"THE LONGER I LIVE HERE THE MORE I SEE IT": EXPLORING LENGTH OF RESIDENCE, GROUP IDENTIFICATION AND RACE-RELATED STRESS AMONG BLACK CARIBBEAN IMMIGRANTS

BY

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THESIS

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ABSTRACT

This study explored the relationships among length of residence, group identification (racial and ethnic identity) and race-related stress for a sample of Black Caribbean immigrants (n = 96). Participants were recruited through university student organizations, community establishments and snowball sampling. It was hypothesized that length of residence and racial identity would predict race-related stress, and that racial identity would mediate the relationship between length of residence and race-related stress. Regression analyses revealed that racial identity did not mediate the relationship between length of residence and race-related stress. However, length of residence was a significant predictor of cultural race-related stress. Further, racial identity approached significance as a unique predictor of cultural race-related stress. The implications of these and other findings for interventions and future research are discussed.

To God in whom I live, move and have my being (Acts 17:28). To my most wonderful wife, DeAundra, who has been my constant safe-place.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Black Caribbean Immigrants

The immigration of Black individuals to the United States has been documented as far back as the early 1900s when Black immigrants formed ethnic communities within Harlem, New York (Kent, 2007). But by the 1920s, the rate of Black immigration had begun to decrease, and it would not be until the eighties that the United States would witness resurgence in the amount of foreign-born Black individuals making the U.S. their permanent residence. Some of the factors that would lead to this resurgence include new pro-immigration laws, cheaper air travel and political and economic instability in immigrants' native countries (Kent, 2007).

In 1980, Black immigrants accounted for 13% of the increase in all black individuals, and by the 1990s Black immigrants made up 17% of the annual increase in the Black population. Currently, Black immigrants who emigrate from the Caribbean make up the largest group of foreign-born Black persons living in the U.S. They are estimated at 1.5 million, and in major metropolitan areas such as New York, Miami and Boston, they account for up to a quarter of the black population (Logan, 2007; U.S. Census Bureau, 2005).

Several studies have suggested that within the black population in the U.S, there exists a great deal of heterogeneity with respect to how these individuals perceive their life chances to be impacted by race and racism, and how they make sense of their racial minority status (i.e., racial identity) (Benson, 2006; Deaux et al., 2007; Hunter, 2008). In particular, Black immigrants are less likely than native-Blacks (i.e., African Americans) to view race as a determinant of their life chances and opportunities, and they tend not to associate structural barriers in society with their race (Benson, 2006; Rogers, 2001). These differences between Black immigrants and African Americans have been associated with various indices of social functioning. For example, Black

immigrants, when compared to African Americans, are less likely to perceive racial discrimination (Hunter, 2008), less likely to report cultural mistrust (Phelps, Taylor & Gerard, 2001) and do not experience performance deficits under stereotype-threat conditions (Deaux et al., 2007). Therefore, it seems that for Black individuals who immigrate to the U.S., the psychological minimizing of their racial minority status within the U.S. might be advantageous as the various strategies, mentioned above, seem to assist in adjustment and social functioning.

This contention of "advantage" is particularly important because it might begin to help explain findings that suggest that Black immigrants enter the U.S. with superior physical and mental health when compared to African Americans (Miranda et al., 2005; Read & Emerson, 2005). Miranda et al. (2005), for example, have hypothesized that the differences in health status between Black immigrants and African Americans is related to "differential exposure of risk and protective factors" (p. 257). In other words, Black immigrants may experience the racial context (i.e., racism, minority status) of the U.S. as being less stressful when compared to African Americans, and this difference might be related to more favorable outcomes for this group in relation to African Americans (Clark et al., 1999).

But while Black immigrants enter the U.S. with superior mental and physical health when compared to African Americans, a number of studies have found that this advantage in health status erodes with time. In fact, by the second to third generation, Black immigrants do not differ significantly from African Americans when it comes to health status (Williams et al., 2007). Moreover, this erosion in health advantage can be observed even in first generation Black immigrants with increased duration of residence in the U.S. Miranda et al. (2005), for example, found that Black immigrant women (African and Caribbean) were less likely to screen positive for probable depression than their U.S.-born counterparts, but with increased residency in the

U.S., this group's likelihood of screening positive for probable depression increased. Therefore, it is important to understand how Black immigrants perceive their racial minority status, as well as, if and how those perceptions change over time. This is important for a couple of reasons. First, it would provide an understanding of where the perceptions of Black immigrants and African Americans diverge and converge and what accounts for such trends. Second, understanding the worldviews, perceptions and attitudes associated with more favorable health outcomes can be used to inform specific intervention and prevention strategies that can be used to ameliorate the deleterious effects of aspects of the U.S. racial context for persons of African descent residing within the U.S. Ultimately, this type of scholarship is poised to provide compelling information which can be used to inform the efforts of professionals who work with this particular community as well as educate the general public about the psychological realities and experiences of this growing segment of the black population.

This study investigated the relationship between the amount of time spent in the U.S. and race-related stress for Black Caribbean immigrants. It sought to answer the question of whether Black Caribbean immigrants perceive more racism the longer they remain in the U.S. It also explored the role of racial identity as a potential mechanism that links time spent in the U.S. to increases in race-related stress.

