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# Racial socialization and resilience among african american college students: The role of racial identity

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**Racial socialization and resilience among African American college students: The role  
of racial identity**

**by**

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A thesis submitted to the graduate faculty

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Major: Psychology

Program of Study Committee:  
David L. Vogel, Major Professor  
Meifen Wei  
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## ABSTRACT

The current study examined the role of racial identity as a mediator and moderator in the relationship between racial socialization and resiliency for African American students. Campus racial climate was used as a covariate in the hierarchical multiple regression models. Results indicate that racial identity was not a mediator or moderator in the relationship between racial socialization and resiliency, however, there was a main effect found for Self-Hatred and racial socialization. Participants endorsing greater Self-Hatred reported lower levels of resiliency and those higher on racial socialization reported higher levels of resiliency. Potential theoretical explanations for the findings are discussed, along with implications for practitioners and the strengths and limitations of the study.

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

African American students attending predominately White universities often report lower well-being compared to White students (D'Augelli & Herschberger, 1993). One factor affecting this disparity may be that African American students at predominantly White universities often experience discrimination (McCormack, 1995) and other barriers (e.g., cultural conflicts) that can make it difficult to connect to the social and academic resources at the university and can lead to greater feelings of alienation, isolation, and loneliness (DeSousa & Kuh, 1996; Steward, Jackson, & Jackson, 1990). It has been suggested, however, that these challenges can be overcome through positive racial socialization experiences (i.e. the process of communicating messages and behaviors, bolstering identity in the face of potentially racially hostile environments (Neblett et al., 2008) and the development of a positive racial identity (i.e. the active and fluid process of identifying with one's own racial group for self-reference (Settles, Navarrete, Pagano, Abdou & Sidanius, 2010) and resilience (i.e., persistence in the face of adversity or obstacles; Brown, 2008; Miller & MacIntosh, 1999). For example, Cross and Fhagen-Smith's (2001) Nigrescence Theory asserts that formative racial socialization experiences can lead to a positive racial identity and subsequent positive mental health outcomes. In turn, others have asserted that racial identity (e.g., Miller & MacIntosh, 1999), resilience (e.g., Brown, 2008) and other types of adaptive coping strategies, can help African American college students overcome the racism, discrimination and other barriers they may face. Yet, despite these assertions, little research has examined the mediating and moderating links between these factors and the promotion of resilience among the African American college student population.

Therefore, expanding on previous research, this study will examine the links between racial

identity development, racial socialization experiences, and resilience for African American students on college campuses.

### *Resiliency*

Many African American college students experience challenges that can make it difficult to adjust to the college environment. A number of studies have focused on assessing negative outcomes (i.e. discrimination) but less work has focused on how African American college student successfully navigate these challenges (Neville, Heppner, Ji & Thye, 2004; Prelow Mosher & Bowman, 2006). Over the past decade psychology, however, has shifted toward a positive psychology that builds on positive qualities such as well-being and perseverance shifting away from the focus on suffering and disease. This new focus on the positive aspects of the human condition allows for prevention of negative outcomes and gives insight into how these strengths can be fostered in others (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). Thus, it is important to better understand the aspects that allow African American students to adjust to college environment.

Resiliency is one adaptive positive psychology outcome to the experiences African American students face on campus. Resiliency can be defined as the ability to adapt or bounce back in the face of obstacles or adversity and thus is developed after such exposure (Turner, Norman, & Zunz, 1993). Some individuals are nurtured in environments that teach them to be resilient and foster this ability to overcome difficulties (McCreary, Cunningham, Ingram, & Fife, 2006). Resiliency has been linked with the ability to act, positive mood; positive self-esteem; feelings of self-efficacy as well as secure relationships (Blum, 1998; Rutter, 1985; Smith, Tooley, Christopher & Kay, 2010). Similarly, resiliency has been linked

with problem-focused coping (i.e. direct problem solving) and negatively associated with wishful thinking and avoidance styles of coping (Markstrom, Marshall & Tryon, 2000). Researchers have also found that for African American students, specifically, positive self-beliefs are positively related to academic persistence (which is similar to resilience; Gloria, Robinson-Kurpius, Hamilton & Wilson, 1999). Resiliency (measured as hardiness) appears to offer resistance to the use of substances (drugs, alcohol and tobacco) for African Americans as well (Harris, 2004). Ego resilience is positively related to optimism, life satisfaction, and less distress in African Americans (Baldwin, Jackson, Okoh & Cannon, 2011; Utsey, Hook, Fischer & Belvet, 2008). While prior research has examined some of the potential benefits of building African American adolescents resiliency, further research is still needed to understand the predictors of resiliency for the African American college student population (Utsey, Bolden, Lanier, & Williams, 2007).

#### *Racial Socialization and Racial Identity*

One way that African American students may develop resiliency, (and thus learn to cope with discrimination experience) is through positive racial socialization experiences and the development of a positive racial identity. *Racial Socialization* can be thought of as the process of communicating messages and behaviors, bolstering identity in the face of potentially racially hostile environments (Stevenson, 1995). Stevenson (1994) suggests that racial socialization plays an important role in African American families to buffer the impacts of racism and to establish cultural pride. Essentially it is the cultural transmission of beliefs and values (i.e. what it means to be African American in society). Evidence states that racial socialization is important for the development of psychological well-being (Stevenson,

Cameron, Herrero-Tyalar, & Davis, 2002). Other studies on racial socialization messages emphasizing cultural pride have found that it results in positive outcomes for academic achievement (Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph & Nickerson, et al., 2002), self-esteem (Constantine & Blackmon, 2002), and mental health (Fischer & Shaw, 1999). Research suggests that African American parents use racial socialization in order to teach their children ways they may cope with racism (Bynum, Burton & Best, 2007). Fischer and Shaw (1999) also found that those who received fewer racial socialization messages had poorer overall mental health. In the college population racial socialization has also been related linked to the connection between racism and psychological functioning (Bynum, Burton & Best, 2007).

The transmission of cultural beliefs and values has also been linked to the use of particular coping strategies. For example, racial socialization has been related to the use of approach strategies (i.e. problem-solving, seeking support or self-reliance) when coping with discriminatory experiences (Scott, 2003). Furthermore, Brown (2008) conducted a study that directly assessed participants' levels of resilience. Racial socialization and, in particular, the aspects of socialization which include cultural pride, predicted resiliency (beyond-social support, age, gender and income). This finding supported the idea that racial socialization predicts resiliency. However, further research is needed to examine how the relationship of racial socialization is linked to positive outcomes such as resiliency (i.e., potential mediating or moderating effects).

In addition to the role of racial socialization another potentially important precursor of resiliency is racial identity. Racial identity had been defined as an active and fluid process

of identifying with one's own racial group for self-reference (Smith, 1989). It is a process in which the individual increases their racial self-acceptance and acceptance of others (Abrams & Trusty, 2004). Racial identity is thought of as developing in reaction to racial oppression (Cokley & Chapman, 2008). One of the predominant theories of how racial identity develops is the Cross Racial Identity Model (1971,1991) in which identity development occurs in four stages across the lifespan: Pre-Encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, Internalization. In the Pre-Encounter stage an individual may feel that being African American is not a significant part of their life experience, or they may hold anti-African American attitudes (Assimilation, Miseducation and Self-Hatred). The Encounter stage occurs when an individual experiences or Encounters a situation that causes them to question their current identity and worldview. The third stage of development is Immersion-Emersion. This state is broken up into two phases, during phase one there is the Immersion-Emersion into Blackness and withdrawal from other groups (Afrocentricity). Phase two moves out of Immersion-Emersion into critical analysis of what it means to be African American. The final stage in the model is Internalization as is characterized by Multiculturalist Inclusive attitudes. The individual is now able to take their new identity and engage in discourse or activities that address the problems faced in the African American community as well as other oppressed peoples (Cross & Vandiver, 2001).

Research suggests that a positive racial identity (i.e., Internalization) can lead to positive health outcomes such as higher self-esteem (Munford, 1994; Phelps, Taylor, & Gerard, 2001; Poindexter-Cameron & Robinson, 1997; Speight et al., 1996) and unconditional positive self-regard (Speight, Vera, & Derrickson, 1996), as well as lower

levels of perceived culture-specific stressors (Neville et al., 1997); and decreased depression symptoms (Munford, 1994). Similarly, holding a Multiculturalist Inclusive identity, specifically, has been found to be associated with better adjustment to college (Anglin & Wade, 2007). In turn, research examining the connection between racial identity and psychological health shows that a negative racial identity (i.e. Pre-Encounter and Encounter attitudes) is negatively related to psychological health (Pillay, 2005) including psychological distress (Carter, 1991; Munford, 1994; Nghe & Mahalik, 2001), feelings of inferiority (Parham & Helms, 1985b), and lack of unconditional positive self regard (Speight, Vera, & Derrickson, 1996). Given these findings, endorsing more positive racial identity attitudes (i.e., Multiculturalist Inclusive identity), and fewer negative racial identity attitudes (i.e., Self-Hatred) could be a major source of resilience for African American college students (Miller & MacIntosh, 1999). However, this idea has rarely been directly tested and so it is a goal of this study.

#### *Resiliency, Racial Identity and Racial Socialization*

Racial socialization and racial identity may have more than just direct effects on resiliency. Cross's Model of Psychological Nigrescence (Cross, 1971, 1991) suggests that racial socialization and racial identity may be linked. According to the Model of Psychological Nigrescence formative racial socialization experiences as a child can facilitate the formation of a well-formed Black identity (e.g., Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 2001). Described as Nigrescence Pattern A, the theory suggests that by adulthood many African Americans may exhibit a well-formed positive Black identity (Nationalist, Afrocentric, Bicultural & Biracial, or Multicultural) due to positive learning experiences within the family. As such,

racial socialization experiences are thought to lead to more established and positive racial identity, particularly, in the formation of Afrocentric and Multicultural views. *Racial socialization* could, therefore, be influencing other positive outcomes, such as resiliency, through its effect on developing a positive racial identity.

Researchers have started to find qualitative support for above theoretical assertions regarding the links between racial identity and racial socialization. Research suggests that racial identity and racial socialization are linked (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Marshall, 1995; Sanders-Thompson, 1994; Stevenson, 1994). African American men and women both report that receiving racial socialization experiences helped them to development and build their identity (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Edwards & Polite, 1992). Furthermore, African American participants who reported that their racial socialization was important to them held more Internalization attitudes (Stevenson, 1995). These initial qualitative links expose the need for further quantitative research on the relationship between racial socialization and racial identity, specifically, examining the applicability of the theory for African American students at different campuses (Anglin and Wade, 2007).

Given these potential links between racial socialization and racial identity (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Marshall, 1995; Sanders-Thompson, 1994; Stevenson, 1994) and racial socialization and resilience (Brown, 2008) it is important to empirically examine the potential effects of racial identity on racial socialization and resiliency. Two studies have examined the potential mediating effect of racial identity (Thompson, Anderson & Bakeman, 2000) on negative outcomes. Thompson et al., (2000) examining the effect of racial identity and stress found that racial identity, particular the later stages (i.e. Immersion-Emersion and

Internalization), fully mediated the effect of racial socialization on acculturative stress among a sample of 84 African American students. Similarly, while assessing male gender role socialization rather than racial socialization, a study by Wester, Vogel, Wei, and McLain (2006), found that for African American men, racial identity (at least for Self-Hatred) mediated the link between male socialization and negative outcomes. One additional study has also examined the potential moderating effects of racial identity (Miller & MacIntosh, 1999). Miller and MacIntosh (1999) examined a model in which racial identity (measured as ethnic identity in the study) moderated the relationship between the experiences of daily stress/hassles. The results of the study suggested that a positive racial identity is able to protect/buffer African American adolescents against daily hassles (i.e. stress) they face. Though these studies suggest a possible positive role of a racial identity they fail to directly measure resilience. Furthermore, only Thompson et al. (2000) attempted to examine the link between racial socialization and racial identity, directly. As such, it is unclear as to what impact racial identity may have or the differential outcomes based on ones racial identity attitudes and thus more research is needed for these constructs.

