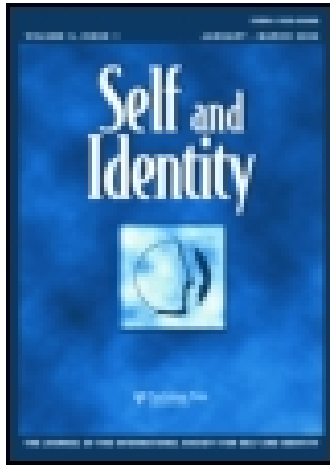


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## A Person-Centered Approach to African-American Gender Differences in Racial Ideology

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*This study uses a person-oriented approach to examine gender differences in the meaning of race in the lives of a sample of African-American college students. Seven hundred twenty-four self-identified African-American students from two universities completed the ideology subscales of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity. Cluster analysis was used to group students into five groups with distinct patterns of responses to the ideology subscales. Results showed relatively few gender differences in cluster distribution, in separate male and female cluster solutions, or in the relationship between cluster membership and racial background and race-related behavioral outcomes. Overall, clusters did not vary in terms of SES, but did reflect the racial context of participants' upbringing and race-related choices made in college.*

Although race has dubious value as a scientific classification system, it has had real consequences for the life experiences and opportunities of African Americans in the United States. American society's somewhat arbitrary categorization of individuals into this racial group has resulted in the psychological unification of many individuals who vary a great deal in their experiences and cultural expressions. The varied experiences of African Americans have resulted in heterogeneity in the significance and meaning attributed to being Black. For instance, some place little significance on race in defining who they are, while others may see their racial membership as *the* defining characteristic of their self-concept. Even when individuals place similarly high levels of significance on race in defining themselves, they may differ a great deal in what they believe it means to be Black. It is the significance and meaning that African Americans place on race in defining themselves that we refer to as racial identity.

The relevance of examining issues of gender and race among African Americans is evidenced by the growing discrepancies between African-American males

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and females in a number of relevant social domains. African-American males and females, for instance, differ in their academic achievement, educational attainment, and occupational attainment (Cohen & Nee, 2000; Cross & Slater, 2000). The ways individuals construct the meaning of race in society may relate to motivational attributes (e.g., self-concept, domain-specific beliefs, engagement, and performance; Spencer, Noll, Stoltzfus, & Harpalani, 2001), and some point to gender differences in both these motivational attributes among African Americans (Cokley, 2001) and to gender differences in the ways males and females experience race in different contexts (Allen, 1992; Brown, 2000; Cokley, 2000; Davis, 1995). Thus, the relationship between gender and racial identity may be somewhat complex.

Although relatively little research explicitly examines gender differences in racial identity, a few clear trends in the literature can be identified. First, males and females may differ in how make meaning of their racial group membership. A number of researchers have found stronger group identification attitudes in African-American female adolescents than in males (e.g., Fine & Bowers, 1984; Martinez & Dukes, 1997). Other research has examined potential gender differences in the meaning of racial identity, focusing on mean differences on the subscales of the Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (RIAS; e.g., Munford, 1994; Plummer, 1995). The RIAS, a scale developed by Parham and Helms (1981) to operationalize the stages of Cross's (1971) original Nigrescence model of racial identity, consists of four subscales. Persons in the Pre-Encounter stage hold anti-Black and pro-White attitudes. Persons in the Encounter stage experience a profound event or collection of events that encourages them to re-examine and further develop their Black identity. Individuals in the Immersion–Emersion stage externally hold very pro-Black and anti-White attitudes, but have not internally made a commitment to a new Black identity. Persons in the final stage, Internalization, have an inner security and comfort about being Black and a less idealized view of what it means to be Black. Studies using the RIAS have shown males to have higher scores on Pre-Encounter (Munford, 1994; Plummer, 1995), Immersion–Emersion (Munford, 1994), and Internalization (Munford, 1994) across a variety of college and non-college adult and adolescent samples.

Although several studies of gender differences in racial identity have used the RIAS, a number of researchers have expressed concern regarding the RIAS (Akbar, 1989; Ponterotto & Wise, 1987; Rowley & Sellers, 1998; Stokes, Murray, Chavez, & Peacock, 1998). Concerns include the poor internal consistency of the Encounter subscale, the underlying factor structure of the RIAS, (Ponterotto & Wise, 1987), and the face validity of the items in representing the stages that Cross describes (Rowley & Sellers, 1998). Others question the analytical strategies employed with the measure (Sellers, Morgan, & Brown, 2001). As a stage theory, Cross's conceptualization of Nigrescence implies that individuals either belong to a single stage or two contiguous stages during periods of transition. Statistical techniques that place individuals within particular groups (such as cluster analysis) should be used to test the merits of the theory (e.g., Neville & Lily, 2000). Unfortunately, most of the empirical work using the RIAS uses regression techniques that assume that each individual has attitudes that correspond to all of the stages at one time (e.g., Parham & Helms, 1985; Parham & Williams, 1993; Watts, 1992) and is in contradiction to the conceptual model described by Cross (1971, 1991). These concerns make it difficult to interpret what gender differences on RIAS subscales actually indicate.

