

EXAMINING THE PRESENCE OF CHRONIC DISTINCTIVENESS ON THE
CAMPUS OF AN HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY

by

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(Under the Direction of Edward Delgado-Romero & Rosemary E. Phelps)

ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to examine the presence of chronic racial distinctiveness among college students who self-identify as African American, African, and those of African descent, who attend Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). At present, the literature mainly highlights the effects of distinctiveness on women in work environments and minorities who attend Predominately White Institutions (PWIs). As African American students increasingly aspire to complete undergraduate and graduate study, examining the presence of distinctiveness on HBCU campuses not only will enhance educational performances and outcomes but also may help improve psychotherapy services and mental health concerns for individuals who encounter both acute and chronic distinctiveness. The present study focuses on three research questions that are essential to examining the similarities and differences regarding distinctiveness among students who attend HBCUs. How does a brief distinctiveness scale (Pollak & Niemann, 1998) compare to a collection of scales that measure the three hypothesized factors of distinctiveness? Are there gender differences in chronic racial distinctiveness in the current sample? Do students who attend an HBCU report feelings of chronic distinctiveness? There were 61 undergraduate students from one HBCU located within

the southeast geographical location of the United States that completed the study. Results indicated that the collection of scales and the brief existing measure have conceptual overlap indicating that they measure similar constructs. The results also indicated that gender differences are not significant. Lastly, the results indicated that chronic distinctiveness exists when students of African ancestry are in the majority setting (i.e. HBCU). The current research represents an important first step in examining chronic distinctiveness for African Americans in a majority setting. Implications for helping African American students are discussed, as well as recommendations for future research.

INDEX WORDS: Chronic Distinctiveness, African Americans, Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs)

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my mother, Mrs. Hattie Brown. As I reflect, from pre-school to graduate school, you have always been there, whether it was to hold my hand or offer encouraging words. Thank you for your support, motherly wisdom, prayers, and unconditional love. Whenever I need inspiration, I am strengthened knowing that you are always praying for me. Thank you for being the best mother that a young woman can ask for, I love you.

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Trust in the Lord with all thine heart; and lean not unto thine own understanding. In all thy ways acknowledge Him, and He shall direct thy paths. Proverbs 3: 5-6

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Distinctiveness theory explores how distinctive individuals feel in a given setting, in terms of a specified personal characteristic. Pollak and Niemann (1998) hypothesized that distinctiveness is contingent upon the frequency with which individuals are seen as a minority, their current environment, and the “social status of the minority category” (Pollak & Niemann, 1998, p. 955). Distinctiveness theory posits “that the phenomenal, or ‘spontaneous,’ self-concept is not fixed; it changes in predictable ways as a person moves from one social setting to another” (Leonard, Mehra & Katerberg, 2008, p. 574). Distinctiveness makes self-concept salient in both academic and non-academic areas, and salient to individuals’ perception of their abilities. For instance, McGuire (1984) relates self-concept to the manner in which individuals perceive differences between themselves and others as “distinctive features” (p. 575). Similar to racial identity development, in which the awareness of racial differences becomes salient (Sellers, Chavous, & Cook, 1998), awareness of differences in self-concept also become salient. In fact, Austin (2002) noted that African American students consistently ask themselves, “Do I belong here?” (p. 96). As these students ponder this question, their academic commitment and self-concept decreases if there is a sense of lack of belonging (Ostrove, Stewart, & Curtain, 2011). Since individuals are aware of their respective personal self-concepts, as well as the self-concepts of their peers and colleagues, feelings of distinctiveness become apparent whether the individual is the only minority or one among several minorities (Pollak & Neimann, 1998).

Differences attributed to race, gender, and culture become significant throughout an individual's educational, social, and career experiences. According to distinctiveness theory, people have a tendency to focus more on differences than similarities (Leonard et al., 2008). As these differences emerge, students' academic, professional, and personal self-concepts are affected through stress, higher anxiety, academic attrition rates, job turnover, feelings of isolation, and decreased performance.

Defining Distinctiveness

In order to understand the complex concepts that are associated with racial distinctiveness, it is important to define the relevant terms. Pollak and Niemann (1998) identify three types of distinctiveness: acute, chronic, and occupational. These forms of distinctiveness were named as a result of inconsistent findings between men and women, in studies of distinctiveness in numerically balanced and imbalanced group settings.

Acute Distinctiveness. While numerical representation is a factor for distinctiveness, it is important to note how numerical representation affects students in distinctiveness settings. Acute distinctiveness is contingent upon numerical imbalance: the fewer minorities that are represented in a given setting, the more likely it is that minority individuals will experience acute distinctiveness. Similarly, research indicates that feelings of acute distinctiveness are remedied by creating an environment that is more numerically balanced in terms of minority status (Pollak & Neimann, 1998). In essence, minorities may experience acute distinctiveness in environments where they are numerically underrepresented; however, they are less likely to experience acute distinctiveness when people of differing races or minority statuses are equally represented. For example, according to acute distinctiveness theory, African American students who surmise a superfluity of differences between themselves and their fellow cohort peers may report feelings

of acute distinctiveness within their academic department. However, if the same African American students are involved in activities and organizations where races are equally represented and similarities (i.e. gender, race, culture, etc.) are apparent, they will not experience acute distinctiveness within specific activities.

In sum, according to research, individuals may experience distinctiveness within their respective academic settings; nevertheless, involvement outside the educational environment, in places where they are equally represented or represent the majority culture, may counteract their overall feelings of distinctiveness. While a numerical balance of racial and cultural relatedness may serve a useful purpose, understanding that distinctiveness may continue to exist in balanced settings is vital. Some researchers argue that acute distinctiveness can be ameliorated through numerical balance (Kanter, 1977; Yoder, 1991), but others contend that despite numerical balance, chronic distinctiveness will continue to exist (Flores-Niemann, 1998; Sekaquaptewa & Thompson, 2002). Additionally, the counterbalance may have little to no effect on an individual's feelings of distinctiveness despite the setting he or she is in.

Chronic Distinctiveness. Unlike acute distinctiveness, chronic distinctiveness continues despite balanced numerical representation. Pollak and Niemann (1998) theorize that chronic “distinctiveness persists regardless of the number of group members in a given situation” (p. 955). Other researchers argue that chronic distinctiveness presents itself because African Americans continuously feel representative of, responsible for, and accountable to their racial group because of their societal status and race consciousness. Race consciousness denotes relatedness and connectedness to one's minority group, and knowledge of the group's position (Hall & Allen, 1989). Because of race consciousness, feelings and thoughts of academic

inferiority, and solo-status in academic, career, and organizational settings, African American students are more likely to feel distinct (Sekaquaptewa, Waldman, & Thompson, 2007).

Chronic distinctiveness also results from several other factors, such as “unique status-related pressures” and occupational distinctiveness (Prillerman, Myers, & Smedley, 1989, p. 200). Here, status-related pressure relates to any characteristic that is considered unique, such as race, gender, high or low socioeconomic status, or physical, mental, or academic abilities. Status-related pressures may stem from the factors of distinctiveness (i.e. racial awareness, responsibility, and accountability), and encourage individuals to perform well in order to disconfirm negative stereotypes, such as the perception that individuals of African ancestry are academically inferior (Niemann, Jennings, Rozelle, Baxter, & Sullivan, 1994; Neimann & Secord, 1995). Moreover, several well-known publications, such as Herrnstein and Murray’s (1994) *The Bell Curve*, have endorsed this stereotype and may also serve to affirm the above-mentioned “status-related pressures” (Pollak & Niemann, 1998, p. 957). As students graduate and enter the workforce, status-related pressures may continue to be present, resulting in continued feelings of chronic distinctiveness. Subsequently, racial awareness, and the continued expectations to assume responsibility and accountability to help fellow minorities succeed, may intensify these status-related pressures.

Occupational Distinctiveness. Occupational distinctiveness affects individuals who pursue a major or enter an occupation that is dominated by a group other than one’s own (Pollak & Neimann, 1998). Given that research shows that minorities focus on differences or factors that are considered unique (Cota & Dion, 1986; Kanter, 1977; Mullen 1991), occupational distinctiveness can be exacerbated for African American students who maintain a focus on their differences. Specifically, in occupational distinctiveness environments, Smith (1989) found that

individuals report feeling as though they are “strangers in a strange land” (p. 19). Consequently, occupational distinctiveness may lead to higher anxiety levels, attrition, turnover rates, and failure to pursue certain majors and careers.

Defining the Problem

Research on distinctiveness theory, although sparse in the counseling literature, has gained more attention in recent years from legal educators who applied the theory to help students successfully serve as advocates and implement policy change. For example, Barnes (1990) seeks to integrate the theory of racial distinctiveness into the various perspectives on legal concerns for men and women of color. In psychology, distinctiveness theory has primarily been researched by social psychologists, in order to understand the impact of distinctiveness on social behavior and social interactions. Much of this research investigates differences between Caucasian students’ and African American students’ feelings of both acute and chronic distinctiveness (Pollak & Nieman, 1998; Sekaquaptewa & Thompson, 2002; Sekaquaptewa, Thompson, & Waldman, 2007). Researchers desire to understand whether individuals of the dominant culture reported racial distinctiveness similar to that of racial minorities.

Very few extant studies have examined the presence of chronic racial distinctiveness: distinctiveness that occurs when minority individuals are in an environment where they are in the majority (Pollak & Niemann, 1998). One such study, by Leonard, Mehra, and Katerberg (2008), examines chronic distinctiveness in occupational and organizational environments. They aim to understand friendships, group identity, and social networking patterns (Leonard, Mehra, & Katerberg, 2008). Specifically, they investigate if social behavioral patterns were a result of acute distinctiveness, or if the behaviors persisted as a result of chronic distinctiveness. They

find that people who represent a small racial or ethnic group, within a social setting, more frequently form friendships within their identified racial and ethnic group.

Despite the fact that many Historical Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) exist to educate predominantly minority students, no studies have examined the presence of chronic distinctiveness within HBCU settings. Therefore, no evidence exists as to whether chronic distinctiveness is present when minority university students are in the majority, and where they have access to support systems, training, and social environments which are culturally congruent with their race.

Purpose of Study

The aim of this study is to examine the presence of racial distinctiveness, specifically chronic racial distinctiveness, among college students who self-identify as African American, African, or of African descent, and who attend HBCUs. Examining chronic distinctiveness among African American students who attend HBCUs fills an important gap in the literature. Chronic distinctiveness literature, at present, mainly highlights the effects of distinctiveness on women in work environments and racial minorities who attend Predominately White Institutions (PWIs). Though this literature provides productive information for educators, supervisors, and advisors, research studies lag behind in examining the existence of chronic racial distinctiveness on HBCU campuses. As African American students aspire to complete undergraduate and graduate study, it is projected that analyzing feelings of chronic distinctiveness on HBCU campuses will enhance educational environments and outcomes, increase multicultural awareness, and improve psychotherapy and mental health services for individuals who encounter both acute and chronic distinctiveness.

Significance of the Problem

In the field of distinctiveness studies, several scholars have encouraged expanding analyses to include minorities who are in a majority setting such as an HBCU, because presently research indicates that chronic distinctiveness has overwhelming and calamitous effects on students' lives, creating considerable mental health concerns (Pollack & Niemann, 1998; Sekaquaptewa et al., 2007; Niemann & Dovidio, 1998). Additionally, examining chronic distinctiveness may provide an avenue for individualized interventions, as well as for outreach and educational programs for specific student populations. It is anticipated that expanding knowledge about the presence and effects of chronic distinctiveness will help enhance educational environments and enhance both help-seeking behaviors and treatment.

Educational Problems

Chronic distinctiveness may impact educational performances, experiences, and outcomes (Sekaquaptewa et al., 2007). Accordingly, feelings and thoughts of distinctiveness could negatively influence graduation rates and academic experiences. Sekaquaptewa & Thompson (2002) find evidence that individuals underperform when placed in distinctiveness settings such as the classroom and workplace. Moreover, previous literature highlights factors such as achievement gaps (Sekaquaptewa et al., 2007), educational deficits (Smith, 1989), and perceived thoughts and feelings of academic inferiority (Niemann et al., 1994; Niemann & Secord, 1993), all of which contribute to distinctiveness within classroom settings. HBCUs' educational environments serve as important pathways to educate African American students. Various research studies have produced consistent results regarding the positive educational outcomes of students who attend HBCUs (Palmer, Hilton, & Fountaine, 2012). In fact, Palmer and Grasman (2008) find that HBCUs create more conducive academic environments and are

more cherishing, encouraging, and committed to individual and familial values. Despite this fact, previous literature indicates that minorities' feelings of social and intellectual stigmatization persist in academic settings, regardless of numerical representation (Niemann et al., 1994; Niemann & Secord, 1993). In addition, research indicates that social stigmatization, as it relates to education, exacerbates both acute and chronic distinctiveness (Frable, 1993; Frable, Blackstone, & Scherbaum, 1990; Heikes, 1991). Given the research regarding distinctiveness and academic experiences, African American students' academic problems may well be exacerbated by chronic distinctiveness.

Mental Health Problems

In addition, distinctiveness is related to mental health concerns (Shroshine & Brandl, 2011). Some theorists posit that individuals who report feelings of distinctiveness are likely to experience depression, anxiety, and other mental health-related concerns. Specifically, Pollack and Niemann (1998) contend that stress, poor self-concept, performance anxiety, and educational difficulties result from distinctiveness. Their research is supported by Sekaquaptewa & Thompson (2007), who find that distinctiveness factors correlate to mental health concerns such as depression and anxiety. Additional mental health concerns relevant to distinctiveness include apprehension related to poor evaluations (Craig, O'Neal, & Langley, 1997), self-expression (Saenz, 1994), and social isolation (Kanter, 1977). Craig et al. (1997) found that negative evaluations of racial minorities within an acute distinctiveness setting also impact the beliefs and approval of individuals within chronic distinctiveness settings. Additionally, Sekaquaptewa et al. (2007) found that individuals reported that unfavorable critiques of individual minorities are generalized to their identified racial group. Therefore, students at HBCUs are likely to be impacted by negative critiques of students who attend PWIs.

Multicultural Awareness

Empirical evidence pertaining to chronic distinctiveness may likewise help mental health professionals increase multicultural awareness and sensitivity and understand the presence of chronic racial distinctiveness, thus creating individualized interventions. Consequently, the quality of care that is provided to individuals who are affected by chronic distinctiveness may improve. As clinicians seek to improve the quality of care, it is important to recognize that practitioners maintain the ability to adjust treatment interventions, theoretical orientations, and assessment approaches to meet the needs of each client, while providing cross-cultural counseling (APA, 1991; Delgado-Romero, Barfield, Fairley, & Martinez, 2005; Gone, 2004; S. Sue, 2006; Tseng, 2004). Increased knowledge regarding the presence of chronic distinctiveness among African Americans students in institutions in which they are the majority, and which often have an Africentric mission, will have direct effects on mental health clinical treatment, and on academic and career organizations' consciousness-raising efforts. Thus, these efforts will not only better serve African Americans who seek counseling services, but also heighten students' and practitioners' multicultural awareness concerning the presence and impact of distinctiveness.

It is also important that chronic distinctiveness be examined in order to increase multicultural knowledge, as even clinicians who frequently provide services to African Americans often report insufficient multicultural awareness (Chu-Lien Chao, 2011). Therefore, it is important that mental health professionals maintain multicultural knowledge regarding their personal worldview and their clients' worldview. Equally important, mental health professionals are expected not only to acquire multicultural awareness, but also to implement a skill set that provides effective therapy for clients while considering racial and cultural components (Sue,

Arredondo, McDavis, 1992). In order to implement cultural competencies in treatment, faculty, staff, and practitioners must consistently receive training and staff education on multicultural issues (Fukuyama & Delgado-Romero, 2003). Although staff development training is highly important within university counseling centers, in order for cultural competencies to be fully implemented, continuous advocacy, support, and reflection is also necessary (Fukuyama & Delgado-Romero, 2003).

In sum, individuals who are minorities in any aspect (racial, gender, socio-economic status etc.) are likely to feel distinctive in academic, social, and working environments (Pollak & Niemann, 1998). Distinctiveness in any setting leads to negative outcomes, such as higher anxiety and stress (Shroshine & Brandl, 2011); lower retention rates (Pollak & Niemann, 1998); increased experiences of covert and overt forms of discrimination; and decreased motivation, self-esteem, and self-efficacy (Pollak & Niemann, 1998). These experiences can create challenges in academic, organizational, and professional settings. Understanding the effects of chronic distinctiveness may allow faculty, educational administrators, employers, and mental health clinicians to take a proactive rather than a reactive stance, to preclude job turnover, poor academic and social experiences, mental health concerns, both overt and covert forms of discrimination, and high academic attrition resulting from distinctiveness.

Previous acute and chronic distinctiveness research has focused on several areas, such as education (Pollak & Niemann 1998; Sekaquaptewa et al., 2007), organizations (Kanter, 1977), social networks and friendship (Leonard, Mehra, Katerberg, 2008), and careers (Crocker & McGraw, 1984). However, it is important to examine further evidence in order for educators, organizational leaders, advisors, and supervisors to understand appropriate implications for each setting. These implications may help to advance individuals' growth and enhance their

educational and career experiences, and will serve as a means to provide universities and organizations knowledge regarding the effects of distinctiveness on African Americans.

Additionally, greater understanding pertaining to racial distinctiveness may improve educational environments, increase multicultural awareness, potentially alleviate mental health concerns such as anxiety and depression, and increase the likelihood of formulating personal, academic, and professional relationships beyond an individual's personal distinctiveness within a group (e.g., race, gender, and socioeconomic status).

