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An exploratory study of African American male college graduates responding to the developmental process and the social context of racism experiences in American society

Joseph Von Dumonté Donaldson
University of Iowa

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AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF AFRICAN AMERICAN MALE COLLEGE

GRADUATES RESPONDING TO THE DEVELOPMENTAL PROCESS AND THE

SOCIAL CONTEXT OF RACISM EXPERIENCES IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

by

Joseph Von Dumonté Donaldson II

An Abstract

Of a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Doctor of
Philosophy degree in Education
(Counseling and Human Development)
in the Graduate College of
The University of Iowa

May 2004

Thesis Supervisor: Professor David A. Jepsen

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine the perceived consequences of racism experiences on adult development and overall well-being of highly educated African American males. There were three objectives: to describe African American male responses to experienced racism in four social contexts: on the job, in academia, in the public realm, and statements in the media; to describe African American male social support networks for dealing with racism and to describe their level of satisfaction with those social support network; and to examine the relationship between racism experiences and other variables with two measures of psychological well-being, neuroticism and extraversion.

The data used to address the study objectives were derived from a unique sample of responses to questionnaires submitted by 130 African American male college graduates. These men are very extraverted and score within average range on the neuroticism scales.

The participants perceived frequent incidences of racism in all four social contexts: on the job, in academic settings, in the public realm, and racist statements in the media. At all developmental levels, the respondents' acknowledged that incidences of racism experiences had occurred in both the "previous year" and "throughout their lifetime. The African American men are acknowledging performing additional tasks during their development that was heretofore never mentioned in developmental theory.

The African American male college graduates were very satisfied with the African American supporters European Americans who were a part of their social support network.

Results of several regression analyses that entered all independent variables, found that only two variables showed a small but significant negative predictor value for

neuroticism. Results of analyses that entered variables for predicting extraversion found that the total number of African American supporters was a small but positive predictor.

These graduates provided evidence that they are constantly aware and vigilant about circumstances in American society. They experienced incidences of racism across social contexts and have devised ways to cope, yet they are always looking at themselves through the eyes of others and the negative influences of the ensuing feelings of isolation, hurt and frustration threaten to diminish their sense of well-being.

Abstract Approved: _____
Thesis Supervisor

_____
Title and Department

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Date

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Iowa City, Iowa

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

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PH.D. THESIS

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This is to certify that the Ph.D. thesis of

Joseph Von Dumonté Donaldson II

has been approved by the Examining Committee
for the thesis requirement for the Doctor of Philosophy
degree in Education (Counseling and Human Development)
at the May 2004 graduation.

Thesis Committee: _____
David A. Jepsen, Thesis Supervisor

_____
Nicholas Colangelo

_____
Timothy Ansley

_____
Fredrick Woodard

_____
Phillip Jones

To Sarah Elsa Roberts

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

> It is a peculiar sensation, this double consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity…One ever feels his twoness, -an American, a Negro: two souls, two thoughts two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. (DuBois, 1903, 1969, p.45)

W. E. B. DuBois described the struggle of people from African descent living in America in his book, *The Souls of Black Folk* written in 1903. DuBois's exegesis reflected several predicaments that all African Americans must contend with in American society. First, African Americans know that they are human beings, yet, on occasion, they are treated contrarily simply because of the color of their skin. Second, they were indoctrinated into a society devoid of a historical reference point and were made to feel subservient and insufficient simultaneously as they tried to assimilate into an American society. Third, were/are systematically denied and hindered the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. DuBois's perception on race and how life was for the African American during the early twentieth century still rings true today. The historical struggle of African Americans who have to deal with race and racism in the United State is an unreconciled issue and a recalcitrant problem (Frazier, 1997) that remains alive today. A particular result of the treatment that African Americans have endured in this country because of the color of their skin is the intrapsychic angst that many of them experience because of racism (Grier & Cobbs, 1992). Race and racism represent unpleasant realities that all people in this society have yet to deal with effectively. In fact, race and racism are issues that have yet to be dealt with adequately, worldwide.

These issues with race and racism represent a struggle that is pervasive in the lives of all Americans, even the most dominant ethnic group in America, European Americans. For African Americans and other nondominant ethnic American groups (such as Asian Americans, Latino Americans, and Native Americans, etc.) contemporary

psychological terminology suggests that the struggle to which DuBois refers is often manifested in the struggle to ameliorate or reduce racism-related stressors in everyday life (Smith, 1985). According to Smith, racism-related stressors involve negative interactions between European Americans and nondominant ethnic Americans in American society. Racism-related stressors permeate interactions in the lives of African American people and they are believed to be detrimental to the African American way of life and are generally perceived to be a negative influence on the overall well-being of African Americans (Harrell, 2000; Thompson & Neville 1999; Williams, 2000).

The racism-related stressors that Smith (1985)[1] is referring to are interwoven into the social and historical fabric of American society and its influence on the lives of African Americans represents unwarranted extra baggage to carry on their developmental journey. For example, consider the case of Sam, a young attorney with a penchant for dressing impeccably and conducting himself in an utmost professional manner. His case example was initially presented in Franklin's (1999) article entitled, "Invisibility Syndrome and Racial Identity Development in Psychotherapy and Counseling African American Men." Franklin depicts a *cross racial* incident between an African American man (named Sam) and a European American female and the scenario goes as follows:

> Sam was riding alone in the courthouse elevator one day when a young White woman entered at another floor. Sam gave her a slight acknowledging smile as she entered…. When the [elevator] door closed, the young woman looked at Sam and said with fearfulness, "You're not going to hurt me, are you?" Sam was stunned by her comment and its stinging audacity. The insinuation made him angry, with an impulse to strike back. His gut twisted into knots from the flood of emotions and thoughts of what to do…. Before he realized it, he found himself stretching his frame to its fullest height, narrowing his eyes, then slowly growling through clinched teeth in a thinly veiled manner, "no, not today."(p. 769)

According to Franklin (1999), the experience was a "leveler" for Sam, a painful status reducer, and it also reminded him that irrespective of appearance, biased attitudes

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[1] A full description of Smith (1985) 25 propositions are included in Appendix C

about African American men will continually distort judgment of their character. Psychologically, Sam recognized that he was being fitted into this woman's stereotyped view of African American men as threatening and aggressive predators regardless of how he felt about himself. However, what rattled him the most was how this incident nearly surpassed his threshold for exercising good judgment in reacting to a racial slight. This situation could have easily gotten out control. Franklin suggests that had Sam reacted with an angry outburst of righteous indignation, he would have confirmed the racial stereotype for the European American woman or it could have been further blown out of proportion with newspaper headlines: Black man accosts White woman in elevator. This is one example of racism-related stress that many African American men experience; yet, to date, racism-related stressors are not yet fully accounted for in psychological research (Thompson & Neville, 1999). These pervasive stressors have not been addressed in human development literature and developmental theories have not accounted for how cumulative experiences of racism-related stress impact individual psychosocial development and/or overall well-being.

How does a counselor or mental health professional help Sam resolve the intrapsychic struggle that he has experienced, especially, if the counselor or mental health professional is not sensitive to the long-term effects of racism? At the same time, what are the ramifications for his development and well being if, in addition to other normative ordinary stressors, racism-related stress remains a persistent problem throughout his life?

Counselors and mental health professionals have relied on human development scholars such as Levinson, Darrow, Kline, McKee, and Levinson (1978), Erikson (1950, 1959), and others to provide them with the background knowledge they need to understand and help individuals resolve persistent problems of development. However, their theories and/or data on adult development have not provided us with a way of incorporating racism-related stress and its impact on the psychological development of African American people. In fact, according to Jackson, Brown, Williams, Torres,

Sellers, and Brown (1996), social science researchers have often struggled with a frame of reference to guide empirical study on issues such as race, racism, and overall psychological well being.

Dynamics of Racism-Related Stress

By contrast with Levinson et al. (1978), Erickson (1956, 1959) and other development theorists, Smith (1985) introduced 25 propositions that explained how people from various cultural backgrounds contend with stressors including racism-related stressors. Smith (1985) provided three propositions that dealt directly with racism. According to Smith, African Americans and other nondominant ethnic groups suffer constantly from the stressor of the dominant group's reaction to skin color, which is often perceived as race. For most African Americans and other nondominant ethnic groups, the epitome of their suffering comes from the broad range of social stressor stimuli associated with race and is commonly known as racism. Racism is often manifested, knowingly or unknowingly, by acts of discrimination, segregation, and other practices enacted by the larger European American population upon the minority population. Harrell (2000) indicated symptoms associated with racism acts and suggests that although responses to racism-related stress may be idiosyncratic at times, the overall affective responses of individuals may include sadness, anger, and humiliation. The outcome of these negative affective responses may be exhibited physically, psychologically, socially, functionally, and spiritually.

Williams (2000) reported that, within the social structure of American society, European Americans are always on top, African Americans on the bottom, and every other nondominant ethnic group are between them. The other nondominant ethnic groups, including Asian Americans, Latino Americans, and Native Americans, experience different degrees of acceptance and rejection by European Americans and this social positioning act as a racial buffer for European Americans and, moreover, maintains a structural superiority and social distance between European Americans and African

Americans (Thompson & Neville, 1999). As a result, African Americans are less accepted, prejudged, and misunderstood by the larger European American society. Furthermore, they experience more rejection and racism in the United States than do other groups (Thomas & Neville, 1999; Williams, 2000).

Contemporary adult development theory seldom addresses race and racism as potential stressors that could influence the developmental experience of African Americans and other nondominant ethnic Americans in substantial ways (Herbert, 1989). And if counselors and similar mental health professionals are operating with incomplete knowledge about the struggle with race, racism and psychological well-being, then those mental health professionals are probably working with an inappropriate, incomplete frame of reference, or, worse, with myths that could be detrimental to positive therapeutic interventions with African Americans and other nondominant ethnic people.

The mental health profession may also be failing to live up to the basic tenets of its ethical code; that is, to do no harm to the people they serve and to advocate for the well-being of those who are victims of injustice and inequality in this society. Therefore, if the paucity of knowledge regarding racism-related stressors on development and well-being continue, then, the mental health profession may not only be culpable of providing a disservice to all people from different racial and cultural backgrounds, it may be accused of tacitly approving the actions of those who perpetrate racism against African Americans and other nondominant ethnic Americans in this society. Understanding how race and racism related stress impact the developmental process of African American males and other nondominant Americans, may bridge the gap of well meaning intentions of mental professions and inspire more effective therapeutic interventions to ameliorate racism for those groups.

Types of Racism-Related Stress

One type of stress related to racism is called "everyday racism" (Essed, 1991), and African Americans experience this kind of racism in many different ways. Everyday racism consists of *intentional* and *repetitive* affronts that are subtle in action but potent enough to invalidate the accuser's (usually an African American) charges, and deem them as misinterpretations and untruths (Essed, 1991). For example, it is easy to understand the kind of racism that is perpetuated in cross-burnings, lynching, and other acts of blatant racist rage; and most of us would even agree that these kinds of acts could cause levels of stress to rise not only in African American individuals but also throughout the African American community. Everyday racism, such as Sam's scenario depicted above, can also cause significant increases in levels of stress for any individual African American. These kinds of racism-related stress go virtually unchecked, purposefully unrecognized, and overtly unacknowledged as major sources of stress by those who perpetrate everyday racist acts.

Another type of racism-related stress includes "racial slights" and other "microagressions" that are closely related to everyday racism (Harrell, 2000). Racial slights and microagressions are verbal or nonverbal actions that may be unintentionally offensive, but create an atmosphere or expectation of an impending racist event (Guthrie, 1995). The subtlety involved with everyday racism, racial slights and microagressions occur when an African American objects to the subtle racist treatment and complains to either the perpetrator or others who are not sensitive to the issue at hand. The response from the perpetrator or those who are insensitive to issues of racism-related stress reflects a lack of understanding or acknowledgement that a racist event has even occurred (Harrell, 2000).

A third type of racism-related stressor is the "invisibility syndrome" (Franklin, 1999). The invisibility syndrome is a type of racism-related stress that causes African Americans to internalize the meaning of a racist event and subsequently begin to question

their own talents, abilities, skills, education, and any other positive attributes and achievements they may possess. Counselors and other mental health professionals need to know that the potentially damaging affects of stress associated with racism lay not only in a specific racial offense but also in the resistance and the recalcitrant nature of the dominant ethnic group to believe and/or validate that subtle racist acts are committed and that they cause harm to the psyche of the African American personality (Harrell, 2000).

Furthermore, because of the complexity of responses to racism, scholars such as Herbert (1989), Thomas and Neville, (1999), and Ponterotto, Fuertes, and Chen (2000) have suggested that those who perpetrate racism such as European Americans and other ethnic groups as well, should be studied for their response patterns to interactions involving race and racism.

Herbert (1989) extends the argument by suggesting that developmental theorists and researchers failed to obtain significant information about how racism-related stress impact the life experiences of nondominant ethnic groups, but they are also negligent with regard to understanding how perpetrators of racism are affected as well. Some researchers (Thomas & Neville, 1999; Fuertes & Chen, 2000) argue that research encompassing how race and racism-related issues affect those who commit racist acts may prove to be the missing link to theories that involve nigresence and racial identity development. These same scholars (further) suggest that specific theoretical concerns related to race and racism that are absent in developmental research, need to be explored in new and innovative ways. Without this kind of research, we will not be able to upgrade the level of our understanding of the existing theories of nigresence and racial identity development that connect race and racism with psychosocial development. By investigating race and racism in new ways, we may begin to understand how and why people carry out acts of racism at all.

European Americans do not typically suffer from the repercussions of racism according to Smith's (1985) theory. The stress attached to race and racism causes

physical, emotional, psychological, and spiritual well-being problems for African Americans and other nondominant ethnic groups. In order to understand the stress associated with racism, it is important to consider how racial minority status is imposed by dominant people in the United States and throughout the world. Smith theorized that sources come from affirmed boundaries of inner and outer group status; the *in-group* can be defined as people who are members of the dominant or majority ethnic-cultural group within a given society. For example, in American society, European Americans would be considered members of the in-group. The primary *out-group* in the United States are African Americans, and to a lesser degree other nondominant ethnic American people.

Allport (1954) postulated that out-group members may encounter three levels of rejection: (1) verbal rejection, (2) discrimination, and (3) physical attack. For African Americans, their out-group status has resulted in social isolation, social marginality, and status inconsistency. Therefore, Smith (1985) emphasized that "in countries where a number of racial minorities exist, usually the majority members develop a social distance scale for interacting and responding to each group." (p. 535) In American society, this means that those racial minority groups that are perceived to personify the id (i.e., animalistic and/or barbaric tendencies) in human beings are treated with greater social distance than those who are perceived to embody the superego that is, European Americans (Smith, 1985). Therefore, when one considers the minority status of African Americans (and given the earlier description of racial buffering) in relationship to other nondominant ethnic people and European Americans, it is easy to understand that they are the most vilified of all ethnic Americans.

Smith (1985) also describes how African Americans and other nondominant ethnic Americans experience non racism-related stress as well. She proposes that in addition to racism-related stress, there are other stressors that influence the person as they develop throughout life. Smith highlights biological, psychological, cultural, ethnic, and environmental events as multiple factors that are involved in non racism-related stressors.

Harrell (2000) extended Smith's propositions by developing a model of racism-related stress and well-being. Harrell's model complemented Smith's propositions by describing the unique minutiae involved with racism-related stress, nonracism-related stress, and their impact on overall well-being.

Harrell (2000) adds that family characteristics, racial socialization, generic stressors, and other status-related stressors also play some role in nonracism-related stress. All of these stressors interact with the developmental process and underscore the importance of the intricate connections that stressors have on the developing adult person. In essence, what Smith and Harrell are suggesting is that regardless of race, we all cope with a multiplicity of stressors that impinge on our life experiences, and for most of us, these stressors are dealt with effectively and routinely. However, even if these common stressors cause problems enough to seek mental health services, most mental health professionals are fully capable of assisting the person to successfully contend with these common stressors. Those individuals who have to endure an additional level of stress, that is the stress associated with race and racism, coping successfully and moving on with unhindered everyday life, may not be the end result.

<div align="center">Racism-Related Stress and Adult Development</div>

Smith's (1985) propositions on race and racism-related stress and Harrell's (2000) model of racism-related stress and well-being have implications for adult development theory and African American male development. For example, past studies that were seminal to the advancement of male adult development theory did not account for factors such as race and racism and the subsequent stress associated with them. In their well-known study on male adult development, Levinson, Darrow, Kline, McKee, and Levinson (1978) focused on the biological, psychological, and environmental aspects of male development; but, they did not address issues of race, ethnicity or culture. Their sample population included 35 European American men and 5 African American men as

participants for the study. Levinson et al., (1978) explained the male life course by introducing *eras* (e. g., early adulthood, middle adulthood, late adulthood, etc.) or periods of a man's life. The researchers also provided detailed description of tasks that are involved within each era and the ramifications for not completing them. Levinson et al., study was perhaps the most significant contribution to our understanding of the vicissitudes involved in male development throughout the life course. In many ways it provided mental health professionals with a kind of barometer to gauge male psychosocial development in relationship to the potent life stressors that are a part of the development experience for males.

The researchers however, missed an opportunity to provide us with some valuable information on how African American male personality and coping strategies are formed, especially due to their unique experiences with racism-related stressors. Furthermore, Levinson et al., study did not provide us with a way understanding overall psychological well-being of African American males with respect to racism related stressors. These missing ingredients leave the Levinson et al. theory incomplete in the accounting for African American male development, and it represents some unresolved problems that exist between the connection of human development theory, and race and racism related stressors.

This study is conceptualized as a beginning to seek missing detail in earlier work by development theorists such as Levinson et al., and to start a new discussion on the influence of racism on the development and overall psychological well-being of African American males.

Although it is important to investigate the impact of race and racism-related stressors on the development of both African American men and women, this research project will only focus on the lives of African American men because it relates to this researcher's life experiences and it will allow a way of contributing to the completion of

Levinson et al. theory with regard to including more applicable information on the development of African American males.

Another important aspect of Levinson et al. theory of male development was people who assisted the male throughout life. Levinson et al., referred to wives of men as supporters for his dream or life ambition. They also theorized that developing males develop mentoring relationships at work (usually with an older, more experienced male) to help them succeed in their careers. However, the theory fell short with describing social support for the lives of African American males. Therefore, information about African American male social support is needed, especially with regard to how other people help the male deal with problems that are associated with race and racism-related stressors during development.

<div align="center">Social Support</div>

The social support networks formed by African Americans according to Taylor and Chatters (1989), come as a result of the African American community being systematically excluded from economic, political, educational, and civic arenas in American society. In an effort to assuage this lack of access to mainstream social institutions and roles within the larger society, African Americans began to develop their own institutions and mechanisms such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); a major source for community support. Fraternities, sororities and other campus social support networks were set up for academic concerns; churches, businesses, lodges and unions were also formed to provide some level of social and economic support for African American people (Frazier, 1997; Taylor & Chatters, 1989). Although these institutions have been frequently characterized as dysfunctional and poor caricatures by mainstream European American institutions (Frazier, 1997), Taylor and Chatters (1989) suggest that the social support devices developed by African Americans are truly innovative, adaptive, and effective for African Americans and other

nondominant ethnic groups in spite of what some in mainstream American society might have to say. Furthermore, these formal and informal institutions of social support are located in close proximity to African Americans and are readily accessible to assist African Americans with some level of support that is typically unavailable in larger mainstream society.

Social support networks have become essential components of life that African Americans use to cope with typical life stressors in American society (Taylor & Chatters, 1989). Informal social support networks such as family and friends, and formal social support networks such as churches, private agencies and institutions (such as the Rainbow Coalition, NAACP, Southern Christian Leadership Conference) and professionals (e.g., dentists, medical doctors, counselors, etc.) all share some role in assisting African Americans with problems in life (Taylor & Chatters, 1989). According to Boyce (1996), social support buffers the negative impact of stress in two ways: 1) it provides the individual with a resource to cope with stressful circumstances; and 2) reliance on social networks helps with psychological well-being (P. 411). Therefore, it may be important for mental health professionals to understand the extent to which African American males use their social support networks to sustain psychological well-being.

In order to understand how the mechanism of social support works, we look to Smith's (1985) proposition 13:

> Culture affects the way we respond to stressor stimuli and life events. Each ethnic group has a certain style or manner of acting or performing in relationship to life events that is sanctioned by some group standard. Likewise, there are also non-sanctioned styles of responding to life events. In general, there are values shared by ethnic group members and behaviors that characterize their responses to particular situations (p. 565).

Smith suggests that "each ethnic group has a certain style or manner of acting or performing in relationship to life events that is sanctioned by a group standard."(p.564) That is, the individual of a particular group, when confronted with an issue such as a

racism-related stressor, uses a group learned (normative) response pattern to garner support for himself, when others who experience racism-related stress similarly to him, are unavailable for support. Furthermore, when other members of the individual's racial or cultural group are available for support and an issue such as racism-related stress occurs, then the members of that group form a familiar alliance that becomes mutually supportive to assuage the effects of that particular racial stressor. "There may also be nonsanctioned styles (such as gang activity, substance abuse, violence, etc.) of responding to life events as well." (p.565) However, both sanctioned and nonsanctioned methods are used to reduce stress and promote psychological well-being. According to Harrell's (2000) point of view, sometimes a racist event can affect the well-being of individuals and groups despite the level of influence their social support networks may have. Thus, racism-related stress may not only affect the coping ability of individuals it may even render available social support resources useless in their response to ameliorate the effects of racism. Harrell further emphasizes that "research and theory on stress and coping among people of color has fallen short of comprehensively capturing experiences and characteristics that emerge between the individual, the environment and transactions involving race and culture."(p. 42) More research on racism-related stressors influence on individual and group social support may turn up new strategies to help those affected to cope more effectively.

Smith's (1985) proposition 13 and Harrell's (2000) explanation of racism-related stress on well-being provide a beginning explanation of how African American males perceive and/or respond to racial stimuli and life events. However, Harrell's caveat warns us of the potential for racism-related stress to negate even the most effective coping mechanisms that African American males use. But if there are no other effective resources available, African American males may need other forms of insulation and social support to assuage the effects of stressors brought on by racism. Mental health professionals need to be aware that although formal and informal institutions of social

support exist for people in the African American community, they may not be enough to assist African American males and others to resolve problems associated with race and racism-related stress. Moreover, should these social support networks become ineffective for any reason, other forms of social support may be necessary.

<u>African American Male Adult Development</u>

Two researchers (Gooden, 1980; Herbert 1989) replicated Levinson et al.'s (1978) study on male adult development but focused only on the lives of African American men. Gooden and Herbert found that their study participants completed developmental tasks similarly to European American males; but with one exception. Unlike European American males, African American men were found to encounter significantly more obstacles throughout their developmental experience as they attempted to fulfill their adult goals.

For example, Herbert (1989), the first African American male researcher to contribute to adult development theory, investigated the lives of ten African American male entrepreneurs. He found that all of his participants struggled more with career aspirations than their European American counterparts primarily because of racism. For instance, all ten entrepreneurs faced problems with acquiring funding from the Small Business Administration (SBA) even though all were deemed by other nongovernmental agencies to qualify for them; and in some cases, were over qualified for the necessary funding for their businesses. Overall, Herbert's entrepreneurs found that when dealing with public and private institutions, being treated fairly was more the exception than the rule.

Gooden (1979) examined the adult development of 5 street men and 6 male public school teachers, four of whom were also lower level education administrators. The street men and school teachers in Gooden's (1979) study reported encountering obstacles in obtaining their desired careers in academia during their early to mid-twenties, and all of

them held numerous other jobs before eventually settling down into a specific occupation. The street men in particular were routinely arrested and occasionally served time in jail for minor offenses. Having to contend with the criminal justice system, especially with police, was always a concern for some African American men. Moreover, in both studies (i.e., Herbert 1989; Gooden, 1979) on African American male development, race, racism, and economic disadvantage were issues which all of the African American men had to contend.

From the results of the Gooden (1979) and Herbert (1989) studies it can be concluded that Levinson et al.'s (1978) theory was useful for understanding most of the nonracism-related issues that are involved in African American male lives. That is, Gooden and Herbert concurred with Levinson et al. on specific issues that were especially salient for African American men. Their salient issues were similar to those of European American males. Marriage and family, career, occupation, childhood dreams of adulthood aspirations, mentoring relationships, and evolving life structure (i.e., a pattern of life and its positive trajectory) were the primary core developmental tasks focused on during early development. After reaching adulthood, and similar to their European American brothers, African American males aspired to leave the home of the family of origin, establish their own abode, develop mature adult relationships, and find appropriate employment.

Although Gooden (1979) and Herbert (1989) considered some of Levinson et al.'s findings useful, they also found the study to be devoid of pertinent information regarding the influence of race, racism, and the African Americans struggle to experience life without hindrance in contemporary American society. Herbert went a bit further than Gooden in his conclusions by making the major distinction that race and racism were significant issues in the lives of all men regardless of color. He also emphasized that racism is more problematic and oftentimes more detrimental to the lives of African American men because of European American men. Obviously, these obstacles come

into play because of skin color and the result is typically racism-related stress experienced by African American males. Consequently, as reported by Herbert and Gooden, we can almost conclude that racism-related stress also interferes with development. On the other hand, we can only speculate on this point because the information about this phenomenon is unavailable in most developmental research literature.

Herbert (1989) identified the gap in developmental theory where race and racism issues were omitted from the discussion. Consequently he urged human development researchers to investigate the effects of race and racism on male adult development. The idea of investigating race and racism effects on adult development is supported by scholars such as Jackson and Sellers (1996). They asserted that because researchers have lacked a conceptual framework that specifically includes racism, well-being, and development, empirical research has progressed slowly. More studies in this area would further our understanding of the unique relationship that adult development, racism, and well-being share.

African American males must interact with public and private institutions (i.e., educational systems, labor and occupational markets, the housing market, the justice system, the media, etc.) throughout their lives and because these institutions are run predominately by European Americans, problems involving race and racism will almost inevitably occur. According to Thompson and Neville (1999), these American institutions perpetuate racism more than individuals and they cause substantially more problems for African American males in almost every aspect of life. Coping with racism is an ever-present problem for African American males, and as such, counselors and similar mental health professionals must be made aware of the life altering impact it may have on the developing African American male.

Structural Components of Racism in American Society

Thompson and Neville (1999) assert that there are *structural* and *ideological* components to racism, and these components are primarily responsible for the negative influence on African American male development. According to Bramel and Friend (1982) the structural component of racism can be described as systems in this society that are organized for the sole purpose of excluding, hindering, and preventing, particular groups of people from obtaining full access and benefits of mainstream society. For example, in American society there are political, economic, and social institutions such as education, law enforcement, criminal justice system, military, and an actual structural environment that is, the structure and developed social space that includes reservations, ghettos, barrios, and the process of suburbanization. These components are used to keep specific groups isolated and segmented from the mainstream society. Bramel and Friend further suggest the following:

> Racism… structural components … consists of interlocking systems [that are] (1) designed to keep African Americans and other nondominant ethnic Americans in an inferior status and (2) prevent feelings of solidarity from emerging between African Americans, other nondominant ethnic Americans and European Americans. (p.180)

The majority of males in prison are African American, the inner city ghetto populations are predominately African American, and there is an ongoing antagonistic relationship between African American males and the criminal justice system. These facts seem to indicate that for African American males, the structural component of racism is very effective.

According to Althusser (1969), the *ideological* component of racism can be defined as a "system (with its own logic and rigor) [*sic*] that represents images, myths, ideas, or concepts that are endowed with a historical existence and a role within a given society." Some common assumptions about ideology include a system of beliefs–false ideas …which can be contrasted with true or scientific knowledge (Williams, 1999 p.55). For example, racism as an ideological component supports the ideas that African

Americans are not as intelligent as European Americans. Other ideological conceptions are that affirmative action has either given good jobs to unqualified African Americans, or, that qualified European Americans are being terminated from their jobs and replaced by lesser-qualified African Americans. These ideological conceptions about race and race relations serve to protect the status quo and maintain a current system of racial domination in which racial minorities experience institutional discrimination. With this being said, it is easy to understand that racist ideologies are manifested and perpetuated by false representations of nondominant American ethnic groups as culturally, intellectually, and/or morally inferior and simultaneously representing European Americans on the whole, as being superior and the norm by which other groups should be evaluated (Jones, 1997; Thompson & Neville, 1999). An example of this kind of ideology is represented in Herrnstein and Murray's (1995) controversial book, "The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life."

The authors of this book attempted to substantiate that economically disadvantaged African Americans were intellectually inferior and that most, if not all of them, should be relegated to a system of menial labor because of their so called inferior intelligence. These false representations are continually characterized in media images and educational practices even today (Bramel & Friend, 1982).

Bramel and Friend (1982) further suggest that the structural and ideological system of racism is necessary to prevent an interracial alliance of the working class to challenge class exploitation by the elites of American society and, according to Smith (1995) racism exists because one racial group must have the relative power. That is, one race must have the capacity to impose its will in terms of policies and procedures in American society because without this relative power relationship, racism is a mere sentiment because without the power it would only represent a wish.

Racism's structural and ideological components are realities that have yet to be connected to the adult development of African American males and although it is evident

that race and racism are tied to African American male adult development (Harrell, 2001; Smith, 1985; Thompson & Neville, 1999; Williams, 2000), counselors and other mental health professionals who are not sensitive to these forms of racism, may easily mistake an individual's reaction to racism-related stress as paranoia or some other unfounded level of mental disorder. If counselors or similar mental health professionals lack authentic awareness of the dynamics of the structural and ideological component of racism, and their affects on the development of African American males, then we may be contributing to the complex and problematic experience of African American males rather than improving the consequences of their dilemma with racism.

Filling in new information where there is a void of data that connects race and racism to the adult development of African American men forms the interest and impetus for this study. This study will begin an empirical discussion on the influence of structural and ideological racism on the adult development and overall psychological well-being of African American males.

After almost 30 years, basic human development research has not provided a full understanding of the problem of racism-related stress. Moreover, this lack of attention to racism-related stress and its relationship to psychological well-being do not provide counselors or other mental health professionals the background knowledge necessary to adequately treat African American males and other nondominant ethnic groups. Harrell (2000) provided a succinct summary, "mental health professionals have had little systematic guidance to explore the multiple ways racism has affected their client's well-being" (p. 42). There is a need for counselors and similar mental health professionals to reduce their reliance on incomplete information collected by researchers such as Levinson et al. (1978) to guide their practice for working with African American males.

The National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) has recognized the disparate conditions in mental health that exist for African Americans and other nondominant ethnic groups as compared to European Americans in the United States. And in an effort

to bring attention to this pressing issue, the NIMH has made understanding this inequity

in mental health a major focus in their strategic plan. These concerns are articulated in a

2001 statement by the NIMH:

> Findings from recent epidemiological studies indicate…there is a differential exposure to risk factors for mental disorders…in minority groups and utilization of mental health services…. Cultural and ethnic minorities tend to face more stressors quantitatively and qualitatively than the majority population. Basic behavioral science research has documented certain cultural and ethnic variations in processes involved in coping with stress, e.g., cognitive, emotional, and social processes; perception of self, and motivation. In understanding differences in health outcomes, it is essential to determine the extent to which cultural or ethnic groups react to and cope with stress differently. (p. 2)

The need for counselors to obtain current and appropriate information about

African American males and their efforts to mediate the problems of race, racism, and

culture, cannot be emphasized more powerfully than in the above NIMH's statement.

Taking the step to better understand the relationship between racism-related stress,

development, and well-being of African American males connects with NIMH's strategic

plan. Thus, new data from this study on racism-related issues may allow counselors to

better understand the problem relationship it has with African American male

development and could possibly lead to better interventions designed to improve the

quality of life for African American males.

Purpose of the Study

This study is designed to begin to investigate the perceived consequences of

racism experiences on the adult development and overall well-being of highly educated

African American males. This study will also point the way toward a new perspective on

developmental research that acknowledges the influence of racism on the life experiences

and psychological well-being of African American males. Three general objectives are

pursued:

1. To describe African American male responses to racism in four social contexts, (in academia, on the job, in the public realm, and in the media) and across three adult developmental periods.

2. To describe African American males social support networks for dealing with racism experiences.

3. To examine the association between racism experiences and psychological well-being for African American males.

A national sample of college-educated African American males were asked to respond to a survey about their perceptions of racism experiences in relation to (a) the social context of racism experiences, (b) developmental periods of the adult life course, and (c) their overall psychological well-being.

The general outcomes are expected to be:

1. A description of self-reported incidences of racism experiences of a group of African American male college graduates.

2. An exploratory assessment of the influence of racism experiences across the lifespan of African American male college graduates, examining the social context of racism experiences in relationship to psychological well-being.

3. An examination of African American males' use of social support networks to contend with racism issues.

Research Questions

Data will be analyzed to address the following research questions:

1. What are the incidences of racism experiences reported by African American male college graduates?

   1a. Do incidences of racism experiences differ across social settings?

1b. Do incidences of racism experiences differ across levels of development?

1c. Do incidences of racism experiences differ between the last year and a lifetime?

1d. Are incidences of racism experiences associated with socio-economic status?

2. What are the intensity levels of eight emotional responses to racism experiences reported by African-American male college graduates?

2a. What are the differences in intensity of emotional reactions to racism experiences across social settings?

2b. What are the differences in intensity of emotional reactions to racism experiences across developmental level?

3. What are the frequencies of ten behavioral coping responses to racism experiences?

3a. What is the relationship between frequency of behavioral coping responses to social context of racism experiences?

3b. What is the relationship between frequency of behavioral coping responses and developmental levels?

4. What is the level of social support for dealing with racism experiences and satisfaction with social support?

4a. What is the relationship between level of social support and developmental level?

4b. What is the relationship between satisfaction with social support and developmental level?

5. Are the experiences of racism associated with psychological well-being as measured by scales of neuroticism and extraversion?

5a. Are racism experiences related to neuroticism and extraversion?

5b. Are intensity of emotional responses to racism experiences related to neuroticism and extraversion?

5c. Is the range of behavioral coping response to racism experiences related to neuroticism and extraversion?

5d. Are the number of supporters and satisfaction with social support related to neuroticism and extraversion?

5e. What is the degree to which all of the above are associated with neuroticism and extraversion when SES and developmental level are controlled?

Definitions of Key Terms

African American male, Black male and Black(s): the present terms used to

identify African American people and the study's targeted subjects. All of these terms are

commonly known in American society; however, to be specific, African American male

is defined as a Black male of American of African ancestry and heritage (Webster, 1996).

Operationally, there were respondents who self-identified themselves as male and

African American.

Racism: Harrell (2000) defines racism as:

> A system of dominance, power, and privilege based on racial
> group designations, rooted in the historical oppression of a group defined
> or perceived by dominant-group members as inferior, deviant, or
> undesirable. It occurs in circumstances where members of the dominant
> group create or accept their societal privilege by maintaining structures,
> ideology, values, and behavior that have the intent or effect of leaving
> nondominant-group members relatively excluded from power, esteem,
> status, and/or equal access to societal resources. (p. 43).

Racism Experiences: related to respondents' elicited responses to questions asked

on personal questionnaire regarding the frequency and intensity of experiences with

racism, and behavioral coping and emotional response to racism across four contexts:

racism in academia, racism on the job, racism in the public realm, and racist statements in

the media.

Social Context of Racism Experiences: Represents the direct and/or indirect social

interactions of African Americans with European Americans within different social

environments or contexts and that result in harmful and damaging effects of racism. For

this study, a sample of African American men will respond to racism experiences in

relation to four specific environmental contexts: academia, occupation, the public realm,

and racist statements in the media.

Developmental Level of Male Adulthood

The following definitions were developed by Levinson, Darrow, Kline, Levinson, and McKee (1978).

Early adulthood, ages 17-45*:* the second era of the life cycle, which ordinarily begins at age 17 or 18 and ends at about age 45.

Middle adulthood, ages 45-60*:* the third era which represents the end of early adulthood and when mid-life transition becomes evident.

Late Adulthood, ages 60-80: the fourth era of adulthood that is marked by men experiencing life as elderly, golden age, and/or senior citizen.

Psychological Well-being: For purposes of this study, psychological well-being will be synonymous to subjective well-being (SWB). The operational definition refers to the overall evaluation that people make about the quality of their life, generally summing up their essential life experiences along a positive-negative continuum (Costa & McCrae, 1992; Schmotkin, 1998).

Significance of the study

Mental health professionals require a greater understanding of how African American males attempt to succeed in life despite the affects of racism on their development. The devices African American males use to successfully assuage the effects of racism should be studied to provide mental health professionals the information needed to assist them in their efforts to help African American male clients to develop the tools to contend effectively with racism. Knowing more about how a select group of highly educated African American males cope with racism may enhance counselor's effectiveness with assuaging racism's influence on their development and overall psychological well-being. Such research could bring a new awareness that provides the

impetus for counselors and similar mental health professionals to advocate more strongly for social justice on behalf of African American males and other nondominant ethnic Americans in the United States.

Summary

In summary, DuBois's (1903, 1969), statement of the African American condition, specifically, the struggle to contend with problems of race and racism still exist today. African Americans are continually struggling with problems associated with barriers that promote injustice, unequal treatment, inequity in quality of life, and tenuous psychological well-being. All aspects of these issues stem from racism; racism which impinges on the psyche and development of not just African American males, but all people of different ethnic backgrounds.

African American males and European American males have common developmental roles and tasks that are related to their adult development as set forth by Levinson et al. (1978). However, African American males endure circumstances that are more detrimental to their adult development than their European American counterparts. Whether it is contending with external barriers of racism, or internalizing concerns of racist treatment, both impinge on the progress of African American males' overall sense of well-being and viability in life at every stage of their existence. According to Gooden (1979) and Herbert (1989), African American males must remain much more diligent in their efforts to attain lifelong aspirations and dreams than their European American male counterpart because of racism; it affects every aspect of their lives because it is an ingredient that is formed at the foundation of their life.