Despite these methodological concerns, a number of factors could explain gender differences found in racial identity. Some speculate that African-American women's experiences with gender oppression may make them more likely to have

strong ethnic group identification and be more aware of racism than males (Brown, 2000). Others suggest the exclusion of women of color from traditional feminist movements results in Black women having strong affiliation with their ethnic group (for deeper discussion of race/gender intersections, see Collins, 1990).

In this article we utilize a model proposed by Sellers and his colleagues in addressing the above issues and concerns. The Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI), is a new conceptual framework that represents a synthesis of ideas from many existing models of African-American racial identity (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998). The MMRI attempts to build on the strengths of these models, providing a conceptual and methodological framework from which to address the aforementioned shortcomings within the literature. The MMRI defines racial identity as that part of the person's self-concept that is related to her or his membership within a race. As such, the MMRI assumes a phenomenological position in that it focuses on the person's self-perceptions of whether they are race identified (Weiner, 1974). It is concerned with both the *significance* that the individual places on race in defining him/herself and the individual's interpretations of *what it means* to be Black. Although the MMRI proposes four dimensions of racial identity in African Americans (identity salience; the centrality of the identity; the regard in which the person holds Black people; and the ideology associated with being Black), the present study focuses on the ideology dimension.

*Ideology* is the individual's beliefs, opinions, and attitudes related to the way he or she feels that African Americans should live and interact with society. Based on their reading of the racial identity literature and their knowledge of African-American history and culture, Sellers and his colleagues delineate four ideological philosophies (Sellers et al., 1998). These four ideologies are: 1) a *nationalist* philosophy, characterized by a viewpoint which emphasizes the uniqueness of being of African descent; 2) an oppressed *minority* philosophy, a viewpoint which emphasizes the similarities between African Americans and other oppressed groups; 3) an *assimilation* philosophy, which involves emphasis on similarities between African Americans and the rest of American society; and 4) a *humanist* philosophy, characterized by an emphasis on the commonalities of all humans.

A number of existing models of Black identity have focused on dimensions of racial identity that are similar to the MMRI's notion of ideology (e.g., Baldwin & Bell, 1985; Terrell & Terrell, 1981). These models generally place a Nationalist ideology at one end of the continuum (usually the most desirable) and an Assimilation ideology at the other end (usually the least desirable). One contribution of the MMRI is that it conceptualizes ideology as a distinct dimension of racial identity as opposed to other models that have implicitly conceptualized it as being synonymous with racial identity. A second contribution of the ideology dimension of the MMRI framework is that individuals are not reduced to being characterized in terms of a single ideology. Although people may generally be categorized as possessing one ideology predominantly, it is likely that most people hold a variety of philosophies that often vary across areas of functioning. For example, a person could believe that African Americans should primarily patronize African-American-owned businesses (Nationalist) and at the same time feel that Blacks should integrate White institutions (Assimilation).

Heretofore, however, few studies have utilized methodologies that are sensitive to this conceptualization. Magnusson (1987) made the distinction between person- and variable-oriented approaches to understanding psychological process. Person-oriented approaches, such as cluster analysis, stress the individual rather

than the variable (e.g., in multiple regression analysis). The goal of person-oriented analysis is typically to identify groups of individuals with similar profiles on a set of relevant variables as opposed to the variable approach where linear relationships among variables are the focus. This type of individual focus allows clustering variables to interact with each other in unique patterns in ways that linear statistics do not (Bergman & Magnusson, 1987). Furthermore, person-oriented approaches assume that patterning among variables happens in a lawful manner such that a small number of relatively homogeneous subgroups of individuals may be identified and understood collectively. This approach is ideal for understanding racial ideology as it is capable of capturing the natural patterning of the four ideologies within groups of individuals.

The present study utilizes a person-oriented approach to examining gender differences in the meaning African-American college students place on race in their self-concepts. We utilize the MMRI as the primary conceptual framework with individual profiles as our unit of analyses in hopes of better representing the richness and complexity associated with the meaning that the students attach to race. The study focuses on the students' ideological profiles based on the four philosophies delineated by the MMRI. The study has three specific aims. First, we investigate the set of ideological profiles that best describes the entire sample of students. Second, we examine whether the pattern and content of the racial ideology profiles differ for African-American men and women. Third, we examine associates between ideological profiles for men and women and the racial context in they grew up and race-related choice made in college.

## Method

### *Participants*

Seven hundred twenty-four self-identified African-American undergraduates were participants. Two hundred ninety-one students attended a private, historically Black university (HBU); 433 attended a public, predominately White university (PWU). There were 494 (68.2%) women and 199 (27.5%) men. Thirty-one students did not report their gender. We did not include those who did not list gender in further analyses. This results in a final sample of 693 participants. The majority of students, 421 (58.1%), were in their first year of college. Of the remaining participants, 18.4%, 6.6% and 2.6% were in their 2nd, 3rd, and 4th years of college; 1.7% had been in school for other than 1–4 years and 12.6% did not provide this information. Across both schools, the median annual income was between \$55,000 and \$65,000.

There were no systematic differences between schools on gender composition or year in school. However, students from the PWU came from slightly more affluent families (median family income reported = \$55,000–\$64,999) than students at the predominately Black university (median family income reported = \$45,000–\$54,999).

