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Surviving While Black: Systemic Racism and Psychological Resilience

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Abstract

This autobiographical essay traces my personal journey from grandson of a slave to a cultural psychologist examining racism. My journey includes growing up in a small Ohio town, training in social psychology, and an academic career that was launched with the publication of *Prejudice and Racism* in 1972. I weave my personal experiences with my analytical approach to racism that incorporates individual, institutional, and cultural factors that combine to explain systemic racism. The racism analysis is balanced by a narrative of mechanisms that confer resilience and psychological well-being on Black people as they navigate the obstacles of systemic racism. I also explore diversity as a form of psychological and behavioral competence required to live effectively in a diverse world. I conclude that these aspects of human relations can be better understood and addressed with advancement of diversity science.

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INTRODUCTION

My personal narrative begins in slavery. My maternal grandfather, William Thomas Hayes, was born on a plantation in North Carolina in 1856. He was a slave until he was freed by the Emancipation Proclamation in 1865. He died in 1925, when my mother was only 3 years old. Grandpa Hayes was an extraordinary man. The mistress of the plantation taught him to read, and in gratitude he adopted the owner's name—Hayes. He was never formally educated but he believed strongly in education as the pathway to the betterment of the race and fulfillment of one's human potential. He was a natural leader and a dedicated servant of his people. He was often called on by city leaders to advise them on matters related to Black citizens. He became a minister in the African Methodist Episcopal church, leading congregations in Kentucky and Ohio, first in Cincinnati, then in Columbus, and finally settling in Elyria. With three different wives, he produced seven children, six of whom lived to adulthood. He demanded that they get college educations and that the older should help the next one, until all of them attained college degrees. His proclamation was fulfilled: All of Grandpa Hayes's children graduated from college. The last college graduate, my mother, Eliza Marcella, graduated in 1966 at the age of 44.

The other aspect of my narrative is a diversity story. My maternal grandmother, Ella Elizabeth Pace, was born in 1880 in North Carolina to a Cherokee Indian mother and a Black father. I know less about my paternal side, but I do know that my paternal great grandfather was an immigrant from Jamaica. His wife, Anna Marti, was an immigrant from Switzerland who landed in Wisconsin to work with her brothers in a cheese business. Great Grandpa Jones was a chef on a freighter that carried ore and other manufacturing products to ports on the Great Lakes. He met Anna Marti on one of his trips. They settled in Oberlin, Ohio, in 1885 and they produced 10 children, one of whom, John Harold Jones, sired my father, Arthur McCoy Jones. Slave, immigrant, Indian, Black, and White conjoin in an alchemy of circumstance and context to produce me and shape my destiny.

I was born in Detroit in 1941, a few months before Pearl Harbor. My dad was called to serve in the war and shipped off to France, where he was assigned kitchen patrol, as was common in the racially segregated army. He returned in 1943, just in time to witness the Detroit riots. My parents packed us up and moved back to Elyria with my grandmother and my mom's stepsister. Grandpa Hayes built that house on 14th Street. It was our homestead. We had two floors with a bedroom in each, plus a living room and dining room with a coal burning stove and a kitchen. There was no running hot water, so we had to heat water on the stove and bath in a basin in the kitchen. There was no bathroom, only a toilet in the cold dank basement where we stored the coal and where snakes and various vermin roamed.

In 1946, we (I now had a little sister, Judith) moved to the newly built projects to a house with two bedrooms, central heat, a bathroom, and running hot water. It was paradise. I loved growing up there. We played softball, cops and robbers, and hide-and-seek at night, while our parents played cards and sipped bourbon on someone's porch. We played jacks, hopscotch, and Little League baseball—all the Black kids somehow got drafted to the same team and we won a lot! We had memorable evenings playing ball with our parents at the field by the community center.

When homes in the projects were scheduled to be sold, residents had first option, but we declined and moved back to 14th Street with my grandma. It wasn't until my seventh grade that we were able to purchase a small house, where I lived until I graduated from high school and left for college at Oberlin.

I was an excellent athlete in high school. I was captain of the golf team and co-captain of Ohio's second-ranked basketball team, I played shortstop on the American Legion baseball team, and I was a starting all-conference linebacker on Ohio's fourth-ranked football team. Sports were big in our town, and I was inducted into the Elyria Sports Hall of Fame in 1984. Being a successful athlete in a sports-minded small town gave me great visibility and made my life somewhat easier. Nevertheless, we still had racial boundaries. I never experienced overt instances of racial discrimination, but I knew Black people lived only on the South or West side of town. Blacks could caddy at the country club but not play or join. We could set pins at the bowling alley but not bowl. We could skate at the roller rink but only on Thursdays.

My family was not financially well-off; we lived in less-than-ideal conditions in a racially segregated town. I loved my childhood and adolescent years. We were a community; we played, loved, and laughed together; we sang, danced, and prayed together. We looked out for each other. We welcomed each other's successes and lifted others up in hard times. There was a spirit and basic humanity that bound us together. That sentiment has followed me throughout my life.

I learned much of my family legacy late in life, after I had obtained my PhD. I had made a variety of decisions that directed my life and gave it purpose. I believed the path I followed into higher education, a desire to both understand and educate others about race and human decency, was my creation, borne of agency and motivation. I now realize that my steps were also guided by an energy, a spirit, a powerful force of strength, spirituality, belief, and profound humanity that went beyond my personal history.

ME, WRITE A BOOK?

I began my graduate work at Yale in 1966, the first Black graduate student the department ever had. Three years later, Chuck Kiesler asked me to write a book on prejudice. I thought he was joking; I hadn't yet started writing my dissertation. But Chuck was persistent and persuasive, and I was game to try it. So I agreed to do it and signed a contract with Addison-Wesley.

Little did I know it was a career-defining moment. I had never taken a course on race relations nor done any research on it. Yet I internalized Chuck's confidence that I could do it. So, in June of 1970, following a truncated semester of my first teaching position at Harvard—precipitated by the student unrest around the Vietnam War, and triggered by the shooting of students at Kent State and the US invasion of Cambodia—I put a sheet of paper in my Smith-Corona electric typewriter and set out to write a book on prejudice.

What was the book going to be about? I believe my limited formal training in the social psychology of race relations was a blessing in disguise. In a sense it gave me a blank canvas on which to create images, ideas, and perspectives that were at once personal, multidisciplinary, and evocative. The first idea that I grappled with was the relationship between prejudice and racism—an idea that was in ascendancy in 1970. Prejudice had been the principal concept underlying a large body of work on race relations in social psychology. But the concept of racism raised different considerations.

I was not attempting to update Allport's (1954) opus. But the events of the late 1960s clearly showed a different energy and a volatile and assertive determination to address the inadequacies of conventional conceptions of the race problem and of the actions and policies undertaken to address it. I was contracted to write a book on prejudice, but I wanted to talk about racism. It was 1970, the end of the Civil Rights era of the 1960s, the time of the assassination of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King Jr., and John and Bobby Kennedy and of urban riots. I needed more than prejudice to grapple with these societal and psychological moments. When I raised my concern with Chuck, he said simply, "Change the title!" So *Prejudice and Racism* was born (Jones 1972).

INTERROGATING RACISM

What was I thinking when I stared at the blank paper in my typewriter in 1970? One challenge was to distinguish racism from prejudice. Was it simply race prejudice that I was calling racism? Institutional racism was a newly minted concept articulated by Carmichael & Hamilton (1967) and Knowles & Prewitt (1969). That was a good starting place for me, because it transcended the individual attitudes and beliefs and implicated something more sinister—institutionalized injustice, discrimination, and disadvantage and their historical roots. Institutionalized inequality did not require intention, and its effects were cumulative over time. It is clear now that this idea presaged what is now called systemic racism.

While institutional racism was a useful way to frame the discussion of racial discrimination, it was not enough. There was something else in the air, not always tangible, not spoken, but a subtle and sinister presence. I reflected on my own growing up and on how race had shaped my experiences. Growing up in northern Ohio, I always felt fortunate that I did not live in the South. We all knew the race rules, even though they were never displayed on placards or codified in statutes.

I also understood the images conveyed by the new medium of television. Amos and Andy, Beulah, Stepin Fetchit were juxtaposed to *Father Knows Best*, *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*, *Leave It to Beaver*. Two worlds: one trivialized and debased for the amusement of others, the other signaling that what was White was right and good. We knew what this dichotomy meant: "If you're White, you're all right, if you're yellow, you're mellow, if you're brown, stick around, if you're Black get back!" We recited this mantra as a form of self-deprecating humor, but its meaning in White minds was clear to us—racism!