Research Questions

Research questions are formulated as a means to guide the researcher's project. A research question is a clear, focused, concise, complex and arguable inquiry around which any research is centered (Kishore, Vasundhra, & Anand, 2011). It is important that research questions are grounded with new and different aspects of the current literature. Moreover, research questions must be formulated with the intention of producing different and significant results to add to the current literature. In fact, Davidson & Ambrose (1994) note, "The most successful research topics are narrowly focused and carefully defined but are important parts of a broad-ranging, complex problem" (p. 101). The present study focuses on three research questions that are essential to examining the similarities and differences regarding distinctiveness among students who attend HBCUs.

Research Question 1

How does a brief distinctiveness scale (Pollak & Niemann, 1998) compare to a collection of scales that measure the three hypothesized factors of distinctiveness?

Research Question 2

Are there gender differences in the current sample for chronic distinctiveness?

Research Question 3

Do students who attend an HBCU report feelings of chronic distinctiveness?

General Hypothesis

Based on the present literature regarding acute and chronic racial distinctiveness, as it relates to education, activities, and careers, the following hypotheses are presented:

- 1.) The observed scores on the collection of scales and the observed scores on the distinctiveness measure will show similar psychometric properties and high intercorrelations.
- 2.) There will be significant gender differences in chronic distinctiveness.
- 3.) Undergraduate students who attend HBCUs will report feelings of chronic racial distinctiveness.

Definitions and Operational Terms

Before defining distinctiveness terms, it is important to note that throughout this dissertation, the terms *African American*, *African*, and *of African ancestry* will be used interchangeably to identify individuals of African ancestry (e.g., African American, Haitian, Afro-Caribbean, Afro-Cuban, etc.). Over the past several years, there have been numerous discussions regarding the usage of *Black* versus *African American* (Collier, 2013; Lloyd, 2012; Washington, 2012). Hall, Phillips and Townsend (2013) find that there are more negative connotations associated with the term *Black*, such as being labeled as less affectionate, less qualified, and less skilled. Additionally, the term *Black* has been found to evoke displeasure (Hall et al., 2013). Therefore, the terms *African American*, *African*, and *of African ancestry* were selected. *African American* will primarily be used throughout this project, but the terms *African American* and *Black* are used interchangeably. Despite this flexibility, it is critical to

understand that individuals of African ancestry are a heterogeneous group. There are numerous within differences among individuals of African ancestry, including language, religious values and cultural beliefs, and practices.

Distinctiveness Related Terms

Pollak and Niemann (1998) identify racial identity, responsibility, and accountability as important elements of distinctiveness. These components are frequently cited throughout the racial distinctiveness literature. In fact, Sekaquaptewa et al. (2007) name similar factors, based on Pollak & Niemann's (1998) research: distinctiveness, race centrality, race reflection, and race representativeness. These factors indicate the "complex representations" of individuals' identities that researchers attribute to individuals' feelings of distinctiveness (Pollak & Niemann, 1998, p.955). Additionally, there are several terms that are frequently associated and used synonymously with distinctiveness. These terms reflect previous as well as current research.

Racial Identity. Throughout the past several decades, racial identity has been frequently theorized and examined. Racial identity has been defined as the portion of an individual's self-concept that is connected to his or her belonging and to his or her self-identified race (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, & Rowley, 1998). Sellers et al. utilize the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI), which conceptualizes racial identity as having four aspects. The first aspect is identity salience, which refers to the amount of emphasis race has on a person's self-concept at any given time. The next dimension is centrality, which refers to the degree to which people identify themselves in terms of their race. Ideology is the third factor. Ideology refers to the beliefs and ideals that individuals maintain about the behaviors that members of their racial group should maintain. The last component is regard, which incorporates the judgment of an individual's racial group (Sellers et al., 1998).

Racial identity was also defined through William Cross' Expanded Nigrescence Model (NT-E) (Cross & Vandiver, 2001). Cross defines racial identity through four stages. Within the NT-E, Cross traced racial identity from a developmental stance to lifelong experiences. The first stage is Pre-Encounter, which incorporates three identities, including Assimilation, Miseducation, and Self-Hatred. The Pre-Encounter Assimilation refers to individuals who view their race as being less salient. Pre-Encounter Miseducation represents the external negative ideas and opinions that are accepted to be true, while Self-Hatred refers to the negative attitudes and beliefs that individuals hold inwardly. The next stage is Immersion-Emmersion, which incorporates an Anti-White belief system. This belief system is categorized by an intense resentment against the dominant culture. The last stage is Internalization, which includes Afrocentric and Multiculturalist viewpoints. The Afrocentric viewpoint reflects the idea that African Americans should primarily embrace Afrocentric values. The Multiculturalist viewpoint integrates Afrocentric values, as well as the values of other cultural groups (Worrell et al., 2011).

Responsibility. Throughout the chronic distinctiveness literature, responsibility refers to the belief that minority individuals must help fellow minorities succeed. In the solo-status literature, Sekaquaptewa et al. (2007) relates race representativeness to responsibility. Responsibility reflects the belief system that individuals are obligated to aid fellow African Americans to meet their goals. This concept is also highlighted in W.E.B. Dubois' (1903) book *The Talented Tenth*, in which he commented that successful African Americans must assume the responsibility to help other African Americans progress (Pollak & Niemann, 1998).

Accountability. Accountability includes the concept that individuals exhibit behaviors where they perform well on behalf of their minority group (Pollak & Niemann, 1998). Additional distinctiveness literature relates accountability to race reflection (Sekaquaptewa, et al,

2007). This concept reflects the belief that an individual's success will highlight the positive aspects of his or her minority group. Other researchers relate racial accountability to maintaining Africentric values. These values consist of maintaining cultural interdependence (Morris 2011).

Solo-Status. Solo-status refers to individuals who are the only representatives of their identified minority group (e.g., race, gender, or sexual orientation) in a given setting (Viallon & Martinot, 2009). Solo-status reflects the concept that being the only representative of a minority group highlights differences from the majority culture. Individuals who represent solo-status are more likely to become associated with stereotypes of their minority groups. This association leads to negative evaluations and a poor self-concept (Cohen & Swim, 1995; Crocker & McGraw, 1984; Williams, 1992).

Tokenism. Tokenism has been defined as being a minority who is numerically underrepresented (Yoder, 1991). Kanter (1977) focuses on women within career settings, and argues that tokenism results from numerically imbalanced settings. Individuals who work, study, or socialize in token environments are more likely to be highly conspicuous. This visibility is likely to influence negative stereotypes, social isolation, and career difficulties (Kanter 1977). Consequently, minorities who are poorly represented in their environments will report more negative experiences. Throughout the years, tokenism research has served as the foundation for current literature pertaining to solo-status and distinctiveness.

Africentrism. Previous literature has used the terms Africentrism and Afrocentrism interchangeably. These terms were defined as the adherence to African-centered values (Morris, 2001; Gills & Longhorn, 1996). These values represent a set of beliefs that African Americans should aid and be accountable for the success and goal attainment of fellow African Americans.

The distinction that is made between Africentrism and Afrocentrism is that the spelling of Africentrism (Afri) shows connectivity to Africa.

Stereotype threat. A stereotype threat is defined as a threat that occurs when an individual is completing an activity in which a negative stereotype can be applied (Steele, 1997). Specific settings or activities increase the likelihood that the individual will be negatively stereotyped or judged. Inzlicht & Good (2006) relate stereotype threat to distinctiveness, and theorize a *distinctiveness-based stereotype threat*. A distinctiveness-based stereotype threat is based on numerical underrepresentation. Inzlicht & Good (2006) conceptualize that these threats are produced by harmless circumstances, which heighten social identity and opportunities for distinctiveness-based stereotype threats. Distinctiveness-based stereotype threats can occur within high distinctiveness environments or low distinctiveness environments. High distinctiveness environments refer to circumstances in which differences are highly visible. Low distinctiveness environments refer to situations where similarities are more apparent.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Tokenism

Present research on distinctiveness theory has developed from Kanter's findings on tokenism. The theory of tokenism states, "Numerical underrepresentation is a primary cause of negative work experiences for minority group members" (Yoder, 1991, p. 178). Within tokenism, numerical representation is broken down into three categories: skewed, tilted, and balanced. Under skewed conditions, minorities represent less than 15% of the total population. Tilted conditions are comprised of approximately 16% to 35% minority group members. Balanced conditions occur when there are an approximately equal number of racial backgrounds present (Sackett, Dubois, & Noe, 1991).

Kanter (1977) discusses tokenism in relation to gender in the work environment. Her research shows that minorities (e.g. women) are consistently underrepresented and tend to be both highly visible and socially isolated in their work environments. Tokens are also more likely to experience difficulties, such as being denied a promotion or being viewed as less competent than their majority counterparts (Stroshine & Brandl, 2011). Additionally, minorities who work or study in token environments may be victims of intolerance or harassment, and exhibit higher levels of mental health concerns (Haarr & Morash, 1999; Martin, 1979, 1980, 1994, & 1995; Morash & Haarr, 1995; Walker, 1985).

Academic and career organizations maintain tokenism through open, token, and closed conditions (Danaher & Branscombe, 2010). Open conditions present individuals with opportunities for advancement; however, standards are so rigid that minority individuals in open

conditions fail to meet the necessary requirements for advancement. Minorities who are in token conditions oftentimes meet the necessary requirements, but only a select few are chosen for advancement. Lastly, under closed conditions, token individuals again meet the necessary requirements; however, despite meeting the requirements, they are all denied access to the perceived high-status group that is frequently occupied by men (Danaher & Branscombe, 2010). Subsequently, opportunities for academic and career advancement are thwarted by oppressive organizational standards.

Effects of Tokenism

Tokenism affects women, racial, and other minorities in terms of their academic and professional experiences, evaluations, and performance. The effects of tokenism include increased mental health concerns, discrimination, social isolation, and poor academic performance and experiences. In addition, individuals may feel as though they are selected for academic or career opportunities because of their race, gender, or other minority status. Tokenism could result in decreased diversity, maltreatment, and an inability to progress in an organization.

Tokenism prompts further negative experiences, such as increased visibility for some minorities (King, Hebl, George, & Matusik, 2009), heightened awareness of distinctive characteristics and features (McGuire, 1984), and social isolation (Stroshine & Brandl, 2011). Social isolation is separation from social, institutional, and organizational connectedness, and is related to higher rates of depressed mood and suicide (Pantell et al., 2013; Teo, Choi, & Valenstein, 2013). Throughout academic or work environments, individuals who are perceived as tokens also report unjust treatment, lower self-esteem, negative evaluations, and feelings of devaluation (Danaher & Branscombe, 2010).

Kanter presented groundbreaking research regarding tokenism's effects on women in male-dominated fields. Her work led to further research by Pollack and Niemann (1998), Inzchlitz and Benzeev (2000), Stroschine and Brandl (2011), and Sekaquaptewa and Thompson (2007) on racial minorities in distinctiveness, token, and solo-status settings. This collective research indicates the causes, settings, and negative effects of distinctiveness and tokenism. Understanding tokenism and its effects increases awareness regarding minority concerns. Additionally, Kanter provides empirical knowledge regarding difficulties that minorities, specifically women, face when they are numerically underrepresented.

Criticisms of Tokenism Theory

Although Kanter produced noteworthy research, it did not come without criticism. Kanter added to the scholarly literature, regarding the minority status that women encounter in the workplace. However, critics point out that many minority status individuals, specifically racial minorities, were not considered. Additionally, many occupational fields were not included in Kanter's original research.

Social Context. Critics further argue that Kanter failed to consider the importance of social contexts. Yoder (1991) argues that more attention should be given to the social context that women encounter as a result of gender bias and inequality. Women have been previously oppressed through the legal system through lower wages, the denial of voting rights, and general maltreatment. Various types of covert oppression continue to exist in academic, organizational, and career environments. In addition, men are most often in positions of authority, leadership, and roles of influence. As a result, it is argued that women who enter male-dominated fields or obtain positions of power are viewed as threats to the power structure (Shroshine & Brandl, 2011). Consequently, they experience stress, anxiety, mistreatment and unsuccessful academic

and career matriculation because they are perceived as a threat to the power structure, rather than because they are numerically underrepresented (Shroshine & Brandl, 2011).

Chronic distinctiveness literature supports this argument, stating that African Americans who are in the majority will experience mental health concerns and educational problems because of their race consciousness, and because of the overall racial stigmatization that minorities face (Hall & Allen, 1989). Given that minorities are stigmatized and consistently face the glass ceiling, the social context argument can be generalized to settings where minorities are viewed as threats to the social power structure. Yoder's (1991) criticism is further strengthened through research that indicates men who are numerically underrepresented or enter female-dominated fields (e.g. nursing, elementary education) are viewed as leaders, and do not experience the same ramifications as women do in male-dominated fields (Williams, 1992; Yoder & Sinnett, 1985). Likewise, numerically underrepresented men receive more prominent job roles and are less likely to face overt and covert forms of discrimination (Williams, 1992; Gustafson, 2008).

Occupational Fields. Criticisms also resulted from the types of occupations Kanter researched. Many of the occupations in her study (i.e. medicine, law enforcement, military) were considered unsuitable for women at that time. Given that only a small percentage of women were employed in the 1970s, women who entered the workforce, especially in male-dominated fields that offered higher pay, were considered "double deviants" (Laws, 1975). The consensus at the time was that working women would jeopardize the earning potential of men. Essentially, Yoder (1991) concludes that this fear created the dissonance in the working and academic environments, rather than the numerical underrepresentation of women and minorities.

Gender Balancing. Kanter's research argues that the negative consequences of tokenism could be remedied through gender balancing. Gender balancing is the process of creating numerically equal gender representation in organizational, career, and academic environments (Knater, 1977). However, Yoder (1991) finds that increasing numbers in career, organizational, and academic settings aggravates the problem. Yoder's (1991) concept is also based on previous research and the intrusiveness theory, which states that the greater the number of minorities in a setting, the higher the likelihood that prejudicial and maltreatment will occur. Yoder (1991) predicts that as the number of low-status group members increases substantially across occupations, the reaction would be heightened harassment, blocked mobility, and lower wages. Yoder's (1991) findings are consistent with the present research concerning chronic distinctiveness. These findings relate to chronic distinctiveness, as the present research suggests that people will encounter negative experience when minorities represent the majority or when numerical representation is balanced (Pollak & Niemann, 1998; Sekaquaptewa et al., 2007).

Distinctiveness and Racial Identity

Racial identity development has been studied for numerous years. Presently, racial identity is defined as beliefs that should be investigated multidimensionally (Cross & Vandiver, 2001; Helms, 1990b & 1996; Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997; Trimble, Helms, & Root, 2003). Specifically, Cross et al. (1998) expand Nigrescence Theory (NT-E) from a developmental theory to incorporate beliefs and characteristics from African American history. The theory emphasizes the importance of examining racial identity throughout the lifespan (Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 2001), and understanding how racial identity is represented in daily activities (Cross, Smith, & Payne, 2002; Cross & Strauss, 1998). The NT-E categorizes racial identity attitude into three domains: Pre-Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and

Internalization (Cross & Vandiver, 2001; Worrell et al., 2001). The emphasis placed on racial identity affects distinctiveness theory (Pollak & Niemann, 1998). For example, individuals who do not identify strongly with their race can be affected by distinctiveness despite the numerical representation of their minority groups. Conversely, individuals who strongly identify with their racial group may feel racially distinctive regardless of the numerical representation of racial minorities.

Racial identity is also a part of self-concept and development that serves an important purpose in personal growth. Self-concept incorporates numerous ideas and affects different aspects of individuals' lives. Undergraduate students are of the age where knowledge relating to racial identity has been acquired through both verbal and non-verbal parental messages, personal experiences, and formal education. This knowledge can serve as a means of promoting and sustaining distinctiveness, as well as a means to prevent or overcome distinctiveness. As this information is received, individuals undergo racial socialization, "the transmission of parents' worldviews about race and ethnicity to children by way of subtle, overt, deliberate, and unintended mechanisms" (Hughes, 2003, p. 15). Previous literature states that racial socialization serves as a protective factor for minorities (Dotterer, McHale, & Crouter, 2009). Additional research indicates that female adolescents and male adolescents are socialized differently. African American men are socialized with more knowledge regarding racial discrimination. Conversely, African American women are more often socialized to have racial pride (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Thomas & Speight, 1999). As students continue to examine themselves in terms of their racial and cultural identity, feelings of distinctiveness may persist. Given that African American women are socialized to maintain more racial pride, African American women may present with chronic distinctiveness at a higher rate.

Distinctiveness and Africentrism

As previously mentioned, racial distinctiveness involves racial identity, responsibility, and accountability. Previous research relates Africentrism to accountability to one's racial group. Grills and Longhorn (1996) use Africentrism to test values within the African American community. Many of these values are related to accountability beliefs. Morris (2001) conceptualizes Africentrism characteristics into several different categories, including commitment to the group and relationships, interdependence, success for others, and collective accountability. Morris' (2001) conceptualization on Africentrism is consistent with other research regarding Africentrism. Asante (1998), Karenga (1995), Schiele (1994), and Warfield-Coppock (1995) all argue that Africentric values consist of interconnectedness and unity among people. Hunn (2004) notes that individuals who value Africentrism maintain a sense of "accountability and respect" for their collective groups (p. 69).

