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ARTICLES

Empirical Study of the Application of Double-Consciousness Among African-American Men

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Abstract

The current study serves to add to the existing literature on African-American men and masculinity, and to provide empirical evidence of the hypothesized mental conflict that exists among African-Americans, particularly as it relates to double-consciousness. Mental conflict was measured as a function of psychological distress, surfacing in high levels of depression, anxiety, and somatization, made evident through the measurement of the Brief Symptom Inventory-18 (BSI-18). It was hypothesized that African-American men engaged in the practice of double-consciousness made evident through the scores on the General Ethnicity Questionnaire (GEQ). More specifically, those who failed to integrate and only identified with one's Blackness and those who made drastic changes in one's reality by taking on characteristics of the Eurocentric worldview were expected to have higher levels of psychological distress. Results from this study found a practical use of the theory of double-consciousness and further provide implications for future research on the topic.

Keywords Double-consciousness · African-American masculinity · Multiple identities · Intersection

Introduction

The present study addressed the psychological impact that occurs among African-American men as a result of the engagement in double-consciousness. W.E.B. Du Bois (1982) theorized that personalities of cultural minorities could not develop without creating a deep "internal division," defined as a fundamental rift that is created solely by membership in a group that has been socially defined as inferior (Du Bois 1982;

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Brannon et al. 2015; Gaines and Reed 1995; Moore 2005). Theories of African-American masculinity have traditionally proposed that African-American masculinity is shaped by the material and social conditions of being Black in America (Clatterbaugh 1990). The consensus of the previous research regarding Black men has found that in addition to the traditional aspects of the traditional male role, African-American men also endorse non-traditional aspects of masculinity that are a reflection of core values within the Afrocentric worldview (Hunter and Davis 1994). Black men are expected to conform to the gender role expectations of traditional masculinity of the dominant culture, as well as to meet the often conflicting culturally specific requirements of the African-American community.

Du Bois (1982) theorized that the process of becoming a cultural minority in America involves membership in two different groups or communities resulting in feeling pressured to adhere to both sets of standards, and/or evaluating oneself on the basis of others' perceptions. This process describes the phenomenon of double-consciousness. Essentially, double-consciousness is a coping skill, but it can be considered maladaptive if it generates mental conflict (Moore 2005). It is contended that the effects of living in a pluralistic society as a cultural minority force double-consciousness to the forefront as a coping mechanism. The problem lies when the message delivered to African-Americans by hegemonic society is translated to a message received by African-Americans to figuratively choose between either Black or White culture (Fanon 1967; Moore 2005; Nobles 1973; McPhail 2002; Allen and Bagozzi 2001).

To operationalize the concept of double-consciousness, Berry's theory of acculturation in studying how cultural minorities live and function in our Westernized society provides implications for the psychological impact of the phenomenon. According to Berry (2001), acculturation is the concept that refers to the process of cultural change that results when two or more culturally autonomous groups come into contact. Additionally, acculturation is an individual level phenomenon that requires sole members of both the larger society and the various acculturating groups to establish new forms of relationships in their daily lives (Berry and Sam 1997). Individuals actually undergo changes in attitudes, which result in behavioral shifts that may or may not be a source of distress for the individual (Berry 2001). These behavioral shifts have been identified and categorized into four acculturation strategies: assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization. Overall, research on Berry's model of acculturation has found that acculturative stress occurs when persons are not able to achieve adaptation; namely, those who utilize the acculturation strategies of separation, assimilation, and marginalization (Berry et al. 1992; Dona and Berry 1994).

The current study served to provide empirical evidence of the hypothesized mental conflict that exists among African-Americans, particularly as it relates to double-consciousness among college-aged African-American men. Based on the information that has been gleaned from the literature, it was expected that African-American men engaged in the practice of double-consciousness, made evident through scores on the General Ethnicity Questionnaire (GEQ). More specifically, those who failed to integrate and only identified with one's Blackness and those who made drastic changes in one's reality by taking on characteristics of the Eurocentric worldview were expected to have higher levels of psychological distress.