Race, along with its derivatives such as racism, racial prejudice, and racial discrimination, is an age-old problem that has implications for everyone who lives in American society. The problem of racism still exists today in varying ways because it has

not been effectively dealt with by our society for at least two centuries, and when

European American male development is juxtaposed with African-American male

development, distinctions are found with regard to social status, physical health and

overall well-being (NIMH, 2001; Smith, 1985). As indicated by W.E.B. DuBois's early

twentieth century writings and further supported by the National Institute of Mental

Health's early twenty-first century statement, the struggle to contend effectively with

racism has not yet been adequately addressed in the United States of America.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

This study will begin to determine the perceived consequences of racism experiences on the adult development and overall well-being of highly educated African American men. The study will also point the way toward a new perspective on developmental research and thus acknowledge the influence of racism on the life experiences of African American males and its influence on their psychological well-being. A review of the pertinent developmental and racism-related research establishes a framework for the research questions.

Method

The source material that was examined to develop the background for this research project was published after 1967. The literature review was initiated with the use of Psychological Literature (PsychLit), a computerized bibliography, utilizing combinations of the following key words and subjects: adult development/theory, human males/adult development, Blacks/adult development, Black males/adult development, cross cultural/adult development, women/adult development, Native American/adult development, Latino-Hispanic/adult development, Asian American/adult development, White American/adult development, ethnic identity, human males, racial/ethnic attitudes, racial, and ethnic relations, racial identity development, coping behaviors, psychological well-being, and social support. As a result, forty-two articles and 60 books were uncovered and included in this review. These same key words and subject concepts were used for searches in anthropological and sociological journals and yielded about 55 additional articles. Following the key word search, all articles and books were evaluated based on content that was pertinent to adult development, African American male life experiences and development, race and racism issues, coping with race and racism issues and psychological well-being.

A review of dissertation abstracts added a few related studies. A manual search of several leading journals, such as *Ethnicity and Disease*, *Health and Psychology, Journal of Career Development, Career Development Quarterly, Journal of Counseling Psychology, Journal of Vocational Behavior, Journal of Counseling and Development, Journal of Black Psychology*, and *The Western Journal of Black Studies* yielded an additional 15 articles. The bibliographies from recent journals, that is journals published in the late 1990's, 2000 and 2001, led to more specialized sources on racism-related developmental issues, such as the invisibility syndrome (Franklin, 1999), racial slights and micro-aggressions (Harrell, 2000), and racism and U.S. social structure (Williams 2000). Finally, selected authors (such as, Boyce, 1996; Costa & McCrae, 1992; Helms, 1996; McNeilly, Anderson, Robinson, McManus, Clark, Pieper, Simons, and Saulter, 1996; Nam Powers-Terrie, 1990) were contacted by the author to request information unavailable in current literature.

The criteria for including articles and books in this review were (1) male adult development with particular reference to African American male development and African American, (2) social support, (3) normative descriptions on African American development measures, and (4) racism-related stress affecting African American males.

In this first line, you have used a period at the end of one, thus do the next ones then need to be capitalized and with periods. The review of literature presented in this chapter discusses the (1) theoretical principles of male adult development, based on the work of Levinson, Darrow, Kline, Levinson and McKee (1978), Gooden (1979), and Herbert (1989). (2) the major constructs related to dynamics of race and racism-related stress that connect with African American male life experience and factors in development; (3) ramifications of racism-related stress that may influence African American male adult development and (4) psychological well-being.

The ideological and structural components of racism (Thompson & Neville, 1999) are also discussed to clarify how racism is imposed on the life experiences of African

American males. Included in the discussion are the psychological processes involved in determining the African American male's ability to cope and adapt to racism-related stress during development.

<u>Theoretical Principles of Male Adult Development</u>

Levinson's Contribution to Adult Development Theory

Levinson et al., conducted their study on male adult development in the late 1960's to early 1970's to provide an integrative and nonsectarian approach to understanding male adult development. His primary aim was to learn more about his own life by investigating the lives of other men. He wanted to create a new perspective on male adult development that would improve on the vague conceptualizations of adult development posited by Erik Erikson (1950, 1959). Levinson wanted a more systematic conception of the entire life cycle. To do so, he formulated the major "seasons of a man's life."

The first step was to define *life cycle* and *life course*. Levinson et al. (1978) defined the life cycle as a process or journey from a starting point (birth, origin) to a termination point (death, conclusion). Levinson et al. acknowledged that many influences shape the nature of the life journey along the way to old age; and, in order to explain the life course, Levinson et al. separated the meanings of the word *life* and *course* and combined the definitions. They defined *course* as a sequence, temporal flow, and the unfolding of life over the years. In other words, to study the course of life, one must take into account the level of stability and change, and continuity and discontinuity in life. Accordingly, it is not enough to focus solely on a single moment, nor is it enough to study a series of three or four moments widely separated in time, as is ordinarily done in longitudinal research. Instead, Levinson et al. examined lives in progress and followed the temporal sequence in detail over a span of years. Thus, the life course perspective provided a unique way of looking at men's lives at particular periods of development,

sequenced by growth, stability and change. In a later study, Levinson (1986) explained that the word life connotes all aspects of living: inner wishes and fantasies, love relationships, participation in family, work, and other social systems, bodily changes, good times and bad; in essence, everything that has significance in life.

One of the most important contributions that Levinson et al. (1978) made was the explanation of the influences of life experiences on development. Levinson et al. asserted that certain life events disrupt an individual's level of stability during any given period of the life course. The instability felt by the individual causes him to focus his energy on regaining some level of steadiness before he can move forward with life. This phenomenon happens to all males throughout the life course, and the nature of the process of disruption and regaining stability constitutes a major process of the *life structure*.

<div align="center">Life Structure</div>

According to Levinson (1986), the progression through different periods of adult development really means the evolution of the individual's life structure during the adult years. Life structure is the underlying pattern or design of a person's life at any given time during the life cycle. For example, if a researcher was able to take a psychosocial "snapshot" of a person's life at age 18, another at age 40, and then another at age 65, that researcher may be able to determine how the individual's life structure was influenced at the various ages. Also he may be able to discern how his subjects' life structure developed over a period of time. In essence, the life structure is an individual project which is being built with successive steps over a person's lifetime. In Levinson et al. (1978) study, the researchers took a snapshot of the life structure of 35 European American men and 5 African American men, between the ages of 35 and 45 to make some evaluation of how the life structure was influenced. Levinson et al. used the life experiences of these 40 males to also inform us of how the life structure operates.

Levinson et al.'s (1978) description of the life structure provides us with a way of understanding of the male life experience; furthermore, because their study included some aspects of African American male life experience, information about the life structure can also be generally attributed to African American males. What Levinson et al. theory did not provide was a way of interpreting the interaction between African American male life structure and racism-related issues.

Dynamics of Adult Development

Adult development (as per Levinson et al., 1978) is a culmination of eras or periods in a man's life, made possible by transitions from one era to another. Completing specific developmental tasks associated within each era is a part of the ongoing process of adult development. Each era is marked by events that are either developmental milestones or failures. These events provide the context for determining whether the male is living up to the idea of his dream of becoming an important adult in the world. In developing the theory of male adult development, Levinson et al. (1978) delineated eras, tasks, transitions, and marker events as dynamics that impinge on male life experience during his adult development.

Eras

The current theoretical principles of male adult development were created by Levinson et al. (1978). A major contribution of Levinson and his colleagues involved the age-linked periods during the adult years called eras. Each era lasts approximately twenty-five years while partially overlapping throughout development. They are described as follows:

1. Pre-adulthood (childhood and adolescence) age 0-22;

2. Early adulthood age 17-45;

3. Middle adulthood age 40-65;

4. Late adulthood age 60-80

The periods shown above represent an orderly sequence of developmental periods and transitional periods of male adult development. According to Levinson et al. (1978), the stable periods represent the time when an individual is working on building his life structure. The individual is making certain key choices in life that center on his goals and values within the life structure. During the less stable or transitional periods of development, the male is focused on terminating the existing life structure and initiating the start of a new one.

<div align="center">Transitions</div>

Transitions are major changes in the nature of our lives from one era to the next. Crucially important changes called cross-era transitions occur within each era (Levinson et al., 1978). According to Levinson et al., this process partially terminates the outgoing era and initiates the next. Each transition period lasts about five years. A description of each transitional period follows in the next section.

<div align="center">Early Adult Transition (EAT, Age 17-22):</div>

The EAT period is demarcated by the male maturing and reaching an age to become an adult in American society. The EAT can be characterized by the male leaving the home of his family of origin to establish an independent home base for himself and preparing for the world of work (Levinson et al., 1978). Achieving an education and/or training is also major task during this part of males' development. In addition, by the time many African American males reach the EAT; they would have already experienced being detained by the police and being called nigger for the first time in their lives (Gooden, 1979; Herbert, 1989; Williams, 2000).

Entry Life Structure (ELS, Age 22-28)

The ELS is an early adulthood transition period that immediately succeeds the person leaving home and obtaining employment (Levinson et al., 1978). During this transition period the male, while working in his chosen career, will also form significant adult relationships, especially with women. The ELS is also the period where the male begins establishing mentoring relationships at work to help him in work situations. During this time, men obtain advice, knowledge, and wisdom from senior members of their occupations. On other major task that completes the ELS is the male entering into a marriage and starting a family.

Age Thirty Transition (ATT, Age 28-33)

ATT is the first critical transition period of the male developmental process. It is marked by changes in career and shifts associated with work and even family. Marital relationships, divorce, separation, and remarriage are characteristics of this era. During the ATT period, males should be experiencing some significant change in their lives.

Culminating Life Structure (CLS, Age 33-40)

The CLS is marked by strong feelings of dissatisfaction with the life structure (i.e., dissatisfaction with the general direction life has taken) built during an earlier period of life, or it is filled with an increased need to integrate disparate and previously undiscovered aspects of the self. According to Levinson et al. (1978), most males should be living out their dream during this time. If one is truly living out his dream, then they are considered to be living a viable life (Levinson et al. 1978).

Mid-Life Transition (MLT, Age 40-45)

The MLT is probably the most severe and tumultuous of all the periods of the life structure (Levinson, et al., 1978). Males who are in the midst of MLT and those who have completed this period should be in a position to judge their success of failure in

meeting life long dreams. Success during MLT means that the man's enterprise has flourished and he has achieved the desired position in life. On the other hand, an unsuccessful or poor outcome means that the man has failed in a profound sense, not only at his work but also in family life and in contributing to his community (Levinson et al., 1978).

According to Levinson et al. (1978), the following three major tasks must be completed during MLT:

1) the male will begin to terminate the era of early adulthood, and begin to review his life during this transition period in order to make reappraisals of what he has done thus far in life;

2) he will take steps toward initiating a new era: middle adulthood; the male will shift his focus from the past to that of the future. Although the male is not yet ready to start building a new life structure, he will begin to modify the negative elements of his past life structure and test new choices for the future;

3) he will then take steps to deal with the polarities of success and failure that may be sources of deep division in his life.

Late Adult Transition (LAT, Age 60-65)

The LAT is the last transition the aging male will make before late adulthood. During this transitional period, the male must deal with the decline or loss of some middle adult prowess. According to Levinson et al. (1978), the term 'middle-aged' may be vague, somewhat unfamiliar, and, to some extent, frightening to the aging male. However, when one becomes *elderly*, *golden aged*, and a *senior citizen*, the terminology (and imagery) for these years connotes a negative period of life experience; and moreover, it reflects American society's personal and cultural anxiety about aging (Levinson et al.). Levinson et al., suggests that the developmental task during this period

is to overcome the splitting of youth and age and find in each season an appropriate balance between the two.

Tasks of Development

Tasks are considered the work of each developing period. They represent the male's unique duties that need to be completed before moving on to the next era of development. According to Levinson et al. (1978), tasks are the building blocks that modify the life structure and the tangible evidence of life experience that reflects growth and maturation. In the three early periods of the life structure (e.g., childhood, adolescence, and early adulthood) common tasks are to form:

1. a dream and give it a place in the life structure;

2. a love relationship with a woman, get married, and raise a family;

3. an occupation, and

4. a mentoring relationship on the job.

Completing a task is not steady or gradual; it proceeds rather unevenly and with recurrent difficulties (Levinson et al.).

The Dream

The Dream is a compilation of wishes, longing, and fantasies of the male to be a special person in the world of adults. In order to accomplish the dream, all males must have some type of a heroic self-image such as becoming the president of the United States of America, an FBI agent, military hero, sports hero, etc. (Levinson, et al., 1978; Gooden, 1980). According to Levinson et al., the male's capacity to dream (i.e., to form a life goal) enables him to sustain the motivation needed to aspire for a viable adult life and to bring that dream vision of achievement to fruition. Thus, the principal task of completing pre-adulthood is developing the dream. Once the dream is developed and well

defined, it will help the male create strong links to other tasks of early adulthood mentioned above. Once the male has acquired a chosen occupation, established mentoring relationships on the job, developed a relationship with a woman to support his dream, and raise a family, the next task is to become grounded in the career chosen and become successful.

Having all of these tasks in place during early adulthood establishes a viable life for the young male. Without this inner drive (i.e., the dream) to be someone special in the world of adults, the male settles for more general motivations, e.g., making enough money for the family finances, working in a job that is not specific to the original dream, but allows for another kind of a life long pursuit to do something of value (Gooden, 1979). The male does not decide to relinquish his dream easily. However, according to Levinson (1986), the male will re-evaluate his dream repeatedly during development to ultimately formulate a dream or goal that is achievable. However, once the male has reached the culminating life structure (CLT) at age 33 to 40, he will have either accomplished his dream or will have given up on the dream altogether.

Marker Events

Male adult development is a complex process. It involves many significant tasks, changes, adjustments, transitions, successes and failures. According to Levinson et al. (1978), all males will experience events significant to their individual life structure and these events are called marker events. Marker events can be characterized as significant occurrences in the life of the male; it includes marriage, divorce, illness, the birth and the death of loved ones and other events. All males will experience some kind of marker event while completing their developmental tasks and these events will challenge their life structure, regardless of their racial and/or cultural background. However, in addition to the common marker events described above, African American men experience other kinds of marker events. For example, consider the following life event described by a 40

year old African American male entrepreneur, in Herbert's (1990), "Integrating Race and

Adult Psychosocial Development":

> And then I'd hang out in my neighborhood again and I remember I accidentally stepped on a board …and it hit Red O'Keefe in the head. He was Irish, and even though we were sort of tight, and I can remember Red getting very annoyed at me and calling me a nigger. And that's the first time one of my white friends had really called me a nigger and right out like that. And he did tell me, 'get the hell away from me you damn nigger you!' And it hit me hard …I was a junior in high school …. I remember turning around feeling total rejection ….He had made me realize I wasn't white ….I thought that I was completely accepted …But, it seemed like all of a sudden that whole façade had been pierced, and I turned out to be a black, you know, nigger. (p. 437)

<div align="center">Race and Racism-Related Stress</div>

Gooden (1979) and (Herbert, 1989) have pointed out that two elements of male

development have not been fully incorporated into theory; race and racism-related stress

and their relationship to male adult development. These elements need to be studied so

that research can begin to connect all of the aggregate parts into a comprehensive adult

development theory. Further they assert that once race and racism influence are

integrated into adult development theory, counselors and related mental health

professionals may be able to use this new information to guide their practice when

working with African Americans and other nondominant ethnic individuals and groups.

Smith (1985), developed 25 propositions to define racism-related stress and

describe how racism-related stressors influence individual coping. She also compared and

contrasted racism-related stress and its relationship to development, identity, culture, and

most importantly, race. Smith's propositions 17 and 18 stipulated that race and racism are

negative influences in the lives of African Americans and other nondominant

ethnic/racial groups. She also acknowledged that race and racism are life event stressors

that European Americans do not ordinarily experience; however, this does not suggest

that European Americans are not affected by race and racism.

To the contrary, according to racial identity theorists (Helms, 1995; Ponterotto, Fuertes, & Chen, 2000) European Americans sometimes experience significant anxiety over their own group loyalty when they encounter new-found knowledge of racial inequality. Furthermore, Ponterotto, Fuertes, and Chen maintain that the significant race and racism anxiety experienced by European Americans leads to a dilemma, being torn between an idealized view of themselves and their own racial group or becoming intolerant of and denigrating African Americans and other nondominant ethnic groups in American society. Thus, issues of race and racism-related stress not only influence the development of African Americans and other nondominant ethnic groups but, paradoxically, they also create a different kind of psychosocial stressor for European Americans.

In order to better understand how race and racism maintains its grip on individuals and groups in American society, it is necessary to recognize how racial *ideology* and *structural* components (Thompson & Neville, 1999) of racism work in tandem to affect the lives of African Americans and other nondominant ethnic Americans. According to Thompson and Neville (1999), the ideology behind race and racism includes the following:

> 1) A system of beliefs that negatively characterizes a particular class or group of people and 2) a system of illusory beliefs—false ideas …which can be contrasted with true or scientific knowledge…ideas about race and race relations that serve to protect the status quo, that is, the current system of racial domination in which racial minorities experience institutional discrimination. (Thompson & Neville, p. 165)

The ideology of race and racism is designed to perpetuate false representations of racial minorities as being culturally, intellectually, and morally inferior to European Americans while simultaneously representing European Americans, on the whole, as being superior.

The ideological component of racism supports the structural component of race and racism also. The structural component provides the infrastructure of an interlocking

system of institutions and agencies (both public and private) that use elements within education, housing, law enforcement, and the military, to segment African Americans and other nondominant ethnic groups onto reservations, ghettos, barrios, etc., to keep them physically away from European Americans. A process of the structural component is suburbanization and gentrification, which serve to (a) maintain economic superiority, and (b) prevent feelings of solidarity between the races (Thompson & Neville, 1999). Smith (1995) further suggests that these components of racism prevent interracial alliances and maintains that:

> One racial group must have the relative power [that is] the capacity to impose its will in terms of policies…without this relative power relationship, racism is a mere sentiment because although group A may wish to subordinate group B, it lacks the effective power to do so therefore it remains just that, a wish. (p.143)

Smith's (1995) statement emphasizes that the structural component of racism maintains the disparity in power between European Americans and all other racial groups in American society. Thompson and Neville (1999) further suggests that not only are many institutions within American society supporting this imbalance of power, they assume that it is the right for European Americans too typically hold power positions in most, if not all, social situations. This disparity in power causes many European Americans to exert power either consciously or unconsciously when interacting with African Americans and other nondominant ethnic groups. Moreover, institutions within the United States tend to support the actions of European Americans by comparison to the actions of African Americans and other nondominant ethnic groups (Harrell, 2000; Jones, 1997; Smith, 1985; Thompson & Neville, 1999).

The ideological and structural components of racism discussed above, gives way to the creation of *macrolevel* and *microlevel* racism (Thompson and Neville 1999). Macrolevel racism refers to the cultural values, ideology, and practices of a given society. Thompson and Neville point to institutions in American society that support racism and racist practices of individuals within the society. Microlevel racism refers to the actual

beliefs and practices of individuals and groups. Microlevel racism is the act of carrying out a racist act (i.e., everyday racism, invisibility syndrome, and other microagressions/microstressors) that European Americans have used to affect the lives of African Americans and other nondominant ethnic groups within the United States (Thompson & Neville, 1999).

Smith's (1985) propositions that describe race and racism-stressors with which African American male's must contend, may not give counselors and other mental health professionals a full understanding of the complexity involved with race and racism and their relationship to African American male development. The ideological and structural components of racism are not connected to the racism-related stress that African American males contend with on a regular basis and, therefore, in order to provide pertinent interventions for the resulting racism-related stress, counselors and other mental health professionals need to know the context of the stressors involved in the life of their African American male clients.

Smith's propositions as well as other theories such as the ideological and structural components of racism (Thompson & Neville, 1999); racial identity development (Helms, 1995; Parham, 1989; Cross, 1991), White racial identity development (Ponterotto, Fuertes, & Chen, 2000), invisibility syndrome (Franklin, 1999; Franklin & Boyd-Franklin, 2000), everyday racism and other microstressors (Essed, 1991), must eventually be incorporated into a comprehensive theory of development so that those who are who are affected by racism the most, can benefit from it.

Dynamics of Race and Racism

Racism-related stresses are a product of interactions between European Americans, African Americans, and other nondominant ethnic minorities. According to Smith (1985), racism-related stress is: 1) the constant suffering of African Americans and other nondominant people because of the color of their skin, 2) racial slights, such as Sam's scenario, that is, the encounter with a White woman on the elevator, and everyday racism as described in Essed (1991). Harrell (2000) developed a multidimensional framework that contained six sources of racism-related stress and they are:

1. racism-related life events,

2. vicarious racism experiences,

3. daily microstressors also referred to as microagressions,

4. chronic contextual stress,

5. collective/group perceptions, and

6. transgenerational transmission of trauma.

These constructs developed by Harrell, enhances our understanding of racial inequities and how they connect to living as a nondominant member in American society. Harrell's view on racism also relates to stress and coping with the disparate conditions in education, mental and physical health, occupations, and psychosocial development of African American males.

Race-related stressors are emotionally intense, psychologically demeaning, and relatively short temporally (Harrell 2001). Although, these life experiences are relatively time-limited, they are significant and such experiences have lead to other catastrophic events such as interracial fights, police and legal involvement, and/or worse, even death. While a racism-related life event is short-lived, the psychological affect can last a lifetime (Harrell, 2001).

According to (Feagin, 1991), *racism-related life events* can occur across a number of domains in life: in community, harassment by the police, problems at work (i.e., being overlooked for promotion), banking (e.g., being rejected for a loan), academia (i.e., being told you are intellectually inferior and incapable of succeeding), law enforcement/legal issues (e.g., being wrongly accused of a crime), healthcare (i.e., receiving sub par medical attention), housing (e.g., being denied housing), and others. Harrell (2000) suggests that these experiences are brought on by multiple factors such as race, ethnicity, gender and culture; these factors may also influence the frequency of such experiences. She further postulates that racism-related life events are unlikely to occur on a daily or weekly basis for most people, and they may occur quite infrequently (i.e., less than once a year) or not at all (Harrell, 2001). However, when they occur they are strong sources of stress that outweigh any ordinary or non-racism-related stressor that one typically experiences.

Vicarious Racism experiences exert their influence not only through direct personal experiences, but also vicariously, that is, through observation and reporting of racism experiences by others. According to Essed (1991), vicarious experiences with racism are critical to understanding the nature of racism's effect on individuals. Root (1993) suggested that experiences of prejudice and discrimination that happen to members of one's family and close friends are forms of vicarious racism experiences as well as those involving strangers (e.g., the 1998 truck dragging death of James Byrd in Texas), can be quite distressing (cf. Steele, Mitchell, Greywolfe, Chang, & Schuller, 1982; Tatum, 1987). Vicarious racism experiences can also create a heightened sense of anxiety, danger, vulnerability, anger, sadness, and other emotional and psychological reactions. These vicarious experiences can also teach valuable lessons about the places where racism hides and resides (Harrell, 2000).

Daily racism microstressors experiences are a central part of understanding the dynamics of racism in contemporary America (Adams, 1990; Cose, 1993; Essed, 1991; Pierce, 1995). According to Pierce (1995) microstressors are also referred to as

"microaggressions," and they are at the root of a complex and constant problem that involve a multitude of subtle, innocuous, preconscious or unconscious degradations and putdowns of African Americans (p. 281). African American males must be vigilant with uncovering and confronting microstressors/microagressions in order to maintain their *equilibrium* in American society (Cose, 1993). Essed (1991) further suggests that microagressions can be taken to mean that one's race/ethnicity is an ongoing stimulus in the world, and that the color of one's skin evokes an automatic response, which is typically stereotypical and negative. Microstressors or microagressions is racism that includes racial slights and exclusions involved in everyday life. They are also referred to as "interpersonal discrimination," and are examples of "the humiliation dynamic" discussed in Griffin (1991). Racism microstressors that are experienced daily may sometimes be unintentional offenses that create an atmosphere of expectation that racism will happen (Harrell 2001). Whether intentional or not, the fact remains, that African Americans and males in particular, have to remain cognizant and vigilant to the negative stresses they experience when microstressors occur. Franklin's (1993) states that, "*these daily experiences are as much a part of our lives as the air we breathe*" (p.34). African American males contend with daily microstressors that involve racism throughout development and exemplify one of the factors that created the interest for this study.

Chronic contextual stress impact to the individual comes from an overarching social structure in which he lives, the political dynamic in his environment, and institutional racism on his social-role demands. The larger environment exerts chronic contextual stressors that the individual must adapt to and cope with. However, unequal distribution of resources and limitations on opportunities for African Americans and other nondominant ethnic groups, influence their living conditions and the quality of life these individuals and their family's experience. Some chronic-contextual stressors that African Americans experience (such as constant police presence and harassment, elicit drugs, gang activity, liquor stores on every corner, out-of-date textbooks in urban public

schools, etc.) are likely to reflect an interaction of race and class. However, according to Harrell (2000) and Williams (1999), racism may also contribute to the chronic (i.e., inequity in the distribution of economic resources) economic conditions experienced by African Americans and other nondominant ethnic groups. Harrell explains that chronic-contextual stress

> …may or may not be perceived as related to racism by those who most intensely experience it…To assess the impact of racism fully, one must have the time, energy, and resources to question the multiple influences on one's life circumstances. Severe and chronic life stress can keep people so immersed in the process of day-to-day survival that such analyses may be unlikely to occur. It should also be noted that conditions of chronic stress can occur in employment or neighborhood contexts for people of color who are in a significant statistical minority (e.g., in predominantly white settings). (p. 46)

The chronic contextual stress and racism-related stressors converge at some point in the lives of African American men to cause them to either give up monitoring and protecting themselves against their impact on his or to (1) expend significant amount of time figuring out how to adjust to their effects, (2) utilize an inordinate amount of energy that could be used elsewhere for more productive purposes and/or (3) disburse significant effort to resolve their influence on his life, when his European American counterpart does not have to cope with them. Furthermore, even though the African American male may decide to outlay a tremendous amount of effort to contend with chronic contextual stress and racism-related stress, he may still conclude that the experience was not worth it because of the sometimes ambiguous and subjective nature of a racism experience (Harrell, 2000).

The *collective experience of racism* is a stressor that reflects the idea that cultural-symbolic and sociopolitical manifestations of racism can be observed and felt by individuals. Experiences with racism at the collective or group level involve perceptions of its affects on members of one's same racial/ethnic group, regardless of the direct personal experience (Feagin, 1991). According to Harrell (2000), collective experience of racism can be distinguished from vicarious experiences in that they do not involve

witnessing or hearing about specific incidents of racism associated with identifiable individuals. Rather, the economic conditions of members of one's racial/ethnic group, the lack of political representation, and the stereotypical portrayals of one's racial ethnic group in the media, provide ample examples of potential stimuli for collective experience of racism. Harrell suggests that the well-being of those with limited personal experiences of racism can also be affected by observation of how racism affects the lives of others with whom they feel a sense of connection and identification. Perceptions of racism toward one's group constitute an important and largely neglected part of the racism experience. Taylor, Wright, Moghaddam, and Lalonde (1990) distinguished between personal and group perceptions of discrimination, and suggested that there is strong evidence to support the notion that people perceive discrimination toward their group significantly more than they do personal experience of discrimination (Crosby, 1984; Lalonde, Majumder, & Parris, 1995).

Transgenerational transmission of group traumas is a conceptualization of racism-related stress that includes a consideration of the unique historical contexts of diverse groups (Harrell, 2000). The history of a racial/ethnic group affects the relationship between the group and the wider [European] American society. According to Harrell, history is a major socialization factor that shapes the content of the race-related family. Community stories that are passed down generation-after-generation offer examples of how one's own group typically interacts with another racial group. These stories may also offer examples of how individuals react within group to race and racism issues as well. Recognition and understanding of this history is necessary in order to appreciate the layers of racism-related dynamics (Feagin, 1991; Landrine, Klonoff, Alcaraz, Scott, & Wilkins, 1995; Turner & Kramer, 1995). In her re-conceptualization of trauma, Root (1993) described the transgenerational transmission of the effects of group traumas such as the slavery of African people, the interment of Japanese Americans during World War II, the removal of American Indians from their tribal lands, and

refugee experiences. All represent aspects of oppression related historical events that have been transmitted across generations by way of discussion, storytelling, and lessons taught to children, as well as the observation of the long-term effects of racism (Greene, 1990). Thus, socialization of trauma-related behavior and beliefs about the world can relay the effects of the historical trauma across generations (Haas, 1996; Nagata, 1990).

These concepts of racism-related stressors outlined by Harrell (2000) provide tangible examples of how stress from racism or a racist event may be experienced by African Americans while going about their everyday life experiences. The overall accumulation of energy and effort expended by a person's body, mind and soul-strength to purge racism out of their daily lives appears to be very taxing to their existence, whether or not problems manifested by racism or a racist event, are ever resolved.

Well-being and African American Males

Racism and Well-being

Racism has the potential to influence the well-being of African American males through a number of adaptation outcomes in five general domains: physical, psychological, social, functional, and spiritual (Harrell, 2000). Racism-related stress has been associated with health-related and physiological outcomes such as hypertension (Anderson, 1989; Jackson et al., 1996; Krieger 1990), cardiovascular reactivity (Anderson, 1989), cigarette smoking (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996), and physiological arousal (Jones, Harrell, Morris-Prather, Thomas, & Omowale, 1996).

According to Harrell (2000), the evidence is compelling, and growing, that *racism is pathogenic with respect to a variety of physical and mental health outcomes* and the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH, 2001) supports that opinion. That is, the NIMH recognizes that nondominant ethnic groups in the United States experience disparate mental health conditions and treatment for mental health disorders. Racism may play an even more significant role in the functional well-being of African Americans than

we know; perhaps, even interfering with role-related behavior such as school achievement, job performance, and parental functioning (Harrell, 2000).

As Pierce (1995) points out, the effects of racism are not always assuaged by economic advantage or by adopting a personal perspective that the problem of racism has been ameliorated in American society. Far from it, as evidenced by the beginning statement of this paper that was provided by W. E. B. DuBois (1903). Racism is something that African Americans have had to contend with since they step foot in this country. DuBois's statement reflects the particular position African Americans were in during the early period of the 20th century and it connects with the current situation of present day African Americans. The struggle for African Americans to cope with race and racism issues even after a century of prolific changes that included the civil rights movement, women's rights movement, and other social movements, still continues today.

Early observations on racism effects on African American mental health by Grier and Cobbs (1968) and Kardiner and Ovesey (1951), were not as informative as once thought. An overemphasis on African American pathology and self-hatred, to the relative exclusion of what healthy functioning was for African Americans, became the rule rather than the exception.

Harrell's (2000) framework outlines the major domains in a general model of racism-related stress and well-being. The model includes antecedent conditions that have a direct influence on the type, intensity, and frequency of racism-related stressors and identifies internal and external characteristics that can function to mediate the effects of racism on a variety of psychological, physical, and behavioral outcomes. Harrell's framework inside several variables, many of which (e.g., racial identity, racial socialization) have received some attention in the general literature on the psychology of historically oppressed racial/ethnic groups. However, while race is a sociopolitically defined construct based loosely on phenotypic/physical characteristics that serve as markers for group membership, culture forms the core of human experience and

influences the development of beliefs, behavior, personality, and the nature of relationships for members of a given cultural group (Harrell, 2000; Simpson & Yinger, 1985). According to Harrell, attention to variables such as *worldview*, *cultural values*, and *acculturation status* are also important to consider, as they are the lenses through which race-related experiences may be interpreted.

Individual well being is also influenced by stressors that are not related to race and the likelihood of interactions with these other stressors may compound problems of well-being for nondominant ethnic groups such as African American males. However, there is some evidence to suggest that experiences with racism influences well-being even after generic stressors such as episodic life events, daily hassles, role strain, multiple roles, and role conflict are taken into account (Dion, Dion, & Pak., 1992). Therefore, African American males and other nondominant ethnic groups may be confronting a double edge sword of stress to their well-being that is unlike the typical patterns of stress experienced by the larger mainstream population.

<div align="center">Ramifications of Racism-Related Stress</div>

Harrell (2000) stipulated that racism has the potential to affect the well-being of African Americans through a number of adaptation outcomes and this was supported by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (USDHHS, 1996) report. The USDHHS reported that African American males experience greater morbidity throughout their life span as compared to European American males and although their report did not stipulate the cause of the morbidity rates, an investigation into the pathogenic circumstances of racism may be able to connect morbidity of African American males to racism related causes. Accordingly, Harrell (2000) suggests that the physical adaptation outcome response to racism-related stress may include hypertension, cardiovascular reactivity, and risk behavior such as smoking, alcoholism, and other substance abuses (NIMH, 2001). Furthermore, Williams (2000) suggests that racial segregation and

discrimination may be the foremost causes of African American physical symptomatology.

In Williams (2000) analysis of racism, socioeconomic status, and well-being of African Americans, he presented mortality rates for African Americans and compared the ratios of African American mortality to European American mortality during the years 1950 and 1995. Although the overall mortality rate for African Americans has declined over time for several causes of death such as cancer, diabetes, suicide, cirrhosis of liver, and homicide, the mortality rate was found to be higher in 1995 than in 1950. Furthermore, Williams asserts that African Americans have an overall death rate that is 1.6 times higher than that of the European American population. These elevated mortality rates are reflected in heart disease, cancer, cerebrovascular disease, unintentional injury, flu and pneumonia, diabetes, suicide, cirrhosis, and homicide.

African Americans experience significantly higher mortality in nine of the eleven leading causes of death as compared to European Americans. According to Williams (2000), these racial disparities have been documented for a long time period and have been widening in recent years for multiple indications of health status. Over the past 45 years, the African American versus European American mortality ratios are virtually unchanged for some causes of death, such as stroke and unintentional injury, and the ratios are even smaller for three other causes of death, the flu, pneumonia, and homicide. Although the USDHHS suggests that there is considerable variation in the life expectancy within both racial groups, by age 45 European American males have a life expectancy that is almost five years more than their African American counterparts and, similarly, European American females have a life expectancy at age 45 that is 3.7 years longer than that of their African American peers.

Furthermore, a USDHHS (1998) study found that African American men in the highest income group live 7.4 years longer than the lowest income group of African American men. The comparable numbers for European American was 6.6 years. Thus,

the socio-economic-status (SES) difference within each racial group is larger than the racial difference between groups. Although a similar pattern is evident for women, the SES differences are smaller. At age 45, Black women in the highest income group have a life expectancy that is 3.8 years longer than those in the lowest income group. Among European Americans, the SES difference is 2.7 years. Also evident in the life expectancy data is an independent effect of race even when SES is controlled (Williams, 2000). According to Williams, at every level of income and, for both men and women, African Americans have lower levels of life expectancy than their similarly situated European American counterparts. Williams suggests that, "when these patterns have been observed across multiple health outcomes and for some indicators of health status, such as infant mortality, the racial gap becomes larger as SES increases." (p. 176).

The problem of racism and its affect on the psychological well-being of African Americans and other nondominant ethnic groups can be further exemplified in numerous studies. According to Adams, (1990), Harrell, Merchant, and Young, (1997) and Root, (1993), racism can be manifested in *trauma-related symptoms*. In studies conducted by Comas-Diaz and Greene, (1994); Fernando, (1984) and Salgado de Snyder, (1987), *depression* was found to be a symptom of racism related stress. Other studies suggest that the interaction between racism and psychological well-being causes *general psychological distress* (Amaro, Russo, & Johnson, 1987; Jackson et al., 1996; Pak et al., 1991), *substance abuse* (Neuspiel, 1996), *eating problems* (Thompson, 1992), *psychosomatization* (Comas-Diaz & Greene, 1994), and *violence* (Kirk, 1986). The evidence that racism may affect the physical and psychological well-being of African American males and other nondominant ethnic groups has been growing over the past two decades and this growing problem supports the need for inclusion in human development research.

Coping and Adaptive Strategies for African American Males

To understand coping and adaptation for African American males it is necessary to understand how coping and adaptation theorists have interpreted their behavior. When African American men respond to the stressors in American society, their behavior are often perceived as meeting one of four criteria: if their behavior is individually maladaptive then it falls under the *pathology* perspective of coping. If African American males are perceived to be a victim of society, then their behavior falls under the rubric of the *oppression* perspective. Another perspective is called the coping perspective; this perspective looks at other extenuating factors for the behavior of the person. Then, there is the ethnicity perspective; this perspective begins to look at the individual behaviors in terms of racial and cultural context. All of the perspectives attempt to explain the process by which the African American individual attempts to deal with negative circumstances and experiences in American society. In other words, the problems associated with African American males successfully coping cannot be explained in the context of privileged access to power, wealth, and acceptance. Rather, their process of coping and adaptation to life circumstances are tied to what is presented to them in American society (Williams, Williams-Morris, 2000).

For example, European American males still represent a distinctly powerful group who continue to experience and enjoy a disproportionate amount of success in all sectors of American society. Therefore, their life experiences are significantly different from African American males, and for many of them, there is no pressing need to improve the life circumstances for their African American peers (Williams, 2000).

In a national study, the General Social Survey (GSS, 1990) reveal that 45% of European Americans believed that most African Americans are lazy; 51% indicated that most African Americans are prone to violence, 29% believe that most African Americans are unintelligent, and 56% think that most African Americans prefer to live off welfare (Williams, 2000; Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000). According to Williams, in general,

European Americans view all nondominant ethnic minority racial groups more negatively than they view themselves, but African Americans are viewed more negatively than any other racial group.

These negative perceptions of African Americans is extended to both public and private institutions which results in policies and practices that purposefully impede and/or prevent the progress of African Americans from succeeding in many sectors of American society (Thomas & Neville, 1999). As a result, most African American males are at far greater risks for persistent failure in education, occupations and other major roles of life (Allen & Farley, 1985). Consequently, some African American males may not accomplish all of the important tasks associated with their adult development. Bowman (1989), further illustrates this point by emphasizing that

> The past decade has witnessed a growing interest in the special economic, social, and psychological circumstances of Black males….Nevertheless, the unique problems faced by Black males in America remain both controversial and ill understood. Race, gender and class appear to interact in complex ways to place Black males at disturbing risks for persistent school failure, familial estrangement, homicidal violence, stress-related illness, and a range of other psychological problems….Despite such risks, studies also indicate that many Black men continue to defy the odds by excelling in student work, family, community and national leadership roles (p. 117).