Distinctiveness and Stereotype Threat

Steele (1997) defines a stereotype threat as:

The social-psychological threat that arises when one is in a situation or doing something for which a negative stereotype about one's group applies. This predicament threatens one with being negatively stereotyped, with being judged or treated stereotypically, or with the prospect of conforming to the stereotype. (pp. 614)

Stereotype threats present in numerous ways and in various environments, including academia, athletics, and the workplace, by introducing a personal assessment that negatively affects performance levels (Steele, 1997; Steele & Aronson, 1995). Previous researchers have explored stereotype threat in both individual and group areas. An individual threat is the concept that a stereotype is true about a single individual. A group threat is the concept that a stereotype is true

about the individual's group, such as an ethnic, racial, or gender group (Wout, Danso, Jackson, & Spencer, 2007). As stereotype threats perpetuate, the above-mentioned status-related pressures present themselves, causing performance levels of the affected groups to decline and anxiety to increase. Consequently, individuals pursue behaviors to avoid the situations where they feel threatened (Osborne, 2007).

Status-related pressure from stereotype threats and distinctiveness produces anxiety, which can lead to underperformance (Inzlicht & Good, 2006). Steele (1995) finds that individuals have a marked tendency to underachieve in circumstances where it is possible they might confirm a negative stereotype. Osborne (2007) elaborates on Steele's research and notes that negative stereotypes cause higher anxiety. Osborne further explains that this anxiety results from fears of personal failure. Furthermore, the stereotypes, combined with anxiety, lead to underperforming, and create an aversive academic environment. Consequently, students have a tendency to physically and psychologically separate themselves from their environments (Steele 1992, 1997).

In both acute and chronic distinctiveness settings, individuals may experience anxiety relating to their academic achievement and career performance. As this anxiety continues, individuals can exceed expectations or can fail to meet minimum standards. As stereotype threat pervades, distinctiveness also becomes a factor. A stereotype threat that is experienced based on numerical underrepresentation is called a distinctiveness-based stereotype threat (Inzlicht & Good, 2006). Inzlicht and Ben-Zeev (2000) note, "When it comes to performance in groups, one of the critical factors affecting potential targets of stereotype threat is numerical representation" (p. 68). Understanding distinctiveness as it relates to stereotype threats may help to reduce the negative effects of distinctiveness. Research indicates that as individuals are numerically

underrepresented, they become more susceptible to stereotypes, thus feeling distinct in their environments (Beaton, Tougas, Rinfret, Huard, & Delisle, 2007; Inzlicht & Ben-Zeev, 2000).

Steele, Spencer, and Aronson (2002) have argued that stereotype threats are situational. These situations include an individual of a minority group being placed in an environment where a stereotype is likely to be confirmed (Rosenthal & Crisp, 2006). As numerical representation pervades, situations become more salient, not only creating distinctiveness in the environment but also allowing stereotypes to become a problem. In fact, Inzlicht and Good (2006) argue that threats are stimulated by harmless circumstances, thus making social identity apparent and the conditions for a distinctiveness based stereotype threat possible. Social identity helps to define individuals' characters, as individuals are placed in situations and environments where they are numerically underrepresented and differences in social identity become more pronounced (Frey & Tropp, 2006; Higgins & King, 1981). The distinctiveness factors of social identity create both anxiety and performance deficits. For example, women who took a math test in high distinctiveness environments report more anxiety and performance deficits than women in low distinctiveness conditions (Beaton et al., 2007). High distinctiveness refers to situations in which individual differences are more apparent, whereas low distinctiveness refers to situations where these differences are less defined. Although high and low distinctiveness can affect stereotype threats, some individuals remain unaffected.

Individuals who are not affected are likely to have high self-monitoring. Self-monitoring refers to the ability to control situational and performance apprehension, which results in being unaffected by distinctiveness-based stereotype threats (Inzlicht, Aronson, Good, and McKay 2006). Research shows that an individual with high self-monitoring tends to be more resilient in distinctiveness situations and less likely to experience performance deficits (Inzlicht et al., 2006).

Distinctiveness in Social and Educational Settings

Previous literature shows that distinctiveness has been found in numerous environments. Within these settings, distinctiveness is influenced by numerous factors, including minority group status and social identity. Understanding distinctiveness within this area not only provides knowledge concerning the presence of distinctiveness, but also its sources and influences on mental health concerns.

Social Construal. Pollack and Niemann (1998) note that when racial distinctiveness is present, social construal is also impacted. Social construal theory hypothesizes that individuals' sense of self is connected to their collective group and social identity (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Singelis, 1994). Social identity refers to individuals' self-concept, pertaining to their recognized involvement within their collective social group (Chen & Xin Li, 2006). Chen and Xin Li, (2006) also found that an individual's sense of self is partially created from his or her collective group identity. African Americans are likely to adopt a collectivist viewpoint in both acute and chronic distinctiveness settings. In fact, Sekaquaptewa et al. (2007) find that, as race is made more noticeable, individuals develop a collectivist attitude. Individuals who maintain a collectivist attitude are more likely to practice interdependence and be committed to their minority group (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Oyserman, Coon & Kimmelmeier, 2002). Maintaining collectivist values coincides with the distinctiveness concepts of accountability to, responsibility for, and representation of the individual's group. Collectivist ideals assume responsibility and accountability to one's in-group for the advancement of that group (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Oyserman, Coon, & Kimmelmeier, 2002). Though maintaining these values can serve as a means to advance, the added pressures to help others succeed may also lead to

increased stress and anxiety. In turn, the stress and anxiety often lead to academic underperformances (Sekaquaptewa et al., 2007).

Friendship. Though distinctiveness is more obvious in academic and career settings, it also influences social interactions and friendships. Friendships are formulated throughout academia and the workplace as a means of social connection, organization networking, and relatedness. Lazarsfeld and Merton (1954) describe friendship, noting there is a “tendency for friendships to form between those who are alike” (p. 23). Leonard et al. (2008) elaborate on their findings, noting that distinctiveness postulates that individuals exhibit more relatedness and form friendships with individuals who are racially similar. Formulating friendships within one’s racial or cultural group indicates more relatedness, understanding, and empathy. Within academic, professional, and social organizations, individuals tend to formulate bonds with others who share commonalities, specifically racial, cultural, and gender similarities. Friendships are formed within situations where individuals possess similar racial or cultural characteristics, rather than contrasting attributes. In fact, researchers find that African American students, though representing only a small percentage of the student body, most often communicated with fellow African American students within organizations. The students’ communication was also related to academic and social activities (Leonard, Mehra, & Katerberg, 2008). Granted, maintaining professional, academic, and personal friendships serves useful purposes, but formulating friendship within one’s racial or cultural group generates limitations as well. These limitations include limited interactions, connections, and networking possibilities with persons representing other racial or cultural groups (Ibarra, 1993). Moreover, when numerical rarities become more conspicuous, individuals are more attentive to differences than similarities, thus resulting in distinctiveness.

Distinctiveness in the Classroom. The history of equal rights in education is filled with a long record of overt racism and oppression (e.g. separate but equal laws). Although the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court ruling overturned these laws, negative educational connotations, such as the notion that African Americans are intellectually inferior, began to surface. Unfortunately, these negative stereotypes continue to exist, maintaining social stigmatization regarding African Americans' academic abilities. Research indicates that social stigmatization, as it relates to education, exacerbates both acute and chronic distinctiveness (Frale, 1993; Frable et al., 1990; Heikes, 1991). Educational social stigmatization is further maintained through published research regarding the academic performance scores of African Americans, women, and girls. These publications were contradicted through studies completed by Steele, Aronson, and Dovidio, yet the impact of negative educational stereotypes remains. Such stereotypes may exacerbate feelings of distinctiveness, and lead to added anxiety, stress, and pressure to perform. Furthermore, the supplementary anxiety maintains chronic distinctiveness (Prillerman et al., 1989), ultimately leading to negative academic experiences and premature withdrawal from school.

Despite the fact that HBCUs are often options for African American students, the majority of African Americans attend PWIs (Pollak & Niemann, 1998). Smith (1989) finds that students of color reported feeling isolated at many PWIs. In addition, he argues that educational deficits and being present in academic settings that question one's intellectual abilities contribute to chronic distinctiveness. Additionally, chronic distinctiveness among African Americans is made worse in academic settings because of their perceived inferior educational status (Niemann et al., 1994; Niemann & Secord, 1993). Given that students of African descent are viewed as intellectually inferior, unfortunately academic stigmatization persists despite numerical

representation. Consequently, chronic distinctiveness is likely to occur on HBCU campuses, as well as in other environments and academic settings.

Since chronic distinctiveness has been shown to be present for students in academic settings, it is also important to consider that students who pursue academic careers may also experience chronic distinctiveness in their work settings. Within academic settings, faculty and staff often times serves as mentors and the gateways to academic and career success. Phelps (2010) emphasizes mentoring and role modeling for students who desire to pursue faculty positions. Positive mentorship and support serves as an effective tool to help both students and faculty navigate their academic lives (Bradley, 2005; Chu, 2004). Therefore, understanding the occurrence, presence, and impact of chronic distinctiveness on students, faculty, and staff will also serve a useful purpose, as their experience may positively or negatively affect their students.

Distinctiveness and Mental Health

Pollack and Niemann (1998) find that distinctiveness contributes to several mental health concerns, including stress, negative self-image, performance anxiety, and academic problems. Their research is supported by Sekaquaptewa et al. (2007), who find that distinctiveness factors correlate to mental health concerns. Distinctiveness and mental health are important factors, and understanding them can produce impactful solutions for mental health professionals.

Performances and Evaluations. In academic, career, and organizational settings, individuals are constantly evaluated. Evaluations serve to critique performances, note strengths, and modify weaknesses. Poor evaluations of African Americans in acute distinctiveness settings will affect the attitudes and favorability of African Americans in chronic distinctiveness groups (Craig, O'Neal, & Langley, 1997). In both acute and chronic distinctiveness settings, individuals report a belief that poor evaluations will reflect negatively on their work, as well as their

identified group (Sekaquaptewa et al., 2007). While it has been noted that individuals in acute distinctiveness settings affect the favorability and self-image of African Americans in chronic distinctiveness settings, it is also likely that not all solo-status members' behaviors will be attributed to the entire African American population.

Previous literature highlights a connection between chronic distinctiveness and self-image, based on how minorities are perceived beyond their surrounding social context (Saenz, 1994). When minority students are in environments where race is balanced, such as a class at a PWI, organizations within a community, or at an HBCU, minorities perceive that they are being evaluated by the dominant culture (Saenz, 1994). Likewise, in chronic distinctiveness settings, apprehension is produced when individuals solve problems or complete tasks but compare their abilities to individuals of the dominant culture. In addition to racial minorities exhibiting worry about their performance and evaluations in chronic distinctiveness settings, worrisome thoughts also persist for members of the dominant culture. In fact, Gutierrez, Saenz, and Green (1994) find that Caucasians often report stress when they are numerically underrepresented. These perceptions and comparisons very often lead to worry, anxiety, and underperformance (Saenz, 1994).

Self-Expression and Opinions. Stress and anxiety are also present when individuals are asked to voice their opinions. Specifically, when race was not a factor in acute distinctiveness settings, women reported higher stress levels when speaking about gender-specific topics, such as women working in traditional male roles, e.g. construction (Cioffi, 1995). Saenz (1994) found that women and minorities are less likely to state their opinions for fear of being negatively evaluated or stereotyped by the dominant culture. It can be presumed that stress and anxiety will also persist with women in chronic distinctiveness settings as they consider how men will view

their opinions. The literature also highlights that women indicated being inhibited when expressing their opinions. In both acute and chronic distinctiveness settings, African Americans may harbor fears regarding how their opinions will be viewed. Moreover, their self-confidence levels were also negatively impacted (Cioffi, 1995). This weakened self-confidence can easily damage academic performance and self-efficacy.

Performance Pressure. Kanter's (1977) research indicates that individuals in token and distinctiveness settings are more vulnerable to stress. Specifically, Kanter identifies three forms of stress: performance pressure, role entrapment, and boundary heightening. Performance pressure refers to constant evaluations and scrutiny, or the pressure to perform at optimum levels for the individual and fellow group members (Kanter, 1977; Strohine & Brandl, 2011). This performance pressure leads to the desire not only to achieve for oneself but also to provide avenues for others of the same racial group to succeed. In fact, individuals have reported significant pressure to exceed academic and career requirements, in order to provide future opportunities for fellow group members (Jackson, 1995). One type of performance pressure includes the feeling that minorities must overachieve in order to receive the same recognition as someone in the dominant culture. Conversely, some minorities indicate that underachievement is also necessary in order to not draw attention to their academic and work efforts (Jackson, 1995). In these situations, students and workers have reported that intentional underachievement creates less conflict in their academic and work settings (Jackson, 1995). Although fewer academic and occupational conflicts were reported, consistent underachievement may lead to role entrapment.

Role Entrapment. Minorities who exhibit characteristics that do not coincide with behaviors of their perceived group may experience social isolation from the dominant group, and from their racial group. In these instances, some minorities are encouraged to adopt racial and or

gender stereotypes in order to assimilate to their racial or gender group. These actions can lead to role entrapment (Crocker & McGraw, 1994). Role entrapment is the process by which individuals are encouraged to adopt particular mannerisms or characteristics for their academic or career position (Jackson et al., 1995). For example, African American men may be asked to perform a rap song at the company's annual party, or women may be asked to complete secretarial tasks at staff meetings. Role entrapment also occurs when job abilities and requirements are linked to racial or gender stereotypes. For instance, African Americans may be expected to apply for jobs in the service industry. When stereotypes are inconsistent with job or academic responsibilities, minorities may be overlooked for certain roles and opportunities for advancement. Furthermore, individuals who conform to the stereotypes may be placed in limiting positions.

Conversely, if minorities resist conforming to the stereotypes, they are likely "trapped" in a certain state, such as feeling the need to consistently be assertive and advocate for advancement, that they would not have willingly chosen (Kanter, 1977). Unfortunately, these behaviors may be viewed as defensive or aggressive, ultimately leading to additional stereotypes and a continuous cycle of entrapment. In either scenario, minorities find themselves trapped in a position. Unfortunately, in both circumstances, role entrapment persists for minorities, and academic and career progression is difficult to attain. As individuals are faced with role entrapment, self-distortion, stress, and anxiety are likely to occur (Kanter, 1977).

Polarization. Kanter also identifies boundary heightening or polarization as a factor that negatively affects emotional well-being. Polarization is prevalent when differences and similarities are highlighted and exaggerated (Crocker & McGraw, 1984). As these differences are exaggerated, personal and group boundaries of the dominant culture are made stronger (Li,

1994). Consequently, minorities must demonstrate trustworthiness and dependability to the dominant culture by laughing at jokes, including culturally insensitive jokes, remaining passive throughout discussions, complying with unjust requests, and refusing to apply for leadership positions (Li, 1994; Jackson, 1995). These factors not only affect emotional well-being and interactions, but also negatively affect academic progression and job satisfaction. While the literature primarily relates these actions to acute distinctiveness settings, it is possible that polarization occurs in chronic distinctiveness settings. For example, an African American student in an HBCU classroom who exhibits non-stereotypical racial behaviors compared to her fellow African American peers may be accused of acting White. Hence, the behavioral differences are likely to be exaggerated within the African American culture. In fact, when African Americans exhibit behaviors that are uncharacteristic of their racial group, they are viewed as untrustworthy (Jackson, 1995). As long as such differences continue to be highlighted, polarization will remain in both acute and chronic distinctiveness settings. Consequently, individuals become socially isolated or are forced to exhibit specific characteristics to be considered exceptional (Jackson, 1995). Moreover, as these differences are exaggerated, minorities experience difficulty coping with stress and depression, and struggle to be viewed as equals (Crocker & McGraw, 1984).

In sum, performance pressures, role entrapment, and polarization are all significant problems that result in mental health concerns such as stress, anxiety, and depression. In addition, the stress and anxiety that results from evaluations, as well as the worrisome thoughts, are critical factors that affect the well-being of students and workers in both acute and chronic distinctiveness settings. Although these problems are prevalent in both settings, the literature shows that the symptoms are worse in acute settings (Jackson, 1995). Moreover, when race is

not a factor, women solos report depression or anxiety more often than men solos (Jackson, 1995). As psychological well-being is negatively affected by higher levels of stress, depression, or anxiety, academic achievement, occupational advancement, and workplace interactions can likewise be negatively affected.

Distinctiveness and Gender

As distinctiveness is continuously studied, it is important to understand how distinctiveness is viewed when gender is the pertinent factor rather than race. Pollack and Niemann (1998) found that African American women experience chronic distinctiveness at a greater rate than Caucasian women. Presently there is very little research on the existence and experience of racial distinctiveness, specifically chronic distinctiveness for African American men. The extant literature primarily focuses on African American women.

African American women consistently outperform African American men in numerous academic subjects and social activities (Saunders, Davis, Williams, T. & Williams, J. H. 2004). Additionally, African American women are expected to achieve higher educational excellence than African American men (Wood, Kaplan, & McLoyd, 2007), and exhibit higher self-efficacy (Saunders et al., 2004). As these expectations are maintained, women are socialized to pursue certain career fields. In fact, although the number of women (regardless of race) entering the fields of Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM) is rising, women continue to be pressured to pursue non-STEM academic and career-related fields. As men and women are socialized differently, each type of distinctiveness (acute, chronic, and occupational) also persists. Regarding acute distinctiveness settings, women are more likely to experience negative performance outcomes in academic and career settings (Sekaquaptewa & Thompson, 2003). Historically, women and racial minorities have been victims of numerous forms of inequality.

