

# Racial(ized) Identity, Ethnic Identity, and Afrocentric Values: Conceptual and Methodological Challenges in Understanding African American Identity

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A survey of the literature reveals that there is conceptual confusion and inconsistent and sometimes inappropriate usage of the terms *racial identity*, *ethnic identity*, and *Afrocentric values*. This study explored the extent to which Black racial(ized) identity attitudes were related to ethnic identity and Afrocentric cultural values. Two hundred and one African American college students attending a predominantly White university or a historically Black university completed the Cross Racial Identity Scale (B. J. Vandiver et al., 2000), the Natanolitization Scale (J. Taylor & C. Grundy, 1996), the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (J. S. Phinney, 1992), and the Africentrism Scale (C. Grills & D. Longshore, 1996). Results of a canonical correlation indicated 2 significant orthogonal roots that were labeled a nonracialized ethnic identity and a racialized ethnic identity. The results suggest important similarities and differences among the various identity constructs. Implications for racial and ethnic identity research and Afrocentric research are discussed.

*Keywords:* racial identity, ethnic identity, Afrocentric

A central theme of much of the multicultural counseling and psychology literature has focused on the psychological importance of developing and maintaining a positive group identity. A review of this burgeoning literature reveals that racial identity is typically the group identity most often examined. Indeed, racial identity has been identified as one of the most important themes in multicultural counseling (Ponterotto & Sabnani, 1989). It is also obvious that a disproportionately large number of racial identity studies have been conducted with African American participants (Cokley, 2002a). This is perhaps the case because the conceptualization of racial identity development occurred during the turbulent struggle of Blacks for civil rights in the United States. When Cross (1971) published his now famous article in *Black World*, he was describing the psychological changes that Blacks were going through in response to the struggle of being systematically oppressed and dehumanized. The resultant model that he developed, though specifically based on the experiences of Blacks, has had broad appeal because it has served as a heuristic of the psychological changes that most disenfranchised and marginalized groups go through en route to developing a positive group concept.

On a related note, ethnic identity has also been an important multicultural psychological construct. Similar to the construct of racial identity, ethnic identity has also been heavily researched, as evidenced by the 70 studies of ethnic identity reviewed by Phinney (1990). Similar to Cross (1991) and Helms (1990), Phinney (1992) argued that it is more important for psychologists to understand the psychological aspects of ethnicity (rather than race per se) than it

is for psychologists to focus on the group label itself. Phinney identified three psychological aspects of ethnicity (group label) as culture, ethnic identity, and minority status. The first psychological aspect, *culture*, refers to adherence to values, beliefs, behaviors and norms associated with one's cultural group. The second psychological aspect, *ethnic identity*, refers to the extent to which one identifies with one's ethnic group. It is the meaning, strength, and salience of one's ethnic identity. The third psychological aspect, *minority status*, refers to the extent to which one has the differential experiences and attitudes that are associated with minority status. These attitudes are based on being a part of a minority group that is often the target of racist behaviors and prejudicial attitudes.

A significant challenge in conducting research using these two constructs is the reality that there appears to be conceptual confusion around their definitions and meanings. Specifically, the two terms are frequently used interchangeably, which contributes to confusion among scholars and students alike. For example, if one conducts a PsycINFO search of the term *racial identity*, he or she is directed to another screen where he or she must choose among several foci. Ethnic identity is usually the first foci listed, which suggests that ethnic identity is subsumed under racial identity. In her very important review of the ethnic identity literature, Phinney (1990) frequently used the terms interchangeably. Direct comparisons of the number of racial identity versus ethnic identity studies are prohibitive because, as evidenced in Phinney's review, some studies that claim to be examining ethnic identity are in actuality examining racial identity, and vice versa.

Conceptually, there is clearly some overlap between the constructs of racial and ethnic identity. In Phinney's (1990) framework, it is apparent that her description of ethnic identity and minority status are compatible with Cross's (1991) and Helms's (1990) descriptions of racial identity. Specifically, for African

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Americans, the development of a racial identity is a result of minority status, and because of this minority status a developmental challenge is to negotiate and develop a positive group (racial for Cross, 1991, and Helms, 1990; ethnic for Phinney, 1990) identity.

However, there are some important differences between the theorists' understanding of the constructs. Helms (1996) stated that identity models are *racial* when they describe reactions to societal oppression based on race and are *ethnic* when they describe the acquisition and maintenance of cultural characteristics such as religious expression and language. Broadly speaking, ethnicity refers to differences in nationality, ancestry, religion, language, culture, and history to which personal and social meanings of group identity are usually attached. Phinney (1996) argued that ethnicity subsumes race and that ethnicity and race should be combined into a superordinate construct. However, Helms and Talleyrand (1997) argued that race is not ethnicity and that race has a clear meaning in psychology and American society whereas ethnicity is ill-defined and remains a proxy for racial classification. Accordingly, race and ethnicity need to be treated as related yet separate constructs. It logically follows that if race and ethnicity should be treated as separate yet related constructs, so too should racial identity and ethnic identity.