### *Materials*

#### ***Parents' Education***

Participants used an 8-point scale (1 = Some High School to 8 = Advanced Degree) to report their mothers' and fathers' highest level of education.

### **Family Income**

Participants reported their family's total yearly income on a 12-point scale (1 = less than \$10,000 to 12 = over \$110,000 in \$10,000 increments).

### **Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity**

The Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI) is a paper and pencil measure created by Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, and Smith (1997). The MIBI is used to measure the stable constructs conceptualized in the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (Centrality, Ideology, Regard). The current study uses only the ideology subscales. The ideology scale is composed of four subscales that measure a person's beliefs, opinions and attitudes regarding the ways that African Americans should act and the beliefs that African Americans should hold. Sellers et al. (1997) reported evidence supporting the internal and external validity of the ideology scale of the MIBI in similar populations. The four ideology subscales are Nationalist, Assimilationist, Humanists, and Minority and consist of nine items each. Participants used a 7-point Likert scale to report the extent to which they agreed with a series of statements. The Nationalist subscale (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .78$ ) measures the extent to which respondents emphasize the uniqueness of African-Americans' experiences in contrast to the experiences of other groups. A sample question from this subscale is: "Black people must organize themselves into a separate Black political force." The Oppressed Minority subscale ( $\alpha = .74$ ) measures the extent to which participants endorse the beliefs that Blacks should recognize the similarities between African Americans and other oppressed groups (e.g., "The same forces that have led to the oppression of Black have also led to the oppression of other groups"). The Assimilationist subscale ( $\alpha = .71$ ) focuses on the extent to which participants accentuate the similarities between Blacks and Whites (e.g., "A sign of progress is that Blacks are in the mainstream of America more than ever before"). The Humanist subscale ( $\alpha = .71$ ) measures the extent to which respondents endorse the belief that there are similarities among all human beings (e.g., "Blacks should have a choice to marry interracially").

### **Racial Background**

Two questions using a 5-point rating scale ("less than 20% African American" to "from 81% to 100% African American") assessed participants' racial background. Participants reported the proportion of African Americans in (a) the high school and (b) the neighborhood in which they spent the most time while they were growing up.

### **Race-Related Behaviors**

Participants were asked to indicate how many Black Studies course they had taken while they were in college. Because of a severe floor effect, the variable was dichotomized into those who had taken Black Studies courses and those who had not. In addition, participants were asked to identify the racial/ethnic background of their best friend. A dichotomous variable was created indicating whether the best friend was African American.

### **Procedure**

Surveys were administered in similar manners at the two universities. At the HBU, students completed surveys in an introductory psychology class and received no

credit for participation. Data was collected over a three-semester period. At the PWU, students in several introductory psychology courses completed the survey during mass pretesting sessions. These sessions took place over a five-semester period. Participation in the study was voluntary for all students.

## Results

### *Preliminary Analyses*

Gender differences in study variables were tested several oneway Analyses of Variance (ANOVAs; see Table 1 for descriptive statistics of the study variables). The only significant difference was in the Nationalism subscale. Women ( $M = 4.36$ ) tended to be more nationalistic than men ( $M = 4.17$ ).

### *Cluster Analysis*

Cluster analysis was used to identify subgroups of individuals with similar response profiles on the Ideology subscales of the MIBI. One analysis identified subgroups within the full sample. Two identical procedures determined the cluster solution for men and women separately. A two-step clustering process was used to identify significant subgroups. The first step was to determine the number of clusters that best characterized the data. The second step was to examine the conceptual value and meaning of that solution.

Ward's method of clustering using the squared Euclidean distances as the distance measure was employed. Ward's method begins with each observation being considered an individual cluster. Through successive merging of similar clusters, the method will eventually yield a single cluster or family (Lorr, 1986). Hierarchical clustering techniques such as Ward's method produce agglomeration coefficients that indicate the extent to which clusters being merged are similar. Coefficients are large when similar clusters are merged and become very small as more heterogeneous groups are forced together. The cluster solution occurring just before a large drop is considered ideal. In this case a five-cluster solution was indicated.

The second step was to determine the conceptual value of cluster solutions through inspection of cluster results for the ideal number of clusters and for solutions allowing one additional or one less cluster. A single cluster was considered adequate if: (a) at least 5% of the participants fell in that cluster; (b) there was adequate conceptual differentiation among all clusters; and (c) the pattern of MIBI

**TABLE 1** Means (Standard Deviations) of Study Variables by Gender

Variable	Total sample (n = 693)	Men (n = 199)	Women (n = 494)	Significance
Assimilation	5.04 (.89)	4.98 (.97)	5.02 (.83)	n.s.
Humanist	5.15 (.85)	5.09 (.86)	5.14 (.84)	n.s.
Minority	4.78 (.79)	4.77 (.81)	4.78 (.79)	n.s.
Nationalism	4.29 (.97)	4.17 (1.12)	4.36 (.90)	$p < .05$
Neighborhood Composition	3.70 (2.16)	3.87 (2.17)	3.61 (2.15)	n.s.
School Composition	3.23 (1.95)	3.26 (2.03)	3.17 (1.88)	n.s.

