a multicultural and diverse society at one pole versus assimilation (two items), segregation (one item), and the notion that diversity

weakens unity (2 items) at the other. Berry and Kalin reported an internal consistency estimate of .80 in a sample of over 3000 Canadians. They also reported evidence of convergent validity by correlating scores on the MCI with measures of tolerance, defined as a willingness to accept those who are racially different, and Comfort with various racial group—the MCI and Comfort scales were created for that study. While the authors suggested that the scales met psychometric criteria of reliability and validity using “various empirical analyses [internal consistency of items in a scale, factor analysis of items, convergent and discriminant analyses and scale intercorrelations]” (Berry & Kalin, 1991, p. 305), they did not report the results from the factor and discriminant analyses.

Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver (2003) adapted the MCI to assess multicultural attitudes in the Netherlands and examined the scale’s dimensionality for the Dutch majority ($N = 1565$) and Turkish–Dutch minority ($N = 185$) samples. Their analyses yielded single-factor solutions for the MCI for both samples; however, two items were dropped because of poor loadings for the Turkish sample. They reported Cronbach’s alphas of 0.82 and 0.67 for the Dutch and Turkish–Dutch samples, respectively. These results not only highlight that these ideologies can have different associations for majority versus minority groups, as reviewed above, but also suggests that cultural group membership may have important implications for the matrices of construct validity of assessment instruments for these attitudes.

Ryan and colleagues (2007) developed an 8-item measure of intergroup racial ideology that aimed to capture both multicultural and colorblind worldviews. In their study, they conducted principal components analysis of the eight ideology items to determine their empirical structure, and the results supported their hypothesized

conceptual distinction between the two ideologies. In their second study, they conducted confirmatory factor analyses to verify that the multicultural and colorblind ideology items operationalized two distinct constructs. They compared a one-factor model that includes all ideology items with a two-factor model that represents their a priori conceptual model in which multicultural and colorblind ideologies are distinct but correlated constructs. Their results in the two-factor model fit best with the data, leading them to conclude that multicultural and colorblind ideologies were distinct constructs.

Neville and colleagues (2000) proposed a distinct conceptualization of colorblindness that informed the development of their Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS). While this research is situated within the counseling psychology literature, the authors nonetheless consider these attitudes with regard to intergroup dynamics, such as discrimination, prejudice, and racism (Neville, Awad, Brooks, Flores, Bluemel, 2013). Specifically, colorblind racial ideology (CBRI) refers to an ideological view that denies, distorts, and/or minimizes race and racism. Neville and colleagues (2000) reported three empirically derived dimensions of CBRI: Unawareness of Racial Privilege, which refers to blindness to white privilege, Institutional Discrimination, which refers to unawareness of systematic forms of racial discrimination and bias, and Blatant Racial Issues, which refers to unawareness of general pervasive racial discrimination and exclusion. In particular, the results from their exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses suggested this three-factor structure. The authors also reported internal consistency estimates of .70 to .86 in the initial validation sample.

A series of studies by Rosenthal and Levy (2012) were the first to empirically examine polyculturalism along with the other two other ideological approaches.

Following a series of pilot tests with racially diverse samples they, developed three valence-free measures corresponding to each ideological view. They reported adequate internal consistency estimates for each measure across studies (Cronbach alphas $> .75$). They conducted a series of exploratory factor analyses and found support for their conceptualization that colorblindness, multiculturalism, and polyculturalism are indeed distinct ideological constructs.

The review of intergroup racial ideology literature suggests that these ideologies may help us understand the qualitative meanings individuals ascribe to their racial group membership. Moreover, it may be the case that colorblindness, multiculturalism, and polyculturalism, as conceptualized in the intergroup relations literature, may represent a unique ideological space not accounted for by the racial identity literature. As noted previous, intergroup ideologies generally do not focus on views of the self but rather focus on out-group orientations. However, there is a body of research that underscores that people's understanding of the self is often rooted in their construction of their relations with others. For example, Neville et al. (2013) found positive associations between CRBI and internalized oppression among African Americans (e.g., Neville, Coleman, Falconer, & Holmes, 2005) and Asian Americans (e.g., Chen, LePhuoc, Guzman, Rude, & Dodd (2006). Similar to Hunter and Joseph (2009) who report of significant differences in self-construal based racial ideology profiles, Siy (2013) found a positive relationship between colorblindness and independent self-construal (viewing the self as unique, autonomous and relatively distinct from others and the environment). These findings provide preliminary evidence that intergroup ideologies may reflect how people think about and define the self (including as Black people). Furthermore, it

highlights the conceptual links between the racial identity and intergroup ideology literatures and the need to integrate these fragmented conceptualizations of racial ideology.

CHAPTER THREE: OVERVIEW OF PRESENT STUDY Purpose, Design, and Research Questions

The present study aimed to explore the nature of Black racial ideology, or the beliefs and attitudes African Americans hold regarding what it means to be Black and how Black people should think and act. While there is consensus that racial group membership is multifaceted in its nature and implications, the research on Black group identification has paid less attention to Black racial attitudes than to other identity components. Moreover, the available literature on racial ideology is somewhat difficult to interpret because of inconsistencies between the different conceptualizations and measures that have been used. The foregoing literature review has underscored areas of discontinuity and incongruence between theoretical perspectives, between empirical findings, and in the integration of theory with empirical findings. To better understand the subjective experience of African Americans as a racial minority and fill the gaps in the study of racial attitudes, the present study aims to examine the conceptualization, measurement, and implications of racial ideology among African Americans.

The first goal of the study was to identify a meaningful organizational structure that can be used to interpret and reconcile the various ways in which Black ideological views have been conceptualized and measured. I examined the factor structure of items from widely used measures of racial ideology using exploratory factor analysis (EFA) in Study 1 and confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) and exploratory structural equation modeling (ESEM) in Study 2. Kahn (2006) described factor analysis as a way of understanding what underlying constructs explain a set of variables (such as responses to a psychological instrument). The difference between exploratory factor analysis and

confirmatory factor analysis, he explained, is that, “analysts typically use EFA to explore possible factors that may explain covariation among variables, whereas they use CFA to confirm that a hypothesized factor structure provides a good fit to the data” (p. 701).

Despite its methodological advances, CFA is known to have serious limitations for multidimensional constructs; therefore, ESEM was proposed as a promising alternative to mitigate these limitations (Asparouhov and Muthén, 2009).

EFA aids researchers in identifying the underlying dimensions of a domain of interest, as assessed by an instrument (Floyd & Widaman, 1995). As the name suggests, this process is exploratory because the researcher has no firm a priori expectations regarding the different dimensions (or factors) subsumed under a domain of interest. EFA is thus used to identify the latent (not directly observable) variables indicated by the covariation among a set of measured (observed) variables, based on the fundamental assumption that latent variables underlie measured variables (Kahn, 2006). In contrast, CFA is used to confirm a priori predictions (based on strong theory or previous empirical findings) as to what dimensions are represented in a given domain of interest (Floyd & Widaman, 1995). In short, EFA is useful for building theories and CFA for testing theories. Gerbing and Hamilton (1996) highlighted the merits of EFA as a precursor to CFA procedures and suggested that such an integrated continuum is in the interest of effective theory and measurement development and analysis. However, CFA assumes that items load on their salient factors, with no cross-loadings with other factors (Asparouhov and Muthén, 2009). This restrictive assumption is thought to distort model fit. In general, ESEM has been shown to result in improved model fit and a more realistic representation of the data (Guay, Morin, Litalien, Valois, & Vallerand, 2015; Marsh,

Liem, Martin, Morin, & Nagengast, 2011).

The second goal of the proposed study is to use cluster analysis to examine how the identified dimensions of racial ideology are differentially configured within individuals. Researchers have suggested that although individuals may hold one ideological view predominantly, others may still be at work (Cross & Vandiver, 2001; Rowley et al., 2003; Worrell et al., 2006). It seems likely that individuals hold a multitude of race-related philosophies that may vary over time and across social circumstances. For example, a person could believe that African Americans should primarily patronize Black establishments (Nationalist ideology according to the MMRI) and simultaneously believe racial group differences should be appreciated and celebrated (Multiculturalism based on the intergroup relations literature). Given this, the aim of the current study was investigate and identify the different ways in which the emergent racial ideology dimensions from preceding variable-centered analyses are configured within individuals.

Person-centered approaches, such as cluster analysis, are thought to be sensitive to such intra-individual dynamics. Murdock and Miller (2003) made distinctions between person-centered and variable-centered approaches to understanding psychological processes. Variable-centered analyses consider the variables, rather than the individual, as the primary unit of interest. Whereas, the goal of person-centered approaches is typically to identify the different ways in which a set of variables are configured within individuals. This allows for an analysis of how a multidimensional construct such as racial ideology functions at the individual level. In cluster analysis, individuals are grouped into “clusters” based on their profile on a set of relevant variables (high

Nationalist-high Multiculturalist could be a cluster, for example). Furthermore, one of the main assumptions of person-centered approaches is that these profiles emerge in a fairly coherent manner such that clusters would comprise relatively homogenous groups of individuals with regard to the variables of interests and thus can be understood collectively (Rowley et al., 2003).

There have been a growing number of studies using cluster analytic procedures to identify racial identity and racial attitude clusters using the CRIS and MIBI (e.g., Banks & Kohn-Wood, 2007; Harper & Tuckman, 2006; Hunter & Joseph, 2010; Scottham, 2009; Rowley et al., 2003; Telesford, Mendoza-Denton, & Worrell, 2013; Whittaker & Neville, 2010; Worrell, Vandiver, Schaefer, Cross, Fhagen-Smith, 2006). However, to my knowledge such application of person-centered analytic approaches has not been attempted with the intergroup ideologies. Nevertheless, I still anticipate the results would reveal meaningful racial ideology clusters that reflect the characteristic complexities of the qualitative meanings individuals ascribe to their racial group.

The final aim of the proposed study is to investigate the psychosocial implications of racial ideologies. Specifically, I examined whether the observed racial ideology clusters differed on psychosocial outcomes. Researchers have demonstrated the complex effects of racial group identification and associated experiences on a multitude of psychosocial outcomes (see the following meta-analytic reviews: Fouad & Byar-Winston, 2005; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Smith & Silva, 2011; Rivas-Drake et al., 2014; Yoon et al., 2013). Ashmore and colleagues (2008) suggested that researchers interested in the range of behaviors, events, and conditions that may be predictable from group identification should consider outcomes across domains. Accordingly, I tested how the

racial ideology clusters differed on measures of (1) psychological distress and satisfaction with life (wellbeing); (2) relationship quality and racial homophily (interpersonal); (3) sociopolitical activism (behaviors).

The exploratory nature of the current study and the integration variable-centered and person-centered analyses precluded a priori hypotheses specifying how racial ideology configurations will matter for psychosocial outcomes. Nevertheless, the past research on the links between racial ideology and psychosocial outcomes among African Americans provides helpful empirical grounding.

Racial Ideology and Psychosocial Outcomes

While there has been relatively little work exploring the various implications of the racial ideologies that African Americans may hold, there is reason to think that such beliefs may explain intra-group variations on psychosocial outcomes. The available research offers important insights that indicate racial ideology may matter for psychological distress and satisfaction with life among African Americans. For example, it may buffer the negative effects of racial discrimination. Sellers and Shelton (2003) found stronger positive associations between racial discrimination and psychological distress among African American college students who endorsed higher nationalist ideology as compared to those who endorsed lower nationalist ideology. Research has consistently linked perceived racial discrimination to deleterious physiological and psychological outcomes (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009), thus there is much to benefit from identifying factors (e.g., ideology) that may precipitate or mitigate this relationship.

More recent research has examined the relationship between racial ideology clusters using the CRIS and psychological adjustment. Whittaker and Neville (2010)

found that individuals in a cluster they termed Immersion (i.e., anti-White) reported the lowest psychological wellbeing as compared to the other clusters. However, as Telesford et al. (2013) point out, the cluster label is misleading because that cluster was also characterized by moderately high miseducation, self-hatred, and Afrocentric attitudes. Telesford et al.'s (2013) conducted a similar study examining the links between clusters of CRIS scores and psychological adjustment and their findings largely replicate Whittaker and Neville's (2010) findings. Telesford et al. study found a Conflicted cluster, characterized by above average scores on all attitudes except multiculturalism, and this cluster is associated with the most psychological distress.

Although Whittaker and Neville interpreted their findings to suggest that high self-hatred attitudes predicted higher psychological distress, such an interpretation ignores the ideological context of the self-hatred attitudes. As such, holding self-hatred attitudes may not necessarily be important vis-à-vis psychological adjustment but rather, it may be simultaneously endorsing opposing attitudes (e.g., Anti-White and Afrocentric) (Telesford et al., 2013). Taken together, these findings suggest that different content as well as configurations of racial ideology seem to be related to different psychological wellbeing outcomes. But perhaps more importantly, they also highlight the value of moving beyond bivariate analysis of the relationship between racial ideology and psychology adjustment as such an approach may miss the nuances and contextuality that person-centered analyses affords (Telesford et al., 2013). The present study hopes to extend this line of inquiry by considering how different configurations of ideology, including those less researched in this way (i.e., intergroup ideologies) may matter for wellbeing outcomes.

A thorough understanding of the implications of racial ideology demands multilevel considerations. According to Bronfenbrenner's (1989) ecological model, individuals are embedded within multiple proximal and distal contextual factors and therefore are best understood by taking into account the various social systems (e.g., relationships, institutions) with which they interact. With this in mind, it is fair to assume that racial ideology should also be considered within such a multilevel framework and likely operates not only at a personal wellbeing level but also at interpersonal levels.

Tajfel's (1981) social identity theory (SIT) provides a helpful conceptual framework for linking the personal and interpersonal levels of analysis. According to SIT, individuals' self-concept and identity emerge in part from their connections and interactions with self-identified social groups. Thus, if racial ideology is indeed an important component of racial identity, then one would expect that beliefs individuals hold about their racial group would impact their relations with in-group and out-group members. As discussed previously, Rowley et al. (2003) found significant racial ideology cluster differences on whether or not Black respondents had a Black best friend. This work highlights the heterogeneity and complexity in the ways African Americans define what it means to be Black and provides preliminary evidence that racial ideology is relevant for relational interactions. Moreover, the research on ethnic and racial homophily highlights the important links between identity development and friendship processes (Syed & Juan, 2012). This body of work would be furthered not only by examining how attitudinal manifestations of racial identity shape friendship choices but also how it might impact relationship quality.

Scholars have argued that individuals' social and behavioral involvement with

relation to race is an understudied aspect of racial identity (Gaines et al., 2016; Phinney & Ong, 2007). Reflecting a growing interest in understanding how racial ideology may shape race-related behavioral outcomes, Joseph and colleagues (2013) found positive associations between Black Caribbean-descended participants' beliefs that their racial group (i.e., Black) was viewed favorably by society and their engagement in African American culture (e.g., patronage of Black-owned businesses, learning about African American culture). This finding highlights the role of racial ideology as a value orientation that guides action. Another way it may guide action concerns sociopolitical activism, which refers to engagement in behaviors intended to challenge oppressive structures and systems that perpetuate inequality (Seider et al., 2018; Watts, Diemer, & Voight, 2011).

The history of the United States is characterized by major social movements wherein African Americans mobilized and took action to demand sociopolitical and economic justice. The experience of deprived civil rights and continued discrimination and violence precipitated the Civil Rights Movement. Similarly, its contemporary, the Black Lives Movement, was galvanized by highly publicized killings of unarmed Black men and women. The impact of the Black Lives Movement evident in cultural discourse about social justice and has been thought to spark intense sociopolitical activism, especially among younger people who have historically been less politically engaged (Leach & Allen, 2017). Barack Obama's rise to the U.S. presidency has also been linked to sociopolitical activism and civic engagement among African Americans. Indeed, young African Americans voted at the highest rate compared to the youth of any other racial group in the 2008, 2010, and 2012 election cycles (CIRCLE, 2014). Moreover,

recent policy actions such as the Department of Justice investigations into race-related civil rights violations and police brutality in places such as Ferguson, Cleveland, Baltimore, and Chicago are viewed as important consequences of the demands for the systemic change by the Black Lives Movement (Leach & Allen, 2017). Watts and Hipolito-Delgado (2015) highlighted the power of social movements to challenge oppressive practices or structures, adding that group actions tend to be more impactful than personal ones. While the real-world implications stemming from the intersection of race and civic engagement are evident, very little psychological research has examined potential predictors of sociopolitical activism among African Americans. I aimed to address this gap in the current study by investigating how individual-level cognitions may predict sociopolitical activism.

Taken together, the available research suggests that racial ideology is an important aspect of racial group membership that may help answer the difficult question of how race shapes the experiences of diverse groups in the United States. The foregoing review suggests that African Americans likely hold a variety of ideological views that may be relevant for a multitude of outcomes. Moreover, from a methodological perspective, the review highlights gaps in the literature that may be addressed by integrating variable-centered and person-centered analytic techniques to uncover the multifaceted ideological perspectives that reflect how African Americans define what it means to be Black and their relations to psychosocial outcomes.

In summary, the current study is guided by the following research questions:

1. What are the latent dimensions of racial ideology based on scores on items derived from widely used measures of racial ideology?

2. How do these dimensions of racial ideology co-vary with one another at the individual level, and how might these elements combine to form racial ideology clusters?
3. How are the racial ideology clusters differentially related to psychosocial outcomes?

CHAPTER FOUR: EXPLORATORY FACTOR ANALYSIS (STUDY 1)

The purpose of Study 1 was to conduct an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) to assess the psychometric properties and factor structure of the available measures related to Black racial ideology. Specifically, items were derived from 12 existing scales on Black racial identity, Black racial attitudes, and intergroup racial ideology (see full descriptions below). These scales were selected to the extent to which they seem to tap into the present conceptualization of Black racial ideology—attitudes and beliefs Black Americans hold about what it means to be Black and how Black people should function in society. Given the concern for participant fatigue and to optimize survey length, several items from existing scales were excluded from the current study to minimize redundancy and to maximize clarity and content validity (see Appendix A for Study I survey). Item quality assessment was conducted in consultation with three undergraduate research assistants and dissertation advisor.

Method

Participants

The sample for Study 1 (or Sample 1) comprised 578 adults who self-identified as persons having origins in any of the Black racial groups of Africa (i.e., Black, African American, Afro-Caribbean, and African). Detailed demographic information is presented in Table 1. Over half of the sample (67.5%) identified as female, 31.9% as male, and 0.5% as transgender. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 81 years ($M = 36.63$, $SD = 14.60$). The majority (88.1%) of participants identified as heterosexual or straight, 5.7% as bisexual, 4.7% gay/lesbian, 1.6% as queer, pansexual, or other. In terms of socioeconomic status, most participants reported a middle class background (41.2%),

with the next two largest groups being those who reported coming from lower-middle class (22.2%) and working class (19.8%) backgrounds. Most of the participants (91.2%) were born in the United States. In terms of political orientation, 38.2% identified as moderate, 29.4% as liberal, 14.2% as very liberal, 9.9% as conservative, 2.9% as very conservative, and 5.5% as other. The majority (72.4%) of participants chose Democratic as their affiliated political party, 19.3% chose Independent, 3.4% chose Republican, and 4.8% chose other. Regarding highest educational attainment, about 45.3% reported a Bachelor's degree or higher.

Table 1
Summary of Sample 1 Demographics

Demographics	<i>n</i>	%
Gender		
Female	387	67.5
Male	183	31.9
Transgender	3	0.5
Sexual Orientation		
Heterosexual/Straight	509	88.1
Homosexual/Gay/Lesbian	33	5.7
Bisexual	27	4.7
Other	9	1.6
Marital Status		
Married	138	23.9
Separated	15	2.6
Divorced	48	8.3
Never Married	344	59.6
Widowed	21	3.6
Other	11	1.9
Birth Country		
United States	527	91.2
Other	51	8.8
Mother's Birth Country		
United States	484	83.7

Other	94	16.3
Father's Birth Country		
United States	484	83.7
Other	94	16.3
Social Class		
Upper Class	3	0.5
Upper-middle Class	53	9.2
Middle Class	238	41.2
Lower-middle Class	128	22.2
Working Class	114	19.8
Poor	35	6.1
Other	6	1.0
Political Orientation		
Very Conservative	17	3.0
Conservative	57	9.9
Moderate	219	38.0
Liberal	169	29.3
Very Liberal	82	14.2
Other	32	5.6
Political Party		
Democratic	417	72.3
Republican	20	3.5
Independent	112	19.4
Other	28	4.9
Highest Education Level		
Some High School	14	2.4
High School Diploma	104	18.0
Some College	144	24.9
Associate Degree	53	9.2
Bachelor's Degree	99	17.1
Master's Degree	106	18.3
Professional Degree	10	1.7
Doctorate Degree	47	8.1
Religious Affiliation		
Yes	354	61.2
No	224	38.8

Note. Percentages may not total 100% in each demographic category due to rounding.

Procedures

The university Institutional Review Board (IRB) approved this research. The web-based survey was developed using Qualtrics and was hosted by the platform. A majority of participants ($n = 358$; 61.9%) were recruited through Qualtrics' panel management services. This service allows researchers using the Qualtrics platform to request participant pools (i.e. panels) with specified inclusion criteria for a fee. Past research on "crowdsourced" samples have shown this data to be reliable and more diverse than college samples (Behrend, Sharek, Meade, & Wiebe, 2011; Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011; Chandler & Shapiro, 2016). The remainder of the sample was recruited through: personal networks, online and in-person Black affinity groups and forums (i.e. listservs, student organizations, professional and social associations, Facebook groups), the Department of Psychology's participant pool, and advertisements posted around the University of Minnesota and local community spaces in Minnesota and Chicago, IL (e.g., barber shops, libraries, cafés).

All participants affirmed their consent on the first page of the survey, which indicated that participation was voluntary and potential participants will not be penalized if they choose not to participate. Participants were told the survey should take approximately 45 minutes to complete and were informed they do not have to complete the survey in one sitting; they may save their responses and complete the survey within one week of starting. Participants were informed their response will be kept confidential and they may skip any question on the survey they prefer not to answer. Only completed surveys from participants who identify as Black or African American were used for data analyses. Each non-crowdsourced participant received a \$5 Amazon.com gift card for participating in this study. Participants recruited from Qualtrics were provided

“incentives/cash honorarium” based on previously established agreements between respondents and the site. Qualtrics was paid at a rate of approximately \$5.52 per subject for the two samples used in the current study. Participants from the Department of Psychology at the University of Minnesota had the option to receive course credit in lieu of the gift card. In addition, all participants (i.e., including students who received course credit) were entered into a drawing to win one of twelve \$25 Amazon.com gift cards that occurred at the end of data collection for Study 1 and 2. In order to process the gift cards, participants were asked to enter their contact information on a secure page that was not be linked to their survey responses. They were also informed that they were free to decline these participation incentives. The online survey was available for approximately four months.

Measures

Demographic questionnaire. Participants reported their race, gender, perceived social class, annual income, religious and political affiliations, sexual orientation, educational attainment, and immigration status.

Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers et al., 1997). The 56-item instrument assesses the stable dimensions of African American identity according to the MMRI. Seven racial identity attitudes based on the MMRI are: Centrality (eight items), Private Regard (six items), Public Regard (six items), Assimilationist (nine items), Humanist (nine items), Oppressed Minority (nine items), and Nationalist (nine items). Representative items include, “In general, being Black is an important part of my self-image” (Centrality), “I am proud to be Black” (Private Regard), “In general, others respect Black people” (Public Regard), “Blacks should

strive to be full members of the American political system” (Assimilationist), “People regardless of their race have strengths and limitations” (Humanist), “Blacks should try to become friends with people from other oppressed groups” (Oppressed Minority), and “Blacks would be better off if they adopted Afrocentric values” (Nationalist). As previously noted, several studies have also reported adequate internal consistency estimates for seven subscales of the MIBI in other college student (Cokley & Helm, 2001) and adult community (Rowley et al., 1998; Sellers et al., 1998) samples of African Americans. Two Centrality items, four Private Regard items, one Humanist, and two Nationalist items were excluded from the current study. Participants rated items on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*).

Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS; Vandiver et al., 2000). The 30-item measure assesses the six racial identity attitudes delineated in the expanded nigrescence model (Cross & Vandiver, 2001). The CRIS has six corresponding subscales of five items each: Pre-encounter Assimilation, Pre-encounter Miseducation, Pre-encounter Self-Hatred, Immersion–Emersion Anti-White, Internalization Afrocentricity, and Internalization Multicultural Inclusive. Representative items include, “I am not so much a member of a racial group, as I am an American” (Pre-encounter Assimilation), “Blacks place more emphasis on having a good time than on hard work” (Pre-encounter Miseducation), “Privately, I sometimes have negative feelings about being Black” (Pre-encounter Self-Hatred), “I have a strong feeling of hatred and disdain for all White people” (Immersion–Emersion Anti-White), “I see and think about things from an Afrocentric perspective” (Internalization Afrocentricity), and “As a Multiculturalist, I am connected to many groups (Hispanics, Asian Americans, Whites, Jews, gays & lesbians, etc.)”

(Internalization Multiculturalist Inclusive). There are 10 additional filler items in the original measure, these were not included in the current study. Participants rated items on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*). Scores on the CRIS have been shown to be internally consistent and structurally valid. Studies have reported reliability estimates for CRIS subscale scores in the range of .65 to .90 as well as evidence for the six-factor structure in college student and adult community samples of African Americans (Simmons et al., 2008; Vandiver et al., 2002; Gardner-Kitt & Worrell, 2007; Worrell et al., 2011; Worrell et al., 2006; Worrell & Watson, 2008).

Black Ethnocentrism Scale (BES; Chang & Ritter, 1976). The BES consists of 20 items assessing pro-Black sentiment and 20 items assessing anti-White sentiment. Sample items include, “Blacks should elect public officials of their own race regardless of the campaign issues” (pro-Black) and “There is little hope for improving race relations because of deliberate attempts by Whites to suppress Black people” (anti-White). Six items from the pro-Black subscale and five items from the anti-White subscale were excluded from the present study. Participants rated items on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*). Chang and Ritter (1976) reported split-half reliability and test-retest coefficients of .91 and .87 respectively, in a sample of 99 Black college students.