Recently, Parham (2002) has challenged the counseling profession to "shift from racial identity to ethnic and cultural identity" (p. 34) because racial identity makes phenotypical traits the most salient feature of African American identity. Parham and other African American psychologists (e.g., N. Akbar, 1989; Cokley, 2002a, 2002b; Hilliard, 1997; Nobles, 1989, 1998) have argued that an understanding of African American identity must focus on an ethnic and cultural identity that is rooted in an Afrocentric worldview paradigm that critically examines and affirms African cultural values (also referred to as Afrocentric values) as forming the foundation of African American identity and culture. Afrocentric values that are consistent with an Afrocentric worldview paradigm include an emphasis on spiritualism (i.e., belief in spirit as the basis of existence of everything; emphasis on "*being* spirit rather than just practicing spirituality"; Grills, 2002, p. 16), collectivism (i.e., giving priority to the goals of the family and ethnic group; shaping behavior on the basis of family and ethnic group norms and obligations; interdependent within family and ethnic group; Triandis, 2001), communalism (i.e., emphasis on human relationships; recognizing every community member's value and uniqueness; emphasis on unity without uniformity; Gordon, 2002), and a belief in self-knowledge as the basis of all knowledge (Myers, 1988). It should be pointed out that many of these values are not exclusive to people of African descent. Indeed these values, which have been identified as constituting an optimal worldview (Myers, 1988), can be held by individuals of various ethnic groups and cultures throughout the world.

#### Clarifying the Distinction Between Racial Identity, Ethnic Identity, and Afrocentric Values

In fact, operationalizing these constructs through the development of different instruments suggests that Cross, Helms, Phinney, Parham, and other scholars (Helms & Parham, 1996; Phinney, 1992; Vandiver, Cross, Worrell, & Fhagen-Smith, 2002; Umana-Taylor, Yazedjian, & Bamaca-Gomez, 2004) believe that there are conceptual and theoretical differences between racial and ethnic

identity. As previously noted, researchers sometimes choose to use the terms interchangeably. For example, Phinney and Kohatsu (1997) used the terms *ethnic identity* and *racial identity* throughout their book chapter in a fairly undifferentiated manner. Dana (2002) used the phrases *cultural/racial perspective* and *cultural/racial identity* to refer to African Americans and their use of mental health services.

In short, the conceptual differences between racial identity, ethnic identity, and Afrocentric values and the nature of their relationships are not clear. There are relatively few strong empirical studies that examine various combinations of these constructs and virtually none that have examined all three simultaneously. For example, Goodstein and Ponterotto (1997) found that internalization attitudes (e.g., racial attitudes) were related to a positive ethnic identity but that only internalization attitudes were predictive of self-esteem. However, the study is limited because of the number of participants (only 43 participants were used for the analysis) and the much discussed psychometric problems of scores generated from the Racial Identity Attitude Scale (Cronbach's alphas of .37, .26, .64, and .62 were reported for the four subscales). Phelps, Taylor, and Gerard (2001) also found that internalization attitudes were positively predictive of self-esteem, whereas the Other-Group Orientation subscale of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992) was negatively predictive of self-esteem. Brookins (1994) found that an Afrocentric belief system was positively related to internalization attitudes. However, this study is also limited because Brookins failed to use a Bonferroni correction to test for the statistical significance of multiple comparisons. Had a Bonferroni correction been used, Afrocentric beliefs would not have been significantly related to internalization attitudes. Ewing, Richardson, James-Myers, and Russell (1996) found that an Afrocentric belief system was negatively related to preencounter attitudes; however, there were no other significant relationships. Most recently, M. Akbar, Chambers, and Sanders Thompson (2001) found that Afrocentric values were positively related to Black identity in a sample of Jamaican children. Limitations of the study include the use of unpublished and largely untested measures of children's racial identity and Afrocentric values. Thus, it is still unclear exactly how these constructs are alike, how they are different, and how they should theoretically be related to each other.

In addition to the aforementioned multicultural constructs, Cokley (2002a) introduced the concept of *internalized racialism* to the counseling psychology literature. Internalized racialism refers to identifying with and internalizing negative and positive stereotypes about one's racial group. An example of a racialized Black identity could entail believing in either "positive" stereotypes (e.g., Black people are naturally better athletes) or negative stereotypes (e.g., Black people are prone to criminality). Cokley found that earlier and middle stages of racial identity were positively related to internalized racialism, whereas multiculturalist attitudes were not related to internalized racialism. Surprisingly, he found that Afrocentric attitudes were also positively related to internalized racialism. Equally surprisingly, Cokley found that Afrocentric attitudes were positively correlated with anti-White attitudes. Cokley hypothesized that these findings were due to potential problems in the measurement of Afrocentric attitudes, as measured by a subscale from the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS; Vandiver et al., 2000).