Historical Reference of Double-Consciousness

Moore (2005) provided a historical reference in explaining the nature for the development of double-consciousness. Where freedom from chattel slavery was not fought for but granted in the form of the Emancipation Proclamation, African-Americans have not experienced a "true independence"; therefore, Moore (2005) contends that African-Americans have unconsciously inherited an omnipresent sense of inferiority to people of non-color, or members of the dominant society. Gaines and Reed (1995) also provided indication as to why African-Americans engage in double-consciousness. The authors proposed that the engagement in double-consciousness occurs in reaction to perceived prejudice for persons of color. Given that African-Americans are a cultural minority subgroup, they may be subjected to implicit and explicit socially defined labeling that in many cases are punitive. These social interaction patterns ultimately reinforce the perpetual cycle of a self-perception of belonging to a cultural minority.

"Being Black" is defined not simply by African-American people, or by any individual Black person, but by the social process in a pluralistic world (Gaines and Reed 1995). Given the hegemony of Westernization over Afro-centrism in the USA, a proportion of what it means to be Black is based on assumptions, attitudes, and expectancies of the dominant society. As noted in Ciccariello-Maher's critique of the concept of double-consciousness, these expectancies are manifested in a "veil," or perceived barrier to success (Ciccariello-Maher 2009). As a result of this veil, it is nearly impossible to compare the existence of an African-American person in the same perspective to that of an American of European descent in the USA (Gaines and Reed 1995). Universally, the African-American comes to be who he or she is in an environment to where many events serve to mark this developing person as a subaltern, regardless of socioeconomic status (Ciccariello-Maher 2009; Brannon et al. 2015). As a result, the African-American develops this two-ness, or double-consciousness, to operate in an ever-divided world. This becomes the African-American experience, which remains "invisible" or nearly unfathomable to the mainstream society and in social psychological analyses of personality (Sue 2004).

Double-Consciousness and Self-Concept

Much of the existing research on double-consciousness is theoretical and exists within the research paradigm of self-concept studies (Itzigsohn and Brown 2015; Obasi 2002; Nobles 1973). Nobles (1973) spoke of the existence of double-consciousness within African-Americans as a description of the African worldview and how it relates to the self-concept. It was explained that many, if not most, of the Black people living in hegemonic society operate everyday life from a perspective that reflects their indigenous or African worldview (Nobles 1973; Parham and Parham 2002; Jenkins 1995), which differs in many ways to the Western worldview, specifically as it relates to the self-concept (Nobles 1973). Itzigsohn and Brown (2015) noted that in our current racialized modern society, these aforementioned dynamics promote the emergence of a social identity, or self, whose development is facilitated through interactions among people. The African worldview requires that when focusing on the self, one not be bound to the examination of distinct, separate individuals, but rather, the dynamics of

the collective "we." This collective we, or feelings of belonging to, as well as being the group, is necessary to note in any efforts to understand an African-American. It is necessary to note that the Western conception defines the self in individualistic terms, which suggests that the self is that which makes one individually unique or different from others (Obasi 2002; Parham and Parham 2002; Jenkins 1995; Nobles 1973).

With African-Americans living in hegemonic society, there is concern when a cognitive organization exists as a function of this collision of worldviews. According to Nobles (1973), this collision may result in some individuals adjusting their self-concept in efforts to adapt to the dominant culture. This may include changing the self-concept or engaging and thinking in ways contrary to one's present self through the internalization of viewpoints of society. The impetus for this change is induced by some "reward," or recognition (Itzigsohn and Brown 2015). Nobles (1973) explains the dangers if one defines avoidance of racial tensions as a reward; then, the self may potentially attempt to compromise aspects of their Black identity resulting in negative reactions, which may occur in the dysfunctional use of double-consciousness.