Attitudinal Dimensions of Black Nationalism. The present study included eight items from the 1993 National Black Politics Study (NBPS; Dawson, Brown, & Jackson, 1998) that were assessed by Brown and Shaw (2002) to measure Black Nationalism, or attitudes and beliefs that emphasize Black political, economic, and cultural autonomy from or within mainstream (White) America. The 1993 NBPS was a telephone survey,

which utilized random-digit probability sampling from all Black households with telephones. Using factor analysis, Brown and Shaw (2002) found evidence for two attitudinal dimensions of Black Nationalism: Community Nationalism, which refers to the beliefs that emphasize Black communitarianism and the idea that African Americans should control and support communities and institutions where they predominate, and Separatist Nationalism, which emphasizes socio-political-economic separateness from mainstream (White) America. Sample items include, “Black people should shop in black-owned stores whenever possible” (Community Nationalism) and “Black people should form a nation within a nation (Separatist Nationalism). One Separatist Nationalism item was excluded in the current study. Participants rated items on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*). Brown and Shaw (2002) did not report internal consistency estimates.

Group-Interested Policy Preferences. The present study included four items from the Los Angeles County Social Survey (LACSS, 1994-2002) that assessed attitudes towards Black-targeted policies. The LACSS was a countywide telephone survey of adults living in households selected by random dialing of digits. Telephone numbers in ZIP code areas of high black concentration (65% or more) and of high Asian concentration (30% or more) were oversampled to ensure adequate racial diversity. A sample of the Black-targeted policy items include, “Equal opportunity for Blacks and Whites to succeed is important but it’s not really the government’s job to guarantee it.” Participants rated items on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*). Some of the items were edited for clarity. Sears and Savalei (2006)

pooled all LACSS surveys into one cumulative dataset and reported model reliability estimate of .48 for the four items in sample of 6625 adults living in Los Angeles county.

African Self-Consciousness Scale (ASCS; Baldwin & Bell, 1985). The ASCS is a 42-item measure developed to assess African self-consciousness, a personality construct that refers to sets of attitudes, beliefs, values, and interests related to an individual's awareness and knowledge of African/African American history and how Black people should establish or maintain relationships with other Black people and anti-Black institutions and people. Odd-numbered items are negatively worded and were reverse-coded for analyses. Sample items include "Black people should have their own independent schools which consider their African heritage and values an important part of the curriculum," and "There is no such thing as African culture among Blacks in America" (reverse coded). Baldwin and Bell (1985) reported 6-week test-retest reliability estimate of .90. Past studies have also reported internal consistency estimates of .70 or over in African American samples (Baldwin & Bell, 1985; Stokes, Murray, Peacock, & Kaiser, 1994). Eight ASCS items were excluded from the present study.

Measures of Multiculturalism. Participants completed two measures of multiculturalism. First, Wolsko et al.'s (2006) 5-item measure of multiculturalism, which focuses on the degree to which individuals recognize important differences among racial groups, appreciate the contributions of different groups, and emphasize the maintenance of unique cultural customs and traditions. For example, "In order to live in a cooperative society, everyone must learn the unique histories and cultural experiences of different ethnic groups". Items were modified to indicate race rather than ethnicity. Participants rated items on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*).

Studies have reported evidence of a single-factor structure and internal consistency estimates over .70 using racially diverse college student and adult community samples (Rosenthal & Levy, 2012; Wolsko et al., 2006).

The second measure of multiculturalism was Rosenthal and Levy's (2012) 5-item measure, which captures the extent to which individuals recognize racial group differences. It includes items such as, "There are differences between racial and ethnic groups, which are important to recognize." Participants rated items on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*). Rosenthal and Levy (2012) reported evidence of a single-factor structure and internal consistency estimates of .74 and .80 using racially diverse college student and adult community samples, respectively.

Measures of Colorblindness. Participants completed three measures related to colorblind racial attitudes. Participants completed the 20-item Colorblind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS; Neville et al., 2000), which assesses the degree to which respondents minimize race and racism. Representative items include, "Racial and ethnic minorities do not have the same opportunities as white people in the U.S." (Unawareness of Racial Privilege), "Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against white people" (Institutional Discrimination), and "It is important for political leaders to talk about racism to help work through or solve society's problems" (Blatant Racial Issues). Participants rated items on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*). Neville et al. (2000) reported internal consistency reliability estimate of .86 for the total scale and evidence of structural validity based on five studies with racially diverse samples of college students and adult community members. Other studies

using the CoBRAS with racial minority college student samples have reported similar internal consistency estimates (Neville et al., 2005; Worthington, Navarro, Loewy, & Hart, 2008).

The second measure of colorblindness is Ryan et al.'s (2007; 2010) 4-item measure, which captures the extent to which individuals believe racial difference should be ignored and people should be treated in an identical manner. A representative item includes, "Recognizing that all people are basically the same regardless of their ethnicity will improve ethnic relations in the United States." Items were modified to indicate race rather than ethnicity and one item from the original measure was excluded from the present study. Participants rated items on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*). Ryan et al. (2007) reported evidence of a single-factor structure and an internal consistency estimate of .69 with a racially diverse community sample.

The third measure of colorblindness is Rosenthal and Levy's (2012) 5-item measure, which captures the extent to which respondents are focused on the unique qualities of individuals and commonalities across groups. It includes items such as, "It is really not necessary to pay attention to people's racial, ethnic, or cultural backgrounds because it doesn't tell you much about who they are." Participants rated items on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*). Rosenthal and Levy (2012) reported evidence of a single-factor structure and internal consistency estimates of .86 and .76 with racially diverse college student and adult community samples, respectively.

Polyculturalism. Participants completed Rosenthal and Levy's (2012) 5-item neutral or valence-free measure of polyculturalism. It includes items such as, "Different cultural groups impact one another, even if members of those groups are not completely aware of the impact." Participants rated items on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*). Rosenthal and Levy (2012) reported evidence of a single-factor structure and adequate internal consistency estimates with two racially diverse college student ($\alpha = .88, .89$) and adult community ($\alpha = .85$) samples.

Data Screening

Given the nature of the present study as an online survey with participant payments, it is vulnerable to invalid responses including random responding and fraudulent activity, whereby online respondents — whether eligible or ineligible — participate multiple times, presumably to receive additional compensation (Teitcher et al., 2015). These risks were mitigated by following recommendations by Teitcher and colleagues (2015). "Robots," or software applications that perform automated tasks over the Internet, were minimized using Google's Completely Automated Public Turing test to tell Computers and Humans Apart (CAPTCHA). In an effort to prevent the random responding and fraudulent activity from initially occurring, on the second page of the survey potential participants were asked to affirm their commitment to providing their best answer. Three attention checks were inserted as items on the first page with the ideology items. The attention checks were all similar in form and not especially stringent, e.g., "Please select strongly agree for this question." Respondents were disqualified with they failed more than more than 2 of 3 attention checks. "Metadata" from Qualtrics (i.e., administrative data that do not reveal the content of participant's specific survey

responses) such as IP addresses, time stamps, and completion times were also used to verify responses. In instances with multiple responses (over 3) from a single IP address, only the first entry was deemed as valid if it met most other criteria of validity.

Respondents who completed the survey in 10 minutes or less were excluded as the validity of these responses is statistically improbable given the approximate study duration (based on pilot testing) is 45 minutes. Miner et al. (2012) suggested completion time cut-offs may be set at greater than two standard deviations from the mean completion time. To illustrate, a review of the metadata provided by Qualtrics for the Study 1 indicated that there were 34 entries from a single IP Address, all of which were completed on the same day in an average of 5.2 minutes. These 34 responses, as well as 388 other responses with validity concerns, were removed, leaving a final sample of 578. Undergraduate research assistants coded each response based on the criteria above and I cross-checked the coding with the metadata to ensure accuracy.

Results

Descriptive Analyses

While items, rather than scales, were used for the factor analyses, I calculated the means, reliability estimates, and scale intercorrelations for the scales corresponding to all items retained from previous measures for preliminary information about the nature of the ideology variables for the sample (see Tables 2 and 3).

Means and Reliability Estimates. Following Eisinga, Te Grotenhuis, and Pelzer's (2012) recommendation for assessing two-item scale reliability, a Spearman-Brown coefficient was reported for the Private Regard subscale of the MIBI. Cronbach's alpha was reported for all other scales. Of note, the Group-Interested Policy Preferences

measure had a reliability estimate of .12. Seventeen of the 24 scales has adequate reliability estimates of .70 and higher.

Scale Intercorrelations. The Group-Interested Policy Preferences measure was not included in correlation analyses given its low reliability estimate, suggesting the items are highly heterogeneous and thus limited inferences can be drawn from further analyses (Thompson, 2003). The Pearson product–moment correlations are presented in Table 3. Regarding highest correlations (i.e., $r > .70$), Nationalist scores (MIBI) were positively correlated with Pro-Black (BES), Anti-White (BES), Community Nationalism, and ASCS scores. Pro-Black scores were positively correlated with Anti-White, Separatist Nationalism, and ASCS scores.

Table 2
Descriptive Statistics for the Racial Ideology Scales Used in Study 1

Ideology Measure	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Reliability Estimate*</i>
Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity			
Centrality (6 items)	3.37	.89	.80
Private Regard (2 items)	4.42	.73	.60
Public Regard (6 items)	2.76	.58	.52
Assimilationist (9 items)	3.44	.55	.60
Humanist (8 items)	3.57	.61	.66
Oppressed Minority (9 items)	3.57	.60	.73
Nationalist (8 items)	3.14	.66	.78
Cross Racial Identity Attitude Scale			
Pre-encounter Assimilation (5 items)	2.66	1.10	.88
Pre-encounter Miseducation (5 items)	2.40	.91	.80
Pre-encounter Self-hate (5 items)	2.00	.93	.87
Immersion-Emersion Anti-white (5 items)	1.65	.71	.86
Internalization Afrocentricity (5 items)	2.70	.84	.84
Internalization Multiculturalist Inclusive (5 items)	4.00	.74	.79
Black Ethnocentrism Scale			
Pro-Black (14 items)	2.61	.68	.86
Anti-White (15 items)	2.77	.68	.87
Two Attitudinal Dimensions of Black Nationalism			
Community Nationalism (4 items)	2.49	.76	.70
Separatist Nationalism (3 items)	3.27	.86	.55
Group-interested Policy Preferences (4 items)	3.30	.57	.12
African Self-consciousness Scale (34 items)	3.15	.47	.86
Multicultural Ideology Scale (Wolsko; 5 items)	4.03	.57	.62
Multicultural Ideology Scale (Rosenthal; 5 items)	4.06	.56	.62
Colorblind Racial Attitudes Scale (Neville, 20 items)	2.20	.60	.86
Colorblind Ideology Scale (Ryan; 3 items)	3.78	.99	.70
Colorblind Ideology Scale (Rosenthal; 5 items)	2.34	.98	.80
Polycultural Ideology Scale (5 items)	4.00	.59	.74

Note. 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree.

*All estimates represent Cronbach's alphas, except for MIBI Public Regard, for which a Spearman-Brown coefficient was calculated.

Table 3
Intercorrelations among Racial Ideology Scales Used in Study 1

Scale	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
MIBI																							
1. CEN	-																						
2. PRV	.33*	-																					
3. PUB	-.34*	-.17*	-																				
4. ASM	-.27*	.11*	.28*	-																			
5. HUM	-.54*	.06	.31*	.60*	-																		
6. MIN	.26*	.31*	-.14	.27*	.13	-																	
7. NAT	.56*	.27*	-.21*	-.11	-.34*	.30	-																
CRIS																							
8. PA	-.67*	-.27*	.43*	.51*	.59*	-.14	-.39	-															
9. PM	-.30*	-.27*	.22*	.33*	.29*	-.06	-.07	.41*	-														
10. PSH	-.02	-.07	-.01	.15*	.05*	.13	-.05	.13	.25*	-													
11. IE	.28*	-.01	-.16*	-.28*	-.38*	.04	.49*	-.24*	-.03	.10	-												
12. IA	.37*	.08	-.04	-.07	-.23*	.17*	.65*	-.24*	.04	-.01	.37*	-											
13. IM	.12*	.34*	-.07	.30*	.25*	.44*	-.04*	-.08	-.07	-.09	-.25*	-.06	-										
BES																							
14. PB	.42*	.09	-.09	-.16*	-.36*	.19*	.75*	-.32*	.01	-.01	.54*	.65*	-.16*	-									
15. AW	.42*	.09	.25*	-.26*	-.42	.21*	.74*	-.32*	-.06	.05	.69*	.56*	-.21*	.77*	-								
ADBN																							
16. CN	.46*	.25*	-.25*	-.13	-.29*	.33*	.73*	-.42*	-.13	-.11	.32*	.50*	.02	.62*	.58*	-							
17. SN	.29*	.03	-.06	-.14	-.28*	.13*	.62*	-.22*	.01	-.01	.45*	.57*	-.13	.71*	.61*	.52*	-						
18. ASCS	.67*	.28*	-.30	-.34*	-.50*	.25*	.77*	-.63*	-.28*	-.14	.43*	.66*	-.001	.71*	.66*	.66*	.56*	-					
19. WMIS	.18*	.38*	-.06	.32*	.23*	.53*	.20*	-.08	-.09	.01	-.13*	.17*	.50*	.03	-.01	.18*	.02	.18*	-				
20. RLMIS	.17*	.32*	-.06	.29*	.22*	.44*	.26*	-.06	.02	.05	-.11*	.10	.38*	.13*	.08	.22*	.12	.18*	.55*	-			
21. CBRAS	-.62*	-.46*	.55*	.29*	.43*	-.38*	-.43*	.69*	.45*	.08	-.18*	-.16*	-.25*	.26*	.26*	-.49*	-.17*	-.58*	-.30*	-.28*	-		
22. RCIS	-.39*	-.04	.23*	.49*	.58*	.07*	-.23*	.45*	.23*	-.08	-.37*	-.10	.16*	-.22*	-.32*	-.20*	-.17*	-.32*	.23*	.15*	.32*	-	
23. RLCIS	-.67*	-.23	.38*	.39*	.54*	-.14*	-.28*	.64*	.34*	.02	-.14	-.10	-.08	-.15*	-.20*	-.30*	-.09	-.45*	-.40	-.10	.60*	-.51*	-
24. PIS	.15*	.45	-.11	.31*	.29*	.51*	.08*	.08*	-.16*	.02	-.20*	-.04	.50*	-.11	-.10	.11	-.05	.06	.61*	.55*	.33*	.19*	-.11

Note. MIBI = Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity; CEN = Centrality; PRV = Private Regard; PUB = Public Regard; ASM = Assimilationist; HUM = Humanist; MIN = Oppressed Minority; NAT = Nationalist; CRIS = Cross Racial Identity Scale; PA = Pre-encounter Assimilation; PM = Pre-encounter Miseducation; PSH = Pre-encounter Self-hate; IE= Immersion–Emersion Anti-White; IA = Internalization Afrocentricity; IM = Internalization Multiculturalist Inclusive; BES = Black Ethnocentrism Scale; PB = Pro-Black; AW = Anti-White; ADBN = Attitudinal Dimensions of Black Nationalism; CN = Community Nationalism; SN = Separatist Nationalism; ASCS = African Self-consciousness Scale; WMIS = Multicultural Ideology Scale; RLMIS = Multicultural Ideology Scale (Rosenthal & Levy); CBRAS = Colorblind Racial Attitudes Scale; RCIS = Colorblind Ideology Scale (Ryan); RLCIS = Colorblind Ideology Scale (Rosenthal); PIS = Polycultural Ideology Scale

Correlations for subscale scores with reliability estimates less than .50 not included

*p < .0001.

Preliminary Exploratory Factor Analyses for Item Reduction

Two iterative EFAs were conducted to further reduce the 195 items retained after the initial deletions (due to item redundancy or lack of clarity; See Appendix A) to allow for efficient Sample data collection.

Missing values. Only cases with non-missing values for all the items involved were included in the first EFA done in SPSS. Analysis of the patterns of missing data on racial ideology items revealed that 86.2% ($n = 498$) of participants had no missing data and no item had more than 1.7% or more missing values. Following Schlomer, Bauman, and Card's (2010) recommendations, I conducted missing-values analysis to reveal the patterns of missing values. Specifically, Little's (1988) missing completely at random (MCAR) analysis resulted in a significant chi-square statistic, $\chi^2(12123) = 12597.48, p < .001$, indicating that the data may not be missing completely at random. I used full information maximum likelihood (FIML) to estimate missing values in the second EFA in Mplus. FIML "estimates parameters on the basis of the available complete data as well as the implied values of the missing data given the observed data" (Schlomer et al., 2010, p. 5). Maximum-likelihood estimation techniques are considered most appropriate for various patterns of missing values (Schafer & Graham, 2002).

The first EFA was conducted in SPSS 22.0 using a maximum-likelihood extraction method with an oblique rotation as the underlying ideology factors are likely correlated (Costello, & Osborne, 2005). Prior to conducting an exploratory factor analysis (EFA), Bartlett's test of sphericity was used to assess the factorability of the correlation matrix, which was statistically significant ($p < .001$). Additionally, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy had a value of .90, which meets the

recommended threshold of .60 or higher (Worthington & Whittaker, 2006). The goal of the preliminary EFA was to optimize scale length. To this end and following Worthington and Whittaker's (2006) recommendation for item retention following EFA, 90 items were deleted due to low communality estimates less than .40. Communality estimates indicate the proportion of the test score variance associated with the variance on the common factors. As such, in this first stage of analysis, I was looking to identify items that have relatively more in common with the other items.

The remaining 105 items were submitted to an EFA using a maximum-likelihood extraction method with an oblique rotation in Mplus. Multiple criteria for factor retention and item loadings on factors were used to determine next round of deletions. As recommended (Kahn, 2006; Worthington & Whittaker, 2006), criteria for factor extraction included Kaiser-Guttman criterion, parallel analyses, and the relative interpretability of the factors. Kaiser-Guttman criterion suggests that factors with eigenvalues higher than 1.0 are viable. However, this procedure is argued to overestimate the number of factors to retain (Hayton, Allen, & Scarpello, 2004). Parallel analysis involves comparing eigenvalues from obtained data to eigenvalues from random permutations of the obtained data (1000 in current study). The optimal factor solution is indicated when factor eigenvalue from the obtained data is higher than the eigenvalues from the randomly generated data. Parallel analysis is considered the most accurate method for determining the number of factors to retain (Henson & Roberts, 2006). Following guidelines for establishing item salience with a factor (Kahn, 2006; Worthington & Whittaker, 2006), the items with factor loadings lower than $|.32|$ or with cross-loadings lower than a $|.20|$ difference between the item's two highest factor

loadings were deleted. Parallel analysis in the current study indicated that a seven-factor solution was optimal for the data. Therefore, six-factor, seven-factor, and eight-factor solutions were extracted and the items examined based on the aforementioned retention criteria. The seven-factor solution best met retention criteria, and 77 of the original 105 items were retained.

Main Exploratory Factor Analysis for Underlying Dimensions

Preliminary analysis. The data were standardized and screened for potential outliers, with variables with z -scores greater than or equal to the absolute value of 4 considered outliers (Field, 2009). Based on this criterion, there were 9 outliers on one CoBRAS item, 5 outliers on one CRIS item and 2 on another. Outliers were removed.

The remaining 77 items from the preliminary EFAs were submitted to an EFA using a maximum-likelihood extraction method with an oblique rotation using FIML to estimate missing values in Mplus. Optimal factor solution was determined using the same criteria used for the second preliminary EFA described above. The parallel analysis supported a seven-factor solution. However, the extracted seven-factor solution included two factors that only had 3 items that met the minimum factor loading threshold. Moreover, items of these two factors appeared conceptually unrelated. Previous research has emphasized the importance of considering conceptual clarity and interpretability in choosing the number of factors and items to retain (Kahn, 2006; Worthington & Whittaker, 2006; Tinsley & Tinsley, 1987). Moreover, past work has cautioned against factors with too few items (Thompson, 2004). The remaining five factors were retained as the final solution. Of note, the final five-factor solution was compared to extracted six-factor and eight-factor solutions. The final solution was deemed more viable than the

other two solutions based on the relative strength of the factor loadings and conceptual interpretability of the factors.

The final identified factors (see Table 4) were named based on the items that have the strongest loadings, and by considering what the items have in common and how they relate to the available literature. Given the importance of conceptual clarity, special attention was given to the content of salient items on the factor. Items that were conceptually distinct for other items based on underlying theory and relative item intercorrelations were omitted from the final solution.

Factor I, termed *Ethnocentricity*, included 12 items focused on the distinctiveness of the Black experience, the connections among Black people, and the pursuit of autonomy and self-determination for Black people. In this context, there is an emphasis on separatism, racial pride and heritage, and out-group mistrust. Factor II, termed *Afrocentricity*, included 5 items that were focused on the connections between people of African descent and an affirmation of African cultural heritage. Items emphasize Afrocentric values as a way to improve group status. Factor III, termed *Centrality*, included 3 items focused on the relative influence of race on self-concept. These items assess race as an importance source of self-definition and identity. Factor IV, termed *Critical Consciousness*, included 6 items that assess the critical awareness of social stratification based on race and the belief that the fate of a Black person is linked to the fate of Black people. Factor V, termed *Individuality*, included 5 items focused on uniqueness of the individual, de-emphasizing racial group membership. Accordingly, items also seemed to tap into the belief of equal opportunity and meritocracy.

Factor Descriptive Statistics and Intercorrelations. Descriptive statistics for

the six-factors including means, standard deviations, Cronbach's alphas, and Pearson product-moment correlations are presented in Table 5. Factor intercorrelations ranged from .06 to .69. The strongest positive correlations included associations between Critical Consciousness and Centrality scores ($r = .69$), Ethnocentricity and Afrocentricity scores ($r = .58$), and Ethnocentricity and Critical Consciousness scores ($r = .53$). The strongest negative correlations included associations between Individuality and Centrality scores ($r = -.62$) and Individuality and Critical Consciousness scores ($r = -.60$). The reliability estimates of the identified factors indicated adequate internal consistency for all factors (α ranged from .70 to .83), except for Individuality ($\alpha = .54$).

Table 4

Factor Loadings and Community Estimates from Main Exploratory Factor Analysis from Study 1 (N = 562)

	1	2	3	4	5	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>h</i> ²
Ethnocentricity								
Being a member of my racial group is not a major factor in my social relationships (MIBI-CEN) *	.61	.15	-.12	-.02	.00	3.07	1.30	.42
The black community should have the right to stop other racial groups from living in it (BES-PB)	.55	-.07	.03	-.13	.06	2.01	1.00	.34
White people, generally speaking, do not respect Black life (ASCS)	.52	.18	-.16	.00	-.07	3.37	1.18	.33
Blacks should form loving relationships with and marry only other Blacks (ASCS)	.47	-.04	.05	.02	.16	2.16	1.06	.32
It is important for members of my racial group to surround their children with art, music, and literature of my racial group (MIBI-NAT)	.45	-.12	-.12	.13	.11	4.00	.91	.37
Black people should have their own separate nation (ADBN-SN)	.43	.02	.02	-.14	.17	2.09	1.09	.25
White men are by nature prejudiced and bigoted (BES-AW)	.41	.04	-.01	.28	-.01	2.65	1.20	.36
White people try to keep black people down (BES-AW)	.38	.13	-.30	.18	.11	3.15	1.20	.45
A political party consisting of only black members should be formed (BES-PB)	.38	-.04	-.10	.14	.06	2.53	1.09	.33
I hate the White community and all that it represents (CRIS-IE)	.36	.06	-.34	.23	.13	1.58	.79	.52
Regardless of their interests, educational background and social achievements, I would prefer to associate with Black people than with non-Blacks (ASCS)	.35	-.02	.07	.14	.14	2.61	1.11	.24
My negative feelings toward White people are very intense (CRIS-IE)	-.36	.02	.19	.12	.12	1.99	1.03	.18
Afrocentricity								
Black people cannot truly be free until our daily lives are guided by Afrocentric values and principles (CRIS-IA)	.02	.62	.09	.00	.04	2.58	1.11	.41
As a good index of self-respect, Blacks in America should consider adopting traditional African names for themselves (ASCS)	-.01	.48	.02	.07	-.16	2.32	1.04	.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 (CRIS-IA)	.17	.42	-.01	.09	-.14	2.77	1.05	.27
I believe that only those Black people who accept an Afrocentric perspective can truly solve the race problem in America (CRIS-IA)	-.08	.35	.17	-.17	-.10	2.36	.98	.27
Black people will never be free until we embrace an Afrocentric perspective (CRIS-IA)	-.08	.34	.15	-.01	.00	2.77	1.13	.28
Centrality								
Overall, being a member of my racial group has very little to do with how I feel about myself (MIBI-CEN) *	-.04	.05	.73	.01	-.08	3.01	1.34	.58
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 (CRIS-PA) *	-.13	-.01	.63	-.01	.02	3.26	1.38	.43

Being a member of my racial group is an important reflection of who I am (MIBI-CEN)	.31	.14	-.59	.00	.00	3.92	1.11	.52
Critical Consciousness								
My destiny is tied to the destiny of other members of my racial group (MIBI-CEN)	.15	.11	-.03	.60	.07	2.91	1.19	.46
White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin (COBRAS)	.15	.01	.10	.50	.31	4.31	.93	.48
It is important that people begin to think of themselves as American and not African American, Mexican American or Italian American (COBRAS) *	.12	-.05	.24	-.50	.18	3.31	1.41	.39
Court decisions are most often unjust when blacks are involved (BES-AW)	.24	.08	.30	-.47	-.02	4.02	1.03	.38
If I had to put a label on my identity, it would be “American,” and not African American* (CRIS-PA)	.25	-.08	.28	-.45	-.03	3.40	1.39	.43
Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison (COBRAS)	.22	.08	.16	-.34	.01	3.92	1.19	.24
Individuality								
If we want to help create a harmonious society, we must recognize that each racial group has the right to maintain its own unique traditions (WMIS) *	-.08	.02	.06	-.06	.72	1.75	.82	.50
All human beings are individuals, and therefore race and ethnicity are not important (RCIS)	.09	-.05	-.06	.02	.70	2.82	1.42	.59
It is really not necessary to pay attention to people’s racial, ethnic, or cultural backgrounds because it doesn’t tell you much about who they are (RCIS)	.06	.05	-.12	.02	.68	2.57	1.34	.53
Many African Americans are too lazy to see opportunities that are right in front of them (CRIS-PM)	.19	-.10	.10	.13	.41	2.25	1.27	.33
Members of my racial group should treat other oppressed people as allies (MIBI-MIN) *	-.16	.27	.03	.00	-.38	2.59	1.07	.51
Eigenvalue	11.69	7.55	4.66	2.42	1.60			

Note. 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree.

* Reverse coded. Salient loadings are bolded

h^2 = communality estimates.