Thinking back on those days while staring at my blank paper, I knew there was a fundamental dimension to the problem of race that grew from the values reflected in this racialized dichotomy. The values, aesthetics, religion, language—all aspects of culture—told a story of difference that placed Whites on the top and Blacks on the bottom of W.E.B. Du Bois's (1903) trenchant color line. How Black people dealt with this marginalized and oppressed position in society was itself an important part of the story. The principal elements of my thinking were that individuals (attitudes, beliefs, values, and behaviors) and institutions (policies, structures, practices), directed and energized by cultural traditions, comprised an edifice of racism that produced and perpetuated racial stereotypes, oppression, and inequality.

There is another thought that recurred as I sorted things out: history. What did racism look like at its inception, and how did it change over time? How did the mechanisms of discrimination, oppression, denial, inhumanity, and marginalization manifest over the centuries? I could not understand or explain racism in 1970 without considering four centuries of racialized societal processes that led up to it. What forms did the White supremacy that shrouded our nation's beginning take now? What were the survival mechanisms available and employed by Black people to survive and find meaning in life? I could not fully understand or explain the "Black is beautiful" movement without understanding the movement to export freed slaves to Liberia in 1822, the Marcus Garvey movement in 1916, or the Civil Rights movement of 1955–1969.

So it was important for me to provide an historical context for understanding what was going on in 1970. Since this was a textbook, I wanted to connect this historical narrative with the social science enterprise that was meant to explain it. A related goal was to disabuse readers of the idea that the North was a haven and the South was hell for Black people. This allowed for an examination of de facto and de jure racism—correlates of implicit and explicit racism in contemporary terms.

Prejudice and Racism 1: A Tripartite Perspective

I began looking for a bridge from prejudice to racism. I began with Allport's (1954, p. 10) definition of prejudice as "an antipathy based upon faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group, or toward an individual because he is a member of that group." Allport concluded that "the net effect of prejudice is to place the object of prejudice at some disadvantage not merited by his own misconduct" (Allport 1954, p. 10). The key elements of this definition are antipathy (I do not like you) and faulty (incorrect or inaccurate) and inflexible (persistent despite contradictory information) generalizations (ascribing attributes or qualities to groups based on individualized observations, beliefs, or attitudes). A key driver of the prejudice process was stereotypes (images in the head), which were both a result of prejudice and a primary cause of it.

Individual racism. Individual racism was my bridge or segue from prejudice to racism. Individual racism refers to individuals who consider that Blacks as a group are inferior to Whites because of genotypical and phenotypical traits and, further, that those traits are determinants of social behavior and moral and intellectual qualities (see also Carmichael & Hamilton 1967, Kerner Comm. 1968, Knowles & Prewitt 1969). This putative racial inferiority is valorized as a legitimate basis for inferior social treatment of Black people. These beliefs were ratified by White institutional and cultural leaders who also exemplified the basic principles of freedom and liberty:

> The first difference is that of color…fixed in nature…it is the foundation of greater or lesser share of beauty of the two races … They [Blacks] seem to require less sleep…are at least as brave and more adventuresome but this may proceed from a want of forethought. Their griefs are transient, sensation exceeds reflection…memory is equal to Whites, but reason much inferior. Blacks, whether originally a different race, or made distinct by time and circumstances, are inferior to Whites. Will not a lover of natural history, then, excuse an effort to keep them as distinct as nature has formed them…. "What further is to be done with them?"…. When freed, he is to be removed beyond the reach of mixture. (Jefferson 1787, pp. 162–66)

And,

> I am not now, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the White and Black races; I am not now, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor qualifying them to hold office…. I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the White and Black races which I believe will ever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And in as much as they cannot so live, while they do remain together, there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man, am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the White race. (Abraham Lincoln, cited in Nicolay & Hay 1917, p. 369)

White supremacy is a foundational feature of this nation.

The biological basis of individual racism not only doomed Blacks to an inferior position in society, but it also justified keeping them there! I wrote, facetiously in 1972, that individuals were not born racists, but their racism was inherited! I went on to clarify that this inheritance was not a genetic outcome, but a result of socialization—"the process by which someone learns the ways of a given society or social group well enough so that he can function within it" (Elkin 1960, p. 4). I now think that acculturation is a better account. Although I was unaware of this idea at the time, I now resonate to the notion that "culture and psyche make each other up" (Shweder & Sullivan 1993, p. 498).

My first stop was institutions and their role in creating and perpetuating racism.

Institutional racism. Institutional racism refers to "those established laws, customs and practices which systematically reflect and produce racial inequities in American society" (Jones 1972, p. 131). Blacks were oppressed or dehumanized, whether slave—"debased by servitude. . .and divested of two-fifths of the man" (Madison 1788)—or free—"[the Black man] was of an inferior order and altogether unfit to associate with the White race, either in social or political relations, and so far inferior that they had no rights which the White man was bound to respect" [Chief Justice Taney, in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857)].

These examples are old in our national history, but they play a fundamental role in contemporary racism. Although our attitudes may have evolved, and our practices sanitized and brought closer to the ideals of fairness and equality, institutional racism remains a set of interlocking mechanisms that produced a self-perpetuating engine for racial inequality.

While institutional racism could be overt or covert, intentional or unintentional, the bottom line is that institutions are racist if the consequences of their practices, laws, or customs produce persistent racial inequality, whether the individuals maintaining those practices had racist intentions or not (Jones 1972, p. 131). This idea is at the heart of systemic racism and spreads over all domains of life. For example, seniority systems provide protection for long-serving employees when cuts become necessary. This seems like a reasonable and fair policy. However, when racial groups are denied access to jobs through discriminatory policies and practices, the seniority system ensures that gains in access may be reversed. The court's decision in *Firefighters Local Union No. 1784 v. Stotts* (1984) acknowledged the systemic racial effects of seniority systems, noting that they "served to 'lock-in' the effects of past discrimination." Systemic racism locks-in the consequences of persistent racial discrimination.

A more subtle and pervasive problem was the cultural assumptions upon which institutions were structured and functioned. I argued that institutionally controlled outcomes were, in part, based on the degree to which individuals possessed, or were thought to possess, "cultural forms and modes of expression that were congruent with the institution's value system" (Jones 1972, p. 146). That value system encompassed both White supremacy and principles of liberty and justice for all. This duality bred a double consciousness for Blacks, as Du Bois puts it, or an American dilemma, as Gunnar Myrdal proclaimed, for Whites (Myrdal 1944). I concluded that we must move beyond individual and institutional racism to get at the core problem that affects Blacks and Whites alike: cultural racism.

Cultural racism. Cultural racism is the "individual and institutional expression of the superiority of one race's cultural heritage over that of another race" (Jones 1972, p. 6). For me, culture was the prime mover, the force that defined and interpreted, energized, enabled, and rationalized the legitimacy of racial inequality. I drew on Kroeber & Kluckhohn's (1952, p. 181) classic definition of culture as

> patterned ways of thinking, feeling, and reacting, acquired and transmitted mainly by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups. . . . The essential core of culture consists of traditional (historically derived and selected) ideas, and especially their attached values. Culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other, as conditioning elements of future actions.

For me, the important aspect of culture is that it is both a cause and a consequence of actions and behaviors, and therefore it is continually evolving and transforming over time. Despite continual change, there is an essential quality that persists. The United States of 2022 is dramatically different from the United States of 1619, yet here we are still profoundly conflicted over race. We create culture by our actions, and those actions define the meaning of race. When we connect values to historically derived ideas, we valorize views of race that legitimate racial inequality—racialism. The earlier quotes from Lincoln and Jefferson comprise the historical ideas and associated values that guide the cultural meaning of race and instruct individuals and institutions on how they should behave to uphold them.

This tripartite view of racism laid the groundwork for understanding systemic racism. It also provided a means for showing why history matters in contemporary racial relationships and gave a glimpse into how experiences diverge on either side of the color line. Cultural differences from Africa and England were magnified by the structures, values, and behaviors that emanated from massive differences in power—defined as possessing control or influence over others and the ability to cause an outcome. Thus, to combat racism is in part to contest power: Speak truth to power but carry a big stick!