Given, that some of the literature focuses on racial identity a mediator (e.g., Thompson et al., 2000; Wester et al., 2006) and some as a moderator (Miller & MacIntosh, 1999) it is important to test both in a single study to examine if one, both, or neither best portray the true relationship between the variables and positive outcomes. For instance, it has been suggested that racial identity can buffer the psychological impacts of racism (Cross & Vandiver, 2001) and that it mediates negative outcomes: prejudice, psychological well-being (Schmitt, Spears, & Branscombe, 2003), adjustment to serious illness (Barbarin, 1999), and

alcohol dependence (Gong, Takeuchi, Agbayani-Siewert, & Tacata, 2002). Frazier, Tix and Barron (2004) indicated that it is important for researchers to identify and test different models that may fit the data. Thus, this study looks to build on the previous research by examining both potential moderating and mediating effects of the connections between the variables.

### *Current Study*

There exists a need to understand the predictors of resiliency for African American students. Although a few researchers have shown direct connections between racial socialization and resilience, and between racial socialization and racial identity among African American students, further research is needed to understand the connections between these factors. To help understand the specific factors that promote resiliency I will examine both a meditational model and a moderation model to examine how the relationship between racial socialization, racial identity, and resiliency are connected. Racial identity will be assessed using three Cross Racial Identity attitudes (i.e., Afrocentricity-Internalization, Multiculturalist Inclusive-Internalization, Self-Hatred-Pre-encounter and Anti-White-Immersion-Emersion) as prior literature has indicated these subscales provide the greatest influence.

Hypothesis 1: Racial identity (Afrocentricity, Multiculturalist Inclusive, Anti-White and Self-Hatred) will *mediate* the relationship between racial socialization and resilience, controlling for campus racial climate. The meditational model (see Figure 1) is consistent with research stating that racial socialization is linked to racial identity (Anglin & Wade, 2007) and to resiliency (Brown, 2008) and that racial identity can mediate racial socialization

effects at least for negative outcomes (Thompson et al., 2000; Wester & Vogel, 2006). Specifically, I expect racial socialization to be linked to resiliency through two positive (Multiculturalist Inclusive and Afrocentricity) and two negative (Self-Hatred and Anti-White) paths. For positive paths there is a positive relationship between racial socialization and Afrocentricity and Multiculturalist Inclusive identities and then a positive relationship between Afrocentricity, Multiculturalist Inclusive identities and resiliency. In turn, in the negative paths foster resiliency through the decrease of negative aspects. I expect a negative relationship between racial socialization and Self-Hatred and Anti-White identities as well as a negative relationship between Self-Hatred, Anti-White and resiliency

Hypothesis 2: Racial identity (Afrocentricity, Multiculturalist Inclusive, Anti-White and Self-Hatred) will *moderate* the relationship between racial socialization and resiliency controlling for campus racial climate. The moderation model (see Figure 2) is consistent with research stating that racial identity supports/buffers the effects of college stress. For example, Immersion-Emersion (Anti-White) attitudes have been shown to predict college stress on campus whereas Internalization attitudes (Afrocentricity and Multiculturalist Inclusive) have been shown to negatively correlate with culture specific stressors on campus (Neville, Heppner & Wang, 1997). Specifically, I hypothesize that the positive relationship between racial socialization and resiliency will be stronger for those with high Multiculturalist Inclusive identity than those with low Multiculturalist Inclusive identity; it will also be stronger for those with high Afrocentricity identity than those with low Afrocentricity identity. In turn, the relationship will be weaker for those with high Self-Hatred identity than

those with low Self-Hatred identity and weaker for those with high Anti-White identity than those with low Anti-White identity.

Figure 1. Mediation Model

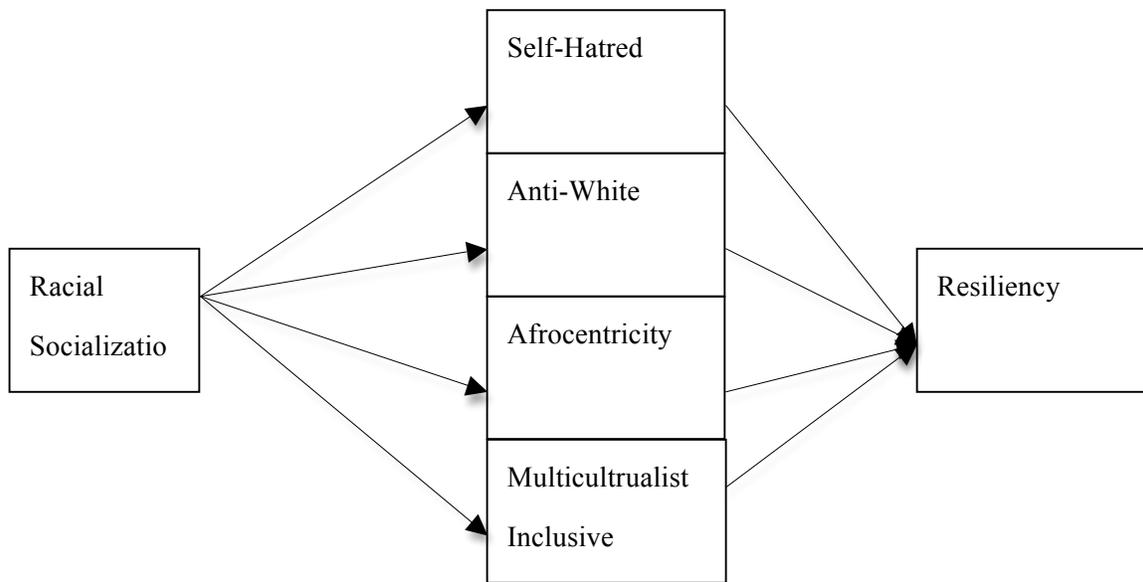
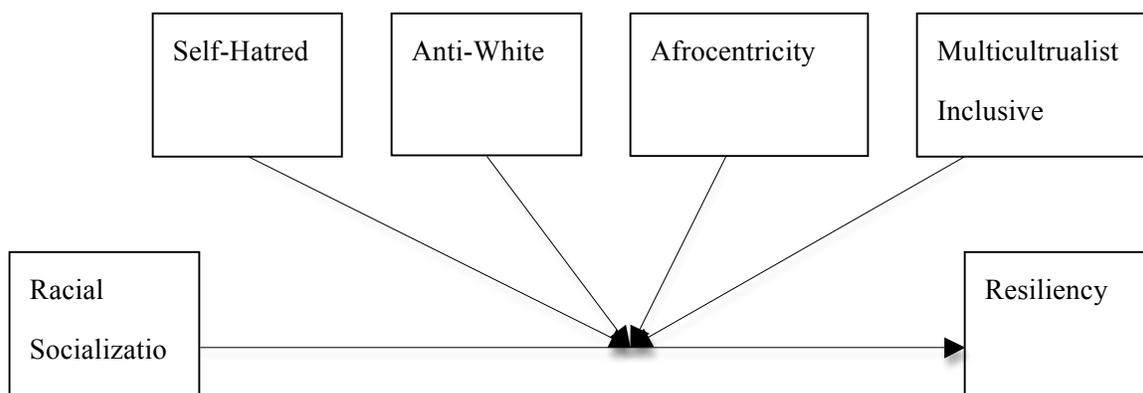


Figure 2. Moderation Model



## CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

African American college students experience challenges that can make it difficult to adjust to the college environment. A number of studies have focused on assessing negative outcomes (i.e. discrimination) but less work has focused on how African American college student successfully navigate these challenges (Neville, Heppner, Ji & Thye, 2004; Prelow Mosher & Bowman, 2006). Racial identity and racial socialization have been suggested to be protective factors that are related to more positive outcomes such as resiliency for African American students (Miller and MacIntosh, 1999, Brown, 2008). More specifically, racial socialization and racial identity has been theoretically asserted as influential in leading to a positive psychological well-being and coping strategies such as resiliency (Miller and MacIntosh, 1999, Brown, 2008). In the next sections I will explore the research that has been conducted on the campus racial climate, racial socialization, racial identity and resiliency for African American college students.

### *African American Campus Racial Climate*

Mental health disparities between African Americans and Whites in regard to the under utilization of services and the type of care received have been documented (Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000). One of the main reasons for these disparities stem from both the historical and current struggles with racism and discrimination. Race based treatment can cause African American s to have negative emotional reactions and stress. Reports of racial discrimination has been linked to psychological distress and psychological well being in African Americans (Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000). Studies have established clear evidence for the negative impact of experiencing racial discrimination on mental health

(Carter & Forsyth, 2010; Sellers, Copeland-Linden, Martin & Lewis, 2006; Broman, Mavaddat & Hsu, 2000; Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000). These experiences can have lasting impacts and can stay with individuals for a long time (Carter & Forsyth, 2010). For example, Sellers, Copeland-Linden, Martin, and Lewis (2006) conducted a study examining racial discrimination, psychological functioning and racial identity in adolescents. The study included 314 African American adolescents ranging in age from 11 to 17. The results showed that there was a negative association between experiencing racial discrimination and psychological functioning in the form of more depressive symptoms ( $r = .28, p < .01$ ) and more perceived stress ( $r = .22, p < .01$ ). Other research has examined racial discrimination and mental health outcomes. Broman, Mavaddat, and Hsu (2000) examined the relationship between racial discrimination, level of mastery and poorer mental health. A random telephone survey of 495 African Americans 18 or older that were living in Detroit was conducted over the course of one year. Those who stated that they had been victims of discrimination suffered from higher levels of psychological distress and lower levels of mastery meaning that they felt a lower sense of control. Furthermore, over a time span of three years 60% of the participants suffered discrimination. Carter and Forsyth (2010) also found that a large number of incidents occurred either at work (32%) or at school (25%).

There is also some evidence for the occurrence of discrimination on college campuses. Researchers such as Solorzano, Ceja, and Yosso (2000) have examined how African American students experience the campus racial climate of their institutions. The study was qualitative in nature using a focus-group design. Participants included 34 African

American students. Many participants in the study described feeling invisible in the classroom and experiencing racial micro-aggressions when dealing with faculty. Specifically instances where faculty maintained low expectations while having contradictory information. One student recalled the experience of a friend who was told that the person did not want to work with them because they were African American. Another student noted an instance of walking down the hall and a White faculty member stating that she should have locked her door because her purse was still in there. Even when students tried to use campus services they still faced discrimination. One student who had gone to see a counselor to change to pre-med was told not to take those classes and that she wouldn't be able to handle the classes. The campus racial environment can be uncomfortable for African American students, as they often feel stared at by White students. The participants also dialogued about the effects of the racial micro-aggressions they experienced. A student noted feeling constantly on guard when talking to a professor, advisor or anyone. Many students noted having to speak for their entire race and how tiring this was. Regardless of the topic there is belief that you will be called on just because you are African American. Students were also tired of their professors and peers degrading their intelligence and stating that they were only there due to affirmative action (Solorzano et al., 2000).

Rankin and Reason (2005) investigated the campus climate perceptions of African American and White students. The sample included two private and eight public colleges representing institutions from across the country. Students of color and White students held different perceptions of their campus climate. Students of color found their climate to be disrespectful, racist, less accepting of minority groups and hostile. On the other hand, White

students viewed the climate as friendly, respectful and nonracist. A recent study on implicit and explicit bias in the classroom (Boysen, Vogel, Cope, & Hubbard, 2009) found that a quarter of undergraduate students (N = 1747) perceived themselves as the target bias (overt or subtle) while in the classroom (fifty percent of undergraduate students perceived bias taking place in the classroom). Student perception of instructor effectiveness in response to bias was significantly low in comparison to instructor perception. A discrepancy exists between instructor and student perception, as students perceive more overt and subtle bias than their instructors.

Researchers have also started to provide statistics as to the amount of discrimination African American students face on campus. In a survey study by Prelow, Mosher, and Bowman (2006) participants (136 African American students attending a predominately White northeastern university) reported that racial discrimination is widespread and prevalent with 98.5% of the sample stating they had experienced discrimination during the past year. On the whole, there is a sixty-one percent prevalence rate for experiencing day-to-day racial discrimination (Kessler, Mickelson, & Williams, 1999). African American students have also reported more direct forms of harassment such as being chased or property damage (D'Augelli & Hershberger, 1993). D'Augelli and Hershberger found that while White students are most often the perpetrators of these acts, African American students also report being mistreated by faculty members. Racial discrimination has been associated with depressive symptoms, problem drinking, and psychiatric symptoms (Prelow et al., 2006) as well as feelings of social isolation and adjustment to college (Neville, Heppner, Ji & Thye, 2004).

