

Running head: DIVERSITY AND THE GOD IMAGE

Cultural Diversity and the God Image:
Examining Cultural Difference in the Experience of God¹

Louis Hoffman, Ph.D.
Vanguard University of Southern California
Costa Mesa, CA

John L. Hoffman, Ph.D.
California State University
Long Beach, CA

Kei Dillard
Jessica Clark
Reyno Acoba
Fred Williams
Tiffany T. Jones
Vanguard University of Southern California
Costa Mesa, CA

¹ Additional appreciation is extended to Amanda Bender and Matthew Johnson who assisted in aspects of the research project.

Cultural Diversity and the God Image:

Examining Culture Difference in the Experience of God

The differentiation between the God concept, how a person cognitively or intellectually understands God, and the God image, how a person emotionally experiences God, has received increased attention in recent years. However, research addressing the God image has not considered the effects of difference, especially ethnic, racial, and cultural differences. In this light, our purpose in this study was to examine relationships between a broad set of demographic variables, including a careful examination of ethnicity, and dimensions of the God image. To address cultural issues, we further examined variables addressing one's identification as religious and/or spiritual, as well as experiences with psychotherapy, and the relationship of these measures with God image factors. In what follows, we present our analysis of relevant literature and the results of our investigation. We conclude by discussing implications for theory and practice.

Literature Review

The God Image

The early development of God image theory and research emerged from the work of Rizzuto (1979), who relied upon Freud and object relations theory to develop her initial conception of how one's early parental relationships (i.e., attachments) will influence one's experience of God later in life. Several studies have since supported the connection between attachment and parental relationships with the God image (Brokaw & Edwards, 1994; L. Hoffman, Jones, Williams, & Dillard, 2004; Tisdale et al., 1997). However, it is important to maintain the distinction between being influential and being a determinant; many other forces influence how the God image develops. For example, initial research by Cheston, Piedmont, Eanes, and Lavin (2003) suggested that the God image changes as a person goes through the process of therapy. L. Hoffman et al. (2004) found evidence that the God

concept, among other factors, influences the God image. This suggests that there is still much to learn about the God image.

Sorenson (2004) and Aron (2004) called for contemporary psychoanalytic reinterpretations of the God image based upon object relations and classical psychoanalytic theories. Aron challenged previous psychoanalytic views of the God image suggesting that they were too subjectively focused on the individual and that they left out or undervalued the intersubjective components of religious experience and understanding. Though not addressed in Aron's article, one could expand upon this critique to address the rather stagnant understanding of the God image (consistent with object relations theory) as compared with a more fluid understanding of how God is experienced, as is consistent with contemporary psychoanalytic and relational theory. This would suggest an important limitation in current measures and theory. Additionally, if the God image is fluid, it might change routinely across the lifespan necessitating a more complex understanding of this construct.

Developmental Theories

Several theorists have addressed the importance of seeing spirituality, religion, and faith from a developmental perspective (Boone, 2005; Cox, 2005; Fowler, 1981; Nierenberg & Shildon, 2005; Schlesing, 2005). L. Hoffman (2005) extended this argument by suggesting a developmental perspective for the God image. Two approaches to faith or spiritual development are particularly relevant for the current study. Since we utilized a traditional college age population for our study, we pay particular attention here to those developmental stages most commonly associated with the late teens and early twenties.

Cox (2005) used Erikson's (1968, 1980) theory as a basis for devising a paradigm for spiritual development. Consistent with Erikson, different tasks emerge at different stages. A typical college student might best fit in stage 5 (Erikson's Identity v. Inferiority; Cox's Established Personal Belief) or Stage 6 (Erikson's Intimacy v. Isolation; Cox's Interpersonally

Shared Belief System). Navigation of these stages is dependent upon successful completion of earlier development tasks, namely the development of security and differentiation. If these have not occurred, the individual's God image will likely be undifferentiated from her or his parents' God image. However, college-age individuals who successfully navigate prior stage tasks will likely face issues of spiritual identity and the role relationships play in their faith.

Fowler's (1981) stages of faith represent one of the most thorough attempts to articulate the stages of faith development. Heavily influenced by Piaget and Kohlberg, Fowler used a large sample of interviews in developing his theory. According to this theory, most college-age students should be in stage 3, a level that many people never move beyond. Fowler characterized this stage as reflecting a more traditional and often rigid belief system that tends to depend upon or conform to religious groups or authority figures. L. Hoffman (2005) proposed that the God concept would remain largely unchallenged in this stage. Individuals in this stage resist any attempts to examine faith critically, thus they leave their God image unexplored and undifferentiated. Stage 4, which typically does not begin until young adulthood, is a transitional stage during which individuals critically explore and rework many of their previously held beliefs.

To summarize, college students will likely have a more difficult time distinguishing between different emotions connected with the God image. Further, a college student population may have more difficulty drawing distinctions between religious cognition and religious experience than an adult population.

Diversity Issues

Researchers investigating the God image have not yet addressed questions of ethnic, racial, or cultural difference. L. Hoffman (2004, 2005) addressed this point when he posited initial formulations how issues of ethnic, gender, and cultural differences might impact an individual's experience of God. Studies addressing these expressions of difference are much

more common in the academic disciplines of theology, anthropology, and cultural studies, especially as they relate to religious and spiritual experience. In general, these fields have been much more open to postmodern and feminist discourse that frequently embraces neglected and disenfranchised voices. The best current source for the development of theory regarding difference and the God image is the work of feminists who have explored the nuances of female religious and spiritual experience (see Brock, 1988; Johnson, 1999; McFague, 1993) and female images of God (see Grey, 2001; King, 1994; O'Faolain & Martines, 1973). However, these approaches typically did not take into consideration distinctions between the God concept and God image, unconscious and conscious processes, or explicit and implicit God images.

Following such feminist explorations, interest emerged within academic theology and cultural theory regarding the influence of culture on the experience of God. Notable works have explored slave narratives and spiritual experience (Hopkins, 1996, 2001), Latina perspectives on religious experience (Isasi-Diaz, 2001), and Womanist perspectives² on religious and spiritual experience (Baker-Fletcher, 1996, 1998). While theorists to date have not applied these perspectives to the psychological construct of the God image, their relevancy should be evident.

Methodology

The purpose of this study was to examine the influence of various expressions of diversity on the God image. To that effect, we specifically examined a broad set of demographic variables and their influence on various God image factors, giving special attention to ethnic differences. Specifically, we hypothesized the following:

² The womanist movement emerged from the writings of Alice Walker and focus on Black female perspective. However, this movement is intentionally inclusive of all other voices which have experienced oppression. See Baker-Fletcher (1996) for a more information.

1. The factor structure for each of the six hypothesized God image factors will be strong;
2. Correlations between the various factors will be high, reflecting the inability of a college-aged sample (Fowler stage 2 or 3) to differentiate their experiences with God; and
3. Significant differences in the relationship between measured demographic inputs and God image factors will emerge between various ethnic cohorts within the overall sample.