The Racialized U.S. Context and its Implications

Within the U.S., racial categorization exists as part of a racial hierarchy that has consequences for one's life chances (Bashi & McDaniel, 1997; Benson, 2006). "Whiteness" or membership within the "White" racial group has been associated with a privileged status or superordinate position within U.S. society, while membership in the "Black" racial group has been associated with a disadvantaged or subordinate status within society (Bashi, 1998; Bonilla-

Silva, 1997). Consequently, for persons of African descent living in the U.S, racial group membership can have especially deleterious consequences for many facets of life (Benson, 2006; Bonilla-Silva, 1997).

Because of this reality, Black Caribbean immigrants, like their native counterparts, African Americans, face the constant threat of societal stress and downward social mobility due to racial group membership (Williams et al., 2007). They are likely to face similar barriers to those African Americans experience when accessing resources such as medical and mental health care, as well as differential treatment and outcomes in the job and housing markets (DHHS, 2001; Lurie & Dubowitz, 2007; Ross & Turner, 2005). Further, racism in the form of blocked or impeded access to economic and social resources and opportunities have been theorized to have biological, psychological and social consequences for the lives of Black persons living in the U.S. (Clark et al., 1999; Harrell, 2000)

Racism and Race-Related Stress

Racism is a complex, multifaceted and enduring characteristic of U.S. society (Jones, 1997). Consequently, scholars have been challenged to put forth conceptual frameworks to explain the different forms racism can take, as well as the various pathways through which it impacts the individual. Jones (1972) was one of the first to propose a theoretical framework that accounted for the different forms of racism. According to his conceptualization, racism exists at three levels: individual, institutional and cultural. Further, these three levels are highly intertwined and "flow into and from each other in reciprocal currents of influence." (p. 413).

Racism at the individual or micro-level can be characterized as racially-based or motivated interpersonal exchanges (Jones, 1997). At this level, the focus is on racist individuals' attitudes and judgments, which when combined with the imposition of power, result in racist

behaviors (i.e., discrimination). These behaviors can include hate crimes, bad service and racial slights. (Jones, 1997; Sue et al., 2007). Recent research has also suggested that in many instances, contemporary racist behaviors may stem from unconscious beliefs in white supremacy (Sue et al., 2007). In other words, at times, individual racism can be unintentional.

While individual racism can be sporadic and unpredictable, institutional racism is more systematic. It is reflected in policies, laws, practices, procedures and customs that intentionally or unintentionally produce racial inequalities (Jones, 1997; Massey, 2007). For example, the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986 is said to have resulted in the disproportionate incarceration of African Americans versus European Americans for crack cocaine use (Jones, 1997; Massey, 2007). Also, substandard or inferior educational experiences and opportunities offered to African American children compared to European American children are other examples of institutional racism. Institutional racism can be blatant as in the form of Jim Crow laws. It can also be unintentional as in policies, laws and "standards of practice" that are "systematically advantaging to whites and disadvantaging to ethnic and racial minority groups" (Jones, 1997, p. 439; Massey, 2007)

Culture can be defined as the norms, values, beliefs and behaviors associated with a particular group (Cokley, 2005; Phinney, 1996). Cultural racism reflects the fact that racism is embedded within the fabric of U.S. culture itself (Jones, 1997). As such, racism can manifest itself as a type of worldview or belief system that favors the beliefs and practices of the dominant racial group over subordinate racial groups. Thus, one group has the power to define which cultural values/beliefs, when practiced, should lead to rewards and should lead to punishment (Jones, 1997). One manifestation of cultural racism is the ignoring of the contributions and achievements of a race of people. A complementary manifestation of cultural racism is the

lauding and preference for Western European music, philosophy, art, medicines, epistemology, etc over those of peoples from other parts of the world. Cultural racism can be also observed historically through the negative portrayals of African Americans in films, and, contemporarily, through negatively-biased portrayals of African Americans in the media as primarily criminal or promiscuous (Jones, 1997; Utsey & Ponterotto, 1998).

The stress associated with experience of discrimination has been linked to a number of physical and psychological disorders (see Mays et al., 2007 for a review). For this reason, racism is believed to have biopsychosocial implications for those Black persons who are the targets of racism (Clark et al., 1999; Harrell, 2000) Consequently, a number of models have emerged over the years to explain precisely how racism negatively impacts the individual (e.g., Clark et al., Harrell, 2000; Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996).

Harrell (2000) proposes a multidimensional conceptualization of how racism within various contexts negatively impacts individuals and groups. This conceptualization focuses on racism-related stress or the various ways racism is experienced. It is theorized that experiences of racism can tax individual and/or collective resources. In essence, racism-related stress is the mechanism that links racism to psychological and physical well-being. According to Harrell's conceptualization, Jones' three forms of racism (i.e., individual, institutional and cultural racism) interact in intricately complex ways and are manifested in four different contexts: sociopolitical, collective, interpersonal and cultural-symbolic. These are contexts in which race-related stress can be experienced through a number of different racism-related stressors. These stressors include significant life events (e.g., being stopped by the police due to one's race), daily microstressors (e.g., being ignored or receiving bad service), vicarious experiences (e.g., observing a friend being discriminated against), chronic-contextual experiences (e.g., unequal

distribution of resources), collective experiences (e.g., noticing the plight of one's racial group) and transgenerational experiences (e.g., knowing how one's racial group has been treated historically). Therefore, racism-related stress can be experienced in various different ways in various different contexts.