One area where mental health disparities have been most clearly noted is at predominantly White institutions. African American students attending predominately White institutions often experience the stress of being a racial minority in a Eurocentric setting. This stress affects their adjustment process to college. The adjustment process can be difficult for African American students at predominately White institutions because in their daily interactions they often face stereotypes about the African American community, have their intellectual ability questioned as well as their physical characteristics and appearance (Fries-Britt & Turner, 2001). A study conducted by Fries-Britt and Turner (2001) qualitatively examined the academic, social, and racial experiences of 15 students while they were working towards their degree completion at a predominately White institution. The study consisted of six males and eight females who were all full-time students with good academic standing. Students talked about being the only, or one of a few minorities in their classes. The students also expressed feeling stress due to concerns that their behaviors would likely be stereotyped. For example, some male participants talked about the assumption Whites hold that if you are an African American male you must be an athlete. With that stereotype comes the belief that you are economically disadvantaged and academically inferior. It is these stereotypes and judgments that continue to tell African American students that they are different and do not belong (Fries-Britt & Turner, 2001). These stereotypes can also chip away at student's performance and ability (Fries-Britt & Turner, 2001). The participants also noted stress related to feeling the need to prove their intellectual ability. They felt that there was a need to prove their competence more often than their White peers. They also noted feeling that faculty and peers often doubted them and therefore, instead of

being able to celebrate the successes they did have academically they instead spend time repairing their academic sense of self.

These challenges make it more difficult for many African American students to succeed and increase the likelihood of experiencing decreased social support and increased mental health concerns. However, many African American students also learn how to adaptively deal with the increased pressures and demands. One of the ways that African Americans may be able to protect themselves against the negative effects of race-related stress is by positive racial socialization experiences (i.e. the process of communicating messages and behaviors, bolstering identity in the face of potentially racially hostile environments (Neblett et al, 2008) and the development of a positive racial identity (i.e. the active and fluid process of identifying with one's own racial group for self-reference (Settles, Navarrete, Pagano, Abdou & Sidanius, 2010; Jones, Cross Jr. & DeFour, 2007; Neville, Heppner, & Thye, 2004) and resilience (i.e., persistence in the face of adversity or obstacles; Brown, 2008; Miller & MacIntosh, 1999).

### *Resiliency*

A number of studies have focused on assessing negative outcomes (i.e. discrimination) but less work has focused on how African American college student successfully navigate these challenges (Neville, Heppner, JI & Thye, 2004; Prelow Mosher & Bowman, 2006). Over the past decade psychology, however, has shifted toward a positive psychology that builds on positive qualities such as well being and perseverance shifting away from the focus on suffering and disease. This new focus on the positive aspects of the human condition allows for prevention of negative outcomes and gives insight into how these

strengths can be fostered in others (Richardson, 2002; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). Thus, it is important to better understand the aspects that allow African American students adjust to college environment.

### *Development of Resiliency*

Resiliency is one adaptive positive psychology outcome to the experiences African American students face on campus. There has been much ambiguity in the definitions of resilience (Richman & Bowen, 1997). The definition that best captures the different definitions is one that states that resiliency is ones ability to adapt or bounce back in the face of obstacles or adversity and thus is developed after such exposure (Zunz, Turner & Norman, 1993). The study of resiliency developed through the identification of characteristics associated with those surviving high-risk situation (Richardson, 2002).

It has been suggested that resiliency is made up of protective factors including compensating experiences, fewer stressors, supportive environment and adaptable personality. In spite of negative or challenging experiences resilient people press on and continue to grow. Characteristics of resilient people include having an adaptable temperament (when faced with adversity), and a supportive community around them (Baruth & Carroll, 2002). Some individuals are nurtured in environments that teach them to be resilient and foster this ability to overcome difficulties (McCreary, Cunningham, Ingram, & Fife, 2006). Moving away from problem-oriented theory, Richardson (2002) described resiliency in three different waves. The first wave focuses on characteristics (both internal and external) that allow individuals to overcome adversity. The outcome of this wave is a list of characteristics allowing individuals to grow through adversity.

There have been numerous research studies examining resilient qualities including studies published in a special issue of the *American Psychologist*. The resilient qualities found included: creativity (Simonton, 2000), self-determination (Ryan & Deci, 2000), excellence (Lubinsky & Benbow, 2000), wisdom (Baltes & Staudinger, 2000), faith (Myers, 2000), subjective well-being (Diener, 2000, Schwartz, 2000) and optimism (Peterson, 2000). Resiliency has been linked with the ability to act, positive self-esteem, feelings of self-efficacy as well as secure relationships (Rutter, 1985). Blum (1998) also indicated that resiliency is linked with characteristics such as: spirituality, positive social skills, internal locus of control, higher intelligence, positive self-concept, higher self-esteem, and connectedness with parents/guardians, family cohesion and sibling closeness. Similarly, resiliency has been linked with problem-focused coping (i.e. direct problem solving) and negatively associated with wishful thinking and avoidance styles of coping (Markstrom, Marshall & Tryon, 2000). Smith, Tooley, Christopher and Kay (2010) also found that resilience (i.e. resiliency) is positively related to optimism, social support, mood clarity and positive affect with a negative relationship to negative affect. The second wave focuses on how one attains the qualities that are deemed resilient. As such the definition of resiliency as a process developed after facing adversity emerged. The third wave of resiliency integrates the idea that motivation or energy is needed for self-actualization (Richardson, 2002).

### *African American Resiliency*

While prior research has examined some of the potential benefits of building African American adolescents resiliency, further research is still needed to understand the predictors of resiliency for the African American college student population (Utsey, Bolden, Lanier, &

Williams, 2007). Studies that have examined the concept include Gloria, Robinson-Kurpius, Hamilton and Wilson (1999) who investigated the psychological, social and environmental constructs that may influence the persistence of African American students at a predominately White institution. In total 98 undergraduate African American students participated in the study. The participants were attending a predominately White southwestern state university. The results suggested support for the hypothesis that more comfort in the university environment, higher levels of social support and positive self-beliefs are positively related to academic resilience (referred to as persistence in this study) at a predominately White institutions. Researchers have also found that for African American students, specifically, positive self-beliefs are positively related to academic persistence (which is similar to resilience; Gloria, Robinson-Kurpius, Hamilton and Wilson (1999). Resiliency (measured as hardiness) appears to offer resistance to the use of substances (drugs, alcohol and tobacco) for African Americans as well (Harris, 2004). Utsey, Hook, Fischer and Belvet (2008) found that ego resilience is positively related to optimism and life satisfaction and that racial pride was positively related to ego resilience in African Americans. Similar to Utsey et al. (2008), Baldwin, Jackson, Okoh and Cannon (2011) found that ego resilience was related to more positive expectations for the future, greater optimism, less somatization, less generalized anxiety and a lower global severity index. Ego resilience was also negatively correlated with psychological distress.

Miller and MacIntosh (1999) also conducted a study investigating African American youths educational involvement racial socialization, racial identity, discrimination, normative stress and urban hassles. The participants included 131 African American adolescents. The

results of the study suggest that a positive racial identity is able to protect African American adolescents against discrimination. Resilience in this population is influenced by culturally relevant protective factors.

While the above research has examined qualities related to resiliency (e.g., hardiness, persistence, ego resilience) few studies have directly examined resiliency in an African American population. However, recently Connor and Davidson (2003) developed the Connor Davidson Resilience Scale (CD-RISC) to directly assess resiliency (i.e. Brown, 2008). The measure represents the second wave (as outlined by Richardson, 2002) where it assesses for characteristics of resilience. Upon testing the measure Connor and Davidson (2003) found that those with mental illness score lower on resilience than the general population. Convergent validity has been established with the Kobasa (1979) hardiness measure ( $r = .83$ ; Brown, 2008; Connor & Davidson, 2003), the *Sheehan Social Support Scale* ( $r = .36$ ), the *Perceived Stress Scale* ( $r = -.76$ ), the *Sheehan Stress Vulnerability Scale* (SVS;  $r = -.32$ ), and the *Sheehan Disability Scale* ( $r = -.62$ ; Connor & Davidson, 2003).

Since the development of the CD-RISC, Brown (2008) conducted a study that would directly assess participant levels of resilience. Specifically the purpose of study was to understand the impact of social support and racial socialization of ones level of resiliency. It also sought to expand on previous research investigating racial socialization by using young adult African American participants instead of children or adolescents. It was hypothesized that racial identity and social support would predict resiliency. Participants were taking an introductory psychology course at a large Midwestern university. All participants self-identified as African American and included 45 males and 108 females (Brown, 2008). The

results of the study suggest that having a perception that one is supported and racial socialization messages is related to self-reported resiliency. This finding supported the idea that racial socialization and social support predicts resiliency. Specifically receiving messages that emphasized cultural pride and knowledge of African American heritage were related to resiliency. With the increasing number of African American students attending predominately White institutions it is important for future research to understand the resiliency of these students in this environment. Cultural pride messages have also been associated with racial identity development (Brown, 2008). While prior research has examined some of the potential benefits of building African American adolescents resiliency, further research is still needed to understand the predictors of resiliency for the African American college student population (Utsey, Bolden, Lanier, & Williams, 2007). A potentially important precursor of resiliency is racial identity.

### *Racial Identity*

The educational and economic realms are the most debilitating barriers that African Americans have endured. These barriers have limited the upward mobility of generations of African Americans. Education being seen as the “great equalizer” has served to maintain and entrench socioeconomic disparities. One way that African Americans cope with the daily discrimination they experience is through an identity that is in opposition to that of the dominant group (Smith & Lalonde, 2003). There are four components of this identity, (1) the extent to which one sees membership in the collective group, (2) believe themselves to be worthy members of the group, (3) hold the group in high regard, and (4) feel the group is in high regard in society (Schmermund, Sellers, Mueller, & Crosby, 2001). This identity

development has been a central theme for African Americans trying to overcome negative evaluations and stereotypes that society has placed on them (Sanchez & Carter, 2005).

Identity has been broken down in two ways of interest to researchers racial identity and ethnic identity (Abrams & Trusty, 2004, Cokley, 2007, Cokley & Chapman, 2008; Johnson & Arbona, 2006, Sellers, Caldwell, Schmeelk-Cone, & Zimmerman, 2003).

#### *Racial Identity vs. Ethnic Identity*

Racial identity had been defined as an active and fluid process of identifying with one's own racial group for self-reference. It is a process in which the individual increases their racial self-acceptance and acceptance of others (Abrams & Trusty, 2004). Encompassed in racial identity is having knowledge of one's history and culture and the adoption of commonly held values, behaviors and cultural norms. The term racial identity should not be confused with ethnic identity. Ethnic identity is the subjective sense of being a member of an ethnic group. It involves having a sense of belonging to the group, having knowledge and preference for the group, and actively seeking involvement in-group activities. The terms appear very similar but what distinguishes them is ethnic identities emphasis on exploring and affirming history, traditions, and cultural practices. Racial identity is thought of as developing in reaction to racial oppression (Cokley & Chapman, 2008; Johnson & Arbona, 2006). Racial identity focuses on the social and political impact of group membership on psychological functioning. Ethnic identity focuses on the psychological implications of a commitment to a shared worldview, language and behaviors (Johnson & Arbona, 2006). Racial identity has been linked to psychological health and well-being including self-esteem, psychological functioning and feelings of psychological closeness (Sellers, Caldwell, Schmeelk-Cone, & Zimmerman, 2003; Cokley, 2007). Looking at African Americans' racial

identity development is helpful as a way to conceptualize the intra-group differences in this population. It has been argued that racial characteristics are more salient than cultural beliefs and traditions in relation to treatment in society. Thus racial issues can have different psychological implications for African Americans. Cokley (2007) states that ethnic identity is a more appropriate construct to study when trying to investigate how individuals see themselves relative to their cultural beliefs, values and behaviors. However, when investigating how individuals construct their identities in response to racism or oppression then racial identity becomes the more appropriate construct.