Sample

The sample consisted of 211 college students attending three colleges and universities in southern California. Two of the institutions were private Christian liberal arts universities and one institution was a community college. The ethnic diversity of the community college was strong, reflecting the significant ethnic diversity of Southern California. To obtain a racially diverse sample from the two Christian universities, we collaborated with professors and student affairs professions who specifically worked with students of color on their respective campuses. Table 1 reviews the demographic breakdown of the sample along with descriptions of the coding for these variables. Though we did not include denominational differences in our analysis because of their categorical nature, we note that the sample contained large numbers of individuals identifying themselves as evangelical (n=97, 46.0%) and Pentecostal (n=39, 18.5%).

Instrumentation

Participants completed a four-part questionnaire consisting of demographics (J. L. Hoffman, Hoffman, & Hoffman, n.d.), two sets of attachment scales (L. Hoffman et al., 2005), and the God Image Scales (GIS) (Lawrence, 1997). For this study, we utilized only data from the demographic and GIS sections of the questionnaire.

Demographics. In first section of the survey, participants provided detailed information about their ethnicity, age, gender, college status, and family status. Participants also identified whether they considered themselves religious and spiritual (two separate items), and whether they had received psychotherapy. Two points regarding our collection and coding of ethnic data are worthy of note. First, the survey instructed students to select “all that apply” among a list of nine ethnic categories. The survey then asked if participants whether they considered themselves to be bi- or multi-racial (hereafter multiracial), and if so, whether they identified primarily with one ethnic group. For the purposes of analysis, we considered multiracial individuals who identified primarily with one group as members of that ethnic group. We considered those who did not identify primarily with one group as a separate ethnic group, multiracial (See Cortes, 2000, for a discussion of various means by which multiracial individuals identify themselves). Given this format, only one of the 211 participants elected not to provide data regarding her or his ethnicity.

Building on theory proposed by Helms (1984, 1990, 1994), we also constructed a “Whiteness” measure. Helms has formulated Black and White racial identity development models, and has proposed the use of “Blackness” as a research variable, a construct that is not simply a aspect of one’s race or ethnicity, but also the degree with which one associates herself or himself as Black. In her models, Helms utilized separate scales to measure racial identity. We did not administer these scales. Further, since the participants of color in this sample represented a broad spectrum of ethnic identities (African American, Asian, Latino, etc.), we refrained from developing a single measure for the degree to which a person identified as a person of color. Instead, we developed a simple calculation to measure Whiteness. In this measure, we coded individuals who identified themselves solely as White with a 2, those who identified themselves as multiracial with White being one of their identified ethnicities with a 1, and individuals (monoethnic or multiethnic) who only selected

non-White ethnic categories as 0. We created this measure with no small degree of caution, since its very name reinforces the privilege and dominance of a single ethnic group, a privilege that we aim to begin deconstructing through this research project. That said, we felt the potential value of this level of analysis outweighed the potential harm.

The God image. Lawrence (1997) developed the God Image Scales (GIS) as a subset of the larger God Image Inventory, which is a 156-item, psychometric instrument used to measure the image of God in clinical and pastoral settings. Given its design, the GIS is more appropriate for research investigations. The theoretical foundation of the GIS associates the God image with the three fundamental self-image areas proposed by Philibert (1985): belonging, goodness, and control. For each of these three, Lawrence (1997) developed two dimensions, the first being more primitive and focused on the self, with the second growing from the first and being more focused on the object of the relationship. Lawrence proposed the scales of presence and challenge for belonging, the scales of acceptance and benevolence for goodness, and the scales of influence and providence for control. In each pairing, the former scale represents the primitive self focus, while the latter represents the resulting object focus. Table 2 reviews the three areas and six scales along with their associated characterizing questions.

In its long form, the GIS is a 72-item questionnaire that contains items for six God image factors: acceptance, benevolence, challenge, influence, presence, and providence. The short form of the GIS, a 36-item questionnaire, only includes items for acceptance, challenge, and presence since testing by Lawrence revealed unusually high correlations between the presence, influence, and providence factors and poor factor structure for the benevolence factor. Because the body of research addressing these potential six scales is still small, and because of our intentional effort to analyze an ethnically diverse sample, we chose

the 72-item questionnaire and tested for the presence of all six factors. We then conducted the research project in three, sequential phases.

Research Design & Analysis

Phase 1. In the first phase of the analysis, we conducted a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) on the data from the 72-item GIS. The purpose of this analysis was to test the strength of model fit for each of the six factors. The use of multiple items for each of the six factors allowed us to identify the model and to test for measurement error. An identified model demonstrates the degree to which the latent constructs, or factors, (e.g. acceptance, benevolence, etc.) influenced participant responses for the items associated with each factor.

In each CFA application, we conducted multiple tests of model fit. The most common test is the chi-square. In CFA studies, one uses the chi-square test to determine whether differences between the predicted and actual observed correlations are significant. Thus, we desired a non-significant chi-square demonstrating that the predicted and actual observed correlations do not differ significantly. Because the chi-square is prone to falsely confirming model fit with smaller samples, we utilized four additional fit indices to evaluate the measurement model: the Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI), the Comparative Fit Index (CFI), the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA), and the standardized root mean square residuals (SRMR). According to Hu and Bentler (1999), strong models are characterized by TLI and CFI values greater than .95, RMSEA values less than .06, and SRMR values less than .08.

Phase 2. Whereas we began in Phase 1 by testing the theorized model of six factors, we anticipated that this effort would not result in a strongly identified model based on our second hypothesis. Thus, in Phase 2, we conducted an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) of responses to the 72-item God Image questionnaire. EFA is used "to determine the number of continuous latent variables [factors] that are needed to explain the correlations among a set

of observed variables [factor indicators]" (Muthén & Muthén, 2004, p. 39). Given the potential high correlations between items, we reviewed both varimax (orthogonal) rotations and promax (oblique) rotations of the data. Thus, this analysis revealed the number of factors that best explained the variances in participant responses on the God Image questionnaire.

EFA only provides a statistical analysis of the data; it does not take theory into consideration. Thus, some item-to-factor relationships may reflect non-theoretical issues including flaws in the measurement design and instrumentation. For example, how a participant responded to a given item may reflect more than the item's content; it may reflect the residual effects of affective responses to prior items. For this reason, we compared the emergent factors with their associated items against God image theory before making final decisions regarding the design of factors. In the final model, we did not include items that loaded on a given factor, but did not have strong theoretical fit with the factor. Further, we did not include items with beta weight loadings of less than .30.

Phase 3. After completing the EFA analysis, we developed a multiple indicators, multiple causes (MIMIC) model that included the demographic variables as covariates with the latent factors identified in Phase 2. Using this technique, we were able to regress each of the emergent God Image factors simultaneously using maximum likelihood estimation on each of the 10 demographic input variables. To ensure strong model fit, we again tested the model using the chi-square, TLI, CFI, RMSEA, and SRMR. The results revealed the influence of each of the inputs on God image factors, while statistically controlling for the effects of the others. MIMIC analysis is stronger than standard regression techniques and stepwise or hierarchical regression techniques because theory drives the introduction of statistical control into the model and because the model attenuates for measurement error.

Results

Phase 1

The results of the initial CFA analysis were positive. While several items did not load on their corresponding factors at a statistically significant level, the model for each of the six factors was identified when we independently examined the factors. However, when we included all six factors in a single model, we encountered a discriminate validity problem. The covariances between the acceptance, influence, and presence factors were each above .90 suggesting that, for this sample, God image relationships reported by participants did not reflect the distinctions between these three factors as posited by Lawrence (1997). Interestingly, these three factors represent the primitive forms of the three self-image areas from the theoretical foundation of the GIS.