MIBI = Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity; CEN = Centrality; MIN = Oppressed Minority; NAT = Nationalist; CRIS = Cross Racial Identity Scale; PA = Pre-encounter Assimilation; PM = Pre-encounter Miseducation; IE= Immersion–Emersion Anti-White; IA = Internalization Afrocentricity; BES = Black Ethnocentrism Scale; PB = Pro-Black; AW = Anti-White; ADBN = Attitudinal Dimensions of Black Nationalism; CN = Community Nationalism; SN = Separatist Nationalism; ASCS = African Self-consciousness Scale; WMIS = Multicultural Ideology Scale; COBRAS = Colorblind Racial Attitudes Scale; RCIS = Colorblind Ideology Scale (Ryan)

Table 5
Descriptive Statistics and Intercorrelations for Ideology Factors for Study 1 (N = 562)

Factor	1	2	3	4	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>α</i>
1. Ethnocentricity	-				2.60	.64	.82
2. Afrocentricity	.58**	-			2.56	.82	.83
3. Centrality	.42**	.24**	-		3.40	1.02	.70
4. Critical Consciousness	.53**	.27**	.69**	-	3.65	.77	.72
5. Individuality	-.23*	-.06	-.62**	-.60**	2.39	.72	.54

Note. 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree

** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

CHAPTER FIVE: CONFIRMATORY FACTOR ANALYSIS AND EXPLORATORY STRUCTURAL EQUATION MODELING (STUDY 2)

The first aim of Study 2 was to further investigate the structural validity of the factors extracted in Study 1 (see Appendix B for Study 2 survey). To this end, I first conducted confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) with a new sample and used a competing-model strategy (MacCallum, Wegener, Uchino, & Fabrigar, 1993) to compare how the final five-factor model identified in Study 1 compares to other alternative models. Specifically, I initially compared the five-factor model to a four-factor model that excluded the Individuality factor given the relatively low internal consistency estimate for Study 1 and a one-factor unidimensional model. I also examined the fit of four-factor and five-factor higher-order CFA-models, wherein a higher-order latent factor, labeled race salience, was specified, based on past theory that has suggested that the perceived importance of race in a person's life may underlie racial attitudes (Cross & Vandiver, 2001). As such, the higher-order CFA-models tested whether race salience as a higher-order latent factor causes each of the more specific lower-level latent factors (Reise, Moore, & Haviland, 2010). These models failed to meet acceptable standards of fit (see details below and in Table 7).

The observed model misfit may reflect important limitations associated with CFA in assessing the structural validity of scores on multidimensional measures. Specifically, CFA assumes that items load on their salient factors, with no cross-loadings with other factors (Guay et al., 2015; Marsh et al., 2011). While this restrictive approach, also known as the independent cluster model (ICM), allows for more parsimonious results, recent findings suggest that measures of multidimensional constructs often do not meet

acceptable standards of fit within the ICM CFA framework (Hopwood & Donnellan, 2010; Marsh et al., 2010). In fact, scholars have pointed out the tendency for researchers to compensate for the limitations of CFA by engaging in extensive model modifications to find a well-fitting model, which Marsh and colleagues (2014) described as “counterproductive, dubious, misleading, or simply wrong” (p. 88). In the case of the current study, it is reasonable to expect items on a measure of racial ideology to have many (though much weaker) cross-loadings while being consistent with the underlying theory (Gauy et al., 2015). As such, ICM CFA may produce biased parameter estimates by not accounting for what Morin and colleagues (2016) described as the “fallible nature of indicators”—that is, items are rarely pure indicators of a single construct.

In light of the pitfalls associated with traditional CFA, exploratory structural equation modeling (ESEM) and bifactor CFA models have been proposed as more flexible approaches that provide a better representation of the structure of complex multidimensional constructs by not relying on overly stringent traditional CFA assumptions (Asparouhov & Muthén, 2009; Marsh Morin, Parker, & Kaur, 2014; Morin, Katrin Arens, & Marsh, 2016). Bifactor models test whether item-levels indicators reflects a general latent factor (i.e., Black racial ideology) and multiple specific latent factors (i.e., Ethnocentricity, Afrocentricity, etc.). Bifactor models (see Reise et al., 2010) have some conceptual similarities with higher-order models, however, the latter test whether a “higher-order” latent factor (i.e., Black racial ideology) explains the correlation among multiple specific “lower-order” latent factors (i.e., Ethnocentricity, Afrocentricity, etc.).

Accordingly, unlike bifactor models, higher-order CFA models assume no direct relationship between each item and Black racial ideology but rather the relationship between Black racial ideology and each item is mediated through the lower-order latent factors. Riese and colleagues (2010) further explain that higher-order models suggest a nested relationship where the concern is not what the items have in common but rather what the more basic, lower-order factors have in common. ESEM was developed as an integration of EFA and CFA approaches (Asparouhov & Muthén, 2009; March et al., 2014). Specifically, similar to EFA, all items are allowed to load on all the factors, and like CFA, ESEM produces goodness of fit indices. By enabling cross-loadings, ESEM accounts for the reality that there will be a small degree of systematic measurement error stemming from associations between items and other constructs (Morin et al., 2016).

In summary, the aim of Study 2 was to further investigate the structural validity of the Black racial ideology factors extracted in Study 1. In line with the competing model strategy, I compared a) a one-factor unidimensional model; b) four-factor and five-factor CFA and ESEM models; c) four- and five-factor higher-order CFA-models; and (c) bifactor-CFA models that included the four and five specific factors (i.e., Ethnocentricity, Afrocentricity, etc.) and global Black racial ideology factor. Of note, higher-order factor analysis is not readily available with ESEM (Asparouhov & Muthén, 2009).

Method

Participants

The sample for Study 2 (or Sample 2) comprised 353 adults who self-identified as persons having origins in any of the Black racial groups of Africa (i.e., Black, African American, Afro-Caribbean, and African). Detailed demographic information is presented

in Table 6. Over half of the sample (56.9%) identified as female, 41.9% as male, and the remaining identified as transgender or non-binary (1.1%). Participants ranged in age from 18 to 81 years ($M = 37.41$, $SD = 14.38$). The majority (87.5%) of participants identified as heterosexual or straight, 7.6 % as bisexual, 4.7% gay/lesbian, 2% as queer, pansexual, or other. Similar to study 1, most participants reported a middle-class background (42.2%), with the next two largest groups being those who reported coming from working class (20.1%) and lower-middle class (18.4%) backgrounds. Most participants (88.9%) were born in the United States. Similar to study 1, a majority of participants identified as moderate (34.3%) or liberal (29.5%), 15.0 % as very liberal, 9.9% as conservative, 5.8% as very conservative, and 5.4% as other. The majority (72.0%) of participants chose Democratic as their affiliated political party, 18.1% chose Independent, 3.4% chose Republican, and 6.5% chose other. Regarding highest educational attainment, about 43.6% reported a Bachelor's degree or higher.

Table 6
Summary of Sample 2 Demographics

Demographics	<i>n</i>	%
Gender		
Female	201	56.9
Male	148	41.9
Transgender	3	0.85
Other	1	0.3
Sexual Orientation		
Primarily Heterosexual	309	87.5
Primarily Homosexual	10	2.8
Primarily Bisexual	27	7.6
Other	7	1.98
Marital Status		
Married	92	26.06
Separated	9	2.55

Divorced	34	9.63
Never Married	202	57.22
Widowed	10	2.83
Other	6	1.70
Race		
Black or African American	353	100
Birth Country		
United States	314	88.95
Other	39	11.05
Mother's Birth Country		
United States	279	79.04
Other	74	20.96
Father's Birth Country		
United States	273	77.34
Other	80	22.66
Social Class		
Upper Class	5	1.42
Upper-middle Class	33	9.35
Middle Class	149	42.21
Lower-middle Class	65	18.41
Working Class	71	20.11
Poor	27	7.65
Other	3	0.85
Political Orientation		
Very Conservative	20	5.67
Conservative	35	9.92
Moderate	121	34.28
Liberal	104	29.46
Very Liberal	53	15.01
Other	19	5.38
Political Party		
Democratic	254	71.95
Republican	12	3.40
Independent	64	18.12
Other	23	6.52
Highest Education Level		
Some High School	12	3.4

High School Diploma	60	17.0
Some College	98	27.8
Associate Degree	29	8.22
Bachelor's Degree	81	22.9
Master's Degree	54	15.3
Professional Degree	9	2.55
Doctorate Degree	10	2.83
Religious Affiliation		
Yes	206	58.34
No	147	41.64

Note. Percentages may not total 100% in each demographic category due to rounding.

Procedures

Participants were recruited using the similar recruitment strategies, data screening protocol, and procedures as Study 1. However, given the issues with invalid responses identified in Study 1, more targeted recruiting strategies were employed for Study 2. For example, recruitment through established organizations was prioritized over social media groups. I also used customized web links to the survey that could be only be used once on some recruitment materials, to minimize the risk of multiple entries. In general, there were less problematic responses in this sample compared to Sample 1, with a total of 55 responses being flagged and removed. The web-based survey was hosted on Qualtrics. A majority of participants ($n = 222$; 63.1%) were recruited through Qualtrics' panel management services. Participants recruited from Qualtrics were compensated by the site as described above. Each non-crowdsourced participant was entered into a drawing to win one of twelve \$25 Amazon.com gift cards that occurred at the end of data collection for Study 1 and 2. Participants from the Department of Psychology at the University of Minnesota had the option to receive course credit. The online survey was available for approximately two months.

Measures

Demographic questionnaire. Participants reported their race, gender, perceived social class, annual income, religious and political affiliations, sexual orientation, educational attainment, and immigration status.

Black Racial Ideology Measure. Participants completed 77 ideology items that were submitted to the main EFA in Study 1. However, only the 31 items of the final solution were submitted to CFA and ESEM. Participants rated items on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*).

Results

The data were standardized and screened for potential outliers, with variables with *z*-scores greater than or equal to the absolute value of 4 considered outliers (Field, 2009). Based on this criterion, no outliers were present. All analyses were performed with Mplus, using maximum likelihood (MLR) estimator which provides standard errors and model fit indices and is robust to non-normality (Marsh et al., 2011). Full information maximum likelihood (FIML) was used to fit models with missing data.

Goodness of fit. Following standard practice used in previous studies using both CFA and ESEM approaches (e.g., Chiorri, Marsh, Ubbiali, & Donati, 2016; Marsh et al., 2010), models were evaluated based the following goodness of fit indices: comparative fit index (CFI), Tucker-Lewis index (TLI), standardized root mean square residual (SRMR), and root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA). Based on previous suggestions in the literature, CFI and TLI values greater than .90 and .95 were respectively considered adequate and excellent fits to the data. RMSEA values less than .08 and .06 were respectively considered adequate and excellent fits to the data. For the

SRMR, values less than .08 indicated acceptable fit. While chi-squared (χ^2) fit test of exact fit was also examined, its evaluative value is minimal because it is oversensitive to sample size and minor model misspecifications (Chiorri et al., 2016). Of note, TLI and RMSEA are related to parsimony, whereas CFI is related to complexity—as such, the former is thought to be more important for ESEM model comparisons as many parameters are estimated in ESEM (Tóth-Király, Bőthe, Rigó, & Orosz, 2017). Overall, these general guidelines were considered in tandem with conceptual clarity (Tóth-Király et al., 2017).

Model Comparison: Traditional Cfa, Higher-Order, Bifactor, and ESEM.

First, I subjected the final five-factor model identified in Study 1 to CFA and compared how this model fit the data as compared to a four-factor model that excluded the Individuality factor, and a one-factor unidimensional model. These models failed to meet acceptable standards of fit (see Table 7 for fit indices for all models). The one-dimensional CFA model showed the worst fit to the data ($\chi^2(434) = 2142.07$, CFI = .41, TLI = .37, RMSEA = .11, SRMR = .13). Given this, and in tandem with the evidence that suggests that racial ideology is multidimensional, the one-dimensional model was not included in further analysis. Following these preliminary findings, higher-order and bifactor CFA models were also tested, all of which failed to meet accepted fit standards. Then, ESEM was used to evaluate the five-factor and four-factor model. As indicated in Table 6, the ESEM models fit the data substantially better than the CFA models. In particular, whereas the 5-factor and 4-factor CFA models did not show acceptable model fit, the 4-factor ESEM model showed a nearly acceptable fit ($\chi^2(227) = 439.23$, CFI = .84, TLI = .84, RMSEA = .05, SRMR = .04) and 5-factor ESEM model showed adequate

fit ($\chi^2(320) = 461.46$, CFI = .94, TLI = .91, RMSEA = .04, SRMR = .03).

Table 7

Summary of Goodness of Fit Statistics for all CFA and ESEM Models

Model	χ^2	df	CFI	TLI	RMSEA	SRMR
CFA-1 Factor	2142.07	434	0.41	0.37	0.11	0.13
CFA-4 Factor	962.33	293	0.66	0.62	0.08	0.11
CFA-4 Factor with CU	978.67	280	0.64	0.58	0.09	0.11
CFA-4 Factor Higher-Order	973.61	295	0.65	0.61	0.08	0.11
CFA-4 Factor Higher-Order with CU	1001.09	284	0.63	0.59	0.09	0.13
CFA-4 Factor Bifactor	1001.06	278	0.63	0.56	0.09	0.19
CFA-4 Factor Bifactor with CU	952.50	265	0.65	0.57	0.09	0.19
ESEM-4 Factor	439.23	227	0.84	0.84	0.05	0.04
ESEM-4 Factor with CU	439.23	221	0.89	0.84	0.05	0.04
CFA-5 Factor	1276.23	424	0.63	0.59	0.08	0.11
CFA-5 Factor with CU	1224.01	410	0.64	0.60	0.08	0.11
CFA-5 Factor Higher-Order	1367.89	429	0.59	0.56	0.08	0.12
CFA-5 Factor Higher-Order with CU	1341.80	417	0.60	0.55	0.08	0.13
CFA- 5 Factor Bifactor	1245.72	409	0.63	0.58	0.08	0.17
CFA- 5 Factor Bifactor with CU	1207.84	395	0.64	0.58	0.08	0.17
ESEM-5 Factor	461.46	320	0.94	0.91	0.04	0.03
ESEM-5 Factor with CU	420.01	306	0.95	0.94	0.03	0.03

Note. χ^2 = Robust chi-square test of exact fit; df = Degrees of freedom; CFI = Comparative fit index; TLI = Tucker-Lewis index; RMSEA = Rootmean square error of approximation; CU = correlated uniqueness between items on the factor that were derived from the same original scale.

Next, I expected correlated uniqueness (CU; i.e., covariances between items error terms not explained by the specified theoretical constructs) based on previous studies (e.g., Chiorri et al., 2015; Tóth-Király et al., 2017). For this investigation, I expected that there would be covariances between items on factors that are derived from the same parent scale (e.g., the items on the Ethnocentricity factor derived from the original African Self-Consciousness Scale) given potential method effects associated with how the original scales were constructed (e.g., wording and style; Marsh et al., 2014).

Accordingly, I also evaluated CFA and ESEM models that included specified CUs for items on the same factor that were derived from the same parent scale. This resulted in six a priori CUs for the 5-factor model and five CUs for the 4-factor model, given the exclusion of the Individuality factor.

Overall, the 5-factor ESEM model with CUs was retained as it showed the best fit to the data over all of the alternative models tested in Study 2 ($\chi^2(306) = 420.01$, CFI = .95, TLI = .94, RMSEA = .03, SRMR = .03). Factor loadings from this model are presented in Table 8. Of note, the individuality factor was not well defined as it only had one salient factor loading ($\geq |.32|$) without cross-loadings. As such, this factor was discarded. Nine of the original twelve EFA items from Study 1 loaded well onto the Ethnocentricity factor. There were two items that were originally factored on Ethnocentricity in Study 1 that factored on the Centrality factor (*“Being a member of my racial group is not a major factor in my social relationships”* – reverse coded) and Critical Consciousness factor (*“It is important for members of my racial group to surround their children with art, music, and literature of my racial group”*) in Study 2. Moreover, a third item that was originally factored on Ethnocentrism in Study 1 evidenced cross loading with the Afrocentricity factor (*“A political party consisting of only black members should be formed”*). Given the nature of the cross loading (i.e., nearly equivalent), this item was deemed non-discriminating and thus discarded.

All the variables that originally factored onto the Afrocentricity factor in Study 1 had substantial factor loadings (with no cross loadings) on the Afrocentricity factor in Study 2. In addition to the aforementioned variable that was originally factored on Ethnocentricity in Study 1 but factored on Centrality in Study 2, two variables that were

originally factored on Critical Consciousness also factored on Centrality for Study 2 (“*It is important that people begin to think of themselves as American and not African American, Mexican American or Italian American*”) and “*If I had to put a label on my identity, it would be ‘American,’ and not African American*”). Moreover, an item (“*Being a member of my racial group is an important reflection of who I am*”) that originally factored on Centrality in Study 1 factored on Critical Consciousness in Study 2.

Table 8
Standardized Factor loadings for Exploratory Structural Equation Modeling

Items	ETHNO	AFRO	CEN	CRIT	IND
Ethnocentricity					
My negative feelings toward White people are very intense (CRIS-IE)	0.76	-0.08	-0.11	-0.04	0.11
I hate the White community and all that it represents. (CRIS-IE)	0.69	-0.05	-0.02	-0.09	-0.02
White men are by nature prejudiced and bigoted (BES-AW)	0.57	0.05	0.15	0.02	-0.32
White people, generally speaking, do not respect Black life (ASCS)	0.56	-0.02	0.23	0.24	-0.33
Regardless of their interests, educational background and social achievements, I would prefer to associate with Black people than with non-Blacks (ASCS)	0.52	-0.01	0.16	0.11	0.07
Blacks should form loving relationships with and marry only other Blacks (ASCS)	0.47	0.17	-0.13	-0.03	0.18
The black community should have the right to stop other racial groups from living in it (BES-AW)	0.43	0.33	0.03	-0.15	0.13
Black people should have their own separate nation (ADBNSN)	0.41	0.17	-0.37	0.10	0.45
White people try to keep black people down (BES-AW)	0.41	0.04	0.22	0.31	-0.45
<i>A political party consisting of only black members should be formed (BES-PB)</i>	0.35	0.38	-0.07	-0.01	0.20
Afrocentricity					
I respect the ideas that other Black people hold, but I believe that the best way to solve our problems is to think Afrocentrically (CRIS-IA)	0.01	0.76	0.03	-0.05	-0.01
As a good index of self-respect, Blacks in America should consider adopting traditional African names for themselves (ASCS)	0.12	0.58	0.08	-0.11	-0.03
Black people will never be free until we embrace an Afrocentric perspective (CRIS-IA)	0.17	0.53	0.01	0.10	-0.02
Black people cannot truly be free until our daily lives are guided by Afrocentric values and principles (CRIS-IA)	0.24	0.50	-0.11	0.06	-0.05
I believe that only those Black people who accept an Afrocentric perspective can truly solve the race problem in America (CRIS-IA)	0.30	0.45	-0.02	-0.12	-0.12
Centrality					
Being a member of my racial group is not a major factor in my social relationships (MIBI-CEN) ^{a*}	0.00	0.00	0.52	0.02	0.16
Overall, being a member of my racial group has very little to do with how I feel about myself (MIBI-CEN) *	0.10	-0.07	0.52	-0.06	0.27

					80
It is important that people begin to think of themselves as American and not African American, Mexican American or Italian American (COBRAS) ^{b *}	0.04	-0.09	0.51	0.07	0.37
If I had to put a label on my identity, it would be “American,” and not African American (CRIS-PA) *	-0.01	0.00	0.51	0.07	0.33
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. (CRIS-PA) ^{b *}	0.19	-0.16	0.43	0.00	0.26
All human beings are individuals, and therefore race and ethnicity are not important (RCIS) ^{c *}	-0.13	0.24	0.33	-0.12	0.32
Critical Consciousness					
Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison (COBRAS)	0.14	-0.15	-0.17	0.90	0.10
Court decisions are most often unjust when blacks are involved (BES-AW)	0.12	-0.06	-0.21	0.79	0.01
White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin (COBRAS)	-0.07	0.12	0.14	0.71	-0.06
It is important for members of my racial group to surround their children with art, music, and literature of my racial group (MIBI-NAT) ^a	0.02	0.15	0.17	0.36	0.17
Being a member of my racial group is an important reflection of who I am (MIBI-CEN) ^d	-0.11	0.27	0.27	0.34	0.01
Individuality					
<i>Many African Americans are too lazy to see opportunities that are right in front of them (MIBI-PM)</i>	0.27	0.01	-0.24	-0.21	-0.23
<i>It is really not necessary to pay attention to people’s racial, ethnic, or cultural backgrounds because it doesn’t tell you much about who they are (RCIS)</i>	-0.07	0.07	-0.31	0.01	-0.21
<i>Members of my racial group should treat other oppressed people as allies (MIBI-MIN)</i>	-0.06	-0.07	-0.22	-0.17	-0.07
<i>If we want to help create a harmonious society, we must recognize that each racial group has the right to maintain its own unique traditions (WMIS)</i>	0.23	-0.26	-0.21	-0.31	0.07

Note.

* Reverse coded. Salient loadings are bolded. Italicized items are excluded

^a Factored on Ethnocentricity in Study 1

^b Factored on Critical Consciousness in Study 1

^c Factored on Individuality in Study 1

^d Factored on Centrality in Study 1

MIBI = Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity; CEN = Centrality; MIN = Oppressed Minority; NAT = Nationalist; CRIS = Cross Racial Identity Scale; PA = Pre-encounter Assimilation; PM = Pre-encounter Miseducation; IE= Immersion–Emersion Anti-White; IA = Internalization Afrocentricity; BES = Black Ethnocentrism Scale; PB = Pro-Black; AW = Anti-White; ADBN = Attitudinal Dimensions of Black Nationalism; CN = Community Nationalism; SN = Separatist Nationalism; ASCS = African Self-consciousness Scale; WMIS = Multicultural Ideology Scale; COBRAS = Colorblind Racial Attitudes Scale; RCIS = Colorblind Ideology Scale (Ryan)

ESEM Factor Descriptive Statistics and Intercorrelations. Descriptive statistics for the final four factors derived from ESEM, including means, standard deviations, Cronbach's alphas, and Pearson product-moment correlations, are presented in Table 8. Factor intercorrelations ranged from $-.07$ to $.57$. The strongest correlations included positive associations between Ethnocentricity and Afrocentricity scores ($r = .57$) and Ethnocentricity and Critical Consciousness scores ($r = .31$). The reliability estimates of the identified factors indicated adequate internal consistency for all retained factors (α ranged from $.76$ to $.83$). For further information regarding the validity of the final factors, the descriptive statistics and intercorrelations for the final ESEM factors using the Study 1 sample are presented in Table 10. The reliability estimates for the Study 1 sample was adequate (α ranged from $.75$ to $.85$). In general, the Study 2 sample showed stronger correlations between ideology factors. However, multivariate analysis of variance indicated that the two samples did not significantly differ on the combined ideology variables, $F(4, 910) = 1.60, p = .17$, Pillai's Trace = $.01$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$. There were also no significant pairwise group differences.

Table 9
Descriptive Statistics and Intercorrelations for ESEM Factors for Sample 2 (N = 353)

Factor	1	2	3	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	α
1. Ethnocentricity	--			2.51	0.74	0.83
2. Afrocentricity	.57**	--		2.61	0.84	0.81
3. Centrality	.16**	-.07	--	3.17	0.99	0.81
4. Critical Consciousness	.31**	.20**	.28**	4.08	0.75	0.76

Note. 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree

** $p < .01$

Table 10
Final Ideology Descriptive Statistics and Intercorrelations for Sample 1 (N = 562)

Factor	1	2	3	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>α</i>
1. Ethnocentricity	--			2.41	0.69	0.81
2. Afrocentricity	.54**	--		2.56	0.82	0.83
3. Centrality	.32**	-.21**	--	3.21	1.04	0.85
4. Critical Consciousness	.45**	.26**	.51**	4.04	0.73	0.75

Note. 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree

** $p < .01$.

Relationship between Final ESEM Factors and Demographics for Study 1 and

Study 2

Alpha was set to .01 for a more stringent significance level, given the number of comparisons.

Gender. Of note, participants who identified as transgender and gender nonbinary were excluded from comparative analyses due to small sample size. In Study 1, women reported significantly higher Centrality ($M = 3.32$, $SD = 1.01$) compared to the men ($M = 2.97$, $SD = 1.04$), $t(552) = 3.68$, $p < .01$, $d = .34$. In a similar manner, women reported higher levels of Centrality in Study 2 ($M = 3.30$, $SD = .98$) compared to men ($M = 2.97$, $SD = .97$), $t(347) = 3.19$, $p < .01$, $d = .33$. There were also significant gender differences in Critical Consciousness endorsement in study 1. Women ($M = 4.12$, $SD = .68$) reported higher levels than men ($M = 3.86$, $SD = .81$), $t(552) = 3.68$, $p < .01$, $d = .35$.

Age Centrality was negatively correlated with age in Sample 1 ($r = -.17$, $p < .01$) and Sample 2 ($r = -.31$, $p < .01$). There was also a negative correlation between Ethnocentricity and age observed in the Study 2 sample, $r = -.19$, $p < .01$.

Sexual Orientation. A composite group for individuals who identified as sexual minorities (i.e., gay, lesbian, bisexual, and other) was created due to the small sample size

of the individual cells. There were no differences by sexual orientation in the Study 1 sample. For the Study 2 sample, there were significant mean differences by sexual orientation. Specifically, sexual minorities ($M = 2.78$, $SD = .83$) reported higher Ethnocentricity than individuals who identified as heterosexual ($M = 2.47$, $SD = .72$), $t(351) = 2.42$, $p < .01$, $d = .40$. Similarly, sexual minorities ($M = 3.71$, $SD = .91$) reported higher Centrality than individuals who identified as heterosexual ($M = 3.09$, $SD = .98$), $t(351) = 4.20$, $p < .01$, $d = .66$.