### *Racial Identity Theories*

One of the foundations of racial identity theories is that people's racial identities vary. Race involves more than skin color or physical features. Additionally resolution of one's identity is psychological. Therefore, racial identity can guide feelings, thoughts, perceptions, and level of interest or investment in ones racial groups' cultural patterns. Racial Identity models are generally based on the idea that identity development occurs in a cyclical or stage wise process and end with an acceptance of race as positive for themselves and for others. It is also seen as a continuous variable rather than discrete stage. Thus, an African American is able to hold multiple values and beliefs. Ones individual experiences as well as their interactions with both African Americans and non-African Americans are impactful to attitude development. It is then possible that an individual may not necessarily progress through all of the stages (Mitchell & Dell, 1992). Next, I will discuss three of the main racial identity theories: African American Identity (Fordham and Ogbu, 1986), Helms Identity Development (1990, 2001), and Cross Model of Psychological Nigrescence (1971, 1991).

### *African American Identity*

Fordham and Ogbu (1986) state a theory of African American identity in which African Americans seek to maintain the boundary between their culture and that of the dominant group. This is done by making distinctions between behaviors, attitudes and activities between their culture and that of the dominant group. Standards, practices, and requirements of schools have reinforced the White culture and are threats to African American identity. By getting good grades, speaking Standard English, and studying hard, African American students may get accused of “acting White.” In order to survive academically African American students are forced to relinquish aspects of their identity (Smith & Lalonde, 2003). One study actually found that there was an inverse relationship between African American identity and success in that they found that African American children who had grown up in predominately White neighborhoods showed inverse relations between their pro-school and pro-African American attitudes (Banks, 1984). Subsequently, one study by Tyson, Darity Jr. and Castellino (2005) did find that the burden of acting White is indeed a major reason for the achievement gap of African American students and why they may do poorly in school.

However, contrary to Fordham and Ogbu’s theory most studies have found positive relationships between success and African American identity. For instance cultural pride has been found to be common among high-achieving African American students and professionals. Having a collective African American Identity can promote aspirations and achievement. Many African American students view cultural pride as a necessity for success in a predominately White academic setting. Cultural identity and engagement can serve as a protective factor for African American mental health. Having an Afrocentric identity has been found to be related to higher self-esteem and negatively related to depression and

problem behaviors (Smith & Lalonde, 2003). Tyson (2002) conducted a study looking at high achievement and African American students. Elementary school students from four classrooms were observed. In total 72 students participated with 25 girls and 17 boys interviewed. The results of the study suggest that instead of a culturally-based explanation as Fordham and Ogbu state, that the schooling experience, or specifically the achievement outcomes plays the major role in the development of attitudes towards school. Similarly, recent research directly looking at Fordham and Ogbus' theory have found results inconsistent with the theory. A study conducted by Bergin and Cooks (2002) conducted a study with 32 African American participants about to graduate from the eighth grade in a program called EXCEL. While in the program these participants were interviewed about their family and high school experience. Their results found that these participants did not reject academic achievement for fear of being perceived of acting White and instead embraced achievement. The students also reported that no loss of ethnic identity for valuing academic achievement. Therefore, while Fordham and Ogbus' theory of African American Identity is important in that it was one first attempts to discuss African American Identity and therefore sparked additional inquiries the inconsistent and largely non-supportive findings has led researchers to develop additional perspectives.

*Helms Identity Development.* The Helms model of identity development looks at racial identity as ego statuses (Helms, 1984, 1990, 2001). These ego statuses serve as a filter for race-based information. Each ego status has its own emotions, behaviors, motives and beliefs that go with them. These range from less to more mature. These statuses are also referred to as levels. There are four levels in the Helms model, Pre-Encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion and Internalization. Pre-Encounter level is the deliberate idealization of

White culture and denigration of African American culture. The Encounter level is characterized by an experience that calls into question one's identity. In the Immersion-Emersion level there is a strong endorsement of African American culture and rejection of White culture. In the Internalization level there is an acceptance and satisfaction with one's African American identity (Sanchez & Carter, 2005; Watt, 2006; Harper & Quaye, 2007). Research using the Helms model includes Parham and Helms (1985) who conducted a study investigating the relationship between racial identity attitudes, self-actualizing tendencies and affective states. Participants included 166 African American college students attending four different predominately White institutions (One from the Midwest, east and two from the west coast). The results suggest that Pre-Encounter attitudes were related to feelings of inferiority, hypersensitivity, anxiety, inadequacy and lack of self-acceptance. This finding was consistent with previous theoretical beliefs stating that the Pre-Encounter stage is the least mentally healthy (Cross, 1971). The Encounter attitudes predicted feelings of self-acceptance, self-adequacy and lower levels of anxiety. Interestingly the Internalization attitudes were not significantly related to the measures. This may have been due to the fact that the measures used measured affect and were not able to capture the rational focus of the Internalization stage (Parham & Helms, 1985). Sanchez and Carter (2005) who investigated the relationship between racial identity attitudes and religious orientation. Participants included students in psychology, history, sociology and African American studies classes as well as participants from college cafeterias and lounges. A total of 270 self-identified African American college students' participated in the study. Significant relationships were found among the different identity statuses and religious orientation. Holding Immersion-Emersion attitudes were linked to lower levels intrinsic (dogmatic in beliefs) religious orientation.

Internalization attitudes were differentially related to intrinsic and quest (doubtful and tentative about his or her religion) orientations with males who had higher Internalization also scoring higher on intrinsic and quest orientations.

Parham and Helms (1981) made a huge impact on racial identity research, however, it has been criticized for not including vacillation between the stages and thus does not show the dynamic process of racial identity development (Rowe, Bennett, & Atkinson, 1994; Pillay, 2005). In 1995, Helms did make some changes to the model that included vacillation between the ego statuses. However, at the heart of the Helms (1984, 1990) model is the Cross model (1971, 1991) (Gilbert, So, Russell, & Wessel, 2006), and it is the original Cross (1971) five-stage model set the foundation for the development of African American racial identity models and instruments (Pillay, 2005).

*Cross Model of Psychological Nigrescence.* The Cross Model of Psychological Nigrescence (Cross, 1971, 1991) has been cited frequently in the literature (Evans, Forney, & Guido-DiBrito, 1998; Mitchell & Dell, 1992; Meshreki & Hansen, 2004; Awad, 2007; Harper & Quaye, 2007) as a way of understanding racial identity development of African Americans. In this model a transformation occurs as one shifts focus from a non-Afrocentric worldview, to an Afrocentric worldview, and finally to a multicultural worldview. This transformation occurs over the lifetime and is cyclical in nature. The Cross model is a life span model as the socialization pattern of identity types can be traced across infancy, early childhood, preadolescence, early adulthood and adulthood. There are three growth patterns that can be seen Nigrescence Pattern A, Nigrescence Pattern B, and Nigrescence Pattern C. Nigrescence pattern A represents the majority of African American s who have formative racial socialization experiences. By adulthood these African American s may exhibit a well

formed positive Black identity (Nationalist, Afrocentric, Bicultural & Biracial, or Multicultural). There are African Americans who do not go through a formative racial socialization and thus do not have a well formed Black identity (Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 2001). For these individuals Blackness is achieved through an identity conversion and they represent Nigrescence pattern B. Regardless of whether one is Nigrescence pattern A or B at some point ones adult lifespan they will experience Nigrescence pattern C where their Black identity is enhanced and modified. In adulthood those who experienced Nigrescence pattern A are thought to be at the Internalization stage of identity development. Encompassed within this stage are different types of Blackness such as Black Nationalist, Afrocentrist, Biculturalist, or Multiculturalist Inclusive. For those in Nigrescence pattern B they must go through an identity conversion, which represents the Cross Racial Identity model (Pre-Encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion and Internalization) (Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 2001). Blacks who enter adulthood (those above 25) with either an Immersion-Emersion type of identity are seen as not in need of an identity conversion. The content and dynamics of their upbringing were such that they resulted in self-concepts that are already race and African American culture sensitive. At late adolescence those with Assimilation, Miseducation, or Racial Self-Hatred views are thought to be at risk or in need of a conversion experience (Cross and Vandiver, 2001). Even African Americans with well-defined identities will periodically pass in and out of the stages. This is called Nigrescence recycling which is apart of Nigrescence pattern C. This means no single African American person has all the answers to identity questions that they may be confronted with across the life span. Each life span challenge or questions must be processed to have a deeper understanding and appreciation of one's Blackness.

The Cross Racial Identity theory serves to address six issues of African American identity. The original Cross model looked at identity development as occurring in five stages: Pre-Encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, Internalization, and Internalization-Commitment. In the Pre-encounter stage an individual may feel that being Black is not a significant part of their life experience, or they may hold anti-African American attitudes. Overall there is a preference to being referred to as a human being. Whiteness is the preferred racial status. The Encounter state of development is broken down into two steps that an individual must go through. First, they must have an experience, or Encounter that causes them to question their current identity and worldview. The magnitude of the event is not as important as the frequency of the events. Second, the individual must be impacted significantly by this event(s). The event can be either positive (discovering more about ones cultural heritage), or negative (racial micro-aggressions: subtle insults directed towards racial/ethnic minorities (Solorzano, Ceja & Yosso, 2000) in nature. The third stage of development is Immersion-Emersion. This state is broken up into two phases, during phase one there is the Immersion-Emersion into Blackness and withdrawal from other groups. This phase is characterized by a sense of rage towards Whites, guilt for what Whites told them, and pride for African American culture. Phase two moves out of Immersion-Emersion into critical analysis of what it means to be African American. There is a move toward Internalization of the new identity. Stage four of the developmental model is called Internalization and focuses on starting to resolve the conflict between the old identity and the new identity. The rage seen in stage three gives way to a nonracist perspective. Individuals in the state are able to show more ideological flexibility and psychological openness. The final stage in the Cross' model is Internalization-Commitment. The individual is now able to take

their new identity and engage in discourse or activities that address the problems faced in the African American community as well as other oppressed peoples (Evans, Forney, & Guido-DiBrito, 1998; Mitchell & Dell, 1992; Meshreki & Hansen, 2004).

In 1991 Cross revised the model based on empirical work of the time and the evolution of his thinking about identity theory. The revised model uses the research conducted since the original development of the theory to further understand racial identity development. Substantive changes were made to the model in the Pre-Encounter and Internalization stages. In this model African American Identity refers to the way a person thinks about, feels and acts. The model looks to understand which types of African American identities will increase the likelihood that the person will join with other African American to (1) engage in struggles for problems faced by African Americans and (2) engage in celebration, search and protection of the culture and history. Each stage of the model was broken down into different levels with the exception of the Encounter stage. The Pre-Encounter stage holds that there is always the possibility that a person who holds a nonengagement identity will have a conversion experience. The Encounter stage had no differences as is viewed as a fluid period in development. At this stage one goes through a conversion experience that causes them to question their identity.

The Cross model has been used in numerous research studies. In one such study, Cokley and Helms (2007) investigated the relationship between racial identity attitudes and African American enculturation. The participants included students from two public predominately White universities and one historically African American university. All participants self-identified as African American and there were 388 in total. They hypothesized that Immersion-Emersion attitudes would be a positive predictor of African

American enculturation. Encounter attitudes were predicted to be negative predictors of African American enculturation. Results of the study were that participants who had strong racial identity scores were more enculturated to the African American culture. Those who had lower racial identity were less enculturated to African American culture. Cokley (2002) also investigated the relationship between racial identity and internalized racism. This study had 153 self-identified African American students from a historically African American southern college. It was found that the earlier and middle stages of racial identity predicted internalized racism. The Pre-encounter Miseducation and Self-hatred attitudes were positively related to having beliefs in the mental and genetic deficiencies of African Americans. The Pre-Encounter Assimilation attitudes were negatively related to the beliefs in the natural abilities of African Americans. Immersion-Emersion Anti-White attitudes were significantly positively related to the belief in the sexual prowess of African Americans. Internalization Multiculturalist Inclusive was not related to any aspect of internalized racism. Jones, Cross Jr., and DeFour (2007) conducted a study looking at racial identity attitudes, race-related stress and mental health among African American women. In this study it was hypothesized that racial identity attitudes would moderate the relationship between race-stress events, racist stress appraisals and mental health outcomes. The total number of participants in this study was 310 African American women who were attending three urban colleges in the Northeast. The results showed that certain racial identity attitudes moderate the relationship between race-related stress and mental health. Specifically Multiculturalist Inclusive identity attitudes lessened the negative mental health impact of race-stress events/appraisals.