Empirically Supported Research on Double-Consciousness

Only three empirical investigations on the phenomenon of double-consciousness have been conducted (Allen and Bagozzi 2001; Lyubansky and Eidelson 2005; Brannon et al. 2015). Allen and Bagozzi (2001) used the concepts of generation and age strata to empirically examine racial attitudes, self-esteem and its relationship to psychological well-being, "other" group attachments, and system orientations across different age and generational groups of African-Americans. The authors suggested that due to negative categorical treatment from mainstream society, African-Americans in the various age cohorts possess and share a common schema-like set of beliefs, culminating in double-consciousness. The existence of double-consciousness was measured by levels on the following constructs: negative/positive stereotypes, closeness to Black masses and Black elites, subjective well-being, self-esteem, closeness to non-American Blacks, closeness to American minorities, system blame, system cynicism/optimism, perceived race discrimination, and group fate/individual effort. The results of this study revealed a similarity across age cohorts in their understanding of these belief systems, and their tendency to share a strong sense of group attachment and self-worth (Allen and Bagozzi 2001). Further, it was found that one's endorsement in the African-American belief system influenced a higher leveled sense of well-being, and societal orientations across the age cohorts.

Lyubansky and Eidelson (2005) revisited the concept of double-consciousness by examining the relationship between racial and mainstream acculturation and African-Americans' beliefs about their racial and national groups. The authors utilized Berry's model to measure levels of acculturation to Black culture and mainstream American culture through the use of the instrument General Ethnicity Questionnaire (GEQ) developed by Tsai et al. (2000). Double-consciousness was measured through the use of a survey comprised of an abridged version of the General Ethnicity Questionnaire and three subsets of items adapted from the Individual-Group Belief Inventory (IGBI). The abridged GEQ was utilized in efforts to provide a multidimensional measure of acculturation. The results of this study revealed that African-Americans perceived their racial group as more unjustly treated and more helpless than their national group;

however, they also believed that their national group was more vulnerable and more in need of maintaining a distrustful posture than their racial group (Lyubansky and Eidelson 2005). It was further found that beliefs about racial group vulnerability, unjust treatment, and superiority were stronger for those respondents more deeply immersed in African-American culture, whereas endorsement in mainstream culture was unrelated to the strength of these convictions. In contrast, both racial and mainstream acculturation tended to predict beliefs about the American national group in the domains of vulnerability, injustice, distrust, and superiority.

Lyubansky and Eidelson (2005) made note that prior to their research, relatively little information was known regarding double-consciousness and how it may be reflected in Blacks' core beliefs about their racial and national groups. The authors contended that it is of considerable interest to understand how double-consciousness of African-Americans has developed, "as Blacks have taken significant but incomplete strides towards equality with other groups that collectively constitute the American people of today" (pp.4–5; Lyubansky and Eidelson 2005). They explained that with the landmark rulings, legislation on education, and voting rights in the 1950s and 1960s, new questions have surfaced regarding how African-Americans negotiate their racial and national identities, and further, how their dual identities as cultural minorities in mainstream America shape their individual perceptions of their racial and national groups.

Brannon et al. (2015) utilized the theory of double-consciousness among African-American college students and theorized double-consciousness as a positive coping strategy. The authors posited in response to the development of "twoness," or the engagement in both American culture and African-American culture, two separate and elaborate self-schemas are also developed that serve as a "gift" (Brannon et al. 2015). In this study, Brannon et al. (2015) theorized that the engagement in double-consciousness facilitates positive academic experiences through the development of two separate self-schemas. The authors further suggest that these self-schemas provide appropriate guides to African-American students, as it relates to academic fit and identification, and will ultimately promote academic success (Brannon et al. 2015). The results from this study found evidence of the experience of "cultural frame-switching" in double-consciousness and suggested positive psychological and cognitive implications of such experience (Brannon et al. 2015).