Utsey and Ponterotto (1996), building primarily on the work of Jones (1972) and Essed (1990) have proposed an instrument which assesses the stress associated with racism. The Index of Race Related Stress (IRRS) assesses stress in the individual, institutional and cultural domains. Instruments like the IRRS are of particular importance since they assess self-reported race-related stress in the contexts where Black Caribbean immigrants are likely to perceive discrimination.

Some studies have suggested that Black immigrants often enter the U.S. holding fast to notions of meritocracy, and the belief that they can overcome racial barriers and obstacles (Hunter, 2008; Waters, 1999). Because of these worldviews, there may be a tendency for these individuals to downplay or minimize experiences of racial discrimination in individual and institutional contexts.

In regards to perceiving cultural racism, there may be greater self-reported race-related stress in this domain than in individual and institutional contexts. First, to an extent, Black Caribbean immigrants are able to witness cultural racism targeting Black persons in the U.S. from their native countries. Through various forms of media such as television and the internet, Black Caribbean immigrants become aware of the racial dynamics in the U.S. (Tormala & Deaux, 2006). So, prior to emigration, Black Caribbean immigrants are already somewhat aware of the anti-black bias which exists within U.S. society.

Another reason why self-reports of cultural racism might be greater than those of individual and institutional racism is because cultural racism appears more likely than the other forms to implicate the racial group. Individual and institutional racism seem to assess more personal-level experiences. If this indeed the case, one might expect greater levels of cultural race-related stress than individual and institutional race-related stress. Support for this contention has come in the form of findings which have suggested that there is a tendency among targets of discrimination to perceive more discrimination directed toward their racial group rather than themselves. This phenomenon, referred to as the personal/group discrepancy (Taylor, Wright, Moghaddam & Lalonde, 1990), is said to arise from the perception that the group as a whole (i.e., a unit of analysis) experiences relatively more discrimination than the individual (Moghaddam et al., 1997). As a result, one might expect a greater amount of cultural race-related stress compared to individual and institutional race-related stress in Black Caribbean immigrants.

Differences within the Black immigrant group with respect to race-related stress may also be associated with length of residence in the U.S. and racial identity. For Black Caribbean immigrants, a number of studies have suggested that the longer they reside in the U.S., the more discrimination they perceive (Rogers, 2001; Waters, 1999). This increase in perceptions of discrimination may result in increases in race-related stress and may reflect changes in the way individuals see racism impacting their lives. More specifically, increases in perceptions of these types of racism may suggest that these individuals are more likely to view racism as a barrier or determinant when it comes to their life chances.

While research has indicated that time spent in the U.S. leads to increased perceptions of discrimination (Rogers, 2001; Waters, 1999), this relationship has not yet been established in reference to the stress related to these perceptions (i.e., race-related stress). Furthermore, there

has been a paucity of empirical research investigating the underlying mechanisms through which length of residence may act as a predictor of race-related stress for this population.

Group Identification as a Mediator

Racial identity has been defined as "a sense of group or collective identity based on one's *perception* that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group" (Helms, 1990, p.3). It has been suggested that individuals may differ in the extent to which they perceive racism as a function of their racial identity (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). A number of studies have suggested that individuals who are highly-identified with their racial or ethnic group are more likely to perceive racial discrimination than those who are not similarly group-identified (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Sellers and Shelton (2003), in a study of African American college students, found that for those participants who were highly-identified with their racial group, they reported more experiences with racism than individuals who weren't as highly-identified with their race. To explain this finding, it has been theorized that highly-identified individuals might be more sensitive to inequalities between groups and more willing to label negative and ambiguous incidents as racism (Crocker & Major, 1989).

A similar relationship between identification with one's ethnic group and perceived discrimination has also been demonstrated. Ethnic identity has been defined as a subjective sense of group membership (Phinney, 1996). Operarario and Fiske (2001) found that ethnic minorities (African American, Asian American and Latino Americans) who were more highly-identified with their ethnic group were more likely to perceive subtler forms of discrimination as racist than those who were not as highly-identified with their ethnic group. However, overall findings on the association between ethnic group identification and perceived racism have been equivocal (Lee et al., 2007) with some studies indicating a positive relationship (Branscombe et al., 1999;

McCoy & Major, 2003; Operario & Fiske, 2001; Schmitt, Spears, & Branscombe, 2002;Tropp & Wright, 1999) and others indicating a negative relationship or no relationship at all (Barry & Grilo, 2003; Lee, 2003, 2005; Sears,Fu, Henry, & Bui, 2003) between ethnic group identification and perceived racism. Overall, the literature would seem to suggest that group identification with reference to one's racial or ethnic group is associated with the attributions made by ethnic minorities about potentially racist incidents (Sellers & Shelton, 2003).

For many African Americans, racial and ethnic group memberships serve as interchangeable reference points. However, Black immigrants are in the unique position where their racial group (i.e., Black racial group) and ethnic group (e.g., Caribbean, West Indian, Jamaican) mark two distinct reference points (Gopaul-McNicol, 1993). One implication of these divergent reference points is that Black immigrants might prefer to primarily identify with one group rather than the other. Giving support to this idea are studies which have suggested that Black immigrants might be more highly-identified with their ethnic group than their racial group (Rogers 2001; Vickerman, 1994, 2000; Waters, 1996, 2001).