The covariance between challenge and providence was also well above .90, suggesting participants seemed to experience these two as a singular construct. The benevolence factor was identified with no discriminate validity problems.

Phase 2

Three factors emerged from the EFA analysis. Multiple tests (unity, scree, etc.) of factor eigenvalues supported the use of three factors to describe the structure of the data. An eigenvalue is the sum of the squared loadings of the indicators that load on a factor, and reflects the percentage of variance explained. After identifying the three factors, we reviewed individual items, keeping only those items that fit together theoretically and that had beta weights of at least .50. What follows is a description of the three factors that emerged from the EFA analysis; Table 3 reviews the item loadings for the three factors. Table 4 reviews the theoretical foundation of the initially posited factors and the collapsed factors that resulted from the EFA analysis.

Egocentric. Twenty-one items loaded most heavily on the first factor. We initially dropped two of these items since their betas were less than .40. Upon reviewing the remaining items, all but one of these came from the theorized factors of acceptance, influence, or presence, three factors that faced discriminate validity problems in the first phase of this study. As noted above, these three are the primitive form of factors that focus on the self in one's God image; thus, we named this new, combined factor "egocentric." From the theoretical position emphasizing the self, we removed two additional items from this factor: "God wants me to achieve all I can in life" and "I think God even loves atheists." We dropped a final item, "I am sometimes anxious about whether God still loves me," because of poor model fit in the final testing of the factor. The result was a latent construct with 16 items, betas ranging from .48 to .76.

Growth. Twelve items loaded most heavily on the second factor, seven of which came from the challenge and providence factors posited in Phase 1 of this study. These two factors also faced a discriminate validity problem in the first phase of the study. Upon reviewing the items, giving special attention to those in the posited challenge and providence factors, we observed the shared emphasis on personal growth. Items from the challenge factor reflected God challenging individuals to grow, while items from the providence factor reflected a belief that God provides for one's growth. On this basis, we named the second combined factor the "growth" factor. We then reviewed all the items that loaded most heavily on this factor for theoretical fit and dropped the following three items: "I rarely feel that God is with me," "God feels distant to me," and "I often feel that I am in the hands of God." Whereas we dropped these three items from the final analysis, we note that each of these carries strong connotations of God being close or proximate to the individual, which may reflect a dimension of growth for this sample. The factor used in the final analysis was comprised of the nine remaining items.

Benevolence. Though the posited benevolence factor did not reflect a strong factor structure in previous studies, it did in this study. Five benevolence items loaded on this latent construct at a statistically significant level. In addition to these, the items “God asks me to keep growing as a person” (challenge factor) and “I think God even loves atheists” (acceptance factor) also loaded on this factor. We kept the latter of these two items given its association with theoretical conception of the benevolence factor, but dropped the former item as it did not fit well theoretically. Thus, we utilized six items for this factor.

Phase 3

Overall results. Figure 1 reviews the results for the overall MIMIC model. Model fit was strong as all five tests of fit met the desired levels. Loadings on each of the three factors were also strong, ranging .58 to .83 for the egocentric factor, from .49 to .80 for the growth factor, and from .54 to .86 for the benevolence factor. The covariances between the three latent factors were also strong, ranging from .44 to .50. There was a positive relationship between the egocentric factor and individuals identifying themselves as both religious (.21) and spiritual (.21), as well as with childhood church attendance (.12); the relationship with having received therapy was small and negative (-.15). The relationship between gender and the egocentric factor (-.11) demonstrated that women were slightly more likely to associate with this factor. Collectively, these input variables explained 18% of the variance in the egocentric factor.

Two demographic variables, individuals identifying themselves as spiritual (.33) and church attendance as a youth (.13), had statistically significant relationships with the growth factor. These two inputs explained 19% of this factor’s variance. Finally, the benevolence factor was associated with the two input variables, identifying oneself as spiritual (.33) and having received therapy (-.17). These two variables explained 20% of the variance in this factor.

Ethnic cohort comparisons. For the first cohort analysis, we applied the MIMIC model to a sample including all individuals who identified as being persons of color, including those who identified themselves as multiracial and partially White. The results for this cohort mirrored those of the overall cohort with one notable exception: the Whiteness factor had a negative relationship with the egocentric factor (-.23) and with the benevolence factor (-.23). Thus, those individuals who identified themselves as multiracial and partially White were less likely to report a God image typified by either egocentrism or benevolence; those who identified themselves as completely non-White were more likely to report a God image typified by egocentrism or benevolence.

In light of these results, we elected to run our ethnic cohort comparison between one sample of individuals who identified themselves as White only and a second of individuals who identified themselves as completely non-White. We did not consider multiracial individuals who were partially White in this comparison. Figure 2 reviews the results of this analysis. Item loadings were again generally strong. One item for the non-White cohort, "even if my beliefs were wrong, God would still love me," dropped below the accepted standard of .40 for factor loadings. The covariances between the three factors were again strong, though notably stronger for the non-White cohort than for the White cohort.

The most noteworthy differences were among the covariances between input demographics and the three God image factors. For the majority of the relationships that were statistically significant, the relationships for the White and non-White cohorts were considerably different, and in some cases opposite one another. Of these, the most significant were the differences by age, having received therapy, and identification as spiritual and/or religious. For those in the White cohort, age was positively related with the egocentric (.14) and growth (.16) factors. However, for the non-White cohort, these relationships were negative (-.20 and -.24 respectively). Thus, older White students and

younger non-White students were the most likely to associate with the egocentric and growth God image factors. Regarding therapy, members of the White cohort who had received therapy were less likely to associate with both the egocentric factor (-.20) and the benevolence factor (-.17). For the non-White cohort, therapy was positively associated with the egocentric factor (.18), while there was no relationship between therapy and the benevolence factor.

For Whites, no statistically significant relationships emerged between identifying oneself as religious and any of the three God image factors. Even if one were to consider betas that did not meet the $p < .05$ criteria for statistical significance, only the relationship between being religious and the egocentric factor (.13) was greater than .05. However, for the non-White cohort, identifying oneself as religious was positively associated with all three factors, egocentric (.18), growth (.22), and benevolence (.20). The cohort differences for identification as spiritual were not as acute, but still worthy of consideration. Identifying oneself as spiritual was positively associated with all three factors for both cohorts. However, the relationship between spirituality and the egocentric and benevolent factors was stronger for members of the White cohort, while the relationship between spirituality and the growth factor was stronger for the non-White cohort. Further examination revealed that the covariance for identifying oneself as religious and spiritual was much higher for the non-White cohort (.32) than for the White cohort (.15).

Two additional differences are worth noting briefly. First, there was a significant relationship between having a male as a secondary caregiver and the egocentric factor for the non-White cohort. No such relationship existed for the White cohort. Second, attending church as a youth was positively associated with the benevolence factor (.23) for the non-White cohort, while no relationship existed for the White cohort.