African-American Men and Masculinity

African-American men have been impacted by generational experiences of sociocultural factors such as poverty and racism (Clatterbaugh 1990; Kilmartin 2000). Due to the visibility of racial physical characteristics, such as skin color, facial features, and hair texture, race often plays a dominant role in the social relations and interactions of African-American men (Black 1997). Racism, as defined by Kilmartin (2000), is a set of behaviors, values, and attitudes that reflect a belief in the inherent superiority of one race over another. The endorsement of these beliefs need not be conscious to have profound consequences on cultural minorities, such as African-American men (Sue 2004; Hall 2001; Kilmartin 2000; Clatterbaugh 1990). For example, African-American men faced institutional racism in the USA for generations, which resulted in segregation, discrimination, stigmatization, and alienation. Consequently, any description of

African-American men and masculinity must be discussed in a contextual manner and include issues such as the history of slavery, oppression, and perpetual racial discrimination (Kilmartin 2000). As a result of these sociocultural contexts, African-American men have faced generational struggles and missed opportunities to achieve success, according to hegemonic standards (Kilmartin 2000).

With mandates such as the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, African-American men were socialized to accept the fact that the accumulation of wealth, education, property, or public recognition, all elements reinforced by traditional descriptions of masculinity, do not necessarily improve the chance of one's social advancement and mobility in society (Black 1997). From the nineteenth century to the 1960s, adult Black men faced Jim Crow Laws that led to numerous sociocultural disadvantages for African-American men. One may speculate that the results of such disadvantages can be seen in the population of males and manifested in high rates of unemployment, chemical dependency, incarceration, crime victimization, and premature death by preventable diseases and violence. Consequently, African-American men have been shaped by the current material and social conditions of being a cultural minority in hegemonic society.

Being of minority status in hegemonic society consists of having to constantly negotiate racism and discrimination while moving between the majority and minority cultures. For this reason, Hunter and Davis (1992) further explored the meanings of manhood as articulated by African-American men in efforts to grasp a fuller understanding of the complexities of African-American manhood or masculinity. In the study of Hunter and Davis (1992), discussions of manhood by African-American men were interwoven with personal narratives, self-definition, and what they learned of manhood as they aged and matured. A central theme found in this research was that Black manhood was defined in terms of what the men expected of themselves. Meanings of manhood emerged as a multidimensional construct that defines being a man in terms of the self, a man's relationship and responsibility to family, and a worldview or existential philosophy (Hunter and Davis 1992). These findings suggest that there are conceptual links between behavioral proscriptions that represent a collective meaning of manhood as both a social role and personal identity. The authors contended that the conceptualization found in this particular study was representative of core conceptions of manhood that are endorsed by African-American families, which helped to sustain the Black community over time.

Methods

For this study, an a priori statistical power analyses were performed (Cohen 1988) to determine the desired sample size given the research design, power at .95 or greater, and a medium effect size of .3. The power analysis yielded the desired sample size of 111 to attain the power of .95, with an alpha at .05.

Participants

One hundred nineteen ($n = 119$) African-American male undergraduate ($n = 110$) and graduate ($n = 9$) students were recruited from various undergraduate programs at a large

Historically Black University in the middle Tennessee area. The subjects were invited to participate through the permission of the class instructor. Participation was limited to African-American male students who were 18 years of age or older.

Procedure

A series of questionnaires were utilized to gather data from the research participants. The questionnaires distributed to the subjects were inclusive of the following: basic demographic information (i.e., marital status, year in school, approximated socioeconomic status of the family of origin), an abridged version of the General Ethnicity Questionnaire, the Masculinities Across Roles Scale, and the Brief Symptom Inventory-18 (BSI-18).