Given the sampling of aforementioned problems identified in the literature in the usage of terms that connote related aspects of group identity, the purpose of the current study was to clarify the relationships between racial identity, ethnic identity, Afrocentric values, and internalized racialism in a sample of African American students. Specifically, I examined how a set of variables that purport to measure in varying degrees aspects of ethnicity relates to a set of variables that measure components of a racial(ized) identity (e.g., anti-White attitudes, beliefs in Black natural ability, and sexual prowess). I use the word *purport* because it is not clear whether one of the measures, the Internalization Afrocentricity (IA) subscale of the CRIS (Vandiver et al., 2000), really measures Afrocentric cultural values as previously identified. Stated another way, the purpose was to determine along how many dimensions variables in the ethnicity set also were related to variables in the racial(ized) identity set. Using Phinney's (1996) psychological description of ethnicity, the MEIM (Phinney, 1992) measures the *identity* (i.e., sense of belonging and positive ethnic attitudes) component of ethnicity. The Internalization Multicultural Inclusive (IMCI) and IA subscales of the CRIS and the Africentrism Scale (AFRI; Grills & Longshore, 1996) measure the *cultural* components of ethnicity, which consist of adhering to attitudes, beliefs, and values of one's ethnic group. The IMCI measures *attitudes* toward other cultural groups, which is consistent with Phinney's Other-Group Orientation subscale of the MEIM. An important part of understanding African American ethnicity is understanding the attitudes African Americans have toward other ethnic and cultural groups. The IA measures *beliefs* that African Americans have about using an Afrocentric ideology to empower African Americans. Another important part of understanding African American ethnicity is understanding to what extent African Americans believe that Afrocentrism is an empowering ideology. The Africentrism Scale measures endorsement of Afrocentric values as a means of guiding African Americans' thoughts and behaviors. In understanding African American ethnicity, it is also important to assess to what extent African Americans actually endorse Afrocentric values and behaviors. Although these four measures certainly do not exhaust the multitude of ways in which the psychological aspects of African American ethnicity can be measured, they are chosen because one of the purposes of this study is to clarify the role of Afrocentrism in the construction of African American identity.

The variable sets of racial(ized) identity used in (a) Cokley's (2002a) description of internalized racialism, which is driven by racialized and essentialist beliefs about Black people, and (b) the Immersion-Emersion Anti-White (IEAW) subscale of the CRIS, which is driven by negative feelings toward White people, are conceptually related because the attitudes, whether they include endorsing positive or negative stereotypes of Blacks or endorsing negative attitudes toward Whites, are products of a highly racialized worldview as discussed by Smedley (1999; see Figure 1).

I hypothesized that endorsement of Afrocentric cultural values and a positive ethnic identity would be negatively related to a racial(ized) identity. Attitudes based on the endorsement of clearly defined Afrocentric cultural values should be inversely related to negative attitudes toward Whites and should be inversely related to stereotypical beliefs about Blacks. I also hypothesized that endorsement of the IA subscale would be positively related to a racial(ized) identity. Attitudes based on an ambiguous or superfi-

cial understanding of Afrocentrism, as measured by the IA subscale, should be positively related to negative attitudes toward Whites and should be related to stereotypical beliefs about Blacks. This hypothesis is consistent with the findings of Cokley (2002a). To test these hypotheses, I used a canonical correlation. A canonical correlation was chosen because it allows for the simultaneous examination of the relationships between two sets of variables. Individuals are complex beings, in part, because we can hold multiple beliefs and attitudes on different issues that complement as well as seemingly contradict each other. In the realm of politics for example, individuals can subscribe to traditionally liberal political views (e.g., the responsibility of the government to provide for its citizens, affirmative action) while also subscribing to traditionally conservative political views (e.g., antiabortion, support for death penalty). Thus, these individuals (or more correctly, their attitudes) cannot simply be labeled as liberal or conservative, because the simultaneous examination of their attitudes across several domains result in different dimensions in which the two sets of variables are related (i.e., a moderate or conservative Democrat or a liberal Republican). Similarly, I was interested in examining whether the two sets of variables in this study, components of ethnicity (i.e., ethnic identity, Afrocentric values, multi-culturally inclusive attitudes, and beliefs about Afrocentrism) and racial(ized) identity (i.e., anti-White attitudes, beliefs in Black natural ability, sexual prowess, and mental-genetic deficiencies) would be related to each other across different dimensions.

Barcikowski and Stevens (1975) have suggested that a minimum of 15 participants is needed per measured variable when conducting a canonical correlation. A more conservative suggestion is that a minimum of 20 participants is needed per measured variable (Stevens, 1986). Under the more conservative guidelines, a minimum sample size of at least 160 was sought to ensure reliable results and adequate interpretation of the canonical root.