My concluding perspective was that racism "results from the transformation of race prejudice and/or ethnocentrism through the exercise of power against a racial group defined as inferior, by individuals and institutions with the intentional or unintentional support of the entire culture" (Jones 1972, p. 170).

Racism, however, is not simply about beliefs and attitudes or structures of White supremacy; it is also about the reactions to it. I argued that to understand White racism, one needed to have a better understanding of Black responses to it. With the causes and consequences of culture in mind, I recognized that Black culture included both elements of African origins and the consequences of actions taken in response to oppression and dehumanization in the new world. Black culture as well as American culture are shaped, in part, by how Black people have dealt and continue to deal with race. I have spent much of my academic life since I wrote the first edition of *Prejudice and Racism* examining these ideas.

Prejudice and Racism Redux

The second edition of *Prejudice and Racism* was published 25 years after the first one (Jones 1997). The second edition was a conceptual replication of the first, only with far more data and reasoned analysis. The historical framework remained, as did the tripartite approach to racism. I still argued that attitudes, opinions, and beliefs, as well as laws, social policies, and intergroup relations, evolve over time and, though different, bear many similarities with the past: "We do not reinvent ourselves in each new era, we only extend and modify what was already there" (Jones 1997, p. xxiii).

I traced trends toward social conservativism; ethnic, racial, and gender pride; conflict over affirmative action and related policies; and an increase in intergroup antagonisms to the Civil Rights era. What was hailed as the "end of racism" (D'Souza 1995) was really the incubator for a more fractious society, divided in curious ways by the color line!

By 1997, so much more was known about the dynamics of racial prejudice and racial discrimination and racism. The 1972 edition was a thin volume of 196 pages with generous margins.

The second edition was 696 pages with meager margins. The second edition chronicled the rising evidence of subtle and implicit/unconscious psychological processes that undergirded persistent racial inequality. I addressed the absence of evidence for the biological nature of race and the assertion that race was merely a socially constructed fiction. Research showed no biological basis for racial categorization, leading some scientists to argue that the term should be abandoned (Mead et al. 1968).

For example, Lewontin et al. (1984) sorted 20 human populations into 5 groups based on the frequencies of blood-type alleles (types A, B, and O). Each of the 20 populations was found in at least two different "racial" groups. Africans were included in 3 and American Indians in 4 different categories. One conclusion is that genetic variability is greater within so-called racial groups than between them. Another conclusion is that race is conceived and constructed to satisfy social beliefs and cultural designs. In this regard, it does not matter if race has a biological basis or not.

Race is at the root of racism. The American Anthropological Association statement on race is an appropriate summary of how we should think about it:[1]

> The "racial" worldview was invented to assign some groups to perpetual low status, while others were permitted access to privilege, power, and wealth. . . . In the United States. . .policies and practices stemming from this worldview succeeded. . .in constructing unequal populations among Europeans, Native Americans, and peoples of African descent. Given the capacity of normal humans to achieve and function within any culture, we conclude that present-day inequalities between so-called "racial" groups are not consequences of their biological inheritance but products of historical and contemporary social, economic, educational, and political circumstances.

I describe several ways in which everyday behavior and interactions convey and rationalize a racialized hierarchy (Essed 1991). For example, problematization defines racial groups as unwanted or as a challenge to cultural norms and values. Once a group is defined as a problem, it is considered legitimate to take actions to solve or remove the problem. Donald Trump introduced his presidential candidacy by problematizing immigrants and spent much of his presidency allegedly solving the problem he had defined. By problematizing immigrants, he legitimated building a wall. Marginalization, another sustaining mechanism, declares that certain groups are different in significant ways that leave them outside of normative statuses. Groups so marginalized then become "others" (the process is currently described as othering) who can legitimately be denied status in the everyday world. Another mechanism, containment, rejects subordinate groups' pursuit of equality, justice, and power as unnecessary and unwarranted and legitimates opposition to their social justice claims. Once a claim to equality and justice is deemed unwarranted, one can resent the efforts to attain it. This racial resentment translates to a variety of social and political attitudes and behaviors (Davis & Wilson 2021). One final form, storytelling, provides narratives that reinforce mechanisms like containment and marginalization. For example, narratives claiming that "others" are different, fail to adapt to our ways, behave badly or are dangerous, and threaten our way of life are proffered to validate these sustaining mechanisms of racism (Van Dijk 1987). Taken together, these mechanisms sustain everyday racism and give rise to the culture wars.

Sustaining mechanisms of racism are subtle and appear regularly in everyday discourse and interaction. In fact, they are so normal that they are perceived as rational and appropriate behavior. Social justice and antiracism movements have arisen to combat these everyday forms of racism and change the narrative. I was surprised upon rereading the second edition of *Prejudice and Racism* (Jones 1997) by how relevant to current issues in the field and in society the analysis, arguments,

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[1]The statement can be found at **https://www.americananthro.org/ConnectWithAAA/Content.aspx?ItemNumber=2583**.

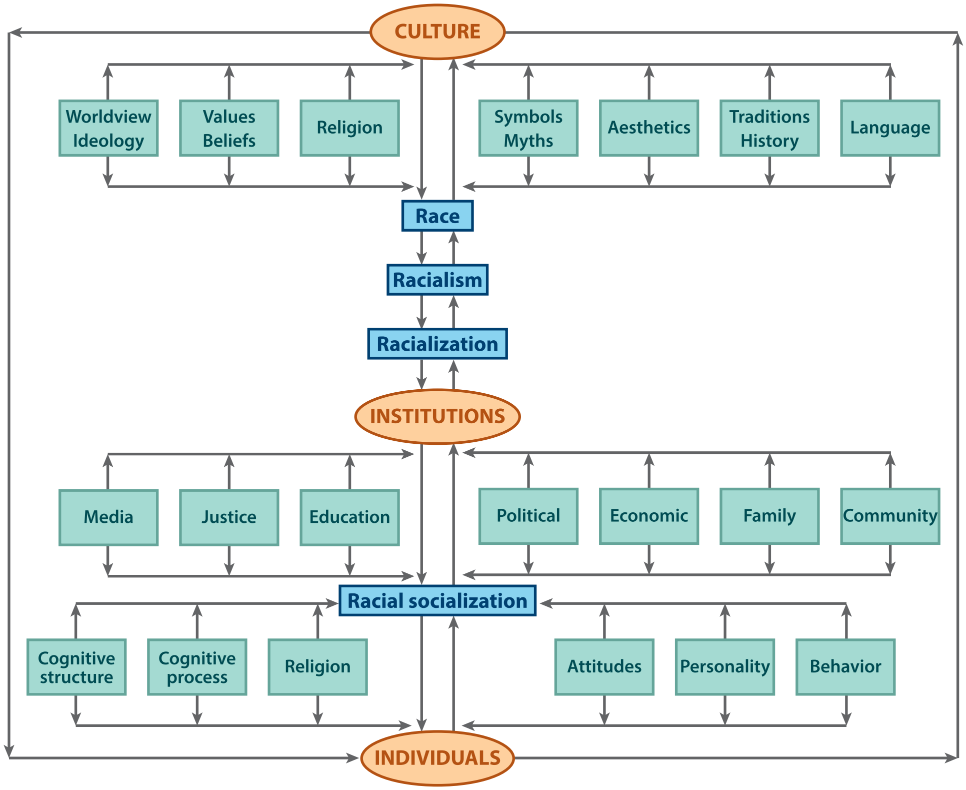

Figure 1

A dynamic structural model of racism. Figure adapted from Jones (1997).

and examples were. It reinforced my idea that the comprehensive, systemic, and historically derived factors did indeed contribute to understanding race and racism now and at any era in our history.

At the end of the book, I proposed a more formal account of the tripartite approach to racism. **Figure 1** offers a schematic version of this model. The interconnectedness of individuals, institutions, and culture is delineated in the bidirectional influences among them. This dynamic interplay is continuous over time; it produces cultural changes and is influenced by them. In turn, institutions are transformed, and the nature of individual adaptations, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors is altered. One important aspect of this model is how race is implicated in both top-down and bottom-up ways. Race is a cultural idea, which is reproduced by institutional practices, policies, and programs, and instilled in the behavior, attitudes, and beliefs of individuals. Specific mechanisms for this influence are defined as racialism—the belief that races possess heritable traits that make them different from one another. Thus, racialism essentializes racial categories and presumes that their members share deeper characteristics. This idea has long historical roots, as we saw above in the quotes of Lincoln and Jefferson. Racialism justifies marginalization and containment and thus racial discrimination and inequality.