scores made conceptual sense. To assess the conceptual value of the cluster solution, Ideology subscale scores were standardized. Tables of the average  $Z$  score of ideology subscales associated with each cluster were then created and examined (see Table 2). This made it possible to understand the characteristics of each cluster as the extent to which the group fell above or below the mean on any subscale score. Values on the clustering values for the four- and six-cluster solutions were also examined to determine whether either of these solutions was adequate for describing the data. The four-cluster solution was less desirable because it combined two clusters that were conceptually different. Reducing the number of clusters to four resulted in a cluster with relatively low scores on Humanism ( $Z = -.53$ ) being merged with a cluster with relatively high endorsement of Humanism ( $Z = .69$ ). The six-cluster solution did not increase the conceptual distinctions among clusters. One cluster present in the five-cluster solution was split to create the six-cluster solution, but  $Z$  scores for both clusters were in the same direction and raw mean scores were similar. The main difference between the two was their magnitude. In this way, the five-cluster solution was deemed ideal both statistically and conceptually.

The five clusters were then given labels based on the patterning of the standardized ideology scores within each cluster. The first cluster is called the *Undifferentiated* group. Members of this cluster tended to have moderately negative or mean level  $Z$  scores on all ideology subscales, suggesting that these individuals tend not to have strong ideological leanings. Raw scores for this cluster tend to be close to the midpoint of 4 on the 7-point Likert scale. Even in the case where the Undifferentiated group had a relatively strong negative  $Z$  score on the Minority subscale, their score was still very near the midpoint ( $M = 4.38$ ).<sup>1</sup>

The second cluster is called the *Integrationist* group. Members of this cluster appear to be less focused on race and oppression as evidenced by moderate endorsements of Assimilationism and Humanism ideologies and a strong, negative  $Z$  score on Nationalism. The Integrationist group had mean-level endorsement of the Minority ideology.

The third cluster is called *Multiculturalist*. Positive  $Z$  scores on all four ideology subscales characterize this cluster. Note, however, that the  $Z$  scores for the Nationalism subscale are relatively modest ( $Z = .26$ ) in comparison to those of Assimilation, Humanism, and Minority ( $Z$  scores ranging from .69 to 1.21). Members of the Multiculturalist group would be expected to recognize racism and oppression, as indicated in their scores on the Minority subscales, but also believe that those issues are best dealt with within through mainstream systems, emphasizing the problems of all humans as opposed to focusing mainly on the problems of African Americans.

The fourth cluster is called the *Pluralist* group. This group can be characterized by their strong positive endorsement of Nationalist ideology, moderate positive endorsement of Assimilation and Minority ideologies, and moderately negative endorsement of Humanism. Thus, members of this group tend to view racial issues in terms of both race and minority status.

Members of fifth cluster are called the *Separatists*. This group differs from the Pluralists primarily in their anti-assimilation ideological perspective. For instance, members of this cluster had  $Z$  scores that were greater than 1 standard deviation from the mean on 3 of the 4 ideology subscales. This group also differed from the Pluralists in their moderately negative endorsement of the Minority ideology subscale ( $Z = -.11$ ) suggesting that they see issues in the African-American community as separate from those of other groups.



**TABLE 2** Average Raw and Z Scores on Racial Ideology Subscales for the Full Sample

	Undifferentiated ( <i>n</i> = 285, 41.1%)		Integrationist ( <i>n</i> = 163, 23.5%)		Multiculturalist ( <i>n</i> = 109, 15.7%)		Pluralist ( <i>n</i> = 69, 10.0%)		Separatist ( <i>n</i> = 67, 9.7%)	
	Mean	Z-Score	Mean	Z-Score	Mean	Z-Score	Mean	Z-Score	Mean	Z-Score
Assimilation	4.71	-0.37	5.70	0.75	5.67	0.72	5.21	0.20	3.47	-1.76
Humanism	4.89	-0.31	5.89	0.87	5.74	0.69	4.70	-0.53	3.84	-1.54
Minority	4.38	-0.51	4.79	0.01	5.74	1.21	5.01	0.29	4.70	-0.11
Nationalism	4.26	-0.02	3.19	-1.11	4.53	0.26	5.54	1.29	5.58	1.33

*Cluster Distributions by School and Gender*

The next step in the study was to determine whether men and women and students from the two different schools were similarly distributed across cluster groups. Table 3 contains cross-tabulations of cluster membership by school type and gender. The chi-square test for gender was non-significant suggesting that women and men in this sample are similarly distributed across the five cluster groups. The chi-square for school type, however, was significant,  $\chi^2(4) = 72.35, p < .001$ . Students at the HBU were less than half as likely as expected by chance to be in the Integrationist cluster, and were more likely to hold membership in the Separatist and Pluralist clusters. School type will be used as a covariate in all analyses except those involving racial composition of their high school and hometown neighborhood, as those variables are temporally situated before the decision to go to college.

*Cluster Differences According to Gender*

To address the question of qualitative differences in cluster profiles for men and women, the above three-step clustering procedure was performed for men and women separately. Cluster labels were determined by standardizing ideology variable scores relative to other members of their gender group, not to the full sample. This method minimizes differences in solutions that are primarily attributable to differences in levels of responses on the Likert scales. The best solution for both men and women contained five clusters (see Tables 4a and 4b).