Therefore, despite problems associated with racism-related stress, class, gender, and violence, some African American men excel and make significant contributions to American society despite negative attitudes and policies and procedures that are designed to intentionally cause failure.

According to Bowman (1989), during the pre-adult years African American males experience identity issues and role confusion as a result of race and race-related issues. Parham (1989) concurs with the issue of identity confusion, in that the pre-adulthood for an African American male is a period of development that is marked by a kind of blissful ignorance of race and identification with Eurocentric ideations. However, mainstream society does not embrace the African American male youth. Instead, according to

Jackson and Sellers (1996), African American male youth's are at risk for a multitude of problems during the early pre-adult years. Bowman (1989) suggests that young male African American reactions to societal policies and practices are viewed as *maladaptive* behavior and many were labeled as conduct disordered and delinquent by pathology theorists (Evans & Whitehead, 1988; Gary, 1981).

For African American males experiencing the early adulthood period, the pathology researchers suggest that their behavioral responses to injustices and inequities in life are antisocial disorders and/or criminal. This is not to suggest that some African American males do not exhibit true antisocial and criminal behavior, in the absence of racism, however, if one considers the disparate treatment of African American men by the American justice system (i.e., police harassment, police brutality, and incarcerations), it is easy to conclude that the perceptions of the larger mainstream society are being adhered too by the institutions that serve them (Williams, 2000). Furthermore, Bowman (1989) suggests that for African American males experiencing middle adulthood the maladaptive responses to their life circumstances is substance abuse disorders and alcoholism and for African American men experiencing old age or late adulthood, the maladaptive behavior they exhibit to their life circumstance are psychosomatic illnesses and disability. Therefore, maladaptive behavior had been the normative way of understanding and interpreting the life circumstances of African American men.

Bowman (1989) suggests that the pathology researchers were, "guided by a Eurocentric bias," with a "culture of poverty" perspective and their related theories have assumed that no adaptive African American way of life exists in American society (e.g., Auletta, 1982; Miller, 1958).

The studies that guided the pathology perspective have often been restricted by serious conceptual and methodological problems (Abrahams, 1970; Auletta, 1982; Hetherington. 1966; Miller, 1958; Rubin, 1974; Shinn, 1978). They depicted life for all African American males through the lens of street corner men, pimps, deserters and

criminals. Although there are other types of research and approaches that attempt to explain the process of coping and adaptive response to a hostile environment and community in more enlightened ways, the pathology approach has maintained and garnered more attention in the literature (Clark, 1965; Hatchet, 1986; Georges-Abeyie, 1984; Wolfgang & Cohen, 1970; Erickson, 1980; Erickson & Erickson, 1981) for all developmental periods of the life course. The pathology perspective researchers and clinicians can be viewed as an example of how people in institutions such as academia and mental health perpetuate negative stereotypical images of African American males. Although the pathology perspective has explained the maladaptive circumstances of the developing African American males, they have yet to provide solutions to the problem of race and racism that are inevitably tied to African American males (Bowman, 1989).

Other perspectives that have been developed over the years that explain the coping and adaptive response to life issues including racism-related stress for African American males include the oppression perspective and coping approach.

The *oppression perspective* is similar to pathology research, however, with some exceptions, oppression studies focus the explanation on the internal psychological processes of the individual, along with their so-called cultural deficits. External societal barriers are also emphasized as the root causes of widespread maladaptive behaviors (Clark, 1965; Glasgow, 1980; Kunjufu, 1982; Liebow, 1967; Staples, 1982; Stewart & Scott, 1978), however, oppression researchers reject the pejorative tone of pathology studies. Although the emphasis may differ slightly, by focusing on the destructive effects of external barriers and resulting maladaptive behavior, the central theme in oppression studies of African-American males has also failed to provide solutions that African Americans and other nondominant ethnic groups can use in order to assuage the effects of race and racism. Moreover, the oppression perspective does not account for those individuals who may excel in spite of the societal barriers that impede their progress throughout life.

The *coping perspective* is problem-oriented theory that places attention on the environmental concerns and responses to the environment by the African American male. Coping theorists suggest that African American males typically manage effective responses to stressful obstacles such as racism. These same coping researchers such as Bowman, (1985), Cazenave, (1981), McAdoo, (1981), and Neighbors, (1983), acknowledge that more needs to be done to mediate the oppressive barriers that young African American males come up against, and, to develop interventions that promote more adaptive response patterns to contend more effectively with the negative circumstances that oppressive barriers present.

The approaches outlined above that attempt to explain African American male responses to life circumstances throughout development do not connect entirely to the unique experiences of African American males during development, especially, the overarching struggle to cope with race and racism. Though each perspective provides a way of understanding coping and adaptation of African American males to their environment, the theoretical principles of all of the perspectives do not connect with cultural concerns. As Smith (1985) suggested there are unique ways in which each ethnic groups contend with problems associated with race and racism in American society. However, the pathology, oppressive, and coping approaches seem to give-way to another approach called the ethnicity perspective. The *ethnicity* perspective has come close to meeting the needs of explaining coping behavior and adaptation for African American males by providing methods counselors can use for intervening with concerns that directly influence their African American clients

According to Bowman (1989), the ethnicity perspective emphasizes an Afro-centric view and reliance on indigenous practices that promote well-being within the African American community. These practices are thought to be major sources for individual and collective effort to cope with chronic issues involving race and racism as they relate to community, family and the person

Bowman suggests that ethnicity researchers have focused on more *adaptive* modes of cultural expression rather than maladaptive "reactions" to oppression. Emphasis has been placed on the *cultural foundation* of authentic and "proactive" responses to institutionalized barriers. The ethnicity perspective promotes a holistic frame of reference that emphasizes the use of music (Keil, 1966), language (Baratz, 1973), literature, religion, family, and other areas of social life (Drake & Clayton, 1945; Hannerz, 1969; Hill, 1971) to augment life experiences and assuage issues of race and racism.

By contrast, the aforementioned approaches (i.e., pathology, oppressive and coping) attempts at explaining African American male life do not consider indigenous resources within the African American community, nor do they consider the individual and collective efforts to cope with chronic role adversity in American society. Hence, ethnic group strengths may not only reduce individual vulnerability to race and racism, but may also serve as prime sources that reflect collective efforts to overcome discouraging racial barriers (Akbar, 1981; Bowman, 1985; Hill, 1971; Jones, 1980; Morris, 1984). Moreover, Bowman (1989) suggested that future studies on African American men should seek to clarify how specific ethnic resources enable many to defy the odds at each stage of adult life. Thus, the purposes of this study are in part, aligned with how ethnicity researchers may interpret the lives of African American males. For example, this researcher is relying on the subjective responses of African American men regarding their life experiences in and outside of their community, especially as it relates to how they garner support in an effort to successfully contend with race and racism. Although this aspect of the study may connect with features of the ethnicity perspective; a more integrated and robust approach emphasizing successful coping with race and racism issues is apparent. Therefore, what this study needs is a model that is more adept at explaining maladaptive reactions to negative life circumstances, whether or not they are associated with race and racism, and more importantly, the perspective should include

a proactive and adaptive approach to living life as an African American, despite
circumstances that impede progress.

Summary

This review of literature brought together key concepts of adult development and
racism-related issues that African American males contend with regularly in American
society. The concepts within adult development, while applicable in many ways to the
overall development of the African American males, such as the life structure,
developmental periods, transitions periods in life, developing the dream and others, do
not provide complete explanations for how life is experienced African American males.
African American males are found to experience unique marker events in their lives that
cause them to perceive their experiences differently in American society. An introduction
on the ideological and structural components of racism were presented to provide context
to what African Americans and particularly, African American males are up against in
American society. These components of racism maintains the social positioning of
African American males as inferior to European American males and because of these
components, African American males have to maintain a steady state of constant
awareness to fend off the influences of racism and its numerous related stressors to
protect his own life experiences and development.

Examples of how the overall health and well-being of African American males
were discussed and the influences that racism-related stress brings on to the life
experiences of African American males were provided. Theories that explain how
African American males respond and/or behave toward negative life experiences in
American society were provided and found to be incomplete; that is, the behavior of
African American males toward the constant pressure of racism-related stress has not
been fully explained and, thus, it is still clearly misunderstood. Most of African American
male behavior is depicted largely as maladaptive with some circumstances being

attributed to oppressive barriers in American society. However, overall, the African American male experience in American society needs more attention because of the pressures that racism-related stress exudes on their life experiences and development. The review of literature presented in this chapter is only a beginning of the compilation process to bring together the various aggregate parts that connect with the life experiences and the adult development of African American males. Furthermore, all of these parts and others not mentioned, need integrated to form a more comprehensive theory of adult development for African American men.

Conclusion

This is an ambitious project to investigate the relationship between race and racism and the well-being of African American males. However, this study represents a start in that direction. By understanding and describing how a group of college educated African American males respond to a set of instruments (e.g., Perceived Racism Scale, Social Support Questionnaire for Racial Situations, and the NEO Personality Inventory-Revised) that provide some (but not all) of the stressors that they encounter throughout development. In order to get the full range of stressors and delineate how each impact the lives of any sample, is probably an unreasonable expectation to attempt, however, unattainable, as it may be to ascertain all stressors within a given sample, this study represents a beginning in that direction, and although it may be one of the weaknesses of this study, this is where additional research may be needed in the future.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

This study is designed to determine the perceived racism experiences and their consequences for the adult development and overall well-being of highly educated African American males. This study is an attempt to point the way toward an approach to developmental research that acknowledges the importance of racism within the life experiences and psychological well-being of African American males. This study described a national sample of college educated African-American males and their encounters with racism experiences across different social contexts. These experiences are compared across developmental levels of their adult life course, and the experiences are used to predict personality measures of their level of psychological well-being.

This study pursued three specific objectives:

1. To describe African American male responses to incidences of racism in four social contexts: racism on the job, racism in academic settings, racism in the public realm, and racist statements in media. (The response patterns of African American men are based on male developmental categories, per Levinson, et al. as discussed above in chapter two).

2. To describe African American male social support networks for dealing with racism issues and their subsequent level of satisfaction with social support networks.

3. To examine the associations between racism experiences and psychological well-being, specifically neuroticism and extraversion after social status (SES) and developmental periods are controlled statistically.

The general outcomes are expected to be:

1. A description of self-reported incidences of racism experiences of a group of African American male college graduates.

2. An exploratory assessment of the influence of racism experiences across the lifespan of African American male college graduates, examining the social context of racism experiences in relationship to psychological well-being.

3. An examination of African American males' use of social support networks to contend with racism issues.

The research questions for this study are as follows:

1. What are the incidences of racism experiences reported by African American male college graduates?

1a. Do incidences of racism experiences differ across social settings?

1b. Do incidences of racism experiences differ across levels of development?

1c. Do incidences of racism experiences differ between the last year and a lifetime?

1d. Are incidences of racism experiences associated with socio-economic status?

2. What are the intensity levels of eight emotional responses to racism experiences reported by African-American male college graduates?

2a. What are the differences in intensity of emotional reactions to racism experiences across social settings?

2b. What are the differences in intensity of emotional reactions to racism experiences across developmental level?

3. What are the frequencies of ten behavioral coping responses to racism experiences?

3a. What is the relationship between frequency of behavioral coping responses to social context of racism experiences?

3b. What is the relationship between frequency of behavioral coping responses to developmental levels?

4. What is the level of social support for dealing with racism experiences and satisfaction with social support?

4a. What is the relationship between level of social support and developmental level?

4b. What is the relationship between satisfaction with social support and developmental level?

5. Are the experiences of racism associated with psychological well being as measured by scales of neuroticism and extraversion?

5a. Are racism experiences related to neuroticism and extraversion?

5b. Are intensity of emotional responses to racism experiences related to neuroticism and extraversion?

5c. Is the range of behavioral coping response to racism experiences related to neuroticism and extraversion?

5d. Is the number of supporters and satisfaction with social support related to neuroticism and extraversion?

5e. What is the degree to which all of the above are associated with neuroticism and extraversion when SES and developmental level are controlled?

What follows is a description of a selected national sample of African American male college graduates, their assigned to selected developmental periods, the data collection procedure, instrumentation, and methods used to address the research questions.

<u>Respondents</u>

Two professional marketing and list agencies were contracted to create two separate stratified sample lists of African American male college graduates from across the nation for this study. The names of the two companies were Direct Response Associates (DRA) and CTRAC. CTRAC is the name of the second list agency and is not an acronym. Each agency created, lists that were stratified by ethnicity (African American) gender, (male only), educational level (college graduates only), age (21 to 90), and geographic location (i.e., random selection of individual names and addresses fitting the sample criteria by state). Names and addresses were generated at random by computer. DRA compiled their list from a data base of 99, 552 names and addresses of African American male college graduates living throughout the U. S. DRA also informed this investigator that information on their list data were verified via U. S. Census Bureau information.

CTRAC compiled their list from a computer database of 241, 638 names and addresses of African American male college graduates living throughout the United States as well. CTRAC's computer generated list also used other computer databases (that were not disclosed because of company policy on client confidentiality) to verify information about individuals who are avid on-line world-wide-web computer users. The 3000 names, addresses, and geographical information obtained by CTRAC were derived from individual self-report information, from numerous surveys and questionnaires, denoting the person's ethnicity and other biographical information. The files for this particular list has been updated every year for the past 17 years via computer cross referencing with other biographical data, census data, individual birth records, vehicle registrations, driver's licenses, warranty card information, telephone listings, and individual consumer updates via on-line applications for various services and also on-line purchases.

List data from DRA and CTRAC of prospective respondents were evaluated by the investigator of the study to rule out similarities between the two lists regarding names and addresses of prospective respondents. When a name of a prospective respondent came into question regarding gender or because the name appeared to be female, the investigator contacted the company involved to verify that the prospective respondent was actually African American male. No names and addresses were replaced by either list agency, as all names were verified to be African American and male.

Two sets of mailings of invitation letters, personal surveys, and business reply envelopes were conducted. The initial mailing included the 5000 names and addresses that were generated by DRA and a second mailing was conducted to enhance the response rate for the study using the 3000 names and addresses compiled by CTRAC.

The development of the mailing lists was based on four criteria (1) gender, male only; (2) race, African American only; (3) individuals who held a baccalaureate degree or higher (4) age range, 22 to 90 years. Respondents to the invitation letters and personal questionnaires derived from the lists were later further demarcated by the following age range criteria: early adulthood (EA, ages 22-44); middle adulthood (MA, ages 45-59); and late adulthood (LA, ages 60-89).

Survey

Each approved name and address was sent a coded questionnaire packet (i.e., an invitation letter and personal questionnaire) see Appendix A and Appendix D respectively. The invitation letter included the purpose of the study, a description of the procedure for data collection, an explanation of implied consent, information for reporting concerns to the University of Iowa Institutional Review Board, and an address and contact telephone number of the investigator and advisor for inquiries concerning the outcome of the study (see Appendix A). All individuals were contacted only once for participation, no reminders or follow-up mailings to non-respondents were attempted.

Respondents who agreed to participate in the study completed the questionnaire and returned it via United States Postal Service (USPS) business reply mail. Once the questionnaire was returned to the investigator, answers provided on the questionnaire by the respondent were tabulated, scored and analyzed.

The data collection procedure depicted in Table 1 is explained in the following paragraph. The invitation letter (see appendix A) was sent to a pre-selected nationwide sample of 8000 African American male alumnus who met the selection criteria described above (Step 0 in Table 1). The next step was to send out invitation letters and personal surveys to potential respondents (Step 1, in Table 1). There are five possible outcomes to sending the surveys (Step 2 in Table 1) to prospective respondents; (1) a completed and usable surveys is returned (step 2A in Table 1); (2) an incomplete or invalid survey is returned (Step 2B in Table 1); (3), no completed survey returned (Step 2C in Table 1); (4) the survey was returned to the investigator (i.e., Return Service Requested) via United States Postal Service, and (5) survey returned but ineligible for further analyses respectively. If a survey was not returned as reflected in 2C, the researcher recorded the number of non-responses, and drop the respondent from further consideration in the study as reflected in 3A respectively. If the survey is returned incomplete or invalid, such as in Step 3C, the researcher will discard and record the number on survey returned (Step 3B in Table 1). In addition, all non-response and incomplete/invalid response surveys will be tallied and recorded as shown in 2B. When surveys were returned completed, such as in Step 2A, the researcher, included the responses in the data analysis as shown in Step 3A and Step 3B in Table 1, respectively. All respondents returned the completed surveys by United States Postal Service (USPS) in a self-addressed stamped envelope.

Exclusion Criteria

Only African American male respondents who have graduated from a college or university will be included in this study. Information completed on the questionnaire will provide the only source of data to address the specific research questions in this study.

Demographic Variables

The demographic variables used for this study are similar to those used in Jackson and Gurin (1987) for their National Study of Black Americans (NSBA). The variables are exact age; highest level of educational attainment, length of employment in years since age 18, length of employment in years since acquiring a bachelor's degree, current occupation and length of employment, participation in "special academic programs" while attending college, membership in alumni associations, past year household income, and current level of employment (see Appendix B). The complete questionnaire with all instruments and variables can be found in Appendix C. There are a total of 170 questions in the survey and all will need to be answered by respondents in this study for quantitative data analyses.

Table 1. Data Collection Flow Chart

Steps and Procedures		
Step 0	DRA/CTRAC Mailing Lists of 8000 African American Male College Graduates Ages (21-90)	
Step 1	Mailing of 8000 Invitation Letters and Personal Surveys	
Sept 2. Possible Outcomes		Step 3. Researcher Responsibilities
Step 2A.	1. Survey Returned Completed/Usable	Step 3A. Include in Data Analysis
Step 2B.	2. Incomplete/Invalid survey returned	Step 3B. Record # on Survey
Step 2C.	3. No Survey Returned	Step 3C. Record # of non-responses
	4. Survey returned via USPS	Drop respondent(s) from further consideration
	5. Survey returned-ineligible	

<u>Rate of Return and Response of Participants</u>

The initial 5000 invitation letters and personal questionnaires were sent to a group ostensibly including only African American male college graduates throughout the United States of America. The results of the first mailing included the return of 626 (12.52%) unopened envelopes with introduction letter and personal questionnaires still intact. They were returned undeliverable for various reasons, including undeliverable at location, address unknown, addressee unknown, and no forwarding information available. Another 245 (4.9%) questionnaires were returned in the business reply envelope, but with no responses to any research questions. Another 159 (3.18%) personal questionnaires were returned with responses to various research questions, however, only 37 (.0074%) were returned completed by African American males and were found to be usable for data analysis. The remaining 122 surveys out of the 159 returned, were found to be either incomplete with less than 5% (n = 9) of the research questions answered and

because the selected respondents were misidentified by Direct Response Associates, Inc. One hundred twenty-two surveys were found not to qualify for further analyses. Of the 122 personal surveys returned: 66 were received from European American males, 29 were from European American females; 11 were received from African American females, one was from an Asian American female, 11 were returned undeliverable because of address changes, 3 were returned undeliverable because of recent deaths, and one was returned as an unidentifiable person.

The 37 completed and usable personal surveys were included in the summary and statistical analyses of this study. Industry mailing and marketing research services such as DSS Research (1995-2003) suggest that the industry standard for successful rate of return from residential respondents in *cold call survey* mailing is a 1 % to 2% return rate. For potential business/commercial respondents contacted in the same manner, a successful return rate is approximately 1% or less. Market research surveys are usually much higher, 10% to 15% response rates are common. Surveys covering high involvement products or socially relevant issues typically have response rates of up to 35%, with little extra effort (DSS, 2003). According to (Heppner, Kivlighan, & Wampold, 1992), social science survey research commonly report 30% - 40% return rate from an initial mailing, and around 20% - 30% from two successive follow-ups. However, they also suggest that there is no commonly agreed upon "acceptable" return rate and, some survey research has been based on less than 4% return rate. The overall return rate for the first mailing, which includes all usable surveys, misidentified individuals, unqualified surveys, and unusable surveys for this study, was (20.40%). The response rate for usable surveys during the initial mailing of 5000 invitations and personal surveys was .74% (i.e., 37 out of 5000).

A second mailing that consisted of 3000 invitation letters and personal surveys was conducted in order to capture additional completed and usable surveys. The results of the second mailing resulted in 520 (17.33%) returns of which, 93 (3.1%) personal surveys were deemed usable for data analysis. The remaining 427 included 280 (9.33%) were

returned undeliverable and 147 (4.9%) were either misidentified or did not meet the criteria of a college educated African American male. After reducing the number of undelivered surveys, misidentified surveys, and unusable surveys, the response rate for the second mailing turned out to be 3.75% (or n = 93 out of 2480) of the mailed surveys. The 37 surveys from the 1st mailing set were combined for a total of 130 usable surveys.

<div align="center">Social Status</div>

Social status or socio-economic-status levels were determined by using a composite scoring procedure developed by Nam, Powers-Terrie (1990). Items used to obtain a social status (SES) score included codes for measuring occupation status, education level, and household income (Nam, 1983). The occupational scores varied per individual and range was from 01 to 99. Household income scores varied as well ranging from 07, for household income under $5000.00 to 98, for household income of $50, 000 or more. The educational score was consistent at 92 throughout for all individuals, as it is representative of four or more years of college. All three scores were added to determine each individuals SES score for this study.

There were no respondents found to be experiencing life at low levels of SES in this study and only 2 (1.5%) respondents were experiencing middle-low levels of SES. There were 7 (5.4%) respondents who were ascertained as living at the level of Middle SES, sometimes referred to as middle-class, 37 (28.5%) respondents were determined as living at the level of Middle-High SES and 84 (64.6%) of the African American male respondents were existing at the Highest level of SES. For the purposes of further statistical analysis the middle-low, middle, and middle-high SES levels were combined to form a middle SES level for social status. This was due to the small number of respondents located in both the middle-low and middle SES levels.

Dependent (Outcome) Variables

Six groups of dependent or outcome variables were employed for this study: 1) *Incidences of Racism Experiences* by *Social context* (i.e., racism in academia, racism on the job, racism in the public realm, and racist statements in the media; 2) *Intensity of eight emotional responses to racism experiences* (i.e., anger, hurt, frustrated, sad, powerless, hopeless, ashamed, and strengthened *and intensity of emotional response* across social contexts of racism (i.e., the sum of emotional intensity ratings across each social context of racism as described above); 2) *Ten behavioral coping responses to racism experiences* (i.e., speaking up about it, accepting it, ignoring it, trying to change things, working harder to prove them wrong, praying, avoiding it, getting violent, forgetting it, and Other) and (frequency of coping behaviors across four contexts on the PRS); 3) Number and race of *social supporters*; 4) Level of *social support satisfaction* based on Likert-type scale measuring level of support by social supporters; and 5) *psychological well-being* (individual T-scores on the NEO neuroticism and extraversion scales).

Independent (Predictor) Variables

The primary independent variables for this study were: 1) *Developmental period* (i.e., early adulthood [EA, ages 22-44], middle adulthood [MA, ages 45-59], and late adulthood [LA, ages 60-89]) with baccalaureate degrees; and 2) *Social status,* (i.e., a composite score combining occupational status, educational level and household income).

The following five groups of variables 3) *Incidences of racism experiences* within four contexts: racism in academia, racism on the job, racism in the public realm, and racist statements in the media, 4) Intensity of *emotional responses to social contexts of racism,* and 5) *race of and number of social supporters*, 6) *satisfaction with social support* and 7) *behavioral coping responses to incidences of racism across contexts* were

used as predictor variables for multiple regression analyses for two measures of psychological well-being, neuroticism and extraversion.

<center>Developmental Periods</center>

The ages that African American male respondents reported on in response to question number one on the personal questionnaire were used to determine the developmental periods or eras across the life course as defined by Levinson, Darrow, Kline, Levinson, and McKee (1978). African American males at different developmental levels were examined to understand how they coped with racism experiences.

<center>Measures</center>

<center>Incidences of Racism Experiences Across Social Contexts</center>

Incidences of racism experiences across social contexts were measures by using the Perceived Racism Scale (PRS) developed by McNeilly, Anderson, Robinson, McManus, Clark, Pieper, Simons, and Saulter, (1996). The PRS was designed to provide a cognitive appraisal of racism, emotional response to racism, and behavioral coping styles to experienced racism. The PRS was also developed to provide specific normative data on how African Americans and other ethnic minority populations responded to racism across different social contexts. Social support networks for dealing with racism were measured by using the Social Support Questionnaire for Racial Situations (SSQRS) developed by Boyce, (1996). The SSQRS was developed to examine the role played by African American social support networks in assuaging the affects of racial experiences experienced by African American individuals. Scores on the SSQRS will provide insight into the racial make-up and size of social support networks, and, the respondent's level of satisfaction with social supporters for dealing with racism experiences. A full discussion of the measures and their psychometric properties follow.

Perceived Racism Scale

The Perceived Racism Scale (see personal questionnaire in Appendix D) is a 51-item inventory developed and written by McNeilly, Anderson, Robinson, McManus, Clark, Pieper, Simons, and Saulter (1996), and is designed to measure the *frequency of racism experiences, emotional intensity responses* and *behavioral coping responses* to racism across settings.

To measure *frequency of racism experiences*, respondents rated their experiences with racism across settings (on the job, in academic settings, in the public realm and racist statements in media) by the past year and during their lifetime. All responses were recorded on a Likert-type scale ranging from 0 (Not Applicable) to 5 (Several times a Day). There were a total of 20 (10 for past year and 10 for during lifetime) for incidences of racism experiences on the job. The range of scores for frequency of racism experiences on the job was from 0 to 5 per each past year response and 0 to 5 for each during lifetime response. There were a total of 20 (10 for past year and 10 for during lifetime) for incidences of racism experiences in academic settings. The range of scores for frequency of racism experiences on the job was from 0 to 5 per each past year response and 0 to 5 for each during lifetime response. There were a total of 32 (16 for past year and 16 for during lifetime) for incidences of racism experiences in the public realm. The range of scores for frequency of racism experiences in the public realm was from 0 to 5 per each past year response and 0 to 5 for each during lifetime response. There were a total of 14 (7 for past year and 7 for during lifetime) for incidences of racist statements in the media. The range of scores for frequency of racism statements in the media was from 0 to 5 per each past year response and 0 to 5 for each during lifetime response.

The *emotional response to racism* (anger, hurt, frustration, sad, powerlessness, hopelessness, ashamed, and strengthened) experiences consisted of four questions for each of the four social context measured by a Likert-type scale from The responses ranged from 1 (Not at All) to 5 (Extremely) (see Appendix D).

The *behavioral coping response to racism experiences* (e.g., speaking up, accepting it, ignoring it, trying to change things, keeping it to myself, working harder to prove them wrong, praying, avoiding it, getting violent, forgetting it, and other) experiences consisted of four questions, one per each of the four social context measured by a yes or no response. Each participant of the study responded to all ten behavioral coping responses with either a yes or no answer.

Most instruments designed to assess the experience of racism were constructed to assess individual's exposure to types of racist incidents, and are confined to the attitudes of individuals experiencing those particular racist events. The following instruments include only attitudinal aspects of racism; Thompson Racial Reactions Scale (Thompsom, Neville, Weathers Poston, & Atkinson, 1990), the Barbarin and Gilbert Climate for Racism Scale (Barbarin & Gilbert, 1981) the Watts Personal Discrimination and Racial Climate Scales (Watts & Carter, 1991), the Allan-Claiborne and Taylor Racialistic Incidence Inventory (Allan-Claiborne, & Taylor, 1981), the Fiman Difference Indicators Scale (Fiman, 1981), The Baumgartel Personal Attitudes Inventory (Baumgartel, Bond, Crockett, Hurst, & Sterns, 1976), the Cultural Mistrust Inventory (Terrell & Terrell, 1981), and the National Survey of Black Americans (Jackson & Gurin, 1987). Anthropological studies conducted by Krieger (1990), Feagin (1991), and Adams and Dressler (1988) also measures attitudinal concerns toward racial injustice, instead of collecting behavioral coping patterns and emotional responses to racism. The available literature (Barbarin & Gilbert, 1981; Baumgartel, Bond, Crockett, Hurst, & Sterns, 1976; Thompsom, Neville, Weathers Poston, & Atkinson, 1990; Watts & Carter, 1991; Terrell & Terrell, 1981) on measures of racism suggests that the PRS provides a more comprehensive measure for understanding the African American experience with racism.

The scales identified above do not directly assess the dimensions of emotional and/or cognitive responses to racism, and only a few of the existing measures include items that assess behavioral responses. Therefore, the PRS was the preferable scale to use

for this study based on its attributes as compared to other scales that measure responses to racism.

<div align="center">PRS Psychometric Properties</div>

The results of the various reliability and validity test which included Pearson intercorrelations and factor analyses were significant enough to warrant using Perceived Racism Scale (PRS) measure for this study. The statistical relationship found with other well-known measures (such as the Racial Reactions Scale, Cultural Mistrust Inventory, and even the Beck Depression Inventory) was favorable on issues of racism incidents. The subscales (i.e., racism on the job, racism in academic settings, racism in the public realm, and racist statements in media) were also found to be reliable for capturing the essence of racism experiences across social settings, reliable for measuring emotional and behavioral coping responses for experienced racism as well. Thus, the Perceived Racism Scale was the preferred choice of a measure for examining racism experiences in this study.

McNeilly, Anderson, Robinson, et al., (1996) used a sample of 165 African American students (57 male and 108 female) from North Carolina Central University (NCCU) and 25 African American individuals from the surrounding community (10 male and 15 female) to assess the relationship of the PRS to measures of similar constructs. The Barbarin and Gilbert Climate for Racism Scale and the Allan-Claiborne and Taylor Racialistic Incidence Inventory were chosen for their relevance to perceived racism. The instruments used for convergent, discriminant, and concurrent validity for the PRS were Reactions to Racism Scale (RRS) developed by Thompson, Neville, Weathers, and Atkinson (1990); The Cultural Mistrust Inventory (CMI) developed by Terrell and Terrell (1981); and the Beck Depression Inventory (BDI) developed by Beck (1967).

McNeilly et al, (1996), found that the PRS subscales for racism on the job in the past year, racism on the job during lifetime have good internal consistency; Cronbach

alpha coefficients ranged from .88 -.96 with a median of .92. For example, Cronbach's alpha score for racism on the job in the past year was .88, racism on the job during lifetime was .92, emotional responses across four domains of racism (i.e., racism on the job, racism in school, racism in public, and racist statements in the media) score was .94. According to McNeilly et al, test-retest reliabilities, yielded, for each subscale, were also highly reliable. For example, the subscale measuring frequency of exposure to racism on the job (in the past year), test-retest reliability score was.73; and the subscale for measuring racism on the job during lifetime test-retest reliability score was reported at .71. The test-retest reliability score for frequency of exposure to racism in school (in the past year) was .73 and racism in school during lifetime test-retest score was .79. The test-retest reliability for frequency of exposure to racism in the public realm (in the past year) scored.70 and throughout life was .75. The test-retest reliability for frequency of exposure to racist statements (in the past year) reflected a score of .80 and throughout life was .80. According to Minium, King, and Bear (1993), scores for test-retest reliability that are .70 and above are adequate reliability for exploratory research purposes. The Cronbach alpha and test retest reliability scores suggest acceptable standards for internal consistency and consistency over time for the subscales of the PRS.

Validity of PRS

Correlation and Factor analysis were used to test the validity of the PRS measure. PRS subscale scores were to similar and divergent constructs of the Reactions to Racism Scale, Cultural Mistrust Inventory, and the BDI to estimate construct validity. The following results provide some indication of the validity of the subscale scores within the PRS.

An examination of the Pearson intercorrelations for the PRS and CMI showed high correlations that supported convergent validity for *frequency of exposure to racism* across all settings. For example, the strongest associations between the CMI and PRS was

experiences with racism in academia during lifetime (r=.34, $p \leq$.01; n = 109). For racism in academia in the past year the correlation was also significant *(r=.25, $p \leq$.01; n = 109).* For the PRS subscale for racism on the job in the past year (r =.28, $p \leq$.01; n= 107) and racism on the job over lifetime (r =.30, $p \leq$ .01; n= 107) the results of the correlations were also significantly highly correlated with both the RRS and CMI scales, respectively. Correlations for racism in the public realm in past year and over lifetime were also significantly highly correlated (r=.37, $p \leq$.01, n = 109) and (r = .46, $p \leq$. 01, n = 109) respectively with the RRS scale. The strongest associations between the RRS and PRS were experiences with racism in academia for past year and during lifetime (r=.38, $p \leq$.01; n = 109) *and r=.46, $p \leq$.01; n = 109)* respectively. Correlations for racist statements over lifetime was also significant (r = .21, $p \leq$ .05; n =108).

The Pearson correlations for *exposure to racism in academic settings of the RRS and CMI* were also significantly high for the PRS. For example, the subscale for racism on the job for in the past year (r =.33, $p \leq$.01; n= 107) and racism on the job over lifetime (r =.32, $p \leq$.01; n= 107) were significantly highly correlated. Correlations for racism in the public realm in past year and over lifetime were also significantly high (r=.32, $p \leq$ .01, n = 109) and (r = .33, $p \leq$. 01, n = 109) respectively. Correlations for racist statements over lifetime was also significant (r = .20, $p \leq$ .03; n =108).

The Pearson correlations for the PRS subscale for *emotional responses to racism experiences* (i.e., angry, hurt, sad, frustrated, hopeless, powerless, ashamed, and strengthened) summed across each social context (on the job, in academia, in the public realm and racist statements in media) and the BDI, found three emotions to be significantly correlated with similar emotions on the Beck Depression Inventory; the emotional response of *sad across all social contexts* (r =. 33, $p \leq$ .01; n = 68), the emotional response of *hopeless across all social contexts* (r =. 32, $p \leq$ .01; n = 69), and the emotional response *of powerless across all social contexts* (r =. 28, $p \leq$ .01; n = 71) were found to be significantly high.

Exploratory factor analysis was also used to support the validity of the PRS by empirically testing the preconceived factors of the PRS. According to McNeilly et al, exploratory principle component factor analyses were performed using both orthogonal and oblique rotations. An additional 59 participants were added for the factor analysis. After excluding participants for missing at least 20% of required data and substituting other missing data with mean values, the total number for factor analysis was ($n = 209$,) or 76% responding with all participants of the study.

McNeilly et al., reported that scree plots based on Eigenvalues suggested five factors from the pooled items concerning frequency of exposure to racism (i.e., exposure to racism on the job, in academia, [overt] racism in public, [subtle] racism in public lifetime and exposure to racist statements in media), and nine factors from the pooled items concerning emotional and coping responses.

For discriminant validity, McNeilly, Anderson, Robinson, et al., (1996) used Pearson correlations for the emotional response across settings of the PRS and BDI also. There were no significant results for the correlation between the BDI and PRS subscales for the following emotional responses: *strengthened* across settings ($r=.12, p \leq .12; n = 80$), *ashamed* across settings ($r =.15, p \leq .24; n =65$), and feeling angry across settings ($r =.09, p \leq .39; n= 104$), and *frustration* across settings ($r =.16, p \leq 13; n= 94$). However McNeilly, Anderson, Robinson, et al., (1996) did suggests that very high scores overall on the subscale of emotional response to racism across all social contexts, could predict higher levels of depression on the BDI.

For all *behavioral coping responses (*i.e., speaking up, trying to change things, avoiding it, keeping it to myself, accepting it, ignoring it, working harder to prove them wrong, praying, getting violent, and forgetting it) of the PRS in relation to the RRS, CMI, and BDI, the correlations and probability values ranges were ($r < .14, p < .19, n = 109$) non-significant. For intercorrelations on the *behavioral coping response to racism across settings* (i.e., racism on the job, racism in academia, racism in the public realm,

racist statements in the media) for the PRS, as compared to RRS, CMI, and BDI, again there were no significant correlations.

<div align="center">Social Support Networks</div>

The Social Support Questionnaire for Racial Situations (SSQRS) was selected as the most appropriate instrument available to assess the social support networks of African American males. The SSQRS was developed by Boyce (1996), and it measures social support for racism experiences across two dimensions. (1) The actual size and racial composition of the social support network and (2), the level of satisfaction with the social support network in dealing effectively with problems associated with race and racism (Boyce, 1996).

The SSQRS is a 5-item questionnaire (see personal questionnaire Appendix D) designed to evaluate social support for racism experiences. The respondents in this study gave a two-part answer: first, they listed by initials the people for whom they turned to and relied upon for dealing with racism. Then the respondents reported the race of the different people they listed as supporters (such as, Black, White, or Other). Second, the respondents reported on the level of their satisfaction with that particular social support network on a six–point Likert-type scale (1= very dissatisfied, 2= fairly satisfied, 3= a little dissatisfied, 4= a little satisfied, 5= fairly satisfied, 6 = very satisfied).

According to Boyce, (1996) social support had proven to be an important psychological construct. Social support provides individuals with feedback regarding the reality of events and how to interpret them (Coates, 1990). Most social support measures are global in format and may not capture important stressors that specifically impact African Americans. Boyce (1996) suggested that existing social support measures lack stressful situations that relate to racism and may not capture those particular dimensions of social support that are relevant for African Americans and other ethnic minorities (Boyce, 1996).

SSQRS Psychometric Properties

The need to examine issues of race, racism and social support for racial situations substantiated the need to use the Social Support Questionnaire for Racial Situations (SSQRS). This instrument was new in1996, however; it had not been used or tested extensively among African Americans or any other nondominant ethnic population in the U.S. since the Boyce's 1996 study.

According to Boyce (1996), the SSQRS has shown good internal consistency and is generalizable to African Americans living in the United States. The SSQRS measures the respondent's most recent stressful experience with racism, and subsequent interaction with his/her social support network. The frame of reference for those experiences is preferably recent; however, the available psychometric information on the SSQRS does not specify the time frame for the racist event to have occurred.