Racialization refers to how racial beliefs are given meaning and applied to racial groups. In current terms, we refer to this as othering or minoritizing. A well-known ad run on behalf of George H.W. Bush's presidential campaign portrayed furloughed felon Willie Horton as a dangerous criminal who exemplified the dramatic pitfalls of a proposed furlough program. The picture that circulated was a grainy mug shot of a dark-skinned Black man with a scruffy beard and a big Afro. Horton was not just a furloughed felon run amok, he was a dangerous BLACK felon. Black men are dangerous seemed to be the racialized problem, and law-and-order was the remedy.

It is not surprising that by 1995, being criminal and being violent were among the most frequent stereotypes associated with Blacks (Devine & Elliot 1995). Even more directly, Eberhardt et al. (2006) showed that among Black male felons convicted of murder, the degree to which they looked like Willie Horton made a difference in their likelihood of receiving a death sentence. The authors obtained an extensive database containing more than 600 death-eligible cases in Philadelphia that advanced to penalty phase between 1979 and 1999. Forty-four of these cases involved Black male defendants who were convicted of murdering White victims, and 308 involved Black defendants convicted of murdering Black victims. When the victim was Black, it didn't matter how the defendant looked. Those who looked more like Willie Horton were sentenced to death 45% of the time, and those who looked less stereotypically Black received the death penalty 46.6% of the time. However, when the victim was White, those who looked like Willie Horton received the death penalty 57.5% of the time, while less stereotypically looking Black defendants were sentenced to death only 24.4% of the time. Racialism and racialization operate to create a racialized legal outcome that reflects these sustaining mechanisms of racism. It is possible to interpret these findings as an indication of the fear those Willie Horton ads were meant to instill among White voters.

I closed the penultimate chapter of my book with a "cultural coda" that discussed antiracism, which I defined as "the rejection of racist ideology, practices, and behavior in oneself; the active opposition to all forms of racism in individuals and institutions; and the advocacy of individual conduct, institutional practices, and cultural expressions that promote inclusiveness and interdependence and acknowledge and respect racial difference" (Jones 1997, p. 517).

Referencing Newton's first law of motion—that an object in motion will stay in motion unless acted upon by a force—I argued that antiracism is the force that will disrupt the perpetual motion of racism (Kendi 2019). Given the multidimensional, bidirectional nature of my tripartite view of racism, antiracism must be similarly multidimensional. Again, I find my 1997 approach highly relevant to today's issues of systemic racism.

The final section of the book discussed diversity as a strength in the species and in society. There have been many studies that assess the strengths of diversity (Chang et al. 2003). I argued that if diversity is good overall, it is good not only between groups but also within groups. The literature on racial identity addresses some of these dynamics (see Sellers et al. 1998, Cross et al. 2017). However, racism often causes groups to close ranks in self-defense and become less tolerant of diversity in their midst. Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver famously opined that "you are either part of the problem or part of the solution!" (Cleaver 1968). Thus, the benefits of diversity within groups are threaded through competing motives of defending against the ravages of racism and searching for meaning and cultural value that sustain psychological well-being. I return to the issues that diversity raises, the challenges that it presents, and the opportunities that become possible in the final section of this essay.

BECOMING A CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGIST

I arrived at Harvard in spring 1970 as an assistant professor and the first Black psychologist in the Department of Social Relations (SocRel). The interdisciplinary department was conceived by Gordon Allport (social psychology), Clyde Kluckhohn (social anthropology), and Talcott Parsons (sociology). In the spring of 1971, sociologists decided to exit SocRel and form a separate department.

I was drawn closer to social anthropology while we still had a version of SocRel. My interest in culture was fed by my collaboration with social anthropologist Claudia Mitchell Kernan, with whom I co-taught a course on Black culture. I was interested in the Black psyche and how it evolved from African roots and was transformed by circumstances in America. Claudia introduced me to principles of anthropology involving language, social relationships, structures, and socialization processes. From this collaboration, I expanded my interest in and knowledge about culture, and Black culture specifically. I didn't know it then, but I was becoming a cultural psychologist.

Shweder & Sullivan (1993, p. 498) describe cultural psychology as "the comparative study of the way culture and psyche make each other up." This perspective is exactly what inspired my approach to analyzing racism. For me, the point was the way in which race had taken a prominent place in American culture and had infiltrated the American psyche. The semiotic connections to race made it easy to embed racist images in individual minds so deeply that one hardly knew they were there. We are now excavating those racialized beliefs, values, and feelings in contemporary psyches via social neuroscience and other advances in understanding unconscious mental processes.

As I noted earlier, however, I also was compelled by Kroeber & Kluckhohn's (1952) assertion that culture could be both a cause and a consequence of action. This bidirectional influence helped me to explain both continuities and changes in culture and individuals. I was determined to keep these directional influences in mind and to trace their symbiotic development over time and geography.

Any Time Is Trinidad Time

I began a systematic exploration of culture in 1973 when, honored with a John Simon Guggenheim fellowship, my wife Olaive and I, along with our daughters Shelly and Nashe, traveled to Trinidad and Tobago to study humor—the subject of my doctoral dissertation. Drawing on my affinity for social anthropology, I became a participant observer of Trinidadian culture. I participated hard! I joined a small tennis club, attended sporting events (cricket, horse racing, soccer, basketball), and went to social gatherings hosted and or inspired by our landlords, a prominent physician couple. I judged calypso contests with famous calypsonians (The Mighty Sparrow) and wrote an article with another (Hollis Liverpool, a schoolteacher aka The Mighty Chalkdust; see Jones & Liverpool 1976). I went to Miss Universe pageants and Better Village competitions that pitted villages against each other in dance, singing, and comedy. I hung out at beaches and in parks and took shared taxi rides. I witnessed religious ritual ceremonies and enjoyed the calypso tents leading up to the Carnival. Toward the end of my stay, I wrote articles for the *Trinidad Sunday Guardian* on the things I had observed, reflecting Trinidadian culture back to its people (Jones 1974).

My time in Trinidad corroborated aspects of my own Black experience but also brought new insights into and awareness of the cultural continuities that created connections across continents and eras. Language was one prominent feature. In the United States, we play the dozens, a kind of insult ritual to see who could land the best verbal blows with an engaged audience as judges. In Trinidad it was *picong* that represented that ritual. Another verbal sleight of hand was *mamaguy*, a way to put someone down while appearing to praise them. To illustrate, I was speaking with a professor at the University of the West Indies and confessed that I had trouble with the patois of native speakers. I of course said this in my basic American accent. He said, "I see you have got it now!" I laughed because I knew he was mamaguying me!

The biggest connection was time. As I was told soon after I arrived, "Any time is Trinidad time." I was familiar with colored peoples time (CPT). In my experience, CPT simply meant that things might have a start time, but it was fungible with many other times and subject to individual whims and predilections. In Trinidad, however, the entire culture embraced these any-time patterns as a value. I realized that in fact time did not have the value we associate with it in the United States, where time is money and can be invested, wasted, or deployed wisely—what McGrath (1988) called *temponomics*. If time does not have inherent value, it is not an asset and cannot function like other assets, and it is shed of its inherent value. The net of this cultural syndrome was an individual liberty, freedom, or style and an intense focus on the present—what we called *temponostics* (Jones & Brown 2005). On the negative side, it can undermine projects that require coordinated, short-term actions to accomplish longer-term shared goals. I realized why Mischel (1958) conducted his studies on delay of gratification in Trinidad. However, I also understood that what I witnessed was not simply an inability to delay gratification, but a preference not to. Understanding how significant one's orientation to time was in motivating behavior, influencing preferences, and defining values was a major advance in my view of culture.

Calypso is a form of storytelling in rhythmic song, and it is a significant feature of Trinidadian culture. Calypso combines several key cultural elements: oral storytelling, representation of cultural information, rhythms of language, movement, texture, and color. The flow of expression, communication of meaning, and representation of emotion and relationships are all carried by calypso.

Calypsos chronicle the events of the preceding year, take shots at prominent figures, and boast of the prowess of the performer. The calypso tents open in late December and continue until Carnival in February. Awards are given for the best calypso of the year and for the best "road march" calypso—the one that inspires people to "jump up" at parties and during the Carnival parades. In 1974, The Mighty Sparrow won best calypso for *Miss Mary*, and The Mighty Shadow won best road march for *Bass Man*.