Political orientation. An orientation composite was created to include those who identified as “conservative” and “very conservative” to optimize cell size. Individuals who identified as “other” were excluded from comparative analyses. For Study 1, individuals significantly differed in their endorsement of Centrality, $F(3, 526) = 83.64$, $p < .001$; partial $\eta^2 = .15$, and Critical Consciousness, $F(3, 526) = 29.71$; $p < .001$; partial $\eta^2 = .11$. Tukey’s HSD post-hoc analyses indicated individuals who identified as “conservative/very conservative” reported significantly less Centrality beliefs ($M = 2.71$, $SD = .95$) when compared to those who identified as “moderate” ($M = 3.35$, $SD = 1.00$), $p < .001$, $d = .66$, “liberal” ($M = 3.35$, $SD = 1.00$), $p < .001$, $d = .66$ and “very liberal” ($M = 3.60$, $SD = 1.00$), $p < .001$, $d = .91$. Individuals who identified as “moderate” reported significantly less Centrality beliefs ($M = 2.98$, $SD = .83$) when compared to those who identified as “liberal” ($p < .001$, $d = .66$) and “very liberal” ($p < .001$, $d = .91$). Similarly, those who identified as “conservative/very conservative” reported significantly less Critical Consciousness beliefs ($M = 3.69$, $SD = .79$) when compared to those who identified as “liberal” ($M = 4.27$, $SD = .54$), $p < .001$, $d = .86$ and “very liberal” ($M = 4.31$, $SD = .66$), $p < .001$, $d = .85$. Individuals who identified as “moderate” reported

significantly less Centrality beliefs ($M = 3.86$, $SD = .75$) when compared to those who identified as “liberal”, ($p < .001$, $d = .63$) and “very liberal” ($p < .001$, $d = .62$).

In general, similar patterns were observed in the Study 2 sample. Individuals significantly differed in their endorsement of Centrality, $F(3, 329) = 11.05$, $p < .001$; partial $\eta^2 = .09$, and Critical Consciousness, $F(3, 329) = 19.49$; $p < .001$; partial $\eta^2 = .15$, based on political orientation. Post-hoc analyses indicated individuals who identified as “conservative/very conservative” reported significantly less Centrality beliefs ($M = 2.71$, $SD = .95$) when compared to those who identified as “liberal” ($M = 3.35$, $SD = 1.00$), $p < .001$, $d = .66$ and “very liberal” ($M = 3.60$, $SD = 1.00$), $p < .001$, $d = .91$. Individuals who identified as “moderate” reported significantly less Centrality beliefs ($M = 2.98$, $SD = .83$) when compared to those who identified as “very liberal” ($p < .001$, $d = .64$). For Critical Consciousness, those who identified as “conservative/very conservative” ($M = 3.48$, $SD = .88$) had significantly lower means than those who identified as “moderate” ($M = 4.08$, $SD = .69$), $p < .001$, $d = .76$, “liberal” ($M = 4.17$, $SD = .68$), $p < .001$, $d = .88$, and “very liberal” ($M = 4.45$, $SD = .49$), $p < .001$, $d = .1.36$. Individuals who identified as “moderate” had lower levels of Critical Consciousness when compared to those who identified as “very liberal” ($p < .01$, $d = .64$).

Immigration Status. There were no significant differences in ideology based on whether an individual was born in the United States for Study 1 and 2.

Education Attainment. Composite groups were created to optimize cell sample size. Specifically, a “high school diploma/some high school” composite was created to include those who reported “some high school” or “high school diploma,” and a “postgraduate” composite was created to include those who reported a master’s degree or

higher. For Study 1, there were significant ideology mean differences by educational education level, specifically by Centrality, $F(4, 549) = 35.90; p < .001$; partial $\eta^2 = .20$, and Critical Consciousness, $F(4, 549) = 17.47; p < .001$; partial $\eta^2 = .11$. Individuals with postgraduate degrees reported significantly higher levels of Centrality ($M = 3.85, SD = .94$) compared to those reporting bachelor's degrees ($M = 3.37, SD = .97$), $p < .01, d = .50$, associate's degrees ($M = 2.85, SD = .84$), $p < .001, d = 1.21$, some college ($M = 2.90, SD = .87$), $p < .001, d = 1.05$, and high school diploma/some high school ($M = 2.65, SD = .95$), $p < .001, d = 1.27$. Individuals with bachelor's degrees reported significantly higher levels of Centrality compared to those reporting some college, $p < .01, d = .51$ and high school diploma/some high school, $p < .001, d = .75$. Individuals with post graduate degrees reported significantly higher levels of Critical Consciousness ($M = 4.37, SD = .53$) compared to those reporting associate's degrees, ($M = 3.87, SD = .88$), $p < .001, d = .69$, some college, ($M = 3.91, SD = .67$), $p < .001, d = .76$, and high school diploma/some high school ($M = 3.72, SD = .81$), $p < .001, d = .95$. Individuals with bachelor's degrees reported significantly higher levels of Critical Consciousness compared to those reporting high school diploma/some high school, $p < .001, d = .76$.

For Study 2, there were significant ideology mean differences by education level, specifically by Afrocentricity, $F(4, 348) = 3.15 p < .01$; partial $\eta^2 = .05$, Centrality, $F(4, 348) = 12.90; p < .001$; partial $\eta^2 = .15$, and Critical Consciousness, $F(4, 348) = 3.76 p < .001$; partial $\eta^2 = .04$. Post-hoc tests revealed individuals with high school diploma/some high school reported significantly higher levels of Afrocentricity ($M = 2.93, SD = 1.0$) compared to those with postgraduate degrees ($M = 2.34, SD = .73$), $p < .01, d = .67$. Similar to Study 1, individuals with postgraduate degrees in Study 2 reported

significantly higher levels of Centrality ($M = 3.80$, $SD = .87$) compared to those reporting bachelor's degrees ($M = 3.28$, $SD = .87$), $p < .01$, $d = .56$, associate's degrees ($M = 2.65$, $SD = .94$), $p < .001$, $d = .1.29$, some college ($M = 3.04$, $SD = 1.00$), $p < .001$, $d = .81$, and high school diploma/some high school ($M = 2.76$ $SD = .70$), $p < .001$, $d = 1.32$.

Individuals with bachelor's degrees reported significantly higher levels of Centrality compared to those reporting high school diploma/some high school, $p < .001$, $d = .65$.

Unlike Study 1, the only statistically significant difference in Critical Consciousness was between individuals with post graduate degrees and those with high school diploma/some high school, $p < .01$, $d = .56$.

CHAPTER SIX: CLUSTER ANALYSIS AND PSYCHOSOCIAL VARIATIONS (STUDY 3)

The first goal of Study 3 was to use cluster analysis to investigate how the racial ideology factors identified in Study 2 are differentially configured within individuals. In line with previous research using cluster analysis (e.g., Ajayi & Syed, 2014; Good, Willoughby, & Busseri, 2011, Rowley, 2000; Telesford et al., 2013; Whittaker & Neville, 2010; Worrell et al., 2006), I used a multistep procedure to identify subgroups of participants with similar patterns of responses on the four dimensions of Black racial ideology identified in Study 2. Specifically, agglomerative hierarchical cluster analysis was used to establish the number of the most meaningful Black racial ideology subgroups in the sample. Then, *k*-means cluster analysis was used to sort individuals into ideology groups. The second goal of Study 3 was to investigate whether there are significant differences in psychosocial outcomes as a function of differences in individual-level configurations of the four racial ideology factors. Specifically, I examined the relationship between final cluster membership and measures of psychological distress and well-being, help-seeking attitudes, relationship characteristics and quality, and sociopolitical activism. The Study 2 sample was used as the main sample for cluster analysis as the sample also completed outcome measures, whereas the Study 1 sample only completed a demographic questionnaire and ideology measures. All analyses for Study 3 were conducted in SPSS.

Method

The Study 2 sample completed outcome measures, whereas the Study 1 sample did not. As such, the Study 2 sample was used for primary cluster analyses and for testing

whether distinct patterns of racial ideologies were related to psychosocial outcomes. The relative structural stability of the final ideology configurations identified with the Study 2 sample was examined by comparing this final solution to an independently derived final cluster solution using Study 1 data. The participant descriptives and procedures for Study 1 and 2 are presented in the previous two sections. The outcome measures are described below for clarity.

Measures

Demographic questionnaire. Participants reported their race, gender, perceived social class, religious and political affiliations, sexual orientation, educational attainment, and immigration status.

Racial Ideology Measure. The 31 ideology items representing the four final racial ideology factors (see Table 9 for descriptive information). Participants rated items on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*).

Psychological Distress. Participants completed the 21-item short version of the Depression, Anxiety, and Stress Scale (DASS-21; Lovibond & Lovibond, 1995). DASS-21 assessed psychological symptoms associated with depression, anxiety, and stress. Representative items include, “I couldn't seem to experience any positive feeling at all” (Depression), “I found myself in situations that made me so anxious I was most relieved when they ended” (Anxiety), and “I found myself getting upset by quite trivial things” (Stress). Participants rated items for severity and frequency over the past week on a 4-point Likert-type scale (1 = *did not apply to me at all* to 4 = *applied to me very much, or more of the time*). The DASS-21 has been found to possess adequate reliability and

construct validity among African Americans (Norton, 2007). The Cronbach's alphas for the current study were .92 (Depression), .86 (Anxiety), and .89 (Stress).

Satisfaction with Life. Participants completed the 5-item Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS; Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). It included items such as, "In most ways my life is close to my ideal." Participants rated items on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*). The SWLS has been found to possess adequate reliability and construct validity (Diener et al., 1985; Pavot, Diener, Colvin, & Sandvik, 1991). Moreover, several studies have reported adequate to strong internal reliability among African American samples (e.g., Constantine & Watt, 2002; Utsey, Ponterotto, Reynolds, & Cancelli, 2000). The Cronbach's alpha for the current study was .87.

Racial Homophily. The degree to which participants choose friends who have the same racial background was assessed with the question: "Please take a moment to think about your current group of friends. How would you describe the racial composition of your group of friends?" (Syed & Juan, 2012). Participants rated the item on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = *All different from yours* to 5 = *All the same as yours*).

Relationship Quality. Participants completed the 9-item Positive Relations with Others scale (PRO; Ryff, 1989; Ryff & Keys, 1995). Items reflect the respondent's positive interactions with others, such as, "I feel I get a lot out of my friendships." Participants rated items on a 6-point Likert-type scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 6 = *strongly agree*). Ryff (1989) reported an internal consistency estimate of .91 and evidence of construct validity. However, Ryff, Keyes, and Hughes (2002) reported a

lower internal consistency estimate of .58 with a sample of African Americans and Mexican Americans. The Cronbach's alpha for the current study was .84.

Sociopolitical Activism. Participants completed two scales that assessed participation in sociopolitical involvement. Specifically, participants completed the 12-item Actual Sociopolitical Activism subscale (ACT-A) of the Activity Scale (Kerpelman, 1969). ACT-A measured three dimensions of activism: a) physical participation (“How many times in the past three years have you organized a group to support or protest a political or social issue?”); b) communication activities (“How many times in the past three years have you engaged in an extended argument with anyone over a political or social issue?”); and c) information-gathering activities (How many times during the average month do you attend meetings that have political or social issues as their focus?”. Participants also completed five items adapted from the Political and Social Advocacy subscale (PSA) of the Social Issues Advocacy Scale (SAIS; Nilsson, Marszalek, Linnemeyer, Bahner, & Misialek, 2011). Representative items include, “How many times in the past three years have you made financial contributions to a social or political cause or candidates?” Three items for the original 8-item subscale were excluded given considerable overlap with items on the ACT-A. All of the PSA items and most of the ACT-A were rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale that assessed frequency (i.e., 1 = 0 times, 2 = 1-2 times, 3 = 3-4 times, 4 = 5-6 times, and 5 = 7 or more times). Three ACT-A items (e.g., “How much time during the average day do you spend reading material, the bulk of which includes news, comment, or factual information on political or social issues?”) were rated on a scale that assessed duration (i.e., 1 = less than 15 min.; 2 = 15-30 min.; 3 = 30 min.-1 hr.; 4 = 1-2 hr.; 5 = more than 2 hr.). Nilsson and colleagues

(2011) reported a positive correlation and suggested a significant conceptual overlap between ACT-A and PSA ($r = .57$). Given this, a global score for sociopolitical activism was obtained by combining the two measures. The ACT-A has been found to possess adequate reliability and construct validity (Kerpelman, 1969; Nilsson et al., 2011; Wendler & Nilsson, 2009), so has the PSA (Nilsson et al., 2011). The Cronbach's alpha for the combined scale for the current study was .92.

Results

Hierarchical Cluster Analysis. Raw scores for each of the racial ideology factors were first standardized to minimize the bias associated with nonstandardized scores (Hair & Black, 2000). I then performed hierarchical cluster analysis using Ward's minimum-variance method and Squared Euclidean Distance (SED) as the dissimilarity measure to sort participants into relatively homogenous clusters based on similarity across the Black racial ideology factors (Ward, 1963). This clustering technique begins with each participant being considered a single unique cluster. With each subsequent step, similar clusters are joined until only one cluster remains, containing all cases. As such, this analysis does not require a priori expectations regarding the number of clusters that will be identified; instead, the structure of the data is used to derive plausible cluster solutions (Hair & Black, 2000). Whereas, k-means cluster analysis is operationalized to keep within-cluster dispersion minimal and so this procedure allows for cases to move across clusters to decrease the average within-cluster and to increase between cluster differences (Good et al., 2011).

An examination of the agglomeration coefficients and dendrogram from the hierarchical cluster analysis suggested that a four-cluster solution was optimal—that is,

the solution with smallest number of distinct clusters that are relatively homogenous in terms of the constructs of interest. In this context, the optimal cluster solution is theoretically the one followed by a significant change in agglomeration coefficients but very little change in the rest of the subsequent coefficients (Rowley, 2000). Given these preliminary findings, I extracted a range of two to eight cluster solutions from the hierarchical cluster analysis that was subsequently used for the k-means cluster analyses.

k-means Cluster Analyses. After the hierarchical cluster analysis, a series of k-means cluster analyses were conducted using cluster centers (i.e., cluster means) from the hierarchical solutions as starting values, with a range of two to eight clusters. Consistent with recommended procedures (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984; Good et al., 2011; Jones & Harris, 1999), the final cluster solution was determined based several criteria, specifically: 1) the relative variance in Black racial ideology scores explained by the solution; 2) cluster homogeneity, or the average similarity between cases in the cluster; and 3) the replicability of the solution. A summary of the “goodness of fit” indices for the cluster solutions is presented in Table 10. A series of multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) were conducted to determine percentage of variance explained (i.e., η^2) that corresponded to each cluster-solution, with cluster membership specified as the between-subjects factor variable and means on the ideology factors as dependent variables. To assess cluster homogeneity, I calculated the average squared deviation from the cluster mean for each participant in each cluster across the four ideology factors. The average cluster homogeneity was calculated for each cluster solution, with smaller values indicating more homogenous clusters and thus better solutions.

The stability of cluster solutions was indexed by the reliability of the cluster assignments across samples. Specifically, I created five random subsamples of the Study 2 data, each comprising approximately two thirds of the participants. The clustering procedures described above (i.e., hierarchical then k-means clustering) was conducted on each the random subsamples. The assignments of participants to clusters within the subsamples were cross-tabulated with their assignments in the full sample. Cluster solution reliability was estimated by the median kappa coefficient across the five subsamples for each of the seven estimated cluster solutions, with higher kappa coefficients indicating a more reliable solution.

Table 11

Summary of Descriptive Statistics for Estimated Cluster Solutions: Variance, Homogeneity, and Replicability with Study 2 Sample (N = 353)

Solution	Explained Variance (%)	Mean Cluster Homogeneity	Median Kappa
2 Clusters	28.5	.71	.99
3 Clusters	43.7	.55	.48
4 Clusters	50.0	.53	.33
5 Clusters	57.2	.46	.93
6 Clusters	61.5	.42	.27
7 Clusters	64.8	.37	.17
8 Clusters	67.0	.36	.10

Selecting Final Solution. I compared the result of the analyses described above to determine the optimal cluster solution. Per recommendations (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984; Good et al., 2011; Jones & Harris, 1999) strong solutions should explain a significant percentage of the variance in the ideology factors, be replicable within the random subsamples (kappa coefficient > .60), and have a higher cluster homogeneity index. These criteria taken together indicated that the five-cluster solution as optimal. The five-cluster solution was the only that achieved adequate reliability,

except for the two-cluster solution. The latter showed lowest explained variance and highest heterogeneity of all solutions.

Cluster Descriptives. Standardized and unstandardized means and standard deviations for the five-cluster solution are presented in Table 11 with the corresponding graphical representation presented in Figure 4. The largest cluster of the five-cluster solution was labeled *Low Race Salience* ($n = 118$, 33% of the sample). This cluster comprised individuals who, together, were below average in their endorsement of all four racial ideology variables. As a group, they reported the lowest endorsement of centrality beliefs, or the view of race as an important aspect of self-concept. The second largest cluster ($n = 88$, 25% of the sample) was labeled *Connected Conscious Inclusive* and was characterized by above average endorsement of race-based self-definition and beliefs that indicate recognition of racial injustice. However, they were below average in their endorsement of in-group preference, separatism, out-group mistrust, and Afrocentricity. The third largest cluster ($n = 59$, 17% of the sample), labeled *Low-Identity Afrocentric Ethnocentricity*, comprised of individuals who were significantly above average in their endorsement of ethnocentric and Afrocentric beliefs, but were mean level on critical consciousness beliefs and below average on centrality beliefs. As such, this cluster was characterized by high endorsement of in-group preference (i.e., Black people of African descent and Afrocentric values) and out-group mistrust (i.e., separatism, racial resentment vis-à-vis White people), but below average in the view of race as an important source of self-definition.

The fourth cluster, *High-Identity Conscious Ethnocentricity*, comprised 54 participants (15%) who, together, were above average on all of the ideology variables and

were particularly above average on Centrality, Ethnocentricity, and Critical Consciousness. As such, this cluster was high in endorsement of beliefs that highlight the importance of race in self-definition. This was configured with above average endorsement of racial in-group preference and out group mistrust, and above average endorsement of beliefs that emphasize racial inequalities. The smallest cluster, labeled *Power Evasive Non-Nationalism*, comprised 34 participants (10% of sample). This cluster was similar to the *Low Race Salience* cluster in that it was characterized by below average endorsement on all four racial ideology variables. However, this cluster differed from the *Race Salience* cluster due to the relatively very low cluster endorsement of critical consciousness beliefs by its members and higher centrality endorsement. Raw mean scores indicated that this group of participants somewhat disagreed with beliefs that emphasized social stratification based on race and the awareness or racial injustice (i.e., minimization of race-based power dynamics). This cluster was also notable for its relatively very low endorsement of ethnocentric and Afrocentric attitudes, suggesting a non-nationalist orientation.

Table 12
Standardized and Unstandardized means for Five-cluster Solution with Sample 2 (N = 353)

Ideology Factor	Low Race Saliency (n = 118)	Connected Conscious Inclusive (n = 88)	Low-Identity Afrocentric Ethnocentricity (n = 59)	High-Identity Conscious Ethnocentricity (n = 54)	Power Evasive Non-Nationalism (n = 34)
Ethnocentricity	-.44 (.63)	-.40 (.51)	1.15 (.79)	.99 (.64)	-.98 (.84)
Afrocentricity	-.28 (.66)	-.42 (.73)	1.47 (.66)	.21 (.79)	-.84 (.74)
Centrality	-.78 (.59)	.73 (.51)	-.56 (.71)	1.20 (.44)	-.12 (1.02)
Critical Consciousness	-.19 (.62)	.45 (.51)	.10 (.84)	.89 (.40)	-2.08 (.82)
	3.95 (.46)	4.42 (.38)	4.16 (.63)	4.75 (.30)	2.53 (.61)

Note. Standard deviations in parenthesis. 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*.
Unstandardized means – 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*.

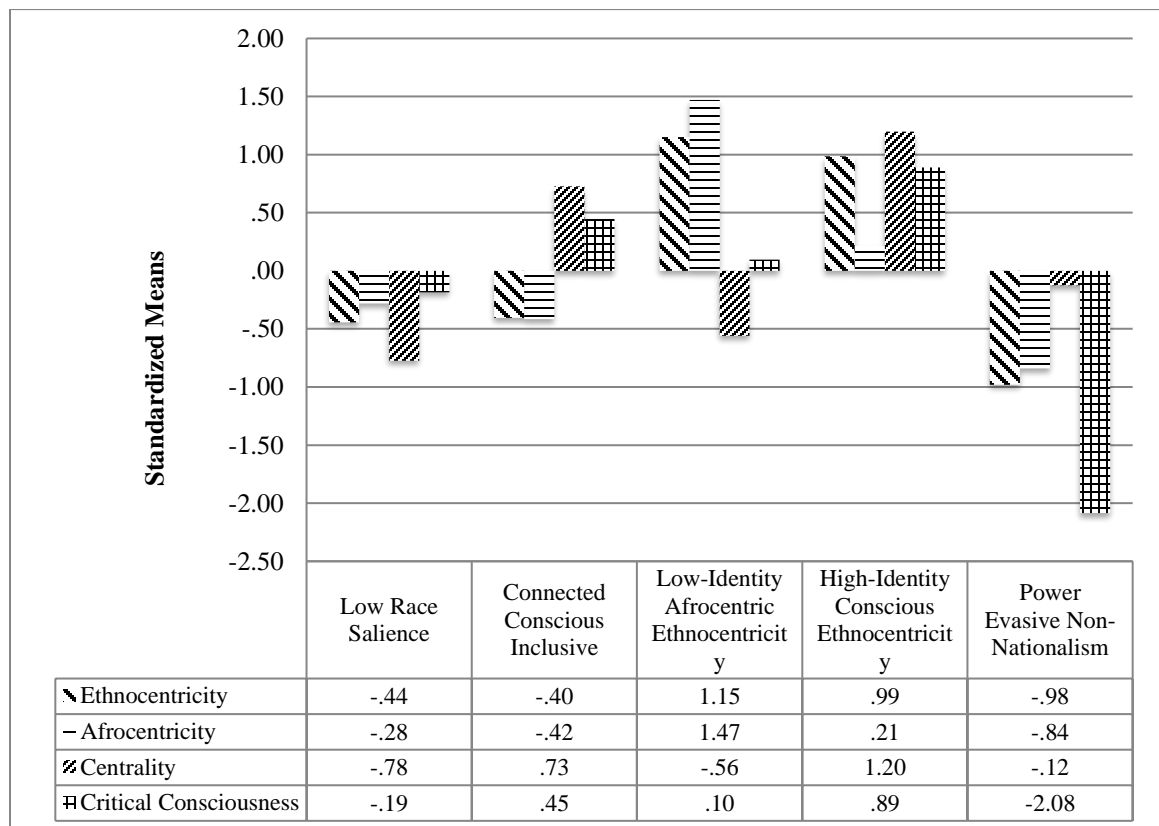


Figure 3. Standardized Means and Cluster Labels for Final 5 Cluster Solution with Sample 2 (N =

Structural Stability of Black Racial Ideology Configurations Across Samples.

I examined the extent to which the final cluster solution derived using the Study 2 sample was reproducible using the Study 1 sample. Hierarchical and *k*-means cluster analyses as described above were conducted with Study 1 sample. Given the preceding cluster analysis results, I began by estimating a five-cluster solution. The results provided strong evidence for a five-cluster solution for this sample as well. Specifically, in the Study 1 sample, a five-cluster solution explained 59% of the variance in racial ideology variables. The mean cluster homogeneity was .41 and the median kappa across five subsamples (each with a random 66% of the sample) was .94.

Upon review of the final five-cluster solution for Study 1, the clusters were reordered based on general conceptual similarities to the Study 2 clusters. Standardized and unstandardized means and standard deviations for the five-cluster solution with the Study 1 sample are presented in Table 13 with the corresponding graphical representation presented in Figure 5. A review of the cluster descriptives and plots suggested structural similarities between the two samples. So I followed with multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVA) to statistically investigate the relative reproducibility and stability of the original cluster solution. Of note, as Jones and Harris (1999) explained, *all participants* are classified in the *k*-means cluster analysis, irrespective of whether or not they are optimally suited to one of the estimated clusters (i.e., peripheral cluster members). As such, a perfect match between cluster solutions across the two samples would be unrealistic; therefore, the goal was to examine how well the original cluster solution was replicated with the Study 1 sample.

Alpha was set to .01 for all omnibus tests, for a more stringent criterion for statistical significance. The four ideology factors were specified as the dependent variables for the second test, while the study and cluster assignment were the independent variables. There was a significant difference between samples, $F(4, 902) = 16.15, p < .001$; Pillai's Trace = .07, partial $\eta^2 = .07$, on the combined ideology variables. The interaction between cluster assignment and study was also significant, $F(4, 902) = 18.46, p < .001$; Pillai's Trace = .30, partial $\eta^2 = .07$. However, a review a cluster means and comparative plots (see Figure 6) suggested configural similarities across samples. Most notable was the stability of *Connected Conscious Inclusive* cluster. Follow-up analyses indicated no significant group differences between the *Connected Conscious Inclusive* cluster and *Cluster 2* ($n = 142$; 25% of Study 1 sample) on the combined ideology variables, $F(4, 225) = 3.19, p = .014$, Pillai's Trace = .05, partial $\eta^2 = .05$.

There were significant differences at the solution level for the remaining pairs. There were significant differences between the *Low Race Salience* cluster and *Cluster 1* ($n = 84$; 15% of Study 1 sample) on the combined ideology variables, $F(4, 197) = 16.13, p < .001$; Pillai's Trace = .25; partial $\eta^2 = .25$. The results of Tukey's HSD follow-up analyses revealed that the two clusters were similar on Ethnocentricity, $F(1, 200) = .45, p = .50, \eta^2 = .002$ and Centrality, $F(1, 200) = 5.09, p = .02, \eta^2 = .02$, but were significantly different on Afrocentricity, $F(1, 200) = 53.46, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .21$, and Critical Consciousness $F(1, 200) = 11.25, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .05$.

There were significant differences between the *Low-Identity Afrocentric Ethnocentricity* cluster and *Cluster 3* ($n = 130$; 23%), $F(4, 184) = 61.04, p < .001$; Pillai's Trace = .57, partial $\eta^2 = .26$. Follow-up analyses revealed that the two clusters were

significantly different on Ethnocentricity, $F(1,184) = 110.47, p <.001$, partial $\eta^2 = .37$, Afrocentricity, $F(1,184) = 101.12, p <.001$, partial $\eta^2 = .35$, and Critical Consciousness, $F(1,184) = 21.30, p <.001$, partial $\eta^2 = .10$, but were similar on Centrality $F(1,184) = .19, p = .66$, partial $\eta^2 = .001$.

There were significant differences between the *High-Identity Conscious Ethnocentricity* cluster and *Cluster 4* ($n = 125; 22\%$), $F(4, 174) = 9.10, p <.001$; Pillai's Trace = .17, partial $\eta^2 = .17$. Follow-up tests revealed that the two clusters were similar on Ethnocentricity, $F(1, 177) = .26, p = .61$, partial $\eta^2 = .001$, and Critical Consciousness, $F(1, 177) = 1.94, p = .61$, partial $\eta^2 = .001$, but were significantly different on Afrocentricity, $F(1, 177) = 31.34, p <.001$, partial $\eta^2 = .15$, and Centrality, $F(1, 177) = 7.27, p <.01$, partial $\eta^2 = .04$.