Often this inequality entailed lower wages, promotion denials, and an expectation to enter certain career fields. Despite the fact that women comprise more than 47% of the workforce (Department of Labor, 2010), unfortunately many issues of inequality, racial and gender saliency, solo-status, and distinctiveness continue to exist. Additionally, women have reported being scrutinized, feeling more negatively stereotyped, and receiving lower performance evaluations as a result of their gender (Kanter, 1977). Consequently, women have expressed a desire to work in more gender balanced groups (Cohen & Swim, 1995; Stangor, Carr, & Kiang, 1998).

Men and Leadership Roles. Kanter (1977) found that the experiences and consequences of tokenism are different for men in a solo-status environment. In both acute and chronic distinctiveness settings, men are consistently viewed as group leaders (Crocker & McGraw, 1984). Given this fact, women are expected to remain in subordinate roles. These ideals lead to role entrapment, thus preventing women from achieving career advancement and job satisfaction. As men are more often viewed as leaders, their experience with mental health concerns, discrimination, or lack of career advancement will be highly different from the experiences of women. Crocker & McGraw (1984), found similar findings in that men are perceived as leaders and are preferred over women in acute distinctiveness settings.

Women and Leadership Roles. In work and academic settings, women report their gender as being a salient factor more often than men do. Conversely, minority men report race as the salient factor at a higher rate than women (Crocker & McGraw, 1984). Unlike men who consistently view themselves as leaders, women only consider themselves leaders 30% of the time (Crocker & McGraw, 1984). These viewpoints could precipitate polarization, role entrapment, and low self-efficacy, as well as numerous other effects. Although African

American women are socialized to be more academic and career minded, they do not perceive themselves in leadership positions in situations when they are the minority in regards to gender. Additionally, regarding the three distinctiveness factors (Identity, Accountability, and Responsibility), Crocker & McGraw (1984) and Yoder (1994) find that when race is not a factor, women report being accountable and responsible for the success of other women, while men did not report being accountable and responsible for other men. Although maintaining accountability and responsibility for one's race or gender could lead to higher levels of success for the individuals and their group, it could also negatively affect mental well-being, leading to poor performance and evaluations, and continue to maintain chronic and occupational distinctiveness (Pollack & Niemann, 1998).

Distinctiveness and Job Satisfaction

Individuals who are in occupational distinctiveness settings report lower job satisfaction than individuals who are in more racially- and gender-balanced work environments (Niemann & Dovidio, 1998). Job satisfaction is defined as a "pleasurable or positive emotional state resulting from the appraisal of one's job or job experiences" (Locke, 1976, p. 1300). In distinctiveness settings, individuals report higher levels of stress (Jackson, 1995), stigmatization, and susceptibility to stereotypes and biases (Niemann & Dovidio, 1998). Experiencing stigmatization carries several negative consequences, such as decreased emotional states and lower academic and job satisfaction. Niemann & Dovidio (2001) find that racial stigmatization, distinctiveness, and job satisfaction are correlated. Specifically, individuals who are solo minorities report higher levels of job dissatisfaction than individuals who are not solo minorities.

Job dissatisfaction occurs in both acute and chronic distinctiveness settings. Research indicates that job dissatisfaction is higher in acute distinctiveness areas. In acute settings,

African Americans have reported significantly lower job satisfaction than other minority groups. Hispanics and Latinos indicated the second lowest level of job satisfaction. Lower levels of job satisfaction directly relate to higher levels of distinctiveness (Niemann & Dovidio, 1998). In working environments where acute distinctiveness exists, problems such as polarization and role entrapment are likely to arise (Crocker & McGraw, 1984). These factors may all lead to job dissatisfaction (Niemann & Dovidio, 1998). Furthermore, role entrapment maintains stereotypes, and may lead to job advancement being thwarted (Crocker & McGraw, 1994). Consequently, individuals may choose not to pursue specific careers or positions within their organization leading to occupational distinctiveness. Selecting an alternative career because of fears relating to minority status could also lead to job dissatisfaction. Finally, job satisfaction is related to mental health: higher job satisfaction correlates to higher self-confidence, self-efficacy, and better relationships (Bowling, Eschleman, Wang, Kirkendall, & Alarcon, 2010). Maintaining satisfaction may create more enjoyable educational experiences and work productivity, and fewer experiences of chronic and occupational distinctiveness.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURES

This chapter details the procedures utilized to conduct the present research. The research methodology emphasizes data collection and procedures, information regarding the sample, and instrumentation descriptions. Additionally the research design and data analysis are discussed in detail.

Participants

All the participants were selected from the same public HBCU. Although these students' responses may not apply to every student who attends an HBCU, research shows that there are few differences between HBCUs (Simms & Brock, 2014). In fact, among four-year public HBCUs, there are more differences within institutions than between institutions (Simms & Brock, 2014). This research is consistent with previous research findings. For instance, Brown (2002) finds that there is little variability among HBCUs regarding educational outcomes and students' self-concepts. Brown's (2002) research findings also suggest that there are more between group differences between public HBCUs and private HBCUs.

This particular HBCU is located in the Southeastern United States. Freed slaves founded the college in the 1800s in an effort to educate African Americans. Presently, the university enrolls nearly 6,000 students, and offers both undergraduate and graduate degrees. The student body consists of approximately 60% women and 40% men. The racial background of the university includes: African American 92%, White or Caucasian 1.6%, Hispanic or Latino 1.2%, Biracial or Multiracial .98%, and American Indian or Alaskan Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian or

other Pacific Islander represents less than 1% each. The remaining percentages consist of students who did not report their race. The majority of the student body represents students who are in state residents. Approximately one-third of the student population is out of state students. The number of international students is not reported. The university maintains a focus on students and promotes a cherishing environment that is devoted to education, research, and service to others. It also provides students with the necessary tools to think critically and to improve their academic and professional environments. This university takes pride in educating individuals of diverse backgrounds, in order to provide accomplishments for students who are committed to education. In addition to education, the university aids students in personal and social growth. The university offers eight intercollegiate men sporting activities and 10 intercollegiate women sporting activities. Moreover, the university maintains football traditions, numerous Greek organizations, academic organizations, and social supportive networks.

Students who self-identify as Black, African American, African, or of African descent, and who were currently enrolled in any of the university's undergraduate academic programs, were eligible to participate. In order to calculate an appropriate sample size for this research design, an *a priori* power analysis was used for each research question. The power analysis involved three variables: power, an alpha coefficient, and an effect size. T-test sample size tables were used to determine the most appropriate sample size for this study. Using an alpha of .05, power of .80, and an effect size of .80, it was determined that approximately 52 participants were needed to complete the current analyses. Given that research question two tests gender differences, it was also ideal to have a gender-balanced sample.

Procedures

Participants were recruited through email announcements that were sent out by a university's departmental office. The email announcement invited the students to participate in a study that examined the presence of chronic distinctiveness on the campuses of HBCUs. A web-based survey was used in order to maximize the number of participants. The link to the survey was provided in the email. The university's departmental office notified this researcher that because of technology, the email could not be sent to all undergraduate students at once. Therefore, the email message was delivered to students over the course of five days. For example, the email was delivered to approximately 500 to 2,000 students each day. Although the email was sent to the entire undergraduate student body, the university's departmental office informed this researcher that there were a large percentage of undeliverable emails. Consequently, numerous students did not receive the email message and were not able to complete the study. Additionally, the email message was distributed during the last week of classes and the first week of final exams. This time period is typically a highly stressful time. Therefore, it is possible that the timing of the email impacted the number of student who initiated and responded to the survey.

Participants were first required to read and sign an informed consent form, and were then asked to complete each measure. Participants were advised that the complete process would constitute approximately 25 to 30 minutes. They were allowed to complete the online survey at their leisure and in the location of their choice (e.g. residence hall, coffee shop, library, etc.). Additionally, every student was entered into a lottery with a one in five chance to receive a ten-dollar Visa gift card. Additionally, participants were informed that their names would not be attached to the completed survey, but were warned that unsecure Internet connections made it

impossible to guarantee confidentiality. Accordingly, participants were given the option to print the survey and mail it to the principal investigator, in case they were uncomfortable completing it online. Prior to completing the study, participants were informed that participation was completely voluntary, and that they could withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences.

Instruments

The web survey included a consent form and a collection of scales that measure the factors of distinctiveness, including the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS), a Responsibility Scale, an Africentrism Scale (AFRI), and the Distinctiveness Scale.

Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS). The Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS) was used to measure racial identity. The CRIS was selected because it is considered to be an excellent scale for assessing racial identity, and has been frequently used in research on racial identity. Burkard and Ponterotto (2008), along with Ponterotto and Park-Taylor (2007), describe the CRIS as an exceptional racial identity instrument for African Americans.

The CRIS is based on the Expanded Nigrescence Theory, which describes themes in the racial identity development of African Americans. This theory has been conceptualized and consistently cited in studies of racial identity (Worrell, Mendoza-Denton, Telesford, Simmons, & Martin, 2011). The CRIS examines several individual aspects of racial identity, assessing a total of six different racial identity attitudes (Vandiver et al., 2000; Worrell, Vandiver, & Cross, 2004). The six item subscales are Pre-Encounter Assimilation, Pre-Encounter Miseducation, Pre-Encounter Self-Hatred, Immersion-Emersion Anti-White, Internalization Afrocentricity, and Internalization Multiculturalist Inclusive (Worrell et al., 2011). The Pre-Encounter Assimilation attitude describes African Americans who view their racial identity as being less pronounced,

while the Pre-Encounter Miseducation attitude reflects a belief that the derogatory stereotypes about African Americans are true. The Pre-Encounter Self-Hatred attitude includes a disdain for not only being African American, but also for having any characteristics associated with the African American race. The Immersion-Emersion Anti-White attitude describes strong negative viewpoints toward individuals of European ancestry. The Internalization Afrocentricity attitude reflects strongly held Afrocentric beliefs and values. The Internalization Multiculturalist Inclusive attitude reflects not only strongly held Afrocentric beliefs, but also incorporates an appreciation for the value systems of other cultural belief systems (Worrell et al., 2011).

As previously stated, the CRIS has been regarded as an exceptional study for racial identity. In fact, Vandiver et al. (2000) reports that the CRIS has not received any criticism for its psychometric properties. The CRIS is a 40-item measure on a 7-point Likert scale, with higher endorsed items meaning a stronger inclination to the items. The measure produces appropriate Cronbach's alphas in adult populations, ranging from .78 to .86.

Although the CRIS has strong psychometric properties and has been frequently used, it is not without limitations. The CRIS was normed on African American students who attended PWIs located in the northeast region of the United States. Consequently, the results may not be generalizable to African American students who attend different universities or who live in a different geographical location. Additionally, the initial sample for the CRIS did not include many individuals from low socio-economic backgrounds or low educational attainment levels. Also, the sample was not balanced in terms of gender, which could impact findings (Vandiver, Cross, Worrell, & Fhagen-Smith, 2002). These limitations are acknowledged in the original sample, but subsequent research addresses them more fully. For example, Worrell et al. (2004) examine the internal consistency and the structural validity of the CRIS in a sample that consists

of adults who were graduate students or working professionals, and who came from a variety of socioeconomic backgrounds. The results indicate that internal consistency was in the moderate to high range. However, the study also provided support for the model's structural validity. Given that the above limitations were addressed, it can be concluded that the findings of the CRIS are generalizable.

Since the CRIS has strong psychometric properties, it has been frequently used throughout the extant literature regarding racial identity. Although the CRIS was normed on African American students living in the northeast geographical region of the United States, Worrell et al., (2011) were the first to utilize the CRIS in research on African Americans in the Western United States. Consequently, the scale's internal consistency and structural validity were examined. In Worrell et al., (2011), all of the internal consistency estimates were above .70. The structural validity yielded appropriate support for the six-factor model. Additionally, a confirmatory factor analysis provided evidence that supports the structure of the CRIS. Using the CRIS, Worrell et al., (2011) find that anxiety and depressive symptoms are related to negative racial attitudes such as self-hatred or anti-White sentiment. They also utilized the CRIS to examine racial identity over time. The results indicate that over an approximately two-year time period, 30% to 40% of racial identity attitudes remain stable (Worrell et al., 2011).

Stanley (2014) collected data from an HBCU to analyze links between racial identity and organized activities. Additionally, his research uses racial socialization as a mediator to understand any possible links. Stanley (2014) finds that involvement in some activities serves to augment racial identity, and that racial socialization partially mediates activities for Afrocentricity and racial identity. Similarly, the present study discusses the relationship between student organizations, racial socialization, and chronic distinctiveness.

During the development of the CRIS, a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was also completed. Although the result suggested a goodness of fit, Worrell & Watson (2008) completed an additional CFA. Worrell & Watson (2008) find a good fit for the NT-E's racial identity model. Also, their results suggest that the CRIS scale provides empirical evidence concerning racial identity attitudes (Worrell & Watson, 2008). Previous research indicates that factor analysis was used to group items on the CRIS. Worrell, Vandiver, Schaefer, Cross, & Fhagen-Smith (2006) also completed a cluster analysis utilizing the CRIS. The results indicate that the cluster analysis yields support for racial identity attitudes, and that the racial identity attitudes are generalizable (Worrell, 2006). Additionally, their research was conducted on both PWI and HBCU campuses, to evaluate whether educational environments were a factor for racial identity. The results show that students who attended a PWI had stronger multiculturalist viewpoints. However, students who attended an HBCU were more inclined to report stronger anti-White attitudes.

Africentrism Scale (AFRI). The Africentrism Scale (AFRI) was used to examine the degree of accountability African Americans exhibit towards their racial group. This instrument was selected because it is considered to be a useful instrument to measure Africentric values (Cokley, 2005). Researchers note that the values of Africentrism heavily incorporate cultural interdependence and accountability (Morris, 2001; Hunn, 2004). The creators of the Africentrism scale were intentional with the spelling: they chose to use the prefix Afri rather than Afro to emphasize the linguistic connectivity to Africa (Cokley, 2005). Additionally, the scale uses Kwanzaa principles to outline values embraced by African Americans. These principles are considered “codes of conduct for daily life, representing 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 scale contains 15 items, utilizing a 4-point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Kwate (2003) finds a negative relationship concerning convergent validity for the AFRI and cultural misorientation scale. Factor analysis shows that the AFRI scale is best used as a complete construct, rather than as seven different concepts (Cokley & Williams, 2005). The measure yields appropriate internal consistency with a Cronbach’s alpha of .77. A notable strength of the measure is that the authors tested internal reliability for Africans, African Americans, and Caribbeans. The overall internal reliability for the AFRI was .81 (Grills & Longshore, 1996). Limitations of this measure indicate that there was no test-retest reliability measure completed (Grills & Longshore, 1996). Additional limitations for the AFRI include that the measure was completed through self-reports.

Although the Africentrism scale has not been frequently used in published studies, a few of the studies that utilize the scale are discussed below. The AFRI scale has been cross-validated on individuals of African ancestry, including Africans, African Americans, and Caribbean/West Indians (Kwate, 2003). The results yield strong internal consistency for the Kwate, (2003) study. Also, the research suggests that the AFRI is inversely related to the cultural misorientation scale. Given the relationship of the two scales, Kwate (2003) argues that the AFRI is a reliable research tool. Demographic variables such as age and education were also positively correlated to the AFRI scale: results indicate that older adults and individuals who have obtained higher education held stronger Africentric beliefs.

Cokley (2005) examines how African Americans’ racial identity relates to ethnic identity and Afrocentric values. In his study, Cokley (2005) uses several research instruments, including

the AFRI scale. The results indicate that the AFRI is an accurate measure for Africentric cultural values. Cokley, Awosogba, and Taylor (2014) note that the Africentrism scale serves as a pertinent “culturally specific construct and measure” (p. 234). Cokley (2005) likewise completed research to distinguish racial identity, ethnic identity, and Afrocentric values, and to analyze the relationships among them. The Africentrism measure was used to ascertain Afrocentric values. The study consisted of approximately 200 students. He describes the AFRI, along with the other research instruments that were utilized, as measures that examine and explain the concepts of Africentrism in relation to African American identity and values. The results of that study suggest that individuals who embody a strong sense of Africentric values have a higher racialized identity (Cokley, 2005).

The Africentrism scale was also used to test the relationship between cultural factors and the perceived anticipated advantages and obstacles, as they relate to genetic testing in possible cancer patients (Sussner et al. 2009). The participants included women of African ancestry. In this study, the results did not indicate a relationship between the cultural values within the Africentrism scale and the anticipated advantages and obstacles for genetic testing.

The Africentrism scale has also been used in several dissertations. Bishop (2003) used the Africentrism scale to examine the relationship between self-esteem and Africentric values. The author also analyzes the relationship between parental endorsement and Africentric values. The results did not support a strong relationship between Africentric values and self-esteem or between Africentric values and parental endorsement. The authors suggest that their hypotheses were possibly not supported because of an inadequate sample size and poor reliability for their study. In a different vein, Duval (2005) studied the relationship between Africentric values and

psychological androgyny in middle-age African American women. The author found that there is a significant relationship between Africentric values and psychological androgyny.

Distinctiveness Measure. Pollak and Niemann (1998) constructed the distinctiveness measure used in this study. Given that there is not presently a distinctiveness scale, this instrument was selected because Pollak and Niemann utilized it to measure chronic distinctiveness. Additionally, this measure has been used as a foundation in other distinctiveness research. For example, Sekaquaptewa and Thompson (2002) utilized this measure to construct distinctiveness questions for both acute and chronic distinctiveness. There are six total items that access the three different factors (Racial Identity, Responsibility, and Accountability) for chronic distinctiveness. This scale was also previously used in a pilot study for chronic distinctiveness.