According to Boyce (1996) the mean number of social supporters within a given network was 2.63, with a range of 2.01 to 3.86. The Cronbach alpha coefficient for internal consistency was reported at .89 for social support network and .88 for social support satisfaction.

To establish construct validity, Boyce (1996) measured the SSQRS against a more well-known and well tested measure for social support, called the Social Support Questionnaire (SSQ) developed by (Sarason, Levine, Basham, & Sarason, 1983). She measured the reliability of the SSQRS to a lesser known measure for social support called the Brief Social Support Questionnaire (SSQ6) developed by Sarason, Sarason, Sherin, and Pierce 1987).

The SSQ6 is six-item abbreviated version of the 27-item SSQ which measures perceived social support on two dimensions; the actual size of the social support network (i.e., the Number of Perceived Availability Score) and satisfaction with network (Satisfaction Score). The SSQ6 does not, however, measure the characteristic of race or circumstances involving racism events such as the SSQRS.

The instruments were administered as part of a larger research project on the psychological well-being of African Americans. One order of test administration was used for all participants to prevent contamination of the responses of the measure because of the previous contents of another measure. The SSQ6 which contained no overt racial content was administered first, and then the SSQRS which covered racial issues was administered. Respondents provided a two-part answer: (1) they nominated a list of the people for whom they relied on for a given set of circumstances; and, (2) they indicated the level of satisfaction with the supporters on a six-point Likert-type scale. For the purposes of Boyce's 1996 study, respondents were asked to note the race of the people they nominated as providers of support as Black, White, or Other.

Six circumstances were then described (1) distraction from worries when under stress; (2) help to feel more relaxed when under pressure or tense; (3) total acceptance for best and worst points; (4) caring regardless of what is happening; (5) feeling better when down-in-the-dumps; and (6) consolation when very upset.

According to Boyce (1996), the short form version of the SSQ6 had demonstrated psychometrically sound properties with comparable reliabilities to the longer 27-item SSQ for social support network size and satisfaction with internal reliabilities ranging from .90 to .93 across three samples (Sarason, et al., 1987). Scores for the social support network size and satisfaction with social support for the SSQ6 were reported to be highly correlated with the full-scale SSQ scores; $r^2 = .91$ for network size and $r^2 = .93$ for satisfaction, respectively (Boyce, 1996). Boyce (1996) further suggested that the SSQ6 had also shown similar patterns of correlations to the long version of the SSQ on items such anxiety, depression, loneliness, and social skills measures. Correlation scores for these particular variables were unavailable at the time of this study. The reliability indices for the SSQ for mean number of persons listed was 3.9 with a range from 2.73 to 5.12. The Cronbach's alpha for the network score was .83. The satisfaction mean score for the

SSQ was 5.38 with a range of 5.26 to 5.67 and the Cronbach's alpha for the satisfaction score was .78.

T-tests were also used to compare mean differences between the SSQRS, SSQ6, and the SSQ. Two scores were computed for all three measures, 1) the number of people in the social support network, and 2) the mean number of satisfaction with social support.

The results of t-tests conducted on the SSQRS and the SSQ showed; 1) statistically significant fewer persons provided social support for racial situations (mean = 3.86) (t = (103) = 8.33, p < .001); 2) the findings showed statistically significantly smaller African American social support networks for racial situations (mean = 2.56) (t (98)= 7.41, p < .001), than for other situations. Although the size of the social support networks for dealing with racism was significantly smaller the t-tests results appear to indicate adequate convergent validity for the SSQRS.

According to Boyce (1996), this meant that African Americans not only indicated smaller numbers of social supporters for dealing with racism in comparison to other problems, they also reported significantly more satisfaction with the support they received for *globally stressful situations* (mean = 5.38) rather than for situations involving racism (mean = 5.06) (t (103)= 3.37, p < .001).

No further information regarding validity of the SSQRS was available during this study. However, from the results of Boyce's 1996 t-tests, it appears that two things may be occurring in the lives of students; 1) they do appear to have established networks for dealing with racial issues, and/or 2) the African American participants are reticent to share information about racism with the support groups they have already established on college campuses. In either instance, counselors and other mental health professionals who are involved with African Americans and other nondominant ethnic students in academic settings need to know that these students may need other resources to mediate the affects of racism-related experiences on campuses throughout the U.S., whether or not the need for these resources are exhibited.

Psychological Well-being

This study may add a unique perspective and further support the validity of the Neuroticism scales and Extraversion domain scales of the NEO PI-R because the scales will be used to assess the well-being of adult African American male's college graduates at different ages and from various backgrounds within the United States.

In order to assess subjective and/or psychological well-being, for "normal" African American males, it was necessary to locate a scale or inventory that focused on positive personality attributes and that was normative for all racial groups living in the U.S. The scale selected to assess psychological well-being is called the Revised NEO PI-R.

The Revised NEO Personality Inventory better known as the NEO PI-R is a concise measure of five major dimensions/domains of personality such as Neuroticism (N), Extraversion (E), Openness (O), Agreeableness (A), and Conscientiousness (C) (Costa & McCrae, 1992). According to Costa and McCrae, Neuroticism (N) and Extraversion (E) scales and their subsets called facets or traits, will be used to assess the psychological well-being of respondents in this study.

The Neuroticism domain scale has six facets and they include; N1: Anxiety; N2: Angry Hostility; N3: Depression; N4: Self-Consciousness; N5: Impulsiveness; and N6: Vulnerability. The Extraversion domain scale has six facets also and they include; E1: Warmth; E2: Gregariousness; E3: Assertiveness; E4: Activity; E5: Excitement-Seeking; and E6: Positive Emotions. When the scores from N and E are combined, it provides an indication of subjective/psychological well-being (Costa & McCrae, 1992).

NEO PI-R Materials

There are two versions of the NEO PI-R; item booklet Form S has questions for self-report purposes and item booklet Form R has the same number of questions and is used for observer ratings of males and females who were administered items on the Form S. The Form S and Form R item booklet versions are parallel. According to Costa and

McCrae (1992), there are five domain scales with six facets per each domain, and eight questions per each facet for a total of 240 questions in all to constitute the NEO PI-R. In this study, we will use the Form S version item booklet with N and E domains totaling 98 questions. The Form R will not be used in this study.

<div align="center">NEO PI-R Psychometric Properties</div>

The answers to each question is recorded on a five point Likert-Type scale; starting with Strongly Disagree (SD); Disagree (D); Neutral (N); Agree (A); and ending with Strongly Agree (SA). A pre-selected number of questions in each domain facet are reversed scored. For the N domain, there are 48 questions in all with 21 questions reverse scored. The E domain also has 48 questions with 19 questions reverse scored. All scores from each facet are added up in each particular domain and a raw score is produced. The raw scores are compared with a profile form based on different normative samples. Although there are separate profile forms for adult norms and college-age individuals, the profile for adult norms will be used for this study.

Conversion data from the profile form allows the raw scores to be converted to a standard score or T-score. For example, for the Neuroticism domain, *very low raw scores* that range from 0-49 converts into a T-score that also reflects a *very low T-score* ranging from 20-35. *Low raw* scores of 50-71 reflect *low T-scores* of 36-45; an *average raw score* of 72-95, reflects an *average T-score* of 46-55; *high raw scores* of 96-116, also reflect *high T-scores* of 56-65; and a *very high raw score* of 117-192, will also reflect a *very high T-score* of 66-80.

For the Extraversion domain the raw scores are slightly different, but the T-scores are in the same range as the Neuroticism domain T-scores, for instance, very low raw scores range from 0-81 and converted very low T-scores range form 20-35; low raw scores are from 82-100 and low T-scores range from 36-45; an average raw score of 101-

120, reflect an average T-score of 46-55, high raw scores of 121-138 reflect high T-scores of 56-65; and very high raw scores of 139-192 reflect very high T-scores of 66-80.

According to Costa and McCrae, in conceptualizing the personality traits measured by the NEO PI-R, no single cut-off point separates those who "have" a trait from those who do not and being low or average on a scale can be as informative as being high or very high on a scale. Therefore, unlike the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) developed by (Hathaway & McKinley, 1983) where the T-scores that exceed 70 may be considered pathological, the NEO PI-R does not necessarily focus on issues of pathology alone.

According to Costa and McCrae (1992), the facets of the N and E domain scales have high internal consistency. The individual facet scales for all five domains ranged from .56 to .81 in self-reports. This means that the degree to which items in a scale measure the same thing is relatively high. The N and E domains specifically reported at .92 and .89 for internal consistency respectively as determined by coefficient alpha on the Form S for self-reports. The test-retest reliability for the facets on Neuroticism and Extraversion scales ranged from .66 to .92. The test-retest reliabilities for the N and E domain scales themselves are a respectable .87 and .91. Reliability coefficients of internal consistency for N and E combined well-being scores are unavailable.

To test the factor structure of the five domains, Costa, McCrae & Dye factored analyzed the 240 NEO PI-R items and found that the five varimax rotated principal components corresponded to the five intended factors. The correlations between the factor scores and the N, E, O, A, and C, domain scores were .91, .89. .95, .95, and .89 respectively.

According to Costa, McCrae, and Dye, the factor loadings are based on correlations among the facets in a normative sample of 500 men and 500 women. Very similar results were found in an employment sample. With several different sub-samples of men and women, whites, non-whites, young adults (ages 21 to 29) and older adults

(ages 30 to 64), the same factors were found in each group. According to Costa, McCrae, & Dye (1991), the congruence coefficients between contrasting groups ranged from .91 to .99. This shows that the NEO PI-R has *factorial validity* across gender, race, and age groups (Costa, McCrae, & Dye, 1991).

The *content* and *criterion* related validity is supported by (Miller, 1991). According to Miller (1991; and Brooner, Costa, Fetch, Rousar, Bigelow, & Schmidt, 1991), patients in psychotherapy tended to score high on the N domain and drug users tended to score lower on Agreeableness and Conscientiousness, providing some evidence of these kinds of validity. Costa and McCrae acknowledge that validity is not an absolute property of the scales; validity can change in different samples and when used for different purposes, and because of this, they realize that ongoing research utilizing the domain scales of the NEO PI-R is needed.

Neuroticism (N) Domain

The Neuroticism domain of personality scales contrasts adjustments of emotional stability with maladjustment of neuroticism. According to Costa and McCrae (1992), the Neuroticism scale is the most pervasive domain of the NEO PI-R.

The general tendency to experience negative affects such as fear, sadness, embarrassment, anger, guilt, and disgust is the core of the N domain (Costa & McCrae, 1992). It has been suggested (Eysenck & Eysenck, 1964) that patients with diagnoses as suffering from neuroses generally score higher on measures of Neuroticism. Higher scorers may be at risk for some kinds of psychiatric problems; however, the N scale should not be viewed as a measure of psychopathology. The N domain contains six facets:

N1: <u>Anxiety</u>; Anxious individuals are apprehensible, fearful, prone to worry, nervous, tense, and jittery. The scale does not measure specific fears or phobias, but high scorers are more

likely to have such fears, as well as free floating anxiety. Low scorers are calm and relaxed. They do not dwell on things that might go wrong.

N2: Angry Hostility; Angry hostility represents the tendency to experience anger and related states such as frustration and bitterness. This scale measures the individual's readiness to experience anger; whether the anger is expressed depends upon the individual's level of Agreeableness. Note, however, that disagreeable people often score high on the scale. Low scorers are easygoing and slow to anger.

N3: Depression; This scale measures normal individual differences in the tendency to experience depressive affect. High scorers are prone to feelings of guilt, sadness, hopelessness, and loneliness. They are easily discouraged and often dejected. Low scorers rarely experience such emotions, but they are not necessarily cheerful and lighthearted—characteristics associated instead with Extraversion.

N4: Self-Consciousness; The emotions of shame and embarrassment form the core of this facet of N. Self-consciousness individuals are uncomfortable around others, sensitive to ridicule, and prone to feelings of inferiority. Self-consciousness is akin to shyness and social anxiety—to Fenigstein, Scheier, and Buss (1975). Low scorers do not necessarily have poise or good social skills; they are simply less disturbed by awkward social situations.

N5: Impulsiveness; Impulsiveness refers to the inability to control cravings and urges. Desires (e.g., for food, cigarettes, possessions) are perceived as being so strong that the individual cannot resist them, although he or she may later regret the behavior. Low scorers find it easier to resist such temptations, having a high tolerance for frustration. The term impulsive is used by many theorists to refer to many different and unrelated traits. NEO PI-R impulsiveness should not be confused with spontaneity, risk-taking, or rapid decision time.

N6: Vulnerability; The final facet of N is vulnerability to stress. Individuals who score high on this scale feel unable to cope with stress, becoming dependent, hopeless, or panicked when facing emergencies. Low scorers perceive themselves as capable of handling themselves in difficult situations.

Extraversion Domain

The Extraversion (E) domain assesses the level of sociability in respondents. According to Costa and McCrae extraverts are people who not only are sociable and have the ability to like people-they also like large groups of people at gatherings as such. Extraverts are assertive, active, and talkative. They like excitement and stimulation and tend to be cheerful in disposition. They are also upbeat, energetic, and optimistic. According to Costa, McCrae, & Holland, (1984) salespeople represent the prototypic extraverts in our culture. However, the opposite of the extravert is the introvert and they are somewhat more difficult to portray. Costa and McCrae suggest that introverts should be seen as having the absence of extraversion rather than what might be assumed as the opposite of extraversion. Introverts are reserved rather than unfriendly, independent rather than followers, even paced rather than sluggish, and they do not necessarily suffer from social anxiety. Introverts are also not unhappy or pessimistic people.

Costa and McCrae (1992) also presented each of the six facets of Extraversion and they are as follows:

E1: Warmth; Warmth is the facet of Extraversion most relevant to issues of interpersonal intimacy. Warm people are affectionate and friendly. They genuinely like people and easily form close attachments to others. Low scorers are neither hostile nor necessarily lacking in compassion, but they are more formal, reserved, and distant in manner than high scorers. Warmth is facet of E that is closed to Agreeableness in interpersonal space, but it is distinguished by a cordiality and heartiness that is not part of Agreeableness.

E2: Gregariousness; A second aspect of E is gregariousness—the preference for other people's company. Gregarious people enjoy the company of others, and the more the merrier. Low scorers on this scale tend to be loners who do not seek –or who even actively avoid –social stimulation.

E3: <u>Assertiveness</u>; High scorers on this scale are dominant, forceful, and socially ascendant. They speak without hesitation and often become group leaders. Low scorers prefer to keep in the background and let others do the talking.

E4: <u>Activity</u>; A high Activity score is seen in rapid tempo and vigorous movement, in a sense of energy, and in a need to keep busy. Active people lead fast-paced lives. Low scorers are more leisurely and relaxed in tempo, although they are not necessarily sluggish or lazy.

E5: <u>Excitement-Seeking</u>; High scorers on this scale crave excitement and stimulation. They like bright colors and noisy environments. Excitement-Seeking is akin to some aspects of sensation seeking (Zuckerman, 1979). Low scorers feel little need for thrills and prefer a life that high scorers might find boring.

E6: <u>Positive Emotions</u>; The last facet of E assesses the tendency to experience positive emotions such as joy, happiness, love, and excitement. High scorers on the Positive Emotions scale laugh easily and often. They are merely less exuberant and high-spirited. Research by Costa and McCrae (1980a) has shown that happiness and life satisfaction are related to both N and E, and that Positive Emotions is the facet of E most relevant to the prediction of happiness.

<u>Research Design</u>

A survey research design is employed to collect and study reports of racism experiences among a targeted group of African American male college graduates. Since the study has exploratory purposes (rather than confirmatory), the survey data will be analyzed to discover relationships among key variables. Variables were ordered by the sequence in which they are generally experienced, i.e., incidences of racism experiences across social contexts in the past year and during lifetime, developmental level of individual respondents (i.e., EA = Early Adult development, MA = Middle Adult Development, and LA = Late Adult development) with both time frame experiences with racism serving as independent variables.

ANOVA/MANOVA models were used to make comparisons of continuous variables across categorical variables. Correlation models were employed to reveal relationships between independent variables and dependent variables. Regression models were used to reveal relationships between selected independent variables and dependent variables of neuroticism and extraversion.

<u>Statistical Analyses for Each Research Questions</u>

Research Question 1: What are the incidences of racism experiences reported by African American male college graduates?

Research Question 1a: Do incidences of racism experiences differ across social settings?

Data Analysis for RQ1a: ANOVA/MANOVA with multiple dependent variables design was used to analyze the following variables:

Dependent variables: Incidences of racism experiences by Social Context (i.e., Racism on the job, Racism in academic settings, Racism in the public realm, Racist statements in media) for past year and over lifetime. Fixed factor variables for research questions 1a through 1d analyses were (Developmental level and SES) as follows:

Independent variables:

Developmental Levels of African American males

Early Adult Development (EAD; Ages 22-44)

Middle Adult Development (MAD; Ages 45-59)

Late Adult Development (LAD; Ages 60-89)

Social-economic-status (SES) raw scores:

Low SES = (0-19)

Middle-low SES = (20-39)

Middle SES = (40-59)

Middle-high SES (60-79)

High SES = (80-99)

Dependent variables:

Incidences or Frequency ratings for both past year and during lifetime for each of the four social contexts of the PRS will include Likert-type scale measurement responses: almost never, several times a year, several times a month, several times a week, several times a day, and not applicable.

Research Question 1b: Do incidences of racism experiences differ across levels of development?

Data Analyses: ANOVA/MANOVA with multiple dependent variables design was used to analyze the following variables:

Dependent variables: Incidences of racism experiences (i.e., Racism on the job, Racism in academic settings, Racism in the public realm, Racist statements in media) for past year and over lifetime. Independent variables will be (Developmental level) as follows:

Independent variables:

Developmental Levels of African American males

Early Adult Development (EAD; Ages 22-44)

Middle Adult Development (MAD; Ages 45-59)

Late Adult Development (LAD; Ages 60-89)

Social-economic-status (SES) raw scores:

Low SES = (0-19)

Middle-low SES = (20-39)

Middle SES = (40-59)

Middle-high SES (60-79)

High SES = (80-99)

Research Question 1c: Do incidences of racism experiences differ between the last year and a lifetime?

Statistical Analyses: ANOVA/MANOVA with multiple variables design was used to analyze the following variables:

Dependent variables: Incidences of racism experiences (i.e., Racism on the job, Racism in academic settings, Racism in the public realm, Racist statements in media) for past year and over lifetime and frequencies. Fixed factor variables were Developmental level and SES.

Research Question 1d. Are incidences of racism experiences associated with socio-economic status?

Statistical Analysis: Pearson Intercorrelation will be used to analyze the following variables:

Dependent variables: Incidences of racism experiences (i.e., Racism on the job, Racism in academic settings, Racism in the public realm, Racist statements in media) for past year and over lifetime and frequencies. Fixed factor variables will be social status (SES) as follows:

Independent variables:

Social-economic-status (SES) raw scores:

Research Question 2: What are the intensities of eight emotional reactions to racism experiences reported by African-American male college graduates?

Statistical Analysis: Pearson Intercorrelation

Mean scores of *emotional intensity ratings* on eight emotional categories (e.g., angry, hurt, frustration, sad, powerless, hopeless, ashamed, and strengthened) across four contexts of the PRS.

Research Question 2a: What are the differences in intensity of emotional reactions to racism experiences across social settings?

Statistical Analysis: ANOVA/MANOVA with multiple variables design was used to analyze the following variables:

Dependent variables: mean scores of *emotional intensity ratings* on eight emotional categories (e.g., angry, hurt, frustration, sad, powerless, hopeless, ashamed, and strengthened) across 4 Social Contexts (i.e., Racism on the job, Racism in academic settings, Racism in the public realm, Racist statements in media) for past year and over lifetime.

Independent variables:

Developmental Levels of African American males

Early Adult Development (EAD; Ages 22-44)

Middle Adult Development (MAD; Ages 45-59)

Late Adult Development (LAD; Ages 60-89)

Research Question 2b: What are the differences in intensity of emotional responses to racism experiences across developmental level?

Statistical Analysis: ANOVA/MANOVA with multiple variables design was used to analyze the following variables:

Dependent Variables:

(Emotional intensity scores for each emotion)

Independent variables:

Developmental Levels of African American males

Early Adult Development (EAD; Ages 22-44)

Middle Adult Development (MAD; Ages 45-59)

Late Adult Development (LAD; Ages 60-89)

Research Question 3: What are the frequencies of ten behavioral coping responses of racism experiences?

Frequency table will provide a description of behavioral coping responses used for racism experiences across social contexts

Frequency ratings for all ten behavioral coping responses to incidences of racism experiences across social contexts were used to address this research question: speaking

up, accepting it, ignoring it, try to change things, keeping it to myself; work harder to

prove them wrong, praying, avoiding it, getting violent, forgetting it, or other to include

proportions and percentages demarcated by developmental level and social status (SES).

Research Question 3a: What is the relationship between frequency of behavioral

coping responses and social context of racism experiences?

Statistical Analysis: Pearson intercorrelation matrix, measuring the relationship

between *Behavioral coping response* frequency ratings (i.e., speaking up, accepting it,

ignoring it, try to change things, keeping it to myself, work harder to prove them wrong,

praying, avoiding it, getting violent, forgetting it, or other) and the Incidences of racism

experiences (i.e., racism on the job, racism in academic settings, racism in the public

realm, and racists statements in media).

Research Question 3b: What is the relationship between frequency of behavioral

coping responses and developmental levels?

Statistical Analysis: Pearson correlation, measuring the relationship between

Behavioral coping response frequency ratings (i.e., speaking up, accepting it, ignoring it,

try to change things, keeping it to myself, work harder to prove them wrong, praying,

avoiding it, getting violent, forgetting it, or other) and developmental levels.

Research Question 4: What is the level of social support for dealing with racism

experiences and satisfaction with social support?

Research Question 4a: What is the relationship between level of social support

and developmental level?

Statistical Analysis: Pearson correlation will be used to analyze the following

variables for Research questions 4 and 4a:

Dependent variable: Number of social supporters across five racism incidences

described in the SSQRS and mean score for satisfaction level of each of the five

situations measured by very dissatisfied, fairly dissatisfied, a little dissatisfied, a little

satisfied, fairly satisfied, very satisfied for satisfaction with Social Support network.

Independent variables: Developmental Levels (i.e., EA = Early Adult, MA = Middle Adult, LA = Late Adult).

Research Question 4b: What is the relationship between satisfaction with social support and developmental level?

Statistical Analysis: Pearson correlation matrix including the *Dependent variable*: mean scores for satisfaction level of each of the five situations (i.e., very dissatisfied, fairly dissatisfied, a little dissatisfied, a little satisfied, fairly satisfied, very satisfied) for Social Support across each of the five situations.

Independent variables: Developmental Levels

Research Question 5: Are the experiences with racism associated with psychological well being as measured by scales of neuroticism and extraversion?

Statistical Analysis: Hierarchical multiple regression analysis for Neuroticism and Extraversion

Predictor variables (past year and during lifetime) for incidences of racism experiences across contexts were entered into the regression formula as follows:

Step 1: Developmental Level (DL)

Step 2: Socio-economic-Status (SES)

Step 3: Racism on the job

Step 4: Racism in academic settings

Step 5: Racism in the public realm

Step 6: Racist statements in media

Social Status (SES) and Developmental level variables are the control variables

Research Question 5a: Are racism experiences related to neuroticism and extraversion?

Statistical Analysis: Hierarchical multiple regression analysis for Neuroticism and Extraversion

Predictor variables (past year and during lifetime) for incidences of racism experiences across contexts were entered into the regression formula as follows:

Step 1: DL

Step 2: SES

Step 3: Racism on the job

Step 4: Racism in academic settings

Step 5: Racism in the public realm

Step 6: Racist statements in media

Developmental level (DL) and Social Status (SES) variables were the control variables.

Research Question 5b: Are intensity of emotional responses to racism experiences related to neuroticism and extraversion?

Statistical Analysis: Hierarchical multiple regression analysis using mean scores of emotional intensity ratings on eight emotional categories (e.g., angry, hurt frustration, sad, powerless, hopeless, ashamed, and strengthened) across 4 Contexts (of the PRS) were entered into the regression formula as follows:

Step 1: DL

Step 2: SES

Step 3: Anger

Step 4: Hurt

Step 5: Frustration

Step 6: Sad

Step 7: Powerless

Step 8: Hopeless

Step 9: Ashamed

Step 10: Strengthened

Developmental level (DL) and Social Status (SES) variables were the control variables.

Research Question 5c: Is the range of behavioral coping responses to racism experiences related to neuroticism and extraversion?

Statistical Analysis: Hierarchical multiple regression analysis using frequency ratings of behavioral coping responses (i.e., speaking up, accepting it, ignoring it, try to change things, keeping it to myself, work harder to prove them wrong, praying, avoiding it, getting violent, forgetting it) were entered into the regression formula as follows:

First set for regression included first five behavioral coping responses:

Step 1: DL

Step 2: SES

Step 3: Speaking up about it

Step 4: Accepting it

Step 5: Ignoring it

Step 6: Trying to change things

Step 7: Keeping it to myself

Second set of Behavioral coping responses:

Step 1: Developmental Level

Step 2: SES

Step 3: Working harder to prove them wrong

Step 4: Praying

Step 5: Avoiding it

Step 6: Getting violent

Step 7: Forgetting it

Developmental level (DL) and Social Status (SES) variables were the control variables.

Research Question 5d: Is the number of supporters and satisfaction with social support related to neuroticism and extraversion?

Statistical Analysis: Hierarchical multiple regression analysis using:

Dependent variables/outcome variables: Neuroticism and Extraversion scales of the NEO PI-R, and,

Independent variables: and mean score for satisfaction level for each of the five situations measured by: very dissatisfied, fairly dissatisfied, a little dissatisfied, a little satisfied, fairly satisfied, very satisfied, with Social Support networks were entered into the regression formula as follows:

Step 1: DL

Step 2: SES

Step 3: Satisfaction with social supporters for helping you feel better about a racial incident

Step 4: Satisfaction with social supporters you can comfortably talk about racial issues.

Step 5: Satisfaction with social supporters for helping you deal with a racial incident.

Step 6: Satisfaction with social supporters for advice on how to handle racial issues.

Step 7: Satisfaction with social supporters for helping you cope with encounters with persons you perceive as racist.

Developmental level (DL) and Social Status (SES) variables were the control variables.

Independent variables: SSQRS (Race of Supporters (Black, White or Other), mean scores for race and number of social supporters from five racism experiences described in the SSQRS were entered into the regression formula as follows:

Step 1: DL

Step 2: SES

Step 3: Total number of African American social supporters

Step 4: Total number of European American social supporters

Step 5: Total number of Other social supporters

Developmental level (DL) and Social Status (SES) variables were the control variables.

Research Question 5e: What is the degree to which all of the above are associated with neuroticism and extraversion when SES and developmental level are controlled?

Statistical Analysis Two hierarchical regression models for: (1) Neuroticism and (2) Extraversion

Dependent variables/outcome variables: Neuroticism and Extraversion scales of the NEO PI-R

Independent (predictor) variables:

1. PRS 4 Contexts of racism experiences (i.e., Racism on the job, Racism in academic settings, Racism in the public realm, Racist statements in media) for past year and over lifetime.

2. Mean scores of *emotional intensity ratings* on eight emotional categories (e.g., angry, hurt, frustration, sad, powerless, hopeless, ashamed, and strengthened).

3. Frequency ratings for all ten behavioral coping responses to incidences of racism experiences across social contexts were used to address this research question: speaking up, accepting it, ignoring it, try to change things, keeping it to myself; work harder to prove them wrong, praying, avoiding it, getting violent, forgetting it.

4. SSQRS (Race of Supporters (Black, White or Other), mean scores for race and number of social supporters from five racism experiences described in the SSQRS and mean score for satisfaction level for each

of the five situations measured by: very dissatisfied, fairly dissatisfied, a little dissatisfied, a little satisfied, fairly satisfied, very satisfied, with Social Support networks

5. Control Variables: Developmental periods and Social Status were entered into all regression analyses as steps one and step two respectively.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

This chapter begins with descriptions of information about the response rates of

the participants and participant demographics. Next, summary statistics about the

participants are reported, including developmental levels, education, employment,

household income, level of employment, and social status (i.e., SES). A description of

how missing data were handled is provided and information on predictor variables is

provided for each research question. Then, statistical analyses conducted to address each

of the five major research questions and 20 sub-questions are presented. Each research

question is presented first and then the sequence of the various statistical analyses and the

results are presented per each research question. Explanations about the results are

provided for each of the statistical analyses. Additionally, the significance or non-

significance of each statistical test is presented along with accompanying tables for

further explanations.

<u>Description of Participants</u>

A total of 130 African American male college graduates completed the study

questionnaire. The 130 participants represent a unique sample of men that will for the

first time respond to questions designed to understand the influence of racism on their

adult development. Other male adult development research that included ethnic minority

males has used smaller populations for qualitative type studies. These 130 African

American male college graduates provide a greater voice to understanding the African

American male experience of adult development.

Personal and demographic information are summarized in Table 2. The mean age

of all respondents who participated in the study was 51 years of age. Based of the age in

years reported in the questionnaires, the developmental level of all respondents were determined.

Developmental Level

Thirty-six African American males between the ages of 22 and 44 comprised (27.7%) of the sample and they represented the Early Adult Development (EA) level. Sixty-five African American males between the ages of 45 and 59 comprised (50.0%) of the sample and they represented the Middle Adult Development (MA) level and twenty-nine African American males between the ages of 60 and 89, comprising (22.3%) of the sample represented the Late Adult Development (LA) level. A summary of all respondent's ages is reported in Appendix F.

Geographical Location

The sample included African American men who lived throughout the United States. The geographic distribution of the sample was based on Fichman (2000), U.S. Census regions and divisions, and it included 7 (5.4%) of the respondents from states located in the Eastern North Central (Midwest) geographical region of the United States, 54 (41.5%) of the respondents were from states located in the southern geographical region of the United States, 44 (33.8%) of the respondents were from the states located in the Northeastern geographical region of the United States, 22 (16.9%) of the respondents were from the Western North Central (Midwest) geographical region of the United States, and 3 (2.3%) of the respondents were from the Western geographical region of the United States.

Education

All African American male respondents in the study had completed their college education. Eighty-five (65.4%) held either a Bachelor of Science degree or Bachelor of Arts degree, 37 (28.5%) had completed either a Master of Science or Master of Arts

degree, 7 (5.4%) had completed either a Ph.D. or M.D. and one (.8%) had completed

another type of advanced degree.

Table 2. Summary of Respondent's Personal and Related Demographics

Variable	N	%
Developmental level		
EA (ages 22-44 yrs)[a]	36	27.7
MA (ages (45-59) yrs)[b]	65	50.0
LA (ages 60-89 yrs)[c]	29	22.3
Educational attainment		
B.S./B.A.	85	65.4
M.S./M.A.	37	28.5
Ph.D./M.D.	7	5.4
Other	1	.8
Geographical location		
Eastern North Central	7	5.4
South	54	41.5
Northeast	44	33.8
West	3	2.3
Western North Central	22	16.9

Table 2 Continued 1

	N	%
Household Income		
No Income	1	.8
Less than $20, 000	5	3.8
$20, 000 to $59, 000	40	30.8
$60, 000 to $99, 000	49	37.7
$100, 000 to $150, 000	23	17.7
$150, 000 to $200, 000	9	6.9
$200, 000 or more	2	1.5
Level of Employment		
Unemployed	4	3.1
Underemployed	41	31.5
Employed at Appropriate levels	68	52.3
Over-employed	2	1.5
Retired	14	10.8
No Response	1	.8

Note: [a] EA = Early Adult Development
[b] MA =Middle Adult Development
[c] LA = Late Adult Development

Employment and Household Income

Respondents reported that since the age of 18, the mean number of years being employed fulltime was 28 years (SD = 12.43) and the mean number of years that their employment had applied their college degree was 17 years (SD = 14.44). Most of the participants held jobs and reported household income that placed them well into the middle and upper-middle class and in a few cases, the upper class level of social status. One participant (.8%) reported having no income at all, 5 (3.8%) reported household income of less than $20, 000; 40 (30.80%) reported household income of $20, 000 to

$59, 000 per year, 49 (37.7%) reported income that ranged between $60, 000 and $99, 000 per year. There were 23 (17.7%) of the respondents reporting household income that ranged from $100, 000 to $150, 000 per year, 9 (6.9%) that had household income between $150, 000 and $200, 000 per year, and 2 (1.5%) of the respondents reported household income of $200, 000 or more per year.

Participants in the study were asked to name their particular occupation and 111 respondents provided an occupational name. They reported a wide variety of occupations so diverse it is inconvenient to list them all here. The occupations reported most frequently were 13 Administrators (10%), 12 Teachers/Educators (9.23%), 8 Entrepreneurs (7.69%), 7 Accountant/Auditors (3.8%), 5 Salespersons (3.8%), 4 Postal workers (3%), 4 Law Enforcement (3.0%), 3 Attorneys (2.3%), and 2 Pastors (1.5%). A summary of all respondent occupations is reported in Appendix E. Other respondents 14 (10.8%) did not provide names of the occupations from which they had retired, 2 (1.5%) were students obtaining additional education while working concurrently, and 3 (2.3%) did not provide a name for their current occupation.

Level of Employment

When respondents were asked about the present level of their employment, 4 (3.1%) responded by reporting that they were unemployed, 41 (31.5%) reported that they were underemployed, 68 (52.3%) reported being employed at the appropriate level, and 2 (1.5%) reported being over-employed.

Social Status

The Nam, Powers-Terrie (1990) occupational status scores and Nam (1983) codes for measuring occupation status, education level, and household income were used to obtain a score of social status or socio-economic-status (SES). There were no respondents found to be experiencing life at low levels of SES in this study as shown in Table 3 and only 2 (1.5%) respondents were experiencing middle-low levels of SES. There were 7

(5.4%) respondents who were ascertained as living at the level of Middle SES,

sometimes referred to as middle-class, 37 (28.5%) respondents were determined as living

at the level of Middle-High SES and 84 (64.6%) of the African American male

respondents were existing at the Highest level of SES. For the purposes of further

statistical analysis the middle-low, middle, and middle-high SES levels were combined to

form a middle SES level for social status. This was due to the small number of

respondents located in both the middle-low and middle SES levels.

Table 3. Social Status Level for African American Male Respondents

SES Level	N	%
Low SES	0	0
Middle-Low SES	2	1.5
Middle SES	7	5.4
Middle-High SES	37	28.5
High SES	84	64.6

<u>Modified Social Status</u>

The SES level variable was developed as a standardized composite based on the

respondents' education level, occupation status, and household income status as rated on

Nam, Powers-Terrie occupational and social status scores according to procedures

outlined in the methods chapter. However, the unanticipated low number of respondents

representing low, middle-low, and middle SES levels associated with the Nam, Powers-

Terrie social status scores forced a modification in the classification of participants by

SES. The number of respondents representing Middle-low SES (2) and respondents

representing Middle SES (7) were collapsed with respondents representing Middle-High

SES (37) and the category was re-formulated as the middle SES level. Thus the middle

SES level indicated that the respondents' SES levels were standardized in a scale ranging

from 0-99 with a mean of 80.37, standard deviation of 12.35, and a range scores from 36-96. The re-formulation of the middle SES category reduced the number of SES categories from four (i.e., middle-low, middle, and middle-high SES to two: middle SES and High SES. The number of respondents representing the middle SES variable was 46 and the number of respondents representing the high SES was 84 respectively.

When respondents were asked if they were current members of their college alumni, 56 (43.1%) responded by answering yes on the questionnaire and 72 (55.4%) responded by answering no on the questionnaire. There were two (0.16%) respondents who did not answer the question regarding alumni status. When respondents were asked if they participated in "special academic programs" while attending college, 33 (25.4%) responded by answering yes on the questionnaire and 96 (73.8%) responded by answering no on the questionnaire. There was only 1 (.8%) respondent who did not answer the question regarding participation in a special academic program.

<u>Missing Data</u>

Respondents to survey research often fail to complete the entire questionnaire. Therefore, missing data are often a problem. Twenty-one respondents to this survey did not complete items 23, 32, 56, 59, 60, 61, 69, 80, 91, 93, 111, 114, 118, 122, 125, and 127, of the questionnaire (See Appendix C for full questionnaire). Ninety-three questionnaires were eliminated because respondents failed to answer a substantial number of the items on the questionnaire. This severely reduced the sample size, and, in fact, may have limited the generalizability of the results. For the 130 questionnaires used for data analyses 109 (83.8%) answered "yes", that they had responded to all of the items in the questionnaire, 21 (16.2%) answered "no", that they did not respond to all of the items in the questionnaire. Of the 21 that did not respond to all items in the questionnaire, imputation was used to attribute their scores for further analyses. Tabachnick and Fiddell (1996), suggest that if exclusion of missing data reduces the sample size, then estimation

is necessary. According to Field (2000), SPSS uses the mean as an estimate to replace missing values. The means for each missing value was imputed for each of the 21 respondents.

All 21 respondents were judged to have made a serious attempt to respond to the all the items in the questionnaire, based on the number of answered items versus unanswered items (ranging from a minimum of 3 to a maximum of 16). Thus, their imputed scores were included with their responses to other items.

<div align="center">Predictor Variables</div>

Predictor variables were categorized by two types (1) developmental levels and (2) social status levels (SES). The development levels were early adult development (EA; ages 22-44), middle adult development (MA; ages 45-59), and (LA; ages 60 – 89). There were many older males responding to the survey. This was reflected in the number of MA males (65) the largest adult level of men participating in the study and that the mean of all respondents (M $_{Respondents}$ = 50.98), with a standard deviation of 12.50.

Social status levels included scores of (0-19) which represented low SES, scores of (20-39) represented middle-low SES, scores of (40-59) represented middle SES, scores of (60-79) represented middle-high SES, and scores of (80-99) represented high SES.