Because ethnic group identity is not associated with minority status for this population, one would not expect ethnic group identity to be associated with individual, institutional or cultural race-related stress. That is, a greater emphasis on ethnic group identification might not necessarily lead to greater perceptions of discrimination in Black immigrants. There are two reasons why one might suspect this to be the case. First, studies that have found significant relationships between ethnic identification and perceived discrimination were based primarily on African Americans for whom race and ethnicity were not interchangeable reference points. Second, many Black immigrants maintain that while U.S. society holds unfavorable views toward their racial group, it holds their ethnic group in positive regard (Waters, 2001). Thus, for

the Black immigrant, an increased emphasis on ethnic group identification may signal disagreement with the idea that Black immigrants and African Americans share a similar racial fate. At the very least it may suggest that Black Caribbean immigrants are able to simultaneously hold two differing identities which are comprised of different perceptions about the meaning and salience of minority status. As it pertains to ethnic identity, there have been findings which suggest that Black Caribbean immigrants who emphasize their ethnic identification tend to downplay or minimize the significance of race-related structural barriers in society (Waters, 1999). Therefore, it is argued here that for Black Caribbean immigrants, ethnic identification will not predict individual, institutional or cultural race-related stress.

On the other hand, it is contended that since racial identity is associated with minority status within the U.S., racial identity will predict individual, institutional and cultural race-related stress. It is also argued that with increased length of residence in the U.S., identification with one's racial group may become more salient for Black immigrants (Bashi Bobb & Clarke, 2001). This increase in salience results from Black Caribbean immigrants coming to see similarities between their own experiences and life chances and those of African Americans (Rogers, 2001). This sense of "shared racial fate" with African Americans then has implications for Black Caribbean immigrants' perceptions of discrimination and resulting race-related stress. As Black Caribbean immigrants' shared racial fate or racial identity increases, they will be more likely to perceive ambiguous events as being racist. Therefore, as Black Caribbean immigrants' racial identity increases, they will perceive more discrimination which leads to increases in cultural, individual and institutional race-related stress. Moreover, this growing strength of racial group identification might be the mechanism through which length of residence is related to race-related stress.

Purpose of the Study

This study investigated the association between length of residence in the U.S. and race-related stress in Black Caribbean immigrants. It is hypothesized that there will be a positive predictive association between length of residence and race-related stress. In other words, as length of residence in the U.S. increases, Black Caribbean immigrants will experience increased individual, institutional and cultural race-related stress. Second, it is hypothesized that length of residence will predict racial identity but not ethnic identity. So, as Black Caribbean immigrants live longer in the U.S., their racial identity will increase, but not their ethnic identity. Third, racial identity but not ethnic identity will predict individual, institutional and cultural racism. Last, the relationship between length of residence and individual, institutional and cultural race-related stress will be mediated by racial identity but not ethnic identity.

CHAPTER 2: METHOD

Participants

The sample consisted of 96 (75 female, 21 male) Black Caribbean adults. Their ages ranged from 18-75 (M = 33.84; SD = 41.03). For participants to be included in this sample they had to self-identify as being "Black" and had to report their ethnic group membership as "West-Indian", "West-Indian American" or "Afro-Caribbean American". Participants were asked to report their country of birth, and if they were foreign-born, they were also asked to report their length of residence in the U.S. The majority of participants (70%) reported being born in a Caribbean country (e.g., Jamaica, Trinidad, etc.), and of this group, the average length of residence in the U.S was 13.39 years (*SD* = 12.71).

Participants were also asked to report their highest level of education. Of the overall sample, two (2%) reported only having a grade school education, 40 (42%) reported completing up to a high school education, 41 (43%) reported having a college education and 12 (13%) completed a graduate level education. Participants' socioeconomic status was also identified: 41 (43%) participants reported being of a working class socioeconomic status, 46 (48%) identified as being middle class and three (3%) reported being upper-middle class.

Instruments

Participants completed a number of questionnaires and measures including a demographic questionnaire, race- and ethnicity-specific versions of the Collective Self-Esteem Scale (CSES; Luhtanen and Crocker, 1992) and the Index of Race-Related Stress-Brief Version (IRRS-B; Utsey, 1999). As part of a larger study, the Individual-Collectivism Scale (INDCOL; Hui, 1988; Triandis, 1994) was also administered.

Demographic Questionnaire. This instrument collected information on participants' age, gender, country of birth, parent's country of birth, length of residence in the U.S., ethnic group membership, racial group membership, highest level of education completed and socioeconomic status.