Discussion

The results of our study provide strong support for each of our research hypotheses. Considered in the context of current God image literature, these results extend the dialogue regarding the process of measuring various elements of the God image and introduce potential spiritual development considerations, especially in light of Fowler's (1981) model. Further, the results provide strong support for the importance of considering ethnic and cultural differences in the examination of the God image.

Measuring the God Image

The process of measuring various elements of the God image is still in its earliest stages. Though the results in this study revealed several discriminate validity problems, these fit well into the theoretical foundation of the God Image Scales and, thus, carry strong theoretical implications. For this reason, we will briefly review the three factors that emerged from our study in light of this theory.

Egocentric. The first factor that emerged from the EFA included three of the previously identified factors. According to Lawrence (1997), these factors represent the more primitive dimension of the three self-image areas posited by Philibert (1985). Thus, these factors focus more on the self than the object of the relationship. There are several potential interpretations of this emergent factor.

First, Fowler's (1981) model of faith development may be especially instructive here. As previously noted, we anticipated that many of the participants in our study would be in the second or third stage of Fowler's model. In the second stage, beliefs tend to be somewhat literal and depend on an authority source such as a parent or pastor. Thus, responses by participants in this stage may reflect the God image that they perceive to be held by their parents or by external authorities. In the transition to the third stage, the external authority shifts from more singular external sources to a like-minded social group. Given the multiple God image perspectives of the members of such a group, it is not surprising that participants

in this study were unable to differentiate their God image experiences. Stated another way, responses by participants might reflect experiences of God shared by members of a subgroup, and not just the individual. In both of these stages, the God concept (how a person cognitively or intellectually understands God) could easily muddle answers to questions about the God image of participants. Given these dynamics, researchers conducting God image studies in the future may consider including basic measures of Fowler's stages. We recommend the inclusion of such factors along with demographic variables primarily as a control measure, though also to test for interrelationships.

Second, building on the work of Erikson (1968, 1980), numerous theorists (e.g. Chickering & Reisser, 1993; Josselson, 1987; Heath, 1968; Marcia, 1980) suggest that identity development is a primary task for traditional age college students. Thus, one might place God image questions in the context of the broader developmental question of "Who am I?" for this population. This may be especially true for students of color, given the potential for the unique challenges of racial identity development (Helms, 1984, 1990; Phinney, 1990; Phinney & Alipuria, 1990). This might help to explain the difference in the relationship between age and egocentrism for the White and non-White cohorts. Assuming that students of color face new and/or heightened exposure to racial insensitivity or intolerance during the first years of college, their racial identity development may be heightened during this period. Thus, the connection between the first years of college and an egocentric God image makes sense in light of the racial identity development of students of color.

Finally, the evangelical bias of this sample is worth consideration. In describing the contemporary evangelical movement, authors such as Heie (1997) and Noll (1994) emphasized biblicism, intellectual dualism, and narrow definitions of truth. These tendencies may have reinforced the influence of the God concept in participant responses. Though we note this

with due caution, the results may demonstrate a relationship between some elements of the contemporary evangelical tradition and a more primal, self-focused God image.

Growth. The second factor that emerged from the EFA included two of the God image factors posited in the GIS: challenge and providence. According to Lawrence (1997), these factors represent the object-focused dimensions of the belonging and control areas of self-image. The connection between these two was, at first, far from intuitive. Deeper analysis of the theoretical framework, however, was quite instructive. The summary question for the challenge factor is “Does God want me to grow?” This is actually a condensed form of the broader question,

Does the fact that God is there for me mean that I should stay here with God, or does God’s presence in my life support or even demand that I move out into and interact with the world around me? (Lawrence, 1997, p. 216)

Thus, the original question presents two possible responses to an affirmation in the more primitive presence dimension of belonging. On the one hand, an individual more insecure in terms of God’s presence may feel the need to stay close to God in order to maintain God’s presence. On the other hand, an individual who is more secure in God’s presence, may feel called to go forward into the world with that presence.

Analysis of the theoretical foundation of the providence factor was equally instructive. To gain a deeper understanding, one might better frame the two dimensions of the control area of self-image in terms of freedom. Niebuhr (1962), for example, argued that people who limit their own freedom tend to also limit the freedom of God, while those who advocate for greater freedom also ascribe greater freedom to God. Thus, one might also understand providence as related to God’s freedom. After first establishing one’s own freedom (the influence factor, “How much can I control God?”), one may be able to credit God with greater freedom of influence (the providence factor, “How much can God control me?”). This

foundation, then, helps to explain the covariances we observed in this study. The association of challenge and providence suggests that individuals in this sample who perceived God as desiring for them to grow (challenge) also gave credit for that growth to God (providence). Whereas we ultimately dropped three items that loaded on this factor, but addressed God's presence or proximity, future analyses and/or studies may include these items. Though these items seem to fit better theoretically with the presence factor, one could argue that having confidence that once one receives God's presence, one retains that presence, is a necessary prerequisite to responding to God's call to go into the world and be provided for while there.

Benevolence. In the study by Lawrence (1997), both the theoretical foundation and the factor structure of benevolence were weak. In terms of self-image theory, the transition is from the self focus of "Am I good enough for God to love?" (acceptance) to the object focus of "Is God the sort of person who would want to love me?" (benevolence). Given the latter question's focus on the character of God, Lawrence noted the danger of participants resorting to catechism-informed God concept responses. However, after considering this emphasis on God's character and the set of items that loaded on this factor, we framed God's character in a more outward manner, considering God's willingness to love others. This requires some creativity in the application of the object-focused dimension of goodness, but may be worth consideration as researchers in future studies aim to strengthen the benevolence measures and factor.

Ethnic and Cultural Difference

The results of the study clearly demonstrate that ethnic differences are vital to a comprehensive understanding of the God image. Further, differences in language such as with the terms "religious" and "spiritual" highlight the cultural dimensions of ethnic differences.

Religiosity and spirituality. Several of the most significant differences between the White and non-White cohorts related to identifications as religious and spiritual. The simple fact that the two concepts are much more closely intertwined for people of color than for Whites is telling. These results point to important differences in how people of color and White individuals ascribe meaning to the concepts of religion and spirituality. It may be that White individuals see spirituality as a safer, less divisive alternative to a Christian religiosity that has been often fractured by denominational lines. Though the churches of people of color are certainly not immune to such denominational divisions, these divisions often mark racial lines as much as they do theological lines. The fact that church attendance as a youth was positively associated with the benevolence factor for people of color, but not for Whites, may support this thesis.

More broadly, these findings support the premise that identifying oneself as spiritual is more consistently associated with a healthy image of God as loving, present, and involved in an individual's life. However, trends that replace religious language with spiritual language or that distinguish religion and spirituality as dissimilar and unrelated concepts may serve to alienate people of color or even redefine spirituality as a White construct. That said, we do not recommend merging the concepts. Though the covariance of identifying oneself as religious and identifying oneself as spiritual was much higher for people of color than for Whites in this study, the covariance for the non-White cohort (.32) is far from the threshold of a discriminate validity problem. Thus, we neither advocate combining nor separating religion and spirituality, but addressing them as distinct, yet interrelated constructs.