## Method

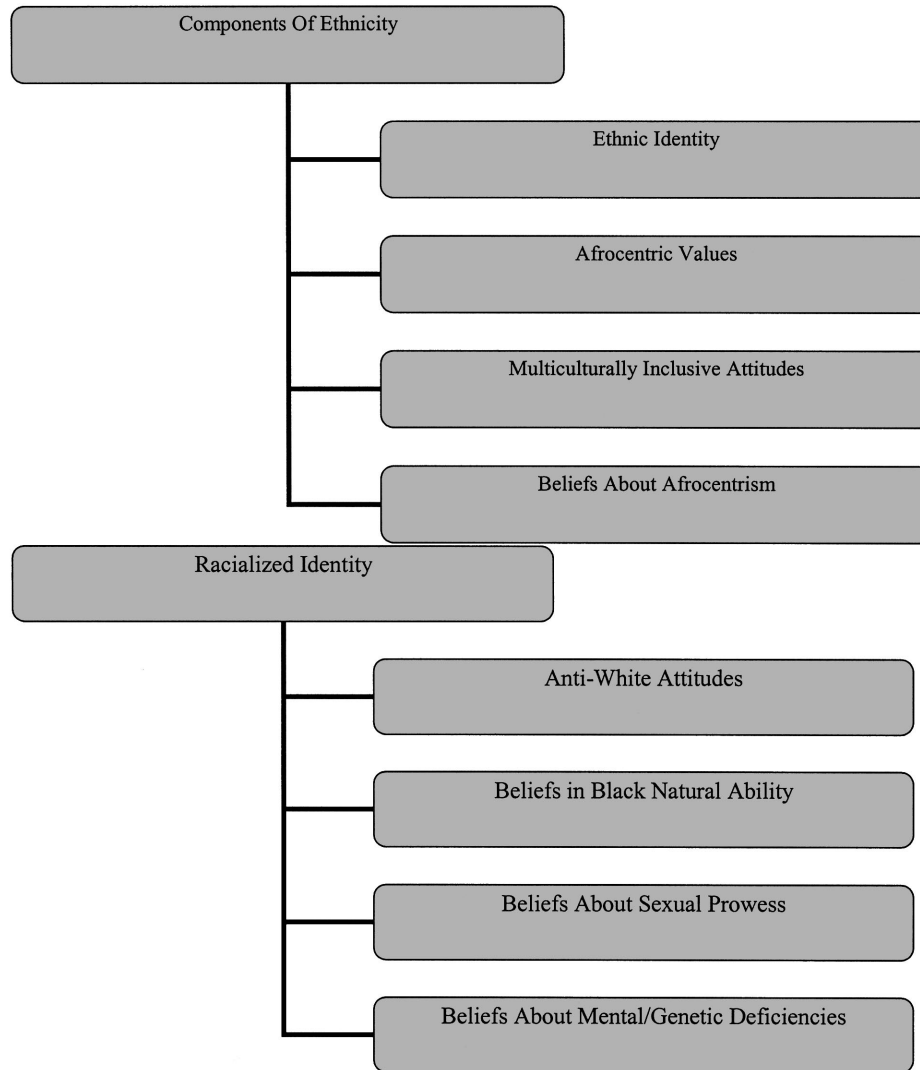
### *Participants and Procedure*

Participants were 201 self-identified Black or African American college students attending a southern, historically Black university ( $n = 84$ ) or a Midwestern, historically White university ( $n = 117$ ). The sample consisted of 137 women and 64 men who ranged in age from 17 to 40 years ( $M = 21.52$ ,  $SD = 3.54$ ). Approximately 57% of the students were raised in a predominantly Black community, 29% were raised in a mixed racial/ethnic community, and 13% were raised in a predominantly White community.

Professors teaching undergraduate psychology courses at a large, historically Black southern college agreed to allow their students to participate in the research project for extra credit. Students in undergraduate psychology courses at a large, predominantly White Midwestern school received either extra credit or course credit. Students completed research packets which included the CRIS, MEIM, AFRI, and Nadanolization Scale (NAD; Taylor & Grundy, 1996). Given the potential problems of the IA subscale addressed by Cokley (2002a), participants were also asked to answer the question "In a sentence or two, please define Afrocentricity. What does it mean to be Afrocentric?"

### *Instruments*

Components of ethnicity were assessed with the MEIM (Phinney, 1992), the IMCI subscale from the CRIS (Vandiver et al., 2000), the IA subscale from the CRIS, and the AFRI (Grills & Longshore, 1996). The racial(ized)



*Figure 1.* Conceptual diagram of the components of ethnicity variable set and the racial(ized) identity variable set. The proximity of beliefs about Afrocentrism to the racial(ized) identity variable set suggests that it may be more appropriately conceptualized as a component of racial(ized) identity rather than as a component of ethnicity.

identity variables were assessed using the IEAW subscale from the CRIS and the Natural Ability, Sexual Prowess, and Mental/Genetic Deficiencies subscales from the NAD (a measure of internalized; Taylor & Grundy, 1996).

The CRIS is a 40-item scale designed to measure attitudes that correspond to Cross's (1995; Cross & Vandiver, 2001) revised nigrescence theory. The CRIS scale consists of six subscales: Pre-Encounter Assimilation, Pre-Encounter Miseducation, Pre-Encounter Self-Hatred, IEAW, IA, and IMCI. For the purpose of this study, only the IEAW, IA, and IMCI subscales were used. The CRIS uses a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Convergent validity of CRIS scores has been reported through correlations with the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997; Vandiver et al., 2000). Construct validity of the scores from the IA subscale was called into question when Cokley (2002a) found that it positively related to anti-White attitudes. Although the CRIS appears to generally yield valid scores for the other subscales, it should be noted that

beyond Cokley (2002a), no other published studies exist that address the problems of the IA subscale. Internal consistencies for the CRIS subscales have been good, with Cronbach's alphas of .81, .83, and .83 being reported for the IEAW, IA, and IMCI subscales, respectively (Cokley, 2002a). Internal consistencies for the CRIS subscales in this sample are .83 for IEAW, .84 for IA, and .76 for IMCI.

The MEIM is a 24-item scale used to measure various components of ethnic identity. The first component consists of 14 items that tap into three aspects of ethnic identity that are believed to be common across ethnic groups: sense of belonging and positive ethnic attitudes (5 items); ethnic identity achievement, which includes the exploration and resolution of identity issues (7 items); and ethnic behaviors or practices (8 items; Phinney, 1992). The second component measures attitudes toward interacting with out-group members, and the third component asks questions about ethnic self-identification and parents' ethnicity. For the purpose of this study, only the first component was used. The MEIM uses a 4-point Likert scale that ranges from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 4 (*strongly agree*).

Construct validity of MEIM scores for an African American sample has been reported through positive correlations with the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Goodstein & Ponterotto, 1997). Internal consistencies for the 14-item ethnic identity scale with an African American sample have been reported at .81 (Goodstein & Ponterotto, 1997). Internal consistency for the MEIM in this sample is .70.