<div align="center">Incidences of Racism Experiences in Social Context</div>

The first objective of this study was to describe African American male self-reported incidences of racism in four social contexts: racism on the job, racism in academic settings, racism in the public realm, and response to racist statements in the media. Data analysis was conducted in order to answer the first research question: what are the incidences of racism experiences reported by African American male college graduates? Descriptive statistics among the incidences of racism within different social contexts of are summarized in Table 4 through Table 7.

The incidences of racism are described by means, standard deviations, and number of respondents per each social context (racism on the job, racism in academia, racism in public, and response to racist statements in media) and were subdivided by past year and during lifetime (See Appendices H - O). The social contexts of racism incidence variables were also subdivided by developmental level (i.e., early adult development middle adult development and late adult development) and social status (SES) scores of middle SES and high SES respectively (See Appendices H - O).

Research Question 1a: Do incidences of racism experiences differ across social settings?

Research Question 1b: Do incidences of racism experiences differ across levels of development?

Research Question 1c: Do incidences of racism experiences differ between the last year and a lifetime?

Table 4 through Table 7 include the overall means and standard deviations of the four social contexts of racism experiences (as discussed above) delineated by two time periods, past year and during lifetime. These data provide an initial profile of African American male perceived racism experiences within different social contexts and distinguishes their perceptions of experienced racism by developmental level.

The mean scores for incidences of racism on the job in the past year were 11.17, 11.89, and 6.55 for EA, MA, and LA, respectively. The total mean score for incidences of racism on the job in the past year was 10.50 (See Table 4). For incidences of racism on the job during lifetime the mean scores were 17.14, 18.95, and 11.72 for EA, MA, and LA respectively. The total mean score for incidences of racism on the job during lifetime was 16.84 (See Table 4).

Table 4. Incidences of Racism Experiences on the Job by Developmental Level and Time
    Period

Social Context	DL	n	M	SD
Racism on the job past year				
	EA	36	11.17	9.87
	MA	65	11.89	10.61
	LA	29	6.55	9.54
	Total	130	10.50	10.33
Racism on the job lifetime				
	EA	36	17.14	11.36
	MA	65	18.95	11.37
	LA	29	11.72	10.69
	Total	130	16.84	11.50

Note. DL=Developmental Level EA = Early Adulthood MA = Middle Adulthood
LA = Late Adulthood

The mean scores for incidences of racism experiences in academia for the past year were 5.58, 6.44, and 3.10 for EA, MA, and LA respectively. The total mean score for incidences of racism in academia in the past year was 5.46 (See Table 5). For incidences of racism in academia during lifetime, the mean scores were higher 11.97, 14.22, and 8.76 for EA, MA, and LA, respectively. The total mean score for incidences of racism in academia during lifetime was 12.38 (See Table 5).

Table 5. Incidences of Racism Experiences in Academia by Development Level and
Time Period

Social Context	DL	n	M	SD
Racism in Academia past year				
	EA	36	5.58	6.20
	MA	65	6.44	7.88
	LA	29	3.10	6.76
	Total	130	5.46	7.27
Racism in Academia during lifetime				
	EA	36	11.97	8.35
	MA	65	14.22	9.02
	LA	29	8.76	7.67
	Total	130	12.38	8.76

Note. DL=Developmental Level EA = Early Adulthood MA = Middle Adulthood
LA = Late Adulthood

The mean scores for incidences of racism in public for the past year were 14.28,
13.72, and 8.45 for EA, MA, and LA respectively. The total mean score for incidences of
racism in public was 12.70 (See Table 6). For incidences of racism experiences in public
during lifetime the mean scores were higher 14.67, 14.49, and 9.79 for EA, MA, and LA,
respectively. The total mean score for incidences of racism in public during lifetime was
13.49 (See Table 6).

Table 6. Incidences of Racism Experiences in Public by Developmental Level and Time
Period

Social Context	DL	n	M	SD
Racism in Public past year				
	EA	36	14.28	10.61
	MA	65	13.72	9.74
	LA	29	8.45	11.70
	Total	130	12.70	10.61
Racism in Public during lifetime				
	EA	36	14.67	10.57
	MA	65	14.49	9.68
	LA	29	9.79	11.17
	Total	130	13.49	10.39

Note. DL=Developmental Level EA = Early Adulthood MA = Middle Adulthood
LA = Late Adulthood

The mean scores for incidences of racist statements in media for the past year
were 7.42, 5.14, and 3.52 for EA, MA, and LA respectively. The total mean score for
incidences of racist statements in media for the past year was 7.61 (See Table 7). For
incidences of racist statements in media during lifetime the mean scores were 9.53, 6.86,
and 6.93 for EA, MA, and LA, respectively. The total mean score for incidences of racist
statements in media during lifetime was 7.62 (See Table 7).

Table 7. Incidences of Racist Statements in Media by Developmental Level and Time
Period

Social Context	DL	n	M	SD
Racist statements in media the past year				
	EA	36	7.42	5.35
	MA	65	5.14	4.06
	LA	29	3.52	5.10
	Total	130	7.61	5.41
Racist statements in media during lifetime				
	EA	36	9.53	5.92
	MA	65	6.86	4.44
	LA	29	6.93	6.30
	Total	130	7.62	5.42

Note. DL=Developmental Level EA = Early Adulthood MA = Middle Adulthood
LA = Late Adulthood

Research Question 1a: Do incidences of racism experiences differ across social settings?

Research Question 1b: Do incidences of racism experiences differ across levels of development?

Research Question 1c: Do incidences of racism experiences differ between the last year and a lifetime?

Interrelationships among Developmental Level, and Incidences of Racism Experiences across Social Settings in past year and during lifetime

Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) with multiple dependent variables for incidences of racism experiences and time period was used to derive the variability between means across the categorical variable Development level and is summarized in Table 8. Across the two time periods (i.e., past year and during lifetime) the affect was statistically significant $F (16, 234) = 2.16$, $p =.007$. There was a statistically significant difference between mean incidences of racism experiences for at least two developmental level groups.

Follow-up Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) for the effects of developmental level each on the incidence of racism for each social context.

For differences in incidence of racism on the job in the past year, and developmental level, there was no statistical significance $F (2, 124) = 2.47$, $p = ns$ (see Table 4 for total means). For differences in incidence of racism in academic settings for the past year and developmental level, there was no statistical significance $F (2, 124) = 1.49$, $p = ns$ (see Table 5 for total means). Regarding differences in incidence for racism in academic settings during lifetime and developmental level, there was a statistical significance $F (2, 124) = 3.05$, $p =.05$ Middle adult males reported more incidences of racism in academic settings than the early adult males and late adult males. For differences in incidence of racism in public for past years and developmental level, there was a statistical significance $F (2, 124) = 3.32$, $p = .039$ (see Table 5 for total means). For differences in incidence of racism in public during lifetime, there were no statistical significance $F (2, 124) = 2.86$, $p = ns$ (see Table 6 for total means). Regarding the differences in incidences of racist statements in media for past year and developmental level, there was a statistical significance $F (2, 124) = 4.90$, $p = .009$ (see Table 7 for total means). Early adult males reported more incidences of racist statements in the media than

the middle adult males and late adult males. For racist statements in media during lifetime and developmental level, there were no statistical significance $F (2, 124) = 2.85$, $p = ns$ (see Table 7 for total means). The reader is referred to Tables 4 through 7 for a more detail description of mean differences between three developmental levels.

Table 8. Summary of MANOVAs for effects of Developmental Level on Incidence of Racism Experiences within social context and time period

		ANOVA							
		Racism on Job	Racism on Job	Racism in Academia	Racism in Academia	Racism in Public	Racism in Public	Racist Media	Racist Media
	MANOVA	PY	LT	PY	LT	PY	LT	PY	LT
Variable	$F\,(16, 234)$	$F\,(2, 124)$	$F\,(2, 124)$	$F\,(2, 124)$	$F\,(2, 124)$	$F\,(2, 124)$	$F\,(2, 124)$	$F\,(2, 124)$	$F\,(2, 124)$
Developmental Level	2.16**	2.47	5.00**	1.49	3.05*	3.32*	2.86	4.90**	2.86

Note: F ratios are Wilks' approximations for MANOVA = multivariate analysis of variance; ANOVA = univariate analysis of variance. PY = Past Year LT = Lifetime *$p < .05$ **$p < .01$

Research Question 1d: Are incidences of racism experiences associated with socio-economic status?

As part of objective one an examination was conducted on the relationship between incidences of racism experiences and socio-economic-status. The results of Pearson product moment correlation analyses between incidence of racism experience in each context and SES are presented in Table 9. One small but significant positive correlation (highlighted in Table 8) was found between scores of racism in academia during lifetime and scores of SES ($r = .22, p<.05$). There were no other significant correlations.

Table 9. Pearson Intercorrelations among incidences of racism experiences and Social Status (SES)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. SES		.14	.12	.16	**.22***	.06	.02	08	.07
2. Racism on the job past year			.74**	.60**	.39**	.33**	.25**	.68**	.68**
3. Racism on the job lifetime				.43**	.51**	.34**	.36**	.56**	.57**
4. Racism in Academia past year					.55**	.24**	.11	.58**	.57**
5. Racism in Academia lifetime						.18*	.25**	.39**	.401**
6. Racist Statements past year							.66**	.52**	.51
7. Racist Statements lifetime								.26**	.28**
8. Racism in public past year									.99**
9. Racism in public lifetime									

Note: ** p< 0.01 (2-tailed). * p< 0.05 (2-tailed) SES = Social Status

Research Question 2: What is the intensity of eight emotional reactions to racism experiences reported by African-American male college graduates?

Eight emotional responses of anger, hurt, frustration, sad, powerless, hopeless, ashamed, and strengthened were rated by a five-point Likert-type scale representing intensity of feelings about incidences of racism experiences. Table 10 includes the overall means and standard deviations for each emotion reported by the two time periods of past year and during lifetime. These data provide an initial profile of African American male respondents' emotional response to racism experiences across all social contexts and compares their emotional response by developmental level. The score range for each emotion, which indicates intensity of emotion summed across all contexts, is between 4 and 20. Higher scores indicate greater intensity of the emotional response.

Table 10. Intensity of Emotional Responses to Incidences of Racism Experiences
Summed Across Contexts

Emotion	DL	n	M	SD	Emotion (cont.)	DL	n	M	SD
					Range = (4-20)				
Anger					Powerless				
	EA	36	12.00	5.15		EA	36	5.61	3.05
	MA	64	11.03	5.63		MA	64	5.31	3.11
	LA	29	10.24	5.20		LA	29	5.03	2.41
	Total	129	11.12	5.40		Total	129	5.33	2.95
Hurt					Hopeless				
	EA	36	7.83	2.86		EA	36	4.92	2.21
	MA	64	8.11	4.38		MA	64	4.58	1.93
	LA	29	7.34	4.06		LA	29	4.69	1.89
	Total	129	7.86	3.92		Total	129	4.70	2.00
Frustration					Ashamed				
	EA	36	7.64	4.23		EA	36	4.92	2.44
	MA	64	6.97	3.97		MA	64	4.75	2.53
	LA	29	8.03	7.61		LA	29	4.93	2.40
	Total	129	7.40	5.05		Total	129	4.84	2.32
Sad					Strengthened				
	EA	36	5.97	3.14		EA	36	6.61	4.53
	MA	64	6.31	3.89		MA	64	7.80	5.67
	LA	29	6.00	3.50		LA	29	7.66	5.67
	Total	129	6.15	3.59		Total	129	7.43	5.30

Note. DL = Developmental Level EA = Early adulthood MA = Middle Adulthood LA = Late Adulthood

For the emotion of *anger,* the overall mean score for all respondents (N = 129) was the highest 11.12 (SD = 5.40 among all the emotions. The mean score of anger for African American male participants experiencing early adulthood (EA, n = 36) was 12.00 (SD = 5.15). The mean score of anger for African American male participants experiencing middle adulthood (MA, n = 64) was 11.03 (SD = 5.63). The mean score of anger for African American male participants experiencing late adulthood (LA, n = 29) was 10.24 (SD = 5.20).

For the emotion of *hurt,* the overall mean score for all responding (N = 129) was 7.86 (SD = 3.92). The mean score of hurt for African American male participants experiencing EA (n = 36) 7.83 (SD = 2.86). The mean score of hurt for African American male participants experiencing MA (n = 64) 8.11 (SD = 4.38). The mean score of hurt for African American male participants experiencing LA (n = 29) was 7.34 (SD = 4.06) (as shown in Table 10).

For the emotion *frustration* the overall mean was 7.40 (SD = 5.05). The mean score of frustration for African American male participants experiencing EA (n= 36) was 7.64 (SD = 4.23). The mean score of frustration for African American male participants experiencing MA (n = 64) was 6.97 (SD = 3.97). The mean score of frustration for African American male participants experiencing LA (n= 29) was 8.03 (SD = 7.61).

For the emotion *sad* the overall mean score for all responding (N = 129) was 6.15 (SD = 3.59). The mean score of the emotion sad for African American male participants experiencing EA (n= 36) was 5.97 (SD = 3.14). The mean score of the emotion sad for African American male participants experiencing MA (n = 64) was 6.31 (SD = 3.89). The mean score of sad for African American male participants experiencing LA was 6.00 (SD = 3.50).

For the emotion *powerless* the overall mean score for all respondents was 5.33 (SD = 2.95). The mean score of the emotion powerless for African American male participants experiencing EA (n=36) was 5.61 (SD = 3.05). The mean score of the

emotion powerless for African American male participants experiencing MA (n = 64) was 5.31 (SD = 3.11). The mean score of the emotion powerless for African American male participants experiencing LA was 5. 03 (SD = 2.95).

For the emotion of *hopeless*, the overall mean score for all respondents (N = 129) was 4.70 (SD = 2.00). The mean score of the emotion hopeless for African American male participants experiencing EA (n = 36) was 4. 92 (SD = 2.21). The mean score or the emotion hopeless for African American male participants experiencing MA (n = 64) was 4.58 (SD = 1.93). The mean score of the emotion hopeless for African American male participants experiencing LA was 4.69 (SD = 1.89).

For the emotion of *ashamed* the overall mean score for all participants (N = 129) was 4.84 (SD 2.32). The mean score for the emotion ashamed for African American male participants experiencing EA (n = 34) was 4.92 (SD = 2.44). The mean score for the emotion ashamed for African American male participants experiencing MA (n = 64) was 4.75 (SD = 2.33). The mean score of the emotion ashamed for African American male participants experiencing LA (n= 29) was the highest 4.93 (SD = 2.40).

For the emotion of *strengthened* the overall mean score for all responding (N = 129), was 7.43 (SD = 5.30). The mean score for strengthened for African American male participants experiencing EA (n = 36) was 6.61 (SD = 4.53). The mean score of strengthened for African American male participants experiencing MA (n = 64) was the highest 7.80 (SD = 5.67). The mean score of strengthened for African American male participants experiencing LA (n = 64) was 7.66 (SD = 5.67).

Another aspect of research question two is the question, what are the differences in intensity of emotional reactions to racism experiences across developmental levels? Table 11 contains the overall means and standard deviations for each emotional response within each social context delineated by developmental level (DL) to address research question 2. Scores for the time periods of past year and during lifetime were combined

within each context and averaged to obtain overall mean scores on intensity of emotional response for each social context of racism experience.

The mean for emotional intensity of racism experiences on the job for all participants was 13.72 (SD = 6.05). The mean score for EA (n = 36) African American male participants experiencing racism on the job was 13.75 (SD = 6.62). The mean score for MA (n = 65) African American male participants experiencing racism on the job was 13.42 (SD = 5.08). Mean score for LA (n = 29) African American male participants who experienced racism on the job was 14. 38 (SD = 8.33).

The mean for emotional intensity of racism experiences in academic settings for all responding was 13.23 (SD = 5.22) (See Table 11). The mean score for EA (n = 36) African American male participants experiencing racism in academic settings was 13. 42 (SD = 5.42). The mean score for MA (n = 65) African American male participants experiencing racism in academic setting was 13.25 (SD = 4.94). The mean score for LA (n = 29) African American male participants experiencing racism in academic settings was 12.97 (SD = 5.74).

The mean for emotional intensity of racism experiences in the pubic for all responding was 13.60 (SD = 5.63). The mean score for EA (n = 36) African American male participants experiencing racism in public, was 13.64 (SD = 5.16). The mean score for MA (n =65) African American male participants experiencing racism in the public was 13.66 (SD = 5.75). The mean score, for LA (n =29) African American male participants experiencing racism in public was 13. 41 (SD = 6.11).

The mean for the emotional intensity of racism experiences for racist statements in media for all responding was 13.06 (SD = 4.90). The mean score for EA (n = 36) African American male participants experiencing racist statements in media was 13.33 (SD = 4.95). The mean score for MA (n = 65) African American male participants was 13.26 (SD = 5.28). The mean score for LA (n = 29) African American male participants was 12.28 (SD = 4.00).

Table 11. Total Intensity of Emotional Responses to Racism Experiences Summed over Two Time Periods by DL For Social Context

Range (1 – 20)								
Social Context	DL	n	M	SD	Social Context (cont.)	DL	n	M	SD
Racism on the job					Racism in Public				
	EA	36	13.75	6.62		EA	36	13.64	5.16
	MA	65	13.42	5.08		MA	65	13.66	5.75
	LA	29	14.38	8.33		LA	29	13.41	6.11
	Total	130	13.72	6.05		Total	130	13.60	5.63
Racism in Academia					Racist Statements/Media				
	EA	36	13.42	5.42		EA	36	13.33	4.95
	MA	65	13.25	4.94		MA	65	13.26	5.28
	LA	29	12.97	5.74		LA	29	12.28	4.00
	Total	130	13.23	5.22		Total	130	13.06	4.90

Note. DL = Developmental Level EA = Early Adulthood MA = Middle Adulthood
LA = Late Adulthood

Pearson Intercorrelations of Emotions and Contexts of Racism Experiences

To further explore research question 2; the relationship between incidences of racism experiences by time period and the intensity of eight emotional responses was examined. The results of Pearson product moment correlation analyses are presented in Table 11. Small but significant positive correlations (highlighted in Table 12) were found between incidence scores of racism on the job lifetime and the emotional response of anger ($r = .24$, $p<.01$), and, racism on the job lifetime and hurt ($r = .25$, $p<.01$). Another small but significant positive relationship was found with racism in academic settings past year and the emotion hopeless ($r = .19$, $p<.05$).

The result of Pearson product moment correlation analysis between incidence of racism in academic settings during lifetime and the intensity of the emotional response of powerless was small but significant ($r = .18$, $p<.05$) (See Table 12). There was also a small but significant positive relationship between incidence of racism in academic settings during lifetime and the intensity of emotional response of hopeless ($r = .19$, $p<.05$). There was a small but negative significant relationship between the incidence of racism in academic settings over lifetime and the emotional response of strengthened ($r = -.21$, $p<.05$).

For the relationship between racism in the public for the past year and the intensity of the emotional response of hurt, the Pearson product moment correlation analysis was small but positively significant ($r = .18$, $p<.05$) (See Table 12). The correlation between racism in the public for past year and the intensity of the emotional response of frustration was also small, but positively significant ($r =. 28$, $p<.01$). There were also small but significant positive correlations between racism in the public over lifetime, and the intensity of the emotional response of hurt ($r =.19$, $p<.05$) and the intensity of the emotional response of frustration ($r = .28$, $p<.01$).

The Pearson product moment correlation analyses indicated three small but significant positive relationships between racist statements in the media in the past year, and the intensity of the emotional response of anger ($r = .21$, $p<.05$), the intensity of the emotional response of hurt ($r = .22$, $p<.22$), the intensity of the emotional response of frustration ($r = .37$, $p<.01$), and the intensity of the emotional response of powerless ($r = .19$, $p<.05$) (See Table 12).

As shown in Table 12, the Pearson product moment correlation analyses indicated three small but significant positive relationships between incidence of racist statements in the media during lifetime and the intensity of the emotional response of anger ($r = .23$, $p<.05$ the intensity of the emotional response of hurt ($r = .20$, $p<.05$), and the intensity of the emotional response of frustration ($r = .30$, $p<.01$). There were no further significant relationships between the emotional responses and the social contexts of racism experiences.

Table 12. Intercorrelations of Eight Emotional Responses to Racism Experiences and Social Context by Time Period

Social Contexts	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1. Racism on the job past year		.74**	.60**	.39**	.68**	.68**	.33**	.25**	.14	.16	.10	.06	.05	.02	-.06	-.15
2. Racism on the job lifetime			.42**	.51**	.56**	.57**	.34**	.36**	**.24****	**.25****	.11	.06	.08	.07	-.04	-.12
3. Racism in Academia past year				.55**	.58**	.57**	.24**	.11	-.10	.11	.13	.15	**.19***	.14	.00	-.08
4. Racism in Academia lifetime					.39**	.40**	.18*	.26**	.11	.12	.08	.05	**.18***	.19	-.004	**-.21***
5. Racism in public past year						.99**	.52**	.26**	.14	**.18***	**.28****	.04	.09	.01	-.10	-.12
6. Racism in public lifetime							.51**	.28**	.15	**.19***	**.29****	.05	.09	.01	.00	-.10
7. Racist Statements past year								.66**	**.21***	**.22***	**.37****	.08	**.19***	.15	.10	-.05
8. Racist Statements lifetime									**.23***	**.20***	**.30****	-.01	.14	.16	.01	-.12
Emotional Responses																
9. Angry										.61**	.21*	.17	.38**	.27**	.24**	-.19*
10. Hurt											.49**	.58**	.59**	.45**	.49**	.12
11. Frustration												.45**	.57**	.47**	.30**	.15
12. Sad													.63**	.58**	.55**	.25**
13. Powerless														.73**	.56**	.11
14. Hopeless															.69**	.17
15. Ashamed															1	.29**
16. Strengthened																1

Note. ** p< 0.01 level (2-tailed). * p< 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Research Question2a: Differences in intensity of emotional reactions to racism experiences across social contexts

Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) with multiple dependent variables was used to predict the variability between means across the categorical variable SES are summarized in Table 13. The emotional response to the social context of racism on the job was statistically significant $F (1, 124) = 3.85$, $p =.05$ across SES levels (see Table 13). The emotional response to racism in academic settings was also significant $F (1, 124) = 12.68$, $p = 001$ (see Table 13). The emotional response to racism in the public was also significant $F (1, 124) = 10.83$, $p =.001$ (See Table 13). The emotional response to racist statements in media was significant $F (1, 124) = 12.03$, $p = .001$ (See Table 13). High SES males, specifically, early adult males and late adult males reported statistically significantly higher emotional intensity to incidences of racism on the job than their High SES middle adult male counterparts and middle SES males in all developmental levels.

High SES males' at all developmental levels reported statistically significantly higher emotional intensity to incidences of racism in academia than all middle SES males' at all developmental levels.

High SES males' at all developmental levels reported statistically significantly higher emotional intensity to racism in the public realm than their middle SES counterparts.

High SES males' at all developmental levels reported statistically significantly higher emotional intensity to racist statements in the media than their middle SES counterparts.

Table 13. Summary of MANOVA and ANOVAs for Emotional Response to Racism Experiences Across Social Contexts by SES

		ANOVA			
	MANOVA	Emotional Response to Racism on Job	Emotional Response to Racism in Academia	Emotional Response to Racism in Public	Emotional Response to Racist Statements in Media
Variable	F (4, 121)	F (1, 124)	F (1, 124)	F (1, 124)	F (1, 124)
SES	3.46**	3.90*	12.68**	10.83**	12.03**

Note. SES = Social Status **P <.01 *P<.05

Research Question 2b: What are the differences in intensity of emotional reactions to racism experiences across developmental level?

An additional Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) with multiple dependent variables was used assess the differences between means across the categorical variables of developmental level and SES are summarized in Table 14. The emotional response of hurt was found to be significant across DL and SES $F (2, 123) = 3.83$, $p = .02$ (See Table 14). The emotional response of strengthened, was also found to be statistically significant across DL and SES $F (2, 123) = 3.30$, $p =.04$ (See Table 14). All other emotional responses across DL and SES were non-significant. Refer to Table 10 for a description of mean distribution for each emotional response across social contexts.

High SES early adult and late adult males reported statistically significant higher emotional intensity to being hurt by incidences of racism across social contexts than their middle SES counterparts. High SES middle adult males and middle SES middle adult males reported lower but similar levels of emotional intensity to being hurt by incidences of racism across all social contexts.

High SES early adult and late adult males reported significantly higher emotional intensity of strengthened to incidences of racism across social contexts as compared to High SES middle adult males and all middle SES males' at all three developmental levels.

Table 14. Summary MANOVA and ANOVAs for Intensity of Emotions to Racism Experiences by Developmental Level and SES

| | MANOVA | | | | ANOVA | | | | |
Variable	$\underline{F}$ (16, 232)	Anger $\underline{F}$ (2, 123)	Hurt $\underline{F}$ (2, 123)	Frustration $\underline{F}$ (2, 123)	Sad $\underline{F}$ (2, 123)	Powerless $\underline{F}$ (2, 123)	Hopeless $\underline{F}$ (2, 123)	Ashamed $\underline{F}$ (2, 123)	Strengthened $\underline{F}$ (2, 123)
DL/SES	**1.71***	.661	**3.83***	.633	2.07	1.50	.118	1.38	**3.30***

Note: DL = Developmental Level SES = Socio-economic-Status **$P<.01$ *$P<.05$

Research Question 3: What are the frequencies of ten behavioral coping responses to racism experiences?

The frequencies of ten behavioral coping responses, that is, speaking up about it, accepting it, ignoring it, trying to change things, keeping it to myself, working harder to prove them wrong, praying, avoiding it, getting violent, and forgetting it is shown in Tables 15 (1-3). The frequency distribution of each behavioral coping response is delineated by each social context, by each developmental level, and divided by (yes/no). responses The actual number per category and percentages of all participants responding are also shown.

Behavioral Response of Speaking up About Racism

For racism on the job 85 (65%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to speaking up about incidences of racism on the job, 45 (35%) African American male participants responded by answering no to speaking up about incidences of racism on the job. For racism on the academic setting 75 (58%) African American male participants responded by answering yes to speaking up about incidences of racism in academic settings, 55 (42%) African American male participants responded by answering no to speaking up about incidences of racism in academic settings (See Table 15).

For racism in the public realm 90 (69%) of the African American males' responded by answering yes to speaking up about incidences of racism in the public realm; 40 (30%) of African American male participants responded by answering no to speaking up about incidences of racism in the public realm (See Table 15).

For racist statements in the media 82 (63%) of the African American males' responded by answering yes to speaking up about incidences of racist statements in the media, 38(37%) of the African American male participants responded by answering no to speaking up about incidences of racist statements in the media (See Table 15).

Behavioral Response of Accepting Racism

For racism on the job 4 (3%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to accepting incidences of racism on the job, 126 (97%) of the African American male participants responded by answering no to accepting incidences of racism on the job (See Table 15).

For racism on the academic setting 3 (2%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to accepting incidences of racism in academic settings, 127 (98%) of the African American male participants responded by answering no to accepting incidences of racism in academic settings (See Table 15).

For racism in the public realm 6(5%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to accepting incidences of racism in the public realm, 124 (95%) of the African American male participants responded by answering no to accepting incidences of racism in the public realm (See Table 15).

For racist statements in the media 0 (0%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to accepting incidences of racist statements in the media, 130 (100%) of the African American male participants responded by answering no to accepting incidences of racist statements in the media (See Table 15).

Behavioral Response of Ignoring Racism

For racism on the job 109 (84%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to ignoring incidences of racism on the job, 21 (16%) of the African American male participants responded by answering no to ignoring incidences of racism on the job (See Table 15).

For racism on the academic setting 16 (12%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to ignoring incidences of racism in academic settings, 114 (88%) of the African American male participants responded by answering no to ignoring incidences of racism in academic settings (See Table 15).

For racism in the public realm 21 (16%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to ignoring incidences of racism in the public realm, 109 (84%) of the African American male participants responded by answering no to ignoring incidences of racism in the public realm (See Table 15).

For racist statements in the media 40 (31%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to ignoring incidences of racist statements in the media, 90 (69%) of the African American male participants responded by answering no to ignoring incidences of racist statements in the media (See Table 15).

Behavioral Response of Trying to Change Things

For racism on the job 54 (42%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to trying to change things regarding incidences of racism on the job, 76 (58%) of the African American male participants responded by answering no to trying to change things regarding incidences of racism on the job (See Table 15 Continued 1).

For racism on the academic setting 48 (37%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to trying to change things regarding incidences of racism in academic settings, 82 (63%) of the African American male participants responded by answering no to trying to change things regarding incidences of racism in academic settings (See Table 15 Continued 1).

For racism in the public realm 38 (29%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to trying to change things regarding incidences of racism in the public realm, 92 (71%) of the African American male participants responded by answering no to trying to change things regarding incidences of racism in the public realm (See Table 15 Continued 1).

For racist statements in the media 29 (22%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to trying to change things regarding incidences

of racist statements in the media, 101 (78%) of the African American male participants responded by answering no to trying to change things regarding incidences of racist statements in the media (See Table 15 Continued 1).

Behavioral Response of Keeping it to Myself

For racism on the job 2 (2%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to keeping it to myself regarding incidences of racism on the job, 128 (99%) of the African American male participants responded by answering no to keeping it to myself regarding incidences of racism on the job (See Table 15 Continued 1).

For racism on the academic setting 5 (4%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to keeping it to myself regarding incidences of racism in academic settings, 125 (96%) of the African American male participants responded by answering no to trying to change things regarding incidences of racism in academic settings (See Table 15 Continued 1).

For racism in the public realm 1 (1%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to keeping it to myself regarding incidences of racism in the public realm, 129 (99%) of the African American male participants responded by answering no to keeping it to myself regarding incidences of racism in the public realm (See Table 15 Continued 1).

For racist statements in the media 2 (2%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to keeping it to myself regarding incidences of racist statements in the media, 128 (99%) of the African American male participants responded by answering to keeping it to myself regarding incidences of racist statements in the media (See Table 15 Continued 1).

Behavioral Response of Working Harder

For racism on the job 42 (32%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to working harder to prove them wrong regarding incidences of racism on the job, 88 (68%) of the African American male participants responded by answering no to working harder to prove them wrong regarding incidences of racism on the job (See Table 15 Continued 1).

For racism on the academic setting 54 (42%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to working harder to prove them wrong regarding incidences of racism in academic settings, 76 (59%) of the African American male participants responded by answering no to working harder to prove them wrong regarding incidences of racism in academic settings (See Table 15 Continued 1).

For racism in the public realm 22 (17%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to working harder to prove them wrong regarding incidences of racism in the public realm, 108 (83%) of the African American male participants responded by answering no to working harder to prove them wrong regarding incidences of racism in the public realm (See Table 15 Continued 1).

For racist statements in the media 22 (17%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to working harder to prove them wrong regarding incidences of racist statements in the media, 108 (83%) of the African American male participants responded by answering to working harder to prove them wrong regarding incidences of racist statements in the media (See Table 15 Continued 1).

Behavioral Response of Praying About Racism

For racism on the job 31 (24%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to praying in response to incidences of racism on the job, 99 (76%) of the African American male participants responded by answering no to praying in response to incidences of racism on the job (See Table 15 Continued 2).

For racism on the academic setting 27 (21%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to praying in response to incidences of racism in academic settings, 103 (79%) of the African American male participants responded by answering no to praying in response to praying in response to incidences of racism in academic settings (See Table 15 Continued 2).

For racism in the public realm 28 (22%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to praying in response to incidences of racism in the public realm, 102 (78%) of the African American male participants responded by answering no to praying in response to incidences of racism in the public realm (See Table 15 Continued 2).

For racist statements in the media, 26 (20%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to praying in response to incidences of racist statements in the media; 104 (80%) of the African American male participants responded by answering no to praying in response to incidences of racist statements in the media (See Table 15 Continued 2).

Behavioral Response of Avoiding Racism

For racism on the job 9 (7%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to avoiding it, in response to incidences of racism on the job, 121 (93%) of the African American male participants responded by answering no to avoiding it, in response to incidences of racism on the job (See Table 15 Continued 2).

For racism on the academic setting 6 (5%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to avoiding it, in response to incidences of racism in academic settings, 124 (95%) of the African American male participants responded by answering no to avoiding it, in response to incidences of racism in academic settings (See Table 15 Continued 2).

For racism in the public realm 11 (9%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to avoiding it, in response to incidences of racism in the public realm, 119 (91%) of the African American male participants responded by answering no to avoiding it, in response to incidences of racism in the public realm (See Table 15 Continued 2).

For racist statements in the media 11 (9%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to avoiding it, in response to incidences of racist statements in the media, 119 (91%) of the African American male participants responded by answering to avoiding it, in response to incidences of racist statements in the media (See Table 15 Continued 2).

<div align="center">Behavioral Response of Getting Violent</div>

For racism on the job 1 (1%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to getting violent in response to incidences of racism on the job, 129 (99%) of the African American male participants responded by answering no to getting violent in response to incidences of racism on the job (See Table 15 Continued 2).

For racism on the academic setting 0 (0%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to getting violent in response to incidences of racism in academic settings, 130 (100%) of the African American male participants responded by answering no to getting violent in response to incidences of racism in academic settings (See Table 15 Continued 2).

For racism in the public realm 2 (2%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to getting violent in response to incidences of racism in the public realm, 128 (98%) of the African American male participants responded by answering no to getting violent in response to incidences of racism in the public realm (See Table 15 Continued 2).

For racist statements in the media 1 (1%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to getting violent in response to incidences of racist statements in the media, 129 (99%) of the African American male participants responded by answering to getting violent in response to incidences of racist statements in the media (See Table 15 Continued 2).

Behavioral Response of Forgetting it

For racism on the job 6 (5%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to forgetting it in response to incidences of racism on the job, 124 (95%) of the African American male participants responded by answering no to forgetting it in response to incidences of racism on the job (See Table 15 Continued 3).

For racism on the academic setting 10 (8%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to forgetting it in response to incidences of racism in academic settings, 120 (92%) of the African American male participants responded by answering no to forgetting it in response to incidences of racism in academic settings (See Table 15 Continued 3).

For racism in the public realm 8 (6%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to forgetting it in response to incidences of racism in the public realm, 122 (94%) of the African American male participants responded by answering no to forgetting it in response to incidences of racism in the public realm (See Table 15 Continued 3).

For racist statements in the media 14 (11%) of the African American male participants responded by answering yes to forgetting it in response to incidences of racist statements in the media, 116 (89%) of the African American male participants responded by answering to forgetting it in response to incidences of racist statements in the media (See Table 15 Continued 3).