Finally, there were significant differences between the *Power Evasive Non-Nationalism* cluster and *Cluster 5* ($n = 81; 14\%$) on the combined ideology variables, $F(4, 110) = 7.01, p <.001$; Pillai's Trace = .20 partial $\eta^2 = .20$. Follow-up analyses revealed that the two clusters were similar on Ethnocentricity, $F(1, 133) = 2.32, p = .13$, $\eta^2 = .02$, and Afrocentricity, $F(1, 133) = 2.32, p = .13, \eta^2 = .02$, but were significantly different on Centrality, $F(1, 133) = 18.35, p <.001$, partial $\eta^2 = .14$, and Critical Consciousness, $F(1, 133) = 8.20, p <.01$ partial $\eta^2 = .07$.

Table 13
Cluster Descriptives for Five-Cluster Solution with Sample 1 (N = 562)

Ideology Factor	Cluster 1 (n = 84)	Cluster 2 (n = 142)	Cluster 3 (n = 130)	Cluster 4 (n = 125)	Cluster 5 (n = 81)
Ethnocentricity	-1.14 (.56)	-.37 (.66)	1.05 (.77)	-.44 (.69)	.14(.63)
Afrocentricity	1.64 (.39)	2.19 (.47)	3.19 (.55)	2.14 (.49)	2.54 (.45)
Centrality	-.75 (.72)	-.53 (.60)	.99 (.80)	-.88 (.51)	.56 (.59)
Critical Consciousness	1.97 (.59)	2.14 (.50)	3.39 (.66)	1.85 (.42)	3.04 (.49)
Centrality	-.87 (.75)	.87 (.47)	.85 (.73)	-.97 (.59)	-.53 (.55)
Critical Consciousness	2.31 (.76)	4.08 (.48)	4.06 (.75)	2.21 (.60)	2.66 (.56)
Critical Consciousness	-1.62 (.75)	.39 (.56)	.84 (.44)	.14 (.55)	-.42 (.72)
	2.86 (.55)	4.34 (.41)	4.68 (.32)	4.16 (.40)	3.75 (.53)

Note. Standardized and unstandardized means and standard deviations (in parenthesis) are reported. Unstandardized means – 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*.

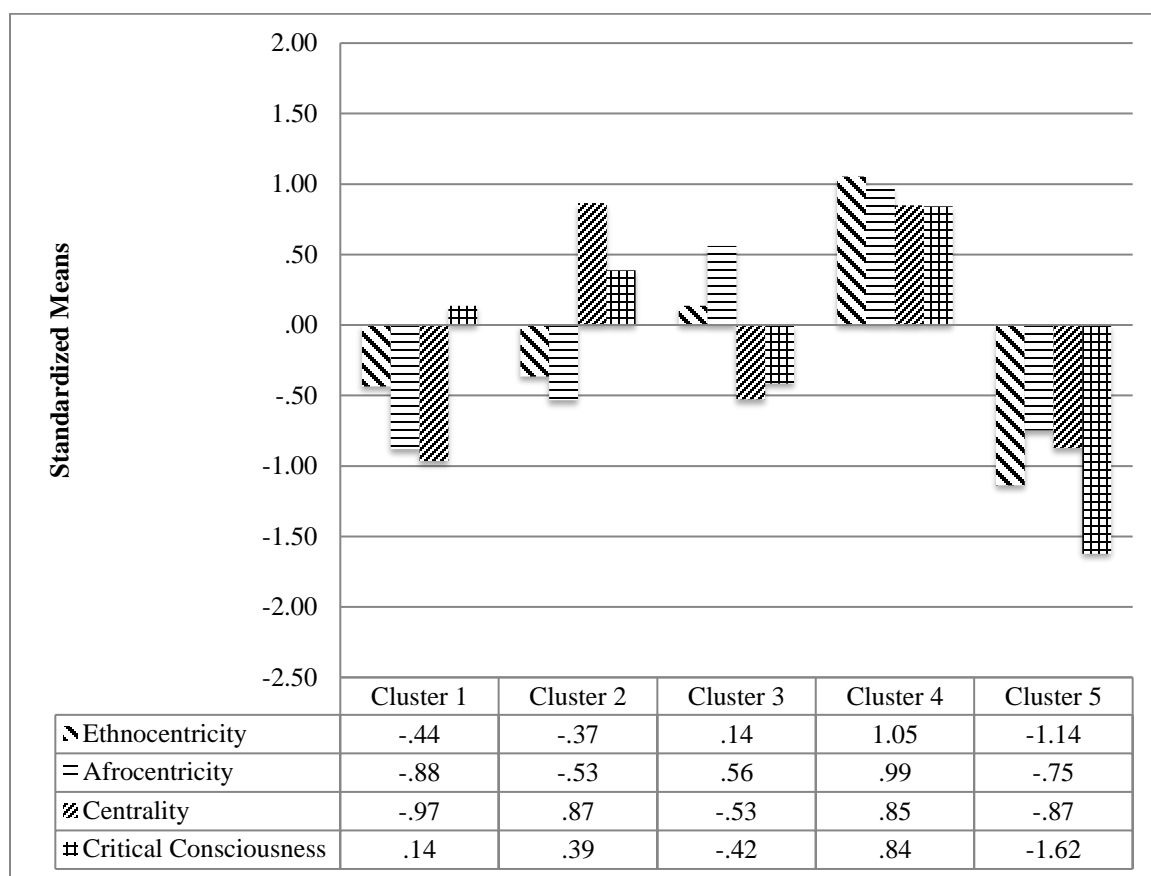
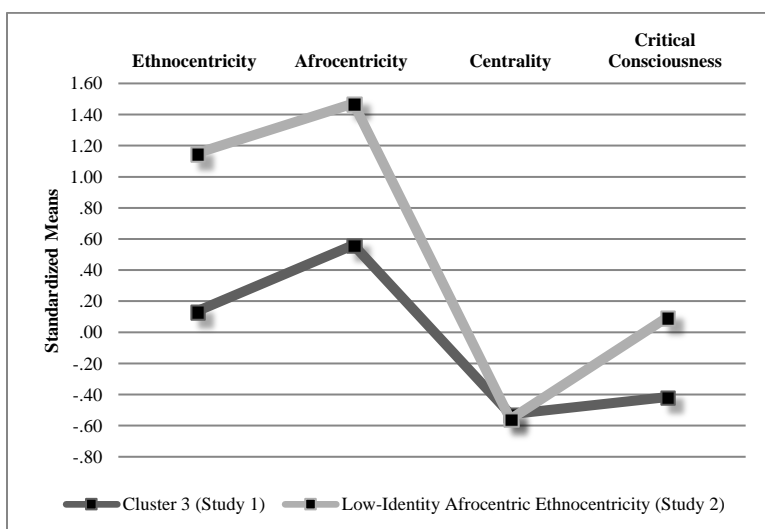
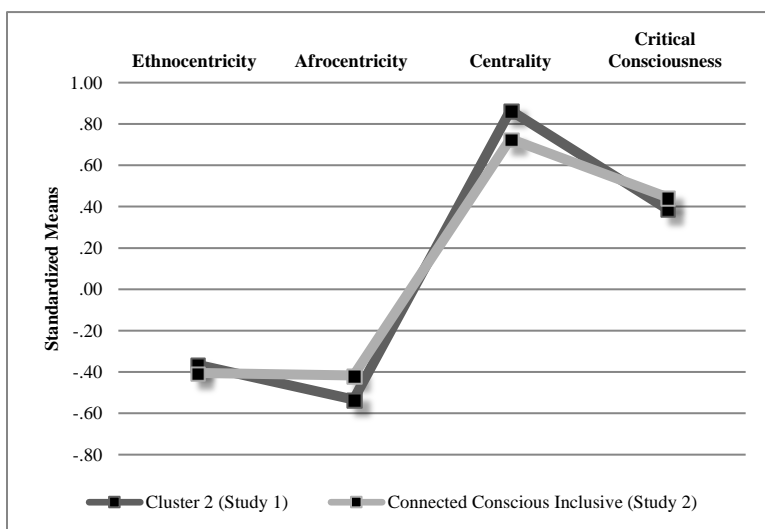
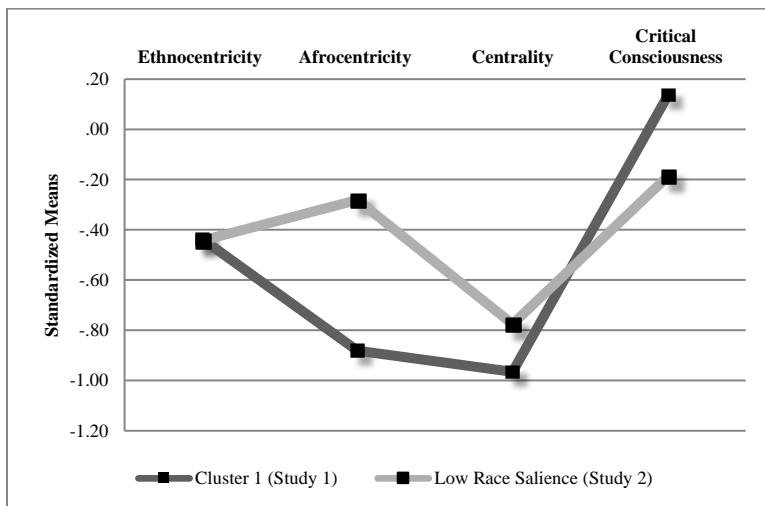


Figure 4. Standardized Means for Final Five-Cluster Solution with Sample 1 (N = 562)



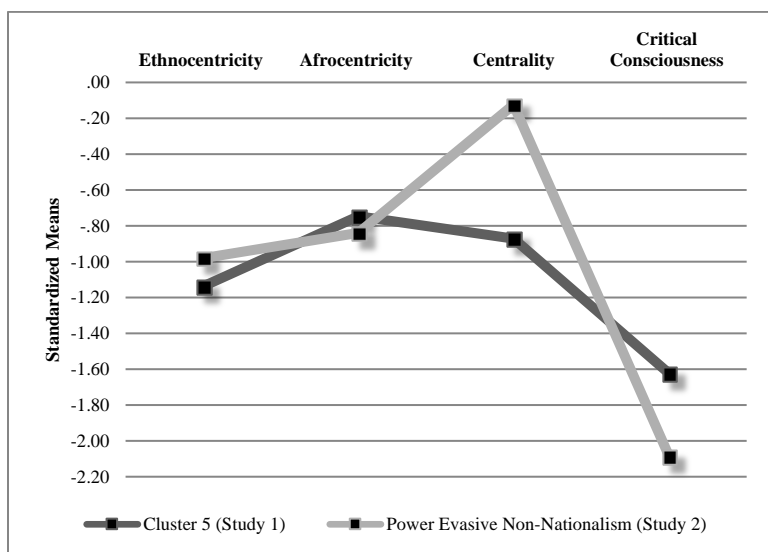
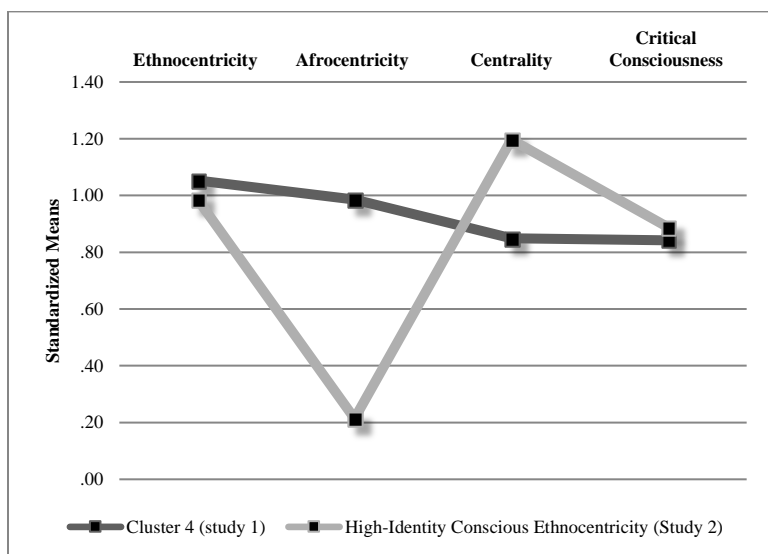


Figure 5. Comparison Plots of Final Cluster Standardized Means for Sample 2 ($N = 353$) versus Sample 1 ($N = 562$).

Cluster Group Variations by Demographic Variables. I conducted a series of tests to investigate the relationship between ideology cluster membership and demographic variables. Alpha was set to .01 for all omnibus tests.

I cross-tabulated cluster memberships by gender to assess how racial ideology may be differentially configured those who defined as men versus women. Of note, participants who identified as transgender and gender nonbinary were excluded from comparative analyses due to small sample size. There were significant differences in cluster membership by gender, $\chi^2(5) = 17.05, p < .01, v = .22$). I examined adjusted standardized residual (ASR) values to clarify nature and magnitude of these differences. Adjusted standardized residual values indicate how many standard deviations above or below the expected count, the observed count is for a demographic group in each cluster. In this case, it clarifies whether a certain gender of the sample is more likely to be assigned to a cluster than would be expected due to chance alone. ASRs are approximately normally distributed; therefore, an absolute value of 1.96 or greater indicates that such a deviation from expected count has 5% probability of occurring by chance given the null hypothesis (Durrheim & Tredoux, 2004). Results from this analysis indicated that women were significantly more likely to be in the *High-Identity Conscious Ethnocentricity* cluster (ASR = 3.6) than men (ASR = -3.6).

The five clusters were not significantly different based on immigration status, $\chi^2(5) = 1.54, p = .82, v = .07$.

Results indicated significant cluster differences by sexual orientation, $\chi^2(5) = 31.88, p < .01, v = .21$. Individuals who identified as sexual minorities were more likely

to be assigned to *High-Identity Conscious Ethnocentricity* cluster (ASR = 5.4) when compared to those who identified as heterosexual (ASR = -5.4). Individuals who identified as heterosexual were significantly more likely to be group into the *Low Race Saliency* cluster (ASR = 2.7) when compared to those who identified as sexual minorities (ASR = -2.7).

The average age of participants significantly differed across clusters, $F(4, 343) = 11.16, p < .001$; partial $\eta^2 = .12$. Tukey's HSD post-hoc analyses revealed the *Low Race Saliency* cluster ($M = 43.91, SD = 15.47$) comprised significantly older participants when compared to the *Connected Conscious Inclusive* ($M = 34.41, SD = 13.69; p < .01, d = .65$), *Low-Identity Afrocentric Ethnocentricity* ($M = 35.53, SD = 11.80; p < .01, d = .61$), and *High-Identity Conscious Ethnocentricity* ($M = 30.80, SD = 11.70; p < .01, d = .96$) clusters. There were no significant mean age differences between the *Power Evasive Non-Nationalism* cluster ($M = 36.6; SD = 12.04$) and the other clusters.

There were significant clusters differences by political orientation, $\chi^2(5) = 60.63, p < .001, \nu = .45$. An orientation composite was created to include those who identified as "conservative" and "very conservative" to optimize cell size. Individuals who identified as conservative were more likely to be assigned to the *Low-Identity Afrocentric Ethnocentricity* (ASR = 3.3) and *Power Evasive Non-Nationalism* (ASR = 3.2) clusters, but significantly less likely to be assigned to the *Connected Conscious Inclusive* (ASR = -3.2) cluster. Those who identified as "moderate" were more likely to be assigned to the *Low Race Saliency* (ASR = 3.1) cluster. Those who identified as "liberal" were evenly distributed across clusters. Whereas, there who identified as "very liberal" were more likely to be assigned to the *High-Identity Conscious Ethnocentricity* (ASR = 3.2) and

Connected Conscious Inclusive (ASR = 3.1) clusters, but were significantly less likely to be assigned to *Low Race Salience* cluster (ASR = -2.8).

Regarding education level, composite groups were created to optimize cell sample size. Specifically, a “High School” composite was created to include those who reported some “High School” or “High School Diploma,” and a “Postgraduate” composite was created to include those who reported a master’s degree or higher. There were significant cluster group differences as a function of education attainment, $\chi^2(5) = 79.91$, $p < .001$, $v = .24$. Those with a high school level education were more likely to be assigned to *Low-Identity Afrocentric Ethnocentricity* (ASR = 4.8), but significantly less likely to be assigned to the *Connected Conscious Inclusive* (ASR = -3.5), and *High-Identity Conscious Ethnocentricity* (ASR = -2.8) clusters. Individuals reporting “Some College” (ASR = 3.1) and “Associates Degree” (ASR = 2.6) were more likely assigned to the *Low Race Salience* cluster. There were no significant cluster differences for those reporting bachelor’s degrees. Individuals with postgraduate degrees were more likely to be assigned to *Connected Conscious Inclusive* (ASR = 4.8) and *High-Identity Conscious Ethnocentricity* (ASR = 2.9) clusters, but significantly less likely to be assigned to the *Low Race Salience* (ASR = -4.6) cluster.

Cluster Membership and Psychosocial Outcomes

Means, standard deviations and correlations for the psychosocial variables are presented in Table 13 and bivariate correlations between ideology factors and outcomes are presented in Table 14. The second goal of Study 3 was to examine the links between identified ideology configurations and psychosocial outcomes. In particular, I compared the five ideology groups on indices of psychological distress and well-being, help-

seeking attitudes, racial homophily, relationship quality, and socio-political activism (see Table 15). Alpha was set to .01 for all omnibus tests.

Psychological Distress. There were significant cluster group differences on measures of depressive symptoms, $F(4, 342) = 5.04, p < .001$; partial $\eta^2 = .06$, anxiety symptoms, $F(4, 342) = 7.80, p < .001$; partial $\eta^2 = .08$, and stress symptoms, $F(4, 342) = 6.90, p < .001$; partial $\eta^2 = .07$. Tukey's post-hoc analyses indicated that members of the *Low-Identity Afrocentric Ethnocentricity* cluster reported higher levels of depressive symptoms ($M = 1.96, SD = 1.05$) than those in the *Low Race Salience* cluster ($M = 1.44, SD = .83$), $p < .01, d = .55$. There were no significant group differences in depressive symptoms based on group membership for the *Connected Conscious Inclusive* ($M = 1.47, SD = .74$), *High-Identity Conscious Ethnocentricity* ($M = 1.93, SD = 1.29$), and *Power Evasive Non-Nationalism* ($M = 1.59, SD = .92$) clusters. Similar patterns were found in reported anxiety symptoms, members of the *Low-Identity Afrocentric Ethnocentricity* cluster reported significantly higher levels of anxiety ($M = 2.01, SD = 1.03$) than those in the *Low Race Salience* ($M = 1.41, SD = .70; p < .01, d = .50$) and *Connected Conscious Inclusive* ($M = 1.36, SD = .49; p < .01, d = .51$) clusters. Those in the *Low Race Salience* ($M = 1.60, SD = .87$;) cluster reported significantly lower levels of stress compared to those who were members of the *Low-Identity Afrocentric Ethnocentricity* ($M = 2.23, SD = 1.12; p < .01, d = .73$) and *High-Identity Conscious Ethnocentricity* ($M = 2.17, SD = 1.13; p < .01, d = .56$) clusters.

Satisfaction with Life. Univariate analysis of variance indicated no differences in reported satisfaction with life by cluster group membership, $F(4, 343) = 1.49, p = .20$; partial $\eta^2 = .02$).

Racial Homophily. There were no significant cluster group differences in the reported racial homophily, $F(4, 344) = 2.77, p = .03$; partial $\eta^2 = .03$.

Positive Relationships. There were no significant cluster group differences in the reported positive interactions with others, $F(4, 343) = .55, p = .70$; partial $\eta^2 = .01$.

Sociopolitical Activism. There were significant cluster group differences on reported sociopolitical activism, $F(4, 343) = 15.66, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .15$. Tukey's HSD tests indicated that members of the *High-Identity Conscious Ethnocentricity* cluster ($M = 2.18, SD = .77$) reported significantly higher levels of activism than those assigned to *Low Race Salience* ($M = 1.43, SD = .52, p < .01; d = 1.14$), *Connected Conscious Inclusive* ($M = 1.76, SD = .70; p < .01, d = .57$), and *Power Evasive Non-Nationalism* ($M = 1.41, SD = .49; p < .01, d = 1.19$) cluster. In contrast, in addition to reporting significantly lower activism when compared the *High-Identity Conscious Ethnocentricity* cluster, those assigned to the *Low Race Salience* cluster reported significantly lower levels of activism when compared to members of the *Low-Identity Afrocentric Ethnocentricity* ($M = 1.93, SD = .82; p < .01, d = .79$) and *Connected Conscious Inclusive* ($p < .01, d = .54$) clusters. In addition to reporting higher levels of activism than the *Low Race Salience Cluster*, members of the *Low-Identity Afrocentric Ethnocentricity* cluster reported higher levels of sociopolitical activism when compared to the *Power Evasive Non-Nationalism* cluster ($p < .01, d = .77$).

Table 14
Means, standard deviations, and Intercorrelations among Psychosocial Outcomes

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Depressive Symptoms	1.63	.96	-					
2. Anxiety Symptoms	1.56	.81	.75*	-				
3. Stress Symptoms	1.82	.98	.83*	.82*	-			
4. Satisfaction with Life	4.25	1.39	-.30*	-.11	-.21*	-		
5. Racial Homophily	3.02	1.05	-.06	-.04	-.08	-.001	-	
6. Positive Relationships	3.85	.74	-.20*	-.10	-.15*	.32*	-.04	-
7. Sociopolitical Activism	1.71	.72	.25*	.25*	.28*	.04	.04	.06

Note. * $p < .01$

Depression, Anxiety, and Stress: 1 did not apply to me at all, 4 applied to me very much, or more of the time.

Satisfaction with life: 1 Strongly disagree, 5 Strongly agree.

Racial Homophily: 1 All different from yours, 5 All the same as yours

Positive Relationships: 1 Strongly disagree, 6 Strongly agree

Sociopolitical Activism: 1 Zero times, 5 Seven or more times; 1 Less than 15 minutes, 5 More than 2 hour

Table 15
Bivariate Correlations between Ideology Factors and Psychosocial Outcomes

	Ethnocentricity	Afrocentricity	Centrality	Critical Consciousness
Depression Symptoms	.31*	.20*	.05	.01
Anxiety Symptoms	.35*	.25*	.02	-.05
Stress Symptoms	.35*	.24*	.11	.08
Satisfaction with Life	-.03	-.07	-.10	-.07
Racial Homophily	.16*	.02	.11	.04
Positive Relationships	-.14	-.06	-.05	.13
Sociopolitical Activism	.31*	.16*	.20*	.23*

Note. * $p < .01$

Table 15
Links between Cluster Membership and Psychosocial Outcomes

Ideology Factor	Low Race Salience	Connected Conscious Inclusive	Low-Identity Afrocentric Ethnocentricity	High-Identity Conscious Ethnocentricity	Power Evasive Non- Nationalism	Total Sample	<i>df</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	η^2
Depression	1.44 (.83)	1.47 (.74)	1.96 (1.05)	1.93 (1.29)	1.59 (.92)	1.63 (.96)	4, 342	5.04	<.001	.06
Anxiety	1.41 (.70)	1.36 (.49)	2.01 (1.03)	1.72 (.88)	1.52 (.99)	1.56 (.81)	4, 342	7.80	<.001	.08
Stress	1.60 (.87)	1.70 (.75)	2.23 (1.12)	2.17 (1.13)	1.64 (1.01)	1.82 (.98)	4, 342	6.90	<.001	.07
Satisfaction with Life	4.16 (1.38)	4.28 (1.27)	4.55 (1.19)	3.97 (1.68)	4.42 (1.52)	4.25 (1.39)	4, 343	1.49	.20	.02
Racial Homophily	3.02 (.99)	3.02 (1.04)	2.92 (1.16)	3.37 (1.00)	2.65 (1.07)	3.02 (1.05)	4, 344	2.77	.03	.04
Positive Relationships	3.84 (.75)	3.95 (.61)	3.79 (.85)	3.80 (.66)	3.82 (.91)	3.85 (.74)	4, 343	.55	.70	.01
Sociopolitical Activism	1.43 (.52)	1.76 (.70)	1.93 (.82)	2.18 (.77)	1.41 (.49)	1.71 (.72)	4, 343	15.66	<.001	.15

Note.

Depressive, Anxiety, and Stress Symptoms: *1 did not apply to me at all, 4 applied to me very much, or more of the time.*

Satisfaction with Life: *1 Strongly disagree, 5 Strongly agree.*

Racial Homophily: *1 All different from yours, 5 All the same as yours*

Positive Relationships: *1 Strongly disagree, 6 Strongly agree*

Sociopolitical Activism: *1 Zero times, 5 Seven or more times; 1 Less than 15 minutes, 5 More than 2 hours*

CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION

The goal of the current research was to advance the literature on Black racial identity by integrating variable-centered and person-centered analytic approaches to better understand the attitudinal and ideological domain of racial identity. This study also furthers the understanding of racial identity content. Recent scholars have highlighted a general bias in the identity literature that favors of identity process over content (Galliher, Mclean, & Syed, 2017). Process orientated inquiries focus more on “*how*” people develop their identities, whereas content focuses on “*what*” those identities look like. Within this general context, a review of the literature suggests that researchers of Black racial identity have been notable stewards of identity content, with numerous conceptual models and empirical studies on the attitudinal and ideological domains of racial identity among African Americans. These racial ideological views are theorized to be prescriptive, functioning as value orientations and meaning-making systems with implications for various domains of functioning (Sellers et al., 1997). Moreover, there are suggestions in the literature that racial identity should be conceptualized as attitudinal rather than developmental (Cross & Vandiver, 2001; Gardner-Kitt & Worrell, 2007; Worrell et al., 2011). However, as argued in the introduction, this work, when considered in tandem with the literature on intergroup ideology, has been somewhat fragmented and limited by conceptual redundancies and psychometric inconsistencies.