The AFRI is a 15-item scale used to measure a global dimension of Africentrism. The authors, Grills and Longshore (1996), choose the spelling *Africentrism* rather than *Afrocentrism* as a political and ideological statement about the word's linguistic connection to Africa. The AFRI operationalizes Africentrism on the basis of the following principles of the African American cultural celebration of Kwanzaa, called the Nguzo Saba:

1. Umoja (Unity)—to strive for and maintain unity in the family, community, and race;
2. Kujichagulia (Self-Determination)—to define ourselves, name ourselves, create for ourselves, and speak for ourselves instead of being defined, named, created for, and spoken for by others;
3. Ujima (Collective Work and Responsibility)—to build and maintain our community together and make our sisters' and brothers' problems our problems to solve them together;
4. Ujamaa (Cooperative Economics)—to build and maintain our own stores, shops, and other businesses and to profit from them together;
5. Nia (Purpose)—to make our collective vocation the building and developing of our community to restore our people to their traditional greatness;
6. Kuumba (Creativity)—to do always as much as we can, in the way we can, to leave our community more beautiful and beneficial than we inherited it; and
7. Imani (Faith)—to believe with all our heart in our people, our parents, our teachers, and the righteousness and victory of our struggle.

These Afrocentric principles are essentially “codes of conduct for daily life” (Grills & Longshore, 1996, p. 88) that “represent guidelines for healthy living” (Grills & Longshore, 1996, p. 88) and represent the “minimum set of values African Americans need to build and sustain an Afrocentric family, community, and culture” (Karenga, 1998, p. 43). The AFRI uses a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 4 (*strongly agree*). Convergent validity of AFRI scores has been found with a negative relationship to a measure of cultural misorientation (Kwate, 2003). Factor analysis has indicated that the scale is best conceptualized as a general dimension of Afrocentrism rather than as seven separate principles (Cokley & Williams, 2005). An internal consistency of .77 has been reported (Grills & Longshore, 1996). Internal consistency for the AFRI in this study is .74.

The NAD is a 49-item scale used to measure the internalization of negative and positive racial stereotypes by Blacks. The scale was named after bleaching cream once advertised to make Black skin lighter (Taylor & Grundy, 1996). For the purpose of this study, only the 24-item Racist dimension was used. An exploratory factor analysis of this dimension by Cokley (2002a) revealed three factors: Mental/Genetic Deficiencies, Sexual Prowess, and Natural Ability. The NAD uses a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Construct validity of NAD scores was found through positive correlations with racial identity stages (Cokley, 2002a). Internal consistency of the three subscales has been reported as .82, .67, and .77, respectively (Cokley, 2002a). The internal

consistencies of the NAD subscales in this study are .82, .82, and .88, respectively.

### Results

A canonical correlation was performed to examine the degree of association between the components of ethnicity variables (predictor variables) and the racial(ized) identity variables (criterion variables). The ethnicity variable set, which included measures of ethnic identity and Afrocentric values and the IA and IMCI subscales of the CRIS, is part of the independent or covariate canonical variate. The racial(ized) identity variables, which included the IEAW subscale of the CRIS and the Mental/Genetic Deficiency, Sexual Prowess, and Natural Ability subscales of the NAD, is part of the dependent canonical variate. Table 1 contains the means and standard deviations for the CRIS and NAD subscales and the MEIM and AFRI. Table 2 contains the correlation matrix for all of the variables. An examination of the correlation matrix indicates that anti-White attitudes were positively correlated with beliefs about Afrocentrism (as measured by the CRIS;  $r = .30, p < .001$ ), not correlated with Afrocentric values (as measured by the AFRI;  $r = .07, ns$ ), negatively correlated with multiculturalist inclusive attitudes ( $r = -.21, p < .01$ ), and positively correlated with the belief in the natural ability of Blacks ( $r = .19, p < .01$ ). Beliefs about Afrocentrism and Afrocentric values were positively correlated with each other ( $r = .25, p < .001$ ). Ethnic identity was positively correlated with beliefs about Afrocentrism ( $r = .24, p < .001$ ), multiculturalist racial identity attitudes ( $r = .19, p < .01$ ), and Afrocentric values ( $r = .58, p < .001$ ).

I determined whether variables were interpreted as part of the canonical variate or root by using a criterion of .30 (Tabachnik & Fidell, 1996). Results indicated two significant canonical roots. The first canonical root, Wilks's  $\Lambda = .63, F(16, 449) = 4.54, p < .001 (R_c = .47)$ , accounted for 22% of the overlapping variance. The redundancy measure ( $R_d = 8.54$ ) indicates that there was a relatively low ability of the components of ethnicity to predict the values of the racial(ized) identity variables. This root was characterized by high negative loadings on ethnic identity and Afrocentric values, small negative loadings on multiculturalist inclusive attitudes, high positive loadings on sexual prowess and mental/genetic deficiencies, and small positive loadings on natural ability.

Table 1  
*Means and Standard Deviations for the Cross Racial Identity Scale, the Nadanolitization Scale, the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure, and the Africentrism Scale*

Scale	No. of Items	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Cross Racial Identity Scale			
Immersion-Emersion Anti-White	5	8.97	4.93
Internalization Afrocentricity	5	17.20	5.82
Internalization Multiculturalism	5	26.56	5.56
Nadanolitization Scale			
Mental/Genetic Deficiencies	7	10.80	3.44
Sexual Prowess	2	3.72	1.52
Natural Ability	7	17.31	5.23
Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure	14	38.95	4.28
Africentrism Scale	15	46.86	5.02

Note.  $N = 201$ .