Table 15. Behavioral Coping Responses to Incidences of Racism Experiences Across All Social Contexts

Behavioral Response	N	On the Job		Academia		In Public		Racist Statements in Media	
		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
A. Speaking Up									
EA	36	18(50%)	18(50%)	16(44.4%)	20(55.6)	20(55.6%)	16(44.4%)	23(63.9%)	13((36.1%)
MA	65	46(70.8%)	19 (29.2%)	41(63.1%)	24(36.9%)	45(69.2%)	20(30.8%)	41(63.1%)	24(36.9%)
LA	29	21(72.4%)	8(27.6%)	18(62.1%)	11(37.9%)	25(86.2%)	4(13.8%)	18(62.1%)	11(37.9%)
Total	130	85(65.4%)	45(34.6%)	75(57.7%)	55(42.3%)	90(69.2%)	40(30.8%)	82(63.1%)	48(36.9%)
B. Accepting it									
EA	36	2(5.6%)	34(94.4%)	1(2.8%)	35(97.2%)	2(5.6%)	34(94.4%)	0(0%)	36(100%)
MA	65	1(1.5%)	64(98.5%)	2(3.1%)	63(96.9%)	4(6.2%)	61(93.8%)	0(0%)	65(100%)
LA	29	1(3.4%)	28(96.6%)	0(0%)	29(100%)	0(0%)	29(100%)	0(0%)	29(100%)
Total	130	4(3.1%)	126(96.9%)	3(2.3%)	127(97.7%)	6(4.6%)	124(95.4%)	0(0%)	130(100%)
C. Ignoring it									
EA	36	7(19.4%)	29(80.6%)	8(22.2%)	28(77.8%)	10(27.8%)	26(72.3%)	12(33.3%)	24(66.7%)
MA	65	7(10.8%)	58(89.2%)	3(4.6%)	62(95.4%)	5(7.7%)	60(92.3%)	16(24.6%)	49(75.4%)
LA	29	7(24.1%)	22(75.9%)	5(17.2%)	24(82.8%)	6(20.7%)	23(79.3%)	12(41.4%)	17(58.6%)
Total	130	109(83.8%)	21(16.2%)	16(12.3%)	114(87.7%)	21(16.2%)	109(83.8%)	40(30.8%)	90(69.2%)

Note: EA = Early Adult MA = Middle Adult LA = Late Adult

Table 15-continued

Behavioral Response	N	On the Job		Academia		In Public		Racist Statements in Media	
D. Trying to change things		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
EA	36	7(19.4%)	29(80.6%)	8(22.2%)	28(77.8%)	6(16.7%)	39(83.3%)	6(16.7%)	30(83.3%)
MA	65	34(52.3%)	31(47.7%)	28(43.1%)	37(56.9%)	22(33.8%)	43(66.2%)	17(26.2%)	48(73.8%)
LA	29	16(55.2%)	13(44.8%)	12(41.4%)	17(58.6%)	10(34.5%)	19(65.5%)	6(20.7%)	23(79.3%)
Total	130	54(41.5%)	76(58.5%)	48(36.9%)	82(63.1%)	38(29.2%	92(70.8%)	29(22.3%)	101(77.7%)
E. Keeping it to myself									
EA	36	0(0%)	36(100%)	2(5.6%)	34(94.4%)	0(0%_	39(100%)	0(0%)	36(100%)
MA	65	1(1.5%)	64(98.5%)	2(3.1%)	63(96.9%)	1(1.5%)	64(98.5%)	1(1.5%)	64(98.5%)
LA	29	1(3.4%)	28(96.6%)	1(3.4%)	28(96.6%)	0(0%)	29(100%)	1(3.4%)	28(96.6%)
Total	130	2(1.5%)	128(98.5%)	5(3.8%)	125(96.2%)	1(.8%)	129(99.2%)	2(1.5%)	128(98.5%)
F. Working harder to prove them wrong									
EA	36	15(41.7%)	21(58.3%)	18(50%)	18(50%)	5(13.9%)	31(86.1%)	7(19.4%)	29(80.6%)
MA	65	21(32.3%)	44(67.7%)	27(41.5%)	38(58.5%)	13(20.0%)	52(80.0%)	13(20.0%)	52(80.0%)
LA	29	6((20.7%)	23(79.3%)	9(31.0%)	20(69.0%)	4(13.8%)	25(86.2%)	2(6.9%)	27(93.1%)
Total	130	42(32.3%)	88(67.7%)	54(41.5%)	76(58.5%)	22(16.9%)	108(83.1%)	22(16.9%)	108(83.1%)

Note: EA = Early Adult MA = Middle Adult LA = Late Adult

Table 15-continued

Behavioral Response		On the Job		Academia		In Public		Racist Statements in Media	
G. Praying	N	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
EA	36	7(19.4%)	29(80.6%)	5(13.9%)	31(86.1%)	5(13.9%)	31(86.1%)	4(11.1%)	32(88.9%)
MA	65	20(30.8%)	45(69.2%)	20(30.8%)	45(69.2%)	20(30.8%)	45(69.2%)	19(29.2%)	46(70.8%)
LA	29	4(13.8%)	25(86.2%)	2(6.9%)	27(93.1%)	3(10.3%)	26(89.7%)	3(10.3%)	26(89.7%)
Total	130	31(23.8%)	99(76.2%)	27(20.8%)	103(79.2%)	28(21.5%)	102(78.5%)	26(20.0%)	104(80.0%)
H. Avoiding it									
EA	36	1(2.8%)	35(97.2%)	1(2.8%)	35(97.2%)	3(8.3%)	33(91.7%)	3(8.3%)	33(91.7%)
MA	65	5(7.7%)	60(92.3%)	3(4.6%)	62(95.4%)	8(12.3%)	57(87.7%)	6(9.2%)	59(90.8%)
LA	29	3(10.3%)	26(89.7%)	2(6.9%)	27(93.1%)	0(0%)	29(100%)	2(6.9%)	27(93.1%)
Total	130	9(6.9%)	121(93.1%)	6(4.6%)	124(95.4%)	11(8.5%)	119(91.5%)	11(8.5%)	119(91.5%)
I. Getting violent									
EA	36	0(0%)	36(100%)	0(0%)	36(100%)	0(0%)	36(100%)	0(0%)	36(100%)
MA	65	1(1.5%)	64(98.5%)	0(0%)	65(100%)	2(3.1%)	63(96.9%)	1(1.5%)	64(98.5%)
LA	29	0(0%)	29(100%)	0(0%)	29(100%)	0(0%)	29(100%)	0(0%)	29(100%)
Total	130	1(.8%)	129(99.2%)	0(0%)	130(100%)	2(1.5%)	128(98.5%)	1(.8%)	129(99.2%)

Note: EA = Early Adult MA = Middle Adult LA = Late Adult

Table 15 Continued 1. Behavioral Coping Responses to Incidences of Racism Experiences Across All Social Contexts

Behavioral Response		On the Job		Academia		In Public		Racist Statements in Media	
J. Forgetting it		Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
EA	36	34(94.4%)	2(5.6%)	32(88.9%)	4(11.1%)	36(100%)	0(0%)	31(86.1%)	5(13.9%)
MA	65	62(95.4%)	3(4.6%)	61(93.8%)	4(6.2%)	60(92.3%)	5(7.7%)	60(92.3%)	5(7.7%)
LA	29	28(96.6%)	1(3.4%)	27(93.1%)	2(6.9%)	26(89.7%)	3(10.3%)	25(86.2%)	4(13.8%)
Total	130	124(95.4%)	6(4.6%)	120(92.3%)	10(7.7%)	122(93.8%)	8(6.2%)	116(89.2%)	14(10.8%)

Note: EA = Early Adult MA = Middle Adult LA = Late Adult

Research Question 3a: What is the relationship between frequencies of behavioral coping responses and social context of racism experiences?

The results of Pearson product moment correlation analyses between each behavioral coping responses and incidences of racism experience addressing research question 3a found two small but significant correlations (See Table 16). Scores for incidences of racism in academia within the past year and the behavioral coping response of speaking up about it was negatively related ($r = -.23$, $p < .01$). The Pearson product moment analysis also indicated that scores for incidences of racist statements in the past year and the behavioral coping response of working harder to prove them wrong was positively related ($r = .19$, $p < .05$). There were no further significant correlations between social contexts of racism experiences within the past year and behavioral coping responses.

The results of Pearson product moment correlation analyses between each behavioral coping response and incidences of racism experience during lifetime addressing research question 3a also found three small but significant correlations (see Table 16 1-2). Scores for incidences racism on the job during life and the behavioral coping response of working harder to prove them wrong was positively related ($r = .18$, $p < .05$). Scores for incidences of racism in the public realm and the behavioral coping response of working harder to prove them wrong was also positively related ($r = .18$, $p < .05$). Scores for incidences of racist statements in media during my life and the behavioral coping response of trying to change things was positively related ($r = .21$, $p < .05$). There were no further significant correlations between social contexts of racism experiences in past year and behavioral coping responses.

Table 16. Pearson Intercorrelations of Between Frequency of Behavioral Coping Responses and Racism Experiences across Social Contexts within the Past Year

Social Context	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Racism on the job past year		.60**	.68**	.33**	-.10	.06	-.10	-.10	.10	.13	-.04	.05	-.07	-.05
2. Racism in Academia past year			.58**	.24**	**-.23****	.17	-.15	.05	-.00	.09	-.02	-.03	-.04	.02
3. Racism in public past year				.52*	-.12	.10	-.06	.10	-.08	.17	.06	.05	.03	.14
4. Racist Statements past year					-.14	.06	-.07	.17	.03	**.19***	.10	.015	.06	.11
Behavioral Coping Responses														
5. Speaking up						-.25**	-.25**	.19*	.01	.06	.08	-.07	.15	-.09
6. Accepting it							-.07	-.09	.06	.01	-.04	.06	-.04	-.02
7. Ignoring it								-.22*	.01	-.15	-.08	.161	-.08	.09
8. Try to change things									-.12	.39**	.25**	-.09	.23**	.17
9. Keeping it to myself										-.01	-.05	.18*	-.05	.00
10. Work harder to prove them wrong											.01	.06	.12	.26**
11. praying												.27**	.02	.08
12. Avoiding it													-.10	.20*
13. Getting violent														.15
14. Forgetting it														

Note. ** p< 0.01 level (2-tailed). * p< 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Table 16-continued. Intercorrelations of Between Frequency of Behavioral Coping Responses and Racism Experiences across Social Contexts During Lifetime

Social Context	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Racism on the job during my life		.51**	.57**	.36**	.07	-.01	-.05	.09	.01	**.18***	.07	.12	-.10	-.11
2. Racism in Academic Settings during my life			.40**	.25**	-.04	.10	-.15	.00	-.04	.11	.05	-.05	-.06	-.11
3. Racism in public & legal restrictions lifetime				.28**	-.11	.10	-.05	.11	-.07	**.18***	.06	.04	.03	.14
4. Response to Racist Statements during my life					-.10	-.01	-.09	**.21***	.10	.11	.12	-.10	-.08	-.06
Behavioral Coping Responses														
5. Speak up about it						-.25**	-.25**	.19*	.01	.06	.08	-.07	.15	-.09
6. Accepting it							-.07	-.09	.06	.01	-.04	.06	-.04	-.02
7. Ignoring it								-.22*	.01	-.15	-.08	.16	-.08	.09
8. Try to change things									-.12	.39**	.25**	-.09	.23**	.17
9. Keeping it to myself										-.01	-.05	.18*	-.05	.00
10. Work harder to prove them wrong											.10	.06	.12	.26**
11. Praying												.27**	.02	.08
12. Avoid it													-.10	.20*
13. Getting violent														.15
14. Forgetting it														

Note. ** p< 0.01 level (2-tailed). * p< 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Research Question 3b: What is the relationship between frequency of behavioral coping responses and developmental levels?

The results of Pearson product moment correlation analyses between behavioral coping responses across social contexts of racism experiences and developmental level addressing research question 3b, found one small but significant correlation (See Table 17). Scores for the behavioral coping response of speaking up about it, across social contexts of racism experiences and developmental level was positively related ($r = .24$, $p < .01$). There were no further significant correlations between behavioral coping responses across the social contexts of racism experiences and developmental level.

Table 17. Pearson Intercorrelations for Behavioral Coping Responses across Social Contexts Of Racism Experiences and
    Developmental Level

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Developmental level		.24**	-.09	-.20	.17	.06	-.13	-.02	.02	.01	.01
2. Speak up about it			-.25**	-.25**	.19*	.01	.06	.08	-.07	.15	-.09
3. Accepting it				-.07	-.09	.06	.01	-.04	.06	-.04	-.02
4. Ignoring it					-.22*	.01	-.15	-.08	.16	-.08	.09
5. Try to change things						-.12	.39**	.25**	-.09	.23**	.17
6. Keeping it to myself							-.01	-.05	.18*	-.05	.002
7. Work harder to prove them wrong								.01	.06	.12	.26**
8. Praying									.27**	.02	.08
9. Avoiding it										-.01	.20*
10. Getting violent											.15
11. Forgetting it											

Note. ** p< 0.01 level (2-tailed). * p< 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Research Question 4: What is the level of social support for dealing with racism experiences and satisfaction with social support?

The second objective of this study was to describe the social support networks of African American male and their relationship to the social context of racism experience responses.

To answer research question 4; an analyses was conducted on the relationship between the race and number of social supporters and satisfaction with social support for racism experiences. The results of Pearson product moment correlation analyses between the number of social supporters by race and satisfaction with social support for racism experiences addressing research question 4 are presented in Table 18. Not surprisingly there were five large and significant positive correlations (See Table 18) indicated between scores of total number of African American supporters and overall social support for racism experiences. For overall social support for dealing with racism experiences, the Pearson product moment indicated that scores for total number of African American supporters and were highly correlated ($r = .96$, $p < .01$). The Pearson product moment also indicated that total number of African American supporters and support to help you feel better about a racial incident was also highly correlated ($r = .87$, $p < .01$).

The Pearson product moment analyses also indicated a large and significant correlation between total number of African American supporters and social support for talking about racial issues ($r = .88$, $p < .01$). Another large and significant correlation indicated was between total number of African American supporters and social support to help you deal with a racial incident ($r = .92$, $p < .01$). Another large and significant correlation indicated was between total number of African American social supporters and social support you can go to for advice regarding racial issues ($r = .90$, $p < .01$). The Pearson product moment also indicated a large and significant relationship between total

number of African American supporters and social support for helping you cope with people you perceive as racist ($r = .88$, $p<.01$).

There were also five fairly large and significant correlations indicated between total number of European American supporters and overall social support for dealing with racism experiences. The Pearson product moment analyses indicated a significant relationship between total number of European American supporters and overall social support for dealing with racism issues ($r=.55$, $p<.01$).

The Pearson product moment analyses indicated a significant relationship between European American supporters and social support to help you feel better about a racial incident ($r=.51$, $p.<01$) (See Table 18). The Pearson product moment analyses also indicated significant correlations between total number of European American supporters and social support for talking about racial issues ($r=.48$, $p<.01$). Another significant correlation was indicated between total number of European American supporters and social support to help you deal with a racial incident ($r=.51$, $p<.01$).

As shown in Table 18, the Pearson product moment analyses also indicated a significant correlation between total number of European American supporters and social support you can go to for advice regarding racial issues ($r=.56$, $p<.01$). The Pearson product moment analyses also indicated a significant relationship between total number of European American supporters and social support for helping you cope with people you perceive as racist ($r=.50$, $p<.01$).

Table 18. Pearson Intercorrelations for Race and Number of Social Supporters and Satisfaction with Social Support for Racism Experiences

Social Supporters	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
7. Total number of African American supporters	.87**	.88**	.92**	.90**	.88**	.96**			
8. Total number of European American supporters	.51**	.48**	.51**	.56**	.50**	.55**	.31**		
9. Total number of other social supporters	.26**	.25**	.15	.13	.02	.18*	.05	.14	
Satisfaction with Social Support									
1. Social Support to help you feel better about a racial incident		.86**	.84**	.81**	.73**	.92**	.87**	.51**	.26**
2. Social Support for talking about racial issues			.82**	.80**	.74**	.92**	.88**	.48**	.25**
3. Social Support to help you deal with a racial incident				.91**	.85**	.95**	.92**	.51**	.15
4. Social Support you can go to for advice regarding racial issues					.89**	.95**	.90**	.56**	.13
5. Social Support for helping you cope with people you perceive as racist						.90**	.88**	.50**	.02
6. Overall Social Support							.96**	.55**	.18*

Note. ** $p < 0.01$ level (2-tailed). * $p < 0.05$ level (2-tailed)

To further answer research question 4, the Pearson product moment analysis was used to analyze the relationship of total number of other race social supporters and satisfaction with social support for racism experiences (See Table 18). There were three small but significant correlations indicated between total number of other race supporters and overall social support for dealing with racism experiences. The Pearson product moment analyses indicated a significant relationship between total number of other race supporters and overall social support for dealing with racism issues ($r=.18$, $p<.05$).

The Pearson product moment also indicated a small but significant correlation between total number of other race supporters and social support to help you feel better about a racial incident ($r =.26$, $p<.01$). The other significant relationship indicated between total number of other race supporters and social support for talking about racial issues ($r=.25$, $p<.01$). No further relationships were indicated by the Pearson product moment analysis between total number of other race supporters and satisfaction with social support for racism experiences (See Table 18).

Research question 4a: What is the relationship between level of social support and developmental level?

To further answer research question 4a; an examination using the Pearson product moment analyses was conducted on the relationship between satisfaction with social support for racism experiences and developmental level. The results of Pearson product moment correlation analyses social support for racism experiences and developmental level addressing research question 4a are presented in Table 19.

The Pearson product moment analyses indicated a small and negative relationship between developmental level and social support to help you feel better about a racial incident ($r =-.26$, $p<.01$). As shown in Table 19, another small negative, but significant relationship indicated by the Pearson product moment analysis was between developmental level and social support to help you deal with a racial incident ($r =-.28$, $p<.01$).

The Pearson product moment analysis also indicated a small negative, but significant relationship between developmental level and social support you can go to for advice regarding racial issues ($r = -.23$, $p < .01$). There were no further correlations indicated between developmental level and social for racism experiences (See Table 19). The negative correlations indicate that men at higher levels of social status tended to report less social support.

Research question 4b: What is the relationship between satisfaction with social support and developmental level?

To answer research question 4b; an examination using the Pearson product moment analyses was conducted on the relationship between the developmental level of African American male participants and level of social support satisfaction for racism experiences. The results of Pearson product moment correlation analyses indicated that there were no significant relationships between the developmental level of African American male participants and level of social support satisfaction for racism experiences.

Table 19. Pearson Intercorrelations for Satisfaction with Social Support for Dealing with Racism and Developmental Level

Satisfaction with Social Support	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Developmental level of African American males		**-.26****	-.16	**-.28****	**-.23****	-.16
2. Social Support to help you feel better about a racial incident			.86**	.84**	.81**	.73**
3. Social Support for talking about racial issues				.82**	.79**	.74**
4. Social Support to help you deal with a racial incident					.91**	.85**
5. Social Support you can go to for advice regarding racial issues						.89**
6. Social Support for helping you cope with people you perceive as racist						

Note. ** p< 0.01 level (2-tailed). * p< 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Research Question 5a: Are experiences of racism associated with psychological well being as measured the two NEO scales of neuroticism and extraversion?

The third objective for this study was to examine the association of racism experiences with psychological well-being when social status and developmental level were controlled. Hierarchical regression analyses were conducted to predict two personality characteristics for psychological well-being, neuroticism and extraversion (Costa & McCrae, 1996) utilizing the same predictor variables.

For research questions 5a, the regression model addressing this question used the frequency of racism experiences for both past year and during lifetime, across four social contexts of racism experiences: racism on the job, racism in academia, racism in the public realm, and response to racist statements in media, to predict the personality characteristics of neuroticism and extraversion, while controlling for social status and developmental level. All predictor variables were entered in a hierarchical order with DL and SES being entered as the first and second step for control purposes. All other predictor variables were entered based on a logical progression chosen by the investigator. The order in which each variable was entered was based on theoretical support and statistical significance of the previous analyses discussed earlier in results of the study.

With regard to question 5a, there were no significant results found in the hierarchical regression analyses for predicting either neuroticism or extraversion personality characteristic of psychological well-being using the frequency of racism experiences for both past year and during lifetime, across four social contexts of racism experiences: racism on the job, racism in academia, racism in the public realm, and response to racist statements in media. Results of these analyses for frequency of racism experiences across contexts for the past year can be found in Table 20 and Table 21 respectively. Results of these analyses for frequency of racism experiences across contexts during lifetime can be found in Table 22 and Table 23 respectively. Therefore,

incidences of racism experiences did not predict personality characteristics that are believed to assess well-being.

Research questions 5b: Is intensity of emotional responses to racism experiences related to neuroticism and extraversion? With regard to question 5b, the emotional response of *strengthened* was the one small but significant predictor found when DL and SES were controlled in the hierarchical regression analyses for neuroticism, $F(1, 128) = 5.59, p = .05$.

Table 20. Hierarchical Regression Analysis Summary for Incidences of Racism
Experiences in the Past Year Predicting Neuroticism

Variable	B	SEB	β	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1					
DL	-1.47	1.36	-.095	.009	.009
Step 2					
SES	-2.81	2.03	-1.23	.024	.015
Step 3					
Racism on Job	.138	.094	.130	.040	.016
Step 4					
Racism in Academia	.010	.166	.007	.040	.000
Step 5					
Racism in Public Realm	-.014	.130	-.014	.040	.000
Step 6					
Racist Statements in Media	-014	.241	-.006	.040	.000

Note. **$p<.01$ * $p<.05$ DL = Developmental level SES = Socio-Economic-Status

There were no further significant findings for the psychological well-being
characteristics of neuroticism and extraversion. Results of the analyses for intensity of
emotional responses to racism experiences can be found in Table 24 and Table 25
respectively.

Research question 5c: Are the range of behavioral coping response to racism
experiences related to neuroticism and extraversion?

For research questions 5c. The regression model addressing this question used the
ten behavioral (i.e., speaking up about it, accepting it, ignoring it, trying to change things,
keeping it to myself, working harder to prove them wrong, praying, avoiding it, getting
violent, and forgetting it) coping responses to racism to predict the personality
characteristics of neuroticism and extraversion, while controlling for social status and
developmental level.

All predictor variables were entered in a hierarchical order with DL and SES being entered as the first and second step for control purposes. All other predictor variables were entered based on a logical progression chosen by the investigator. The order in which each variable was entered was based on theoretical support and statistical significance of the previous analyses discussed earlier in results of the study.

All predictor variables were entered in a hierarchical order with DL and SES being entered as the first and second step for control purposes. All other predictor variables were entered based on a logical progression chosen by the investigator. The order in which each variable was entered was based on theoretical support and statistical significance of the previous analyses discussed earlier in results of the study.

Table 21. Hierarchical Regression Analysis Summary for Incidences of Racism
Experiences in the Past Year Predicting Extraversion

Variable	B	SEB	β	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1					
SES	1.23	1.14	.096	.031	.022
Step 2					
DL	2.80	1.65	.148	.022	.009
Step 3					
Racism on Job	-.148	.077	-.168	.058	.027
Step 4					
Racism in Academia	.201	.135	.161	.075	.016
Step 5					
Racism in Public Realm	.071	.106	.083	.078	.003
Step 6					
Racist Statements in Media	-.041	.196	-.022	.078	.000

Note. **$p<.01$ * $p<.05$ DL = Developmental level SES = Socio-Economic-Status

With regard to question 5c, the behavioral coping response of *ignoring it* was the one significant predictor found in the hierarchical regression analyses for Extraversion, F $(1, 128) = 7.21$, $p = .01$. DL and SES variables were the control variables for this analysis. There were no further significant findings for the psychological well-being characteristics of neuroticism and extraversion. Results of the analyses for neuroticism can be found in Table 26 and Table 27 respectively; and the results of the analyses for Extraversion can be found in Table 28 and Table 29 respectively.

For research questions 5c: Is the number of supporters and satisfaction with social support related to neuroticism and extraversion? The regression model addressing this question used the predictor variables race and number of social supporters (i.e., African American, European American, and other race, supporters of racism experiences) and five racism-related scenarios (i.e., satisfaction with social support for helping you feel better about a racial incident, satisfaction with social support for talking about racial issues, satisfaction with support for helping you deal with a racial incident, satisfaction with advice social supporters give for dealing with racial issues, and satisfaction with supporters who help you cope with people who you perceive as being racist), while controlling for social status and developmental level.

All predictor variables were entered in a hierarchical order with DL and SES being entered as the first and second step for control purposes. All other predictor variables were entered based on a logical progression chosen by the investigator. The order in which each variable was entered was based on theoretical support and statistical significance of the previous analyses discussed earlier in results of the study.

Table 22. Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Incidences of Racism Experiences across Contexts for During Lifetime Predicting Neuroticism

Variable	B	SEB	β	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1					
DL	-.147	1.36	-.095	.095	.009
Step 2					
SES	-2.81	2.03	.154	.024	.015
Step 3					
Racism on Job	-.027	.085	-.028	.157	.001
Step 4					
Racism in Academia	.187	.130	.150	.041	.016
Step 5					
Racism in Public Realm	.100	.115	.095	.046	.006
Step 6					
Racist Statements in Media	-.167	.193	-.083	.052	.006

Note.**p<.01 * *p*<.05 DL = Developmental level SES = Socio-Economic-Status

With regard to question 5d, the total number of African American supporters was the one significant predictor found in the hierarchical regression analyses for Extraversion, $F(1, 128) = 3.81$, $p = .05$. DL and SES were the control variables for this analysis. However, there were no further significant findings for the psychological well-being characteristics of neuroticism and extraversion. Results of the neuroticism analyses can be found in Table 30 and Table 31 respectively; and the results of the extraversion analyses can be found in Table 32 and Table 33 respectively.

All predictor variables were entered in a hierarchical order with DL and SES being entered as the first and second step for control purposes. All other predictor variables were entered based on a logical progression chosen by the investigator. The order in which each variable was entered was based on theoretical support and statistical significance of the previous analyses discussed earlier in results of the study.

Table 23. Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Incidences of Racism Experiences across Contexts for During Lifetime Predicting Extraversion

Variable	$\underline{B}$	$\underline{SEB}$	β	$\underline{R}^2$	$\Delta\underline{R}^2$
Step 1					
DL	1.23	1.14	.096	.031	.022
Step 2					
SES	2.81	1.66	.148	.022	.009
Step 3					
Racism on Job	-.022	.070	-.028	.032	.001
Step 4					
Racism in Academia	.068	.108	.065	.035	.003
Step 5					
Racism in Public Realm	-.032	.096	-.037	.036	.001
Step 6					
Racist Statements in Media	-.072	.162	-.043	.037	.002

Note.**p<.01 * *p*<.05 DL = Developmental level SES = Socio-Economic-Status
Dependent Variable: Extraversion t-score

In order to further answer research question 5 and support the third objective of this study, an additional hierarchical regression analyses was conducted for the prediction of the psychological well-being personality characteristic of neuroticism (Costa & McCrae, 1996). The selected predictor variables included: the emotions of strengthened and hurt, emotional response to racism on the job, emotional response to racism in academia, and satisfaction with social support that help you cope with people who are perceived to be racist.

Table 24. Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Eight Emotional Responses to Racism
Experiences across Contexts for Predicting Neuroticism

Variable	$\underline{B}$	$\underline{SEB}$	β	$\underline{R}^2$	$\Delta\underline{R}^2$
Step 1					
SES	-3.01	2.02	-.133		
DL	-1.83	1.37	-.119	.026	.026
Step 2					
Anger	.070	.181	-.035	.028	.001
Step 3					
Hurt	-.468	.314	-.168	.045	.017
Step 4					
Frustration	.102	.220	.047	.046	.002
Step 5					
Sad	.342	.353	.112	.054	.007
Step 6					
Powerless	-.236	.496	-.063	.055	.002
Step 7					
Hopeless	.392	.716	.071	.058	.002
Step 8					
Ashamed	-.307	.626	-.065	.060	.002
Step 9					
Strengthened	-.475	.201	-.231*	.102*	.043

Note. **$p<.01$ * $p<.05$ DL = Developmental level SES = Socio-Economic-Status
Dependent Variable: Neuroticism t-score

Table 25. Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Eight Emotional Responses to Racism
Experiences across Contexts for Predicting Extraversion

Variable	B	SEB	β	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1					
SES	3.05	1.69	.161		
DL	1.22	1.14	.095	.030	.030
Step 2					
Anger	.066	.151	.039	.031	.001
Step 3					
Hurt	-.002	.264	-.001	.031	.000
Step 4					
Frustration	-.313	.183	-.173	.054	.022
Step 5					
Sad	-.179	.295	-.071	.057	.003
Step 6					
Powerless	.212	.413	.068	.059	.002
Step					
Hopeless	.080	.598	.018	.059	.000
Step 8					
Ashamed	.483	.521	.123	.066	.007
Step 9					
Strengthened	.176	.171	.102	.074	.008

Note. **p<.01 * *p*<.05 DL = Developmental level SES = Socio-Economic-Status Dependent Variable:
Extraversion t-score

The results of this analyses indicated the emotion, strengthened, was the one

significant predictor found in the hierarchical regression analyses for neuroticism, *F* (1,

128) = 7.28, *p* =.01. DL and SES were the control variables for this analysis. There were

no further significant findings for the psychological well-being characteristics of

neuroticism. Results of these analyses can be found in Table 34.

Table 26. Hierarchical Regression Analysis for the (1st) Five Behavioral Coping
Responses to Racism Experiences across Contexts Predicting Neuroticism

Variable	B	SEB	β	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1					
DL	-2.81	2.03	-.123		
SES	-2.36	2.07	-.104	.024	.024
Step 2					
Speak up about it	-1.17	1.10	-.098	.032	.009
Step 3					
Accepting it	.742	2.47	.028	.033	.001
Step 4					
Ignoring it	-.856	.973	-.086	.039	.006
Step 5					
Try to change things	.044	.675	.006	.040	.000
Step 6					
Keeping it to myself	-1.47	3.34	-.038	.041	.001

Note. **$p<.01$ *$p<.05$ DL = Developmental level SES = Socio-Economic-Status
Dependent Variable: Neuroticism t-score

An additional hierarchical regression analyses was also conducted for the
prediction of the psychological well-being personality characteristic of Extraversion
(Costa & McCrae, 1996). The selected predictor variables for this analysis were also
chosen for their significance in other tests for the research questions of this study. DL and
SES were the control variables for these analyses. The predictor variables for this
analysis included: the behavioral coping response, ignoring it (across social contexts of
racism experiences), the total number of African American supporters for racial
situations, racism on the job in the past year, and social status.

The results of this analyses indicated that the behavioral coping response of ignoring it, was significant $F(1, 128) = 11.24$, $p = .001$, and racism on the job in the past year was also significant $F(1, 128) = 4.90$, $p = .05$. DL and SES were the control variables for this analysis. There were no further significant findings for the psychological well-being characteristics of extraversion. Results of these analyses can be found in Table 35.

Table 27. Hierarchical Regression Analysis for the (2nd) Five Behavioral Coping Responses to Racism Experiences across Contexts Predicting Neuroticism

Variable	B	SEB	β	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1					
DL	-2.81	2.03	-.123		
SES	-.116	-1.31	.194	.024	.024
Step 6					
Work harder to prove them wrong	.700	.709	.089	.031	.007
Step 7					
Praying	.507	.651	.069	.036	.005
Step 8					
Avoiding it	-.851	1.35	-.058	.039	.003
Step 9					
Getting Violent	-10.80	5.54	-.171*	.068	.029
Step 10					
Forgetting it	-.295	1.26	-.022	.068	.000

Note. **$p<.01$ *$p<.05$ DL = Developmental level SES = Socio-Economic-Status
Dependent Variable: Neuroticism t-score

Table 28. Hierarchical Regression Analysis for the (1st) Five Behavioral Coping
Responses of Racism Experiences across Contexts Predicting Extraversion.

Variable	$\underline{B}$	$\underline{SEB}$	β	$\underline{R}^2$	$\Delta\underline{R}^2$
Step 1					
SES	2.80	1.66	.148	014	.022
Step 2					
DL	1.23	1.14	.096	.031	.009
Step 3					
Speak up about it	1.36	.904	.138	.048	.017
Step 4					
Accepting it	-1.49	2.03	-.067	.052	.004
Step 5					
Ignoring it	-2.06	.768	-.250*	.104*	.052
Step 6					
Try to change things	.059	.541	.010	.104	.000
Step 7					
Keeping it to myself	-1.511	2.67	-.049	.107	.002

Note. **$p<.01$ * $p<.05$ DL = Developmental level SES = Socio-Economic-Status
Dependent Variable: Extraversion t-score

Table 29. Hierarchical Regression Analysis for the (2nd) Five Behavioral Coping
Responses to Racism Experiences across Contexts Predicting Extraversion

Variable	$\underline{B}$	$\underline{SEB}$	β	$\underline{R}^2$	$\Delta\underline{R}^2$
Step 1					
DL	1.23	1.14	.096	.022	.022
SES	3.12	1.68	.165	.031	.009
Step 6					
Work harder to prove them wrong	.388	.588	.060	.034	.003
Step 7					
Praying	-.661	.538	-.108	.046	.015
Step 8					
Avoiding it	-.200	1.11	-.017	.046	.000
Step 9					
Getting Violent	5.79	4.62	.110	.058	.012
Step 10					
Forgetting it	.000	1.05	.000	.058	.000

Note. *p<.01 * *p*<.05 DL = Developmental level SES = Socio-Economic-Status
Dependent Variable: Extraversion t-score

Table 30. Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Satisfaction with Social Support for
Racism Experiences Predicting Neuroticism

Variable	B	SEB	β	R²	ΔR²
Step 1					
SES	-1.80	1.38	-.116	.01	.011
DL	-2.80	2.03	-.123	.024	.013
Step 2					
Satisfaction with supporters for racial incident	-.623	.448	-.122	.038	.015
Step 3					
Satisfaction with supporters for talking about racial issues	.875	.943	.169	.045	.007
Step 4				.	
Satisfaction with supporters for help in dealing with a racial incident	-.882	.850	-.179	.053	.008
Step 5					
Satisfaction with supporters for advice with racial issues	-.127	1.06	-.026	.053	.000
Step 6					
Satisfaction with supporters for help in dealing with racist people	-1.073	.911	-.220	.064	.011

Note. **$p<.01$ (2-tailed)* $p<.05$ (2-tailed) DL = Developmental level SES = Socio-Economic-Status
Dependent Variable: Neuroticism t-score

Table 31. Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Race and Number of Social Supporters
for Racism Experiences Predicting Neuroticism

Variable	B	SEB	β	R²	ΔR²
Step 1					
SES	-3.32	2.41	-.123	.010	.010
DL	-4.71	3.54	-.119	.024	.015
Step 2					
Total number of African American Social Supporters	-.196	.170	.-106	.035	.010
Step 3					
Total number of European American Social Supporters	.200	.577	.033	.036	.001
Step 4					
Total number of Other Social Supporters	-1.653	1.42	-.103	.046	.010

Note. **$p<.01$ (2-tailed)* $p<.05$ (2-tailed) DL = Developmental level SES = Socio-Economic-Status
Dependent Variable: Neuroticism t-score

Table 32. Hierarchical Regression Analysis of Satisfaction with Social Support for
Racism Experiences Predicting Extraversion

Variable	B	SEB	β	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1					
SES	1.23	1.14	.096	.022	.022
DL	3.17	1.68	.165	.031	.009
Step 2					
Satisfaction with supporters for racial incident	.340	.372	.080	.037	.006
Step 3					
Satisfaction with supporters for talking about racial issues	-.561	.785	-.131	.041	.004
Step 4					
Satisfaction with supporters for help in dealing with a racial incident	.984	.704	.240	.056	.015
Step 5					
Satisfaction with supporters for advice with racial issues	-.146	.875	-.035	.056	.000
Step 6					
Satisfaction with supporters for help in dealing with racist people	.081	.759	.020	.056	.011

Note. **$p<.01$ (2-tailed)* $p<.05$ (2-tailed) DL = Developmental level SES = Socio-Economic-Status
Dependent Variable: Extraversion t-score

Table 33. Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Race and Number of Social Supporters
for Racism Experiences Predicting Extraversion

Variable	$\underline{B}$	$\underline{SEB}$	β	$\underline{R}^2$	$\Delta \underline{R}^2$
Step 1					
DL	1.32	1.14	.162	.021	.021
SES	3.01	1.70	.102	.031	.010
Step 2					
Total number of African American Social Supporters	.157	.080	.177*	.060*	.029
Step 3					
Total number of European American Social Supporters	-.135	.272	-.046	.062	.002
Step 4					
Total number of Other Social Supporters	.483	.673	.063	.066	.004

Note. **$p<.01$ (2-tailed)* $p<.05$ (2-tailed) DL = Developmental level SES = Socio-Economic-Status
Dependent Variable: Extraversion t-score

Table 34. Hierarchical Regression Analysis of Selected Variables for Predicting
　　　　　Neuroticism

Variable	B	SEB	β	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1					
Strengthened	-.479	.178	-.218*	.054*	.054
Step 2					
Hurt	-.334	.241	-.120	.068	.014
Step 3					
Emotional Response to Racism on the Job	.042	.220	.023	.069	.000
Step 4					
Emotional Response to Racism in Academic Settings	-.008	.324	-.004	.069	.000
Step 5					
Satisfaction with social supporters who help you deal with people perceived as racist	-.523	.430	-.108	.080	.011

Note. Each regression relates to the prediction of Neuroticism. Dependent Variable: Neurotic t-score
* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$.

Table 35. Hierarchical Regression Analysis of Selected Variables for Predicting
      Extraversion

Variable	$\underline{B}$	$\underline{SEB}$	β	$\underline{R}^2$	$\Delta\underline{R}^2$
Step 1					
Ignoring it	-2.34	.703	-.284***	.081***	.081
Step 2					
Total number of African American supporters	.135	.075	.153	.104	.023
Step 3					
Racism on the Job in past year	-.162	.073	-.184	.137*	.034
Step 4					
Social Status	.785	1.71	.041	.139	.001

Note. Each regression relates to the prediction of Extraversion
Dependent Variable: Extraversion t-score * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

The overall purpose of this study was to begin to examine the perceived consequences of racism experiences on the adult development and overall well-being of highly educated African American males. This study also points toward a new direction in developmental research, which acknowledges that experiences with racism influence life experiences, male adult development, and overall psychological well-being of African American males.

There were three objectives for this study: 1) to describe African American male responses to experienced racism in four social contexts: on the job, in academia, in the public realm, and statements in the media; 2) to describe African American male social support networks for dealing with racism and to describe their level of satisfaction with those social support network; and 3) to examine the relationship between racism experiences and other variables with two measures of psychological well-being, neuroticism and extraversion.

The data used to address the study objectives were derived from a unique sample of responses to questionnaires submitted by 130 African American male college graduates. These 130 African American men are from different developmental levels and different socioeconomic levels, and their responses to the survey provide an accounting of their experiences in American society. In their responses these men shared information about how experiences with racism influenced their lives.

Responses to the personal questionnaire were used to address five major research questions and 20 sub-questions:

1. What are the incidences of racism experiences reported by African American male college graduates?

1a. Do incidences of racism experiences differ across social settings?

1b. Do incidences of racism experiences differ across levels of development?

1c. Do incidences of racism experiences differ between the last year and a lifetime?

1d. Are incidences of racism experiences associated with socio-economic status?

2. What are the intensity levels of eight emotional responses to racism experiences reported by African-American male college graduates?

2a. What are the differences in intensity of emotional reactions to racism experiences across social settings?

2b. What are the differences in intensity of emotional reactions to racism experiences across developmental level?

3. What are the frequencies of ten behavioral coping responses to racism experiences?

3a. What is the relationship between frequency of behavioral coping responses to social context of racism experiences?

3b. What is the relationship between frequency of behavioral coping responses to developmental levels?

4. What is the level of social support for dealing with racism experiences and satisfaction with social support?

4a. What is the relationship between level of social support and developmental level?

4b. What is the relationship between satisfaction with social support and developmental level?

5. Are the experiences of racism associated with psychological well being as measured by scales of neuroticism and extraversion?

5a. Are racism experiences related to neuroticism and extraversion?

5b. Are intensity of emotional responses to racism experiences related to neuroticism and extraversion?

5c. Is the range of behavioral coping response to racism experiences related to neuroticism and extraversion?

5d. Is the number of supporters and satisfaction with social support related to neuroticism and extraversion?

5e. What is the degree to which all of the above are associated with neuroticism and extraversion when SES and developmental level are controlled?

Accordingly, this chapter focuses on interpreting the meaning of the African American male college graduates' responses to each of the major research questions of the study.

Overall, the African American male college graduates in this study perceived incidences of racism to occur in all four social contexts; that is, all responding African American male participants experienced incidents of racism on the job, in academic settings, in the public realm, and they also acknowledged responding to racists statements in the media. At all developmental levels, the respondents' also acknowledge that incidences of racism experiences had occurred in both the "previous year" and "throughout their lifetime". Hence, in their responses to the personal questionnaire all of the respondents confirm that racism is a part of their life experiences and that racism experiences influences their coping behavior. The respondents' answers to the personal questionnaire are used to answer the research questions of the study.

