

Stages of Racialized and Ethnic Identity Development*: *People of Color***

Source: William Cross, *Shades of Black: Diversity in African American Identity*, cited in Beverly Daniel Tatum, *Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria?* (NY: Basic Books, 1997), adapted and elaborated by Lisa Sung** (2/2002)

STAGE	SELF-PERCEPTION	STANCE TOWARD DOMINANT GROUP	STANCE TOWARD CO-ETHNICS**	TYPICAL PERCEPTIONS/ EXPRESSIONS
1. Pre-Encounter. Limited consciousness of self as "other."	Has absorbed the images, beliefs, values of dominant group. Considers self as "colorblind" and the world as "raceless." Views the world individualistically and relationally; unaware of significance of group.	Identifies with and seeks acceptance among the dominant group, often by down-playing aspects associated with the dominant group.	Disinterest; distance. Co-ethnics may reject him/her because of assimilation to the dominant group.	"Don't call me ____; I'm <i>American</i> ." "We're all just people." "Just treat me as the individual I am." "____ are so uncool." "Why do they only stick to themselves?"
2. Encounter. Impact of (usually negative) categorization is felt.	If <i>positive</i> encounter: surprised by perceived differences. If <i>negative</i> encounter: feels devalued and rejected; now unsure of own identity and community. Earlier beliefs about equality, "liberty and justice for all" shaken.	Hurt, anger, confusion. May develop an "oppositional identity," both protecting self and keeping the dominant group at a distance. Invalidating responses result in further disengagement.	Openness to reconsidering the significance of ethnicity.	"My color wasn't supposed to matter, but clearly it does matter to them after all." "She's different—how could she be <i>proud</i> of being Black?"
3. Immersion/ Emersion. Begins the search for positive identity concept.	Redefining self.	Little interest in developing relationships outside the group; outsiders are irrelevant.	Joins peer group, which becomes the new social network. Seeks positive images and history; surrounds self with symbols of identity.	"Black is beautiful." "Whites are so uptight."
4. Internalization. Possesses a positive sense of identity.	The new identity is integrated into the self-concept and affirmed; a new sense of security results.	Willing to establish meaningful relationships across group boundaries with those who respect the new self-definition.	The ethnic identity and ethnic social network are consciously embraced.	"Say it strong and say it loud: I'm Black and I'm proud!"

5. Internalization-Commitment. Ongoing actions express a concern for one's group.	"Emissary": sees own achievements as advancing the group's cause.	Prepared to cross and transcend group boundaries regularly as an emissary.	Willing to act as spokesperson and advocate for the group. Prepared to function more effectively in diverse settings.	"I can learn from both Latinos and Whites."
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* This model does not suggest that all persons proceed through all stages; rather, it outlines the steps and eventual outcome of full identity development for those who engage the issues and pursue the process (especially during the college years).

** Neither Cross nor Tatum define or distinguish between ethnic and racialized identity. Nor do they use the terminology "people of color," "co-ethnics" or "racialization" in their presentation of this model.

Stages of Racialized and Ethnic Identity Development**: *White Identity*

Source: William Cross, *Shades of Black: Diversity in African American Identity*,
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adapted and elaborated by Lisa Sung ** (2/2002)

STAGE	SELF-PERCEPTION	STANCE TOWARD OWN (DOMINANT) GROUP	STANCE TOWARD PEOPLE OF COLOR	TYPICAL PERCEPTIONS & EXPRESSIONS
1. [Pre-Contact & Contact]**	"Normal": no particular culture or ethnicity. Sees self as a person of goodwill, unprejudiced, colorblind. Views persons and the world individually and relationally; unaware of significance of group.	"Normal." Sees own community as possessing goodwill, unprejudiced, colorblind. Racism is deliberate and overt: acts of hostility or discrimination, or hate crimes committed by certain individuals.	Disinterest or naïve curiosity about ethnic or cultural differences.	"I don't have an ethnicity; I'm <i>American</i> ." "I don't see why they keep focusing on our differences; underneath, we're all the same." "Why do they always stick to themselves?" "I don't think of you as ____; you're just <i>you</i> ." "Some of my best friends are ____."
2. Disintegration. Becomes aware of racism's impact on one's own and others' lives.	Earlier beliefs about equality, "liberty and justice for all" shaken. Feelings of guilt and shame about historical oppression and about one's own status in light of White privilege.	Anger. Tempted to distance self from confronting the issues and one's upbringing and community. May retreat into silence, or may become overzealous.	Sees impact of racism in life of associate or friend. May react by trying to dissociate completely from own group and to become "adopted" by people of color.	"I'm not like most Whites; I'm a very fair, compassionate person." "I can't stand his jokes any longer." "People are telling me to lighten up."
3. Reintegration.	Feelings of tension and guilt may be denied by blaming the victim and reasserting the cultural myths of rugged individualism and of pure meritocracy.	Sides with and justifies the actions of own group and the pursuit of group interests.	Defensive; blames the sinned-against for their current predicament and problems.	"I'm not responsible for society or the hate of a few." "Everybody can succeed if they just work hard, so they have only themselves to blame." "There's no race problem today—there are only agitators."
4. Pseudo-	May develop "aversive	Tends to overlook and	May try escaping White-	"I accept all minorities;

<p>independent. Understands cognitively the problem of White privilege, but unsure of what to do about it.</p>	<p>racism”: wants the ideals of equality and racial tolerance, yet unwilling to confront own racialized biases and racialized privilege.</p>	<p>rationalize racializing biases and actions perpetuating White privilege, by 1) denying that prejudice exists; or 2) citing other reasons.</p>	<p>ness by associating with people of color; in the college years, usually rebuffed by those in the Encounter or Immersion/Emersion stages.</p>	<p>everyone should.” “I’ve known him for years; there’s not a prejudiced bone in his body.” “I just don’t feel comfortable around her.” “I don’t think he’d fit in around here.”</p>
<p>5. Immersion/Emersion. a) Ethnic.** b) Racialized**</p>	<p>Ethnic. Becomes interested in recovering knowledge of family roots, ethnic heritage. Racialized. Wants to develop a positive self-concept as a White in light of the historical and contemporary reality of White privilege.</p>	<p>Ethnic. Begins search for ethnic & cultural background(s). Racialized. Identifies with Whites who historically allied themselves with people of color in combating racism. Develops relationships for support and processing.</p>	<p>If successful in forming relationships with people of color, may benefit from their outside perspective and comparison.</p>	<p>“I don’t know anything about my ethnicity or culture; I feel a little cheated. Why didn’t my family keep it alive?” “If I really start speaking up about racism, I might start losing friends over it. Do I really want to get into it with them?”</p>
<p>6. Autonomy. Has developed a positive identity based in reality (vs. a culturally based presumed superiority).</p>	<p>Positive views of European American ethnic identity and of Whiteness are internalized. Makes a commitment to oppose racism.</p>	<p>Committed to act and advocate for justice for people of color, by seeking to dismantle White privilege and by working for full inclusion.</p>	<p>Committed to act and to advocate for justice and to work to empower people of color for full participation and contribution.</p>	<p>“I can learn from both Latinos and Whites.”</p>

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** Neither Cross nor Tatum define or distinguish ethnic and racialized identity. Nor do they use the terminology “people of color,” “co-ethnics,” “racialization,” or “pre-contact” in their presentation. Also, “*Ethnic Immersion/Emersion*” has been added to Cross’s model.