A notable strength of the scale is that it was designed to measure chronic distinctiveness. Limitations of this scale include poor reliability and scarce previous usage. The reliability for responsibility was 0.74, while accountability yielded a reliability of 0.56. The racial identity reliability was 0.52. Only one study was found that utilized this distinctiveness measure: Pollack and Niemann (1998) use it to analyze any differences between Caucasian and African American women. Their results indicate that African American women experience chronic distinctiveness more frequently than Caucasian women. The authors also examine the solo-status effects among African Americans and Caucasians. These results indicate that both racial groups experience acute distinctiveness; however, only African Americans experience chronic distinctiveness.

Responsibility Scale. The responsibility items were similarly taken from the Pollack and Neimann (1998) distinctiveness scale. The scale is intended to measure the degree of responsibility individuals feel towards their racial group. The measure contains two items on a

7-point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. The scale yields appropriate internal consistency, with a Cronbach's alpha of 0.74.

Research Question 1

How does a brief distinctiveness scale (Pollak & Niemann, 1998) compare to a collection of scales that measure the three hypothesized factors of distinctiveness?

Research Question 2

Are there gender differences in chronic distinctiveness in the current sample?

Research Question 3

Do students who attend an HBCU report feelings of chronic distinctiveness?

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

The chronic distinctiveness study examined a collection of scales and a distinctiveness measure to identify any observed difference and conceptual overlap between the scores for each scale. This study also tested for gender differences, and examined the presence of chronic distinctiveness at an HBCU. This chapter will provide information about the results of the analyses conducted for this study. A brief description of the participants' demographics is included in order to accurately illustrate the sample. Following the demographics, the statistical analyses will be introduced, and a profile for each instrument administered will be presented. Finally, the results from each research question tested will be provided.

The number of participants who began the study was 120 students. Unfortunately, approximately half of the sample was either excluded or failed to complete the entire questionnaire. There were 12 participants who did not agree to the informed consent and were excluded. Eight other participants were excluded because they did not meet the legal age of consent: according to the state law where the HBCU resides, individuals must be at least 19 years of age to give consent. An additional 10 participants were excluded because they did not self-identify as being of African ancestry. Of the remaining participants, an additional 29 students were removed because they did not complete all of the items necessary to compute the variables of interest. Consequently, 61 total participants were retained for the analyses.

Demographic Data

All 61 participants were undergraduate students from the same HBCU, located within the Southeast geographical region of the United States. There were 49 women and 12 men. All of the participants self-identified as being of African descent.

Table 1: Gender representation in study.

	Category	<i>N</i>	%
Gender	Men	12	19.67%
	Women	49	80.33%

Descriptive Statistics

In order to compare the collection of scales to the existing distinctiveness measure, a correlational analysis was completed. A moderate positive correlation (Table 3) was found between the three collective scales and the distinctiveness measure, indicating that these two scales have a large amount of conceptual overlap ($r(59) = 0.64, p < 0.001$). Specifically, the Distinctiveness measure and the CRIS scale was found to have a positive correlation ($r(59) = 0.54, p < 0.001$), indicating that individuals who endorse strong racial identity aspects will also likely report higher feelings of chronic distinctiveness. Africentricity was negatively correlated with the CRIS scale, ($r(59) = -0.52, p < 0.001$). The correlation between Distinctiveness and Africentricity identified no significant correlation between these two measures, $r(59) = 0.16, N.S.$ The conceptual overlap supports the view that the items in the CRIS and distinctiveness scales measure similar constructs. Table 4 outlines the correlations among the three scales.

Table 2: Descriptive statistics for CRIS subscales

Measure	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Assimilation	61	4.00	1.92
Miseducation	61	4.41	1.77
Self-Hatred	61	2.80	2.34
Anti-White	61	2.34	3.93
Afrocentricity	61	3.93	1.64
Multicultural Inclusive	61	5.77	0.96

Note. *M* = Mean; *SD* = Standard Deviation, *N* = sample size

Table 3: Correlation between scales

Variables	<i>r</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
Scale Collection and Distinctiveness Scale	0.64	59	<0.001*

Note. *Indicates significance at the $p = 0.05$ level.

Table 4 Correlations between individual scales

Variables	<i>r</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
Distinctiveness CRIS Score	0.54	59	<0.001*
Africentricity CRIS Score	-0.52	59	<0.001*
Distinctiveness and Africentricity	0.23	59	0.84

Note. *Indicates significance at the $p = 0.05$ level.

Table 5: Correlations between scales and subscales

Variables	<i>r</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
Distinctiveness			
CRIS Score	0.54	59	<0.001*
Assimilation	0.16	59	0.21
Miseducation	0.32	59	0.01*
Self-Hatred	0.58	59	<0.001*
Anti-White	0.53	59	<0.001*
Afrocentricity	0.43	59	<0.001*
Multicultural Inclusion	0.45	59	<0.001*
Africentricity			
CRIS Score	-0.52	59	<0.001*
Assimilation	-0.52	59	<0.001*
Miseducation	-0.43	59	<0.001*
Self-Hatred	-0.52	59	<0.001*
Anti-White	-0.54	59	<0.001*
Afrocentricity	-0.37	59	<0.01*
Multicultural Inclusion	0.06	59	0.63
Distinctiveness and Africentricity	0.23	59	0.84

Note. *Indicates significance at the $p = 0.05$ level.

In order to assess the relationship between each scale and each subscale, correlation analyses were completed. Correlations were run between the Distinctiveness measure, Africentricity, and the CRIS scale and subscales. The significant correlations are displayed in Table 4. Significant correlations are discussed in more detail. There were several notable positive correlations found between the Distinctiveness measure and the CRIS scale and subscales. The Distinctiveness measure and the CRIS scale were found to have a positive correlation ($r(59) = 0.54, p < 0.001$), indicating that individuals who endorse strong racial identity aspects will also likely report higher feelings of chronic distinctiveness. The next positive correlation was between Distinctiveness and Self-Hatred ($r(59) = 0.58, p < 0.001$). This relationship suggests that individuals who endorse high self-hatred also endorse high chronic distinctiveness. A positive correlation was also found between Distinctiveness and the

Anti-White subscale ($r(59) = 0.53, p < 0.001$). This result suggests that as Distinctiveness increases, Anti-White beliefs also increase. A positive correlation was also found between Distinctiveness and Afrocentricity ($r(59) = 0.43, p < 0.001$), indicating that individuals strongly hold both Distinctiveness and Afrocentricity values. Lastly, a positive correlation was found between Distinctiveness and Multicultural Inclusion ($r(59) = 0.45, p < 0.001$). This relationship indicates that individuals not only hold strong cultural values for their racial group, but also value cross-cultural values while adhering to Distinctiveness values.

There were also several negative correlations that are notable for discussion.

Africentricity was negatively correlated with the CRIS scale ($r(59) = -0.52, p < 0.001$).

Africentricity was likewise negatively correlated with Assimilation ($r(59) = -0.52, p < 0.001$), indicating that individuals who strongly hold Africentric values were less likely to hold a strong belief system regarding assimilating to the dominant culture. Africentricity was also found to be negatively correlated with Self-Hatred ($r(59) = -0.52, p < 0.001$), suggesting that the more Africentric values are reported, the less likely individuals will hold negative inward personal beliefs. An additional negative correlation was found between Africentricity and Anti-White beliefs ($r(59) = -0.54, p < 0.001$), indicating that individuals who reported higher values of Africentricity were not likely to also hold anti-White values. There was also a negative correlation between Africentricity and Miseducation ($r(59) = -0.43, p < 0.001$), indicating that individuals who adhere to Africentric values do not necessarily believe the negative messages regarding their racial group. The overall correlation between Distinctiveness and Africentricity identified no significant correlation between these two measures, $r(59) = 0.16, N.S.$

Additionally, for research question one, two dependent variables were used in this study: a combination of scales (CRIS [40 items], the Distinctiveness Responsibility Scale [two items],

and the Africentrism Scale [15 items]) and a distinctiveness measure. Prior to transforming each scale, the original scoring instructions were followed in order to compute accurate scores. There were several options for combining the three individual scales, including utilizing z scores or using a weighted average. The weighted average option was selected because all items were Likert-type scale. Two scales consisted of a 7-point Likert scale and one scale consisted of a 4-point Likert scale. This option provided better understanding than the more complex transformation formulas. Additionally, the results can be calculated by hand when utilizing the weighted option, while other options require that the data be transformed and calculated on the computer. Given that each scale measured one factor of distinctiveness and all are equally important, each scale was given equal weight.

First, an average for each individual scale was calculated. Next, each calculation was given a weight of 0.33, providing an equal weight to each individual scale. Finally, an average was calculated based on the previous calculation of each individual measure, to create a single score for each participant. Additionally, the distinctiveness measure was also given equal weight, in order to maintain uniformity for each measure by averaging the six items.

One of the primary objectives of this study was to compare any differences in the observed scores on the collection of scales to any differences in the observed scores on an existing single shorter distinctiveness measure. Unfortunately, without any current measures to compare these results to, this determination was rather difficult. In order to make this determination, the internal reliability of each measure was analyzed using Cronbach's alpha. The combination of scales were found to have excellent internal reliability, $\alpha = 0.93$. Additionally, it should be noted that each of the three scales individually maintained excellent internal reliability. Similarly, the distinctiveness measure was found to have very good internal

reliability, $\alpha = 0.85$. Although this is somewhat lower than the combined scales, the distinctiveness measure only utilized six items and yielded excellent reliability.

Next, it was beneficial to determine if the observed scores on the collection of scales and the observed scores on the distinctiveness measure would provide different scores from each other on a sample of undergraduate students, or if both measures are essentially repetitions of each other. Therefore, a one-sample t-test was conducted. The observed scores for the distinctiveness measure ($M = 5.68, SD = 1.07$) were significantly higher than the observed scores for the collection of scales ($M = 4.49, SD = 0.57$), $t(60) = -11.20, p < 0.001, ES = 0.68$. The effect size was large, suggesting that a strong difference in scores exists between the different measures, with the distinctiveness measure providing higher scores. The higher scores on the distinctiveness measure indicate that students reported feelings of chronic distinctiveness at a higher rate. In sum, the collection of scales and the distinctiveness measure are both reliable for chronic distinctiveness.

Table 6: Results of t-test analyses between genders

Measure	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>M Difference</i>	<i>Sig</i>
Difference Between the Measures	-11.20	60	-1.19	<0.001*

Note. *M* = Mean, * marks significance at the 0.05 level.

Table 7: Descriptive statistics for each measure by gender

Measure	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Scale Collection	61	4.49	0.57
Distinctiveness Scale	61	5.68	1.07

Note. *M* = Mean; *SD* = Standard Deviation, *N* = sample size

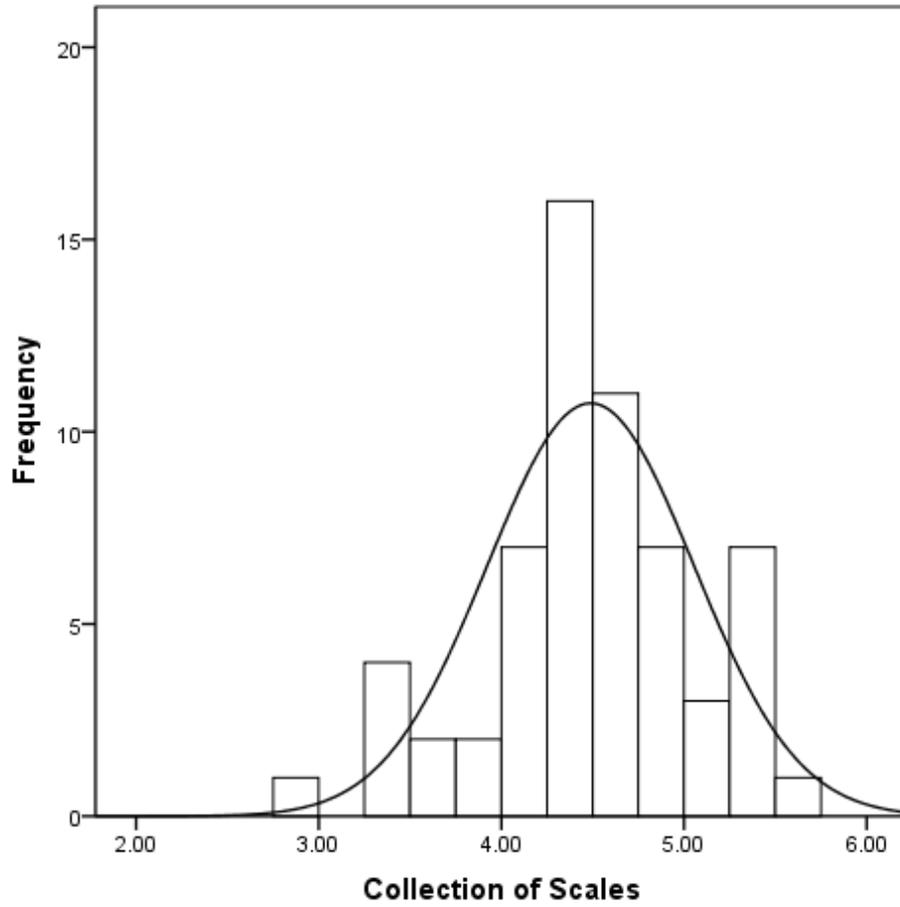


Figure 1. Histogram of participant scores on the collection of scales.

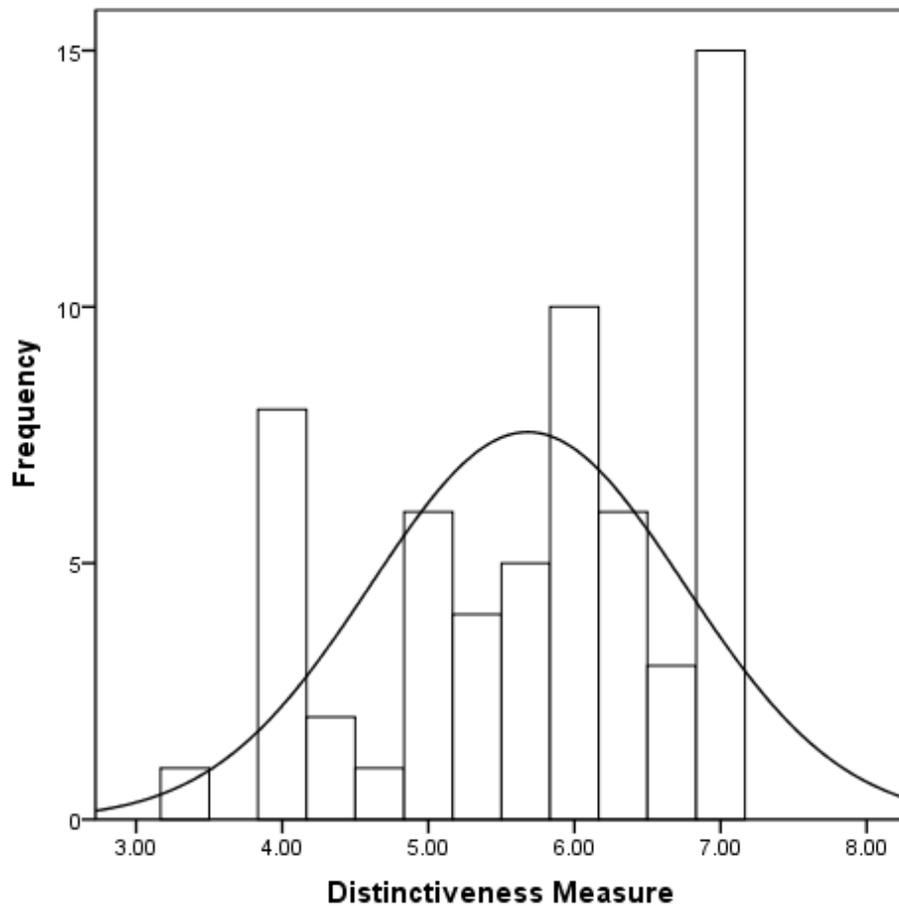


Figure 2. Histogram of participant scores on the Distinctiveness Scale.

In order to assess gender differences within chronic distinctiveness, two independent t-tests were conducted to assess whether the presence of chronic distinctiveness differed significantly between men and women. No significant differences between genders were found for the collection of scales (men $M = 4.46$ and $SD = 0.56$; women $M = 4.50$ and $SD = 0.57$), $t(17.01) = -0.22$, *N.S.*, or for the distinctiveness measure (men $M = 5.64$ and $SD = 1.25$; women $M = 5.69$ and $SD = 1.04$), $t(14.90) = -0.13$, *N.S.* Given these results, it is possible that uneven sample sizes (men $N = 12$ and women $N = 49$) may have influenced the lack of significance. Additionally, the means and standard deviations between genders also suggests that any

difference may be very small, suggesting that this study may have lacked sufficient power to observe a significant result if differences do exist in the larger population.

Table 8: Results of t-test analyses between genders

Measure	<i>T</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>M Difference</i>	<i>Sig</i>
Scale Collection	-0.22	17.01	-0.04	0.83
Distinctiveness Scale	-0.13	14.90	-0.05	0.90

Note. *M* = Mean

Table 9: Descriptive statistics for each measure by gender

Measure	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Scale Collection			
Women	49	4.50	0.57
Men	12	4.46	0.56
Distinctiveness Scale			
Women	49	5.69	1.04
Men	12	5.64	1.25

Note. *M* = Mean; *SD* = Standard Deviation, *N* = sample size

Gender differences were also access with the CRIS subscales. Table 10 outlines the gender differences. Both men and women strongly endorsed Multicultural Inclusive, indicating that the men and women at this HBCU not only incorporate Afrocentric values, but also other cultural values. Self- Hatred and Anti-White were the least endorsed by men, indicating that the men at this particular HBCU do not internalized the negative messages about African Americans. Additionally they do not hold many negative viewpoints about the dominant culture. Similarly, women did not strongly endorse Anti-White attitudes. Table 11 outlines the gender differences for the three measures.