Overall, the African American men in this study were found to be very extraverted; they scored very high on the extraversion scales and low on the neuroticism scales of the NEO Personality Inventory-Revised (NEO PI-R) compared to published norms of African Americans and other racial groups (cf. Costa & McCrae, 1996). This means that ordinarily the men in this study were typically happy with their lives.

According to Costa and McCrae (1996), people who score high on the extraversion scale are not only sociable and like people, they also like large groups of people at gatherings. Extraverts are assertive, active, and talkative. They like excitement and stimulation and tend to be cheerful in disposition. They are also upbeat, energetic, and optimistic. Therefore, the men in this study seem predisposed to look at life optimistically.

However, the college educated African American men in this study still reported experiencing racism in 21st century American society, 100 years after DuBois's (1903) publication of the book *The Souls of Black Folk*, where he discusses the double consciousness of the African American. Double consciousness explains the inner conflict and resolution that African Americans are faced with in their every day existence in American society. A closer look at how these particular African American men responded to incidences of racism across contexts reveals the manifestation of the double consciousness or the twoness of being African American and living in American society today. An interpretation of their unique and complex life experiences intertwined with incidences of racism experiences across four social contexts are based on developmental level, SES and their overall cognitive-visceral-behavioral juxtaposition in American society.

For the African American male college graduate in this study, incidences of *racism on the job* was reported to be statistically significant. This means that all of the African American men in this study acknowledged that more work-related incidents of racism occurred during their lifetime (M= 16.84, SD = 11.50) than during the previous year (M = 10.50, SD = 10.33) they worked. Developmentally, this means that the African American men in this study must contend with racism while aspiring to succeed within a particularly important structure in American society throughout their lifetime, than at any specific time in their life.

Another example includes incidences of *racism in academic settings.* Overall, the African American male college graduates in this study reported that they experience

statistically significantly more incidences of racism in academic settings during their lifetime ($M = 12.38$, $SD = 8.76$) than during the previous year ($M = 5.46$, $SD = 7.27$). This means that racism is a constant issue to contend with-in another important societal institution, school.

Another example includes incidences of *racist statements in the media*. Overall, the African American male college graduate reported that they experienced more incidences of racist statements in the media over the past year than throughout their lifetime. Developmentally, this means that the African American male is not just subject to racism on the job and racism in academic settings, the media is also depicting him in an unfavorable light and thus supporting the notion that he is not fully accepted in American society and therefore, giving tacit permission to those who are exposed to the media's message to further treat the African American male in a negative way.

<u>Developmental Level</u>

As explored in greater detail in chapter two, Levinson et al., (1978) suggests that at each developmental level certain tasks must be completed. For early adult males (Ages 22-44), the young adult male should be starting to pursue their occupational dream by entering into employment and obtaining a mentor for the world of work. For the middle adult male (45-59), who should be in the midst of realizing his occupational dream, for the late adult male (Ages 60-89), who should be reaping the intrinsic rewards of what he has built during his lifetime. However, for the African American male in this study, his aspiration to pursue the dream, realize the dream, and reap the rewards of accomplishing the dream is often frustrated by the omnipresence of incidences of racism experiences.

The specific results of the analyses found that early adult males reported statistically significantly more incidences of racism in the public realm and racial statements in media than their middle adult and late adult counterparts. The results of the analyses also found that middle adult males reported significantly more incidences of

racism on the job and racism in academic settings than early adult males and late adult males. Late adult males were found to report lower incidences of racism experiences across all four social contexts.

For incidences of racism in academic settings, the middle adult male experienced statistically significantly more incidents with racism in academia during their lifetime (M= 14.22, SD = 9.02) than other males in the study. Early adult males reported more incidences of racism than late adult males for both past year and during lifetime; however both groups of males had lower mean scores for incidences of racism in academic settings than middle adult males (See Table 4 for more results).

Overall, in the social context of *the public realm*, early adult males (M= 14.28, SD= 10.61) were found to experience significantly more incidences of racism in public than middle adult (M = 13.72, SD = 9.74) or late adult males (M = 8.45, SD = 11.70). Early adult males may actually experience marker events (Levinson et al., 1978) of racism-related experiences during this time in their lives.

The early adult male also reported statistically significantly more experiences of *racist statements in the media* for the past year (M = 7.42, SD = 5.35) than either middle adult M = 5.14, SD = 4.06) or late adult males (M = 3.52, SD = 5.10) for this study.

There were also significant differences among developmental levels of African American males; middle adult males experienced significantly more racism on the job during their lifetime than either early adult or late adult males. The middle adult male was the largest responding group (N = 65) for this study and the average age for the sample was 51 years of age.

Developmentally, this may means that the middle adult male has had more contact with European Americans in job-related situations than their younger, male counterpart. The middle adult men in this study have succeeded in the work world and may be operating in occupations where they have more responsibility and accountability to more people than early adult males. Thus, they may be interfacing with more European

American males and females who may be in either subordinate or superior positions. Levinson et al., (1978), suggested that men at this age were letting go of their early adulthood and moving more toward their future. Although, the middle adult men in this study appear to be moving forward occupationally, they are still experiencing significant incidents of racism on the job.

The late adult male mean scores for racism on the job for both past year (M = 6.55, SD = 9.54) and during lifetime (M = 11.72, SD = 10.69) were the lowest between the three groups of men. The late adult males in this study were either nearing the age of retirement, at the age of retirement, or experiencing retirement. Although, many of the late adult men reported experiencing incidences of racism on the job, they may be in occupations where they have considerable experience, autonomy, and more administrative control when in the contact with European Americans than their middle adult male counterparts. Thus, the late adult male may be insulated from some incidences of racism by virtue of rank and status within an occupation. The late adult male may also be respected for his early work-related accomplishments and for getting to the positions he holds presently. This may explain why scores for racism on the job for this age group were lower than middle and early adult males. Paradoxically, this explanation also supports the elevated incidences of racism scores of the middle adult male on the job as he is competing for coveted positions within the rank and file of occupations. Also, the middle adult male may be undergoing a similar kind of developmental process for learning to cope with racism on the job, and thus gaining experience with how to deal more effectively with racism occupationally, as the late adult males may have done during their middle adult development.

In this study, the middle adult male has made a major effort to seek his "dream" as per Levinson et al. (1978); and although education may play an important role in the accomplishing of the dream, incidences of racism are ever-present. Furthermore, as an empowering experience, education is essential to the middle adult male to fulfill the

dream. However, for the middle adult male in this study, the pursuit of education in the face of racism experiences often left him feeling powerless and hopeless. They also perceived that their will to succeed in academic settings was diminished by incidences of racism in their learning environment. This means that for this group of men, racism in academic settings represented a major structural impediment that directly interfered with accomplishing their occupational dream and possibly an indirect impediment to accomplishing other developmental tasks in their lives.

The early adult male experiences far greater number of incidences of racism in the public realm than their middle adult and late adult male counterparts. The predominant perception that they expressed was being rejected in the public realm; also for the early adult African American male, the predominant emotions that accompany being rejected in the public realm are hurt and frustration. The early adult male of this study is just beginning his arduous journey in American society, whereas, his middle adult and late adult counterparts may have built up a kind of tolerance to the public rejection that they too received during the years of their early adult development in American society. The middle adult and late adult male may have developed a hierarchy of coping mechanisms that helps them to distinguish which public rejections to respond to, and which to ignore.

This means that in addition to completing the regular tasks associated with early adulthood, such as developing an occupational dream, forming love relationships and marriage, and entering into the world of work, the early adult male may not cope as effectively with racism in the public realm as their middle adult and late adult counterparts.

Another important aspect of the African American male at the early adulthood level is that he is probably more adept at using media such computers, internet access, and cable television to obtain information and share information, than middle adult and late adult African American males. Hence, his exposure to more information with regard to all facets of American society is increased. Therefore, the likelihood of the early adult

male coming across more literature, jargon and visual information that depict racist expression is also increased. The feelings that are associated with experiencing racist statements in the media, as elsewhere, are hurt and frustration. The early adult male in this study is repeatedly made aware in public and across media that he is not liked and is not accepted as part of American society. The middle adult male and late adult male have probably experienced the same feelings of hurt and frustration with regard to being accepted in American society, however, the newness of the experience for early adult males is more significant in this study.

<u>Additional Developmental Tasks for African American</u>

<u>males</u>

The four social contexts of experienced racism discussed above, supports the idea that African American male college graduates at early adulthood, middle adulthood, and late adulthood, perform additional developmental tasks (Levinson et al., 1978) make adjustments and transitions in life (Levinson, 1977), throughout all of the eras (Levinson, 1978) examined in this study. Furthermore, each group of men at their particular developmental level had unique patterns racism experiences with regard to a particular social context of racism. The middle adult male experienced more racism on the job and in academic settings than the early adult male and late adult male. The early adult male had more experiences with racism in the public realm and with racist statements in media than did the other males in this study. Then the late adult male reported the least incidences of racism experiences across all four social contexts. Based on the reports of experiencing incidences of racism across all four contexts, the African American men at all developmental levels, in this study, are acknowledging performing additional tasks during their development, that was heretofore, never mentioned in developmental research. This additional task of having to cope with racism bridges the gap in Levinson et al. (1978) study with regard to the African American men in his study.

Behavioral Coping Responses

There are ten behavioral coping responses to incidences of racism experiences across social contexts: speaking up about it; accepting it; ignoring it; trying to change things; keeping it to myself; working harder to prove them wrong; praying; avoiding it; getting violent; and forgetting it. The preliminary analysis describes each coping response by developmental level, by yes and no responses, and by each social context of racism experiences. Statistical analyses involved in the study of data analyzed the relationship between behavioral coping responses with incidences of racism experiences for each social context. Another analysis investigated the relationship between behavioral coping responses of racism experiences across contexts and developmental level.

The preliminary analyses of the ten behavioral coping responses found that the majority of African American males' in this study *spoke up* about racism incidences across all four social contexts: on the job, in academic settings, in the public realm, and statements in the media. The majority of the African American males also reported that they would not *accept* incidences of racism across contexts. However, there was no way to discern what they would do when they did not accept a racial incident. The majority of the men reported that they would not *ignore* incidents of racism across social contexts as well, however, there was no response to follow-up with how the African American male participant would respond otherwise.

The majority of the respondents also reported that they would not *try to change things* when they experience racism incidences across all four social contexts; they also would not *keep it to themselves* either when they experience racism across contexts. The majority of the men reported that they would not *work harder to prove them wrong* when they experience incidences of racism across social contexts. The behavioral coping response of *praying* was reported as not being a response that the majority of the African American men reported using in response to incidences of racism. *Avoiding it* was also a behavioral coping response that the majority of men reported they would not use as a

coping response to incidences of racism experiences across social contexts. The behavioral coping response of *getting violent* is also a behavioral response that the majority of African American males reported that they would not use as a coping response to incidences of racism experiences across social context. The last behavioral coping response of *forgetting it* was the most interesting in terms of how the African American males in this study coped with incidences of racism experiences across social contexts. The majority of the African American men in this study reported that they would *forget* about incidences of racism across social contexts.

This finding suggests that although the African American men in this study may incorporate many ways of coping behaviorally to assuage the personal consequences of incidences of racism experiences, forgetting about the incidences of racism is the main mechanism that many of them use to cope with racism. However, other parts of the coping mechanism or process seem to be missing for this group of men and this is not accounted for statistically. However, we do know that they have succeeded in academic settings, succeeded at work, and are succeeding in life. They have achieved the expectations as outlined in Levinson et al. (1978) developmental process.

Upon further investigation of the statistical analyses, to examine the relationship between social context of racism in the past year and the 10 behavioral coping responses, it was found that speaking up about incidences of racism across contexts was statistically significant. The results did not reveal which particular developmental level spoke up more often, or what it was that the African American male spoke up about with regard to incidences of racism, however, the frequency tables for speaking up about it across social contexts suggest that the majority of African American males at all three levels of development report speaking up about incidences of racism in all four social contexts of racism experiences.

For the statistical analyses to examine the relationship between social context of racism experiences during lifetime and the 10 behavioral coping responses, it was found

that keeping it to oneself was statistically significantly related to racist statements in the media. Trying to change things was found to be statistically significantly related to racist statements in the media also. Working harder to prove them wrong was found to be statistically significantly related to racism on the job and racism in the public realm. However, what is the motivation for the men in this study to continue to achieve at the rate they are achieving?

This question may be answered by analyzing the quote from DuBois (1903) that was used to introduce this study. The quote is from the first chapter of The Souls of Black Folks, titled" Of Our Spiritual Strivings," in which DuBois describes his own personal history and the marker event in his childhood that forever reminded him that he was different from the majority of people in his community. Though he had lived in Great Barrington, Massachusetts all of his life and his family for over one hundred years, he was treated like a stranger in his own house. Thus "It is a peculiar sensation, this double consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity (p. 77)." This doubleness is a source of considerable despair, pain, and frustration. Nevertheless, it must be endured. For being both "Negro and American" is the historical condition which African Americans must accept as a social and political reality. The two "souls" cannot be separated; they must be endured. It is through this striving to endure that the African American "…simple wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of opportunity closed roughly in his face."

The African American male college graduate in this study has provided some evidence that he is constantly aware and vigilant about his circumstances in American society. He has experienced incidences of racism across social contexts and has devised a way to cope intrapsychically and intrapersonally, yet he is most assuredly cognizant that he is always looking at himself through the eyes of others and that the negative influences

of the ensuing feelings of isolation, hurt and frustration threaten to diminish his sense of well-being. The African American male college graduate in this study has reported experiencing anger, hurt, hopelessness, powerlessness, and frustration while continually attempting too fit into American society. The men in this study report that they have attempted to speak up about racism, try to change things about incidences of racism, ignore incidences of racism, avoid incidences of racism and forget incidences of racism, yet they also record continuing to measure themselves by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity.

The early adult African American male in this study has been found to experience frequent incidences of racism experiences in the public realm and constantly responding to racist statements in the media.; the middle adult males have been found to experience frequent incidences of racism on the job and in academic settings; and the late adult males were found to be still experiencing all that the younger men are experiencing, albeit at a lower level, but, nonetheless, they still experience racism across all social contexts. For the African American males in this study, the statistical data demonstrate the doubleness in confronting the strife. In utilizing some of the coping mechanism (see the discussion above), the powers of their bodies and minds seem strangely engulfed in contradictions, making the very strength of their convictions to seem to lose effectiveness, to seem like absence of the determination to persevere. Nevertheless, the apparent contradictions are bonified sources of a dialectical process or a challenge of opposites.

<div align="center">Social Support Networks</div>

Another analysis that examined the relationship between the five scenarios of satisfaction with social support network for racial issues and developmental level found that speaking up was positively related with satisfaction with social support networks for dealing with racism issues. The participants in this study measured support satisfaction

for dealing with racism by five criteria (1) helping you feel better about a racial incident, (2) talking to you about racial issues, (3) helping you deal with a racial incident, (4) advice regarding racial issues, and (5) helping you cope with people you perceive as racist.

All five scenarios were found to be negatively related to developmental level, however, three out of five were found to be statistically significantly negative, they are, satisfaction with social support to help you feel better about a racial incident, social support to help you deal with a racial incident, and social support you can go to for advice regarding racial issues. This may indicate that the more African American males in this study sought help from people within their own developmental level for issues pertaining to racism, the less satisfied they were with the level of support for racism-related issues.

In this study, the older African American male in late adulthood and at both the SES levels reported experiencing less racism on the job than all other males at all developmental and SES levels in this study. Levinson et al., (1978) suggested that men in the late adulthood years are looking back over their life and are typically not happy with experiencing their golden years. They further suggest that the aging male may be experiencing some frightening periods of adjustment to old age.

<center>Social Status and Social Context of Racism Experiences</center>

The relationship between socio-economic-status (SES) and the four social contexts of racism experiences were analyzed and one small but significant finding resulted. A positive relationship was found to exist between SES and racism in academic settings during lifetime. This may mean that the more middle and upper-class African American males in this study spend time in the social context of academia, to enhance their future vocations or for life-long learning, the more they would encounter incidents or racism in that social context. Again, this was a small relationship; and therefore, the

occurrences of racism may exist but on a more subtle level as compared to the blatant racism that was experienced by many African Americans during the period of desegregation of the schools and colleges throughout the United States in the early 1960's and 1970's. There were no further significant findings for SES and social context of racism experiences.

Socio-economic-status was also analyzed with emotional response to incidences of racism experiences across four social contexts of racism experiences and SES was found to be significant for emotional responses to racism experiences across all four social contexts. For example, SES was used as a fixed factor in an analysis for mean differences between intensity of emotion response to incidences of racism across all four contexts, and the result was significant finding that African American males at both SES levels experienced an emotional response to incidents of racism on the job, in academic settings, in the public realm, and they responded emotionally to racist statements in media. There were no significant differences found between SES levels.

Another analysis was conducted to compare mean differences between the eight (i.e. anger, hurt sad, frustration, powerless, hopeless, ashamed, and strengthened) emotions to incidences of racism across contexts. Developmental level and SES were used as fixed factors for the analysis. The results of the analysis included statistical significance for the emotions of anger and strengthened across the four social contexts of racism experiences measured. In other words, with developmental level and SES remaining equal, the African American males in this study experienced significant anger as a result of experiencing incidences of racism across four different social contexts and this anger somehow turns into a motivating or strengthening factor in their lives as well, depending on the social context, where the incident of racism had occurred, and the level (blatant or subtle) of the actual event. Or the strengthening emotion could come as a result of a compilation of incidences of racism across several contexts. There were no further significant findings for the particular analysis.

Emotional Responses to Racism Experience

Further analysis on the emotional response and intensity of emotional responses to incidences of racism across contexts were conducted. Several significant relationships were found to exist between certain social contexts of racism experiences and specific emotions. For example, two emotions, anger and hurt, were found to be significantly related to incidences of racism on the job during lifetime. The African American males in this study have expressed experiences of anger and hurt feelings throughout their working life and considering the multitude of occupations reported on in this study, it does not matter where they work—racism occurs or has occurred in every occupation these men have held throughout their lives. The emotion of powerless was found to be significantly related to the incidences of racism in academic settings for the past year. For racism in academic settings during lifetime, powerless, hopeless, and strengthened were found to be significantly related. The strengthened emotion was significant and negatively related to racism in academic settings. This may mean that for the African American males in this study, during their lifetime in academia, incidences of racism experienced in academia they are less strengthened. More appropriately, the African American males in this study may have become weakened by their experiences in academia over lifetime.

For both time periods of past year and during lifetime for racism in the public realm, the emotions of hurt and frustrated were significantly related. For both time periods of racist statements in media the same emotions of hurt and frustrated were found to be significantly related as well. Hurt, frustration, powerless, and hopeless were the predominant emotional responses to racism across all four contexts for the African American male college graduates in this study. In only one case did strengthen occur as an emotional response to racism, and as it turns out, that relationship was more indicative of a weakening relationship as opposed to strengthening one.

Behavioral Coping Responses to Racism Experiences

The next analysis conducted included measuring the relationship between the ten behavioral coping responses: speaking up about it, accepting it, ignoring it, trying to change things, keeping it to myself, working harder to prove them wrong, praying, avoiding it, getting violent, and forgetting it, to both time frames of past year and during lifetime for incidences of racism across the four social contexts. The results of the first analysis (i.e., past year) found two behavioral coping responses to be significantly related to two social contexts. The behavioral coping response of speaking up about it was significantly related to racism in academic settings for the past year. The second behavioral coping response of working harder to prove them wrong was significantly related to racist statements in media for past year.

The second analysis for incidences of racism experiences across social contexts during lifetime found three behavioral coping responses to be significantly related to three social contexts. The behavioral coping response of working harder to prove them wrong was found to be significantly related to racism on the job during lifetime. Working harder to prove them wrong was also found to be significantly related to racism in the public realm during lifetime. The third behavioral response was trying to change things and this behavioral coping response was significantly related to response to racist statements in the media.

Social Support and Racism Experiences

As part of this study, social support networks for dealing with racism experiences were analyzed. The composition of an African American male social support network was measured as to number and race of social supporters in the network. The satisfaction level of the social support network was measured based on how it helped the African American male deal effectively with racism issues. As part of the analysis for this study, the relationship between total number of and race of social supporters and satisfaction

levels were measured. Five racial issues were the criteria for measuring the effectiveness of the social support networks. The five racial issues included satisfaction with social support for: (1) helping you feel better about a racial incident, (2) talking about racial issues, (3) helping you deal with a racial incident, (4) advice regarding racial issues, and (5) helping you cope with people you perceive as racist.

The results of the analysis found that overall, for all five scenarios described; the African American male college graduates in this study were very satisfied with the African American supporters who were comprised in their social support network. The participants in this study were also very satisfied with the European Americans who were a part of their social support network as well. The social supporters who were described as being "other" than African American or European American in a network, were also found to be satisfactory for helping the African American male college graduate in this study deal with racism issues. However, they were found to be mostly satisfactory in two of the five scenarios of racial issues confronting the African American male in the study. Those two scenarios included social support for helping you feel better about a racial incident and social support for talking about racial issues.

<center>Psychological Well-being and Racism Experiences</center>

The final objective of this study measured the predictive power of all the major variables in this study to predict neuroticism and extraversion personality characteristics of well-being. As discussed earlier, the African American males in this study scored very high for extraversion. However, it was important to understand if other variables measured in the study could predict neuroticism and/or extraversion in terms of the psychological well-being.

The results of several regression analyses that entered all variables of this study, found that only two variables showed a small but significant negative predictor value for neuroticism. Those variables included the emotion strengthened, and the behavioral

coping response of "getting violent." The results of analyses that entered variables for predicting extraversion found that the total number of African American supporters was a small but positive predictor of extraversion.

Upon further investigation of selected variables entered to predict neuroticism, strengthened was the only significant negative predictor variable for neuroticism.

For extraversion, two variables, (1) the behavioral coping response for incidences of racism experiences, ignoring it, was found to be a positive predictor of extraversion; and (2) racism on the job in the past year was found to be a negative predictor of extraversion.

Conclusions

African American males in this study are still experiencing racism daily and it is a part of their development. We found that across the developmental spectrum, from early to late adulthood, African American men still absorb the punishment of being Black in American society. It was found that middle and high socioeconomic status did not protect African American men from incidents of racism experiences. Racism-related stress was found to be a common thread that attached itself to all the men in this study. There is also an emotional toll that is associated with African American men coping with racism in American society. Anger was the initial response to incidents of racism for the men in this study, however, hurt, frustration, hopelessness, and powerlessness were also found to be emotions that may be more indicative of the pain that many African American men may be experiencing as they develop from young males to more mature males in American society. African American males of this study were found to be very selective in the way they coped with incidences of racism. One way they coped was to find a social support network to discuss racial issues, find ways to feel better about racial incidents, and to deal with people they perceived as being racist. One important finding was that African American men engaged European Americans and other people from various

racial and ethnic backgrounds for social support in dealing with racial issues. Although the social support networks were not very effective with providing solutions to all problems concerning racism, it was at least a new way of involving others who were traditionally not a part of the solution, for solving the problem of racism for African American males. Other ways that African American males in this study coped with racism involved speaking up about racism as they see and experience it on the job, in academia, in public and in media. Other ways of coping included, ignoring racism and this was because it may not have been in the African American male's best interest to pursue resolving the issue at that time. However, this study also found that another way African American males coped with racism was to never forget about certain kinds of racism experiences; this keeps a vigilant posture with regard to ascertaining what a racism event is, how it is manifested, and what best way to deal with it. Most of the men in this study were coping well with incidents of racism experiences despite having to endure it throughout their lives.

This study has made an attempt at bridging the gap that failed to account for and acknowledge that racism-related experiences are a part of the lives of many African American men. The African American men that participated in this study provided information that suggested that they encounter different degrees of incidences of racism in four social contexts: that is, racism on the job, racism in academia, racism in the public realm, and racist statements in the media. It is an immutable fact that even now, in the 21st century, American society has not dealt with the issue of race and racism in any effective way. The men in this study are simply enduring an extra added burden of racism on their development, with little to no relief. Moreover, the problem of racism has become so complex—there are numerous ways in which it can be perpetrated so that superior position is maintained for one particular race. It is truly unfortunate that African American men are still looked upon as being a threat to society as opposed to being embraced and accepted in mainstream American society. If that were to happen,

DuBois's words that were written a century ago would be muted and there would not be a need to conduct a study like this, 100 years later.

Limitations of the Study

One limitation of this study was obtaining a list of names that were ostensibly representative of college educated African American males living throughout the United States of America. Although all conceivable precautions were made to validate the list, it turned out to be mostly unreliable and invalid. A larger number of African American men responding to the research questions may have provided more statistical power so that the results could generalizable to the greater African American male population in the U.S. and a more diverse sample of men at different socioeconomic levels would have also enhanced the study. However, the results were interpretable for the population of men that responded to the study's purposes.

Implications of the Study

This study was a beginning attempt to investigate perceived racism experiences on the development of college educated African American males. That was accomplished; we have a small population of men who have shown that life for them is not quite how Levinson et al. (1978) described it for all men. Racism is an issue in the African American community and it is an issue that all Americans regardless of color must eventually deal with. This study was also designed to begin the process of completing Levinson et al., theory and moving human development theory forward to establish a new way of perceiving theories that were once thought to encapsulate life as most people experience it in American society. The results of the study clearly indicate that more needs to be done with regard to establishing a more comprehensive theory on adult development as opposed to settling for descriptions that are not indicative of the life experiences of a more diverse population. Given that the majority of people in American society will become people of color before the end of this century, it is imperative that

counselors and other mental health professionals understand how life experience in American society is for them. So that old theories can be revamped and made more holistic for a more diverse population, that will become America in the 21st century. In addition to adult development theory more needs to be done to link theories such as nigresence and racial identity development with more realistic data to either support or refute existing elements of those theories and derivatives of them.

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APPENDIX A

INTRODUCTORY LETTER

Dear Alumnus,

My name is Joseph Donaldson and I would like to invite you to participate in a research study titled, "The African American male response to racism experiences, and well-being."

The purpose of this study is to gain a better understanding of African American male development with a focus on how African American males adapt to life in America. This is a national study and it is the first of its kind. Your individual participation will contribute to a collective understanding of how successful African American males deal with circumstances in American society.

I am inviting you to participate in this research study because you were identified as a college educated African American male from public records such as census information, birth records, motor vehicle records, telephone listings, etc. You are asked to complete the enclosed questionnaire about your experiences in academia, family, work, and the public realm. It will only take a few moments of your time to complete this questionnaire.

The questions will center on how African American males deal with circumstances presented by American society. It will be important for you to answer the questions as honestly and completely as possible. You may skip any questions you do not wish to answer for any reason. However, we encourage you to complete the entire questionnaire, as your opinion is important to the success of this study. There are no foreseeable risks to you from your participation because this is a questionnaire that you answer based on your own experiences, although, you may be reminded of past unpleasant events in your life.

Your participation in this study is voluntary; there will be no personal benefit for participating in this study. There will be no cost related to your participation of this study and you will not receive any compensation for your participation. Records of participation in this research project will be kept confidential to the extent permitted by law. However, federal government regulatory agencies and the University of Iowa Institutional Review Board (a committee that reviews and approves research studies) may inspect and copy records pertaining to this research. These records will contain information that personally identifies you as a participant in this study only. Any link between your identity and your responses will be destroyed after the questionnaire is returned.

If you have questions about the rights of research subjects or research related injury, please contact the Human Subjects Office, 300 College of Medicine Administration Building, The University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 52242, (319) 335-6564, or e-mail irb@uiowa.edu.

If you decide to participate, please complete the enclosed questionnaire and return it in the self-addressed envelope provided. Your completion and return of the questionnaire will be taken as permission to use your responses for research only.

The answers you provide within the questionnaire will be pooled with other participant's answers so that only aggregate responses will be analyzed. Your identity will not be revealed without your written permission. If you have any questions about the research study or your participation, please feel free to contact us.

If you are interested in the results of this study, we will be more than happy to send you a summary if you send us your name and address in a separate envelope.

Thanks for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Joseph V. Donaldson II, Ph.D. Candidate
Counseling, Rehabilitation and Student
Development
P. O. Box 451219
Westlake, Ohio 44145
(440) 835-7987
joseph-donaldson@uiowa.edu

Professor David A. Jepsen, Ph.D.
Counseling, Rehabilitation and Student
Development
N338 Lindquist Center
The University of Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa 52242
(319) 335-5282
david-jepsen@uiowa.edu

APPENDIX B

DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

Data relevant to the research questions will be obtained using these 10 de novo questions for demographic information.

1. What is your current exact age _____ Year's _____Months?

2. During your working lifetime, what is your highest level of educational attainment _____?

Academia and Employment

3. Since age 18, how many years have you been employed full time_____?

4. Since completing your bachelor's degree, how many years has your employment used your college degree? _____

5. What is the name of your current occupation _____

6. How long have you been working at your present occupation? _____Years _____ Months

7. Did you participate in any Special Academic Programs when you attended college?

Yes _____ No____

8. Are you a member of your college/university alumni association? Yes_____ No_____

INCOME

9. What was your total household income before taxes last year? Place an X by your answer.

_____ a. Less than $20,000 _____ b. $20,000 to $59,000_____ c. $60, 000 to $99,000

_____ d. $100,000 to $150,000. _____ e. $150, 000 to $200, 000._____f. $200,000 or more.

Based on your current income, what is the level of your current employment? Place an X by your answer.

_____ Unemployed _____Underemployed_____ Employed at appropriate level ____Over employed

APPENDIX C

SMITH'S (1985) 25 PROPOSITIONS OF LIFE STRESS,

ETHNICITY, AND LEVELS OF IDENTITY

PROPOSITIONS

(1)   Human development is determined by a multiplicity of factors, including biological, psychological, ethnic, cultural, and environmental factors.

(2)   These determinants (biological, psychological, cultural, and environmental factors) interact over the life span of an individual to form what is known as an individual's personality and characteristic way of approaching life.

(3)   Human development is rarely smooth; instead, it is characterized by movement forward, backward, and sideward. These movement changes may be conceptualized as progression, retrogression, repetition, and skipping.

(4)   Life event factors are a series of inevitable and not so inevitable (meaning chosen) demands placed on an individual during the course of his or her lifetime.

(5)   The life stress process is a complex one that can be conceptualized in terms of *three* major components: life events, personal dispositions and internal mediating sources of stress, and social situations and external mediating sources of stress. Internal mediating sources of stress include a person's generalized locus of control, self-concept, expectations of success, and sense of learned helplessness. External mediating sources of stress include the economic situation of the individual, his or her relative position within the power structure, and his or her social support from the environment.

(6)   Certain life events are stressful because they require the individual to adjust to them. Although both positive and negative life events may cause stress, negative life events are more stressful than positive ones.

(7)   The individual's perceived experience of the event is more important than the specific life event or life demand.

(8)   The meaning of any event lies within the three levels of identity of each person. These three levels may be defined as the individual or idiosyncratic level of identity – that part of the person that makes him or her unique; the group level of identity, which consists of group-

shared aspects of one's identity, for example, one's ethnic, cultural, or professional identity; and the panhuman level, which focuses on universally shared aspects of one's identity.

(9) The ethnic identity of each person consists of signs, symbols, and underlying values that point to a distinctive group-shared identity. The outward signs of ethnic identity are similar race, religion, and national origin. Culture is one aspect of one's ethnic identity.

(10) Ethnicity and culture are viewed as a part of everyone's development; it is not just limited to racial minorities. As a result of one's ethnic background and culture, each person develops a particular world view or outlook on life based on his or her ethnic identity, culture, and socioeconomic status.

(11) Culture forms the context in which stressful life events derive their meaning. Each ethnic and cultural group attempts to find a solution at one time or another to the following value orientation themes: the modality of human nature (good/bad/immutable), the modality of human relationships (relational orientation), the relation of people to nature (people-nature orientation), the temporal focus of human life (time orientation), and the modality of human activity (activity orientation; see Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck [1961] on themes for common human problems). The way in which an ethnic and cultural group develops on the scale of value orientation themes will reveal the context in which stressful life events derive their meaning.

(12) Each culture has its own barometer for measuring the stressfulness of any life event. What is viewed as stressful in one culture may not be viewed as stressful in another culture.

(13) Culture affects the way we respond to stressor stimuli and life events. Each ethnic group has a certain style or manner of acting or performing in relationship to life events that is sanctioned by some group standard. Likewise, there are also nonsanctioned styles of responding to life events. In general, there are values shared by ethnic group members and behaviors that characterized their responses to particular situations.

(14) The extent to which a person uses his or her ethnic identity as a reference point for determining the stressfulness of an event is based upon his or her level of ethnic identity. A

person can be committed as much or as little as he or she chooses to an ethnic group. Birth and a long period of socialization into an ethnic heritage provide a person with minimal competency in a given ethnic identity.

(15)   Most individuals evidence a situational use of ethnic identity, which suggests that people can choose, within certain constraints, a variety of identities; that people will attempt to maximize their options and use ethnic identity if they see an advantage in doing so; and that the use of ethnic identity is fluid and flexible. An individual may invoke a situational use of his or her ethnic identity in order to deal with life events that may be stressful. For instance, a black American, Hispanic, Native American, or Asian American, who in the past has demonstrated little visible allegiance or identification with their respective cultures, will, under attack (for instance, after experiencing severe racial discrimination), heighten his or her identification with his or her ethnic group, often seeking emotional and instrumental support from the group.

(16)   For an ethnic identity to remain a part of an individual's identity, that person must affirm and reaffirm the boundaries of inner and outer groups.

(17)   For racial minorities in the United States (and in many countries with different racial groups), racial and minority statuses are sources of stress, especially because of the affirmed boundaries of inner and outer groups.

(18)   The stressor stimuli, with respect to racial and minority statuses, are based on one's out group status in relation to members of the dominant or majority ethnic-cultural group – in other words, the in-group. Hence, in countries where a number of racial minorities exist, usually the majority members will develop a social distance scale for interacting and responding to each group. In the United States, those racial minority groups that are seen to personify the id in human beings are treated with greater social distance than those who are perceived to embody the superego.

(19)   The amount of stress and strain people experience with respect to life events in dependent on the specific characteristics of the individual, his or her internal and external mediating sources

of stress, the supportiveness of the environment, and the timing, duration, and nature (positive or negative) of the life event.

(20) Individuals' responses to life events may vary from adaptive to nonadaptive. Whereas some individuals will view a particular stressful life event as a reason for retreat, others will view it as an opportunity for growth.

(21) Responding to life events requires adaptation and flexibility in coping styles in order to tolerate the ongoing process of stressful life events.

(22) There is a relationship between life stress and psychopathology and physical illness. Certain life events – such as the death of a loved one, the loss of a job, and marriage – act as precipitating factors in the onset of physical symptoms and mental disorders. Moreover, the effects of life events, such as moving and financial problems, are believed to be additive. Physical symptoms and psychiatric disorders result in individuals who accumulate life events over a short period of time.

(23) In general, there are five general patterns that define or characterize the life stress process of ethnic minorities. These patterns are conceptualized in terms of the following five hypotheses: the Victimization Hypothesis, the Differential Exposure Hypothesis, the Vulnerability Hypothesis, the Additive Burden Hypothesis, and the Chronic Burden Hypothesis.

(24) Successful counseling is dependent partly on understanding the source of an individual's stressful life event, partly on the person's response to the stressor stimuli, and partly on helping the client to marshal appropriate resources to deal effectively with the stressful life event.

(25) Dealing with stressful life events is an ongoing, continuous process that spans an individual's life.

APPENDIX D

PERSONAL QUESTIONNAIRE

CODE

Personal Questionnaire

This questionnaire should take approximately 1 hour to complete. It is important that you read all instructions before answering the questions. Keep in mind that there are no wrong answers and the information you provide may be used to assist others who may have similar life experiences.

1. What is your current exact age _____ Year's _____Months?

2. During your working lifetime, what is your highest level of educational attainment _____?

Academia and Employment

3. Since age 18, how many years have you been employed full time_____?

4. Since completing your bachelor's degree, how many years has your employment used your college

    degree? _____

5. What is the name of your current occupation _____

6. How long have you been working at your present occupation? _____Years _____ Months

7. Did you participate in any Special Academic Programs when you attended college? Yes _____

    No____

8. Are you a member of your college/university alumni association? Yes_____ No_____

INCOME

9. What was your total household income before taxes last year? Place an X by your answer.

    ____ a. Less than $20,000 _____ b. $20,000 to $59,000_____ c. $60, 000 to $99,000 _____

    d. $100,000 to $150,000. _____ e. $150, 000 to $200, 000._____f. $200,000 or more.

10. Based on your current income, what is the level of your current employment? Place an X by your answer.

    _____Unemployed _____Underemployed_____ Employed at appropriate level ____Over employed

Please read each item carefully and circle the one answer that best corresponds to your agreement or disagreement.

Circle "SD" if the statement is definitely false or if you **strongly disagree.**	SD	D	N	A	SA
Circle "D" if the statement is mostly false or if you **disagree.**	SD	D	N	A	SA
Circle "N" if the statement about equally true or false, if you cannot decide, or if you are **neutral** on the statement.	SD	D	N	A	SA
Circle "A" if the statement is mostly true or if you **agree.**	SD	D	N	A	SA
Circle "SA" if the statement is definitely true or if you **strongly agree.**	SD	D	N	A	SA

There are no right or wrong answers, and you need not be an "expert" to complete this questionnaire. Describe yourself honestly and state your opinions as accurately as possible.

Answer every item. Note that the questions and answers are all numbered. Please make sure your answer is marked in the correctly numbered space. If you make a mistake or change your mind, **DO NOT ERASE!** Make an "X" through the incorrect response and then draw a circle around the correct response. After you have answered all items, answer the three questions labeled A, B, and C. Please begin.