One more critical cultural expression was the spirit world of Shango—one of the most powerful of Yoruba rulers. Yoruba are an ethnic group who inhabit Nigeria and the neighboring countries of Benin and Togo. In Yoruba religion, Orishas are godly forms that reflect one of the various manifestations of God. Shango, god of thunder, lightning, fire, and justice, is one of the most powerful of all Orishas. Shango, like Santeria (Cuba), Macumba (Brazil and other countries in South America), Voodoo (Haiti), and Obeah (throughout the West Indies), combines influences of Caribbean tradition, West Africa's Yoruba spirituality, and elements of Catholicism. Shango ceremonies were characterized by singing, dancing, sacrificing animals, and drinking blood to honor and appease powerful gods. For me, the fundamental connection was the idea that spirits had agency in one's life; and further, that they could materially affect a person for good or bad.

I experienced it directly when my wife and I had a session with a Voodoo priestess in Haiti. Her gift to us was protection from sinister unseen forces that were lurking in the life of our daughter who was back in the United States. She sent us to obtain the objects needed to conduct the ritual cleansing that would protect her. I understood that exorcising malevolent spirits was a psychological and cultural role that was incorporated in the beliefs and cultural practices of the Haitian people. I found this to be an interesting and important divergence from the protestant ethic of individual agency and control, where failure to reach goals or accomplish positive status is construed as a failure of the person and is a cause for shame or low self-esteem. In the world of spirits, one cedes a degree of control and agency to the spirits, thus diminishing the emotions that accompany both success and failure.[2]

I returned from Trinidad with some foundational elements for my approach to Black culture. Shortly after my return, Black psychologist colleagues invited me to submit a chapter for an edited volume titled *Research Directions of Black Psychologists* (Boykin et al. 1979). This chapter provided me the opportunity to formalize what I gathered from my participant observations in Trinidad. The result was a theory of Black psychoculture comprising psychological characteristics of time, rhythm, improvisation, orality, and spirituality—TRIOS (Jones 1979).

[2]This could explain the evidence for higher self-esteem of Black compared to White people (Twenge & Crocker 2002).

TRIOS

Cultural psychology informs my approach to TRIOS (Jones 2003). I agree with Sapir's (1929) observation that different societies live in distinctly different worlds, not merely the same world with different names. Black people live in a different world from White people (Jones et al. 2008)! That world is not merely physically separate (see Massey & Denton 1993) but is culturally and psychologically different as well.

The hypothetical, somewhat rhetorical, consideration often arises: "If that had been a Black (or White) person. . ." Most recently, if the mob storming the US Capitol on January 6, 2021, had been Black, how would they have fared with the police and lawmakers? What a Black person feels, thinks, perceives, and does is affected by their experiences and interpretations in a world of racialized consciousness.

Racially divergent worlds for Black people present two specific challenges: finding normalcy, humanity, and well-being in a world of systemic racism (self-enhancement); and developing early detection means for understanding threats in racialized instances of real or potential discrimination (self-protection). TRIOS is a culturally informed set of attributes that are employed to achieve these primary goals. In what ways is TRIOS an adaptive and functional set of attributes?

I began by asking what life in precolonial America must have required for Black survival. Imagine living in 1790, in bondage, perceived as subhuman—divested of two-fifths of a person—and subject to the whims and needs of slave owners to protect their economic, social, political, and psychological interests at any cost and to entertain themselves at your expense. How would you survive that? You must develop ways to protect yourself (self-protection) and ways to value yourself (self-enhancement). You draw upon whatever cultural capital you can from your African origins, and you mold and deploy it as a way to protect and enhance your psychological and physical well-being.

Further, efforts to escape those deathly and dehumanizing conditions required subtle capacities for communication and coordination and an ability to alter or modify behavior in real time as circumstances demanded. As seemingly hopeless as the conditions were, and as apparently helpless as the slaves were, there emerged a strength in their belief that a higher power would somehow deliver them from this state. Individually and collectively, the adaptive capabilities were drawn from African cultural patterns for living and adapted and employed to survive. In this challenging context, with life and death stakes on the line, I argue that the existence and utilization of TRIOSic qualities played a significant role in Black survival. In an evolutionary way, TRIOSic qualities were reinforced, modified, and expressed more deeply and strategically as conditions changed.

Time is the central feature of TRIOS. Slavery created a necessity to live in the now with an unknowable future and a fractured past. Being present-oriented was a necessity. In Lewin's (1943, p. 294) field theory, the principle of contemporaneity posits that "any behavior or any other change in a psychological field depends only on the psychological field at that time." The psychological field at a given time includes the psychological past and the psychological future. Time is conventionally partitioned into past, present, and future. Because they are contemporaneously present in the psychological field, they interact and influence each other in ways that cannot be explained by a linear sequence—time's arrow (Eddington 1928).

African cosmology focuses on the present (*Sasa* in Swahili) and the past (*Zamani*) (Mbiti 1969). The future is minimized in this world and becomes the residue of the present and the predicate for the past. *Sankofa* is a word in the Akan language from Ghana that suggests one should look to the past to prepare for the future; literally, it means "go back and get it." For Blacks, when race becomes salient and is attached to injustice and racial hierarchy, its interpretation hinges to some extent on retrieving, interpreting, and assimilating the past to the present psychological moment. I label the impact of the past on the present the Sankofa effect (Jones & Leitner 2015).

The degree to which knowledge and assimilation of past events influence current psychological states and behavior is particularly critical when images of these events prime perceptions and awareness of discrimination, injustice, and dehumanization. Other evidence affirms this effect of the past on the present. For example, Nelson et al. (2012) found that relative to Blacks, White participants perceived less systemic manifestations of racism and performed worse on a measure of historical knowledge of Black history. Racial differences in perception of racism were mediated by historical knowledge—the so-called Marley effect.

History is not simply a relic of the past but an important part of racial consciousness and judgment in the present, for Blacks and Whites alike. For example, Kraus et al. (2017) found that both Black and White participants overestimated current progress toward Black/White economic equality as a result of overestimating current racial economic equality by 25%. However, the basis for overestimation differed for Blacks and Whites. Whereas Blacks underestimated racial equality in the past, Whites overestimated past inequality relative to actual racial inequalities. Interpreting racial inequality in the present is critically influenced by one's knowledge and perceptions of the past. Denial or misperception of the nature and relevance of the past to contemporary occurrences of racial inequality is accompanied by an inability, or unwillingness, to perceive injustice. This racial divergence of the knowledge and relevance of past discrimination is an important obstacle to making progress in antiracism efforts to achieve greater racial equality.

The remaining four attributes of TRIOS contribute to the mechanisms by which awareness of discrimination, the emotional and behavioral responses to it, and the verbal abilities that support nuanced communications and the building of intragroup cohesion are achieved. Rhythms in everyday life depend importantly on environmental affordances—opportunities for acting or being acted upon that are provided by environmental entities—as well as individual capacities for attunement—the stimulus invariants to which a person pays attention (McArthur & Baron 1983). When affordances and attunements align, that cooperation is akin to a state of "flow," in the sense of efficacy, awareness, confidence, and goal attainment.

Rhythm describes those alignments that support effective and efficient goal-directed behavior and the positive affect that accompanies it. Irregular and ambiguous environmental affordances provide inconsistent patterns that obstruct attending to rhythm's important features, disrupt flow, and potentially undermine mental health and well-being. Disruptive affordances may include stop-and-frisk policies, racial profiling, residential segregation, employment discrimination, and so on. Behavioral patterns in such circumstances are necessarily irregular and offbeat (ragtime music was defined by their raggedy rhythms; Eubie Blake, personal communication). Achieving a synergistic relationship with the environment and the context of a person's life produces positive psychological well-being, which is critical to effective functioning.