Table 10 Gender differences for the CRIS Subscale

Descriptive Statistics

Gender		N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Male	Assimilation	12	1.60	7.00	3.8000	1.75188
	Miseducation	12	1.20	1.20	6.60	1.94118
	Self-Hatred	12	1.00	6.80	2.3000	1.98449
	Anti-White	12	1.00	6.60	2.3000	1.94562
	Afrocentricity	12	2.00	7.00	4.1000	1.48324
	Multi. Incl.	12	3.60	7.00	5.4167	1.06330
	Valid N (listwise)	12				
Female	Assimilation	49	1.00	7.00	4.0531	1.97854
	Miseducation	49	1.00	7.00	4.4980	1.73547
	Self-Hatred	49	1.00	6.80	2.9276	2.15312
	Anti-White	49	1.00	6.80	2.3469	2.01278
	Afrocentricity	49	1.00	6.60	3.8898	1.68328
	Multi. Incl.	49	3.60	7.00	5.8612	0.92394
	Valid N (listwise)	49				

Table 11 Gender differences for each scale

Descriptive Statistics

Gender		N	Min	Max	M	SD
Male	Distinctiveness Measure	12	3.33	7.00	5.64	1.25
	Africentricity	12	2.72	3.64	3.05	0.29
	CRIS Score	12	2.50	6.78	3.99	1.32
	Valid N (listwise)	12				
Female	Distinctiveness Measure	49	3.83	7.00	5.69	1.04
	Africentricity	49	2.56	3.56	3.04	0.27
	CRIS Score	49	2.08	6.45	4.19	1.19
	Valid N (listwise)	49				

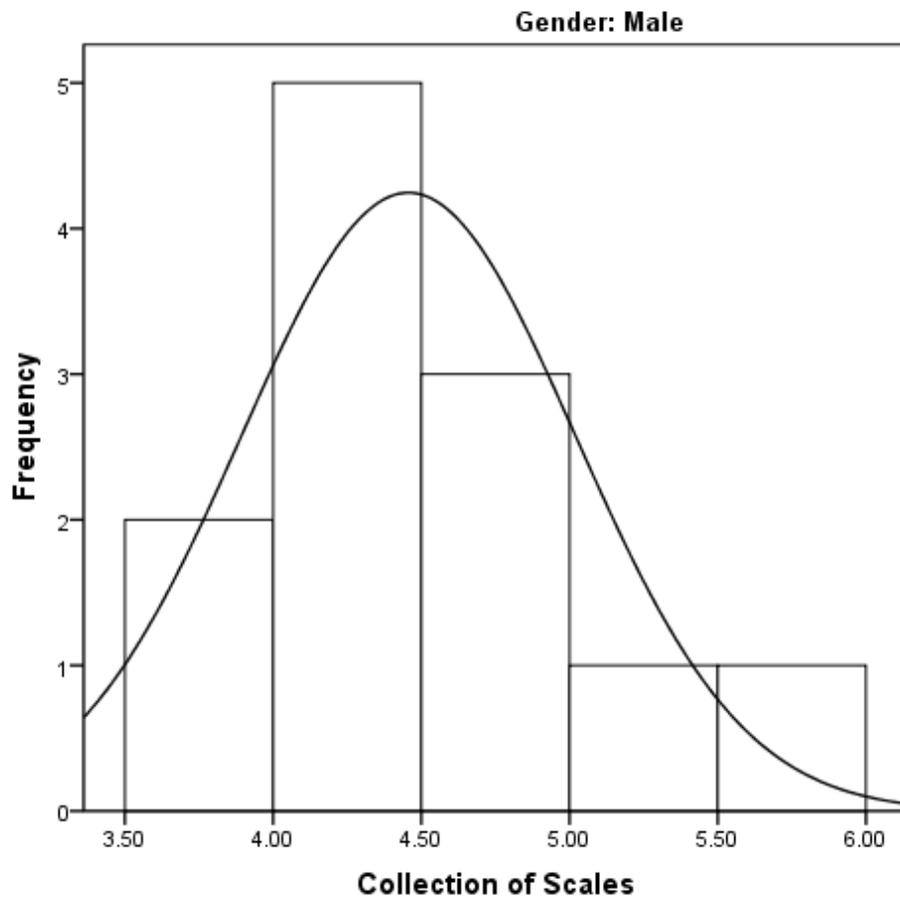


Figure 3. Histogram displaying the collection of scales for men.

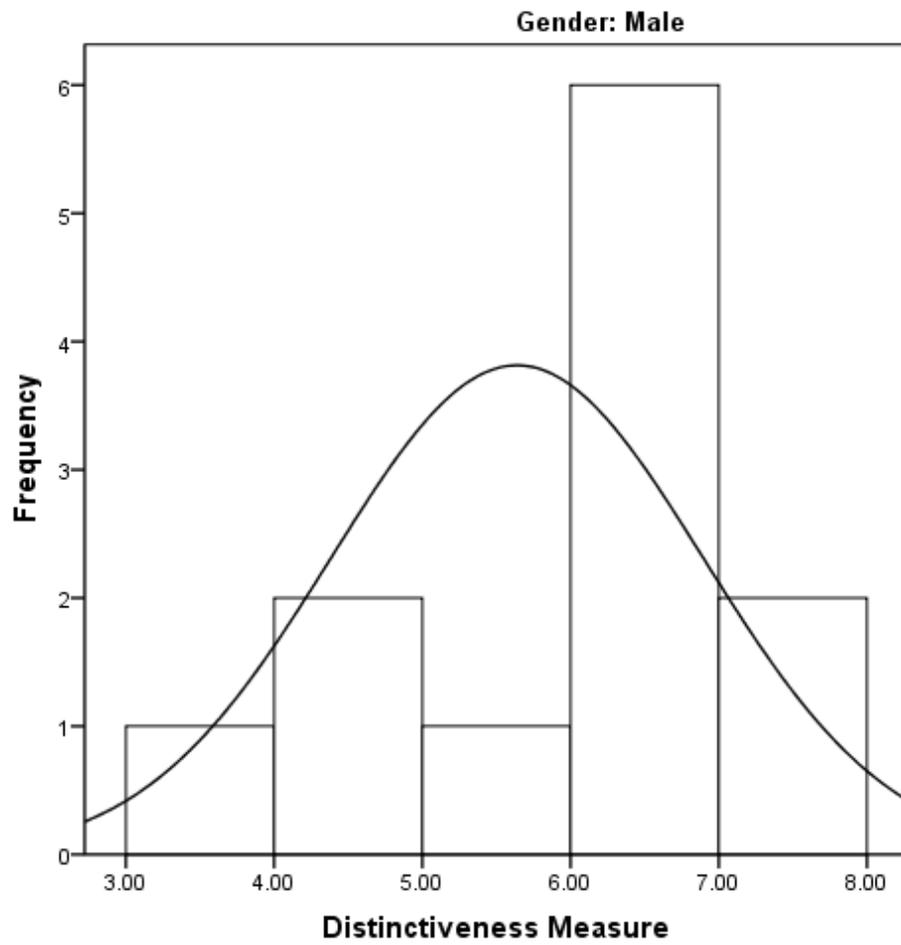


Figure 4. Histogram displaying the Distinctiveness Measure for men.

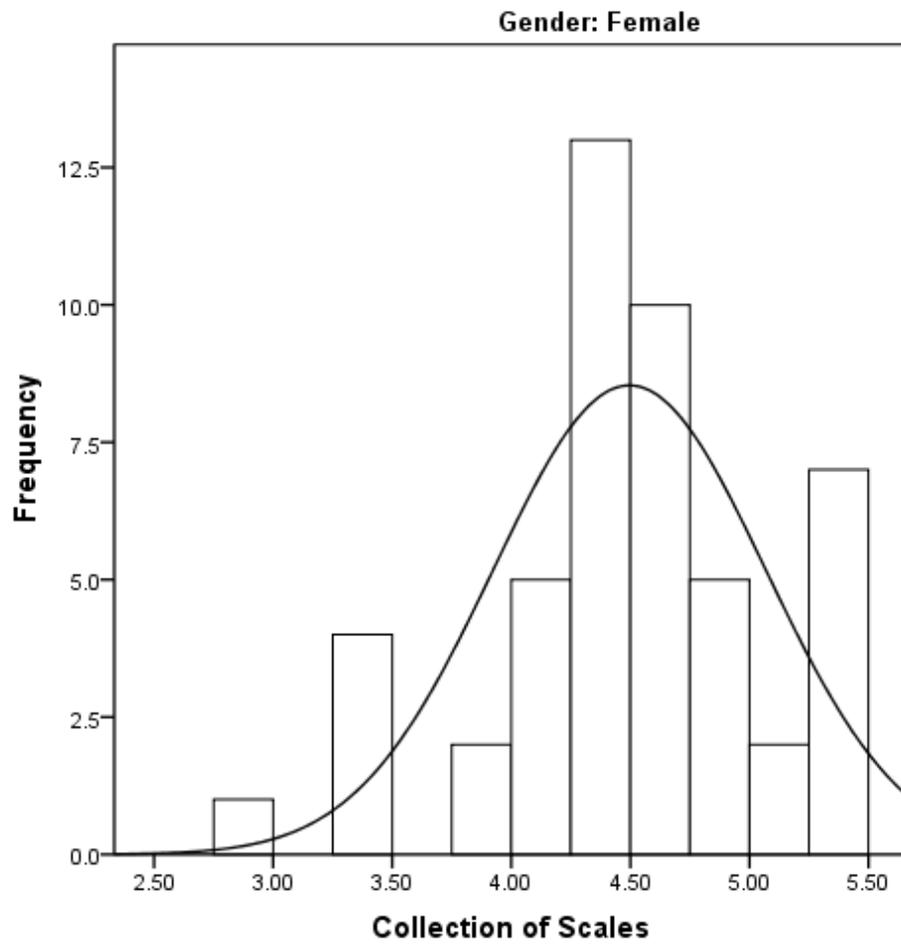


Figure 5. Histogram displaying the collection of scales for women.

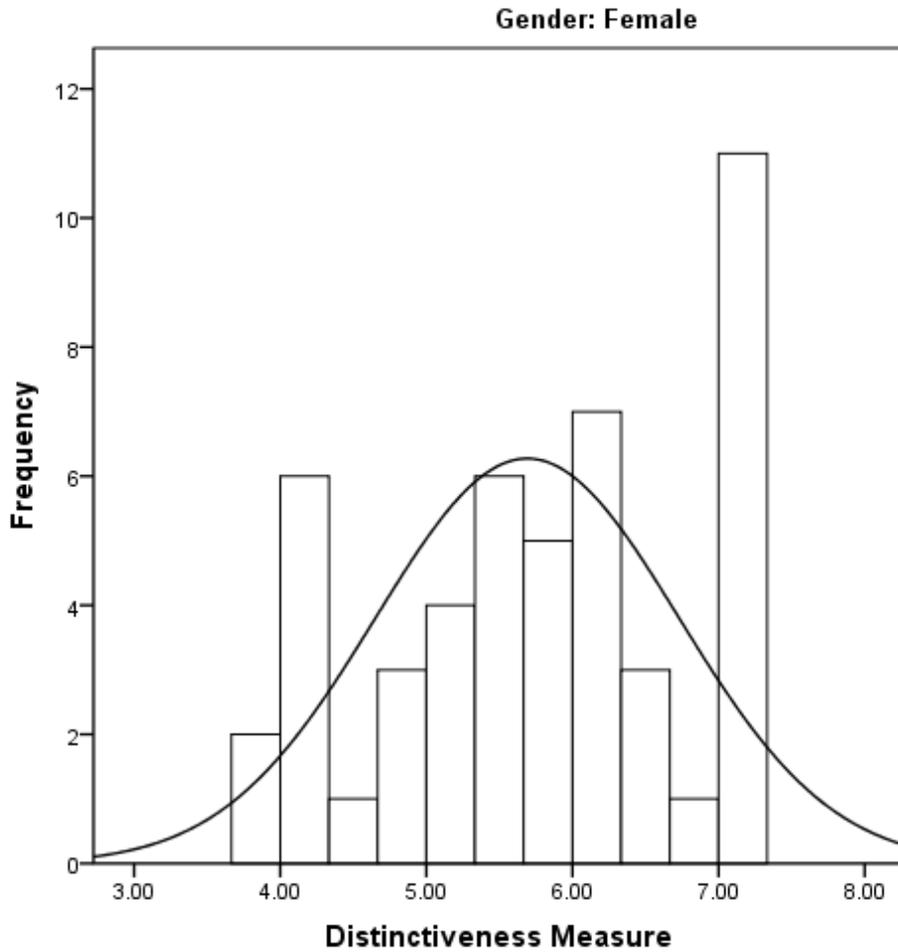


Figure 6. Histogram displaying the Distinctiveness Scale for women.

Research question three involves using the collection of scales and the distinctiveness measure to determine whether an individual may or may not report feelings of chronic distinctiveness. Specifically, for this study, it was of interest to determine whether chronic distinctiveness is present on the HBCU campus. Addressing this question required calculating a cutoff value for the chronic distinctiveness scales in this study. To do so, the mean scores from Sekaquptewa et al. (2007) for race centrality, race-reflection, and race-representativeness were used, as these concepts were similar to the components, described by Pollack and Niemann (1998), included in the chronic distinctiveness measures used in this study. To compute a cutoff

appropriate for this study, the values for the solo condition of White participants were used. The solo condition was selected because the participants in Sekaquaptewa et al. (2007) were a single minority in a group, which best reflects the idea of chronic distinctiveness in this study. Additionally, as this study aimed to find a cutoff value that is not too high to capture a spectrum of chronic distinctiveness, the mean scores for African American students were considered too conservative. Furthermore, utilizing the value for White participants will allow future scholars to consider a much broader range of chronic distinctiveness.

In order to calculate the actual cutoff, each selected mean from the solo condition was multiplied by 0.33, to coordinate with the weighted formulation of scores within the study. These products were added together. This resulted in an overall cutoff value of 3.03, where a score higher than 3.03 would represent a participant who reported feelings of chronic distinctiveness. Two one-sample t-tests were conducted on each of the measures created for this study, utilizing a test value of 3.03. Results of these analyses suggest that participants scored significantly higher than the cutoff value for the collection of scales ($M = 4.49$ and $SD = 0.57$), $t(60) = 20.11$, $p < 0.001$, *Cohen's d* = 1.95, and for the distinctiveness measure ($M = 5.68$ and $SD = 1.07$), $t(60) = 19.29$, $p < 0.001$, *Cohen's d* = 2.57. These results indicate that participants from the HBCU campus reported higher feelings of chronic distinctiveness than the proposed cutoff. They also suggest that chronic distinctiveness is present on the HBCU campus, regardless of which method is used to measure it.

Table 12: Results of t-test analyses using a cutoff score of 3.03

Measure	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>M Difference</i>	<i>Sig</i>	Confidence Interval
Scale Collection	20.11	60	1.46	< 0.001*	(1.31, 1.60)
Distinctiveness Scale	19.29	60	2.65	< 0.001*	(2.38, 2.93)

Note. *M* = Mean, *indicates significance at the $p = 0.05$ level.

Table 13: Descriptive statistics for each measure

Measure	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Scale Collection	61	4.49	0.57
Distinctiveness Scale	61	5.68	1.07

Note. *M* = Mean; *SD* = Standard Deviation, *N* = sample size

In order to compute the above necessary values, a stringent criterion was used, in which only participants who completed every item were included. Of the participants who were excluded or dropped out the study, 30 individuals did not answer any of the survey questions. Of the remaining 29 participants, there were 17 participants who answered fewer than 10 questions. A total of eight participants skipped 30 questions. Three participants failed to answer 43 questions. Lastly, one participant skipped only 10 questions. Based on the total number of participants who did not complete the study, unfortunately there is not enough data to compute the means scores for those participants.

Chapter 5

DISSCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to determine the existence of chronic distinctiveness on the campus of a Historically Black College and University (HBCU). Additionally, this research aimed to compare any observed differences and conceptual overlap among three combined individual measures with and any observed differences and conceptual overlap for an existing shorter chronic distinctiveness measure.

For research question one, the hypothesis was that the collection of scales and the existing distinctiveness measure would show similar psychometric properties and high intercorrelations. This hypothesis was supported. In order to examine the relationship between the scales and subscales, correlational analyses were completed. There were several positive correlations found, each one between the CRIS and the distinctiveness measure. The CRIS had a positive correlation to chronic distinctiveness. This positive correlation supports the idea that racial identity is a construct related to distinctiveness. Additionally, it confirms findings by Pollak and Niemann (1998) and Sekaquaptewa et al. (2007) that racial identity is a factor of distinctiveness. However, given the fact that the correlation is strong, but not perfect, this result also supports the idea that the distinctiveness measure is not limited to only racial identity but also includes other factors.