In the present study, I sought to offer additional continuity to the literature on racial ideology by examining the psychometric properties of items derived from 12 widely used measures that tap into the thoughts, meanings, and beliefs people associated with their racial group. To do so, I first employed several variable-centered analytic

techniques (i.e., EFA, CFA, and ESEM) to identify the core dimensions that underlie the relationships between scores on items derived from available measures of racial ideology in two samples of African American adults. Then, I used a person-centered approach (i.e., cluster analysis) to examine how these underlying latent factors may be differentially configured at the individual level to identify subgroups of relatively homogeneous Black racial ideology profiles. The final goal of the present study was to examine whether these subgroups differed on various psychosocial variables. Below, I review the results vis-à-vis these three research aims and connect the findings from this investigation to relevant literature. I then discuss the limitations of the study and its implications for research and practice and end with suggestions for future research.

The Structure of Black Racial Ideology

Following the EFA, five interpretable factors were found: Ethnocentricity, Afrocentricity, Centrality, Critical Consciousness, and Individuality. The factors showed adequate internal consistency estimates for all but the Individuality Factor. The Individuality factor was retained for future analysis, as Helms and colleagues (2006) have cautioned against the pitfall of assuming that reliability is a characteristic of the scale rather than the sample. The design of the current study allowed for comparing reliability coefficients across studies. The structural validity of the factors extracted in Study 1 was further examined in Study 2, using competing-model strategy. The only two models that fit the data well were the two five-factor ESEM models (i.e., cross-loadings for the five factors were freely estimated), in the ESEM model with specified correlated uniqueness showing best fit when compared to all other models.

A review of the factor loadings for final ESEM with CUs model showed that the

Individuality factor continued to be problematic, with only one item with a salient factor loading, and thus this factor was discarded. Nonetheless, the findings point to the value of departing from the overly restrictive assumption of ICM-CFA model that items should only load on their corresponding factors, but not other conceptually related ones. Indeed, a review of the ESEM results showed several cross-loadings that would have been suppressed in the other non-ESEM models and in so doing, distorting the model. The final four factors were clearly defined, and all yielded adequate reliability estimates.

The largest factor following the ESEM was Ethnocentricity, which included items from nine items from five different scales or subscales (BES-Pro Black, BES-Anti White, ASCS, ADBN-Separatist Nationalism, and CRIS-Immersion–Emersion Anti-White). When taken together, the items from these various measures and their conceptual underpinnings seem to converge on the belief in the uniqueness of African American culture and experiences, particularly concerning racism and navigating intergroup relations. In addition to the pro-Black orientation, this factor was also characterized by negative perceptions of the dominant out-group. Scholars have suggested links between beliefs that emphasize in-group connections based on the experience of racial oppression and heightened sensitivity to racism, which may, in turn, be associated with higher in-group interdependence and preference as well as dominant out-group resentment (Hunter and Joseph, 2009; Sellers et al., 1998). A review of sample means showed that this ideology was endorsed at the lowest level when compared with the other ideology factors. This is consistent with past research using multidimensional measures of Black identity that have included factors that capture nationalistic and anti-White attitudes; these studies consistently show lower endorsement of these sentiments when compared

with other race-related ideological views (e.g., Chang & Ritter, 1976; Cokley & Helm, 2001; Hunter & Joseph, 2010; Vandiver et al., 2002; Worrell et al., 2011; Worrell & Watson, 2008).

The second factor, Afrocentricity, was the most stable factor with all items from Study 1 loading onto the factor in Study 2. The factor included four items from the CRIS Afrocentricity subscale and one item from the ASCS. All of these items emphasize the shared African ancestry and value of adopting Afrocentric ways of life. Of note, four of the five items included the root word “Afrocentric,” such that it may be the case that wording similarities drive some of the observed results. Furthermore, it may be naïve to assume that participants are defining Afrocentricity in the same ways. These potential limitations notwithstanding, the finding of the current study aligns with past studies that have examined the construct validity of CRIS scores. For example, Simmons et al. (2008) reported a moderate positive correlation ($r > .50$) between Afrocentricity scores on the CRIS and scores on the ASCS. The positive relationship between Afrocentricity and Ethnocentricity observed in Study 1 and 2 ($r > .50$) also mirror studies that have demonstrated the strong positive associations between Afrocentricity scores on the CRIS and other constructs that tap into the Black ethnocentric beliefs, such as Anti-White scores on the CRIS and Nationalist scores on the MIBI (Simmons et al., 2008; Vandiver et al., 2002). Cross and Vandiver (2001) suggested links between pro-Black views that emphasize African descent and views that reject Whiteness and mainstream culture. They described Afrocentricity as in-group focused identity. As such, this view may be conventionally concomitant with the views that posit separatism, self-determination, and dominant out-group rejection.

The Centrality factor focused on the extent to which participants believe their race is an important aspect of identity. This factor included two items derived from MIBI's Centrality subscale both of which were written to be reverse coded. The remaining items were re-coded following factor analysis, including two Assimilation items from the CRIS, one COBRAS item, and an item from Ryan et al.'s (2007) colorblindness scale. When taken together, these items seem to reside in the conceptual space initially theorized by Sellers and colleagues (1998): the normative importance of race to an individual across situations. In thinking about the reverse coded items, it is reasonable that items designed to capture the trans-situational importance of race to personal identity would be structurally grouped with ideologies that posit the inverse. As such, structural links between Centrality and attitudes that de-emphasize in the importance of race is apparent. Indeed, past empirical work has shown significant negative associations between Centrality and Assimilation scores on the MIBI (Cokley & Helm, 2001; Sellers et al., 1997) as well as positive theoretical and empirical links between colorblind and assimilation ideological views (Neville et al., 2000; Rosenthal & Levy, 2010, 2012).

The final factor, Critical Consciousness, included two items from the COBRAS, one item from each of the MIBI Nationalist and Centrality subscales, and one item from the BES-Anti White. Together, these items tap into the critical understanding of the social forces and dynamics of oppression that shape and connect the experiences of African Americans. The concept of Critical Consciousness was first proposed by Paulo Freire (1973) as a pedagogical method to help Brazilian peasants learn, emphasizing the value of literacy and sociopolitical awareness—to “read the word” and “read the world” (Diemer, Rapa, Park, & Perry, 2017, p. 462). Critical consciousness is posited to be core

to the liberation of individuals who are socially marginalized, suggesting that the capacity for the marginalized to think critically about social inequalities antecedes actions to redress injustice (Watts & Flanagan, 2007). Several authors have linked critical consciousness to the present-day colloquial notion of “being woke,” which is conceptualized as the perceived awareness of issues concerning social and racial injustice (Allen & Leach, 201; Ashlee, Zamora, & Karikari, 2017). There were significant positive associations between scores on Critical Consciousness and scores on the other three factors. This suggests that an awareness of inequitable social conditions by race may predict the saliency of race as it relates to values, heritage, intergroup relations, and personal identity.

It was noteworthy that the five-factor model with a weak Individuality factor outperformed the four-factor without the individuality factor. While the current study does not provide substantial evidence for Individuality as a stable factor, available research suggests beliefs that emphasize self-reliance and self-sufficiency may serve as one of the relevant indices of racial ideology. For example, meta-analytic findings show that African Americans consistently report similar or higher levels of individualistic values when compared with other racial groups (Coon & Kimmelmeier, 2001; Oyserman, Coon, & Kimmelmeier, 2002). Moreover, scholars posited the potential importance of individualism beliefs in shaping how African Americans experience race and racism (Hunter, 2008; Hunter & Joseph, 2010). However, the nature of this relationship has yet to be settled in the literature.

Some suggest individualistic beliefs do not fit well with the interdependence and interconnectedness associated with the West African roots of African Americans

(Boykin, Jagers, & Ellison, 1997; Kambon, 1992; Gregory & Harper, 2001; Phillips, 1990). Whereas, others have argued that the legacy of slavery and segregation and the experience of racism may engender attitudes of self-preservation and distance from the devalued group (Jones, 1997; Jones, 2003). Conversely, African Americans may be automatically made aware of their “otherness” in the United States context. This demarcation may mean African Americans may not be able to fully experience a sense of independence from their group, even if they wanted to (Komarraju & Cokley, 2008; Sampson, 2000). This dialectic tension regarding how historical and contemporary experience of discrimination may explain cultural worldviews is reflected in the mounting empirical evidence that shows the co-occurrence of high endorsement of interdependence and collectivism among African American (e.g., Gushue & Constantine, 2003; Hunter, 2008; Hunter & Joseph, 2010).

In their organizing framework for conceptualizing collective identity, Ashmore and colleagues (2004) suggested that “there might be some limited set of themes that define a group’s ideology” (p. 96). When taken together, the results from the EFA, CFA, and ESEM analyses provided preliminary empirical support for this proposal. Indeed, there was evidence that Black racial ideology can be understood based on dimensions related to intra- and inter-group relations and affirmation, connections to African heritage and values, the importance of race to personal identity, and critical awareness of race-based social disadvantage and inequality.

Racial Ideology Profiles

The next research aim focused on how the four Black racial ideology factors varyingly coalesce at the individual level. To this end, I used cluster analysis to identify

the diverse ways these domains of racial ideology may be organized and their differential associations with psychosocial outcomes. Unlike the variable-centered analyses discussed in the previous section (i.e., the grouping of ideology items into factors), person-centered approaches like cluster analysis group people, based on the similarity of score configurations on variables of interest. Overall, there was evidence for a variety of ideology profiles, which varied on the relative endorsement of the different ideology variables. There was also some evidence for the stability of some these configurations across independent samples. Furthermore, there were significant cluster group differences by demographics and by measures of psychological distress and sociopolitical activism.

The convergence of evidence, based on explained variance, cluster homogeneity, and replicability of cluster assignment across random subsamples, indicated five-cluster solutions were optimal for Study 1 and Study 2 data. For the main cluster analysis, the largest cluster was *Low Race Salience*. This suggested that, in general, many participants of this sample reported relatively low levels of the four ideological views. This contrasts the results found using Study 1 data, wherein the thematic equivalent (i.e., Cluster 1) was one of the smallest clusters of that sample. However, these two solutions were notably statistically similar on Ethnocentricity and Centrality scores, adding to the body of work suggesting that these attitudes may occur in concert. Worrell et al. (2006) used cluster analysis to examine racial identity profiles based on scores of the CRIS and found an “Assimilation” cluster that was similarly characterized by well above average scores on Assimilation (the conceptual opposite of Centrality) and below average anti-White and Afrocentric scores. Cluster 1 and Low Race Salience were similarly configured as it concerned below average Centrality, Ethnocentricity, and Afrocentricity scores. But as

noted previously, Cluster 1 was one of the smallest clusters identified in Study 1 sample. The indication that a substantial portion of the Study 2 sample viewed race of low or negative salience may be idiosyncratic to the sample.

Nigrescence theory (Cross, 1978; Cross, 1991; Cross & Vandiver, 2001) provides a helpful framework within which to understand the largest and smaller clusters from the primary cluster analysis. The Low Race Salience and Power Evasive Non-Nationalism clusters seem to map onto the authors' conceptualization of pre-encounter attitudes, characterized by the alignment with dominant cultural values that de-emphasize the importance of race. Cross (1978) theorized the importance of the "racial epiphany" that leads people from the pre-encounter stage to encounter, such as discriminatory interactions or racial socialization experiences that cause cognitive dissonance and prompts a re-evaluation of an individual's conceptions of race. While the transformative assertions cannot be fleshed out in the current investigation, both clusters are characterized by below average endorsement on all four ideology variables, suggesting that members of both clusters may hold more limited salience for race when compared to the other groups.

However, Power Evasive Non-Nationalism cluster was notably different from Low Race Salience in that members of Power Evasive Non-Nationalism cluster reported high Centrality and much lower Critical Consciousness. As such, this cluster can be differentiated from the more assimilative Low Race Salience cluster in that it seems that members of Power Evasive Non-Nationalism cluster were more likely to report that race is an important aspect of their personal identity. At the same time, they were also less likely to endorse Pro-Black and Anti-White sentiments and more likely to minimize

social oppression based on race when compared to Low Race Salience cluster. Therefore, the salience of race might not necessarily define this cluster as much as the concept of false consciousness, or the failure to perceive injustice and disadvantage based on racial minority status. Neville et al. (2005) described false consciousness as “an internalized, culturally sanctioned belief that encourages individuals in a stratified society to adopt the viewpoint of those in power” (p. 31). False consciousness developed as a descriptive construct for when individuals from minority groups fail to perceive group-based injustice and disadvantage. Psychologists and sociologists have contended that the dominant racial ideology in contemporary America is color-blind racial ideology, characterized by beliefs and orientations that minimize or deny the significance of race and racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Ebert, 2004; Neville et al., 2000, 2013). Color-blind racial ideology is further posited to be underpinned by the evasion of race-based power dynamics in society, which provides a framework to ignore, and therefore, perpetuate racism.

Some have problematized the ways the originally Marxist notion of false consciousness has been appropriated within the psychological literature. Augoustinos (1999) critiqued the prevailing conceptualization of false consciousness as a psychological deficit in a “less enlightened” person’s head, which deviates from how the concept was originally proposed within the Marxist framework. Augoustinos (1999) reminded scholars not to lose sight of how false consciousness may be more reflective of the realities of a postmodern capitalist society than the cognitive limitations of individuals. This criticism has led to the usage of psychological false consciousness (PFC) as a more descriptive term for individual-level orientations while recognizing that

individual-level ideology may be impacted by larger societal racial ideologies (Neville et al., 2005). Nevertheless, PFC has been consistently associated with endorsement of ideologies and beliefs systems that support the status quo and blame social hierarchies on the shortcoming of the individual rather than society (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004; Jost & Hunyady, 2002).

In comparing Power Evasive Non-Nationalism cluster to its Study 1 counterpart, Cluster 5 was similarly characterized by well below average scores on all four ideology factors and particularly low endorsement of Critical Consciousness. The two clusters were statistically similar on Ethnocentricity and Afrocentricity; however, the Power Evasive Non-Nationalism cluster (Study 2) reported significantly higher Centrality and lower Critical Consciousness. These results suggest that low Ethnocentric and Afrocentricity may be a relatively stable configuration of this profile, but perhaps this orientation can exist with somewhat varying levels of Black self-identification and endorsement of colorblindness. Furthermore, contrary to what might be intuitively assumed, the relationship between Centrality and Critical Consciousness may not be linear.

The Low-Identity Afrocentric Ethnocentricity and High-Identity Conscious Ethnocentricity represent an interesting foil to the two clusters discussed thus far. Both clusters were characterized by well above average endorsement of Ethnocentricity, suggesting a Pro-Blackness, separatism, and dominant out-group resentment. Nigrescence theory (Cross, 1978; Cross, 1991; Cross & Vandiver, 2001) again offers a helpful theoretical framework within which to situate these findings. Cross (1991) suggested immersion-emersion followed the racial epiphany and the pre-encounter stage

of Black racial identity development. Cross (1991) described immersion-emersion as “the most sensational aspect of Black identity development” (p. 201). Immersion-emersion experience is broadly characterized by strong pro-Black and strong anti-White attitudes. Individuals are purported to immerse themselves in “everything Black,” a process that is accompanied by the denigration of Whiteness and Eurocentricity. Although the disinclination of African Americans to outwardly express disdain for White Americans given today’s social desirability has been noted (Vandiver et al., 2001), current evidence and past research suggest that out-group orientation is an important aspect of racial identity and Black racial identity may be based in part on the appraisal of Whiteness. Vandiver and colleagues (2001) emphasized the importance of differentiating between anti-Whiteness based stereotypes and anti-Whiteness in response to racism and structural oppression. The latter is thought to emerge as an understandable and perhaps even rational response to a legacy of racial injustice (bell hooks, 1992; Vandiver et al., 2001).

The two clusters were notably different on Centrality and Critical Consciousness. The Low-Identity Afrocentric Ethnocentricity was characterized by a noticeably higher endorsement of Afrocentricity and lower endorsement of Centrality and Critical Consciousness when compared High-Identity Conscious Ethnocentricity. The Low-Identity Afrocentric Ethnocentricity cluster suggested individuals who are strongly Pro-Black in all forms (i.e., Ethnocentricity and Afrocentricity). The low Centrality seems to indicate that this cluster captures a nationalist identity that is other-focused, and in concert with High Afrocentricity and Ethnocentricity, suggests an other-focused, global/diasporic nationalist identity. Moreover, members of the High-Identity Conscious Ethnocentricity cluster were significantly younger and reported higher levels of Critical

Consciousness. It may be the case that younger people in immersion are more hungrily consuming information about the Black experience, connecting them to the history of African Americans in the United States and their experience of oppression and less to their African roots. This context also provides insights into the higher levels of Centrality reported by members of the High-Identity Conscious Ethnocentricity. Indeed, several of the Centrality items evoked the American context; as such, a higher critical understanding of African American marginalization may make this more specific experience (i.e., vs. diasporic Blackness) more salient to self.

The Low-Identity Afrocentric Ethnocentricity was fairly configurally similar to Cluster 3. They were statistically similar on Centrality. Both Ethnocentricity and Afrocentricity endorsement were slightly or markedly above the mean. However, the Cluster 3 group reported significantly lower levels of Ethnocentricity, Afrocentricity, and Critical Consciousness. This might suggest that the awareness to the social standing of African Americans in the United States context may be associated with more nationalistic beliefs. Indeed, positive correlations were observed between Centrality and Ethnocentricity as well as Afrocentricity in both samples. Vandiver and colleagues (2001) suggested “a wellspring of rage, anxiety, and guilt” may be part of immersion-emersion as individuals become more informed about racial oppression in society. High-Identity Conscious Ethnocentricity and Cluster 4 were statistically similar on Ethnocentricity and Critical Consciousness, but Cluster 4 reported higher levels of Afrocentricity and lower levels Centrality, further highlighting the potential tensions between Centrality and Afrocentricity beliefs in immersion-emersion.

The final cluster to emerge from the main cluster analysis was the Connective Conscious Inclusive Cluster, which was characterized by above average endorsement of Centrality and Critical Consciousness but below average Ethnocentricity and Afrocentricity. This cluster was remarkably stable, with statistically similar means on all four ideology variables across the two samples. Moreover, this particular configuration of ideology variables was relatively common, representing the largest and second largest clusters in the Study 1 and 2 samples, respectively. This cluster seems to align with Cross's (1971) earlier conceptualization of internalization stages. While this domain of the Nigrescence model has been revisited several times since its original inception (see Vandiver et al., 2001), the core elements proposed in the original model provide a useful theoretical frame for this cluster. Cross (1971) suggested that individuals in this stage of Black racial identity development put aside their resentment of the immersion-emersion and experience Black acceptance without romanticizing Blackness or denigrating Whiteness. This stage is thought to involve less in-group focus and be undergirded by a bicultural perspective (i.e., Black and American), but again, without romanticizing nationality or assimilation as in pre-encounter (Vandiver et al., 2001). This status may also be characterized by multicultural or universalist/humanist group orientations. Individuals in this status are thought to view their race to be an important aspect of self but attention is also placed on other cultural identities, but they still oppose to racism and other societal oppression. For example, a person in this identity status may emphasize being Black, Trans, and atheist, and be willing to work with cultural groups other than African American (Cross & Vandiver, 2001; Vandiver et al., 2001).

Demographic Predictors of Racial Ideology

The current findings highlight that African Americans are not monolithic in how they define what it means to be Black. The observed relationships between demographic factors and racial ideology provided preliminary information into how social identities are simultaneously experienced and the unique psychological experiences that exist when identities interact (Bowleg, Huang, Brooks, Black, & Burkholder, 2003). There has been increased interest in the concept of intersectionality in psychology. This analytical frame is centered on the interplay between multiple identities, particularly as it relates to the dynamics of power, privilege, and oppression (Cole, 2009). Intersectionality emerged out of the work of Black feminist scholars and activists, many of whom were sexual minorities. These scholars and activists highlighted the interdependence of cultural identities and systems of inequality, and their importance to understanding individuals and social systems (Moradi, & Grzanka, 2017). While some have cautioned against intersectionality “being coopted, depoliticized, and diluted, serving only as shorthand for ‘multiple identities’ or ‘within group diversity’” (Moradi, & Grzanka, 2017, p. 501), the current study provides insights into how multiple identities may shape the social and ideological experiences of diverse African Americans.

The women reported significantly higher Centrality across both samples and were more likely to be found in the *High-Identity Conscious Ethnocentricity* cluster. This finding might suggest qualitative differences in the prominence and valance of racial identity for Black men versus Black women. Juan, Syed, and Azmitia (2016) showed how women of color often construct their gender identity in part based on their racial identity, as they negotiate the gender role expectations of their racial group. For example, several studies have documented that African American boys and girls receive different

messages about race from parents and there may be gender differences in receptivity to racial socialization (Hughes et al., 2006). Moreover, women have also historically been tasked with ensuring the transmission of cultural information between generations, likely increasing the saliency of race (Stack & Burton, 1993).

The saliency of race to Black women might also be a product of being a minority within a minority (Juan et al., 2016). Others have begun to unpack how the experience of gendered racism impacts the experience of African American women and their sense of self (Lewis, Mendenhall, Harwood, & Hunt, 2013; Lewis & Neville, 2015). Tajfel (1981) suggested that the salience of a social group may be activated by negative experiences associated with that social group membership. As such, membership in one low-status group (i.e., based on power in society) may heighten one's awareness of injustices related to membership in another disadvantaged group. Tajfel (1981) further argued that individuals tend to de-identify with a stigmatized group when it is possible to identify with another higher status group (e.g., men). Moreover, historians have documented the past pressures on Black women to maintain exclusive commitments to racial interests over feminist ones (King, 1988). The notion that there may be a reinforcing relationship between identities of social disadvantage also seems applicable for sexual minorities, who were more likely to be grouped in the *High-Identity Conscious Ethnocentricity* cluster and reported higher levels of Centrality beliefs compared to individuals who identified as heterosexual.

There were no differences found based on immigration status. The small but growing literature on the acculturation experiences of foreign-born Black people gives reason to suspect that the unequal cell sizes may drive this non-significant finding.

Indeed, the number of Black immigrants living in the U.S has quintupled since the 1980s, and almost 10% of Black people living in the U.S. are foreign born (Pew Research Center, 2018). Many of these individuals are born in countries with a different racial context than the United States. It remains possible that those contexts may impact their beliefs about what it means to be Black.

I found modest negative correlations between age and Centrality endorsement in both samples. However, the age differences in cluster membership provide more nuanced insight into the relationship between age and racial ideology. The individuals in the *Low Race Salience* cluster were significantly older (M age = 43.91) than those in *Connected Conscious Inclusive* ($M = 34.41$), *Low-Identity Afrocentric Ethnocentricity* ($M = 35.53$), and *High-Identity Conscious Ethnocentricity* ($M = 30.80$) clusters. The *Power Evasive Non-Nationalism* cluster did not differ from the others in terms of age ($M = 36.6$; $SD = 12.04$). This suggests that in general, nationalistic beliefs and the view of race as an important source of personal identity may generally wane with age. Conversely, there may be a generational impetus to racial ideology. Jones-Eversley and colleagues (2017) highlighted the unique racial context in which Black Millennials developed (born between 1980 and 1995), characterized by colorblind ideology that minimizes the role of race and racism in life opportunities. They described the role of technology and social media in galvanizing a new generation of Black activists, allowing for more a natural transmission of social justice information between young people as they discover that race does indeed matter in American society. This might also explain why the two clusters with the highest levels of Critical Consciousness also the two youngest clusters.

The findings also highlight the intertwined relationship between racial ideology

and politics. In general, individuals who identified as conservative or very conservative reported lower Centrality and Critical Consciousness across the two samples. They were also more likely to be grouped in the Low-Identity Afrocentric Ethnocentricity (ASR = 3.3) and Power Evasive Non-Nationalism (ASR = 3.2) clusters. While various ideologies have applied to the definition of Black conservatism, Williams (2007) described Black conservatives as identifying with more specific ideas and institutions of American society than with race. According to Williams, Black conservative ideology emphasizes the role of economics in the plight of African Americans over race. This ideology emphasizes self-sufficiency, financial security, assimilation into mainstream culture, and acceptance in American society for individual achievement as opposed to race. Williams further traced the roots of Black conservatism to the teachings of Booker T. Washington. During the Jim Crow era, Washington reasoned that an assertive demand for racial justice was impudent and suicidal. He instead urged the Black Americans at the time to adhere to racial segregation and focus on developing vocational skills that will lead to the upward mobility.

While there has been little empirical work examining conservative political ideology among African Americans, available evidence show associations between conservatism and anti-Black attitudes (see Sibley & Duckitt for a meta-analysis). There is need for more studies to investigate the motivational underpinnings of racial ideology among African Americans, particularly beliefs that may seem counter to self-interest. Of note, the notion that conservatives hold more prejudiced views and are politically intolerant of minority groups has been ubiquitous in the field—sometimes termed the prejudice gap (Chambers, Schlenker, & Collisson, 2013). However, some have suggested

a general bias in social and political psychology to investigate issues of more significant concern to liberals (e.g., racial prejudice) and overlook topics that may be more relevant to conservatives (Brandt, Reyna, Chambers, Crawford & Wetherell, 2014). Indeed, there is a growing body of evidence that suggests that both liberals and conservatives are similarly intolerant of values-violating out-groups and may rely on different sets of moral judgments (Brandt et al., 2014). Taken together, the findings highlight the great diversity in racial ideology and its configurations among African Americans as well as the ways in which these patterns related to other demographic indices.

Racial Ideology and Its Associations with Distress and Activism

There were no significant associations between cluster membership and measures of satisfaction with life, racial homophily, and positive relations. However, there were links between racial ideology group and psychological distress and sociopolitical activism. In general, individuals reported somewhat similar levels of psychological distress symptoms and the evidence did not point to significant costs associated with variations on Centrality and Critical Consciousness beliefs. However, those in the *Low-Identity Afrocentric Ethnocentricity* cluster reported higher levels of depressive, anxiety, and stress symptoms compared to those in the *Low Race Salience* cluster as well as higher anxiety symptoms when compared to the *Connected Conscious Inclusive* cluster. The *High-Identity Conscious* cluster reported higher levels of stress symptoms compared to the *Low Race Salience* cluster. These relationships are a likely byproduct of the positive correlations between symptoms of depression, anxiety, and stress and Ethnocentricity and Afrocentricity. Indeed, the *Low-Identity Afrocentric Ethnocentricity* cluster reported the highest levels of both ideologies. In a meta-analysis of the

connection between Black racial attitudes and psychological distress, Chew and Quintana (2016) found that anti-White immersion and internalization-Afrocentric subscales scores on the CRIS were associated with psychological distress. The pre-encounter miseducation and pre-encounter self-hatred scores were also positively associated with psychological distress across the 12 studies.