Cluster solutions for men and women were similar to that of the full sample. In fact, the same cluster labels were applied in all three solutions. The *Z* scores of the men and women characterized as Pluralist did differ somewhat. For instance, while Assimilation scores for both groups were of modest magnitude, the average score for women was positive ( $Z = .17$ ) and the score for men was negative ( $Z = -.31$ ). The opposite was true of Humanism scores. Minority and Nationalist ideology scores were similar for men and women.<sup>2</sup>

**TABLE 3** Frequencies (Column Percentages) and Standardized Residuals of Racial Ideology Clusters by Gender and School Type

	Men	Women <sup>a</sup>	HBU	PWU <sup>b</sup>
Undifferentiated	83 (41.7%) .1	202 (40.9%) -.1	124 (43.5%) .6	161 (39.5%) -.5
Integrationist	51 (25.6%) .6	112 (22.7%)	32 (15.1%) -4.3	131 (32.1%) 3.6
Multiculturalist	25 (12.6%) -1.1	84 (17.0%) .7	40 (14.0%) -.7	69 (16.9%) .6
Pluralist	17 (8.5%) -.6	52 (10.5%) .4	43 (15.1%) 2.7	26 (6.4%) -2.3
Separatist	23 (11.6%) .9	44 (8.9%) -.5	46 (16.1%) 3.5	21 (5.1%) -2.9
Total	199 (100%)	494 (100%)	285 (41.1%)	408 (58.9%)

<sup>a</sup> $\chi^2(4) = 3.92, n.s.$

<sup>b</sup> $\chi^2(4) = 72.35, p < .001.$

Note: HBU = Historically Black University; PWU = Predominantly White University.

Another way of comparing the similarity of men's and women's cluster solutions is by examining the distribution of scores across different clusters for each gender. Distributions across corresponding subscales were similar (see Tables 4A and 4B). The percentage of men and women falling into corresponding clusters was within 5 to 10 points.

#### *Relation of Clusters to Background and Race-Related Behavior*

As the cluster solutions were similar for men and women, the original, full sample cluster solution was used to relate cluster membership to certain race-related background and behavior factors. Specifically, we used a set of 2 (Gender)  $\times$  5 (Cluster Group) MANOVAs to determine whether there were gender and cluster group differences in family socioeconomic status among cluster groups and whether members of certain clusters grew up in racially consonant or racially diverse social contexts. Dependent variables in the first set of analyses were family income and mother and father's education levels. The second set of dependent variables was related to interracial contact before college and included the percentage of African Americans in participants' home neighborhood and high school. Differences in race-related behaviors—having a Black best friend and taking Black Studies courses—were examined using logistic regression analyses.

Before the analyses with the variables of interest were conducted, the relationship of the cluster groupings with their class standing was computed to determine if this variable should be used as a covariate in further analyses. There was an overall relationship between class and cluster membership,  $F(4, 628) = 3.56, p < .01$ . Posthoc tests showed that participants in the Separatist cluster tended to be of higher class standing than those in the Undifferentiated, Pluralist, Integrationist, and Multiculturalist clusters. Thus, class standing will be included as a covariate in all analyses.

Table 5 contains means and standard deviations for continuous variables by cluster. Table 6 contains observed frequencies and column percentages for dichotomous outcome variables by cluster. The relationship between clusters and family indicators of SES (income and parental education) was determined first, controlling for school and class. The multivariate test and all univariate tests were non-significant.

Next, mean differences in racial makeup of neighborhood and high school were examined. Because these are contexts that affected the participants before they made a choice of what school to attend, school was not included as a covariate. The multivariate main effect of cluster was significant,  $F(8, 1130) = 5.32, p < .001$ , and the univariate tests for the main effect of cluster on neighborhood and school variables were significant,  $F(4, 576) = 8.33$  and  $8.12, ps < .001$ . Tukey's LSD posthoc comparisons were used to compare the means of individual pairs of clusters. These comparisons showed that the Separatist groups' mean scores on the neighborhood racial makeup variable were significantly higher than those of the Undifferentiated, Multiculturalist, and Integrationist clusters. Students in the Integrationist cluster reported significantly lower concentrations of African Americans in their neighborhoods than students in any of the other four clusters.