Research examining Cross's model has focused on the relationships of racial identity

and mental health. One study found that higher Encounter scores were related to higher levels of depression (Munford, 1994). Immersion-Emersion racial identity attitudes are related to depression, poor mental health, low self-concept, negative problem solving appraisal and socially undesirable psychological defenses (Munford, 1994, Parham & Helms, 1985). Consistent research findings have found that Internalization racial identity attitudes is related to healthy psychological functioning, positive self-esteem and lowered scores on depression (Pillay, 2005). Pillay (2005) conducted a study to investigate to extend the research that has accumulated since the operationalization of the Cross Nigrescence model. Participants in the study were 136 African American undergraduate students attending a predominately White university in the Midwest. About 39.7% of the participants were male and 61.3% female. The researcher used a convenience sample of clusters of African American students affiliated with various organizations. The participants ranged from 18-24 years of age. The researcher found that the Pre-Encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion and Internalization subscales together were significant predictors of African American psychological health. Individually, only the Pre-encounter and Encounter were significant predictors. The fact that Immersion-Emersion and Internalization subscales lacked significance is consistent with some but inconsistent with other studies. Other studies have found the Immersion-Emersion and Internalization subscales to be associated with positive psychological functioning (Pillay, 2005).

Research suggests that a positive racial identity (i.e., Internalization) can lead to positive health outcomes such as higher self-esteem (Munford, 1994; Phelps, Taylor, & Gerard, 2001; Poindexter-Cameron & Robinson, 1997; Speight et al., 1996) and unconditional positive self-regard (Speight, Vera, & Derrickson, 1996), as well as lower

levels of perceived culture-specific stressors (Neville et al., 1997); and decreased depression symptoms (Munford, 1994). Similarly, holding a Multiculturalist Inclusive identity, specifically, has been found to be associated with better adjustment to college (Anglin & Wade, 2007). In turn, research examining the connection between racial identity and psychological health shows that a negative racial identity (i.e. Pre-Encounter and Encounter attitudes) is negatively related to psychological health (Pillay, 2005) including psychological distress (Carter, 1991; Munford, 1994; Nghe & Mahalik, 2001), feelings of inferiority (Parham & Helms, 1985b), and lack of unconditional positive self regard (Speight, Vera, & Derrickson, 1996).

Given these findings, endorsing more positive racial identity attitudes (i.e., Multiculturalist Inclusive identity), and fewer negative racial identity attitudes (i.e., Self-Hatred) could be a major source of resilience for African American college students (Miller & MacIntosh, 1999). However, this idea has rarely been directly tested and so it is a goal of this study. Due to the research contradicting Fordham and Ogbu's theory and the criticism of Parham and Helms (1981) for not including vacillation between the stages and thus does not showing the dynamic process of racial identity development (Rowe, Bennett, & Atkinson, 1994; Pillay, 2005), the Cross Racial Identity theory was used in this study. Cross's Model of Psychological Nigrescence (Cross, 1971, 1991) suggests that racial socialization and racial identity may be linked. According to the Model of Psychological Nigrescence formative racial socialization experiences as a child can facilitate the formation of a well-formed Black identity (e.g., Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 2001).

#### *Racial Socialization*

Another way that African American students may develop resiliency (and thus learn to cope with discrimination experience) is through positive racial socialization experience and the development of a positive racial identity. *Racial socialization* can be thought of as the process of communicating messages and behaviors, bolstering identity in the face of potentially racially hostile environments (Stevenson, 1995). Stevenson (1994) suggests that racial socialization is an important role of African American families to buffer the impacts of racism and to establish cultural pride. Essentially it is the cultural transmission of beliefs and values (i.e. what it means to be African American in society). Evidence states that racial socialization is important for the development of psychological well-being (Stevenson, Cameron, Herrero-Taylor, & Davis, 2002). Stevenson (1995) posits that Afrocentric racial attitudes increase for African Americans as they get older. Other studies on racial socialization messages emphasizing cultural pride have found that it results in positive outcomes for academic achievement (Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph & Nickerson, et al., 2002), self-esteem (Constantine & Blackmon, 2002) and mental health (Fischer & Shaw, 1999). Research suggests that African American parents use racial socialization in order to teach their children ways they may cope with racism (Bynum, Burton & Best, 2007). Fischer and Shaw (1999) also found that those who received fewer racial socialization messages had poorer overall mental health. Research on gender and racial socialization (Brown, Linver, & Evans, 2010) of 502 African American adolescents found that after controlling for background characteristics, the maternal socialization of coping with racism was higher for females than males. For African American females in particular, racial socialization leads to a more positive self-image than in households with less racial socialization (Granberg, Simons & Simons, 2009). Granberg et al. (2009) examined adolescent girls in Iowa and

Georgia over a three-wave period starting at 10 years of age and ending at age 14 (the final sample consisted of 256 participants). Having active racial socialization is able to lessen the impact of a large body size on individual's social self-image.

Research on racial socialization has also examined its relation to racial ideology in elementary school, middle school, high school (Hughes, Witherspoon, Rivas-Drake & West-Bey, 2009; Dotterer, McHale & Crouter, 2009; Neblett, Smalls, Ford, Nguyen & Sellers, 2009) and college students (Barr and Neville, 2008). Huges et al. (2009) conducted a study on the impact of ethnic-racial socialization messages on academic and behavior outcomes. Participants in the study included 466 White and 339 African American adolescents ranging from fourth to sixth grade. The experience of cultural socialization led to increased academic efficacy, self-esteem and ethnic affirmation. Self-esteem and ethnic affirmation mediated the effect of cultural socialization on academic engagement. Racial discrimination, school engagement, ethnic identity and racial socialization were examined in sixth and eighth grade students. Dotterer et al. (2009) used data from a longitudinal study (first phase) with a total of 86 families recruited and used in the sample. Regarding experiences with discrimination more men reported experiences than women. Cultural socialization was found not to moderate the connection between school bonding and racial discrimination. Neblett et al. (2009) examined parent racial socialization practices and racial identity. The data came from a longitudinal study conducted in two waves consisting of 348 participants. Three patterns of racial socialization emerged: high positive, moderate positive, and low frequency. Experience of racial socialization messages at wave one led to racial identity during wave two. Racial centrality, nationalist ideology and Assimilationist ideology was related to high

positive and low frequency racial socialization. Barr and Neville (2008) conducted a study on racial socialization and racial ideology looking to empirically support Stevenson's (2002) model of racial socialization. Participants included 153 African American college students attending a predominately White university. A subgroup of participants allowed for data collection from one parent (34). Results indicated that 65% of participants reported their parents discussing race and racism with them. The research broke down racial socialization into protective and proactive in line with Stevensons (2002) model. Protective messages consisted of: racial barriers, promotion of mistrust and counter stereotypes and proactive messages: egalitarian status, egalitarian values, racial pride and self-development. A negative relationship was found between protective racial socialization and color-blind racial beliefs. Those higher in color-blind beliefs were less likely to receive racial barrier messages.

The transmission of cultural beliefs and values has also been linked to the use of particular coping strategies. For example, Scott (2003) examined the relationship between racial socialization and coping with discrimination for African American adolescents. Specifically, racial socialization was related to the use of approach strategies (i.e. problem-solving, seeking support or self-reliance) when coping with discriminatory experiences (Scott, 2003). In turn, Brown (2008) conducted a study that would directly assess participant levels of resilience. Racial socialization and, in particular, the aspects of socialization which include cultural pride predicted resiliency (beyond-social support, age, gender and income). This finding supported the idea that racial socialization predicts resiliency. However, further research is needed to examine how the relationship of racial socialization is linked to positive outcomes such as resiliency (i.e., potential mediating or moderating effects).

*Resiliency, Racial Identity and Racial Socialization*

Racial socialization and racial identity may have more than just direct effects on resiliency. Cross's Model of Psychological Nigrescence (Cross, 1971, 1991) suggests that racial socialization and racial identity may be linked. According to the Model of Psychological Nigrescence formative racial socialization experiences as a child can facilitate the formation of a well-formed Black identity (e.g., Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 2001). Described as Nigrescence Pattern A, the theory suggests that by adulthood many African Americans may exhibit a well-formed positive Black identity (Nationalist, Afrocentric, Bicultural & Biracial, or Multicultural) due to positive learning experiences within the family. As such, racial socialization experiences are thought to lead to more established and positive racial identity, particularly, in the formation of Afrocentric and Multicultural views. *Racial socialization* could, therefore, be influencing other positive outcomes, such as resiliency, through its effect on developing a positive racial identity.

Researchers have started to find qualitative support for above theoretical assertions regarding the links between racial identity and racial socialization. Research suggests that racial identity and racial socialization are linked (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Marshall, 1995; Sanders-Thompson, 1994; Stevenson, 1994). African American men and women both report that receiving racial socialization experiences helped them to development and build their identity (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Edwards & Polite, 1992). Furthermore, African American participants who reported that their racial socialization was important to them held more Internalization attitudes (Stevenson, 1995). These initial qualitative links expose the need for further quantitative research on the relationship between racial socialization and racial

identity, specifically, examining the applicability of the theory for African American students at different campuses (Anglin and Wade, 2007).

Given the links between racial socialization and racial identity (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Marshall, 1995; Sanders-Thompson, 1994; Stevenson, 1994) and racial socialization and resilience (Brown, 2008) it is important to empirically examine the potential effects of racial identity on between racial socialization and resiliency. Two studies have examined the potential mediating effect of racial identity (Thompson, Anderson & Bakeman, 2000) for a negative outcome, in general. Thompson et al., (2000) examining the effect of racial identity and stress found that racial Identity, particular the later stages (i.e. Immersion-Emersion and Internalization), fully mediated the effect of racial socialization on acculturative stress among a sample of 84 African American students. Similarly, while not assessing racial socialization, a study by Wester et al. (2006), found that for African American men, racial identity (at least for Self-Hatred) mediated the link between male socialization and negative outcomes. One additional study has also examined the potential moderating effects of racial identity (Miller & MacIntosh, 1999). Miller and MacIntosh (1999) examined a model in which racial identity (measured as ethnic identity in the study) moderated the relationship between the experiences of daily stress/hassles. The results of the study suggested that a positive racial identity is able to protect/buffer African American adolescents against daily hassles (i.e. stress) they face. Though these studies suggest a possible positive role of a racial identity they fail to directly measure resilience. Furthermore, only Thompson et al., (2000) attempted to examine the link between racial socialization and racial identity, directly. As such, it is unclear as to what

impact racial identity may have or the differential outcomes based on ones racial identity attitudes and thus more research is needed for these constructs.

Given, that some of the literature focuses on racial identity a mediator (Thompson et al., 2000; Wester et al., 2006) and some as a moderator (Miller & MacIntosh, 1999) it is important to test both in a single study to examine if one, both, or neither best portray the true relationship between the variables and positive outcomes. For instance, it has been suggested that racial identity can buffer the psychological impacts of racism (Cross & Vandiver, 2001) and that it mediates negative outcomes (prejudice, psychological well-being; Schmitt, Spears, & Branscombe, 2003), adjustment to serious illness (Barbarin, 1999) and alcohol dependence (Gong, Takeuchi, Agbayani- Siewert, & Tacata, 2002). Thompson et al. (2000) used a mediational model to understand the role of racial identity in mediating racial socialization and acculturative stress for African American college students. The results of the study give evidence to the need of further research examining mediational or moderational models of racial socialization and racial identity. As predicted racial socialization and racial identity were related although un-expectantly as individuals high on racial socialization showed either Self-Hatred attitudes (Pre-Encounter) or Anti-White attitudes (Immersion-Emersion). Participants who viewed racial socialization as important held more Internalization attitudes, those who viewed the extended family as important held more Immersion-Emersion attitudes and those who valued cultural pride messages held more Immersion-Emersion attitudes. Age emerged as the only significant correlation with Internalization. In the college population racial socialization has also been related linked to the connection between racism and psychological functioning (Bynum, Burton & Best, 2007). Frazier, Tix and Barron (2004)

indicate that it is important for researchers to identify and test different models that may fit the data, as it is good research practice. Thus, this study also looks to add to previous research by examining both potential moderating and mediating effects of the connections between the variables. Therefore, continuing the previous research the current study looks to add to the research regarding racial identity, racial socialization and resiliency by examining and comparing these variables in African American college students across a national sample attending diverse schools.