Table 2  
*Intercorrelations Between the Cross Racial Identity Scale, the Nadanolitization Scale, the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure, and the Africentrism Scale*

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. IEAW	—							
2. IA	.30**	—						
3. IMCI	-.21*	-.10	—					
4. Deficit	.08	.05	-.15	—				
5. Sexual	.10	.06	-.20*	.51**	—			
6. Ability	.19*	.19*	-.23*	.32**	.51**	—		
7. MEIM	.12	.24**	.19*	-.24**	-.29**	-.03	—	
8. AFRI	.07	.25**	.11	-.31**	-.29**	-.10	.58**	—

Note. *N* = 201. IEAW, IA, and IMCI represent subscales of the Cross Racial Identity Scale. Deficit, Sexual, and Ability represent subscales of the Nadanolitization Scale. IEAW = Immersion-Emersion Anti-White; IA = Internalization Afrocentricity; IMCI = Internalization Multiculturalist Inclusive; Deficit = Mental/Genetic Deficiencies; Sexual = Sexual Prowess; Ability = Natural Ability; MEIM = Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure; AFRI = Africentrism Scale.

\* *p* < .01. \*\* *p* < .001.

Table 3 contains the correlations, standardized canonical coefficients, and canonical correlations between variables and their corresponding canonical variates. The correlations between the variables and the canonical variates indicate that African American college students with a strong ethnic identity (−.87), high adherence to Afrocentric values (−.83), and higher multiculturalist inclusive beliefs (−.36) are less likely to endorse beliefs in the sexual prowess of Blacks (.88), mental/genetic deficiencies of Blacks (.82), and beliefs in the natural abilities of Blacks (.46).

The second canonical root, Wilks’s  $\Lambda = .81, F(9, 360) = 3.65, p < .001 (R_c = .43)$ , accounted for 19% of the overlapping variance. The redundancy measure ( $R_d = 5.06$ ) again indicates that there was a relatively low ability of the components of ethnicity to predict the values of the racial(ized) identity variables. This root was characterized by high positive loadings for beliefs about Afrocentrism and anti-White attitudes, a moderate positive loading

on natural ability, a moderate negative loading on multiculturalist inclusive attitudes, and a small positive loading on ethnic identity. The correlations between the variables and the canonical variates indicate that African American college students with higher anti-White attitudes (.89), beliefs about Afrocentrism (.77), and beliefs about Black natural ability (.55) are less likely to endorse multiculturalist inclusive attitudes (−.60).

The remaining two canonical variates, Wilks’s  $\Lambda = .99, F(4, 298) = 0.39 (R_c = .10)$ , and Wilks’s  $\Lambda = .99, F(1, 150) = 0.13 (R_c = .03)$ , were not significant (*ps* = .81 and .71, respectively). Overall, the results indicate that the model was significant, with two out of four canonical variates being interpretable and accounting for the significant relationships between the components of ethnicity and the racial(ized) identity variables.

In defining Afrocentricity and answering the question “What does it mean to be Afrocentric?” out of 201 students, only 76

Table 3  
*Correlations and Standardized Canonical Coefficients Between Racial Identity, Internalized Racialism, Ethnic Identity, and Afrocentric Values and Their Significant Canonical Roots*

Variable	Root 1		Root 2	
	Correlation	Coefficient	Correlation	Coefficient
<b>Cross Racial Identity Scale</b>				
Immersion-Emersion Anti-White	−.01	−.07	<b>.89</b>	.80
Internalization Afrocentricity	−.02	.27	<b>.77</b>	.67
Internalization Multiculturalist Inclusive	<b>−.36</b>	−.15	<b>−.60</b>	−.61
<b>Nadanolitization Scale</b>				
Mental/Genetic Deficiencies	<b>.82</b>	.52	.08	.00
Sexual Prowess	<b>.88</b>	.72	.12	−.31
Natural Ability	<b>.46</b>	−.12	<b>.55</b>	.60
<b>Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure</b>				
Ethnic identity	<b>−.83</b>	−.60	<b>.36</b>	.42
<b>Africentrism Scale</b>				
Afrocentric values	<b>−.87</b>	−.52	.16	−.19

Note. Higher scores on the subscales of the Cross Racial Identity Scale indicate greater use of that racial identity stage. Higher scores on the subscales of the Nadanolitization Scale indicate higher levels of internalized racialism. Higher scores on the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure indicate a more positive ethnic identity. Higher scores on the Africentrism Scale indicate greater endorsement of Afrocentric values. Canonical correlations in bold typeface are considered significant (i.e., >.35).

(38%) even attempted to respond to the question. Out of the 76 participants, 8 (10%) indicated that they did not know, and 18 (24%) gave responses that linked Afrocentricity to anti-Whiteness (e.g., “Stay away from Whites as much as possible”; “They sort of put the White race down”), gave responses that are characteristic of an extreme ethnocentrism (e.g., “To be Afrocentric is to hold the belief that African Americans are better than other ethnic groups”; “To be completely dedicated to your own culture without considering other cultures’ values or beliefs”; “. . . it means to be all for your culture and hate another”; “Putting one’s African ethnicity as being superior to other ethnicities”), or gave responses that suggest the most superficial understanding of Afrocentricity (e.g., “To be black and to be proud of it”; “wearing African garments, living life, and having dread locks”; “. . . to wear dreads and fros and be natural”).