Results were similar for the high school racial composition variable. Members of the Separatist cluster also came from schools with the highest concentrations of African Americans, though their scores did not differ significantly from those in the Pluralist cluster. As in the analysis with neighborhood concentration of African

**TABLE 4A** Average Raw and Z Scores on Racial Ideology Subscales for Women

	Undifferentiated ( <i>n</i> = 202, 40.9%)		Integrationist ( <i>n</i> = 112, 22.7%)		Multiculturalist ( <i>n</i> = 84, 17.0%)		Pluralist ( <i>n</i> = 52, 10.5%)		Separatist ( <i>n</i> = 44, 8.9%)	
	Mean	Z Score	Mean	Z Score	Mean	Z Score	Mean	Z Score	Mean	Z Score
Assimilation	4.54	-0.58	5.52	0.60	5.88	1.04	5.16	0.17	3.82	-1.45
Humanism	4.78	-0.43	5.86	0.86	5.90	0.91	4.98	-0.19	3.98	-1.40
Minority	4.20	-0.72	4.66	-0.14	6.07	1.62	5.14	0.46	4.32	-0.57
Nationalism	4.30	-0.05	3.43	-1.02	4.46	0.12	4.82	0.52	5.48	1.25

**TABLE 4B** Average Raw and Z Scores on Racial Ideology Subscales for the Men

	Undifferentiated ( <i>n</i> = 83, 41.7%)		Integrationist ( <i>n</i> = 51, 25.6%)		Multiculturalist ( <i>n</i> = 25, 12.6%)		Pluralist ( <i>n</i> = 17, 8.5%)		Separatist ( <i>n</i> = 23, 11.6%)	
	Mean	Z Score	Mean	Z Score	Mean	Z Score	Mean	Z Score	Mean	Z Score
Assimilation	4.74	-0.23	5.50	0.55	6.05	1.11	4.67	-0.31	3.92	-1.10
Humanism	4.74	-0.41	5.73	0.73	5.67	0.66	5.19	0.12	3.99	-1.28
Minority	4.09	-0.84	4.42	-0.42	5.77	1.25	5.17	0.50	4.69	-0.09
Nationalism	4.11	-0.04	2.92	-1.10	4.17	0.01	4.48	0.29	5.66	1.34

**TABLE 5** Means and Standard Deviations for Background and Race-Related Behavior Variables

	Undifferentiated	Integrationist	Multiculturalist	Pluralist	Separatist	Significance ( $p < .05$ )
Father Education	4.66 (1.71)	4.71 (1.85)	4.19 (1.51)	4.68 (1.67)	4.80 (1.53)	n.s.
Mother Education	4.84 (1.58)	4.79 (1.66)	4.76 (1.44)	4.59 (1.81)	4.89 (1.73)	n.s.
Family Income	6.95 (3.10)	6.97 (3.30)	6.78 (3.27)	6.11 (2.73)	5.96 (2.66)	n.s.
Neighborhood Composition	3.93 (2.14)	2.89 (1.81)	3.56 (2.09)	3.60 (2.11)	4.79 (2.48)	Sep. > Und., Mult., Int. Int. < Und., Pl., Mult., & Sep.
School Composition	3.49 (2.10)	2.56 (1.66)	2.85 (1.81)	3.27 (1.74)	3.92 (1.91)	Sep. > Und., Int. Int. < Und., Pl., Mult., & Sep.

**TABLE 6** Observed Frequencies (Row Percentages) by Racial Ideology Clusters on Whether or Not Respondent Has a Black Best Friend and Whether or Not the Respondent Has Taken a Black Studies Courses

	Black Best Friend?		Black Studies Courses?	
	No	Yes	No	Yes
Undifferentiated	108 (37.9%)	177 (62.1%)	142 (49.8%)	143 (50.2%)
Integrationist	106 (65.0%)	57 (35.0%)	113 (69.3%)	50 (30.7%)
Multiculturalist	46 (42.2%)	63 (57.8%)	53 (48.6%)	56 (51.4%)
Pluralist	15 (21.7%)	54 (78.3%)	32 (46.4%)	37 (53.6%)
Separatist	12 (17.9%)	55 (82.1%)	19 (28.4%)	48 (71.6%)
Total	287	406	359	334

Americans, members of the Integrationist cluster came from high schools with significantly fewer African Americans than those in the other four clusters.

Logistic regressions were used to assess differences among clusters in the proportion of students' reporting having a Black best friend or taking Black Studies courses. Group differences were assessed by creating contrast variables for each simple comparison. In this way, comparisons between each pair of clusters were made. School type and class were entered as covariates and gender was included as both a main effect and in two-way interactions with the cluster contrast variables. A set of four logistic regressions was necessary to complete a full set of pairwise comparisons. Thus, rather than present omnibus statistics for each model, we present results of individual parameters. Contrast variables show that members of the Undifferentiated, Pluralistic, and Integrationist clusters were less likely than those in the Separatist cluster to have a Black best friend (odds ratios = .18, .26, and .18 respectively,  $ps < .01$ ). Members of the Pluralist and Undifferentiated clusters were also more likely than those in the Integrationist cluster to have a Black best friend (odds ratio = 4.18 and 4.08 respectively,  $ps < .001$ ).

A similar set of logistic regressions was computed to examine cluster differences in whether or not students had taken Black studies courses. Members of the Undifferentiated and Pluralist clusters were more likely than those in the Integrationist cluster to have taken Black Studies courses (odds ratio = 1.70 and 1.62 respectively,  $ps < .01$ ).

## Discussion

The present study constitutes an important first step in understanding the richness and complexity of African-American men and women's beliefs about the meaning of race. The study demonstrates that African Americans can hold a variety of ideological perspectives. The clustering method used allowed us to highlight a small number of combinations of such multifaceted ideological perspectives. The results provide little evidence of meaningful gender differences in the way in which African-American college students define what it means to be Black. Nonetheless, the results do suggest that the ideological profiles are associated with relevant outcome variables for both African-American men and women.