Psychotherapy. One common Christian criticism about psychotherapy is that it increases the focus on self. On the one hand, the negative relationships between receiving therapy and the benevolence factor for Whites, and the positive relationship between receiving therapy and the egocentric factor for people of color might support this critique. On

the other hand, however, the relationship between receiving therapy and the egocentric factor was negative for the White cohort, a finding that runs counter to this criticism. Some might find this latter negative relationship counterintuitive. For example, Tisdale et al. (1997) found that object relations therapy later contributed to a healthy God image. However, this study did not include a control group and it may be that these differences were stronger prior to therapy. Additionally, Tisdale's study specifically utilized object relations therapy, while the current study did not account for the type (or length) of therapy utilized. Different therapies may influence the God image in different ways.

In any case, we suggest a note of caution in the interpretation. While one means to make sense of this result is to suggest that therapy may increase or decrease the focus on self in relation to one's experience of God, there are also potential differences in life and emotional experiences between people who have attended therapy and those who have not. More interesting for us was the opposite relationship between therapy and egocentrism for the non-White cohort.

Age. Another significant difference between the White and non-White groups relates to age. We note up front that all but six students fell into one of two age ranges. 54% of the participants in the sample were 20 or younger, while 46% were between 21-25. One could, thus, roughly consider the age variable as a measure between first- and second-year college students as compared to upper-level students. For the White population, age or upper-level student status was associated with the egocentric (acceptance, influence, and presence) and growth factors, while the opposite was true for the non-White population. This begs the question, what about the college experience that seems to strengthen the God image for Whites serves also as a barrier for students of color. Some of the answer may be found in ethnic identity development models as discussed previously. One additional perspective is worth noting. Numerous studies have demonstrated that students of color must often learn

to navigate their way through unwelcoming or even hostile college environments in order to persist to graduation (Brown, 2000; J. L. Hoffman, 2002; J. L. Hoffman & Lowitzki, in press; Schwitzer, Griffin, Ancis, & Thomas, 1999). Studies by J. L. Hoffman (2002, in press) have also demonstrated that students of color attending a Christian university in the Southwest were less likely to attend religious programs on campus. Might it be that student of color exposure to intolerance negatively affects the God image for these students?

Secondary caregiver. A final note on ethnic differences in the God image pertains to the secondary caregiver. While the gender of one's primary caregiver did not have any statistically significant relationships with God image factors for either cohort, having a male secondary caregiver for the non-White cohort was positively associated with the egocentric factor. Given that the clear majority of primary caregivers for participants in this study were female, this may suggest that having both a male and female caregiver is associated with the egocentric God image factor for non-Whites. Further, the growing absence of fathers in the homes of several ethnic minority groups may also reflect issues of family stability, or even socioeconomic differences between members of the White and non-White cohorts. In any case, this warrants further investigation.

Implications for Clinical Practice

The potential implications for practice resulting from this study are significant. We highlight several of the most pronounced implications here. First, therapists working with college age clients should remain aware of the confluence of acceptance, presence, and influence. At this age, students who feel unworthy or unacceptable before God may associate those feelings with beliefs that God is not present. Students might also translate what they perceive to be unanswered prayers into beliefs that God is no longer present in their life, or that God no longer finds them good enough to love. In a similar manner, building upon the connection of challenge and providence, students who perceive their freedom or influence as

limited, or those who feel insecure in terms of God's presence may lack in their willingness or desire to grow.

A second set of implications relates to the trend to replace religious language with spiritual language. While many may see this as an effort to be inclusive, this shift may serve to alienate people of color or to create associations between spirituality and being White. Instead of changing or replacing religious language, we recommend increased efforts to contextualize these terms. Related to this, therapists should use care when interpreting the use of these terms by clients. Given the potential negative connotations that either term may carry, we encourage therapists to be aware of the specific language clients use and the potential implications of this. For example, for White clients, the use of the word "religious" may be problematic. If they use the word spiritual to describe their faith or belief system, it is wise for therapist to use a similar language. Conversely, for non-White individuals the word religious has important implications. Spirituality may be more a part of their religiosity. With both groups, it will be important to explore the reasons for their language selection through the therapy process.

Finally, there are several significant implications for future research. First, while we applaud the work of Lawrence in the development of the GIS, measurement of the God image is clearly in its earliest stages. We encourage future researchers to creatively consider additional means to measure the God image, including those that consider the language of diverse ethnic groups and religious traditions. Second, given the pronounced nature of differences between primal self-focused dimensions of the God image, future studies may place this factor in a model as a mediating variable between demographic inputs and the second order God image factors of challenge, benevolence, and providence. This shift would suggest a "causal" relationship in which the success individuals have in developing a healthy self-focused God image (egocentric or presence, acceptance, and influence) later influences

their object-focused God image. Third, future studies should continue to address the nature and content of the benevolence factor. Though the factor structure for benevolence was strong in this study, that was only after we focused on a subset of potential benevolence items. Fourth, future studies should more carefully examine both the length of therapeutic experiences and different therapy modalities. This will likely require a set of measures since many clients would not be able to identify the philosophical orientation of the therapists with whom they have worked. Finally, we encourage future studies to consider more carefully diversity issues. Future studies should expand upon this study by examining measures of ethnic identity, specific ethnic cohort analyses, multiracial cohorts, and gender differences, to name a few.

Limitations

Several limitations are important to address in the current study. First, there is increasing disagreement about the value of the God Image Scales (Hill & Hall, 2002; Gibson, 2004). We agree with several of the critiques of this inventory, notably those suggesting that the measure may be better understood as assessing perceptions of one's God image rather than one's actual God image. Second, the moderate sample size did not allow for comparisons between specific ethnic groups (e.g. Asian, Black, Pacific Islander, etc.). In future research, it will be important to increase the sample size and the number of people of color included in the sample in order to conduct comparative analyses. Third, while the college-age sample presented opportunities for several unique analyses and interpretations, future studies should include samples that are more diverse in terms of age. Finally, future studies should aim include samples that are more diverse in terms of religious and/or or denominational tradition.

Conclusion

The current study provided strong support for our research hypotheses. Whereas we advocate for continued exploration of means to measure the God image, this study supports the theoretical foundation of the GIS, even though the college age sample seemed limited in its ability to distinguish between various dimensions of the God image. Most importantly, this study provided strong support for the consideration of ethnic and cultural differences in the God image as it pertains to both theory and practice.

References

- Aron, L. (2004). God's influence upon my psychoanalytic vision and values. *Psychoanalytic Psychology, 21*, 442-451.
- Baker-Fletcher, K. (1996). Passing on the spark: A womanist perspective on theology and culture. In D. Hopkins and S. Greeve Davaney (Eds.), *Change conversations: Religious reflection and cultural analysis* (pp. 145-162). New York: Routledge.
- Baker-Fletcher, K. (1998). *Sisters of dust, sisters of spirit: Womanist wordings on God and creation*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.
- Boone, G. (2005). Spirituality and aging. In R. Cox, B. Ervin-Cox, & L. Hoffman (Eds.), *Spirituality and psychological health* (pp. 86-106). Colorado Springs, CO: Colorado School of Professional Psychology Press.
- Brock, R. N. (1988). *Journeys by heart: A Christology of erotic power*. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock.
- Brokaw, B. F. & Edwards, K. J. (1994). The relationship of God image to level of object relations development. *Journal of Psychology and Theology, 22*, 352-371.
- Brown, T. L. (2000). Gender differences in African American students' satisfaction with college. *Journal of College Student Development, 41*(5), 479-487.
- Cheston, S. E., Piedmont, R. L., Eanes, B., & Lavin, L. P. (2003). *in* Changes in clients image of God over the course of outpatient therapy. *Counseling and Values, 47*, 96-108.
- Chickering, A. W., & Reisser, L. (1993). *Education and identity* (2nd ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Cortes, C. E. (2000). The diversity within: Inter marriage, identity, and campus community. *About Campus, 5*(1), 5-10.
- Cox, R. H. (2005). A proposed paradigm for the developmental stages of spirituality. In R. H. Cox, B. Ervin-Cox, & L. Hoffman (Eds.), *Spirituality and psychological health* (pp.33-56). Colorado Springs, CO: Colorado School of Professional Psychology Press.

- Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis*. New York: Norton.
- Erikson, E. H. (1980). *Identity and the life cycle*. New York: Norton. (Original work published 1959)
- Fowler, J. W. (1981). *Stages of faith*. San Francisco, CA: Harper.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books.
- Gibson, N. J. S. (2004, October). *Overcoming methodological boundaries the experimental investigation of religious cognition*. Paper presented at the joint meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion and Religious Research Association, Kansas City, MO.
- Grey, M. (2001). *Introducing feminist images of God*. Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press.
- Heath, D. (1968). *Growing up in college*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Heie, H. (1997). What can the evangelical/interdenominational tradition contribute to Christian higher education? In R. T. Hughes & W. B. Adrian (Eds.), *Models for Christian higher education: Strategies for success in the twenty-first century* (pp. 245-260). Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.
- Helms, J. E. (1984). Toward a theoretical explanation of the effects of race on counseling: A Black and White model. *Journal of Counseling Psychologist*, 12(3), 153-165.
- Helms, J. E. (1990). *Black and White racial identity: Theory, research, and practice*. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Helms, J. E. (1994). Racial identity in the school environment. In P. Pederson & J. Carey (Eds.), *Multicultural counseling in the schools: A practical handbook* (pp. 19-37). Needham, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Hill, P. C. & Hall, T. W. (2002). Relational schema's in processing one's image of God and self. *Journal of Psychology and Christianity*, 21, 365-373.
- Hoffman, J. L. (2002). The impact of student cocurricular involvement on student success: Racial and religious differences. *The Journal of College Student Development*, 43(5), 712-739.

- Hoffman, J. L. (in press). Getting involved: A typology of student cocurricular participation at a Christian university. *Growth: The Journal of the Association of Christians in Student Development*.
- Hoffman, J. L., Hoffman, L. R., & Hoffman, J. L. S. (n.d.). *Check all that apply: A culturally sensitive approach for collecting ethnic data*. Manuscript submitted for publication.
- Hoffman, J. L., & Lowitzki, K. E. (in press). Predicting college success with high school grades and test scores: Limitations for minority students. *The Review of Higher Education*.
- Hoffman, L. (2004, October). *Cultural constructions of the God image and God concept: Implications for culture, psychology, and religion*. Paper presented at the joint meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion and Religious Research Association, Kansas City, MO.
- Hoffman, L. (2005). A developmental perspective on the God image. In R. Cox, B. Ervin-Cox, & L. Hoffman (Eds.), *Spirituality and psychological health* (pp. 129-147). Colorado Springs, CO: Colorado School of Professional Psychology Press.
- Hoffman, L., Gattis, J. P., Howard, J., White, J, Hoffman, J., & Moriarty, G. (2005) [The development of the Multiple Attachment Scales and the Forced Choice Childhood Attachment Scale]. Unpublished data.
- Hoffman, L, Jones, T. T., Williams, F. & Dillard, K. S. (2004, March). *The God image, the God concept, and attachment*. Paper presented at the Christian Association for Psychological Studies International Conference, St. Petersburg, FL.
- Hopkins, D. N. (1996). Theological method and cultural studies: Slave religious culture as a heuristic. In D. Hopkins and S. Greeve Davaney (Eds.), *Change conversations: Religious reflection and cultural analysis* (pp. 163-180). New York: Routledge.
- Hopkins, D. N. (2001). Self (co-)constitution: Slave theology from everyday cultural elements. In D. Brown, S. Greeve Davaney, & K. Tanner (Eds.), *Converging on Culture:*

- Theologians in dialogue with cultural analysis and criticism* (pp. 89-105). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hu, L. T., & Bentler, P. M. (1999). Cutoff criteria for fit indices in covariance structure analysis: Conventional versus new alternatives. *Structural Equation Modeling, 6*, 1-55.
- Isasi-Diaz, A. M. (2001). Creating a liberating culture: Latinas' subversive narratives. In D. Brown, S. Greeve Davaney, & K. Tanner (Eds.), *Converging on culture: Theologians in dialogue with cultural analysis and criticism* (pp. 122-139). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Johnson, E. A. (1999). *She who is: The mystery of God in feminist theological discourse*. New York: Crossroad Herder.
- Josselson, R. (1987). *Finding herself: Pathways to identity development in women*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- King, T. (Ed.). (1994). *The divine mosaic: Women's images of the sacred other*. St. Paul, MN: Yes International Publishers.
- Lawrence, R. T. (1997). Measuring the image of God: The God image inventory and the God image scales. *Journal of Psychology and Theology, 25*, 214-226.
- Marcia, J. E. (1980). Identity in adolescence. In J. Adelson (Ed.), *Handbook of adolescent psychology* (pp. 159-187). New York: Wiley.
- McFague, S. (1993). *The body of God: An ecological theology*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.
- Muthén, L. K., & Muthén, B. O. (2004). *Mplus user's guide* (3rd ed.). Los Angeles: Author.
- Niebuhr, H. R. (1962). *The meaning of revelation*. New York, Macmillan.
- Nierenberg, B. & Shildon, A. (2005) Spirituality and children. In R. Cox, B. Ervin-Cox, & L. Hoffman (Eds.), *Spirituality and psychological health* (pp. 57-74). Colorado Springs, CO: Colorado School of Professional Psychology Press.

- Noll, M. (1994). *The scandal of the evangelical mind*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.
- O'Faolain, J. & Martines, L. (Eds.). (1973). *Not in God's image: Women in history from Greeks to the Victorians*. New York: Harper Torchbook.
- Phinney, J. S. (1989). Stages of ethnic identity in minority group adolescents. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 9*, 34-49.
- Phinney, J. S., & Alipuria, L. L. (1990). Ethnic identity in college students from four ethnic groups. *Journal of Adolescence, 13*, 171-183.
- Philibert, P. (1985). Symbolic and diabolic images of God: Studies in formative spirituality. *Journal of Ongoing Formation, 6*, 87-101.
- Rizzuto, A. M. (1979). *The birth of the living God: A psychoanalytic study*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Schlesing, B. (2005). Spirituality in the development stages of adolescents. In R. Cox, B. Ervin-Cox, & L. Hoffman (Eds.), *Spirituality and psychological health* (pp. 75-85). Colorado Springs, CO: Colorado School of Professional Psychology Press.
- Schwitzer, A. M., Griffin, O. T., Ancis, J. R., & Thomas, C. R. (1999). Social adjustment experiences of African American college students. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 77*, 189-197.
- Sorenson, R. L. (2004). *Minding spirituality*. Hillsdale, NJ: Analytic Press.
- Tisdale, T. C., Key, T. L., Edwards, K. J., Brokaw, B. F., Kemperman, S. R., & Cloud, H. (1997). Impact of God image and personal adjustment, and correlations of the God image to personal adjustment and object relations development. *Journal of Psychology and Theology, 5*, 227-239.