### *Current Study*

There exists a need to understand the predictors of resiliency for African American students. Although a couple of researchers have shown direct connections between racial identity and resilience, and between racial socialization and racial identity among African American students, further research is needed to understand the connections between these factors. To help understand the specific factors that promote resiliency I will examine both a meditational model and a moderation model to examine how the relationship between racial socialization, racial identity, and resiliency are connected. Racial identity will be assessed using the Cross Racial Identity attitudes (i.e., Afrocentricity, Multiculturalist Inclusive, Self-Hatred and Anti-White attitudes) as prior literature has indicated these subscales are of great influence. The meditational model (see Figure 1) is consistent with research stating that racial socialization is linked to racial identity (Anglin & Wade, 2007) and to resiliency (Brown, 2008) and that racial identity can mediate racial socialization effects at least for negative outcomes (Thompson et al., 2000; Wester & Vogel, 2006).

Hypothesis 1: Racial identity (Afrocentricity, Multiculturalist Inclusive, Anti-White and Self-Hatred) will *mediate* the relationship between racial socialization and resilience, controlling for campus racial climate. The mediational model (see Figure 1) is consistent with research stating that racial socialization is linked to racial identity (Anglin & Wade, 2007) and to resiliency (Brown, 2008) and that racial identity can mediate racial socialization effects at least for negative outcomes (Thompson et al., 2000; Wester & Vogel, 2006). Specifically, I expect racial socialization to be linked to resiliency through two positive (Multiculturalist Inclusive and Afrocentricity) and two negative (Self-Hatred and Anti-White) paths. For positive paths there is a positive relationship between racial socialization and Afrocentricity and Multiculturalist Inclusive identities and then a positive relationship between Afrocentricity, Multiculturalist Inclusive identities and resiliency. In turn, in the negative paths foster resiliency through the decrease of negative aspects. I expect a negative relationship between racial socialization and Self-Hatred and Anti-White identities as well as a negative relationship between Self-Hatred, Anti-White and resiliency

Hypothesis 2: Racial identity (Afrocentricity, Multiculturalist Inclusive, Anti-White and Self-Hatred) will *moderate* the relationship between racial socialization and resiliency controlling for campus racial climate. The moderation model (see Figure 2) is consistent with research stating that racial identity supports/buffers the effects of college stress. For example, Immersion-Emersion (Anti-White) attitudes have been shown to predict college stress on campus whereas Internalization attitudes (Afrocentricity and Multiculturalist Inclusive) have been shown to negatively correlate with culture specific stressors on campus (Neville, Heppner & Wang, 1997). Specifically, I hypothesize that the positive relationship between

racial socialization and resiliency will be stronger for those with high Multiculturalist Inclusive identity than those with low Multiculturalist Inclusive identity; it will also be stronger for those with high Afrocentricity identity than those with low Afrocentricity identity. In turn, the relationship will be weaker for those with high Self-Hatred identity than those with low Self-Hatred identity and weaker for those with high Anti-White identity than those with low Anti-White identity.

## CHAPTER 3: METHODS

### *Participants*

The study sample consisted of 145 African American undergraduate and graduate students from a national sample Northwest (11.7%), Southwest (7.6%), Midwest (54.5%), Northeast (13.8%) and Southeast (10.3%). The results of my initial power analysis suggested that a sample of 146-172 would be needed to detect a difference at the .95 power level. The average age of participants was 23 ( $M= 23.46$ ,  $SD= 2.29$ ). The majority of the sample was female (71.6 %), with males making up 23.9 percent ( $N= 145$ ) of the sample. Educational background of the sample consisted of nine first-year (6.2%), 16 second-year (11%), 24 third-year (16.6%), 40 fourth-year (27.6%) and 56 graduate (38.6 %) students. Participants also indicated their current GPA ( $M= 3.38$ ,  $SD= .365$ ).

### *Instruments*

*Racial Identity.* The *Cross Racial Identity Scale* (CRIS; Worrell, Vandiver, & Cross Jr., 2004) consists of 40 items assessing racial identity attitudes. Responses are scored on a 7-point likert scale ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*. There are six subscales *Assimilation*, *Miseducation*, and *Self-Hatred* (assessing Pre-Encounter Attitudes), *Anti-White* (assessing Immersion-Emersion -Emersion attitudes), and *Afrocentricity* and *Multiculturalist Inclusive* (assessing Internalization attitudes) with five questions each. Subscale scores range from 5-35 with higher scores reflecting greater attitudes of that dimension. Example items include: *Assimilation* “I am not so much a member of a racial group, as I am an American”; *Miseducation* “Blacks place more emphasis on having a good time than on hard work,”; *Self-Hatred* “ Privately, I sometimes have negative feelings about being Black,”; *Anti-White* “ I have strong feelings of hatred and disdain for all White

people,”; *Afrocentricity* “I see and think about things from an Afrocentric perspective”; and *Multiculturalist Inclusive* “As a multiculturalist I am connected to many groups [Hispanic, Asian Americans, Whites, Jews, Gay men, Lesbians, etc”]. The internal consistency reliability estimates range from .70 to .85 for *Assimilation*; .77 to .84 for *Miseducation*; .70 to .89 for *Self-Hatred*; .81 to .89; *Anti-White*; .80 to .85 for *Afrocentricity*; and .74 to .85 for *Multiculturalist* (Inclusive; Cokely, 2002, 2005; Helm, 2002; White, 2002; Wright, 2003; Gardner-Kitt & Worrell, 2007; Vandiver, Fhagen-Smith, Cokely, Cross & Worrell, 2001, 2002; Worrell, Vandiver & Cross, 2004; Jones, Cross & DeFour, 2007; Worrell & Watson, 2008). Convergent validity has been shown between the *Cross Racial Identity Scale* and the *Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity* (MIBI; Helm, 2002; Vandiver et al., 2002; Worrell, Vandiver & Cross, 2004; Worrell & Watson, 2008) and the *Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure* (MEIM-O; Worrell & Gardner-Kitt, 2006; Worrell & Watson, 2008). *Self-Hatred* and self-esteem have also been found to negatively correlate (Vandiver et al., 2002; Worrell & Watson, 2008). The CRIS includes 10 social desirability questions, which are not included in the analysis. Subscale intercorrelations have been found to be low suggesting low to moderate interrelationships between the variables. Worrell and Watson (2008) found only two correlations greater than .32. *Anti-White* attitudes and *Self-Hatred* were modestly correlated ( $r = .33$ ) and *Afrocentricity* and *Anti-White* attitudes were moderately correlated ( $r = .46$ ). *Self-Hatred* attitudes are not correlated with *Afrocentricity* or *Multiculturalist Inclusive* with ( $r = .22$ ) and ( $r = -.08$ ) respectively. *Anti-White* attitudes are not correlated with *Multiculturalist Inclusive* ( $r = -.29$ ). Lastly, *Afrocentricity* is not correlated with *Multiculturalist Inclusive* ( $r = -.10$ ) (Worrell and Watson, 2008). Racial identity will be assessed using three Cross Racial Identity attitudes (i.e., Afrocentricity, Multiculturalist

Inclusive, Self-Hatred and Anti-White attitudes) as prior literature has indicated these subscales are of great influence. Internal consistency reliability estimates for the current study: Self-Hatred = .90, Anti-White = .83, Afrocentricity = .86 and Multiculturalist Inclusive = .79.

*Resiliency.* The Connor-Davidson Resilience scale (CD-RISC; Connor and Davidson, 2003) consists of 25 items that assess resilience. Responses are scored on a 5-point anchored scale (1 = *Not true at all*, 2 = *Rarely true*, 3 = *Sometimes true*, 4 = *Often true*, 5 = *True nearly all the time*). Total scores range from 0 to 100 with higher scores meaning higher resilience. Example items include, “I give my best effort no matter what,” “I can handle unpleasant feelings” and “I am not easily discouraged by failure.” Internal consistency has been reported of .89 and a test-retest reliability of .87 (Steinhardt & Dolbier, 2008, Brown, 2008). Convergent validity has been established with the Kobasa (1979) hardiness measure ( $r = .83$ ; Brown, 2008; Connor & Davidson, 2003), the *Sheehan Social Support Scale* ( $r = .36$ ), the *Perceived Stress Scale* ( $r = -.76$ ), the *Sheehan Stress Vulnerability Scale* (SVS;  $r = -.32$ ), and the *Sheehan Disability Scale* ( $r = -.62$ ; Connor & Davidson, 2003). The scale has an intraclass correlation coefficient of 0.87. Coefficient alpha has been reported .91 (Brown, 2008). The internal consistency reliability estimate for the current study was .91.

*Racial Socialization.* The Scale of Racial Socialization for Adolescents (SORS-A; Stevenson, 1994) consists of 45 items assessing different aspects of racial socialization experiences. Responses are scored on a 5-point anchored scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 2 = *Disagree*, 3 = *Neutral*, 4 = *Agree*, 5 = *Strongly Agree*). While initial exploratory factor analysis of the scale suggested 4 factors identified by the developers (e.g., *Spiritual and Religious Coping*, *Extended Family Coping*, *Cultural Pride Reinforcement* and *Racism*

*Awareness Teaching*) these separate subscales have tended to not produce strong reliability coefficients (i.e., .60 - .74). As such, the developers also reported on the total racial socialization scale score, which had an alpha coefficient of .75. In subsequent studies the scale has been used as both separate subscales and as total score. Items include, “My family taught me very little about racism in America,” “My parents talked about their roots to African culture with me” and “I was taught that all races were equal.” Stevenson (1993) reported a small to moderate correlation between racial socialization and family teaching about racism. The internal consistency reliability estimate for the current study was .77. In the current study the 45-item measure was cut down to 23 items, to reduce participants burden. Items were selected to make sure at least one question from each factor represented. Questions were also selected based on their salience to the population in the study, college students. As such the wording of some questions was changed to reflect what participants might have experienced while growing-up. An example of a deleted item: “Spiritual battles that people fight are more important than the physical battles” and a changed item: “I was taught that all races are equal,” rather than the original: “Children should be taught that all races are equal.” Construct validity was established by Stevenson (1995) in a sample of 287 African American adolescents with correlations between the scale and aspects of racial identity.

*Campus Racial Climate.* The *Cultural Attitudes and Climate Questionnaire (CACQ)* (Helm, Sedlacek, & Prieto, 1998). The scale consists of 100 statements assessing campus climate on a Likert type scale. There are 11 factors: Racial Tension (alpha =.73), *Cross-Cultural Comfort* (alpha =.73), *Diversity Awareness* (alpha =.67), *Racial Pressures* (alpha = .60), *Residence Hall Tension* (alpha =.69), *Fair Treatment* (alpha = .74), *Faculty Racism*

( $\alpha = .77$ ), *Respect for Other Cultures* ( $\alpha = .62$ ), *Lack of Support* ( $\alpha = .63$ ), *Comfort with Own Culture* ( $\alpha = .55$ ), *Overall Satisfaction* ( $\alpha = .78$ ; Ancis, Sedlacek, & Mohr, 2000). For this purpose of this study the following subscales will be used: racial tension, racial pressures, fair treatment, faculty racism, respect for other cultures, lack of support and overall satisfaction as they were most salient for the present study and were of most interest as they relate to possible experiences of discrimination. The total score of the subscales were used as campus racial climate was used as a covariate in the study and thus subscale scores were not needed. Example items include, "There is racial conflict on campus," "I often have difficulty getting help or support from faculty" and "I feel as though I belong in the university community." Validity has been established with Hispanic/Latino, African American, Asian American and Caucasian populations (Helm, Sedlacek & Prieto, 1998). Those with positive perceptions of their campus racial climate showed satisfaction with their institution. High levels of racial tension and lack of campus support lead to lower institutional satisfaction (Helm, Sedlacek & Prieto, 1998). The internal consistency reliability estimate for the current study was .63.

*Demographics.* Demographic questions were asked of participants such as: gender, age, year in school, major, community in which they were raised (rural suburban, urban), Racial composition of that community (mostly Black, Mixed, Mostly White), and how many racial/ethnic organizations they belong to.