Improvisation is a skill that is particularly suited for successfully navigating unpredictable or unexpected situations or for spontaneously expressing an idea, thought, or feeling. Jazz music is founded on both rhythm and improvisation. Improvisational skills include understanding of causes and consequences of one's own behavior in interpersonal interactions, as well as creative strategies that enable a person to anticipate and remove obstacles to reaching a desired goal. For example, when patrols would confront slaves about their knowledge of a runaway, the slaves would feign ignorance, swear loyalty to the master, and express personal fear of doing anything that would get them in trouble—all the while knowing exactly where the runaway was hiding and at times plotting their own escape. Improvisation requires having a repertoire of skills and knowledge and the ability to enact them under time pressure and in moments of uncertainty. Improvisation can also be performance, not merely for entertaining others but as a means of gaining personal control in a situation or claiming a personal identity—by dress, speech cadences, rhythms, intonations, language, and behavioral style. Improvisation is associated with music, theater, and other public performance domains. But I argue that it entails a certain mastery of specific behavioral, verbal, and cognitive grammars that can be manipulated under time pressure to produce the needed flexibility, the desired outcomes, and situational control.

Orality is the sum of the African oral tradition expressed throughout the African diaspora. Language provides a compelling argument for control in the situation. Language expresses the interpersonal, intragroup, and intrapsychic meaning of things, and it connects the speaker and the audience while marginalizing others who lack cultural understanding. What an utterance means or an actor intends is defined by the parameters in the context itself. Hall (1983) labels this context-rich communication: These are communications that are semantically sparse and whose meaning is derived by locating the utterances in a rich web of cultural knowledge, collective experience, and features of a given context. Context-poor communication, on the other hand, is semantically dependent on agreed-upon meanings and their application and interpretation in the present moment. A major tenet of critical race theory is a "call to context." As a critique of legal doctrine, Bell (1980, 1987) argued that because race is socially constructed, and a person's experience is heavily influenced by their race and its effects in daily life, civil rights judgments are critically context sensitive. Thus, the universal principles of legal doctrine are flawed to the extent that they do not take the context-rich factors of race into account.

Orality serves two functions: (*a*) creating cohesion within a group, or between an actor and an audience, and (*b*) allowing a speaker to control the meaning of their words and the communication they intend to share with specific others. In these ways, orality defines a group's uniqueness and erects barriers to incursions from undesirable others. For example, prior to the post-slavery rebellions in Trinidad in the mid-nineteenth century, the Calypsonians and the former slaves spoke a Creole patois. The British forbade the Trinidadians to speak English. However, after the rebellions ignited by setting fire to cane fields, they realized they did not understand what the Black people were saying or singing, and that their words encouraged cultural cohesion and abetted plotting against them. The British attempted to retain control by forbidding Calypsonians and all Trinidadians from using Creole language (Williams 1962, Hill 1972).

Spirituality refers to a belief in and acceptance of a higher power that has influence in human affairs (Jones 2003). A person's life experiences are determined, in some measure, by forces or energies beyond their control. In African culture, spirituality represents *Ntu* energy that influences all of creation—human beings (*muntu*), all things (*kintu*), all places and times (*hantu*), and all modalities of existence (*kuntu*) (Jahn 1978). Spirituality joins people with each other and with all creation and the known world. Spirituality also liberates a person from the constraints of unyielding motivation and personal control in an environment that does not afford it.

For example, John Henryism—a strong behavioral predisposition to cope actively with psychosocial environmental stressors, expressed in statements such as " When things don't go the way I want them to, that just makes me work even harder"—is associated with hypertension (James et al. 1983). The core American values of hard work and self-reliance, and the resistance to environmental forces that constrain personal freedom, create a motivation for some Black people to embody these same values. When their environmental context does not afford (or they are not attuned to) meeting them, the mental and physical consequences can be dire. Spirituality can be a liberating consciousness that can either undermine one's sense of agency or free a person from the emotional residue of lack of control.

How does TRIOS matter? The facets of TRIOS converge to create a personal pattern for confronting one's life circumstances. These facets have cultural origins in Africa and have evolved and transformed over centuries throughout the African diaspora. They combine to create a psyche–culture fusion that can be deployed to gain control in uncertain contexts, erect barriers against hostile incursions, allow strategic means of advancing one's goals and aspirations, and express one's humanity and self-worth.

In a series of studies (Jones 2009), we first constructed a 28-item rating scale with 5 TRIOS-theorized subscales that were psychometrically supported by exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis. Following are examples of items for each subscale, expressed as individual statements: (*a*) Time: It is better to live the present moment to the fullest than to plan for the future; (*b*) Rhythm: I have a flow to my life that connects me with my environment; (*c*) Improvisation: When something disrupts my goals, I often figure out how to achieve them anyway; (*d*) Orality: My friends and I use humor to set us apart from others; and (*e*) Spirituality: Belief in God or a greater power helps me deal with the circumstances of my life (Jones 2009).

We found that Blacks, compared to White, Latinx, and Asian American respondents, scored higher on each subscale. Further, we obtained TRIOS scores from African American, White, and African college students from Ghana and found that African Americans and Africans did not differ on a composite measure of TRIOS, and both scored higher than the White college sample. Africans scored higher than both African American and White participants on a measure of well-being (Ryff 1989). African Americans scored higher on self-reported stress than either Africans or Whites (Cohen et al. 1983, Lee et al. 2020). It is likely that African students who were able to attend college were overall psychologically healthier because they had distinguished themselves from others who did not attend college and were not required to interact with Whites in a racialized setting. Conversely, African American students could not claim special status as college students but still had to confront difficult racialized settings and encounters. TRIOS and well-being scores were significantly correlated for all participants.

Finally, we also found that regardless of race, highly stressed students who were high in improvisation maintained slightly positive psychological well-being, whereas highly stressed, low-improvisation students scored significantly lower in psychological well-being. We also found this buffering effect for Black mothers participating in Head Start programs. Mothers with more difficulties with emotional regulation also had more depression symptoms, but this relationship was significantly attenuated when improvisation scores were included in the analysis (Marshall 2015).

I should note that TRIOS does not uniquely describe sources of psychological functioning of African Americans, since the facets are universal in human experience. What matters is that drawing on the experiences of racially oppressed people and on cultural patterns from the African diasporic experience expands the framework for understanding human behavior. Although there are several effects that are specific to Black people (such as greater endorsement of TRIOSic attributes), many apply to others.

Protecting and enhancing the self, as well as the group, are two ways in which TRIOS motivates behavioral choices and determines their psychological effects. Personal identity and racial identity combine to direct one's expectations, personal choices, and decision making, self-awareness, and understanding. They define attitudes and beliefs, expectations, and approaches to setting goals and the preferred means of reaching them. One critical challenge a person faces is partitioning the individual and racial components of their self and how they influence and are influenced by their racial group membership. I developed the idea of the universal context of racism to explore how Black people may think about and respond to race salience in their everyday life.

Universal Context of Racism

In a society like the United States, in which race is such a salient and historically symbolic presence, and where race has been inextricably bound up in a variety of highly visible, significant, and symbolic discriminatory and dehumanizing events, racism is a recurring theme. Black people have both individual and collective histories that make racism psychologically available at any given moment and provide an interpretative context for predicting the likelihood that being a member of an oppressed racial group will affect their life course. We label this salience of racism for Blacks the universal context of racism (UCR; Jones 2003).

The UCR for Blacks leads to the postulate that race and its correlated effects—racism—are psychologically salient and form a basis for explaining a person's experiences and motivating decision making and behavior. While not every race-related experience is attributed to racism (whether positive or negative), racism is often a plausible explanation, whether applied to the self or to others in one's group. As noted earlier, self-protecting and self-enhancing motivations are critical to psychological well-being for Black people. The UCR elicits vigilance in race-relevant situations that heightens sensitivity to the effect of one's race, somewhat similarly to Wegner's (1997) account of the role of the monitoring system in ironic processes. This vigilance makes race more available as a relevant influence in one's understanding of everyday psychological experience. We propose that both self-protective and self-enhancement motivational processes are triggered by the UCR.

In one study (Jones et al. 2008), we primed UCR directly by presenting Black and White college students with pictures of visually compelling portrayals of oppressive treatment of Blacks (e.g., hangings, mutilations, attack dogs and fire hoses, etc.). After viewing the oppression pictures, participants completed the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS) scale (Watson et al. 1988), then they read a vignette in which a teacher (race unspecified) falsely accused a Black or White student of plagiarizing a paper. The teacher rejected the student's passionate protests that they had written the paper themselves by stating, "You are not smart enough to have written it." All participants in the UCR activation-picture condition reported higher levels of pride, guilt, anxiety, and arousal compared to those in the control condition who were exposure to landscape photographs. However, when viewing the oppression pictures, Blacks were significantly more likely than Whites to rate their reactions as pride, while Whites reported significantly higher feelings of guilt than Blacks. Further, Blacks, compared to Whites, rated their reactions as more hostile.