Collective Self-Esteem Scale (CSES; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). The CSES consists of four subscales which assess individual differences in collective self-esteem. The *membership esteem* subscale measures how good or worthy participants feel they are as members of a social group. The *Private* subscale assesses participants' subjective judgment of how good one's social groups are. *Public* assesses how participants believe that others evaluate their social group. *Identity* assesses the importance of one's social group of reference to one's self-concept. For the purpose of this study, only race- and ethnicity-specific versions of the identity subscale were used. The Identity subscale consists of 4 items and utilizes a 7-point likert-type scale (1 = strongly disagree; 4 = neutral; 7 = strongly agree). Examples of items included in the identity subscale include: "Overall, my group memberships have very little to do with how I feel about myself." and "The social groups I belong to are an important reflection of who I am." Support for the 4-factor structure of the CSES has been demonstrated with four factors accounting for 67.4% of the variance in the scale. Further, alpha coefficients for the four factors ranged from .77 to .90 (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). For the current study, the alpha coefficients for the Identity (Race) and Identity (Ethnicity) subscales were .81 and .79 respectively.

Index of Race-Related Stress-Brief Version (IRRS-B; Utsey, 1999). The IRRS-B consists of 22 items and represents a multidimensional measure of psychological distress related to discriminatory racial experiences. Psychological distress is measured in three domains: individual racism, institutional racism and cultural racism. The items utilized a 4-point Likert-

type scale (0 = this never happened to me; 4 = this happened and I was extremely upset). The individual racism subscale consists of six items and assesses racism at an interpersonal level. Examples of items in this subscale include: "You were treated with less respect and courtesy than Whites and other non-Blacks while in a store, restaurant, or other business establishment." and "While shopping at a store the sales clerk assumed that you couldn't afford certain items (e.g., you were directed toward the items on sale)." The institutional racism subscale assesses racism as enacted through institutional policies. Examples of items in this subscale include: "You were passed over for an important project although you were more qualified and competent than the White/non-Black person given the task." and "You have been subjected to racist jokes by Whites/non-Blacks in positions of authority and you did not protest for fear that they might have held it against you." The cultural racism subscale measures the experience of racism through one's culture being less valued or considered less desirable than mainstream culture. Examples of items in this subscale include: "You notice that crimes committed by White people tend to be romanticized, whereas the same crime committed by a Black person is portrayed as savagery, and the Black person who committed it, as an animal." and "You seldom hear or read anything positive about Black people on radio, TV, in newspapers, or history books." A total score across domains can be obtained by converting each subscale score into a standardized score, and then summing across the standardized scores for each domain. This aggregate score reflects an overall measure of perceptions of racial discrimination.

Utsey (1999) reported cronbach alphas of .78 for cultural racism, .69 for institutional racism and .78 for individual racism. For the present study, the alpha coefficients for cultural, individual and institutional racism were .86, .73, and .75 respectively.

Procedure

Several data recruitment strategies were employed to ensure sufficient sample size. Since most Black Caribbean immigrants reside in metropolitan areas along the east coast (e.g., Miami, Washington D.C., and New York) (Logan & Deane, 2003), most of the recruitment efforts targeted these areas. First, participants were recruited through local organizations and businesses (e.g. barbershops and restaurants) and through two- and four-year colleges in the local area. In these settings, participants completed the inventories and returned them to the primary investigator. Approximately half of the sample was recruited using this strategy. Second, participants were recruited through snowball sampling where the social networks (e.g. family and friends) of current participants were used. The participants recruited using this strategy returned the completed inventories either in person or through the U.S. postal service.

Participants volunteered to complete the inventories and were not compensated for their participation. It took approximately 20-30 minutes to complete the various inventories and participants' anonymity was maintained throughout the process. Further, they were instructed that their participation was strictly voluntary and that they could stop at any time. Information regarding the nature of the study along with contact information for the primary researcher and IRB approval was given to each participant.

CHAPTER 3: RESULTS

Two one-way ANOVAs were performed as preliminary analyses to determine if any significant gender or generational differences in means existed for the variables under study. Analyses indicated that there were no statistically significant gender differences. However, generational differences were found for age with 1st generation individuals (M =39.73, SD =13.43) being significantly older than their 2nd-generation counterparts (M =22.06, SD =4.02). Table 1 and 2 provides the results of the ANOVA analyses.

Hypothesis 1: Length of residence will predict individual, institutional and cultural race-related stress.

Prior to conducting hierarchical linear regression analyses, the assumptions of linear regression were tested. According to the guidelines suggested by George and Mallery (2006) the skew and kutosis of the dependent variables were within the acceptable range. Also, as recommended by MacKinnon (2006), predictor and mediating variables were centered.

Three hierarchical linear regressions were used to determine if length of residence predicted individual, institutional and cultural race-related stress. Results from these analyses can be found in tables 4, 5 and 6. For the first step, length of residence was entered into the regressions. Results from the first step indicated that length of residence was a significant predictor of cultural race-related stress (β = .24, p =.02), but not individual (β = -.04, p = .67) nor institutional (β = .00, p = .97) race-related stress. Therefore, there was partial support for the hypothesis that length of residence predicted individual, institutional and cultural race-related stress.

Hypothesis 2: Length of residence will predict racial identity but not ethnic identity.

Two simple linear regressions were then used to determine whether length of residence predicted racial and ethnic identity. Results from these analyses can be found in tables 7 and 8. Results indicated that length of residence did not predict racial identity (β = -.08, p =.47) nor ethnic identity (β = -.07, p =.52). There was partial support for this hypothesis in that length of residence did not predict ethnic identity. However, contrary to the hypothesis, length of residence did not predict racial identity as well.