Self-Hatred was also positively correlated to distinctiveness. This result indicates that an individual may self-identify as African American and also maintain negative attitudes about themselves and fellow African Americans. This could mean that individuals who maintain

negative viewpoints of their race perhaps also feel a desire to help their fellow group members succeed, despite their viewpoints of themselves and their race. The relationship between Self-Hatred and Distinctiveness could similarly be related to distinctiveness-based stereotype threats. Distinctiveness-based stereotype threats occur within numerically underrepresented environments (Inzlicht & Good, 2006). Research suggests that people who are numerically underrepresented in the general population are more likely to be susceptible to stereotypes, and thus feel distinct in their environments (Beaton et al., 2007; Inzlicht & Ben-Zeev, 2000). In essence, the relationship between self-hatred and distinctiveness could possibly be a result of negative stereotypes, including a fear of confirming those stereotypes, or of a desire not only to disprove those stereotypes, but also to help other individuals disconfirm them. In sum, this relationship suggests that individuals may hold negative inward opinions, yet also highly identify with their race and strongly desire to aid their racial group.

A positive correlation was found between Distinctiveness and Anti-White beliefs. The positive correlation between these variables suggests that individuals who score high on distinctiveness are more likely to endorse Anti-White attitudes. Individuals who identify strongly as African American are likely to feel very positively about their racial group, and less positively or even negatively about the majority race.

There was also a positive correlation between distinctiveness and Afrocentricity. This relationship suggests that individuals are likely to maintain African-centered values and exhibit feelings of distinctiveness. Additionally, the relationship suggests that the concepts measured within distinctiveness coincide with the values of Afrocentricity. This result supports the previous findings of Morris (2001): African Americans who maintain strong African-centered values feel the need to help fellow African Americans achieve success. Lastly, there was a

positive relationship between distinctiveness and Multicultural Inclusion. Individuals who score high in these areas not only have a heightened sense of racial awareness and feel responsible and accountable to their racial group, but they also have a desire to incorporate the values and ideals of other cultural groups.

To summarize this researcher's positive correlational findings, the CRIS' Anti-White, Afrocentricity, and Multicultural Inclusion subscales were highly correlated with distinctiveness. These correlations indicate that individuals might simultaneously incorporate strong African-centered beliefs and cross-cultural values, while maintaining negative viewpoints about the majority culture. Additionally, it is important to recognize that Assimilation and Distinctiveness exhibited no relationship. This result coincides with the above pattern, indicating that individuals who exhibit strong distinctiveness values do not desire to adhere to the values of the dominant culture.

There were also negative relationships found between several factors. Each of the negative correlations was found between the Africentricity and the CRIS scale and subscales. Africentricity was negatively correlated to assimilation. This relationship suggests that individuals who strongly view themselves as African American find it more important to engage with and aid similar others than to adapt to and engage in the cultural beliefs of the dominant culture. This finding supports the research of Leonard, Mehra, & Katerberg (2008), who find that people are likely to formulate friendships and social networking patterns with individuals who are similar to their identified group.

There was a negative correlation between Africentricity and the Anti-White subscale. This relationship is contradictory to the above pattern that was found for the positive distinctiveness and Anti-White relationship. This relationship may indicate that it is possible for

individuals to highly regard people with whom they share a collective identity (Africentricity), without also holding negative beliefs about the majority culture. This relationship could coincide with previous research on racial identity development, in which people incorporate a strong inclination to their racial group, but also incorporate the ideals of other racial groups (Sellers et al., 1998; Cross & Vandiver, 2001). Lastly, there was also a negative correlation between Africentricity and Self-Hatred. This relationship can be interpreted to mean that Africentric beliefs help to bolster positive opinions and beliefs about one's self, thus helping to decrease the feelings of self-hatred.

Among the negative correlations, a typical pattern was for individuals who scored high in Africentricity to exhibit low scores in Assimilation, Miseducation, Self-Hatred, and Anti-White sentiment. These correlations indicate that individuals who strongly hold African-centered values do not feel the need to adapt to the dominant culture. Additionally, negative messages regarding an individual's racial group are not internalized. The above negative correlational pattern, in which individuals are high in Africentricity and low in Anti-White sentiment, relates to Cross' (2001) racial identity development model. Individuals with this pattern may possibly be in the Internalization Multiculturalist stage. This pattern is consistent with the above finding regarding the positive correlation between distinctiveness and the Multicultural Inclusion subscale. Based on the distinctiveness factors and Cross' (2001) racial identity developmental model, this pattern indicates that some individuals hold distinctiveness values and incorporate an appreciation for other cultural beliefs.

It is noteworthy that distinctiveness and Africentricity were not significantly correlated with one another, though they aim to assess similar factors. Although, the Africentricity scale

did not exhibit a strong correlation, it is important to understand that Africentricity is one aspect of distinctiveness.

The observed scores for the distinctiveness measure were higher than the collection of scales' observed scores. It is also important to note that while reliability was found to be high for both measures, the observed reliability was higher for the collection of scales than for the existing shorter distinctiveness measure. Given that both measures produced sufficient reliability and that there are differences in the observed scores, researchers might have questions about which one is more preferable for use. Though the shorter distinctiveness measure's observed scores were higher, it does not mean that it is necessarily "better" for measuring chronic distinctiveness at HBCUs. Several factors are important to consider when selecting an appropriate measure.

One factor to consider is the rule of parsimony. The rule of parsimony states that selecting the more simplistic and general idea of two otherwise equal concepts is preferred (Bontly, 2002). If the rule of parsimony is applied, the single, brief distinctiveness measure will serve the needed purpose and is likely to be chosen more frequently. However, criticisms exist when applying the rule of parsimony. Historically, theorists have argued that parsimony relied too heavily on simplicity (Felsenstein, 1982, 1988). In recent years, it has been argued that the principle is "too complex and over-fits the data" (Goloboff, 2003, p. 92). Given that parsimony has its strengths and weakness, it is important to understand the purpose of the research if a brief method is selected.

An additional factor to consider is that the existing distinctiveness measure yielded excellent reliability in this current study; however, in the previous study, the same scale produced considerably lower reliability. In fact, the observed reliability in Pollak and Niemann's

(1998) study was below what is often considered acceptable by reliability theorists. Therefore, more studies would be needed with sufficient sample sizes, to ensure that the strong reliability found in the current study is generalizable to future research.

In the collections of scales, two of the three scales yielded excellent reliability in numerous studies. The remaining scale, the Responsibility Scale, has also shown excellent reliability, but it has only been examined in one previous study (Pollak & Niemann, 1998). Additionally, two of the three measures in the collection of scales were cross-validated, while the distinctiveness measure has never been cross-validated. Due to the consistently high reliability found across numerous studies for the scales included in the composite measure, and the difference in reliability between the collection of scales and the distinctiveness measure in this study, researchers could conclude that the composite measure is a more sound option in regards to reliability.

Another factor to consider is the instruments' length. Although the existing distinctiveness measure is shorter and yielded excellent reliability in this study, the brevity of the distinctiveness measure may not outweigh its weaknesses. The collection of scales has its strengths, as noted above, but it is a longer tool (67 questions). Longer instruments are more likely to produce fatigue effects, produce higher dropout rates, and be subject to environmental changes (i.e. time restraints) (John & Benet-Martinez, 2014).

In sum, there were numerous conceptual overlaps among the measures, indicating that the scales measure similar constructs. Researchers who desire to briefly access the three factors of chronic distinctiveness may find that the single distinctiveness measure provides appropriate information when used independently. Conversely, for a more detailed analysis that considers multiple aspects of the three factors of chronic distinctiveness, the collection of scales may

provide comprehensive information regarding participants' multifaceted experiences of chronic distinctiveness.

For research question two, this researcher predicted that there would be significant gender differences in reports of chronic distinctiveness. This hypothesis was not supported. This study showed only small differences in the reported experiences of chronic distinctiveness among men and women of African ancestry at this HBCU. The small differences could be due to the fact that fewer men participated in the study than women, thus generating less power for the study. It was difficult to compare this study with previous literature, because as previously mentioned, there is no data regarding chronic distinctiveness within an HBCU setting. Additionally, there is little data comparing and contrasting African American women and men within one setting. Much of the previous literature compared and contrasted Caucasian women to African American women, and Caucasian men to African American men. Those findings reveal that African American women experienced chronic distinctiveness at a greater rate than Caucasian women (Pollack & Niemann, 1998). The literature also reveals that there is not a significant difference between Caucasian men and African American men in terms of this variable (Pollak & Niemann, 1998).

The fact that the current data revealed very small differences in the chronic distinctiveness reported by men versus that reported by women at this HBCU is an interesting finding. Past literature indicates that women experience negative consequences regarding distinctiveness at a far greater rate than men (Sekaquaptewa & Thompson, 2007). Since there is no data that compares the reported feelings of chronic distinctiveness for African American men and women at PWIs, unfortunately there no data to provide an understanding of whether the small difference at this HBCU is related to the uniqueness of HBCU environments or to other

unknown factors. Therefore, future research examining the differences in the experiences of men and women, with regard to chronic distinctiveness, should compare data between institutional environments.

For research question three, the hypothesis was supported; indicating that African American students reported feelings of chronic distinctiveness when students of African ancestry are in the majority setting (e.g. HBCU). These results suggest that students of African ancestry consistently identify as their race and consider their race an important factor. Additionally, they also feel responsible and accountable for the success and achievements of fellow African Americans. These results are comparable to the previous findings of Sekaquaptewa, Thompson, and Waldman, (2007). The current research shows that students at this HBCU reported higher feelings of chronic distinctiveness than their research findings. Although these results are comparable to the findings of Sekaquaptewa, Thompson, and Waldman, (2007), the results should be interpreted with caution, as the previous study's sample size total 156 participants, while the present study's sample size totaled 61. These results were not surprising to this researcher, as previous data on distinctiveness (Pollak & Niemann, 1998) and solo-status (Sekaquaptewa, Thompson & Waldman 2007) alluded to these findings. Previous literature also suggests that African American students are constantly aware of the importance and pressures to achieve academic success (Prillerman et al., 1989). Additionally, students of African ancestry have a heightened sense of their personal characteristics that are of a minority focus, such as race (Cota & Dion 1986; Kanter, 1977; Mullen, 1991). The heightened sense of awareness, combined with the pressures to succeed, leads to chronic distinctiveness. This explanation is consistent with other literature. In fact, Pollak and Niemann (1998) found that chronic distinctiveness is present within group settings among African Americans.

The goal of this study was to compare a collection of scales to a brief existing distinctiveness measure to determine any difference and conceptual overlap concerning the observed scores, as well as to investigate the presence of chronic distinctiveness and any gender differences between men and women. In sum, there was conceptual overlap among the measures, indicating that the instruments measure similar constructs. In addition, both the collection of scales and the existing distinctiveness measure exhibited strengths and weaknesses. Therefore, determining which measure to use should be based on researchers' specific needs for their particular study goals. Additionally, although both men and women reported feelings of chronic distinctiveness at this HBCU, there were not any significant differences between the two regarding these feelings.

Limitations

Although this study takes a lead in investigating chronic distinctiveness, it is not without limitations. Approximately half of the initial respondents were either excluded or did not complete the entire survey. Approximately 30% of the students started, but did not complete the study. This dropout rate could possibly be a result of the length of the survey: there were several instruments used in this study, which resulted in approximately 70 questions. The total number of questions may have seemed lengthy and may have produced fatigue effects. Moreover, time constraints may have contributed to the dropout rate. Delva, Kirby, Knapper, and Birtwhistle (2002) found evidence that individuals are less likely to complete a survey if real or perceived time constraints are a factor. Given that the survey was distributed during the last week of classes, time constraints may have been a factor. The dropout rate could also be due to the fact that the surveys had pre-established questions. Pre-established questions often have limited responses. Consequently, participants may feel obligated to respond in a certain way (Delva et.

al., 2002). The limited responses may not have incorporated participants' true feelings, thus prompting those participants to not complete the study. Additionally, the dropout rate could have been due to qualities such as lack of interest, boredom, or short attention span. Concerning these qualities, there may be individual differences between those who completed the survey in its entirety and the individuals who did not complete the whole survey.

The sample was also taken from only one public HBCU. HBCUs, both public and private, are known to have a unique culture of their own. However, HBCUs individually are known for their specific cultures, including but not limited to their history, training in academic excellence, athletics, and participation in the Greek system. While HBCUs may maintain aggregate cultural similarities, it is important to note that there are different experiences within each HBCU. Therefore, this study may not be generalizable to all HBCUs.

There was also difficulty disseminating the study. Based on communication between the researcher and a university departmental office, there was a high return rate of undeliverable emails. Consequently, a large number of students were not reached and could not participate in the study. Efforts were made by this researcher to redistribute the study; however, the survey was never distributed twice. Additionally, this survey was distributed during the last week of classes and final exams. During this time period, students are likely to have limited time to complete a survey, and may be more prone to experience stress during final exams. Given that there are approximately 4500 undergraduates who attend the university and only 120 students initiated the study, it is likely that technological difficulties and barriers impacted the total number of student responses. Providing that this was a web-based survey, additional data collection methods should be considered. An alternative method includes distributing surveys in person (Leedy & Ormrod, 2001). Additionally, Leedy & Ormrod (2001) also recommended

collecting quantitative data through in person closed ended interview questions. These methods help the researcher to establish rapport and increase cooperation. Albeit these advantages, there are disadvantages such as increased financial obligations and time, specifically with larger sample sizes.

Students were only required to be of African ancestry to participate in the study, and within-group differences were not assessed to evaluate how students experienced chronic distinctiveness differently. As previously discussed, individuals of African ancestry are not a homogeneous group. Therefore, it is essential to understand the importance that within-group differences have on individuals' familial, social, academic, and career lives.

The current research was a pilot study to test chronic distinctiveness on an HBCU campus. Therefore, in order to make comparisons, results from previous research regarding chronic distinctiveness within student organizations were used. Additionally, there is presently no single scale that presents distinctiveness with appropriate means and reliability. Therefore, data was obtained by combining three present measures that measure the factors of distinctiveness individually. Finally, quantitative research may not accurately capture students' experiences, as the self-report through established questions may be limiting in exploring the extent of chronic distinctiveness. This researcher suggests that self-reports through questionnaires may not fully measure the presence of chronic distinctiveness.

Recommendations for Future Research

To advance this current research project, this researcher would have also collected and analyzed the relationship of other demographic variables such as age and student classification (i.e. freshmen, sophomore, junior, or senior), to apprehend if chronic distinctiveness increased or decreased over time. Moreover, it would be helpful to look at academic majors to understand

any differences that may exist within academic interest. Additionally, this researcher would collect data regarding involvement in the Black Greek Letter Organizations (BGLOs).

Historically, the BGLOs provided a safe and nurturing outlet for social engagement, unification, organization (Brown, 2013), intellect, and racial progression and awareness (Hughey &

Hernandez, 2012). Presently the BGLOs continue to promote and embrace the same values.

Therefore, understanding if students involved within BGLOs report more or less feelings of chronic distinctiveness will serve a useful purpose.

As previously mentioned, chronic distinctiveness is a factor that affects numerous areas of an individual's life, including emotional health and well-being, academic pressures and matriculation, and cognitive processes (Pollack & Niemann, 1998). Although some researchers such as Pollack and Niemann (1998) and Sekaquaptewa et al. (2007) have utilized distinctiveness questionnaires to analyze both acute and chronic distinctiveness, in the original study there was not appropriate reliability. Therefore, future research should include the creation of other scales that measure chronic distinctiveness. This researcher predicts that an instrument that measures acute and chronic distinctiveness will not only help to provide distinctiveness scores, but will help to determine the most appropriate manner to measure chronic distinctiveness.

Given that future research is warranted for measuring chronic distinctiveness, the multitrait-multimethod (MTMM) matrix is an important tool for that research. Campbell and Fisk (1959) suggest that research should focus on the analyses of high and low correlations for a group of measures (Thorndike & Thorndike-Christ, 2010). The MTMM requires that different traits be analyzed by several different methods. For example, the methods could include self-reports, observational studies, friends' ratings, or family's ratings. Utilizing the three factors of

chronic distinctiveness, the MTMM will show which factors are highly correlated with each other. The MTMM matrix looks at the scores for the same trait that is measured with the same method, in order to give more information regarding the instrument's reliability. Utilizing the MTMM matrix, the different factors of chronic distinctiveness could be examined through different methods to show the relationship between the different factors. Equally important for future research regarding chronic distinctiveness is the concept of validity. The MTMM also examines the relationship between the different factors that are analyzed with the same method, as well as the different factors that are examined with different methods. This relationship will show the convergent and discriminant validity for the various factors. The usage of the MTMM matrix will serve a useful purpose, as it would provide a better understanding of the variance among the different factors, the different methods, and any error variance (Kenny & Kashi, 1992).

As hypothesized, regardless of racial numerical representation, students of African ancestry continuously experience chronic distinctiveness. Given that chronic distinctiveness has been shown to exist despite the setting, future research would prove useful if it compares and contrasts the presence and degree to which each distinctiveness factor affects chronic distinctiveness as a whole. Since chronic distinctiveness has reported at this HBCU and at PWIs, future research could examine the differences in chronic distinctiveness across HBCUs and PWIs, as well as the impacts on students.

Qualitative research will likewise serve a useful purpose for obtaining more detailed information about the presence and occurrence of chronic distinctiveness, and about the different distinctiveness factors. As previously stated, quantitative research may not capture the full extent of the presence and occurrence of chronic distinctiveness. In addition, some quantitative

research has been found to use culturally insensitive questions (Guthrie, 2003). Qualitative research provides opportunities to examine the social, cultural and educational aspects of individual groups (Tillman, 2008).

It is equally important to assess both acute and chronic distinctiveness among other minority groups. Such information will provide more data about the topic as a whole and about individual racial group experiences. Additionally, examining chronic distinctiveness within other minority groups will provide data concerning the existence of this construct. Furthermore, between-group differences could be assessed regarding the degree to which feelings of chronic distinctiveness are reported.