### Discussion

This study examined how a set of variables that measured components of ethnicity related to a set of variables that measured aspects of racial and racialized identity in a sample of African American college students. Although Afrocentric cultural values are believed to be conceptually related to ethnic identity (Grills & Longshore, 1996), it has not been clear exactly how the philosophy of Afrocentricity and the constructs of Afrocentric cultural values are related to the constructs of ethnic and racial identity. These constructs, especially racial identity and Afrocentric values, are sometimes inappropriately used interchangeably. For example, Spencer, Noll, Stoltzfus, and Harpalani (2001), using the Racial Identity Attitude Scale (Helms & Parham, 1996), indicated that an endorsement of internalization attitudes represented a more proactive Afrocentric orientation. It should be noted that the Racial Identity Attitude Scale subscales do not measure an Afrocentric orientation. Thus, a study of this nature was needed to further clarify how these constructs relate to and differ from each other.

Phinney (1992) offered a useful evaluative and interpretive framework for discussing ethnic identity. She suggested that it is helpful to consider both the universal factors and culture-specific factors in understanding ethnic identity. For this study, the MEIM serves as the universal measure of ethnic identity, in that it is nongroup specific, whereas the AFRI serves as the culture-specific measure that examines Afrocentric values among African Americans. The CRIS and the NAD are also group-specific measures.

The results provide support for the hypothesis that Afrocentric cultural values and a positive ethnic identity would be negatively related to a racialized identity. Given the strength and pattern of loadings on the first canonical root, it is subsequently labeled a *Nonracialized Ethnic Identity*. This nonracialized ethnic identity is characterized by an endorsement of Afrocentric values, a strong ethnic identity, negative endorsement of internalized racialism, and an absence of anti-White attitudes.

The results also provide support for the hypothesis that endorsement of internalization Afrocentric attitudes (e.g., beliefs about Afrocentricity) would be positively related to a racialized identity. However, it should be noted that to reliably interpret a second canonical root, Stevens (1986) suggested a minimum of 42 participants per variable, which would have required a sample size of over 380 participants in this study. Therefore, interpretation of the second canonical root must be offered cautiously. Given the

strength and pattern of loadings on the second canonical root, it is tentatively labeled a *Racialized Ethnic Identity*. This racialized ethnic identity is characterized by anti-White attitudes, beliefs about Afrocentricity, a belief in the natural ability of Blacks, a strong ethnic identity, and negative endorsement of multiculturalist inclusive attitudes. Although these results must be interpreted cautiously because of sample size issues, they are consistent with previous empirical and conceptual work (Cokley, 2002a, 2002b).

The level of detail found in canonical correlation results and the findings of this study require additional elaboration. First, the low redundancy for both roots indicates that there is considerable independence among the sets of variables. This suggests that the set of variables that tap into components of ethnicity is only weakly related to the set of variables that tap into racial identity and internalized racialism. Second, it is noteworthy that the MEIM significantly loaded on both canonical variates ( $-.83$  and  $.36$ , respectively). This indicates that attitudes associated with having a strong ethnic identity are differentially related to a racialized identity, such that an ethnic identity may be based on racialized beliefs or may be inversely related to racialized beliefs. For some African Americans, having a strong African American ethnic identity is essentially the same as having a strong Black racial identity. As pointed out by Cokley (2002a), so-called positive stereotypes (e.g., Blacks are naturally better dancers and singers) are incorporated into the ethnic and racial identity of some African Americans. For other African Americans, having a strong African American ethnic identity does not entail endorsement of these stereotypes (i.e., racialized thinking) but rather includes an endorsement of more Afrocentric values and is more multiculturally inclusive.

Third, the use of the word *Afrocentric* and its different permutations (e.g., *Africanic*) in the presentation of the results and ensuing discussion is undoubtedly confusing. This is because one set of results shows that endorsing Afrocentric values is negatively related to anti-White attitudes, whereas another set of results shows that beliefs about Afrocentricity are positively related to anti-White attitudes. These findings can be explained by two observations: The IA subscale of the CRIS does not really measure Afrocentric attitudes or values, and African American students may not be entirely sure what the word *Afrocentric* means. Cokley (2002a) pointed out that the word Afrocentric is never defined. Participants respond to items such as “I believe that only those Black people who accept an Afrocentric perspective can truly solve the race problem in America.” Cokley then stated, “Therefore, there is no way of knowing if all individuals completing the scale were using the same definition or had the same understanding” (Cokley, 2002a, p. 481). This finding is supported by the qualitative responses in defining Afrocentricity. If students think of Afrocentricity as representing anti-Whiteness or extreme ethnocentrism, then it should not be surprising when these beliefs are related to anti-White attitudes.

Furthermore, it is not entirely clear why only 38% of the sample responded to the question about defining Afrocentricity. Participants were given an hour to complete the survey packets and were given more time if needed. It is possible that participants saw the question and chose not to answer it because of perceptions that it would require a more thoughtful and thus more time-consuming response than is required by simply circling choices of items on an instrument. It is also possible that participants who did not answer

the question were simply unsure of what the word *Afrocentric* means, which underscores the problematic nature of including the word prominently in the items of a scale. It is likely that a combination of these reasons, along with other reasons, contributed to participants not responding to the question.