#### *Procedure*

After the study was approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of Iowa State University (IRB #10-441; see Appendix F for IRB materials), e-mail addresses of students self-identified as Black were collected from the Iowa State University registrar. I also

collected information pertaining to historically Black institutions in the United States (<http://www2.ed.gov/about/inits/list/whhbcu/edlite-list.html>). Furthermore, I looked up presidents of African American student organizations, directors of Ronald E. McNair programs as well as African American studies programs at predominately White institutions in the same geographical area of the historically Black institutions. Once a list of contacts was generated potential participants were sent an e-mail with information inviting them to participate in the study (APPENDIX B). Presidents of African American student organizations, directors of Ronald E. McNair programs as well as African American studies programs were contacted via e-mail about the study and asked to pass along the opportunity to participate to African American undergraduate students. The study was conducted in an online survey format ([www.surveymonkey.com](http://www.surveymonkey.com)) where participants were asked to answer a number of questions representing: demographic information, racial identity, resiliency, racial socialization and campus racial climate in that order. In addition to the general demographic questions participants were asked more specific questions pertaining to their institution, personal life and family background. Once a participant clicked the study link for the website they were lead to the informed consent which they read and indicated their willingness to participate by pressing their agreement. Participants were encouraged to print out the informed consent document for their own records. At the end of the study participants could choose to provide information that would be used in a drawing for 1 of 4 \$50 gift certificates. Participation in the drawing was voluntary. Once participants completed the survey they were provided with debriefing information, which contained information about the purpose of the study.

## CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

*Preliminary Analysis*

*Missing Data.* One hundred and forty five participants agreed to participate in the study. If participants were missing 10% or less of the items on any particular scale then the average of all items completed for that scale/subscale was taken and that number was put in place of the missing values leading to a final sample of 117 participants (81%) with complete data. The results of my initial power analysis suggested that a sample of 146-172 would be needed to detect a difference at the .95 power level. Participants with incomplete surveys tended to drop off towards the end of the study (i.e., filled out all but the racial socialization or campus racial climate scale) and so I had data for some of the demographics and racial identity items for the majority of participants. Therefore, to examine if those who dropped out of the study differed on meaningful characteristics I conducted chi-square (i.e., gender) an independent samples *t*-tests (e.g. Self-Hatred, Anti-White, Afrocentricity, Multiculturalist Inclusive, Resiliency, Socialization and Campus Racial Climate) for those with completed surveys and incomplete surveys. The groups were similar in regard to gender ( $\chi^2 = .54, p > .05, df = 1$ ) and on the majority of measured variables: Self-Hatred  $t(143) = -.95, p > .05$ , Anti-White  $t(142) = -.98, p > .05$ , Afrocentricity  $t(143) = -1.44, p > .05$ , Resiliency  $t(128) = -.16, p > .05$ , Socialization  $t(122) = 1.75, p > .05$  and Campus Racial Climate  $t(116) = 1.65, p < .05$ . There was, however, a significant difference between complete ( $M = 30.71, SD = 4.29$ ) and incomplete surveys ( $M = 25.97, SD = 5.41$ ) on multicultural attitudes,  $t(143) = 5.04, p < .001$ . Those that completed all of the surveys reported more Multiculturalist Inclusive attitudes.

*Descriptive Statistics.* Means, standard deviations, alpha, skewness, kurtosis and scale ranges for each main variable (Racial Identity [Self-Hatred, Anti-White, Afrocentricity and Multiculturalist Inclusive], Resilience, Racial Socialization and Campus Racial Climate) are presented in Table 1.

Table 1.

*Descriptive Statistics for Main Variables*

Measure	M	SD	Range	Scale Range	$\alpha$	Skewness	Kurtosis	n
Self-Hatred	13.46	7.93	5-34	5-35	.90	.626	-.866	145
Anti-White	7.87	3.95	5-21	5-35	.83	1.68	2.236	144
Afrocentricity	15.55	6.45	5-35	5-35	.86	.527	.061	145
Multiculturalist Inc.	29.77	4.90	12-35	5-35	.79	-.962	.392	145
Resilience	108.11	11.81	71-125	25-125	.91	-.640	-.032	130
Racial Socialization	69.06	8.42	45-104	23-115	.77	.378	2.091	124
Campus Racial C.	92.83	8.56	64-120	26-130	.63	.233	1.123	118

*Note:* Self-Hatred= Cross Racial Identity Scale, CRIS items 4, 10, 17, 25, 39; Anti-White= Cross Racial Identity Scale, CRIS items 6, 14, 23, 30, 38; Afrocentricity= Cross Racial Identity Scale, CRIS items 7, 13, 22, 31, 37; Multiculturalist Inclusive = Cross Racial Identity Scale, CRIS items 5, 16, 24, 33, 40; Resilience= Connor-Davidson Resilience Scale; Racial Socialization= Scale of Racial Socialization for Adolescents-Modified; Campus Racial Climate= The Cultural Attitudes and Climate Questionnaire-Modified.

*Correlation Matrix.* Correlations between the main variables are presented in Table 2. The strongest correlation was found between Anti-White and Afrocentricity ( $r = .38, p < .01, n = 144$ ). Individuals reporting high Anti-White attitudes also endorsed Afrocentricity attitudes. Multiculturalist Inclusive attitudes strongly correlated with Campus Racial Climate ( $r = .28, p < .01, n = 118$ ). Individuals with a strong racial identity and acceptance of others report a better campus racial climate. Self-Hatred attitudes negatively correlated with resilience ( $r = -.19, p < .05, n = 130$ ). Thus individuals reporting high Self-Hatred attitudes

also endorsed low resiliency. Anti-White attitudes negatively correlated with Multicultural Inclusive attitudes ( $r = -.23, p < .05, n = 144$ ). Individuals reporting high Anti-White attitudes also endorsed low Multicultural Inclusive attitudes. Afrocentricity attitudes positively correlated with racial socialization. Individuals reporting high racial socialization also endorsed Afrocentricity attitudes ( $r = .19, p < .05, n = 124$ ). Lastly, racial socialization positively correlated with resiliency. Individuals reporting high racial socialization also endorsed resiliency ( $r = .19, p < .05, n = 123$ ).

Table 2.

*Correlation Matrix of Main Variables*

Measures	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1 Self-Hatred	--	.16	.08	.10	-.19*	.06	-.01
2 Anti-White		--	.38**	-.23**	-.09	.06	-.07
3 Afrocentricity			--	.02	.02	.19*	.04
4 Multiculturalist Inclusive				--	.11	.07	.28**
5 Resilience					--	.19*	.12
6 Racial Socialization						--	.03
7 Campus Racial Climate							--

### *Main Analyses*

I examined whether racial identity (Afrocentricity, Multiculturalist Inclusive, Anti-White and Self-Hatred) would *mediate* the relationship between racial socialization and resilience, controlling for campus racial climate. Specifically, I expected racial socialization to be linked to resiliency through two positive aspects (Multiculturalist and Afrocentricity) and two negative aspects (Self-Hatred and anti-White). I expected a positive relationship between racial socialization and

Multiculturalist and Afrocentricity identities as well as a positive relationship between Multiculturalist and Afrocentricity identities and resiliency. I also expected a negative relationship between racial socialization and Self-Hatred and Anti-White identities as well as a negative relationship between Self-Hatred, Anti-White and resiliency.

To test this hypothesis I used hierarchical multiple regression. In Step 1, I entered the covariate campus racial climate and racial socialization. In Step two, racial identity was added into the model. In Step 3, all variables were entered into the model. The results of each step of the regression are presented in Table 3. The regression model with all of the variables entered into the model,  $F(6, 109) = 2.43, p = .03$ , was significant. The hypothesized mediation effects were not present. However, there was a main effect found for Self-Hatred and racial socialization. Participants endorsing greater Self-Hatred reported lower levels of resiliency and those higher on racial socialization reported higher levels of resiliency. <sup>1</sup>

Table 3.

*Hierarchical multiple regression testing the mediating effect of Racial Identity on Resiliency*

Testing Steps	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>Adj R</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>Chn.</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>
Testing Step 1										
Constant	77.34	13.81		5.60	.22	.05	.03	.04	2.91	2, 114
Climate	.15	.12	.11	1.24						
Socialization	.25	.12	.19	2.05*						
Testing Step 2										
Constant	97.94	11.32		8.65	.23	.05	.04	.04	3.14	2, 114
Climate	.15	.12	.11	1.24						
Self-Hatred	-.27	.13	-.20	-2.16*						
Testing Step 2										
Constant	96.71	11.76		8.23	.17	.03	.01	.01	1.63	2, 113
Climate	.15	.12	.13	1.22						
Anti-White	-.33	.27	-.12	-1.24						
Testing Step 2										
Constant	94.43	11.57		8.17	.12	.01	-.00	.00	.81	2, 114
Climate	.15	.12	.12	1.26						
Afrocentricity	-.04	.16	-.02	-.24						
Testing Step 2										
Constant	94.47	12.20		7.73	.12	.01	-.00	.00	.78	2, 114
Climate	.16	.13	.12	1.22						
Multicultural	-.02	.25	-.01	-.07						
Testing Step 3										
Constant	77.50	14.74		5.26	.34	.12	.07	.06	2.43	6, 109
Climate	.13	.12	.10	1.05						
Socialization	.30	.12	.22	2.44*						
Self-Hatred	-.311	.13	-.23	-2.36*						
Anti-White	-.276	.29	-.10	-.95						
Afrocentricity	.01	.17	.01	.08						
Multicultural	.12	.26	.05	.47						

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

I also examined racial identity (Afrocentricity, Multiculturalist Inclusive, Anti-White and Self-Hatred) as a *moderator* of the relationship between racial socialization and resilience controlling for campus racial climate. The positive relationship between racial socialization and resiliency will be stronger for those with high Multiculturalist Inclusive identity than those with low Multiculturalist Inclusive identity; it will also be stronger for those with high Afrocentricity identity than those with low Afrocentricity identity. In turn,

the relationship will be weaker for those with high Self-Hatred identity than those with low Self-Hatred identity and weaker for those with high Anti-White identity than those with low Anti-White identity.

To test this hypothesis I used hierarchical multiple regression. Prior to creating the interaction terms and prior to being entered in the regression the variables were standardized (standard deviation = 1 and mean = 0). In Step 1 the covariate: Campus Racial Climate was entered. In Step 2 Self-Hatred, Anti-White, Afrocentricity, Multiculturalist Inclusive and Racial Socialization were entered. In Step 3 the interaction term was entered (Self-Hatred x Racial Socialization, Anti-White x Racial Socialization, Afrocentricity x Racial Socialization and Multiculturalist Inclusive x Racial Socialization). The results of the regression are presented in Table 4. The overall regression model was significant,  $F(10, 105) = 2.109, p = .03$ . However, none of the interaction terms added to the model. As above, two main effects were found. There was a main effect found for Self-Hatred and Racial Socialization.<sup>1</sup>

Table 4.

*Hierarchical multiple regression testing the moderating effect of Racial Identity on Resiliency*

Testing Steps	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>Adj R</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>Chn.</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>
Testing Step 1										
Constant	108.03	1.04		104.03	.12	.02	.01	.02	1.73	1, 114
Climate	1.38	1.05	.12	1.32						
Testing Step 2										
Constant	107.68	1.04		103.66	.34	.12	.07	.10	2.43	6, 109
Climate	1.12	1.06	.10	1.05						
Socialization	2.51	1.03	.22	2.44*						
Self-Hatred	-2.46	1.05	-.23	-2.36*						
Anti-White	-2.09	1.15	-.01	-.95						
Afrocentricity	-.89	1.09	.01	.08						
Multicultural	.60	1.28	.05	.47						
Testing Step 3										
Constant	107.66	1.05		102.58	.41	.17	.09	.05	2.11	10, 105
Climate	1.38	1.08	.12	1.28						
Socialization	2.08	1.08	.19	1.93*						
Self-Hatred	-2.57	1.04	-.24	-2.46*						
Anti-White	-1.21	1.15	-.11	-1.06						
Afrocentricity	-.10	1.10	-.01	-.09						
Multicultural	.85	1.28	.07	.67						
S-H x Soc	1.25	1.21	.11	1.03						
A-W x Soc	1.83	1.37	.20	1.34						
Afro x Soc	-.85	1.27	-.10	-.67						
Multi x Soc	-1.27	1.38	-.09	-.92						

\**p* < .05, \*\**p* < .01

## CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

The current study sought to expand our understanding the links between racial socialization, racial identity, and resiliency for African-American students. Building on previous research this study highlights important connections between racial socialization, racial identity and resiliency. Results showed that for African-American students the higher their reported racial socialization the more likely they were to experience resiliency. This finding is in line with Brown (2008) who found that racial socialization messages were related to self-reported resiliency and reinforces the connection between racial socialization and resiliency. The current study also adds to this literature on resiliency and racial identity with its finding of a direct link between racial identity (in particular Self-Hatred) and resiliency. The more an individual expressed Self-Hatred attitudes the less they self-reported resiliency. While previous studies have not examined resiliency and racial identity directly the current results are consistent with previous findings such as Thompson et al, (2000) who found that self-reported Pre-Encounter 2 (Self-Hatred) attitudes were related to indicating more acculturative stress. Self-Hatred is also related to: lack of self-actualization (Parham & Helms, 1985a), lack of self acceptance, depressive symptomatology (Carter, 1991; Munford, 1994), feelings of inferiority, hypersensitivity, personal inadequacy, immature psychological defense style (Parham & Helms, 1985b), lack of unconditional positive self regard (Speight, Vera, & Derrickson, 1996) and anxiety (Nghe & Mahalik, 2001). As such, this study adds further evidence that endorsing Pre-Encounter attitudes (Self-Hatred in particular) results in more negative psychological outcomes and the reduction of positive psychological outcomes such as resiliency.