Instruments

General Ethnicity Questionnaire (GEQ; Tsai et al. 2000) To measure levels of acculturation to racial/ethnic group culture and to mainstream American culture, an African-American version of the General Ethnicity Questionnaire (GEQ) was utilized and administered. The original GEQ consists of two sets of 75 items, one measuring each cultural identity, and was designed specifically to provide a multidimensional measure of acculturation (Tsai et al. 2000). The African-American version differs from the original in that all items pertaining to language use and fluency not relevant to African-Americans were eliminated. As a result, two parallel 22-item scales were developed, one assessing acculturation to one's racial/ethnic group and the other assessing acculturation to mainstream American society. This measured respondents' orientation to African-American and mainstream American cultures independently. Participants used a Likert-scale ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree to rate how much they agree with statements about their cultural orientation (e.g., "I was raised in a way that was African-American"). Lyubansky and Eidelson (2005) have reported Cronbach alphas for the use of the abridged African-American and mainstream American versions of the GEQ with a sample population of Black Americans at .85 for the racial/ethnic version, and .91 for the mainstream American version. These were consistent with alphas of .92 reported by Tsai et al. (2001) for a sample of Chinese-American students.

Masculinity Across Roles Scale **(MARS; Blazina 2004)** The MARS is a gender-specific tool aimed at assessing the masculine self across various roles and social contexts. The measure asked subjects, "How they are as a man" in eight different roles: in the classroom/learning environment, with a romantic interest, with mother, with father, at work, in sports, with a group of friends, with best friend, and with father. The subjects were then provided up to six various descriptors describing how they feel as a man for each role. They were then asked to identify conflict within and across these roles and assign its level or degree of intensity on a seven-point Likert scale. The subjects were then provided a number of conflictual roles to be identified within and across roles, with their subjective level of strain in which it causes. This (explain/say what "this" is)

results in four potential subscale scores: Masculinity Across Roles Scale-Number Within Roles (MARS-NWR); Masculinity Across Roles-Number Across Roles (MARS-NAR); Masculinity Across Roles Scale Intensity Within Roles (MARS-IWR); and Masculinity Across Roles Scale–Intensity Across Roles (MARS-IAR). For this study, the MARS was adapted to measure possible sources of conflict for African-American men across the various social roles that they are engaged.

To provide construct validity for the MARS, a group of trained raters were asked to express their agreement with how well the MARS represented the following constructs: Multiple ways of being a man (Multiplicity), Conflicts about being a man (Conflict), on a Likert-type scale were 1 (does not fit at all) to 5 (fits very well). The construct for Multiplicity yielded validity coefficients of .78 (three items) and .88 (two items) for the Conflicts construct.

The Brief Symptom Inventory-18 (BSI 18; Derogatis 2000) The BSI-18 is a self-report symptom inventory designed to serve as a screen for psychological distress and psychiatric disorders in both medical and community populations (Derogatis 2000). The BSI-18 is the latest in an integrated series of test instruments designed to measure psychological distress. The BSI-18 measure has 18 items, six each on the Somatization, Depression, and Anxiety dimensions. Additionally, the measure provides a global severity index, which summarizes the prospective subjects' overall levels of psychological distress. Each of the 18-items on the BSI-18 are rated on a 5-point Likert scale. Internal consistency reliability estimates are available for the BSI-18 based on a community sample of 1134 (Derogatis 2000). The estimates provided for the coefficient alpha for somatization was .74, depression .84, anxiety .79, and the total global severity index .89.

Results

Frequency distributions were examined to obtain a greater understanding of the sample and its characteristics. One hundred fourteen (95.8%) of the final participant pool identified themselves as Black or African-American, while 5 (4.2%) of the participants identified their ethnic identity as "Other." Participants ranged in age from 18 to 55 (M = 22.44, SD = 5.11).

Clinical range, as defined by the BSI-18, indicates a positive screen for psychological distress (BSI 18; Derogatis 2000). The BSI-18 manual states that positive screens provide the beginnings of the discriminant operations in determining the presence of a psychiatric disorder. Approximately one fourth of the sample population displayed a difficulty overall managing their psychological distress ($n = 29$; 24.4%). More specifically, of the BSI-18 dimensions, the sample population indicated most difficulty with depression ($n = 35$; somatization ($n = 24$; 20.2%). The sample population indicated difficulties in managing the intensity of their across-roles conflict (M = 8.95; SD = 10.20) and within-roles conflict (M = 6.13; SD = 8.82). Overall, the sample population identified greater with African-American culture (M = 89.38; SD = 13.68) than Mainstream-American (M = 70.22; SD = 15.54).