Table 1

Demographic Breakdown & Coding

<u>Population Group</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Coding</u>
Ethnicity (Categorical–Non-coded)			
African American/Black	24	11.4	NA
Asian/Asian American	19	9.0	NA
European Origin/White	125	59.2	NA
Jewish	1	0.5	NA
Latino-a/Hispanic	36	17.1	NA
Middle Eastern	1	0.5	NA
Native American	4	1.9	NA
Pacific Islander	11	5.2	NA
Other	7	3.3	NA
Whiteness			
Completely Non-White	73	34.6	0
Multiracial, Partially White	34	16.1	1
Monoracial, Only White	104	49.3	2
Multiracial			
No	148	70.1	0
Yes	63	29.9	0
Age			
20 or younger	115	54.5	0
21-25	90	42.7	1
26-29	5	2.4	2

30-39	1	0.5	3
40-49	0	0.0	4
50 or older	0	0.0	5
Sex			
Female	155	73.5	0
Male	56	26.5	1
Do you consider yourself religious?			
No	33	15.6	0
Yes	178	84.4	1
Do you consider yourself spiritual?			
No	202	95.7	0
Yes	9	4.3	1
Have you received psychotherapy?			
No	169	80.1	0
Yes	42	19.9	1
Primary caregiver sex			
Female	180	85.3	0
Male	29	13.7	1
Secondary caregiver sex			
Female	53	25.1	0
Male	151	71.6	1
Childhood church attendance			
I did not attend church	9	4.3	0
I attended church, but not regularly	28	13.3	1
I attended church regularly	174	82.5	2

Table 2

The God Image Scales

<u>Self-Image Area</u>	<u>Factor</u>	<u>Content Question</u>
Belonging	Presence	Is God there for me?
	Challenge	Does God want me to grow?
Goodness	Acceptance	Am I good enough for God to love?
	Benevolence	Is God the sort of person who would want to love me?
Control	Influence	How much can I control God?
	Providence	How much can God control me?

Note: Questions taken from Lawrence, 1997, pp. 215-216

Table 3

Exploratory Factor Analysis Results

Variable		Egocentric	Growth	Benevolence
Name	God Image Questionnaire Item	Factor Betas	Factor Betas	Factor Betas
ego1	God is always there for me	0.759	0.317	0.159
ego2	R-I get no help from God, even if I pray for it	0.725	0.246	0.141
ego3	R-I get no feeling of closeness to God, even in prayer	0.716	0.295	0.076
ego4	God still loves me even when I do bad things	0.693	0.165	0.123
ego5	R-No matter how hard I pray, it doesn't do me any good	0.680	0.245	0.131
ego6	God loves me regardless	0.656	0.069	0.233
ego7	I can talk to God on an intimate basis	0.646	0.227	0.154
ego8	I am confident of God's love for me	0.629	0.286	0.156
ego9	R-Go loves me only when I perform perfectly	0.622	0.128	0.264
ego10	God nurtures me	0.591	0.414	0.205
ego11	I know I'm not perfect, but God loves me anyway	0.578	0.135	0.248
ego12	R-God doesn't feel very personal to me	0.575	0.503	0.193
ego13	R-God does not answer when I call	0.545	0.361	0.113

--	God wants me to achieve all I can in life (theory)	0.523	0.023	0.271
ego14	I am a very powerful person because of God	0.512	0.211	0.195
ego15	R-Asking God for help rarely does me any good	0.481	0.442	0.122
ego16	R-I often worry about whether God can love me	0.475	0.164	0.281
--	I think God even loves atheists (theory)	0.468	0.125	0.429
--	R-I am sometimes anxious about whether God still loves me (model)	0.450	0.235	0.090
--	R-If God listens to prayers, you couldn't prove it by me (scale)	0.372	0.322	0.360
--	God almost always answers my prayers (scale)	0.316	0.182	0.294
growth1	R-I think God must enjoy getting even with us when deserved	0.165	0.702	0.253
--	R-I rarely feel that God is with me (theory)	0.417	0.695	0.106
--	R-God feels distant to me (theory)	0.393	0.691	0.142
growth2	R-God doesn't mind if I don't grow very much	0.162	0.630	0.224
--	I often feel that I am in the hands of God (theory)	0.261	0.617	0.229
growth3	God encourages me to go forward on the journey of life	0.269	0.610	0.211
growth4	God sometimes intervenes at my request	0.263	0.596	0.070
growth5	R-God rarely, if ever, seems to give me what I ask for	0.242	0.561	0.115
growth6	R-Mostly, I have to provide for myself	0.139	0.521	0.424
growth7	I am particularly drawn to the image of God as a shepherd	0.165	0.512	0.152

growth8	R-God has never asked me to do hard things	0.022	0.513	0.394
growth9	R-God does not do much to determine the outcome of my life	0.063	0.479	0.466
benev1	R-I think God only loves certain people	0.257	0.150	0.754
benev2	God's love for me is unconditional	0.342	0.268	0.738
benev3	R-God is looking for a chance to get even with me	0.290	0.210	0.599
--	God asks me to keep growing as a person (theory)	0.231	0.222	0.592
benev4	Even if my beliefs were wrong, God would still love me	0.031	0.234	0.547
benev5	God's mercy is for everyone	0.306	0.101	0.522
benev6	I think God even loves atheists (theory)	0.468	0.125	0.429

Note: Items are listed in loading order from greatest to least for each of the three factors; parenthetical comments after dropped items reference the reason we dropped these items.

Table 4

The God Image Inventory Subscales (Revised Factors)

New Factor(s)	Questions
Egocentric	{ Is God there for me? (Presence)
	{ Am I good enough for God to love? (Acceptance)
	{ How much can I control God? (Influence)
Growth	{ Does God want me to grow? (Challenge)
	{ How much can God control me? (Providence)
Benevolence	{ Is God the sort of person who would want to love me? (Benevolence)

Note. Revision based on the new factor analysis for the current study.