Counseling psychologists consistently produce research regarding familial support and coping strategies. As previously stated, African American men and women experience familial socialization differently regarding racial discrimination and academic pride (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Thomas & Speight, 1999). Additionally, African American men and women face unique challenges throughout their academic tenures. Given that parents and guardians play an important role in the socialization process and the academic progress of college students' lives, it is important to understand how their support may affect chronic distinctiveness. Therefore, it would be beneficial to gain more understanding of perceived family support, as it relates to the experience of chronic distinctiveness. Previous research indicates that lower familial support is directly related to depression among college students (Eldekliloglu, 2006). Future research regarding support systems and chronic distinctiveness will help training programs and practitioners to inform didactic training and clinical work. Specifically, research that includes sources of support, as a moderator variable for chronic distinctiveness and depression, will help counseling psychologists understand the extent that support systems affect chronic

distinctiveness. This will help counseling psychologists to provide appropriate treatment for men and women. Additionally, didactic training to faculty, staff, family, and students can be provided to help reduce the effects of chronic distinctiveness.

Implications and Applications for Practice

The results of this study show that chronic distinctiveness is reported when African Americans are in the majority setting. Given these results, it is imperative that mental health professionals with this knowledge utilize a multicultural framework for the course of services for students (Constantine & Sue, 2005). Additionally, faculty and staff can use this knowledge as a means to design courses, as well as mentoring programs and university clubs, to help students successfully matriculate each year. As previously mentioned, individuals are likely to formulate friendships and social networks with individuals who are racially similar to themselves (Leonard, Mehra, Katerberg, 2008). Therefore, counseling psychologists can use the distinctiveness theory to develop the counseling modalities and interventions needed for practice. For example, counseling psychologists will be able to use this information to create outreach programs and treatment modalities to guide students academically, and to help students to connect with individuals of other racial groups. The outreach programs will not only benefit minority students, but may also serve a useful purpose for students of the dominant culture. Utilizing a proactive stance through outreach programs is frequently noted as a skillful means for battling oppression (Casas, 2005; Gerstein, 2006; Hage, 2003). Outreach services also provide means for prevention through education and empowerment. Additionally, implementing outreach programs may serve as forms of social justice advocacy for counseling psychology (Casas, 2005; Gerstein, 2006; Hage, 2003).

Counseling psychologists can use their knowledge of chronic distinctiveness to advocate for policy change, support for student organizations, and mental health resources. Brown and Lent (2008) note the importance of advocacy in order to produce individual and systemic change. Practitioners in the advocacy role are charged with the task to raise awareness regarding organizational obstacles and protocols (Brown & Lent, 2008).

Chronic distinctiveness also provides additional avenues for training and practice concerning multicultural counseling considerations. Constantine and Sue (2005) highlight the importance of counseling psychologists to exercise cultural awareness and sensitivity in practice and training. Additionally Delgado-Romero et al. (2005) note the importance of adjusting treatments to meet the needs of each individual when providing cross-cultural counseling. Chronic distinctiveness was previously found to create stress, heighten awareness regarding distinctive characteristics (e.g. race), and exacerbate emotional concerns (Sekaquaptewa et al., 2007). Therefore, practitioners can utilize multicultural awareness to provide and implement appropriate clinical services. Additionally, training programs throughout psychology can be intentional in terms of exhibiting multicultural sensitivity, and of creating didactic programs and supportive networks to decrease the effects of chronic distinctiveness.

Previous research indicates that African American men and women are socialized differently regarding racial discrimination and racial pride (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Thomas & Speight, 1999). Additionally, African American men viewed their race as the salient factor more than African American women (Crocker & McGraw, 1984). Although there are differences in socialization and the salient factors, the current research shows that there are only small differences between African American men and women regarding reported feelings of chronic distinctiveness. Despite the small differences that were reported in this study, it is

important to note that previous research found that men are not as negatively impacted by distinctiveness as women.

Although men do not encounter as many negative experiences, their experiences of chronic distinctiveness should not be minimized. The fact that men and women experience chronic distinctiveness at a similar rate suggests that equal attention and strategies must be given to men and women and their respective experiences. Additionally, it is important that practitioners use gender-based research to address the factors that contribute to chronic distinctiveness for African American men and women. Brown and Lent (2008) point out that boys and girls and women and men are socialized to have multiple identities. Their research also highlights the need for counselors and psychologists to implement services that are based on appropriate gender research. Likewise, practitioners should also be mindful of their personal identities and biases that may interfere with rendering ethical and professional services (APA, 2000, 2003, 2004; O'Neil & Egan, 1992).

Career development and vocational behavior are important factors in counseling psychology. Given that chronic distinctiveness is found on college campuses and has been found to lead to occupational distinctiveness, future researchers should consider research, practice, and training opportunities in the area of career development. Practitioners with an understanding of how cultural factors affect career choices will be better equipped to guide students along their respective career paths. It is important to understand that the presence of chronic distinctiveness can impact career choices and experiences. Research indicates that boys and girls desire to pursue gender-specific careers. In fact, Miller and Budd (1999) report that although the idea that many careers are gender-specific has decreased, girls continue to report a desire to pursue female-dominated careers. Given that there is a limited number of girls and women in STEM

majors and careers, it is important that counseling psychologists consider the presence of chronic and occupational distinctiveness in practice, training, and outreach services, in order to provide appropriate career counseling services.

Other broader implications of this study include more evidence for the importance of HBCUs as a whole. Throughout the dissertation, information was provided regarding how achievement gaps and attrition rates are higher for African American students who attend PWIs than for African American students who attend HBCUs. Chronic distinctiveness has been shown to be one of the causes for these achievement gaps (Sekaquaptewa et al., 2007). Given that this study indicates that chronic distinctiveness was reported on this HBCU, and that HBCUs have been shown to reduce achievement gaps and produce higher matriculation rates, this knowledge may help policymakers to fund additional educational research and to gain a greater understanding concerning how HBCUs accomplish these educational successes. Additionally, policy makers could grant funding to Minority Serving Institutions (MSIs) such as Predominately Black Institutions (PBIs), Tribal College Institutions (TCIs), and Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs), as well as to PWIs, to lower achievement gaps and enhance matriculation rates for minorities at other institutions. Lastly, given that there is a scarcity of literature on HBCUs compared to PWIs (Simms & Brock, 2014), research and research funding in this area are especially important.

In sum, African Americans are likely to experience chronic distinctiveness at different levels and in different manners. These experiences impact their personal, academic, and professional experiences. As previously stated, it is crucial that university officials, faculty, staff, and mental health professionals take a proactive and leading stance to provide education to not only minority students, but also to individuals of the dominant culture regarding ways to

effectively navigate their academic and professional lives. Implementing such education may prove to be a difficult task, as the causes of chronic distinctiveness are longstanding and date as far back as before the Civil Rights Movement. Creating an educational and supportive environment will require not only deconstructing stereotypes and other negative impacts, but will also require continuously educating students, faculty, staff, and community individuals about chronic distinctiveness.

Conclusion

Throughout the course of this researcher's academic tenure, it has become apparent through personal experiences as well as communication with fellow students that racial awareness, responsibility, and accountability to fellow African Americans were highly present. Therefore, this research represents both personal experiences and a desire to complete scholarly research. Though chronic distinctiveness is a fairly new topic, its factors have been consistently discussed throughout academic and organizational settings. The results of this study indicate that undergraduate students attending this HBCU report levels of chronic distinctiveness. This researcher proposes that the majority of minority students experience some aspect of chronic distinctiveness in different periods of their academic and professional tenure. Data on the frequency of these experiences may never be conclusive, as each student will report chronic distinctiveness differently.

Overall, the purpose of this research was to examine the existence of chronic distinctiveness on an HBCU campus. This research was primarily a pilot study, as there was previous research on chronic distinctiveness within organizations and classes at PWIs, but no literature regarding chronic distinctiveness at the campus of an HBCU. A major strength of this research is that it was completed at an HBCU. By doing so, evidence was presented that the

effects of societal and academic racial minority stigmatization and pressure continue to be present, even when students of African ancestry are in the majority. The findings of this study provided useful information that was not formerly known about chronic distinctiveness, and raise new questions that suggest several fruitful areas for future research.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Consent Letter

Dear Student:

I am a graduate student under the direction of Dr. Edward Delgado-Romero in the Department of Counseling and Human Development Services at The University of Georgia. I invite you to participate in a research study entitled Chronic Distinctiveness among students who attend Historically Black Colleges and Universities. The purpose of this study is to conduct surveys to assess the best manner to test for chronic distinctiveness among students of African ancestry who attend a Historically Black College and University.

Each participant must be at least 19 years old, of African Ancestry and currently enrolled in a Historically Black College and University as an undergraduate student.

Your participation will involve completing surveys and should only take about 25 minutes. Your involvement in the study is voluntary, and you may choose not to participate or to stop at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. If you choose not to participate in the study, you are still eligible to be entered into the drawing. Your participation is not required to be entered into the drawing.

You will not be asked to include your name or any identifying information on any survey. Internet communications are insecure and there is a limit to the confidentiality that can be guaranteed due to the technology itself. However, once the researcher receives the materials, standard confidentiality procedures will be employed. The results of the research study may be published, but your name or any identifying information will not be used. In fact, the published results will be presented in summary form only.

The findings from this project may provide information regarding the different manners to predict chronic distinctiveness among African American students who attend a Historically Black College or University. Additionally it may better inform policies and treatment strategies when working with African American students. There are no known risks or discomforts associated with this research. Each participant will be entered to win a \$10 visa gift card as compensation for your time. If you choose not to participate in the study, you are still eligible to enter the drawing for the visa gift card.

If you have any questions about this research project, please feel free to call me (Alicia Brown) or my faculty advisor (Dr. Edward Delgado-Romero) at (334) 437-0706 or send an e-mail to browna8@uga.edu. Questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant should be directed to The Chairperson, University of Georgia Institutional Review Board, 629 Boyd GSRC, Athens, Georgia 30602; telephone (706) 542-3199; email address irb@uga.edu. By completing and submitting this questionnaire online, you are agreeing to participate in the above described research project.

“YOU ARE MAKING A DECISION WHETHER OR NOT TO PARTICIPATE. YOUR SIGNATURE INDICATED THAT YOU HAVE DECIDED TO PARTICIPATE HAVING READ THE INFORMATION PROVIDED ABOVE.

By clicking I agree, you are electronically signing your name. Thank you for your consideration! Please keep this letter for your records. Thank you for your consideration! Please keep this letter for your records.

Sincerely,
Alicia Brown

APPENDIX B

Email Announcement for Research Study

Dear Student:

I am Alicia Brown and I am a student at the University of Georgia. I am inviting you to participate in my dissertation study. In order to participate, you must be at least 19 years old, currently enrolled Alabama State University and of African ancestry (African American, African, Caribbean, Haitian, etc.). Your participation is completely voluntary. For your time, you will be entered to win a \$10.00 visa gift card. If you choose not to participate in the study, you are still eligible to be entered into the drawing. Your participation is not required to be entered into the drawing. Please follow the link below to begin the study. Thank you for your time and I appreciate your participation in this study.

Alicia Brown

APPENDIX C

Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS)

Instructions: Read each item and indicate to what degree it reflects your own thoughts and feelings, using the 7-point scale below. There are no right or wrong answers. Base your responses on your opinion at the present time. **To ensure that your answers can be used, please respond to the statements as written**, and place your numerical response on the line provided to the left of each question.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree

1. As an African American, life in America is good for me.
2. I think of myself primarily as an American, and seldom as a member of a racial group.
3. Too many Blacks “glamorize” the drug trade and fail to see opportunities that don’t involve crime.
4. I go through periods when I am down on myself because I am Black.
5. As a multiculturalist, I am connected to many groups (Hispanics, Asian-Americans, Whites, Jews, gays & lesbians, etc.).
6. I have a strong feeling of hatred and disdain for all White people.
7. I see and think about things from an Afrocentric perspective.
8. When I walk into a room, I always take note of the racial make-up of the people around me.
9. I am not so much a member of a racial group, as I am an American.
10. I sometimes struggle with negative feelings about being Black.
11. My relationship with God plays an important role in my life.
12. Blacks place more emphasis on having a good time than on hard work.

13. I believe that only those Black people who accept an Afrocentric perspective can truly solve the race problem in America.
14. I hate the White community and all that it represents.
15. When I have a chance to make a new friend, issues of race and ethnicity seldom play a role in who that person might be.
16. I believe it is important to have both a Black identity and a multicultural perspective, which is inclusive of everyone (e.g., Asians, Latinos, gays & lesbians, Jews, Whites, etc.).
17. When I look in the mirror at my Black image, sometimes I do not feel good about what I see.
18. If I had to put a label on my identity, it would be “American,” and not African American.
19. When I read the newspaper or a magazine, I always look for articles and stories that deal with race and ethnic issues.
20. Many African Americans are too lazy to see opportunities that are right in front of them.
21. As far as I am concerned, affirmative action will be needed for a long time.
22. Black people cannot truly be free until our daily lives are guided by Afrocentric values and principles.
23. White people should be destroyed.
24. I embrace my own Black identity, but I also respect and celebrate the cultural identities of other groups (e.g., Native Americans, Whites, Latinos, Jews, Asian Americans, gays & lesbians, etc.).
25. Privately, I sometimes have negative feelings about being Black.
26. If I had to put myself into categories, first I would say I am an American, and second I am a member of a racial group.
27. My feelings and thoughts about God are very important to me.
28. African Americans are too quick to turn to crime to solve their problems.
29. When I have a chance to decorate a room, I tend to select pictures, posters, or

works of art that express strong racial-cultural themes.

30. I hate White people.
31. I respect the ideas that other Black people hold, but I believe that the best way to solve our problems is to think Afrocentrically.
32. When I vote in an election, the first thing I think about is the candidate's record on racial and cultural issues.
33. I believe it is important to have both a Black identity and a multicultural perspective, because this connects me to other groups (Hispanics, Asian-Americans, Whites, Jews, gays & lesbians, etc.).
34. I have developed an identity that stresses my experiences as an American more than my experiences as a member of a racial group.
35. During a typical week in my life, I think about racial and cultural issues many, many times.
36. Blacks place too much importance on racial protest and not enough on hard work and education.
37. Black people will never be free until we embrace an Afrocentric perspective.
38. My negative feelings toward White people are very intense.
39. I sometimes have negative feelings about being Black.
40. As a multiculturalist, it is important for me to be connected with individuals from all cultural backgrounds (Latinos, gays & lesbians, Jews, Native Americans, Asian-Americans, etc.).

APPENDIX D

Responsibility Scale

Please mark on your SCANTRON the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements. Please use the following scale to rate your answers:

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7
Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

1. I feel that I need to help people of my ethnic group become successful.
2. I feel satisfied when people from my ethnic group are successful.

APPENDIX E

The Africentrism Scale

Directions

For each of the following items, we would like you to tell us how much you agree or disagree with the statement. There are no right or wrong answers. The best possible answer is how you personally feel about each statement. On a scale of 1 to 4 with:

1=Strongly disagree, 2=Disagree, 3=Agree and 4=Strongly agree.

Item	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. My family's needs are more important to me than my own needs.	1	2	3	4
2. African Americans should make their community better than it was when they found it.	1	2	3	4
3. People should make the world better than it was when they found it.	1	2	3	4
4. The problems of other African Americans are their problems, not mine. (R) ^b	4	3	2	1
5. The problems of other people are their problems, not mine. (R)	4	3	2	1
6. The unity of the African race is very important to me.	1	2	3	4
7. I am more concerned with reaching my own goals than with working for the African American community. (R)	4	3	2	1
8. I am more concerned with my own goals than with helping other people reach theirs. (R)	4	3	2	1
9. I have very little faith in African American people. (R)	4	3	2	1
10. I owe something to African Americans who suffered before me.	1	2	3	4
11. I owe something to those who have tried to make things better for me.	1	2	3	4
12. African Americans need to stop worrying so much about "the community" and take care of their own needs. (R)	4	3	2	1
13. People need to stop worrying so much about the world around them and take care of their own needs. (R)	4	3	2	1
14. I am doing a lot to improve my neighborhood.	1	2	3	4
15. The success I have had is mainly because of me, not anyone else. (R)	4	3	2	1
16. I have more confidence in White professionals, like doctors and teachers, than in African	4	3	2	1

American professionals. (R)				
Item	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
17. African Americans should build and maintain their own communities.	1	2	3	4
18. I must do all I can to restore African Americans to their position of respect in the world.	4	3	2	1
19. I make a point to shop at African American businesses and use African American-owned services.	1	2	3	4
20. It hurts me when I see another African American person discriminated against.	1	2	3	4
21. It hurts me when I see a person like me discriminated against.	1	2	3	4
22. It is important that African American people decide for themselves what to be called and what their needs are.	1	2	3	4
23. Different racial groups should decide for themselves what to be called and what their needs are.	1	2	3	4
24. The African American community would be better off if people just work on their own goals. (R)	4	3	2	1
25. Society would be better off if people just work on their own goals. (R)	4	3	2	1

APPENDIX F

Distinctiveness Scale

Questionnaire A

Please mark on your SCANTRON the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements. Please use the following scale to rate your answers:

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7
Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

1. At this moment, I feel that my ethnic group membership is very noticeable. **Group membership** .52
2. I feel that I need to help people of my ethnic group become successful. **Responsibility** .74
3. I feel that my behavior will be viewed as representative of my ethnic group. **Accountability** .56
4. My ethnicity is an obvious characteristic of myself right now. **Group membership** .52
5. My actions have consequences for other people who are the same ethnicity as I am. **Accountability** .56
6. I feel satisfied when people from my ethnic group are successful. **Responsibility** .74