### *Methodological Implications*

At the heart of the matter is the issue of evaluating construct validity to define, refine, and clarify the differences between these identity related constructs. In their list of recommendations for future racial and ethnic identity research, Fischer and Moradi (2001) emphasized paying more attention to measurement issues and conducting theory-driven research. The IA subscale violates basic scale development principles because there is no evidence that it was informed by theory-driven research. Had it been truly informed by sophisticated knowledge of Afrocentric theories, the measure would have been more carefully constructed to determine clearly what it is supposed to measure (DeVellis, 1991). Additionally, the IA subscale appears to be unintentionally priming participants to associate Afrocentricity with a more reactionary, oppositional stance (e.g., "Black people cannot truly be free until our daily lives are guided by Afrocentric values and principles."). The AFRI avoids these problems because it is informed by an Afrocentric conceptual model and by knowledge of Afrocentric cultural values. Furthermore, it avoids the pitfalls of the IA subscale by never using the word *Afrocentric* in its items. Instead, its items are based on an understanding of attitudes and behaviors that are either consistent or inconsistent with an Afrocentric worldview. Sample items include "African Americans should make their community better than it was when they found it" and "The problems of African Americans are their problems, not mine" (reverse scored). Thus, the AFRI is a more valid measure of Afrocentricism than the IA subscale. The items of the AFRI tap into the Afrocentric cultural values of collectivism and communalism. In summary, "there can be no construct validity of a measure without a well-specified theory" (Netemeyer, Bearden, & Sharma, 2003, p. 90). Collectively, the results support Afrocentric theorists who argue that an adherence to true Afrocentric values avoids cultural separatism and racial chauvinism (Asante, 1999) and is committed to a more humanistic vision of the world (Asante, 1998).

### *Theoretical Implications*

The results also help clarify the distinction between Afrocentric values, ethnic identity, and racial identity. Echoing the sentiments of Grills and Longshore (1996), the AFRI, although related to ethnic identity, appears to measure an aspect of ethnicity that is empirically and conceptually distinct from the MEIM. Broader statements about racial identity's relationship to other identity constructs must be tempered to reflect the different dimensions of racial identity. On the one hand, anti-White attitudes are not significantly related to ethnic identity but are negatively related to multiculturalist inclusive attitudes and positively related to beliefs in Black natural ability and beliefs about Afrocentricism. On the other hand, multiculturalism inclusive attitudes are positively related to ethnic identity but negatively related to internalized racialism. Thus, depending on the aspect that is examined, racial identity may or may not be related to ethnic identity. Finally, the

results suggest that the endorsement of Afrocentric values is incompatible with a reactionary racial identity. This is evidenced by the fact that Afrocentric values were negatively related to anti-White attitudes and internalized racialism.

### *Limitations*

There are several limitations of the study that should be addressed. It is worth mentioning again that reliable interpretation of the second canonical root is somewhat reduced because of a moderate sample size. Thus, it is best to consider interpretation of the second canonical root and the resultant discussion as exploratory and in need of future empirical support. Increasing the sample size would further strengthen the findings in this study.

Also, there has been relatively little empirical research conducted with two of the instruments used in the study (i.e., the NAD and AFRI); therefore, in-depth validity studies should be performed in future research. Although the instruments and the underlying constructs they measure (i.e., internalized racialism and Afrocentric values) performed in conceptually predictable ways, it is possible that these constructs could have been operationalized differently or more comprehensively. Finally, generalizability of the results is also limited given the use of a sample that was not randomly selected. It is also not known if these results would be replicated with a geographically different sample.

Research on Black or African American identity continues to be a very popular topic in counseling psychology, as evidenced by the increasing numbers of theses and dissertations devoted to the topic. What is now needed for group identity research to fully mature and provide more psychological insights is less descriptive studies and more theory-driven research. Studies that begin examining causal relations among these variables, as well as mediating and moderating effects of these variables with other mental health, vocational, or academic variables, are sorely needed. In other words, nomological validity needs to be established through determining the extent to which the various measures of identity fit into a network of lawful relationships. There are many potential research questions that have yet to be explored. Are there distinct antecedent causes of ethnic identity, Afrocentric values, multiculturalist attitudes, or anti-White attitudes? Are there distinct consequential effects of these identities and attitudes? Do differences in racial identity, ethnic identity, or Afrocentric values provide some implications for vocational theories? Do Afrocentric values mediate the relationship between ethnicity and mental health? Do anti-White attitudes mediate the relationship between ethnicity and academic achievement?

Future research should replicate this study with a much larger sample. Researchers should have a clear theoretical rationale for all hypothesized predictions involving racial identity, ethnic identity, and Afrocentric values. I also concur with the sentiments of Fischer and Moradi (2001) that researchers should "think in constructs" rather than "think in instruments" (p. 363). Thinking in constructs will lead researchers to conduct more thoughtful research that predicts relationships among variables on the basis of theory. Researchers should be more judicious in the use of racial, ethnic, and Afrocentric frameworks in future research.



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**Correction to Wei et al. (2005)**

In the article, “Adult Attachment, Depressive Symptoms, and Validation From Self Versus Others,” by Meifen Wei, Brent Mallinckrodt, Lisa M. Larson, and Robyn A. Zakalik (*Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 2005, Vol. 52, No. 3, pp. 368–377), boxes were inadvertently placed around every path coefficient in Figure 2 (p. 374) as the result of a technical error in the final stages of journal production.