Hypothesis 3: Racial identity but not ethnic identity will predict individual, institutional and cultural race related stress

In the second step of three hierarchical linear regressions, racial and ethnic identity were entered to determine if theses variables were significant predictors of individual, institutional, and cultural race related stress. The results of these analyses can be found in tables 4, 5 and 6. Findings indicated that racial identity did not predict cultural (β = .12, p =.35) institutional (β = .01, p =.95) nor individual (β = -.06, p =.65) race-related stress. Similarly, ethnic identity did not predict cultural (β = .11, p =.40), institutional (β = .08, p =.54) nor individual (β = .24, p =.07) race-related stress. Thus, the findings pertaining to racial identity did not support the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 4: Racial identity but not ethnic identity will mediate the relationship between length of residence and individual, institutional and cultural race-related stress.

To test for mediation effects, the guidelines recommended by Baron and Kenny (1986) were followed. These guidelines specify that (1) the independent variable (length of residence) must be significantly related to the dependent variable (race-related stress); (2) the independent variable must be significantly related to the mediator (racial identity); (3) the mediator must be significantly associated with the dependent variable; and (4) after controlling for the mediator,

the relationship between the independent variable and the dependent variable should be significantly reduced.

In regards to racial identity as a mediator, previous analyses suggested that condition 1 (length of residence predicting cultural race-related stress) was met, but only for cultural race-related stress. That is, length of residence significantly and positively predicted cultural race-related stress (β = .24, p =.02). However, condition 2 for cultural race-related stress was not met. Length of residence did not significantly predict racial identity (β = -.08, p =.47). Condition 3 was also not met as racial identity did not significantly predict cultural race-related stress (β = .11, p =.40). Given that conditions 2 and 3 were not met, thus suggesting insufficient evidence for mediation effects for the criterion cultural race-related stress, condition 4 was not tested.

As it pertains to ethnic identity as a mediator, condition 1 was met (length of residence predicting race-related stress), but only for cultural race-related stress (β = .24, p =.02). Condition 2 was not met. That is, length of residence did not significantly predict ethnic identity (β = -.07, p =.52). The requirements for condition 3 were also not met. Ethnic identity did not significantly predict cultural race-related stress. However, ethnic identity as a unique predictor of individual race-related stress approached statistical significance, (β = .24, p =.07). Again, there was not enough evidence to suggest mediation effects and therefore condition 4 was not tested.

What is the bottom line here? These findings are consistent with previous studies in that length of residence was found to be associated with increased race-related stress in the cultural context. However, racial and ethnic identity, respectively, were not mediators of the association between the predictor and criterion variables. Contrary to the initial hypothesis that there would be no relationship between ethnic identity and race-related stress, there was a positive trend toward greater ethnic identity being associated with individual race-related stress. Finally, as

hypothesized, participants reported differing levels of race-related stress. Their reported levels of cultural race-related stress were higher than individual and institutional race-related stress.

CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to explore the associations among length of residence, group identification (i.e., racial and ethnic identity) and race-related stress. As hypothesized, length of residence in the U.S. was a significant predictor of race-related stress; however, this was only true for cultural race-related stress. It was also hypothesized that this relationship would be mediated by racial identity. However, results from the analyses did not support this hypothesis.

It is worth noting that length of residence only predicted cultural race-related stress and not individual or institutional race-related stress. One potential explanation for this finding has to do with differences that might exist between the race-related stress domains. As previously suggested, cultural race-related stress may have its basis in group-level race-related perceptions where the individual is not the target. These types of race-related stressors can be experienced through the media (e.g., television, radio, newspapers, etc.) and societal narratives (e.g., stereotypes). So, in many ways, cultural racism is the most apparent of the three types of racism (Jones, 1997). Further, because of the various mechanisms (e.g., media, narratives, etc.) through which one can experience cultural race-related stress, an individual does not need to be the target of a discriminatory event to experience cultural race-related stress. Consequently, on a daily basis, one might be more likely to experience cultural race related stressors than the more seemingly individual-level race-related stressors (i.e. institutional and individual race-related stressors).

This argument is supported by a body of research which has suggested that individuals are more likely to perceive discrimination against their group rather than themselves. This phenomenon, called the personal/group discrepancy is said to have its basis in a cognitive

heuristic. Because of the aggregate frequency of discriminatory events against one's group relative to oneself, it is easier to recall discrimination leveled against one's group than oneself (Moghaddam et al., 1997).

The implication of this finding is that discrimination against the racial group (i.e., inclusive of native-born Black individuals) can be stressful for Black Caribbean immigrants the longer they reside in the U.S. For some Black immigrants, this may mean that while they might have had knowledge of the anti-black bias in the U.S. prior to their emigrating, with time spent in the U.S., that reality takes on a new meaning. This "new meaning" could be indicative of Black immigrants coming to a realization that racism in the U.S. holds the same implications for their lives as it does for those of native-Blacks. This last assertion, however, is put forth tentatively and requires further study.

It was expected that racial identity would mediate the associations between length of residence and individual, institutional and cultural race-related stress. This was not the case, though individual associations between racial identity and cultural race-related stress neared significance in the hypothesized direction. This non-significant finding provides tentative support for the previous assertion that Black Caribbean immigrants' growing recognition of the anti-black bias in the U.S., has implications for their lives. This finding is also notable in light of research on African Americans which have consistently shown there to be a positive relationship between racial identity and perceptions of discrimination (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). That is, individuals who are more group-identified as it pertains to their racial group are more likely to report discrimination than those who are less group-identified. The non-significant finding for this sample could also be due to sample size. Perhaps with a larger sample size, significant relationships among racial identity, race-related stress and length of residence will emerge.