A binary logistic regression analysis was used to explore the probability of unhealthy versus healthy double-consciousness coping style membership associated with

the outcome variables of masculinity across roles, gender role conflict scores, and brief symptom inventory scores. To determine healthy versus unhealthy endorsement for double-consciousness, a new variable was formed. If the participant endorsed incongruent GEQ scores (i.e., low separation and high assimilation, high separation, and low assimilation), the subject was categorized as endorsing an unhealthy approach to double-consciousness. If the subject endorsed congruent GEQ scores (i.e., low separation and low assimilation, high separation and high assimilation), the participant was categorized as endorsing a healthy approach to double-consciousness. The overall logistic regression model for the classification of psychological distress was at trend level of significance ($\chi^2 = 15.92$, $p = .06$). Overall, 64.7% of the research participants were correctly classified as endorsing either healthy or unhealthy double-consciousness styles, with a 35% rate of false positive. Specifically, 71.4% were correctly classified for unhealthy double-consciousness coping style, and 57.1% were correctly categorized for the healthy double-consciousness coping style.

Introduced simultaneously in the logistic regression model as a first step, the subscale of total within-roles conflict of the masculinity across roles scale contributed to the model, also at trend level ($B = .037$, Wald = 3.06, $p = .08$).

Discussion

For purposes of the study, the researcher operationally defined the occurrence of double-consciousness through inverse correlations on the scales measuring for acculturation styles. This may have served as a methodological flaw, inaccurately accounting for double-consciousness. This may be the case especially in light of the overall mean scores of the sample's cultural identity, as made evident by the General Ethnicity Questionnaires (Mainstream/African-American). The sample endorsed an identification with African-American culture only slightly more than with the dominant or mainstream culture. This finding alone may suggest that the sample as a whole is already engaging in double-consciousness, adhering to values within both hegemonic societies as well as with African-American culture.

A form of qualitative data was collected from the research participants during the current study's debriefing sessions and served as anecdotal data. This data provided that the theory of double-consciousness may warrant revision. In the many debriefing sessions, the principal investigator took note of the discussions generated by the participants. Several themes in relation to the topic of double-consciousness surfaced, leading to the budding developmental theory of double-consciousness. It is believed that the existence of double-consciousness is more complex than a simple dichotomy as previously posited by scholar W.E.B. Du Bois. Du Bois (1982) posited that double-consciousness involves the development of a "false self" in response to the factor of race. He explained that the factors of race and evaluation are present when within hegemonic society, a piece of one's personhood becomes fragmented and damaged. This fragmentation may result in anxiety, internalized anger, and other issues related to psychological distress. Although this dynamic may occur, other situations involving double-consciousness may be less detrimental (Brannon et al. 2015).

When speaking in terms of how the research participants described their experiences as Black men, they also introduced to the researcher new perspectives on double-

consciousness that provided insight as to how men negotiate their multiple identities, or intersections of their personalities (Bowleg et al. 2016; Rogers et al. 2015; Thomas et al. 2015). The subjects spoke of "moments" in which they came to realize their cultural identity as an African-American man. For example, one subject spoke of experiencing a "cultural shock" when he realized that others viewed him as a cultural minority, and thus "different." He reported, "At this party, there were many non-Black students. I was shocked by the reaction that *other* students had on who I was, how I spoke..." This student went on to explain, "the other White students asked, 'what is it like living in the ghetto,' and they made sure to let me know that I was an outsider...saying that I spoke 'Black.' It was the first time that I realized that I was different." The narrative of this student indicated two stages of development in double-consciousness: (1) Cultural Naiveté and (2) Cultural Exposure-Culture Shock. The student implied that in experiencing this "realization," he came out of a Cultural Naiveté, where he did not consider his racial identity in responding to others, to a Cultural Exposure-Culture Shock, where he reacted to his newly "discovered" racial identity.