In addition to being statistically sensible, the five-cluster solution for the full sample also was conceptually logical. For instance, there was no cluster in which participants had extremely positive scores on both nationalism and humanism. At the same time, the cluster solution did not represent simple linear combinations of variables on a single conceptual dimension. An examination of the means for the full sample shows that none of the ideology *Z* scores co-vary in the same pattern across all five clusters. In other words, the relationship between any two ideologies was not uniform across all five clusters. This suggests a complexity in the way in which individuals use the four ideological themes represented in the MMRI to develop coherent meanings or philosophies regarding what it means to be Black. This complexity is lost when the ideologies are viewed as simple linear variables.

#### *Gender Differences in Racial Identity*

The results of this study suggest that African-American male and female college students are very similar in the ways in which they define what it means to be Black. In general, African-American men and women had similar mean scores on the various subscales of the MIBI, with the exception of the Nationalist subscale. This similarity across genders carried over to the configurations of the ideological attitudes that African-American male and female college students held. When clustering their attitudes across gender, men and women students did not differ in the way in which they were distributed in each of the ideology clusters. Even when the students' racial ideologies were clustered within gender, the cluster configurations for men and women were strikingly similar. Similar patterns for men and women also were found in the relationships between ideological clusters and relevant outcomes. Both Separatists and Undifferentiated individuals were associated with more "Black-related" experiences (greater percentage of Blacks in neighborhood and high school, more likely to have a Black best friend and take a Black Studies course) than the individuals in the other groups. As a whole, our results demonstrate far more similarities between the genders than differences.

One possible reason for the relative lack of gender differences in our results may reside in the way in which we assessed racial ideology. The items on the ideology scale do not prime individuals to necessarily filter their response to the items through a gendered lens. For example, the items do not tap into dimensions where gender differences would likely occur, such as sense of connectedness to the group (e.g., Oyserman, Gant, & Ager, 1995) or gender roles or ideologies, (Kane, 2000). As a result, for many of the participants in the study gender may not have been a salient identity when they were completing the questionnaire for the study.

Although our results suggest that African-American male and female college students are remarkably similar in the meanings that they ascribe to being Black, they do not necessarily negate the notion of a race/gender intersection. It is still possible that African-American women experience the world much differently from African-American men. For instance, a number of authors have discussed the impact of gender on the ways in which African Americans experience and react to racial discrimination (Oyserman, Harrison, & Bybee, 2001; Sidanius & Veniegas, 2000). However, the ideology dimension of the MMRI focuses on individuals' perceptions of what Black people should do, rather than their race-related experiences. Future work could explore whether individuals' racial ideologies relate to different responses to race-related experiences (e.g., discrimination) for males and females.



It should be noted that our findings of few gender differences are embedded in a particular developmental, social, and historical context. It is possible that gender differences in racial ideology may be more pronounced at a different stage of development. For instance, more differences may occur during early adolescence, when intensification in gender stereotyping and attitudes occurs (Galambos, Almeida, & Petersen, 1990). Similarly, the fact that our sample is comprised of college students may have also contributed to the homogeneity of our results across gender. The liberal atmosphere of college may result in more similar experiences for African-American men and women than in other social settings in which more traditional gender role experiences are evident. Finally, the cohort of our sample may have been a factor in our results. While there are still significant gender differences in the way in which individuals are treated in this society, there has been a significant dissolution in the traditional gender roles to which men and women are ascribed.

The similar ideology profiles of our male and female clusters suggest that there may be something ubiquitous regarding the five cluster solution. It is possible that these five profiles represent archetypes regarding the racial ideological perspectives of African-American college students. More research is needed before such a sweeping conclusion can be made. Results from cluster analysis are highly specific to the sample employed. Thus, more studies must replicate these cluster profiles before one can assume that these profiles are universal among African-American college students. Similarly, more cluster analytic research using samples that are diverse in age, socioeconomic status and other structural variables are needed to determine the impact of social class on the way that individuals define what it means to be Black.

Longitudinal analysis will also help to illuminate the possible impact of cohort effects as well as normative changes in racial identity development. Nevertheless, the present study represents an important starting place by demonstrating the value of a person-centered approach to studying racial ideology and as an initial foray into possible gender differences in racial identity attitudes.

#### *Correlates of Cluster Membership*

It appears that these cluster profiles are a natural outgrowth of the racial environment in which the students grew up, more so than the socioeconomic standing of their families. For instance, whereas members of the Separatist group were more likely than others to have grown up in neighborhoods and attended high schools with larger concentrations of African Americans, members of the Multiculturalist, Integrationist, and Pluralist clusters came from neighborhoods and schools with fewer African Americans. Unfortunately, we did not have information on the representation of other ethnic groups. It is likely members of the Multiculturalist group lived in areas with sizable numbers of ethnic groups other than African Americans and Whites. It is interesting that the Undifferentiated group tended to come from neighborhoods and schools with high concentrations of African Americans, despite lack of strong ideological leanings. Cross (1991) notes that some individuals in the "pre-encounter" stage of identity development grow up in predominantly Black neighborhoods and passively accept a "Black" identity without fully exploring the personal meaning of that identity. In addition, the Undifferentiated profile looks similar to individuals in the diffused stage in Phinney's model of ethnic identity development, who have neither committed to nor searched for a racial identity (Phinney, 1992).