It was also hypothesized that ethnic identity would not mediate the relationship between length of residence and race-related stress. There was support for this hypothesis, as well as some unexpected findings. As expected, ethnic identity did not mediate the relationship between length of residence and race-related stress. Unexpectedly, however, there was a significant positive relationship between ethnic identity and individual race-related stress. Further, the statistical relationship between ethnic identity and individual race-related stress approached statistical significance in terms of the former predicting the latter.

It is notable that ethnic identity was specifically related to individual race-related stress. It is possible that Black Caribbean immigrants who feel positively about their Caribbean heritage feel threatened by individual-level discrimination. Research has suggested that Black immigrants often buffer against downward social mobility, negative appraisals and discrimination by emphasizing their distinctiveness from native-Blacks. This is often carried out by Black Caribbean immigrants in the form of assertions of their ethnic roots (Deaux et al., 2007; Waters, 1999). To this end, they may purposefully retain their accents and other ethnic markers. Therefore, in light of such efforts to emphasize one's ethnic origin, and to construe oneself strictly in those terms, individual acts of discrimination may be seen more as an affront to one's ethnicity than to one's race.

The results of this study suggest some interesting findings in regards to the racial experiences of Black Caribbean immigrants in the United States. First, the longer this population resides in the U.S., the more cultural race-related stress they experience. This is consistent with findings that suggest that Black immigrants perceive more racial discrimination the longer they live in the U.S. (Waters, 1999). Furthermore, for some Black Caribbean immigrants, the racial context of the U.S. via the race-related experiences they encounter, may negatively impact their

psychological health status in the long run. The findings of this study may lend some credence to the idea that Black immigrants health status declines with increased periods of residency in the U.S due to discrimination (Read & Emerson. 2005; Waters, 1999; Williams et al., 2007). Or at the very least it may suggests that racism plays some role in Black immigrants' declining health. Given the positive association between length of residence and race-related stress in this sample, this research study may be the first to suggest that these changes in health status take place earlier in the generational cycles than previously expected. Future studies with larger samples of first, second and third generation participants are needed to further confirm this hypothesis.

There were a few notable limitations associated with this study. First, the size of the sample was small, limiting its power to detect significant relationships. Thus, with a greater sample size some of the hypothesized relationships might emerge. Second, "racial identity" as operationalized in this study might not be a significant predictor of individual and institutional race-related stress even with a larger sample size. Perhaps other operationalizations of minority status may better predict these specific types of race-related stress.

Despite limitations, this study has important implications for our understanding of the racial experiences and resulting stress of Black Caribbean immigrants. The findings of this study suggest that there is a need for continued research that investigates whether for some Black Caribbean immigrants, stressful race-related experiences may contribute to psychological distress. But first, research linking race-related stress to psychological distress is needed to establish a causal relationship between these variables. If it is the case that race-related stress is associated with psychological distress for this population, assessments and interventions geared toward addressing racism may be useful in treating psychological distress which has its roots in discrimination.

Future research should focus on the unique ways in which Black Caribbean immigrants cope with racism. In particular, understanding if and how this population uses various forms of social and cultural capital (e.g., social networks and cultural beliefs) to deal with racism will further elucidate what constitutes the "adjustment experience" for this population, as well as indigenous ways by which this group addresses the psychosocial consequences of racism . Such studies are useful because they can potentially inform clinical- and community-based efforts geared toward decreasing the negative psychosocial consequences of racism. Such studies will also educate the public and academic community about the differences in coping strategies between African Americans and Black Caribbean immigrants. This is particularly important since these two groups were once thought of and studied as a single monolithic group (Rogers, 2001).

Future research is also needed on the personal/group discrepancy in relation to racial/ethnic minority immigrant groups. First, it is not always clear which group Black Caribbean immigrants see as their reference group when thinking about and experiencing racism. Do they see their "group" as consisting solely of Black Caribbean immigrants, or does their "group" also include African Americans? In addition, does the composition of their reference group change over time to include African Americans, and is that change related to increased perceptions of racism and subsequent race-related stress? This is of particular importance because it has been suggested that the personal/group discrepancy increases with the size of one's reference group (Moghaddam et al., 1997). That is, as one's reference group increases, one perceives more group-related discrimination. Therefore, if and when Black immigrants come to identify with native-Blacks and see more commonalities between their experiences with racism and those of African Americans, they may perceive more discrimination. Therefore, further

studies are needed to unpack the various cognitive mechanisms that lead to increased race-related stress over time for this population.

The findings of this study underscore and echo the call of others (e.g., Betancourt & Lopez, 1993; Helms, Jernigan, & Mascher, 2005; Hunter, 2008) for counselors and scholars alike to pay particularly close attention to differences in racial discrimination experiences and race-related stress within the black racial group. Besides those differences that arise due to culture and ethnicity , this study suggests that length of residence in the U.S. is a variable that should be considered when thinking about race-related stress and the meanings Black immigrants give to the role of race and racism in their lives.