We next constructed a set of items conceived to assess the degree to which Black participants thought racism was salient, accessible, and explanatory in their lives. Exploratory factor analysis revealed three aspects of UCR: (*a*) Salience: I think about my race everyday; (*b*) Transcendence: I don't let the way members of other racial groups think affect my self-worth; and (*c*) Racelessness: In my mind, my race is rarely responsible for how I am treated. We found that salience and racelessness were negative predictors of eudaimonic well-being (Ryff 1989), whereas transcendence was a positive predictor.

One more study examined the relationship of UCR to self-esteem, perceived racial discrimination, and racial identity among Black college students at historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) or predominantly White institutions (PWIs) (Campbell et al. 2019). Overall, UCR was positively related to perceived racial discrimination and racial identity. However, those relationships were stronger for students at PWIs than for those at HBCUs. UCR bore no relationship to self-esteem or to academic performance as measured by GPA. This suggests that Black students at PWIs may be more sensitive to race and hence perceive more discrimination and find their race more salient. Racial salience strengthens their racial identity as a buffer against the racism they perceive. That perceptions of racism can take a psychological toll is suggested by a finding that UCR salience is correlated with high levels of anxiety and low levels of self-esteem (Jones 2009).

UCR has a dual effect on the perceptions and emotions of Black people. On the one hand, it triggers perceptions of racial discrimination and arms them to respond. On the other hand, it makes their racialized lower status salient and can challenge feelings of self-worth and make their vulnerabilities to negative treatment a source of anxiety. Both outcomes occur, and research has attempted to sort out when self-enhancing and self-protecting are most likely to take place and with what psychological effects (Major et al. 2007, Schmitt et al. 2014).

A PARADIGM FOR DIVERSITY

In the decade following the publication of the second edition of *Prejudice and Racism*, diversity became a major topic in social psychological research (Jones et al. 2014). A search of publications in the PsycInfo database with diversity as a keyword yields 10,645 articles, 90% of which have been published since 2000 (Jones & Dovidio 2018). There are two aspects of diversity that I find compelling. First, diversity is often used as a proxy for anti-bias and pro-inclusion approaches to racial inequality. This approach is overly broad and generally fails to capture the diversity among groups that are often included in the concept of diversity. Moreover, diversity goals generally focus on inclusion but are often exclusionary for some groups (Plaut et al. 2011).

Differences among people and groups are the essence of diversity, but differences do not always align in a singularity signaled by the diversity concept. Further, a binary view of inequality and discrimination is inadequate to address this inherently multidimensional concept (Plaut 2010). Intersectionality theory (Crenshaw 1989, Cole 2009) proposes that people's experiences are multidimensional, but the analytic lens of prejudice and discrimination is often unitary or at best binary.

Second, whereas prejudice, discrimination, and racism draw a clear line between acceptable and unacceptable behavior and their consequences—i.e., right versus wrong, good versus bad—diversity blurs those lines. Conflicts may arise between two ideas or ideals, or two goals or outcomes, both of which have merit and are desirable to achieve. The First Amendment's guarantee of free speech often conflicts with the Fourteenth Amendment's mandate for equal protection under the law. Hate speech, real or symbolic, may create a threatening environment that undermines a person's mental, emotional, or physical health. Efforts to rearrange the toxic incursions on fairness and civility are thwarted by fealty to free speech. Free speech is desirable, but it can encompass hate speech, which is not. Adjudicating this sort of conflict requires more complex understandings of what diversity is and how it should be understood and pursued.

As a result, I view diversity as different from prejudice or racism, hence the subtitle of our book *Beyond Prejudice and Racism* (Jones et al. 2014). We defined diversity as "basic psychological processes that are triggered when we encounter people who are different from us in significant and salient ways" (p. 7). We placed emphasis on the basic psychological processes because, as with other basic human interactions in context, these processes dictate the course and consequence of these encounters. The arsenal of social psychological theorizing and empirical and methodological approaches holds promise for addressing some of the daunting challenges that diversity presents.

This perspective led us to present the outlines of what we called a diversity paradigm (Jones & Dovidio 2018). This paradigm complements and builds upon traditional approaches to studying prejudice, racism, and identity by: (*a*) employing multilevel analytic designs and methodologies; (*b*) studying a range of psychological mechanisms that account for both separate and joint dynamic processes at the societal, group, and individual levels; (*c*) examining relations among multiple groups and recognizing the diversity that exists within and among them; and (*d*) examining both the benefits and the challenges of a diversity agenda.

The multiplicities of approaches to diversity have been widely documented and debated. Page (2007) offered a complex systems approach that made a case for the benefits of diversity, claiming that in groups solving complex problems, diverse groups with diverse skills outperform homogeneous groups of experts. Page defined four broad classes of diversity: Cognitive diversity is about ways of perceiving the world, strategies for solving problems and achieving goals, meaning-making processes, and inferences about social structure and causality; identity diversity refers to one's affinity for and identification with relevant social categories; demographic diversity reflects the social categories one is assigned; and the notion of preference references the outcomes one values and the preferred means of pursuing them.

This multidimensional taxonomy of diversity features clearly presents a challenge to the unitary options of diversity as a goal. Klein & Harrison (2007) further complicate Page's taxonomy with additional diversity criteria, including separation (polarized, extreme, and opposing factions) and disparity (differences in power and related resources). The idea that diversity makes things better allows us to grapple with certain challenges and complexities that traditional research on racism and prejudice is unable to capture.

Diversity Competency

In 2012, I was appointed the inaugural director of the Center for the Study of Diversity (CSD) at the University of Delaware. The CSD was conceived to conduct diversity-directed research and policy and program analysis. Our research approach built on the idea that engaging differences triggers basic psychological processes. Our first research project evaluated the characteristics of individuals who, we hypothesized, would be more likely to function most effectively and positively in diversity contexts. We defined effective functioning in diversity contexts as diversity competency, which consisted of three characteristics: (*a*) psycho-behavioral traits, i.e., skills and dispositions appropriate and useful for living and working in diverse contexts; (*b*) leadership, i.e., the ability and willingness to align with others around common goals, even when they bring different points of view and backgrounds to the situation, and to motivate oneself and others to invest in serving some larger, superordinate goal; and (*c*) multilevel capabilities and interests, i.e., the individual, institutional, and cultural motivation and ability to engage and support diversity efforts that benefit and support justice for everyone.

The first phase of our research focused on assessing the individual characteristics that comprised diversity competency. This conceptualization was adapted from the Global Learning VALUE Rubric of the American Association of Colleges & Universities (Whitehead 2016) and resulted in the six diversity competency factors listed below (sample items in parentheses).

1. Diversity self-awareness: understanding the interrelationships between the self and others who belong to diverse social groups. (I understand that others may not hold the same ideas and beliefs that I do.)
2. Perspective taking: the ability to engage and learn from perspectives and experiences different from one's own. (I often step back from myself and look at the world through the eyes of others to try to understand their point of view.)
3. Cultural literacy: recognizing the influences of one's cultural heritage, being motivated to learn about diverse cultures, and communicating effectively across cultural differences. (It is important to learn about cultures that are different from my own.)
4. Personal and social responsibility: recognizing one's responsibilities to society, being aware of ethical and power relations among various social status groups, and promoting the flourishing of others. (I believe I have a certain responsibility to society.)
5. Understanding global systems: understanding the historic and contemporary roles of organizations, how they influence lives worldwide, and their effects on people in different strata and societies. (Historical group conflicts still affect group statuses today.)
6. Applying diversity knowledge: the ability to apply knowledge and skills gained through higher education to real-life problem-solving regarding diversity. (I am able to use my knowledge/expertise to address my own experience of diversity.)

Although this was conceived as a six-factor construct, confirmatory factor analysis revealed that a one-factor solution was most appropriate (Jones 2017). The result was a 22-item Diversity Competency Scale (DCS). Validity studies showed the DCS was negatively related to scales assessing racial resentment, system justification, social dominance, and racial fear. DCS was positively related to measures of perspective taking, empathy with others, egalitarianism, psychological well-being, racial guilt, and global self-esteem. We also found that DCS was related to effective self-regulation of prejudice responses (Butz & Plant 2009). Specifically, those with high DCS scores were both more likely to be internally motived not to be prejudiced and less likely to be externally motivated.