While the Ethnocentricity factor in the present study included both pro-Black and anti-White sentiments, the items with the highest loadings were those emphasized White resentment. As such, these finding might reflect the negative affect associated with resentment, anger, and mistrust. The association between Afrocentricity and psychological distress was surprising given that this ideology is often used colloquially to suggest a positive attachment to the African cultural heritage of Black people. However, a closer look at the items seems to reflect wary, reactionary sentiments—as though Afrocentric beliefs are what can fix what is wrong. However, this proposition is complicated by the non-significant relationship between *Critical Consciousness* and measures of psychological distress as one may assume the critical awareness of oppression would be distressing. The literature on racial discrimination offers additional insights. Lee and Ahn (2013) conducted a meta-analysis of studies on racial attitudes and found that strong pro-Black and Afrocentric attitudes were associated with the experiences of racial discrimination. The psychological harm associated with the experience of racial discrimination is well documented in the literature (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). This suggests potential mediators or moderators, like racial discrimination, may exert influence on these relationships. Longitudinal work that examines how racial ideology may change over time and across situation (e.g.,

discriminatory experiences) would further clarify the nature of these associations.

The findings from this research investigation pointed to the significant associations between the racial ideology and engagement with sociopolitical behaviors. Specifically, the result indicated positive correlations between reported sociopolitical engagement and the endorsement of the four ideologies, with the strongest relationship being between Ethnocentricity and sociopolitical activism ($r = .31$). In addition, the results indicated that individuals in the High-Identity Conscious Ethnocentricity cluster reported significantly higher levels of activism than those assigned to *Low Race Salience*, *Connected Conscious Inclusive*, and *Power Evasive Non-Nationalism*, but not the *Low-Identity Conscious Ethnocentricity* cluster. *Low-Identity Afrocentric Ethnocentricity* cluster reported higher levels of activism than those assigned to *Low Race Salience* and *Power Evasive Non-Nationalism* clusters. Individuals in the *Connected Conscious Inclusive* cluster reported higher levels of sociopolitical activism than those in the *Low Race Salience* cluster. These findings are relatively consistent with previous studies using theoretically similar constructs. For example, Szymanski & Lewis (2013) found that scores on the immersion-emersion anti-White, internalization Afrocentricity and internalization-multiculturalist inclusive on the CRIS subscale were the only significant and unique positive predictors of sociopolitical activism among Black college students.

It is not surprising based on bivariate correlations that individuals in the *Low Race Salience* and *Power Evasive Non-Nationalism* clusters reported the lowest levels of activism. As Blackness is less salient, it is understandable that these individuals would be less compelled to be civically engaged over issues of social justice. However, it is important to point out that the study assessed more conventional activism. It may be the

case that individuals who place less salience on issues of race may engage in their own form of social change strategy that may not be captured by more conventional conceptualizations of activism.

Implications, Limitations, and Suggestions for Further Research

The goal of the current research was to advance the literature on Black racial identity by integrating variable-centered and person-centered analytic approaches in the study of the racial ideology using items from a number of widely used measures. This atheoretical goal to deconstruct and re-organize racial ideology indicators was only partially met as themes from the Nigrescence theory emerged markedly at various levels of analysis (i.e., emergent factors and ideology clusters). I believe this speaks to the generativity of Cross's model and enduring relevance of the model more than 40 years after its original publication. Indeed, during this time, Cross and colleagues have revised and expanded his model to parallel the evolving cultural climate (Cokley & Vandiver, 2012).

While the evidence to date supports the psychometric strength of the CRIS, its developers acknowledged that the underlying theoretical framework might only represent a subset of the possible racial ideological views that exist for African Americans (Cross & Vandiver, 2001). This study furthers the extant literature by identifying latent factors that may tie items for various measures together. Most strikingly, the current study links the Color-Blind Racial Attitudes, Black-Ethnocentrism, MIBI Nationalist, and MIBI Centrality scales in the emergent Critical Consciousness factor. While critical consciousness has been associated with sociopolitical engagement among individual from marginalized backgrounds, this concept has not been well integrated into the racial

identity literature. The results indicate that beliefs about the nature of the world and society may be an important index of identity.

To the best of my knowledge, this is the first study to use ESEM in the study of Black racial identity. The current investigation provided additional evidence for the applicability and richness of the ESEM framework as an approach that incorporates the advantages of both EFA and CFA. At first glance, ESEM may seem like a “band aid” for poor indicators, but the statistical value of the ESEM framework has been demonstrated even with models with minimal cross-loadings (Tóth-Király et al., 2017). In line with the growing recognition that scale items are not perfect indicators of their respective latent factors, future research would benefit from using a similar competing models strategy using CFA and ESEM models. Tóth-Király and colleagues argue that this allows for better accounting for systematic measurement error, which in turn allows for a realistic representation of the data.

The links between demographic variables and racial ideology highlight the potential links between racial ideology and other cultural attitudes. Although not directly tested, there were indications that the experience of navigating multiple marginalized identities may impact an individual’s understanding of their race. Women and sexual minorities were more likely to report racial salience and were more likely to be grouped in the most socio-politically active cluster. The intersections between marginalized identities and sociopolitical engagement would be a fruitful line of future research. Indeed, scholars have contrasted the male-dominated civil rights movements to the Black Lives Matter movement, the latter of which was founded by women and has emphasized inclusive-equality ideologies such solidarity with undocumented immigrants, women, and

LGBTQ people (Jones-Eversley et al., 2017).

The current research adds to the number of studies utilizing cluster analysis to examine racial identity patterns. Indeed, it is likely that individuals hold a multitude of race-related philosophies, which may also vary over time and across social circumstances. The current methodology recognized that attitude does not occur in a vacuum and the ways in which people relate to their racial group is complex and multifaceted. In theory, there is much more to gain by looking at patterns of attitudes an individual endorses rather than a single attitude. The final cluster solutions provide evidence of the diverse patterns of racial identity attitudes. However, there were indications that observed cluster differences on the outcome variables may have been primarily driven by bivariate correlations. There is a growing recognition of the limitations associated with configural approaches like cluster analysis. Clusters are based on subjective distances between variables, wherein within-cluster differences are minimized and between-cluster differences are maximized (Stanley, Kellermanns, & Zellweger, 2017). However, multicollinearity can distort results in such distance-based measures by skewing the cluster analysis results toward variables that are highly correlated (Sambandam, 2003). These concerns have led some to recommend latent profile analysis (LPA) as an alternative to cluster analysis. Since LPA is model-based, the analyst relies on probabilities and model fit indices to identify the optimal number and nature of profiles; therefore, multicollinearity is less of a concern (Stanley et al., 2017). Future researchers using person-centered approaches may find LPA superior and more objective to other configural approaches. Cluster analysis was chosen for the current study given its exploratory nature; as such, it was important to begin with an empirical,

data-driven (i.e., bottom-up).

It is important to note the limitations of relating racial ideology to psychological adjustment. Chew and Quintana (2016) argue that measures of psychological distress are generally not racially specific and may capture “de-racialized” adjustment. As such, future studies linking racial ideology to more racialized constructs may offer new insights and perhaps different patterns of findings. For example, a more racialized outcome may be the concept of racial anxiety. Racial anxiety is a term that gained popularity after the 2016 presidential election but has been well discussed within social psychology prior to then. It refers to the anxiety or concerns that arise with regard to interracial interactions, functioning at both interpersonal and cultural levels (Godsil & Richardson, 2017). It is likely that racial attitudes towards in-group and out-groups, connections between group and self, and attitudes about the nature of the society may shape how people engage in interracial interactions and this relationship might differ across racial groups.

While the study contributes to the understanding of racial ideology, the results should be interpreted with several limitations in mind. First, the online data collection method is one potential limitation. There has been recent interest in the increasing and recurring instances of fraudulent activity among internet-based research participants (Teitcher et al., 2015). The distance between the researcher and the participant has its advantages and disadvantages. On one hand, the anonymity may allow respondents to respond freely and frankly without worry about stigma or censure due to their answers. On the other hand, the anonymity also allows for more problematic responses such as individuals completing the survey more than once or responding to the items randomly. While there were current efforts to screen data for these possibilities, the overall quality

of the data may have been skewed by fraudulent activities that were not identified.

Additionally, online data collection allowed for recruiting a diverse sample of participants in terms of geographical location and age. However, given likely disparities in access to computers and the Internet, this study may have oversampled certain socioeconomic and educational backgrounds, which could limit the generalizability of the findings. While purposeful criterion sampling is often necessary when recruiting minority populations, another drawback of the current investigation is that participants were aware of the focus of the study (i.e., on race). This could have resulted in the inclusion of individuals for whom race was more salient than others who would not have chosen to complete the survey.

The data collection schedule necessitated that data collection for Study 2 began soon after the initial EFA for item reduction using Study 1 data. Given that the Study 2 sample only completed a subset of the ideology items, I was precluded from being able to conduct the full breadth of variable-oriented comparative analysis. Indeed, it may be reasonable to assume the final results would be different if all the original items were submitted for ESEM. As such, it may remain the case that this study only represents one a subset of the possible racial ideological views that exist for African Americans. However, the ways in which the present results fit in with the available literature suggests that the current study makes a substantive contribution towards a more nuanced and thus more realistic picture of Black racial identity.

Conclusion

The present study underscores the diversity among African Americans and how racial identity is wide-ranging in content. Taken together, the results suggest that Black

racial identity can be understood based on a potentially finite number of dimensions that may include attitudes towards in-group and out-groups, connections between group and self, and attitudes about the nature of the society. In addition, I found empirical support for themes identified in the theoretical literature (particularly Cross's Nigrescence model). This current investigation has the potential to deepen our understanding of the African American experience and elucidate race-related predictors of sociopolitical activism and psychological wellbeing. This line of inquiry may be of particular value to activists and coalition builders as well as those conducting psychosocial interventions for African Americans.

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APPENDIX A:

STUDY 1 SURVEY

Racial Attitudes Among African Americans

You are invited to be in a research study about your attitudes, thoughts, and feelings about your race and ethnicity. You were selected to participate because you self-identified as meeting the eligibility requirements for the study (i.e., identify as Black, Afro-Caribbean, African American, and/or African, are at least 18 years old, and live in the United States).

This study is conducted by Alex Ajayi and supervised by Dr. Moin Syed, both in the Department of Psychology at the University of Minnesota.

Procedures:

If you agree to be in this study, you will be asked to complete an online survey about your attitudes, feelings, and past experiences. The online survey should take approximately 30-45 minutes to complete. Each participant will receive a \$5 Amazon.com gift card for participating in this study. In addition, you will be entered into a drawing to win one of 12 \$25 Amazon.com gift cards. In order to process the gift cards, you will be asked to enter your contact information on a secure page that will NOT be linked to your survey responses. You are free to decline these participation incentives.

Confidentiality:

The records of this study will be kept in private. In any sort of report we might publish, we will not include any information that will make it possible to identify a subject. Research records will be stored securely and only the researchers will have access to the records.

Voluntary Nature of the Study:

Participation in this study is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate in the study will not affect your current or future relations with the University of Minnesota or the Department of Psychology. If you do decide to participate, you are free to not answer any question or withdraw at any time without affecting those relationships.

Contact and Questions:

The researchers conducting this study are Alex Ajayi and Dr. Moin Syed, who are both at the Department of Psychology, Elliott Hall, 75 East River Road, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455. You **are encouraged to** contact them with any questions you have. You can also email Alex at ajayi006@umn.edu and Dr. Syed at moin@umn.edu, or call them at 612-625- 9501.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study and would like to talk to someone other than the researchers, you are encouraged to contact Research Subjects'

Advocate line, D528 Mayo, 420 Delaware Street S.E., Minneapolis MN 55455; telephone (612) 625-1650.

You may print a copy of this form for your records.

Statement of Consent:

I have read the above information, meet study eligibility, and consent to participate in the study. (By checking this box, you have read the consent form and agree to participate in this study.)

I have read the above information and **DO NOT** consent to participate in the study. (By checking this box, you have read the consent form and decline to participate in this study.)

APPENDIX A: Study 1 Survey (Continued)

1. What is your age? _____
2. What gender do you identify with?
 - a. Female
 - b. Male
 - c. Transgender
 - d. Other (please specify) _____
3. What race/ethnicity do you identify with? (Please list as many as you feel are important to who you are) _____
4. What is your current city and state of residence? _____
5. Sexual orientation:
 - a. Primarily heterosexual/straight
 - b. Primarily homosexual/gay/lesbian
 - c. Primarily Bisexual
 - d. Other (please explain): _____
6. Marital status:
 - a. Married
 - b. Separated
 - c. Divorced
 - d. Never married
 - e. Other (please explain): _____
7. Were you born in the U.S.?
 - a. YES
 - b. NO

If NO, in what country were you born?

Year of immigration: _____

8. Was your mother born in the U.S.?

a. YES

b. NO

If NO, in what country was she born?

Year of her immigration: _____

9. Was your father born in the U.S.? Circle: YES or NO

a. YES

b. NO

If NO, in what country was he born?

Year of his immigration: _____

10. In terms of social class, would you say you are:

a. Upper class/wealthy

b. Upper-middle class

c. Middle class

d. Lower-middle class

e. Working class

f. Poor

g. Other (please explain): _____

11. Political orientation:

a. Very conservative

b. Conservative

c. Moderate

d. Liberal

e. Very liberal

f. Other (please explain): _____

12. Your political party preference:

a. Democratic

b. Republican

c. Independent

d. Other (please explain): _____

13. Highest education level:

a. Some high school

b. High school diploma

c. Some College

- d. Associate degree
- e. Bachelor's degree
- f. Master's degree
- g. Professional degree (e.g., MD, DDS, JD)
- h. Doctorate degree (e.g., PhD, EdD)
- i. Other (please explain): _____

14. Occupation _____

15. Household Size _____

16. Please report an estimate of your household's combined annual income in dollars

17. Do have a religious affiliation?

- a. YES (please specify): _____
- b. NO

Blacks and whites are brothers.	BES12	1st Round: Dated and/or confusing wording
Whites will remain oppressive even though integration is accomplished.	BES14	1st Round: Dated and/or confusing wording
It is disgraceful for a black girl to invite a white man to her home.	BES18	1st Round: Dated and/or confusing wording
Blacks should focus on black pride rather than integration.	BES21	1st Round: Dated and/or confusing wording
The U. S. Constitution should be amended to ensure that either the president or vice president of the United States would be black.	BES35	1st Round: Dated and/or confusing wording
Adopting a colorblind perspective in which one's racial group membership is consider unimportant will improve race relations in the United states	R_CIS04	1st Round: Dated and/or confusing wording
It is not within the best interest of Blacks to depend on Whites for anything, no matter how religious and decent they (the Whites) purport to be.	ASC08	1st Round: Implicit assumption that religiosity is positive
Religion is dangerous for Black people when it directs and inspires them to become self-determining and independent of the White community.	ASC33	1st Round: Implicit assumption that religiosity is positive
I feel good about my racial group.	MIBI04	1st Round: Overly affective vs. attitudinal
I am happy that I am a member of my racial group.	MIBI07	1st Round: Overly affective vs. attitudinal
I have a strong sense of belonging to my racial group.	MIBI19	1st Round: Overly affective vs. attitudinal
I often regret that I am a member of my racial group.	MIBI24	1st Round: Overly affective vs. attitudinal
I have a strong attachment to other members of my racial group.	MIBI33	1st Round: Overly affective vs. attitudinal
I am proud to be a member of my racial group.	MIBI54	1st Round: Overly affective vs. attitudinal
Do you think blacks should form their own political party?	ADBN06	1st Round: Redundancy
Black should forget about integration and struggle for black power.	BES09	1st Round: Redundancy
It is a shame for a black to marry a person of the white race.	BES24	1st Round: Redundancy
Blacks should give their first loyalty to America instead of to their own kind.	BES31	1st Round: Redundancy

Members of my racial group should not marry interracially.	MIBI03	1st Round: Redundancy
I feel that members of my racial group have made major accomplishments and advancements.	MIBI08	2nd Round: Low Communality
I feel that my racial group's community has made valuable contributions to this society.	MIBI55	2nd Round: Low Communality
Society views my racial group as an asset.	MIBI56	2nd Round: Low Communality
Blacks should rely on themselves and not others.	ADBN04	2nd Round: Low Communality
Black people should always vote for black candidates when they run.	ADBN05	2nd Round: Low Communality
Black people form a nation within a nation	ADBN08	2nd Round: Low Communality
I don't necessarily feel like I am also being mistreated in a situation where I see another Black person being mistreated.	ASC01	2nd Round: Low Communality
Blacks who trust Whites in general are basically very intelligent people.	ASC03	2nd Round: Low Communality
Blacks who are committed and prepared to uplift the (Black) race by any means necessary (including violence) are more intelligent than Blacks who are not this committed and prepared.	ASC04	2nd Round: Low Communality
It is not such a good idea for Black students to be required to learn an African language.	ASC07	2nd Round: Low Communality
White people, generally speaking, are not opposed to self-determination for Black people.	ASC11	2nd Round: Low Communality
A White /European or Caucasian image of God and the "holy family" (among others considered close to God) are not such bad things for Blacks to worship.	ASC13	2nd Round: Low Communality
Blacks born in the United States are Black or African first, rather than American or just plain people.	ASC14	2nd Round: Low Communality
Black people, who talk in a relatively loud manner, show a lot of emotions and feelings, and express themselves with a lot of movement and body motion, are less intelligent than Blacks who do not behave this way.	ASC15	2nd Round: Low Communality
Racial consciousness and cultural awareness based on traditional African values are necessary to the development of Black marriages and families that can contribute to the liberation and enhancement of Black people in America.	ASC16	2nd Round: Low Communality
In dealing with other Blacks, I consider myself quite different and unique from most of them.	ASC17	2nd Round: Low Communality

I have difficulty identifying with the culture of African people.	ASC19	2nd Round: Low Communality
There is no such thing as African culture among Blacks in America.	ASC21	2nd Round: Low Communality
I feel little sense of commitment to Black people who are not close friends or relatives.	ASC25	2nd Round: Low Communality
All Black students in Africa and America should be expected to study African culture and history as it occurs throughout the world.	ASC26	2nd Round: Low Communality
Black children should be taught to love all races of people, even those races who do harm to them.	ASC27	2nd Round: Low Communality
Blacks in America should view Blacks from other countries (e.g., Ghana, Nigeria, and other countries in Africa) as foreigners rather than as their brothers and sisters.	ASC31	2nd Round: Low Communality
When a Black person uses the term "Self, Me, and I" his/her reference should encompass all Black people rather than simply him/herself.	ASC32	2nd Round: Low Communality
Black parents should encourage their children to respect all Black people, good and bad, and punish them when they don't show respect.	ASC34	2nd Round: Low Communality
Black people's concern for self-knowledge (knowledge of one's history, philosophy, culture, etc...) and self (collective) determination makes them treat White people badly.	ASC37	2nd Round: Low Communality
The success of an individual Black person is not as important as the survival of all Black people.	ASC38	2nd Round: Low Communality
If a good/worthwhile education could be obtained at all schools (both Black and White), I would prefer for my child to attend a racially integrated school.	ASC39	2nd Round: Low Communality
It is not necessary to require Black/African Studies courses in predominantly Black schools.	ASC41	2nd Round: Low Communality
Being involved in wholesome group activities with other Blacks lifts my spirit more so than being involved in individual oriented activities.	ASC42	2nd Round: Low Communality
Racial discrimination will not disappear until prejudiced white people are severely punished.	BES10	2nd Round: Low Communality
I am for my own race, right or wrong.	BES13	2nd Round: Low Communality
The use of force to overthrow the unjust law is always justified.	BES19	2nd Round: Low Communality
Most whites who sympathize with the civil rights movement are primarily motivated by guilt or fear.	BES20	2nd Round: Low Communality
Blacks who lack "black pride" are abandoning their own people.	BES23	2nd Round: Low

		Communality
“A tooth for a tooth” is fair practice against the white man’s injustice	BES30	2nd Round: Low Communality
Only fools believe that friendliness toward whites can accomplish anything in the black peoples’ struggle.	BES36	2nd Round: Low Communality
There should be a national black committee on education to see to it that schools teach children black culture and history.	BES37	2nd Round: Low Communality
Race plays a major role in the type of social services (such as type of health care or day care) that people receive in the U.S.	COBRAS02	2nd Round: Low Communality
Due to racial discrimination, programs such as affirmative action are necessary to help create equality.	COBRAS04	2nd Round: Low Communality
Racism is a major problem in the U.S.	COBRAS05	2nd Round: Low Communality
Race is very important in determining who is successful and who is not.	COBRAS06	2nd Round: Low Communality
White people in the U.S. are discriminated against because of the color their skin.	COBRAS09	2nd Round: Low Communality
Talking about racial issues causes unnecessary tension.	COBRAS10	2nd Round: Low Communality
Immigrants should try to fit into the culture and adopt the values of the U.S.	COBRAS13	2nd Round: Low Communality
English should be the only official language in the U.S.	COBRAS14	2nd Round: Low Communality
Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against White people.	COBRAS16	2nd Round: Low Communality
Racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.	COBRAS18	2nd Round: Low Communality
Too many Blacks “glamorize” the drug trade and fail to see opportunities that don’t involve crime.	CRIS03	2nd Round: Low Communality
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, Whites, etc.)	CRIS16	2nd Round: Low Communality
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.)	CRIS24	2nd Round: Low Communality
Equal opportunity for black and white people to succeed is important but it’s not really the government’s job to guarantee it.	GIPP01	2nd Round: Low Communality

Some people say that because of past discrimination, black people should be given preference in hiring and promotion. Others say that such preference is wrong because it discriminates against others. Are you for or against preferential hiring and promotion of black people?	GIPP02	2nd Round: Low Communality
If a company has a history of discriminating against black people when making hiring decisions, should they be required to have an affirmative action plan that gives black people preference in hiring?	GIPP03	2nd Round: Low Communality
If you had a say in deciding government spending next year, spending would increase in programs that assist black people	GIPP04	2nd Round: Low Communality
People of my racial group would be better off, if they adopted values central to my racial group.	MIBI11	2nd Round: Low Communality
Most people consider members of my racial group, on the average, to be more ineffective than other racial groups.	MIBI17	2nd Round: Low Communality
A sign of progress is that members of my racial group are in the mainstream of America more than ever before.	MIBI18	2nd Round: Low Communality
The same forces that have led to the oppression of my racial group have also led to the oppression of other groups.	MIBI20	2nd Round: Low Communality
Members of my racial group and Whites have more commonalties than differences.	MIBI27	2nd Round: Low Communality
Members of my racial group should not consider race when buying art or selecting a book to read.	MIBI28	2nd Round: Low Communality
We are all children of a higher being, therefore, we should love people of all races.	MIBI31	2nd Round: Low Communality
Members of my racial group should judge Whites as individuals and not as members of the White race.	MIBI32	2nd Round: Low Communality
The struggle for the liberation of my racial group in America should be closely related to the struggle of other oppressed groups.	MIBI34	2nd Round: Low Communality
People regardless of their race have strengths and limitations.	MIBI35	2nd Round: Low Communality
Members of my racial group should learn about the oppression of other groups.	MIBI36	2nd Round: Low Communality
Because America is predominantly white, it is important that members of my racial group go to White schools so that they can gain experience interacting with Whites.	MIBI37	2nd Round: Low Communality
People of my racial group should strive to be full members of the American political system.	MIBI39	2nd Round: Low Communality
People of my racial group should try to work within the system to achieve their political and economic goals.	MIBI40	2nd Round: Low Communality

People of my racial group should strive to integrate all institutions that are segregated.	MIBI41	2nd Round: Low Communality
The racism that members of my racial group have experienced is similar to that of other minority groups.	MIBI42	2nd Round: Low Communality
Members of my racial group should feel free to interact socially with White people.	MIBI43	2nd Round: Low Communality
There are other people who experience racial injustice and indignities similar to those that members of my racial group experience.	MIBI45	2nd Round: Low Communality
The plight of members of my racial group in America will improve only when they are in important positions within the system.	MIBI46	2nd Round: Low Communality
Members of my racial group should try to become friends with people from other oppressed groups.	MIBI49	2nd Round: Low Communality
Although ethnic groups may seem to have some clear distinguishing qualities, ethnic groups have interacted with one another and thus have influenced each other in ways that may not be readily apparent or discussed.	PIS02	2nd Round: Low Communality
Different racial, ethnic, and cultural groups influence each other.	PIS05	2nd Round: Low Communality
Ethnic and cultural group categories are not very important for understanding or making decisions about people.	RL_CIS01	2nd Round: Low Communality
At our core, all human beings are really all the same, so racial and ethnic categories do not matter.	RL_CIS03	2nd Round: Low Communality
All cultures have their own distinct traditions and perspectives.	RL_MIS01	2nd Round: Low Communality
There are boundaries between different ethnic groups because of the differences between cultures.	RL_MIS02	2nd Round: Low Communality
There are differences between racial and ethnic groups, which are important to recognize.	RL_MIS03	2nd Round: Low Communality
Each ethnic group has its own strengths that can be identified.	RL_MIS04	2nd Round: Low Communality
Each racial and ethnic group has important distinguishing characteristics.	RL_MIS05	2nd Round: Low Communality
We must appreciate the unique characteristics of different racial groups in order to have a cooperative society.	W_MIS01	2nd Round: Low Communality
Learning about the ways that different racial groups resolve conflict will help us develop a more harmonious society.	W_MIS02	2nd Round: Low Communality
In order to live in a cooperative society, everyone must learn the unique histories and cultural experiences of different racial groups.	W_MIS03	2nd Round: Low Communality