Other subjects spoke of a phase in the development of double-consciousness that involved an introspective component. A group of participants were debating whether or not they engage in double-consciousness. One student stated, "Engaging in double-consciousness or code-switching is a necessity. There is no way that you can act how you do around your homies as you do with your parents, or your professors, or at work." This statement suggested that the research participant evaluated how he relates to others in the respective social situations. This phase of introspection allowed him to consider the various aspects of himself so that he may negotiate his identity accordingly (Itzigsohn and Brown 2015).

One participant described a phase that may appropriately follow-up introspection. The participant described feeling as if he was "in a pressure cooker... always having to live up to this and that...it's confusing." This statement veiled a feeling of angst, characterized by identity negotiation. In this stage, it is inferred that one who self-evaluated his identities in the various aspects of his life must then learn how to organize these multiple identities, with the ultimate goal leading to a sophistication of the identities. It is suggested that this feeling of angst comes out of the cyclical pattern of self-evaluation, overcompensation, and under compensation. The natural resolution of this phase would then lead to an awakening of sophistication. This phase would allow the individual to be flexibly comfortable in vacillating among the many faces of the self.

An underlying narrative that surfaced during the several debriefing sessions included the centralized theme that people are universally sensitive to their social contexts for one reason, to become a part of the larger societal unit and to ensure that the valued social connections remain intact (Adams-Bass et al. 2014). Object Relations or psychoanalytic theorists can interpret, due to our innate drive to connect to others and to contribute to our communities, we become aware and adapt to our environments in efforts to relate to others. This reflects the collective need to feel accepted and valued by others. When the need to belong becomes threatened due to insecurity in oneself, due to race, the self's sensitivity to surrounding social cues also becomes heightened. This heightened sensitivity leads to an excessive amount of focus on others, resulting in one to evaluate self through the lens of others. Wade (1998) found that when African-American men externally define their gender role concept, they responded in a way that

was stereotypical, conforming, and rigid. Related to this study, the engagement in double-consciousness theoretically leads the self to fragment, internalizing negative messages regarding the self.

Summary

For future research studies, a developmental perspective on the process of becoming self-focused may provide further insight into the complexities of double-consciousness. Again, it may benefit the researcher to utilize an inductive, explanatory qualitative approach in studying double-consciousness to further clarify the theory base grounded in the participants' experiences. This would allow for the investigator to clearly capture the complexities and meaningfulness of the men's experience in negotiating their multiple roles, and subsequently their multiple identities, by permitting openness to findings through accessing the participants' full descriptions of the intersection their realities. The future research may use the proposed developmental theory on double-consciousness to develop a semi-structured interview, addressing the following thematic stages of double-consciousness: (1) Cultural Naiveté, (2) Cultural Exposure-Cultural Shock, (3) Cultural Awareness-Introspection, (4) Internalized Angst-Negotiation, and (5) Awakening-Sophistication.

Based on the narratives and empirical data found in the present study's results, it is believed that the existence of double-consciousness is more complex than originally expected. The psychological perspective of double-consciousness may provide insight on Black masculinity, and its implications for African-American men as they negotiate their masculine identity across roles. Applying this, we may incorporate a clinical perspective on the self as it relates to gender roles, racial identity, and the intersection of the two variables as it defines masculinity for African-American men. As we further investigate uses of psychological defenses associated with the phases of the developmental perspective of double-consciousness within Black men, we may gain insight as to how we may better facilitate the process of becoming comfortable negotiating Black men's masculinity across roles. An analysis of the intersections of self may serve to integrate a more comprehensive view of Black masculinity, and further, provide direction in the application of specific therapeutic techniques within a psychotherapeutic environment (Bowleg et al. 2016).

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