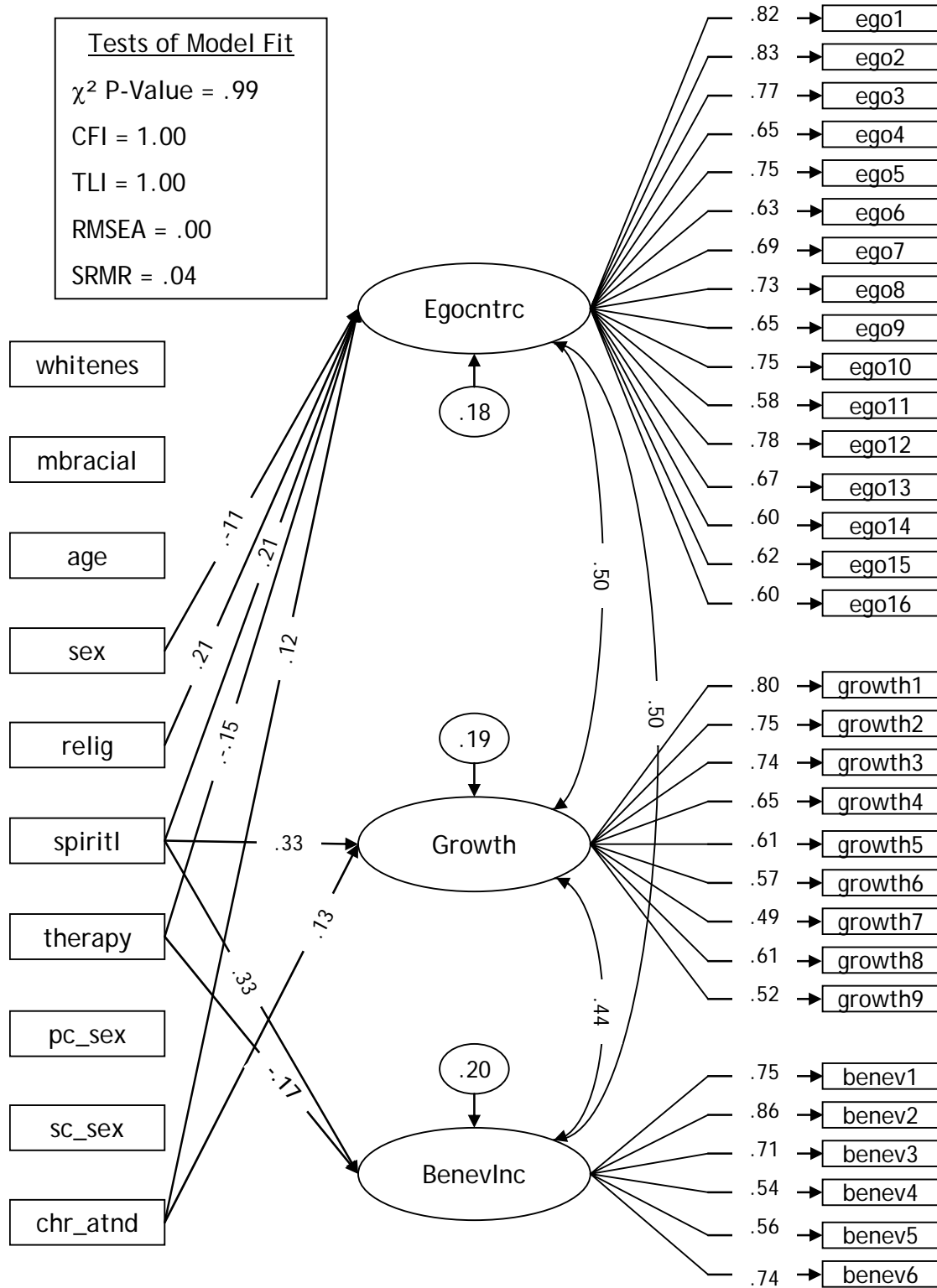


Figure 1. MIMIC model results for the entire sample. Per standard convention, rectangular items reflect measured variables and oval items represent latent variables (factors). All results are statistically significant at $p < .05$.

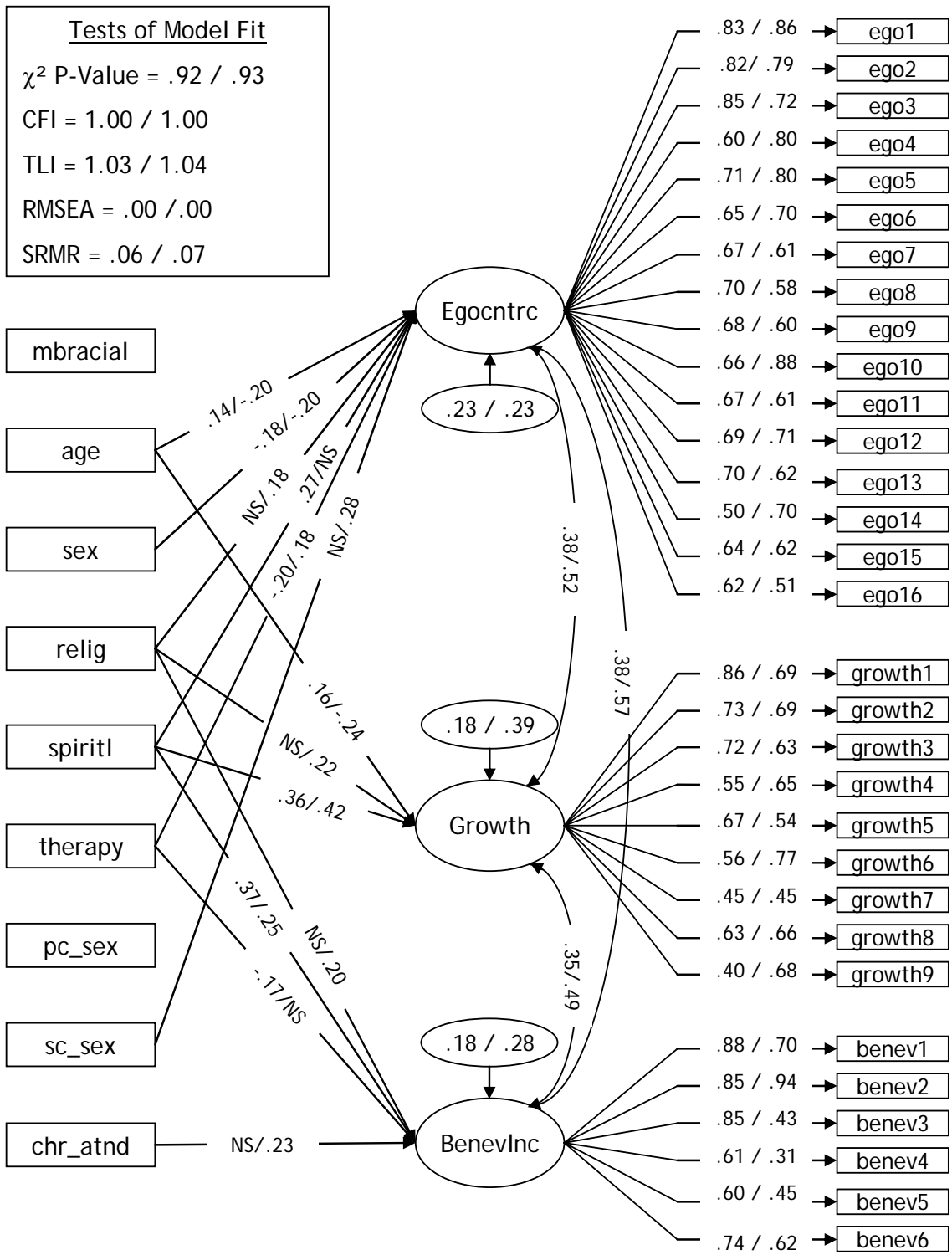


Figure 2. MIMIC model results for the White and non-White sample. The first number represents results for the White sample, the second represents results for the non-White sample. NS represents results that are not statistically significant at $p < .05$.