We concluded from these individual characteristics that people scoring high on DCS should be more motivated to engage others in diverse environments, more committed to making positive contributions, and more receptive to listening to and trying to understand others' viewpoints and experiences. Although the DCS is not itself a measure of diversity competency, we argue that it is a psychological precursor.

We examined this presumption in two ways. First, we asked if diversity competence was related to experiences and engagement on our college campus (Hussain & Jones 2021). Undergraduate students reported their experiences with diversity by completing the Diverse Learning Environment (DLE) survey on the University of Delaware's website.[3] High-DCS students reported more increases in self-awareness and perspective taking from their interactions with others on campus. They also had a greater interest in and sense of belonging at the university. High-DCS scorers were also more likely to have had a roommate of a different race or ethnicity and to have more cross-racial interactions in the classroom.

One finding presented an interesting issue. We asked students what percentage of their close friends were of the same race as they were. DCS scores were negatively correlated with the percentage of same-race close friends for White students (suggesting more other-race close friends) but positively correlated for Black students (implying fewer other-race close friends). If diversity competency is a precursor to positive diversity interactions, why would diversity-competent Whites appear to have more, and Blacks fewer, other-race friends? Perhaps for Whites, the cross-racial processes of self-examination, taking the perspective of others, and thinking more deeply about one's social responsibilities leads to guilt and desire to learn more and benefit from cross-racial interactions. This interpretation is consistent with the results of the study using images of oppression as primes (Jones et al. 2008). For Blacks, these same processes may lead to a degree of "wokeness" by which one becomes more sensitive to racial inequality and discrimination, being more motivated to seek out similar others for support, friendship, and common ground. We do not have data to support these possibilities, but our finding raises the question of whether diversity competency means the same thing across racial groups.

Another study (Jones 2021) assessed interactions across attitudinal boundaries of difference. We asked if DCS level affected discussions between people with opposite viewpoints on an important issue—what Klein & Harrison (2007) labeled diversity as separation. We selected students who had scored high or low on the DCS and who had divergent attitudes on the proposition that "People have a right to free speech, even if that speech is hateful to other people." Participants arrived at the lab in pairs of individuals both high or both low on DCS and with opposing views on the issue. They began their discussion by stating their views and the reason they held them, then discussed it for 10 minutes before writing a consensus statement reflecting their post-discussion attitudes.

[3]The DLE survey report and analysis can be found at **https://www.csd.udel.edu/publications-communication/campus-climate**.

Before the discussion, high-DCS participants felt more warmth toward the partner and more comfort and less anxiety about the upcoming discussion than their low-DCS pairs. After the discussion, the low-DCS pairs felt they had greater agreement, but felt less like a group, than the high-DCS pairs. The discussions were videotaped, and interactions were coded. High-DCS pairs compared to their low-DCS counterparts had more positive body lean, took more turns speaking, took more time to reach consensus, used more awareness/perspective-taking words during their discussion, and shifted their attitudes on the topic more. We concluded that diversity competency attitudes do result in behaviors that facilitate positive functioning in diverse interactions.

In 2017, the University of Delaware Faculty Senate adopted the diversity competency dimensions as criteria for courses to meet the university-wide Multicultural Course Requirement (MCR). The usefulness of this was based on two suppositions: that diversity competency can be enhanced through instruction, and that the courses selected to accomplish that goal are able to meet it. The CSD research team addressed these suppositions by asking professors at the beginning of the semester which of the MCR criteria they intended to focus on in the course and what pedagogical techniques they intended to use (lectures, readings, assigned papers, extracurricular activities, exams). At the end of the semester, we asked which ones they used and which had the most impact on the diversity competency–learning goals (Jones et al. 2018). We also asked students which of these MCR criteria were addressed and which pedagogical techniques were most effective.

For both faculty and students, the main learning goals focused on cultural literacy, diversity self-awareness, and perspective taking. Both faculty and students regarded lectures as the most effective means of achieving diversity competency goals. Based on in-class observations, we also found that courses that encouraged and implemented methods that required personal reflection were most effective. Finally, we had students complete the DCS at the beginning and again at the end of the semester and found a small but significant increase in DCS scores. We were not, however, able to link this increase to any curricular or pedagogical aspect of the multicultural courses.

Diversity Science

Diversity science "adopts a sociocultural understanding of racial inequality, one that recognizes the intertwined roles of cultural and structural realities (i.e., cultural beliefs and social positioning) in shaping intergroup relations" (Plaut 2010, p. 77). So we come full circle. My approach to racism was predicated on the interconnection of individuals, institutions, and culture (Jones 1972, 1997). But as we have argued, diversity presents new challenges and requires expanded methods and theorizing (Jones & Dovidio 2018). Diversity science requires critical examination of multiple perspectives and their interaction across boundaries of difference. A search of the PsycInfo database for articles with diversity in the title and race as a keyword produced 308 entries, 300 of which were published after 1990. Among these 308 entries were 214 journal articles, 72 books, and 22 dissertation or theses. Diversity science has the potential to address not only issues of racial inequality but also the parameters of fairness and justice in a multicultural, multidimensional global world. Based on the trajectory of diversity science since 1990, in the years and decades to come we are poised to see dramatic growth and hopefully innovative methodological and analytical approaches to addressing diversity that expand beyond race in a paradigmatic fashion.

CONCLUSION

This essay has attempted to weave several strands of my life and career into a meaningful whole. I am influenced by Danish philosopher Søren Kierkegaard's dictum that "Life can only be understood backwards, but it must be lived forwards." This essay has helped me achieve both understandings. At every turn, I lived my life forward, and each epoch drew upon the periods before and created new motivations, which propelled me forward. The opportunity to write a book on prejudice and racism allowed me to integrate my personal experience and emergent understanding of race in a scholarly context. Two specific aspects informed my thinking: Racism was a compelling force in the minds and hearts of everyone; however, the perspective on it and its consequences depended critically on the side from which you viewed it. I tried to bring an insider perspective to Black experience and to show how the fact and fiction of race must include Black lived experiences. The historical and continuing experiences of Black people contribute to national policies and cultural norms and provide a critical context for understanding how race functions in our society. This idea is what Critical Race Theory (CRT) describes as a "call to context" (Bell 1987). Multicultural racial identities are critical elements of any effort to advance a science of racism. This objective informs most of my work. I also wanted to share my perspectives on race and on the nature of racialized oppression that is embedded in the culture, institutions, and psyche of the nation. When I integrate the writing about Black psyche and culture with my multidimensional analysis of racism from the culture-psyche perspective, I believe TRIOS and UCR make important connections. They reveal how racism is perpetuated and affects everyone it touches.

For me, diversity arose as a new thing—a *tertium quid*. A diversity agenda challenges traditional analyses of racism for a variety of reasons, which I discussed above. Adding diversity to an unfinished racism agenda complicates matters. We present some of the ways that happens in our diversity paradigm article (Jones & Dovidio 2018). In a binary world of slavery and abolition, racism and antiracism, the moral balance is clear. But in contexts of divergent beliefs, needs, and preferences, often conflicts arise in the doing of diversity. These conflicts are often between two or more valid and desirable goals, objectives, or needs, but meeting them both can create moral and practical ambiguity. When meeting diversity goals for one group obstructs meeting goals for another group, a dilemma arises. How do we make everyone feel welcomed when at times this makes some feel unwelcome? That is a challenge for psychological science and is what a diversity science will need to address.

To bring my work and writing together, I believe that diversity science can be augmented by a science of antiracism to address both the negative effects of systemic racism and the positive possibilities of a diversity agenda. Psychological science can play an important role in antiracism efforts by developing, expanding, and applying some of the following approaches: engaging in nonlinear, cyclical thinking and multilevel nonlinear analysis; story- and counterstory-telling; incorporating context in methodology, analysis, and interpretation; examining history as a psychological variable; reconstructing the culture-psyche connection; including power in a critical analysis of racism and antiracism; and building multidisciplinary research teams to address the multidimensional, multimodal nature of systemic racism.

As I end this essay, I see both promise and peril ahead. Race continues to confuse and divide us, no matter how much we know about its manifestations, antecedents, and consequences. But we are undaunted and continue to grow our science and, most importantly now, to connect it to undoing some of the damage our racialized society has caused so many of its citizens. We also have the capacity to chart a path forward that brings us closer to the *e pluribus unum* of our founding as well as the *e pluribus pluribus* of our diverse world.

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