13.	I am not a worrier.	SD	D	N	A	SA
14.	I really like most people I meet.	SD	D	N	A	SA
15.	I often get angry at the way people treat me.	SD	D	N	A	SA
16.	I shy away from crowds of people.	SD	D	N	A	SA
17.	I rarely feel lonely or blue.	SD	D	N	A	SA
18.	I am dominant, forceful, and assertive.	SD	D	N	A	SA
19.	In dealing with other people, I always dread making a social blunder.	SD	D	N	A	SA
20.	I have a leisurely style in work and play.	SD	D	N	A	SA
21.	I rarely overindulge in anything.	SD	D	N	A	SA
22.	I often crave excitement.	SD	D	N	A	SA
23.	I often feel helpless and want someone else to solve my problems.	SD	D	N	A	SA
24.	I have never literally jump for joy.	SD	D	N	A	SA
25.	I am easily frightened.	SD	D	N	A	SA
26.	I don't get much pleasure with chatting with people.	SD	D	N	A	SA
27.	I am an even-tempered person.	SD	D	N	A	SA
28.	I like to have a lot of people around me.	SD	D	N	A	SA

29.	Sometimes I feel completely worthless.	SD	D	N	A	SA
30.	I sometimes fail to assert myself as much as I should.	SD	D	N	A	SA
31.	I seldom feel self-conscious when I'm around people.	SD	D	N	A	SA
32.	When I do things, I do them vigorously.	SD	D	N	A	SA
33.	I have trouble resisting my cravings.	SD	D	N	A	SA
34.	I wouldn't enjoy vacationing in Las Vegas.	SD	D	N	A	SA
35.	I feel I am capable of coping with most of my problems.	SD	D	N	A	SA
36	I have sometimes experienced intense joy or ecstasy.	SD	D	N	A	SA
37.	I rarely feel fearful or anxious.	SD	D	N	A	SA
38.	I'm known as a warm and friendly person.	SD	D	N	A	SA
39.	I am known as hot-blooded and quick-tempered.	SD	D	N	A	SA
40.	I usually prefer to do things alone.	SD	D	N	A	SA
41.	I am seldom sad or depressed.	SD	D	N	A	SA
42.	I have often been a leader of groups I have belonged to.	SD	D	N	A	SA
43.	At times I have been so ashamed I just wanted to hide.	SD	D	N	A	SA
44.	My work is likely to be slow but steady.	SD	D	N	A	SA
45.	I little difficulty resisting temptation.	SD	D	N	A	SA
46.	I have sometimes done things just for the "kicks" or "thrills."	SD	D	N	A	SA
47.	When I'm under a great deal of stress, sometimes I feel like I'm going to pieces.	SD	D	N	A	SA
48.	I am not a cheerful optimist.	SD	D	N	A	SA
49.	I often feel tense and jittery.	SD	D	N	A	SA
50.	Many people think of me as somewhat cold and distant.	SD	D	N	A	SA
51.	I am not considered a touchy or temperamental person.	SD	D	N	A	SA
52.	I really feel the need for other people, if I am by myself for long.	SD	D	N	A	SA
53.	I have sometimes experienced a deep sense of guilt or sinfulness.	SD	D	N	A	SA
54.	In meetings, I usually let others do the talking.	SD	D	N	A	SA
55.	It doesn't embarrass me to much if other people ridicule and tease me.	SD	D	N	A	SA
56.	I often feel as if I'm bursting with energy.	SD	D	N	A	SA
57.	When I am having my favorite foods, I tend to eat to much.	SD	D	N	A	SA
58.	I tend to avoid movies that are shocking or scary.	SD	D	N	A	SA
59.	I keep a cool head in emergencies.	SD	D	N	A	SA
60.	Sometimes I bubble with happiness.	SD	D	N	A	SA
62.	I'm seldom apprehensive about the future.	SD	D	N	A	SA
63.	I really enjoy talking to people.	SD	D	N	A	SA

64.	I often get disgusted with people I have to deal with.	SD	D	N	A	SA
65.	I prefer jobs that let me work alone without being bothered by other people.	SD	D	N	A	SA
66.	I tend to blame myself when anything goes wrong.	SD	D	N	A	SA
67.	Other people often look to me to make decisions.	SD	D	N	A	SA
68.	I often feel inferior to others.	SD	D	N	A	SA
69.	I'm not as quick and lively as other people	SD	D	N	A	SA
70.	I seldom give in to my impulses.	SD	D	N	A	SA
71.	I like to be where the action is.	SD	D	N	A	SA
72.	It's often hard for me to make up my mind.	SD	D	N	A	SA
73.	I don't consider myself especially "light-hearted."	SD	D	N	A	SA
74.	I often worry about things that might go wrong.	SD	D	N	A	SA
75.	I find it easy to smile and be outgoing with strangers.	SD	D	N	A	SA
76.	It takes a lot to get me mad.	SD	D	N	A	SA
77.	I'd rather vacation at a popular beach than an isolated cabin in the woods.	SD	D	N	A	SA
78.	I have a low opinion of myself.	SD	D	N	A	SA
79.	I would rather go my own way than be a leader of others.	SD	D	N	A	SA
80.	I feel comfortable in the presence of my bosses or other authorities.	SD	D	N	A	SA
81.	I usually seem to be in a hurry.	SD	D	N	A	SA
82.	I sometimes eat myself sick.	SD	D	N	A	SA
83.	I love the excitement of roller coasters.	SD	D	N	A	SA
84.	I can handle myself pretty well in a crisis.	SD	D	N	A	SA
85.	I am a cheerful, high-spirited person.	SD	D	N	A	SA
86.	I have fewer fears than most people.	SD	D	N	A	SA
87.	I have strong emotional attachments to my friends.	SD	D	N	A	SA
88.	At times I have felt bitter and resentful.	SD	D	N	A	SA
89.	Social gatherings are usually boring to me.	SD	D	N	A	SA
90.	Sometimes things look completely bleak and hopeless to me.	SD	D	N	A	SA
91.	In conversations, I tend to do most of the talking.	SD	D	N	A	SA
92.	If I said or done the wrong thing to someone, I can hardly bear to face them again.	SD	D	N	A	SA
93.	My life is fast-paced.	SD	D	N	A	SA
94.	Sometimes I do things on impulse that I later regret.	SD	D	N	A	SA
95.	I'm attracted to bright colors and flashy styles.	SD	D	N	A	SA
96.	When everything seems to be going wrong, I can still make good	SD	D	N	A	SA

	decisions.					
97.	I rarely use words like "fantastic!" or "sensational!" to describe my experience.	SD	D	N	A	SA
98.	Frightening thoughts sometimes come into my head.	SD	D	N	A	SA
99.	I take a personal interest in the people I work with.	SD	D	N	A	SA
100.	Even minor annoyances can be frustrating to me.	SD	D	N	A	SA
101.	I enjoy parties with lots of people.	SD	D	N	A	SA
102.	To often, when things go wrong, I get discouraged and feel like giving up.	SD	D	N	A	SA
103.	I don't find it easy to take charge of a situation.	SD	D	N	A	SA
104.	When people I know do foolish things, I get embarrassed for them.	SD	D	N	A	SA
105.	I am a very active person.	SD	D	N	A	SA
106.	I am always able to keep my feelings under control.	SD	D	N	A	SA
107.	I like being part of the crowd at sporting events.	SD	D	N	A	SA
108.	I am pretty stable emotionally.	SD	D	N	A	SA
109.	I laugh easily.	SD	D	N	A	SA

Social Support

Instructions for Social Support:

The following questions ask about people in your environment who provide you with help or support. Each question has two parts. For the first part, list all the people you know, excluding yourself, whom you can count on for help or support in the manner described. Give the *person's initials,* their *relationship to you,* and *their race.* (B = Black, W = White, and O = Other; see example).

Do not list more than one person next to each of the numbers beneath the question. If you have no support for a question, check the words "No one," but still rate your level of satisfaction. Do not list more than nine persons per question.

For the second part, indicate how satisfied you are with the overall support you have (on a scale from 1 to 6). Very dissatisfied to Very satisfied

Example:

Who do you know whom you can trust with information that could get you in trouble?

How satisfied?

0) No One   a. Very dissatisfied

1) T. N. (brother) B   b. Fairly dissatisfied

2) L. M. (friend) B   c. A little dissatisfied

3) R. S. (friend) W   d. A little satisfied

4) T. N. (father) B   e. Fairly satisfied

5) L. N. (employer) O   f. Very satisfied

6)_____

7)_____

8)_____

9)_____

110a.) Who can you count on to help you feel better after you experience a racial incident?

110b.) How satisfied?

0) No One   a. Very dissatisfied

1) _____   b. Fairly dissatisfied

2)_____   c. A little dissatisfied

3_____   d. A little satisfied

4)_____   e. Fairly satisfied

5)_____   f. Very satisfied

6)_____

7)_____

8)_____

9)_____

111a.) With whom can you comfortably talk about racial issues?

111b.) How satisfied?

0) No One

1) _____

2)_____

3_____

4)_____

5)_____

6)_____

7)_____

8)_____

9)_____

a. Very dissatisfied

b. Fairly dissatisfied

c. A little dissatisfied

d. A little satisfied

e. Fairly satisfied

f. Very satisfied

112a.) Whom can you really count on to help you deal with a racial incident?

112b.) How satisfied?

0) No One

1) _____

2)_____

3_____

4)_____

5)_____

6)_____

7)_____

8)_____

9)_____

a. Very dissatisfied

b. Fairly dissatisfied

c. A little dissatisfied

d. A little satisfied

e. Fairly satisfied

f. Very satisfied

113a.) Whom can you go to for advice on how to handle racial issues?

                                          113b.) How satisfied?

0) No One   a. Very dissatisfied

1) _____   b. Fairly dissatisfied

2)_____   c. A little dissatisfied

3_____   d. A little satisfied

4)_____   e. Fairly satisfied

5)_____   f. Very satisfied

6)_____

7)_____

8)_____

9)_____

114a.) Who can help you cope with encounters with persons you perceive as racist?

                                            114b.) How satisfied?

0) No One   a. Very dissatisfied

1)_____   b. Fairly dissatisfied

2_____   c. A little dissatisfied

3_____   d. A little satisfied

4)_____   e. Fairly satisfied

5)_____   f. Very satisfied

6)_____

7)_____

8)_____

9)_____

PERCEIVED RACISM

Instructions: Please read

Please circle the number that corresponds to how often you experience each event. Please circle only one number for question "A" and one number for question "B" for each item.

For example, if you felt, over the past year that you were assigned a job no one else wanted, on average, "Several times a month," you'd circle number "3" next to the item 115a.

If you felt, over your lifetime you were assigned jobs no one else wanted, on average "Several times a year," you would circle number "2" next to item 115b.

Section I

A. On the job

If you have **never been employed**, please skip this section and go to page 7, Racism in Academic

Settings, question number 53 section B). Questions 115-156 are of the same format as questions 115.

0 =	1 =	2 =	3 =	4 =	5 =
N/A	Almost Never	Several times a Year	Several times a month	Several times a Week	Several times a Day

115. Because I'm Black, I'm assigned the jobs no one else wants to do	0	1	2	3	4	5
a. How often has this happened in the past year?	0	1	2	3	4	5
b. How often has this happened during my life?	0	1	2	3	4	5
116. At work when different opinions would be helpful, my opinion is not asked for because of my race	0	1	2	3	4	5
117. I am treated with less dignity and respect than I would be if I were White.	0	1	2	3	4	5
118. I am watched more closely than other workers because of my race.	0	1	2	3	4	5
119. Racial jokes or harassment are directed at me at work.	0	1	2	3	4	5
120. Because I'm Black, I feel as if I have to work twice as hard.	0	1	2	3	4	5
121. Tasks that require intelligence are usually given to Whites, while Blacks get those that don't require much thought.	0	1	2	3	4	5
122. I am often ignored or not taken seriously by my boss because of my race.	0	1	2	3	4	5
123. Whites often assume I work in a lower status job than I do and treat me as such.	0	1	2	3	4	5
124. A White co-worker with less experience and qualifications got promoted before me.	0	1	2	3	4	5

B. Academic Settings

Although you may not be attending school presently, please answer the questions (as accurately as possible) based on your academic experiences.

0 =	1 =	2 =	3 =	4 =	5 =
N/A	Almost Never	Several times a Year	Several times a month	Several times a Week	Several times a Day

125. I have been made to feel uncomfortable in a classroom of White students	0	1	2	3	4	5
126. Teachers and students assume I'm less intelligent because of my race.	0	1	2	3	4	5
127. Whites assume I gained admission to school only because of Affirmative Action–not based on my abilities of intelligence.	0	1	2	3	4	5
128. My graded assignments are judged more critically because I am Black	0	1	2	3	4	5
129. Although I'm equally prepared and responsive, I am called on less than Whites in the class.	0	1	2	3	4	5
130. When I excel academically, I am looked upon as an exception to my race.	0	1	2	3	4	5
131. I find it difficult to trust White teachers and/or students.	0	1	2	3	4	5
132. My academic advancement has suffered because I am Black.	0	1	2	3	4	5
133. Although I am equally intelligent, Whites often don't include me in study groups because I am Black.	0	1	2	3	4	5
134. I have been taught in school that Europeans are civilized and Africans are primitive.	0	1	2	3	4	5

C. In the Public Realm

135. I have been called insulting names related to my race or skin color.	0	1	2	3	4	5
136. When I go shopping, I am often followed by White security guards or watched by White clerks.	0	1	2	3	4	5
137. I hear comments from Whites expressing surprise at my or other minority individual's intelligence or industriousness.	0	1	2	3	4	5
138. People "talk down" to me because I am Black.	0	1	2	3	4	5
139. I have been refused rental housing which was then later rented to Whites of similar standing (e.g., comparable family income).	0	1	2	3	4	5
140. I know of people who have gotten into trouble (gotten hurt, beaten up, shot) by Whites (individuals, gangs, police, White hate groups).	0	1	2	3	4	5

141. I have difficulty getting a loan because I am Black.	0	1	2	3	4	5
142. I am followed, stopped or arrested by White police more than others because of my race.	0	1	2	3	4	5
143. I have had to make my speech and posture appear passive when dealing with Whites.	0	1	2	3	4	5
144. Waiters and waitresses ignore me and serve Whites first.	0	1	2	3	4	5
145. White males talk about not desiring Black women for serious relationships versus those with White women.	0	1	2	3	4	5
146. My house has been vandalized because of my race.	0	1	2	3	4	5
147. I have had to allow Whites to obtain the best seats in public places..	0	1	2	3	4	5
148. I have been denied hospitalization or medical care because of my race	0	1	2	3	4	5
149. I have known Black men who have suffered negative consequences for talking to White women (being hurt or killed).	0	1	2	3	4	5
150a. I have encountered legal restrictions against Blacks. **Please circle each one that applies: housing, marriage, jobs, use of public facilities**.	0	1	2	3	4	5
150b. How often have any of these events happened during my life?	0	1	2	3	4	5

D. Racist Statements (please circle your answers)

0 =	1 =	2 =	3 =	4 =	5 =
N/A	Almost Never	Several times a Year	Several times a month	Several times a Week	Several times a Day

151. "Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten more economic and educational breaks than they deserve"	0	1	2	3	4	5
152. "Blacks should not push themselves into places where they are not wanted."	0	1	2	3	4	5
152. "Most Blacks are on welfare because they are too lazy to get a job."	0	1	2	3	4	5
153. "If a Black family moved in next door to me, I would seriously think about moving."	0	1	2	3	4	5
154. "Black people are generally not as smart as Whites."	0	1	2	3	4	5
155. "Black men have an animal like passion in bed."	0	1	2	3	4	5
156. "Some Blacks are so touchy about their rights that it is difficult to get along with them."	0	1	2	3	4	5

Section II

In answering the questions in this section, **please circle a response next to each emotion that best describes how you feel in that setting**

1 =Not at all	**2**	**3** =Moderately	**4**	**5** =Extremely

157. When I experience racism on the job**,** I generally feel:

Angry	1	2	3	4	5
Hurt	1	2	3	4	5
Sad	1	2	3	4	5
Frustrated	1	2	3	4	5
Powerless	1	2	3	4	5
Hopeless	1	2	3	4	5
Ashamed	1	2	3	4	5
Strengthened	1	2	3	4	5

1 =Not at all	**2**	**3** =Moderately	**4**	**5** =Extremely

158. When I experience racism in academic settings I generally feel:

Angry	1	2	3	4	5
Hurt	1	2	3	4	5
Sad	1	2	3	4	5
Frustrated	1	2	3	4	5
Powerless	1	2	3	4	5
Hopeless	1	2	3	4	5
Ashamed	1	2	3	4	5
Strengthened	1	2	3	4	5

159. When I experience racism in the public realm (e.g. a restaurant) I generally feel:

Angry	1	2	3	4	5
Hurt	1	2	3	4	5
Sad	1	2	3	4	5
Frustrated	1	2	3	4	5
Powerless	1	2	3	4	5
Hopeless	1	2	3	4	5
Ashamed	1	2	3	4	5
Strengthened	1	2	3	4	5

160. When I hear racist statements I generally feel:

Angry	1	2	3	4	5
Hurt	1	2	3	4	5
Sad	1	2	3	4	5
Frustrated	1	2	3	4	5
Powerless	1	2	3	4	5
Hopeless	1	2	3	4	5
Ashamed	1	2	3	4	5
Strengthened	1	2	3	4	5

Section III

In answering the questions in this section, **Please X or circle the *behavior or behaviors* that best describe how you deal with racism in that setting:**

161. When I experience racism on the job, I generally deal with it by:

a. speaking up_____

b. accepting it _____

c. ignoring it _____

d. trying to change things _____

e. keeping it to myself _____

f. working harder to prove them wrong _____

g. praying _____

h. avoiding it _____

i. getting violent _____

j. forgetting it _____

k. Other (please list) _____

162. When I experience racism in academic settings, I generally deal with it by:

a. speaking up_____

b. accepting it _____

c. ignoring it _____

d. trying to change things _____

e. keeping it to myself _____

f. working harder to prove them wrong _____

g. praying _____

h. avoiding it _____

i. getting violent _____

j. forgetting it _____

k. Other (please list) _____

163. When I experience racism in the public realm, I generally deal with it by:

a. speaking up_____

b. accepting it _____

c. ignoring it _____

d. trying to change things _____

e. keeping it to myself _____

f. working harder to prove them wrong _____

g. praying _____

h. avoiding it _____

i. getting violent _____

j. forgetting it _____

k. Other (please list) _____

164. When I hear racist statements, I generally deal with it by:

a. speaking up_____   h. avoiding it _____

b. accepting it _____   i. getting violent _____

c. ignoring it _____   j. forgetting it _____

d. trying to change things _____   k. Other (please list) _____

e. keeping it to myself _____

f. working harder to prove them wrong _____

g. praying _____

Answer yes or no to the following questions:

165. Did you participate in any Special Academic Programs when you attended college?

YES_____   NO_____

166. Are you a member of your college/university alumni association? YES_____NO_____

167. I have tried to answer all of these questions honestly and accurately? Please circle your

answer.

| SD   D | N | A | SA |

168. Have you responded to all the statements in this questionnaire? (circle one) Yes   No

169. Have you entered your responses in the correct areas? (circle one) Yes   No

This concludes the survey. **Thank you for taking the time to complete the survey, please return it in the envelope provided.**

APPENDIX E

AFRICAN AMERICAN MALE OCCUPATION,

OCCUPATION STATUS SCORE, EDUCATIONAL

STATUS SCORE, HOUSEHOLD INCOME SCORE AND

SOCIO-ECONOMIC-STATUS SCORE.

Table E-1. African American Male Occupation, Occupation Status Score, Educational
Status Score, Household Income Score And Socio-Economic-Status Score

Occupation	Occupation Status Score	Education Score	Household Income Score	SES Score (0-99)
Trump Casino Worker	48	92	67	69
Contract Specialist	91	92	98	93.66
Pharmacy Technician	73	92	98	93.66
Accountant/Auditor	48	92	54	64.66
Construction Inspector	76	92	98	88.66
Good Will Worker	22	92	98	70.66
Team Leader	59	92	93	81.33
Physician Researcher	93	92	98	94.33
Lobbyist	72	92	98	87.33
Telecommunications Designer	69	92	93	86.33
Engineering Manager	95	92	98	95
Postal Worker	71	92	93	85.33
No information provided	0	0	0	0
State Trooper	82	92	98	90.66
Asst. Director Field Operations	86	92	81	86.33
Printer	32	92	98	74
Accountant	48	92	67	69
Elevator Mechanic	69	92	98	91.66
Warehouseman	22	92	67	89.33
Tax Law Specialist	85	92	98	91.66
Financial Analyst	83	92	93	89.33
Student	08	92	07	35.66
Entertainment Manager	86	92	98	92
Planning Specialist	86	92	81	79.66
Restaurateur	66	92	98	90.66
Police Officer	82	92	98	90.66
Counselor	86	92	81	86.33
Administrative Assistant	62	92	81	78.33

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Table E-1. Continued 1

Substitute Teacher	60	92	54	68.66
Transportation Engineer	95	92	98	95
Radiology Technician	74	92	98	88
Teacher	60	92	98	83.33
Construction Service	27	92	98	72.33
Property Manager	71	92	54	73.33
Restaurant Assistant Manager	57	92	54	67.66
Student	08	92	07	35.66
Rehabilitation Technician	73	92	98	87.66
Stop/Shop Manager	68	92	98	86
Customer Sales Representative	61	92	98	83.66
Letter Carrier USPS	71	92	98	87
Human Resources Representative	80	92	81	84.33
Lawyer	99	92	98	96.33
Lawyer	99	92	98	96.33
Pastor	80	92	98	90
Salesman	74	92	54	73.33
Retiree	08	92	98	66
Information Specialist	89	92	98	93
Procurement Analyst	51	92	98	80.33
Certified Public Accountant	85	92	98	91.66
Translator	45	92	81	72.66
Sales Consultant	32	92	98	74
Quality Systems Consultant	92	92	98	94
Teacher	60	92	98	83.33
Contract Specialist	91	92	93	92
High School Principal	93	92	98	94.33
Letter Carrier	71	92	93	85.33
Highway Maintenance	50	92	81	74.33
Compensation Analyst	80	92	98	90

Table E-1. Continued 2

Community Involvement Specialist	77	92	67	78.66
Retiree	08	92	67	55.66
Electrical Project Airway Specialist	80	92	98	90
Auditor	85	92	98	91.66
Electrical Engineer	95	92	98	95
Corrections Officer	62	92	98	84
Sales /Administration	66	92	98	85.33
Entrepreneur	66	92	81	79.66
Insurance Agent	82	92	98	90.66
Educator	60	92	93	81.66
Police Officer	82	92	98	90.66
President/Pilot	77	92	98	89
Deputy Director	86	92	98	92
Machine Operator	55	92	81	76
Salesman	74	92	98	88
No occupation given	0	92	98	63
Equipment Repair	50	92	98	80
Firefighter	78	92	98	89.33
Human Resource Director	80	92	98	90
Merchant (self-employed)	66	92	81	79.66
CEO	77	92	98	89
Sales Associate	74	92	98	88
Account Manager	68	92	98	86
Educator	60	92	93	81.66
Customer Service Representative	61	92	81	78
Quality Control Director	63	92	81	78.66
Credit Manager	91	92	93	92
Real Estate Investor	71	92	98	87
Legal Examiner	25	92	98	71.66

Table E-1. Continued 3

Postal Worker	71	92	98	87
Probation Officer	73	92	98	87.66
Director Continuum Care	86	92	81	86.33
Information Systems Customer Representative	61	92	98	83.66
Clergy	80	92	67	79.66
Director/Administrator	86	92	98	92
Instructor	60	92	98	83.33
Transporter	30	92	54	58.66
Vocational Educator	60	92	93	81.66
Manager	68	92	98	86
Shift Manager	68	92	98	86
School Teacher	84	92	98	91.33
General Manager	68	92	98	86
Layout Architect	75	92	81	82.66
Insurance Agent	82	92	98	90.66
Retiree	08	92	98	66
Retiree	08	92	98	66
Educator	60	92	98	90.66
High School Administration	93	92	98	66
Stocker	37	92	38	66
Retired-Teacher	08/60*	92	98	83.33
Owner Supplementary Education	93	92	98	94.33
Consultant Managed Care	62	92	98	84
Retiree	08	92	98	66
Retired-Manager Auto Parts	08	92	98	66
Buyer of Securities	91	92	98	93.66
Retiree	08	92	98	66
Associate Director	86	92	98	92
No occupation given	0	92	98	63.33

Table E-1. Continued 4

Retiree	08	92	98	66
Retired Teacher	60	92	67	55.66
Retiree	08	92	67	55.66
Attorney/Administrator	86	92	98	92
Teacher/Retired	60	92	67	73
Retired/Training Instructor	08	92	67	55.66
Retiree	08	92	98	66
Teacher	60	92	67	73
Retiree	08	92	98	66
System Designer	94	92	98	94.66
Retiree	08	92	98	66
Retiree	08	92	98	66
Retiree	08	92	98	66
Massage Therapist	45	92	98	78.33

APPENDIX F

SUMMARY OF RESPONDENTS EXACT AGE IN

YEARS AND MONTHS

Table F-1. Summary Of Respondents Exact Age In Years And Months

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	22.33	1	.8	.8	.8
	23.58	1	.8	.8	1.6
	23.83	1	.8	.8	2.3
	24.00	1	.8	.8	3.1
	26.50	1	.8	.8	3.9
	28.00	1	.8	.8	4.7
	28.41	1	.8	.8	5.4
	29.58	2	1.5	1.6	7.0
	31.33	1	.8	.8	7.8
	31.50	1	.8	.8	8.5
	32.08	1	.8	.8	9.3
	32.58	1	.8	.8	10.1
	33.25	1	.8	.8	10.9
	34.16	1	.8	.8	11.6
	34.41	1	.8	.8	12.4
	35.00	1	.8	.8	13.2
	35.16	1	.8	.8	14.0
	35.50	2	1.5	1.6	15.5
	35.58	1	.8	.8	16.3

Table F-1. Continued 1

37.41	1	.8	.8	17.1
38.08	1	.8	.8	17.8
39.50	1	.8	.8	18.6
41.00	2	1.5	1.6	20.2
41.75	1	.8	.8	20.9
41.83	1	.8	.8	21.7
42.00	1	.8	.8	22.5
42.16	1	.8	.8	23.3
43.00	1	.8	.8	24.0
43.08	1	.8	.8	24.8
43.91	2	1.5	1.6	26.4
44.00	1	.8	.8	27.1
44.50	1	.8	.8	27.9

Table F -1 Continued 2

45.60	1	.8	.8	28.7
46.08	2	1.5	1.6	30.2
46.41	1	.8	.8	31.0
47.00	1	.8	.8	31.8
47.25	1	.8	.8	32.6
47.33	1	.8	.8	33.3
47.50	1	.8	.8	34.1
48.00	1	.8	.8	34.9
48.41	2	1.5	1.6	36.4
48.75	1	.8	.8	37.2
49.00	1	.8	.8	38.0
49.16	1	.8	.8	38.8
49.50	1	.8	.8	39.5
49.75	1	.8	.8	40.3
50.00	1	.8	.8	41.1
50.08	1	.8	.8	41.9
50.16	1	.8	.8	42.6
50.41	1	.8	.8	43.4
50.66	1	.8	.8	44.2
50.91	1	.8	.8	45.0
51.00	1	.8	.8	45.7
51.08	1	.8	.8	46.5
51.25	1	.8	.8	47.3
51.33	2	1.5	1.6	48.8
51.41	1	.8	.8	49.6
51.75	1	.8	.8	50.4
51.91	1	.8	.8	51.2
52.08	3	2.3	2.3	53.5
52.25	1	.8	.8	54.3
52.58	1	.8	.8	55.0
52.66	1	.8	.8	55.8

Table F -1 Continued 3

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
52.83	1	.8	.8	56.6
53.08	1	.8	.8	57.4
53.16	1	.8	.8	58.1
53.41	1	.8	.8	58.9
53.50	1	.8	.8	59.7
53.58	1	.8	.8	60.5
54.08	1	.8	.8	61.2
54.33	2	1.5	1.6	62.8
54.41	1	.8	.8	63.6
54.50	1	.8	.8	64.3
54.75	1	.8	.8	65.1
55.00	1	.8	.8	65.9
55.25	1	.8	.8	66.7
55.33	1	.8	.8	67.4
55.50	1	.8	.8	68.2
56.16	1	.8	.8	69.0
56.41	1	.8	.8	69.8
57.00	2	1.5	1.6	71.3
57.16	1	.8	.8	72.1
57.33	1	.8	.8	72.9
57.41	1	.8	.8	73.6
58.58	1	.8	.8	74.4
59.00	1	.8	.8	75.2
59.33	1	.8	.8	76.0
59.41	1	.8	.8	76.7
59.83	1	.8	.8	77.5
60.17	1	.8	.8	78.3
61.25	1	.8	.8	79.1
61.75	1	.8	.8	79.8
61.91	1	.8	.8	80.6
62.00	1	.8	.8	81.4
62.50	1	.8	.8	82.2

Table F -1 Continued 4

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	62.58	1	.8	.8	82.9
	63.00	1	.8	.8	83.7
	63.25	1	.8	.8	84.5
	64.08	1	.8	.8	85.3
	64.16	1	.8	.8	86.0
	65.00	1	.8	.8	86.8
	65.41	1	.8	.8	87.6
	66.08	1	.8	.8	88.4
	67.16	1	.8	.8	89.1
	67.33	1	.8	.8	89.9
	67.50	1	.8	.8	90.7
	67.75	1	.8	.8	91.5
	68.83	1	.8	.8	92.2
	68.91	1	.8	.8	93.0
	69.25	1	.8	.8	93.8
	69.41	1	.8	.8	94.6
	70.00	1	.8	.8	95.3
	72.33	1	.8	.8	96.1
	72.50	1	.8	.8	96.9
	73.16	1	.8	.8	97.7
	74.66	1	.8	.8	98.4
	75.00	1	.8	.8	99.2
	87.50	1	.8	.8	100.0
	Total	129	99.2	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.8		
Total		130	100.0		

APPENDIX G

EACH RESPONDENT'S HOLLAND OCCUPATIONAL

CODE

Table G-1. Each Respondent's Holland Occupational Code

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		19	14.6	14.6	14.6
	CES	2	1.5	1.5	16.2
	CRS	5	3.8	3.8	20.0
	CSE	4	3.1	3.1	23.1
	CSI	1	.8	.8	23.8
	ECI	1	.8	.8	24.6
	ECS	1	.8	.8	25.4
	EIS	1	.8	.8	26.2
	ERS	2	1.5	1.5	27.7
	ESA	17	13.1	13.1	40.8
	ESC	7	5.4	5.4	46.2
	ESI	1	.8	.8	46.9
	ESR	22	16.9	16.9	63.8
	IER	2	1.5	1.5	65.4
	IES	1	.8	.8	66.2
	IRE	2	1.5	1.5	67.7
	ISC	1	.8	.8	68.5
	ISR	2	1.5	1.5	70.0

Table G -1 Continued 1

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
RCE	3	2.3	2.3	72.3
RCI	2	1.5	1.5	73.8
RCS	1	.8	.8	74.6
REC	2	1.5	1.5	76.2
REI	2	1.5	1.5	77.7
RES	2	1.5	1.5	79.2
RIE	2	1.5	1.5	80.8
RIS	1	.8	.8	81.5
SAE	1	.8	.8	82.3
SAI	2	1.5	1.5	83.8
SCR	2	1.5	1.5	85.4
SEA	1	.8	.8	86.2
SEC	9	6.9	6.9	93.1
SEI	1	.8	.8	93.8
SER	6	4.6	4.6	98.5
SIE	1	.8	.8	99.2
SRI	1	.8	.8	100.0
Total	130	100.0	100.0	

APPENDIX H

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS FOR RACISM

EXPERIENCES ON THE JOB

Table H-1. Descriptive Statistics For Racism Experiences On The Job

Social Context	DL	SES	M	SD	n
Racism on the job past year					
	EAD				
		Middle	10.00	11.48	14
		High	11.91	8.90	22
	Total EAD		11.17	9.87	36
	MAD				
		Middle	12.00	10.90	13
		High	11.87	10.65	52
	Total MAD		11.89	10.61	65
	LAD				
		Middle	6.89	11.42	19
		High	5.90	4.62	10
	Total LAD		6.55	9.54	29
	Total				
		Middle	9.28	11.25	46
		High	11.17	9.77	84
	Total SES		10.50	10.33	130

APPENDIX I

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS FOR DEVELOPMENTAL

LEVEL AND RACISM EXPERIENCES ON THE JOB

DURING LIFETIME

Table I-1. Descriptive Statistics For Developmental Level And Racism Experiences On
 The Job During Lifetime

Social Context	DL	SES	M	SD	n
Racism on the job lifetime					
	EAD				
		Middle	15.00	12.83	14
		High	18.50	10.40	22
	Total EAD		17.14	11.36	36
	MAD				
		Middle	23.85	14.58	13
		High	17.73	10.23	52
	Total MAD		18.95	11.37	65
	LAD				
		Middle	11.10	12.17	19
		High	12.90	7.55	10
	Total LAD		11.72	10.69	29
	SES				
		Middle	15.89	13.85	46
		High	17.36	10.03	84
	Total SES		16.84	11.50	130

APPENDIX J

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF DEVELOPMENTAL

LEVEL SOCIAL STATUS AND SOCIAL CONTEXT OF

RACISM EXPERIENCES IN ACADEMIA IN THE PAST

YEAR

Table J-1. Descriptive Statistics Of Developmental Level Social Status And Social
Context Of Racism Experiences In Academia In The Past Year

Social Context	DL	SES	M	SD	n
Racism in Academia past year					
	EAD				
		Middle	4.36	5.12	14
		High	6.36	6.79	22
	Total EAD		5.58	6.20	36
	MAD				
		Middle	5.23	7.21	13
		High	6.75	8.08	52
	Total MAD		6.44	7.88	65
	LAD				
		Middle	3.47	7.98	19
		High	2.40	3.75	10
	Total LAD		3.10	6.76	29
	SES				
		Middle	4.24	6.89	46
		High	6.13	7.43	84
	Total SES		5.46	7.27	130

APPENDIX K

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS FOR DEVELOPMENTAL

LEVEL, SOCIAL STATUS AND RACISM

EXPERIENCES IN ACADEMIA

Table K-1. Descriptive Statistics For Developmental Level, Social Status And Racism
Experiences In Academia

Social Context	DL	SES	M	SD	n
Racism in Academia during lifetime					
	EAD				
		Middle	8.64	7.86	14
		High	14.09	8.12	22
	Total EAD		11.97	8.35	36
	MAD				
		Middle	14.15	11.52	13
		High	14.23	8.42	52
	Total MAD		14.22	9.02	65
	LAD				
		Middle	8.16	7.36	19
		High	9.90	8.53	10
	Total LAD		8.76	7.67	29
	SES				
		Middle	10.00	9.05	46
		High	13.68	8.37	84
	Total SES		12.38	8.76	130

APPENDIX L

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS FOR DEVELOPMENTAL

LEVEL, SOCIAL STATUS AND RACISM

EXPERIENCES IN PUBLIC

Table L-1. Descriptive Statistics For Developmental Level, Social Status And Racism
Experiences In Public

Social Context	DL	SES	M	SD	n
Racism in Public past year					
	EAD				
		Middle	11.86	9.82	14
		High	15.81	10.01	22
	Total EAD		14.28	10.61	36
	MAD				
		Middle	16.31	11.62	13
		High	13.08	9.23	52
	Total MAD		13.72	9.74	65
	LAD				
		Middle	8.90	13.48	19
		High	7.60	7.81	10
	Total LAD		8.45	11.70	29
	Total				
		Middle	11.89	12.09	46
		High	13.14	9.76	84
	Total SES		12.70	10.61	130

APPENDIX M

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS FOR DEVELOPMENTAL

LEVEL, SOCIAL STATUS AND RACISM

EXPERIENCES IN PUBLIC

Table M-1. Descriptive Statistics For Developmental Level, Social Status And Racism
Experiences In Public

Social Context	DL	SES	M	SD	n
Racism in Public during lifetime					
	EAD				
		Middle	12.36	10.05	14
		High	16.14	10.85	22
	Total EAD		14.67	10.57	36
	MAD				
		Middle	17.54	11.22	13
		High	13.73	9.22	52
	Total MAD		14.49	9.68	65
	LAD				
		Middle	10.21	12.96	19
		High	9.00	7.15	10
	Total LAD		9.79	11.17	29
	SES				
		Middle	12.93	11.80	46
		High	13.80	9.58	84
	Total SES		13.49	10.39	130

APPENDIX N

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS FOR DEVELOPMENTAL

LEVEL, SOCIAL STATUS AND RESPONSE TO

RACIST STATEMENTS IN MEDIA

Table N-1. Descriptive Statistics For Developmental Level, Social Status And Response
            To Racist Statements In Media

Social Context	DL	SES	M	SD	n
Racist statements in the past year					
	EAD				
		Middle	6.93	4.78	14
		High	7.72	5.77	22
	Total EAD		7.42	5.35	36
	MAD				
		Middle	4.54	3.84	13
		High	5.29	4.13	52
	Total MAD		5.14	4.06	65
	LAD				
		Middle	3.26	5.69	19
		High	5.77	4.71	10
	Total LAD		3.52	5.10	29
	SES				
		Middle	7.52	5.70	46
		High	7.67	5.28	84
	Total SES		7.61	5.41	130

APPENDIX O

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS FOR DEVELOPMENTAL

LEVEL, SOCIAL STATUS AND RESPONSE TO

RACIST STATEMENTS IN MEDIA

Table O-1. Descriptive Statistics For Developmental Level, Social Status And Response To Racist Statements In Media

Social Context	DL	SES	M	SD	n
Racist statements during lifetime					
	EAD				
		Middle	8.14	4.33	14
		High	10.41	6.69	22
	Total EAD		9.53	5.92	36
	MAD				
		Middle	6.38	4.75	13
		High	6.98	4.40	52
	Total MAD		6.86	4.44	65
	LAD				
		Middle	7.84	7.17	19
		High	5.20	3.91	10
	Total LAD		6.93	6.30	29
	SES				
		Middle	7.52	5.70	46
		High	7.67	5.28	84
	Total SES		7.62	5.42	130