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APPENDIX: TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1

Mean (SD) scores by Gender for Measures of Racial and Ethnic Identity, Race-Related Stress and Demographic Variables.

Measure	Men	Women	*F*	*p*
Demographic Variables				
Age	34.95(14.18)	33.51(14.07)	.17	.69
Years in the U.S.	16.05(11.10)	12.61(13.11)	1.19	.28
Group identification				
Racial Identity	5.04(1.48)	4.99(1.44)	.03	.87
Ethnic Identity	5.06(1.58)	5.37(1.33)	.81	.37
Race-Related Stress				
Individual	2.17(1.0)	2.46(.95)	1.49	.23
Institutional	1.04(1.03)	0.83(.97)	.75	.39
Cultural	2.52(.96)	2.75(.89)	1.06	.31

Racial and Ethnic Identity: 1= Strongly Disagree, 4=Neutral, 7=Strongly Agree. *Race-Related Stress:* 0=This never happened to me, 2= This event happened and I was slightly upset, 4= This event happened and I was extremely upset.

Table 2

Mean (SD) scores by Generational Status for Measures of Racial and Ethnic Identity, Race-Related Stress and Demographic Variables.

Measure	1st-generation	2nd-generation	*F*	*p*
Demographic Variables				
Age	39.73(13.43)	22.06(4.72)	50.25	.00
Group identification				
Racial Identity	4.90(1.56)	5.20(1.13)	.91	.34
Ethnic Identity	5.22(1.45)	5.48(1.21)	.75	.39
Race-Related Stress				
Individual	2.30(.88)	2.58(1.10)	1.77	.19
Institutional	.79(.80)	1.06(1.27)	1.68	.20
Cultural	2.69(.88)	2.72(.95)	.02	.90

Racial and Ethnic Identity: 1= Strongly Disagree, 4=Neutral, 7=Strongly Agree. *Race-Related Stress:* 0=This never happened to me, 2= This event happened and I was slightly upset, 4= This event happened and I was extremely upset.

Table 3

Reliabilities, Means, Standard Deviations and Intercorrelations Among Predictor and Outcome Variables for the total sample (N = 92)

	M	*SD*	α	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Length of Residence	13.39	12.70		--	-.08	-.07	-.06	-.00	.22*
Group Identity Importance									
2. Racial	5.0	1.44	.81		--	.62**	.08	.05	.19
3. Ethnic	5.30	1.38	.79			--	.21*	.08	.18
Race-Related Stress									
4. Individual	2.39	.96	.73				--	.54**	.62**
5. Institutional	.88	.98	.75					--	.52**
6. Cultural	2.70	.90	.86						--

Note. *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$

Table 4

Hierarchical Regression Analyses Predicting Individual Race-Related Stress for Black Caribbean Immigrants

Variable	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1					
Length of Residence	-.00	.01	-.06	.00	.00
Step 2					
Racial Identity	-.04	.09	-.06		
Ethnic Identity	.17	.09	.24	.05	.05

Table 5

Hierarchical Regression Analyses Predicting Institutional Race-Related Stress for Black Caribbean Immigrants

Variable	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1					
Length of Residence	.00	.01	-.00	.00	.00
Step 2					
Racial Identity	.01	.09	.01		
Ethnic Identity	.06	.09	.08	.01	.01

Table 6

Hierarchical Regression Analyses Predicting Cultural Race-Related Stress for Black Caribbean Immigrants

Variable	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1					
Length of Residence	.02	.01	.22*	.048*	.05*
Step 2					
Racial Identity	.08	.08	.12		
Ethnic Identity	.07	.08	.11	.09*	.04

Note. *$p < .05$. **$p \leq .01$.

Table 7

Simple linear regression predicting racial identity

Variable	*B*	*SE B*	β	R^2
Step 1				
Length of Residence	-.01	.01	-.08	.05

Table 8

Simple linear regression predicting ethnic identity

Variable	*B*	*SE B*	β	R^2
Length of Residence	-.01	.01	-.07	.01

Figure 1 Hypothesized relationship between length of residence in the U.S., racial identity and race-related stress.

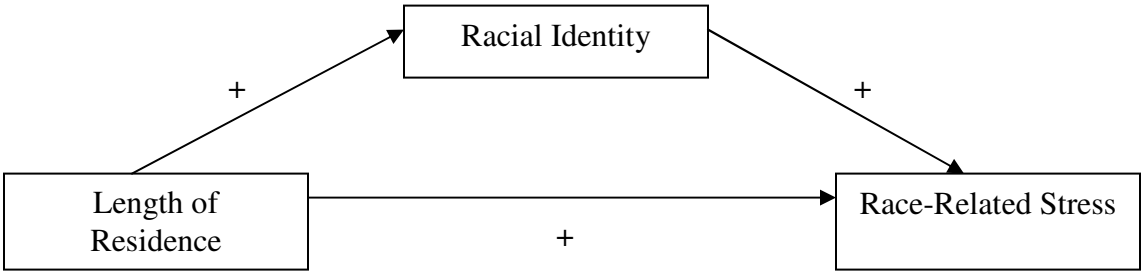

Figure 2 Relationship between length of residence in the U.S., racial identity and cultural race-related stress based on the results of hierarchical regressions