When interacting with a member of a racial group that is different from your own, it is very important to take into account the history and cultural traditions of that persons ethnic group.	W_MIS04	2nd Round: Low Commuality
Blacks should have control over the government in mostly black communities.	ADBN02	3rd Round: Preliminary EFA
Black people should have their own independent schools which consider their African heritage and values an important part of the curriculum.	ASC02	3rd Round: Preliminary EFA
If a black person and a white person were selling the same thing, I would go out of my way to buy it from the black person.	BES01	3rd Round: Preliminary EFA
You cannot condemn the entire white race because of the actions of some of its members.	BES04	3rd Round: Preliminary EFA
There is little hope for improving race relations because of deliberate attempts by whites to suppress black people.	BES16	3rd Round: Preliminary EFA
We need more black leaders who speak up for black supremacy.	BES17	3rd Round: Preliminary EFA
The black race is better than any other.	BES25	3rd Round: Preliminary EFA
Individuals who are not members of the black race should not be permitted to teach in predominantly black schools and colleges.	BES38	3rd Round: Preliminary EFA
Black children, from a very early age, should be taught to be loyal to their own race.	BES39	3rd Round: Preliminary EFA
Racism may have been a problem in the past, but it is not an important problem today.	COBRAS07	3rd Round: Preliminary EFA
Racial and ethnic minorities do not have the same opportunities as White people in the U.S.	COBRAS08	3rd Round: Preliminary EFA
It is important for political leaders to talk about racism to help work through or solve society's problems.	COBRAS11	3rd Round: Preliminary EFA
White people are more to blame for racial discrimination in the U.S. than racial and ethnic minorities.	COBRAS15	3rd Round: Preliminary EFA
Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations.	COBRAS19	3rd Round: Preliminary EFA
I see and think about things from an Afrocentric perspective.	CRIS07	3rd Round: Preliminary EFA
African Americans are too quick to turn to crime to solve their problems.	CRIS28	3rd Round: Preliminary EFA
I hate White people.	CRIS30	3rd Round: Preliminary EFA
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.).	CRIS40	3rd Round: Preliminary EFA
Overall, my racial group is considered good by others.	MIBI05	3rd Round: Preliminary EFA
In general, being a member of my racial group is an important part of my self-image.	MIBI06	3rd Round: Preliminary EFA
Members of my racial group must organize themselves into a separate political force.	MIBI14	3rd Round: Preliminary EFA
Whenever possible, members of my racial group should buy from other Black businesses.	MIBI16	3rd Round: Preliminary EFA

A thorough knowledge of the history of my racial group is very important for its members today.	MIBI21	3rd Round: Preliminary EFA
The values of my racial group should not be inconsistent with human values.	MIBI23	3rd Round: Preliminary EFA
Members of my racial group should have the choice to marry inter-racially.	MIBI26	3rd Round: Preliminary EFA
Members of my racial group will be more successful in achieving their goals if they form coalitions with other oppressed groups.	MIBI47	3rd Round: Preliminary EFA
The dominant society devalues anything not White male oriented.	MIBI50	3rd Round: Preliminary EFA
Different cultural groups impact one another, even if members of those groups are not completely aware of the impact.	PIS01	3rd Round: Preliminary EFA
Different cultures and ethnic groups probably share some traditions and perspectives because these groups have impacted each other to some extent over the years.	PIS04	3rd Round: Preliminary EFA
Judging one another as individuals rather than members of a racial group will improve race relations in the United states	R_CIS01	3rd Round: Preliminary EFA
Recognizing that all people are basically the same regardless of their race will improve race relations in the United states	R_CIS02	3rd Round: Preliminary EFA
Recognizing that all people are created equally regardless of the race will improve race relations in the United states	R_CIS03	3rd Round: Preliminary EFA
Black people should shop in black-owned stores whenever possible.	ADBN01	4th Round: Main EFA
Blacks in America who view Africa as their homeland are more intelligent than those who view America as their homeland.	ASC28	4th Round: Main EFA
It is good for Black people to refer to each other as brother and sister because such a practice is consistent with our African heritage.	ASC40	4th Round: Main EFA
On the whole, blacks have better qualities of character than whites.	BES15	4th Round: Main EFA
Blacks and whites can never get along well.	BES34	4th Round: Main EFA
Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich.	COBRAS01	4th Round: Main EFA
I have a strong feeling of hatred and disdain for all White people.	CRIS06	4th Round: Main EFA
When I look in the mirror at my Black image, sometimes I do not feel good	CRIS17	4th Round: Main EFA
White people should be destroyed.	CRIS23	4th Round: Main EFA
Privately, I sometimes have negative feelings about being Black.	CRIS25	4th Round: Main EFA
Black people will never be free until we embrace an Afrocentric perspective.	CRIS37	4th Round: Main EFA
People of my racial group who espouse separatism are as racist as White people who also espouse separatism.	MIBI10	4th Round: Main EFA

Being a member of my racial group is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am.	MIBI13	4th Round: Main EFA
Members of my racial group and Whites can never live in true harmony because of racial differences.	MIBI22	4th Round: Main EFA
Members of my racial group are not respected by the broader society.	MIBI52	4th Round: Main EFA
Blacks in America should try harder to be American rather than practicing activities that link them up with their African cultural heritage.	ASC05	4th Round: Main EFA
Black children should be taught that they are African People at an early age.	ASC10	4th Round: Main EFA
It is intelligent for Blacks in America to organize to educate and liberate themselves from White-American domination.	ASC20	4th Round: Main EFA
African culture is better for humanity than European culture.	ASC36	4th Round: Main EFA
Blacks should elect public officials of their own race regardless of the campaign issues.	BES03	4th Round: Main EFA
We will not have a true democracy in this country as long as whites are in power.	BES08	4th Round: Main EFA
Whites who are friendly with blacks are only trying to use them.	BES26	4th Round: Main EFA
Whites must pay their debt to black people.	BES28	4th Round: Main EFA
In general, black people are more creative than whites.	BES29	4th Round: Main EFA
Blacks should give up trying to be on friendly terms with whites.	BES32	4th Round: Main EFA
Blacks, on the whole, are genetically superior to whites.	BES33	4th Round: Main EFA
It is important for public schools to teach about the history and contributions of racial and ethnic minorities.	COBRAS17	4th Round: Main EFA
I think of myself primarily as an American, and seldom as a member of a racial group.	CRIS02	4th Round: Main EFA
I go through periods when I am down on myself because I am black.	CRIS04	4th Round: Main EFA
As a multiculturalist, I am connected to many groups (Hispanics, Asian-Americans, Whites, Jews, gays & lesbians, etc.)	CRIS05	4th Round: Main EFA
I am not so much a member of a racial group, as I am an American.	CRIS09	4th Round: Main EFA
I sometimes struggle with negative feelings about being Black.	CRIS10	4th Round: Main EFA
Blacks place more emphasis on having a good time than on hard work.	CRIS12	4th Round: Main EFA
I believe it is important to have both a Black identity and a multicultural perspective, because this connects me to other groups (Hispanics, Asian- Americans, Whites, Jews, gays & lesbians, etc.)	CRIS33	4th Round: Main EFA
I have developed an identity that stresses my experiences as an American more than my experiences as a member of a racial group.	CRIS34	4th Round: Main EFA
Blacks place too much importance on racial protest and not enough on hard work and education.	CRIS36	4th Round: Main EFA

I sometimes have negative feelings about being Black	CRIS39	4th Round: Main EFA
Students of my racial group are better off going to schools that are controlled and organized by members of my racial group.	MIBI12	4th Round: Main EFA
In general, others respect members of my racial group.	MIBI15	4th Round: Main EFA
White people can never be trusted where members of my racial group are concerned.	MIBI25	4th Round: Main EFA
Members of my racial group would be better off if they were more concerned with the problems facing all people rather than just focusing on issues related to themselves.	MIBI29	4th Round: Main EFA
Being an individual is more important than identifying oneself as a member of my racial group.	MIBI30	4th Round: Main EFA
Members of my racial group should view themselves as being Americans first and foremost.	MIBI44	4th Round: Main EFA
In general, other groups view my racial group in a positive manner.	MIBI53	4th Round: Main EFA
There are many connections between different cultures.	PIS03	4th Round: Main EFA
Racial and ethnic group memberships do not matter very much to who we are.	RL_CIS04	4th Round: Main EFA
Regardless of their interests, educational background and social achievements, I would prefer to associate with Black people than with non-Blacks.	ASC06	Final EFA item
A political party consisting of only black members should be formed.	BES07	Final EFA item
I believe that only those Black people who accept an Afrocentric perspective can truly solve the race problem in America.	CRIS13	Final EFA item
I hate the White community and all that it represents.	CRIS14	Final EFA item
My negative feelings toward White people are very intense.	CRIS38	Final EFA item
Blacks should have control over the economy in mostly black communities.	ADBN03	Final EFA item
Black people should have their own separate nation.	ADBN07	Final EFA item
As a good index of self-respect, Blacks in America should consider adopting traditional African names for themselves.	ASC12	Final EFA item
Blacks should form loving relationships with and marry only other Blacks.	ASC18	Final EFA item
White people, generally speaking, do not respect Black life.	ASC30	Final EFA item
White men are by nature prejudiced and bigoted.	BES06	Final EFA item
Court decisions are most often unjust when blacks are involved.	BES22	Final EFA item
The black community should have the right to stop other racial groups from living in it.	BES27	Final EFA item
White people try to keep black people down.	BES40	Final EFA item

It is important that people begin to think of themselves as American and not African American, Mexican American or Italian American.	COBRAS03	Final EFA item
White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.	COBRAS12	Final EFA item
Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison	COBRAS20	Final EFA item
If I had to put a label on my identity, it would be “American,” and not African American.	CRIS18	Final EFA item
Many African Americans are too lazy to see opportunities that are right in front of them.	CRIS20	Final EFA item
Black people cannot truly be free until our daily lives are guided by Afrocentric values and principles.	CRIS22	Final EFA item
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.	CRIS26	Final EFA item
I respect the ideas that other Black people hold, but I believe that the best way to solve our problems is to think Afrocentrically.	CRIS31	Final EFA item
Overall, being a member of my racial group has very little to do with how I feel about myself.	MIBI01	Final EFA item
It is important for members of my racial group to surround their children with art, music, and literature of my racial group.	MIBI02	Final EFA item
My destiny is tied to the destiny of other members of my racial group.	MIBI09	Final EFA item
Members of my racial group should treat other oppressed people as allies.	MIBI38	Final EFA item
Being a member of my racial group is an important reflection of who I am.	MIBI48	Final EFA item
Being a member of my racial group is not a major factor in my social relationships.	MIBI51	Final EFA item
It is really not necessary to pay attention to people’s racial, ethnic, or cultural backgrounds because it doesn’t tell you much about who they are.	RL_CIS02	Final EFA item
All human beings are individuals, and therefore race and ethnicity are not important.	RL_CIS05	Final EFA item
If we want to help create a harmonious society, we must recognize that each racial group has the right to maintain its own unique traditions.	W_MIS05	Final EFA item

Note. MIBI = Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity; CRIS = Cross Racial Identity Scale; BES = Black Ethnocentrism Scale; ADBN = Attitudinal Dimensions of Black Nationalism; ASCS = African Self-consciousness Scale; WMIS = Multicultural Ideology Scale; COBRAS = Colorblind Racial Attitudes Scale; RCIS = Colorblind Ideology Scale (Ryan)

APPENDIX B:**Study 2 Survey****Racial Attitudes Among African Americans**

You are invited to be in a research study about your attitudes, thoughts, and feelings about your race and ethnicity. You were selected to participate because you self-identified as meeting the eligibility requirements for the study (i.e., identify as Black, Afro-Caribbean, African American, and/or African, are at least 18 years old, and live in the United States).

This study is conducted by Alex Ajayi and supervised by Dr. Moin Syed, both in the Department of Psychology at the University of Minnesota.

Procedures:

If you agree to be in this study, you will be asked to complete an online survey about your attitudes, feelings, and past experiences. The online survey should take approximately 30-45 minutes to complete (you do not have to complete in one sitting--you can save your responses and complete the survey within one week of starting).. Each participant will be entered into a drawing to win one of 12 \$25 Amazon.com gift cards. In order to process the gift cards, you will be asked to enter your contact information on a secure page that will NOT be linked to your survey responses. You are free to decline these participation incentives.

Confidentiality:

The records of this study will be kept in private. In any sort of report we might publish, we will not include any information that will make it possible to identify a subject. Research records will be stored securely and only the researchers will have access to the records.

Voluntary Nature of the Study:

Participation in this study is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate in the study will not affect your current or future relations with the University of Minnesota or the Department of Psychology. If you do decide to participate, you are free to not answer any question or withdraw at any time without affecting those relationships.

Contact and Questions:

The researchers conducting this study are Alex Ajayi and Dr. Moin Syed, who are both at the Department of Psychology, Elliott Hall, 75 East River Road, University of Minnesota,

Minneapolis, MN 55455. You **are encouraged to** contact them with any questions you have. You can also email Alex at ajayi006@umn.edu and Dr. Syed at moin@umn.edu, or call them at 612-625- 9501.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study and would like to talk to someone other than the researchers, you are encouraged to contact Research Subjects' Advocate line, D528 Mayo, 420 Delaware Street S.E., Minneapolis MN 55455; telephone (612) 625-1650.

You may print a copy of this form for your records.

Statement of Consent:

I have read the above information, meet study eligibility, and consent to participate in the study. (By checking this box, you have read the consent form and agree to participate in this study.)

I have read the above information and **DO NOT** consent to participate in the study.(By checking this box, you have read the consent form and decline to participate in this study.)

APPENDIX B: Study 2 Survey (Continued)

1. What is your age? _____
2. What gender do you identify with?
 - e. Female
 - f. Male
 - g. Transgender
 - h. Other (please specify) _____
3. What race/ethnicity do you identify with? (Please list as many as you feel are important to who you are) _____
4. Which of the following U.S. Census Bureau racial categories do you most closely identify with? (Please select ONE)
 - a. American Indian or Alaska Native – A person having origins in any of the original peoples of North and South America (including Central America) and who maintains tribal affiliation or community attachment.
 - b. Asian – A person having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent including, for example, Cambodia, China, India, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippine Islands, Thailand, and Vietnam.
 - c. Black or African American – A person having origins in any of the Black racial groups of Africa.

- d. Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander – A person having origins in any of the original peoples of Hawaii, Guam, Samoa, or other Pacific Islands.
 - e. White – A person having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa.
 - f. None of the Above/Other
5. What is your current city and state of residence? _____
6. Sexual orientation:
- a. Primarily heterosexual/straight
 - b. Primarily homosexual/gay/lesbian
 - c. Primarily Bisexual
 - d. Other (please explain): _____
7. Marital status:
- f. Married
 - g. Separated
 - h. Divorced
 - i. Never married
 - j. Other (please explain): _____
8. Were you born in the U.S.?
- a. YES
 - b. NO
- If NO, in what country were you born?

- Year of immigration: _____
9. Was your mother born in the U.S.?
- a. YES
 - b. NO
- If NO, in what country was she born?

- Year of her immigration: _____
10. Was your father born in the U.S.? Circle: YES or NO
- a. YES
 - b. NO
- If NO, in what country was he born?

- Year of his immigration: _____
11. In terms of social class, would you say you are:
- h. Upper class/wealthy

- i. Upper-middle class
- j. Middle class
- k. Lower-middle class
- l. Working class
- m. Poor
- n. Other (please explain): _____

12. Political orientation:

- g. Very conservative
- h. Conservative
- i. Moderate
- j. Liberal
- k. Very liberal
- l. Other (please explain): _____

13. Your political party preference:

- a. Democratic
- b. Republican
- c. Independent
- d. Other (please explain): _____

14. Highest education level:

- j. Some high school
- k. High school diploma
- l. Some College
- m. Associate degree
- n. Bachelor's degree
- o. Master's degree
- p. Professional degree (e.g., MD, DDS, JD)
- q. Doctorate degree (e.g., PhD, EdD)
- r. Other (please explain): _____

15. Occupation _____

16. Household Size _____

17. Please report an estimate of your household's combined annual income in dollars

18. Do have a religious affiliation?

- a. YES (please specify): _____
- b. NO

APPENDIX B: Study 2 Survey (Continued)

Note. Ideology items were randomized for the survey and were all on the same 5-point scale.

Instructions: Read each item and indicate to what degree it reflects your own thoughts and feelings, using the 5-point scale. There are no right or wrong answers. Base your responses on your opinion at the present time.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree

Item	Parent Scale
Black people should shop in black-owned stores whenever possible.	ADBN01
Blacks should have control over the economy in mostly black communities.	ADBN03
Black people should have their own separate nation.	ADBN07
Blacks in America should try harder to be American rather than practicing activities that link them up with their African cultural heritage.	ASC05
Regardless of their interests, educational background and social achievements, I would prefer to associate with Black people than with non-Blacks.	ASC06
Black children should be taught that they are African People at an early age.	ASC10
As a good index of self-respect, Blacks in America should consider adopting traditional African names for themselves.	ASC12
Blacks should form loving relationships with and marry only other Blacks.	ASC18
It is intelligent for Blacks in America to organize to educate and liberate themselves from White-American domination.	ASC20
Blacks in America who view Africa as their homeland are more intelligent than those who view America as their homeland.	ASC28
White people, generally speaking, do not respect Black life.	ASC30
African culture is better for humanity than European culture.	ASC36
It is good for Black people to refer to each other as brother and sister because such a practice is	ASC40

consistent with our African heritage.	
Blacks should elect public officials of their own race regardless of the campaign issues.	BES03
White men are by nature prejudiced and bigoted.	BES06
A political party consisting of only black members should be formed.	BES07
We will not have a true democracy in this country as long as whites are in power.	BES08
On the whole, blacks have better qualities of character than whites.	BES15
Court decisions are most often unjust when blacks are involved.	BES22
Whites who are friendly with blacks are only trying to use them.	BES26
The black community should have the right to stop other racial groups from living in it.	BES27
Whites must pay their debt to black people.	BES28
In general, black people are more creative than whites	BES29
Blacks should give up trying to be on friendly terms with whites	BES32
Blacks, on the whole, are genetically superior to whites.	BES33
Blacks and whites can never get along well.	BES34
White people try to keep black people down.	BES40
Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich.	COBRAS01
It is important that people begin to think of themselves as American and not African American, Mexican American or Italian American.	COBRAS03
White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.	COBRAS12
It is important for public schools to teach about the history and contributions of racial and ethnic minorities.	COBRAS17
Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison	COBRAS20
I think of myself primarily as an American, and seldom as a member of a racial group.	CRIS02
I go through periods when I am down on myself because I am black.	CRIS04
As a multiculturalist, I am connected to many groups (Hispanics, Asian-Americans, Whites, Jews, gays & lesbians, etc.)	CRIS05
I have a strong feeling of hatred and disdain for all White people.	CRIS06
I am not so much a member of a racial group, as I am an American.	CRIS09
I sometimes struggle with negative feelings about being Black.	CRIS10

Blacks place more emphasis on having a good time than on hard work.	CRIS12
I believe that only those Black people who accept an Afrocentric perspective can truly solve the race problem in America.	CRIS13
I hate the White community and all that it represents.	CRIS14
When I look in the mirror at my Black image, sometimes I do not feel good	CRIS17
If I had to put a label on my identity, it would be “American,” and not African American.	CRIS18
Many African Americans are too lazy to see opportunities that are right in front of them.	CRIS20
Black people cannot truly be free until our daily lives are guided by Afrocentric values and principles.	CRIS22
White people should be destroyed.	CRIS23
Privately, I sometimes have negative feelings about being Black.	CRIS25
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.	CRIS26
I respect the ideas that other Black people hold, but I believe that the best way to solve our problems is to think Afrocentrically.	CRIS31
I believe it is important to have both a Black identity and a multicultural perspective, because this connects me to other groups (Hispanics, Asian- Americans, Whites, Jews, gays & lesbians, etc.)	CRIS33
I have developed an identity that stresses my experiences as an American more than my experiences as a member of a racial group.	CRIS34
Blacks place too much importance on racial protest and not enough on hard work and education.	CRIS36
Black people will never be free until we embrace an Afrocentric perspective.	CRIS37
My negative feelings toward White people are very intense.	CRIS38
I sometimes have negative feelings about being Black	CRIS39
Overall, being a member of my racial group has very little to do with how I feel about myself.	MIBI01
It is important for members of my racial group to surround their children with art, music, and literature of my racial group.	MIBI02
My destiny is tied to the destiny of other members of my racial group.	MIBI09
People of my racial group who espouse separatism are as racist as White people who also espouse separatism	MIBI10
Students of my racial group are better off going to schools that are controlled and organized by members of my racial group.	MIBI12

Being a member of my racial group is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am.	MIBI13
In general, others respect members of my racial group.	MIBI15
Members of my racial group and Whites can never live in true harmony because of racial differences	MIBI22
White people can never be trusted where members of my racial group are concerned.	MIBI25
Members of my racial group would be better off if they were more concerned with the problems facing all people rather than just focusing on issues related to themselves.	MIBI29
Being an individual is more important than identifying oneself as a member of my racial group.	MIBI30
Members of my racial group should treat other oppressed people as allies.	MIBI38
Members of my racial group should view themselves as being Americans first and foremost.	MIBI44
Being a member of my racial group is an important reflection of who I am.	MIBI48
Being a member of my racial group is not a major factor in my social relationships.	MIBI51
Members of my racial group are not respected by the broader society.	MIBI52
In general, other groups view my racial group in a positive manner.	MIBI53
There are many connections between different cultures.	PIS03
It is really not necessary to pay attention to people's racial, ethnic, or cultural backgrounds because it doesn't tell you much about who they are.	RL_CIS02
Racial and ethnic group memberships do not matter very much to who we are.	RL_CIS04
All human beings are individuals, and therefore race and ethnicity are not important.	RL_CIS05
If we want to help create a harmonious society, we must recognize that each racial group has the right to maintain its own unique traditions.	W_MIS05

APPENDIX B: Study 2 Survey (Continued)

Please read each statement and select how much the statement applied to you OVER THE PAST WEEK. There are no right or wrong answers. Do not spend too much time on any statement.

Over the past week...

0	1	2	3
<i>Did not apply at all</i>	<i>Applied to me to some degree or some of the time</i>	<i>Applied to me to a considerable degree or for a good part of the time</i>	<i>Applies to me very much of the time</i>

1. I found it hard to wind down
2. I was aware of dryness of my mouth
3. I couldn't seem to experience any positive feeling at all
4. I experienced breathing difficulty (e.g., excessively rapid breathing, breathlessness in the absence of physical exertion)
5. I found it difficult to work up the initiative to do things
6. I tended to over-react to situations
7. I experienced trembling (eg, in the hands)
8. I felt that I was using a lot of nervous energy
9. I was worried about situations in which I might panic and make a fool of myself
10. I felt that I had nothing to look forward to
11. I found myself getting agitated
12. I found it difficult to relax
13. I felt down-hearted and blue
14. I was intolerant of anything that kept me from getting on with what I was doing
15. I felt I was close to panic
16. I was unable to become enthusiastic about anything
17. I felt I wasn't worth much as a person
18. I felt that I was rather touchy
19. I was aware of the action of my heart in the absence of physical exertion (eg, sense of heart rate increase, heart missing a beat)
20. I felt scared without any good reason
21. I felt that life was meaningless

Please select the option that best reflects your agreement with each statement

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree

1. In most ways my life is close to my ideal.
2. The conditions of my life are excellent.
3. I am satisfied with my life.
4. So far I have gotten the important things I want in life.
5. If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.

The following set of statements deals with how you might feel about yourself and your life.

Please remember that there are neither right nor wrong answers. Circle the response that best describes the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement.

1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Strongly disagree</i>			<i>Strongly agree</i>		

1. _____ Most people see me as loving and affectionate. [L]
[SEP]
2. _____ Maintaining close relationships has been difficult and frustrating for me. [L]
[SEP]
3. _____ I often feel lonely because I have few close friends with whom to share my concerns. [L]
[SEP]
4. _____ I enjoy personal and mutual conversations with family members or friends. [L]
[SEP]
5. _____ I don't have many people who want to listen when I need to talk. [L]
[SEP]
6. _____ It seems to me that most other people have more friends than I do. [L]
[SEP]
7. _____ People would describe me as a giving person, willing to share my time with others. [L]
[SEP]
8. _____ I have not experienced many warm and trusting relationships with others. [L]
[SEP]
9. _____ I know that I can trust my friends, and they know that they can trust me. [L]
[SEP]

Please read each statement and select the option that best describes you.

1. How many times in the past three years have you participated in demonstrations or rallies about social or political issues?
 - a. 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3-4 times d) 5 -6 times e) 7 or more times

2. How many times in the past three years have you made telephone calls to policy makers to voice your opinion on social or political issues?
 - a. 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3-4 times d) 5 -6 times e) 7 or more times

3. How many times in the past three years have you volunteered for a social/political cause or candidate?
 - a. 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3-4 times d) 5 -6 times e) 7 or more times

4. How many times in the past three years have you met with policy makers (e.g., City council, State and Federal legislators, local elected officials) to advocate for a social or political issue?
 - a. 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3-4 times d) 5 -6 times e) 7 or more times

5. How many times in the past three years have you made financial contributions to a social or political cause or candidates?
 - a. 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3-4 times d) 5 -6 times e) 7 or more times

1. How many times in the past three years have you organized a group to support or protest a political or social issue?
 - a. 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3-4 times d) 5 -6 times e) 7 or more times

2. How many times in the past three years have you led, or directly assisted in leading, an already organized group supporting or protesting a political or social issue?
 - a. 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3-4 times d) 5-6 times e) 7 or more times

3. How many times in the past three years have you participated in a group supporting or protesting a political or social issue?
 - a. 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3-4 times d) 5-6 times e) 7 or more times

4. How many times in the past three years have you engaged in an extended argument with anyone over a political or social issue?
 - a. 0 times b) 1-2 times c) 3.4 times d) 5-6 times e) 7 or more times

5. How many times in the past three years have you addressed a formal audience (i.e., been a scheduled speaker) concerning a political or social issue?
 - a. 0 times b) 1-2 times e) 3-4 times d) S-6 times e) 7 or more times

6. Approximately how much time during the average day do you spend trying to convince others to support or protest political or social issues?
 - a. less than 15 min
 - b) 15-30 min.
 - c) 30 min.-1 hr.
 - d) 1-2 hr.
 - e) more than 2 hr.

7. Approximately how much time during the average day do you spend discussing political or social issues?
 - a. less than 15 min
 - b) 15-30 min.
 - c) 30 min.-1 hr.
 - d) 1-2 hr.
 - e) more than 2 hr.

8. How many times in the past three years have you written something (social media post, letters, email, etc.) designed specifically to either inform or convince other people concerning a political or social issue?
 - a. 0 times
 - b) 1-4 times
 - c) 3-4 times
 - d) 5-6 times
 - e) 7 or more times

9. How many books during the average month do you read on political or social issues?
 - a. 0
 - b) 1-2
 - c) 3-4
 - d) 5-6
 - e) 7 or more

10. How much time during the average day do you spend reading material, the bulk of which includes news, comment, or factual information on political or social issues?
 - a. less than 15 min
 - b) 15-30 min.
 - c) 30 min.-1 hr.
 - d) 1-2 hr.
 - e) more than 2 hr.

11. How many times during the average month do you attend meetings that have political or social issues as their focus?
 - a. 0 times
 - b) 1-2 times
 - c) 3-4 times
 - d) 5-6 times
 - e) 7 or more times

12. How many times in an average month do you go to hear scheduled speakers talking about political or social issues?
 - a. 0 times
 - b) 1-2 times
 - c) 3-4 times
 - d) 5-6 times
 - e) 7 or more times