Neighborhood and school racial makeup do not reflect choices made by the participants. Who their friends are and the types of courses that they take, though, represent active choices that appear to extend from their particular racial ideological perspectives. Overall, members of the Separatist group were more likely to have a Black best friend and to take Black studies courses in college than were members of other clusters. In the case of the Separatists this is taken as evidence that ideology governs such choices. In line with Cross's theory, the Undifferentiated did not show evidence of a strong ideology and seemed to adopt behaviors in line with the social context of their youth.

Longitudinal research is needed to determine which variables are antecedent and consequent to racial identity. Such analyses would help to address two issues in the current study: friendships Black studies courses, and neighborhood composition are as likely to be socializing forces in the development of racial ideology as they are to be predictors, and, neighborhood and school race composition variables were retrospective in nature. Although we used broad categories (20% blocks) to try to minimize this bias, it is still possible that current ideology influences memories of such race-related variables. We also note the possibility that some aspects of friendship choice will be dictated by the characteristics of available potential friends. Our results regarding friendship choices, then, may be somewhat inflated as the Separatists who grew up in predominantly Black neighborhoods most likely had few choices for non-Black friendships. We also have no way of knowing if current best friendships originated in neighborhoods where the participants grew up or if they developed during the college years. Despite these limitations, the present study shows clear evidence of a substantial relationship between cluster membership and several race-related factors. Moreover, these relationships are more complex than the effects of simple, bivariate associations.

### *Implications*

The present study has several implications for both how we conceptualize racial ideology and how we study racial identity. First, and most importantly, the combinations of ideological views suggest that viewing ideology as ranging from Black to non-Black is short-sighted and does not account for subtle, yet important distinctions such as those between the Multiculturalist and Integrationist clusters. These groups are similar in their strong endorsement of Assimilation and Humanism. However, the emphasis on a minority ideology by the Multiculturalist group shows sensitivity to issues of equity and oppression.

From a methodological perspective, the study suggests that racial identity must be studied from both a multidimensional and a phenomenological perspective. By identifying groups of individuals, rather than simply using our original conceptualization of relevant ideologies to guide the analysis, we begin to get at ideology from a more personal standpoint. Clearly we are still limited by the tools that we use to measure ideology and we need to examine other types of outcomes. However, this study is a first step toward a broader, richer view of racial ideology. We believe that these ideological configurations can inform future investigations.

One major finding is that the largest ideological cluster group was the Undifferentiated group. This group showed moderate endorsement of all four ideologies, but also fell in the middle of the distribution on racial background and race-related behavior variables. Keep in mind that these students did not evidence low levels of racial centrality. It was not the case that race was unimportant to their self-views.

Rather, they had not yet translated the value for their racial group into a concrete ideological perspective. This result suggests that we cannot assume that all or even most college students are developing strong ideological perspectives. Perhaps many remain uncommitted to specific ideologies, choosing rather to use adult years to explore a variety of attitudes.

The Separatist and Integrationist cluster groups, on the other hand, showed clear ideological leanings that were reflected in race-related background and personal choices. It is not surprising to find that the Separatists are better represented at the HBU and the Integrationists at the PWU. We would expect that the Separatist group is also more likely to be involved in Black organizations such as the Black Student Union or Black Greek life and to seek out Black-only social experiences. On the other hand, the Integrationists may be more likely to join non-ethnic organizations and social experiences.

The Multiculturalist and Pluralist groups represent a sizable minority of the participants. The Multiculturalists appear to value non-nationalistic, though not necessarily non-ethnic, ideological ideals. We expect them to avoid segregated activities, but gravitate toward a variety of activities. The Pluralists, on the other hand, had low scores on Assimilation and Humanism, suggesting that they may lean more toward racial- and ethnic-oriented organizations. Although there may be a value for Black oriented activities and values, the Pluralists are also sympathetic to the struggles of other groups.

In conclusion, the present study suggests few gender differences in African-American college students' racial ideology views. In doing so, the study further illuminates the rich heterogeneity and complexity in the ways in which college students define what it means to be Black. The fact that the cluster profiles found in the present study are also related to behavioral outcomes provides further evidence of their relevance in the lives of African Americans. While further research is warranted, the present study provides an important foundation upon which future studies taking a person-centered approach to examining racial identity attitudes can build.

## Notes

1. To test whether this was reflective of a response bias in the Undifferentiated group to use only the midpoints of the scale, mean values for the Undifferentiated group on other MIBI subscales were examined. Indeed, the mean value for the group on the Centrality scale was 5.11 and the mean for the Private Regard subscale was 6.12 suggesting that this is not simply a tendency for those in the Undifferentiated cluster to mainly use the scale midpoint. Moreover, the range on each of the ideology subscales showed that while responses were generally near the mid-point, scores consistently ranged from 3 to 6.5.
2. We did conduct an empirical test of gender differences in cluster solutions. Interested readers can request the results of these analyses.

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