*Racial Identity and Resiliency*

Interestingly Self-Hatred attitudes were the only subscale negatively correlated with resiliency. As such, a surprising finding was that the positive aspects of racial identity did not predict resiliency. Theoretically it is believed that a more positive racial identity (i.e. Internalization attitudes) should lead to better psychological health outcomes such as resiliency. This has been established in studies showing that Internalization attitudes are related to high self-esteem (Poindexter-Cameron & Robinson, 1997; Speight et al., 1996) and low levels of perceived culture-specific stressors (Neville et al., 1997) and low levels of depression (Mimford, 1994). A possible reason for this result may be due to difference in how self-hatred and other attitudes (Anti-White, Afrocentricity and Multiculturalist Inclusive) are. Richardson (2002) references three waves of resiliency and in the third wave there is an understanding of an internal force. This internal force pushes the individual towards “self actualization, “altruism,” “wisdom” and “harmony,” and the internal force is resilience.

Self-Hatred attitudes may reflect an internal negative experience; which may limit the individuals’ ability to overcome adversity; pushing them away from resilience. In other words, Self-Hatred may make an individual limited in their ability to promote or utilize positive resources in the face of adversity and therefore, could be particularly detrimental and most likely to show direct effects. In turn, Anti-White (negative reaction to Whites), may also represent an internal negative experience as Anti-White attitudes represent further need to continue to develop a positive racial identity, but its internal focus on the White community may provide some positive external motivation towards managing adversity in one’s environment. Afrocentricity (a strong positive identification with the African-American

community) and Multiculturalist Inclusive (a positive appreciation of self and appreciation of those from different backgrounds) attitudes reflect more of an internal positive focus to handling adversity. This positive internal focus on overcoming adversity may show more limited direct effects.

However, the above ascertains should be taken with caution as the limited findings with regard to the positive aspects of racial identity could be due to several limitation of the sample. For example, the low sample size may have reduced the ability to find an effect, if one exists (MacCallum, Widaman, Zhang & Hong, 1999). The results of my initial power analysis suggested that a sample of 146-172 would be needed to detect a difference at the .95 power level. The current results may also be due to a restriction in the range from participants dropping out of the study. Those that choose not to fully complete the study were found to score lower on Multiculturalist Inclusive attitudes. Having participants in the study potentially be higher on Multicultural Inclusiveness ( $M = 29.77$  with a range 5-35) could limit the usefulness of the scale. Thus, one possibility is that the link is present but this study was not able to find it due to study limitations.

A second possibility is Racial Identity and Resiliency are not linked in the same way as self-esteem, reduced stress and depression. As noted above particular aspects of Racial Identity (Afrocentricity and Multicultural Inclusive attitudes) may also represent positive internal forces, like resiliency (separate but related constructs). Additionally the resiliency scale used in the study may have also had an impact. The Connor Davidson Resilience Scale showed strong reliability scale scores in this sample ( $r = .91$ ) but may not have fully tapped into what it means to be resilient for an African American student on a college campus. The

questions asked in the CD-RISC assess more general resiliency and not resiliency in the face of racism or discrimination that an African American student may face while on campus. The development of such as scale will be important for future research on the topic of resiliency for African-American college students.

### *Mediation and Moderation*

To help understand the specific factors that promote resiliency I also attempted to examine the possible mediating and moderating effects of the relationship between racial socialization, racial identity, and resiliency. It has been suggested that racial identity can buffer the psychological impacts of racism (Cross & Vandiver, 2001) and that it mediates negative outcomes (prejudice, psychological well being; Schmitt, Spears, & Branscombe, 2003), adjustment to serious illness (Barbarin, 1999) and alcohol dependence (Gong, Takeuchi, Agbayani- Siewert, & Tacata, 2002). However the current study did not support moderation or mediation. Given that Miller and MacIntosh (1999) were able to find a link between racial identity and negative psychological health outcome [a positive racial identity was able to protect/buffer African-American adolescents against daily hassles (i.e. stress) they face] one might expect the same effect to be shown for a positive psychological outcome such as resiliency. As noted above, some of these tests were limited due to sample size, sample characteristics, range and scale used, but if the findings are true it could mean that there are direct effects but no interaction or mediation effects.

### *Other Findings*

Some other interesting findings regarding racial identity also support some previous research on the connection between racial identity variables. Several correlations were found that the match theoretical assertions posited in the study. The strongest correlation was found between Anti-White and Afrocentricity attitudes. For African-American students the more they identify and immerse themselves in African-American culture the more they may hold negative feelings or beliefs towards Whites. This may lead to struggle for African-American students attending predominately White institutions as they are surrounded by those of cultural backgrounds different than their own. Multiculturalist Inclusive attitudes strongly correlated with Campus Racial Climate. These results are in line with Anglin & Wade (2007) who found that holding a Multiculturalist Inclusive identity, specifically, was associated with better adjustment to college and Neville et al. (1997) who found that holding Internalization attitudes lead to lower levels of perceived culture-specific stressors. As would be theoretically expected Anti-White attitudes showed a negative relationship with Multiculturalist Inclusive attitudes.

### *Strengths and Limitations*

A strength of the sample was that it was diverse in terms of having 53 different institutions from across the United States. However, this also provides some limits due to the low number of participants from each institution, which did not allow for a comparison across region or University's with different environments. Similarly, a clear limitation of this study is its sample size. The relatively low sample size for the full regression models ( $N = 117$ ) limited our adequate power to detect significant effects was not established. With a larger sample size significant effects may have been found. The means for the scales were

highest on Multiculturalist Inclusive attitudes ( $M = 29.77$ , range 5-35) and lowest for Anti-White attitudes ( $M = 7.87$ , range 5-35). The standard deviation was the highest for Self-Hatred attitudes ( $M = 13.46$ ,  $SD = 7.93$ ). The sample also scored high on resiliency ( $M = 108.11$ ,  $SD = 11.81$ ). The current results may also be due to a restriction in the range from participants dropping out of the study. Those that choose not to fully complete the study were found to score lower on Multiculturalist Inclusive attitudes. The Connor Davidson Resilience Scale showed strong reliability scale scores in this sample ( $r = .91$ ) but may not have fully tapped into what it means to be resilient for an African American student on a college campus. Interestingly the largest population of the sample was graduate students (38.6%) who may have attended a variety of institutions during their educational attainments thus potentially influencing the results. While there was a diversity of institutions included in the study, there was only a small sample of participants from historically African-American institutions.

Future researchers should work towards a more representative sample and to examine if there are differences between students attending predominately White versus historically African-American institutions. This study used a global measure of racial socialization and future research should examine both global racial socialization measures verses measuring specific aspects of racial socialization. It is also important to development better measures to assess resiliency for African American students attending college campuses. In the future it will be helpful to define resiliency as it relates to students of color and to create a survey instrument that can tap into what resiliency looks like for people of color on college campuses.

### *Implications and Conclusions*

This study highlights the importance of developing a healthy racial socialization to promote positive outcomes such as resiliency. Resiliency has been linked with the ability to act, positive self-esteem, feelings of self-efficacy as well as secure relationships (Rutter, 1985). Blum (1998) also indicated that resiliency is linked with characteristics such as: spirituality, positive social skills, internal locus of control, higher intelligence, positive self-concept, higher self-esteem, and connectedness with parents/guardians, family cohesion and sibling closeness. Similarly, resiliency has been linked with problem-focused coping (i.e. direct problem solving) and negatively associated with wishful thinking and avoidance styles of coping (Markstrom, Marshall & Tryon, 2000). Given the shift towards toward a positive psychology (building on positive qualities such as well-being and perseverance shifting away from the focus on suffering and disease) a focus on the positive aspects of the human condition allows for prevention of negative outcomes and gives insight into how these strengths can be fostered in others (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). Thus, practitioners should be aware not only of negative outcomes but also how to promote positive outcomes in students such as resiliency. To promote resiliency in the African American student population it will be important for practitioners to be aware of the African American experience on college campuses. It has been well established that African American students face challenges on college campuses. African-American students attending a predominately White northeastern university reported that racial discrimination is widespread and prevalent with 98.5% of the sample stating they had experienced discrimination during the past year. On the whole, there is a sixty-one percent prevalence rate for experiencing day-to-day racial

discrimination (Kessler, Mickelson, & Williams, 1999). African-American students have also reported more direct forms of harassment such as being chased or property damage (D'Augelli & Hershberger, 1993). Given these challenges it is important to focus on how to build strengths in students. It is also important to become an advocate for resources for African American students. It is important for students to be aware of the safe and supportive spaces that exist on campus that can help them to manage experiences they may face such as discrimination on campus. Additionally work must continue on educating student populations about issues related to race and ethnicity. As this study suggests, it is important for practitioners to be aware of feelings of Self-Hatred as they can limit the success of African-American students. One such way to address this is by building positive internal resources/feelings such as self worth, self-regard/self-esteem, reducing negative internal resources such as feelings of inferiority, depression symptomatology, hypersensitivity, anxiety and by working to build a more mature psychological defense style. Racial socialization is the process by which an individuals' caregiver communicate messages that bolster identity (Stevenson, 1995). To build on these messages it is important for practitioners to have an understanding of the messages communicated to the individual and to continue to relay messages that can bolster a positive sense of identity. Building resiliency can help African-American students to manage and navigate outcomes that may be challenging due to discrimination they may face and can help them to successfully matriculate.

Overall more research is needed on the connection between racial identity and resiliency. There appears to be some direct links, but more understanding is needed regarding

such links and whether or not true mediation or moderation exists. This focus can be helpful to the field on how we can promote more positive outcomes as the field sees to direct its attention toward positive psychology outcomes.

1. As previous literature has found that resilience can be influenced by gender (Markstrom, Marshall & Tryon, 2000) and since previous research has highlighted how a positive racial identity can impact adjustment to college which may mean greater participation in racial/multicultural organizations (Anglin & Wade, 2007) I will controlled these factors in the model.

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## APPENDIX A: INFORMED CONSENT

### CONSENT FORM FOR: Well-being among African American College Students

This form describes a research project. It has information to help you decide whether or not you wish to participate. Research studies include only people who choose to take part—your participation is completely voluntary. Please discuss any questions you have about the study or about this form with the project staff before deciding to participate.

#### **Who is conducting this study?**

This study is being conducted by Asale A. Hubbard B.S.

#### **Why am I invited to participate in this study?**

You are being asked to take part in this study because you are an African American undergraduate student. You should not participate if you are under 18 years of age or do not self-identify as African American.

#### **What is the purpose of this study?**

The purpose of this study is to explore the experiences of African American undergraduate students who are attending predominately White and historically Black institutions.

#### **What will I be asked to do?**

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to complete an online survey about your experiences as an African American undergraduate student. You may be asked demographic questions, questions about your campus climate, resiliency, identity and socialization experiences.

Your participation will last for less than 1 hour.

#### **What are the possible risks and benefits of my participation?**

**Risks** – The possible risks related to your participation in this research are that this study may ask you to think about difficult issues but should be no more stressful than typical daily activities. If you experience discomfort you may contact the investigators about your concerns. You are free to skip any question that you do not wish to answer or that makes you feel uncomfortable. You are also free at any time to choose to end your participation. There will be no negative effects if you choose to skip a question or discontinue your participation in the study. If you choose to end your participation all data collected will be erased.

**Benefits** – We hope that this research will benefit society by furthering knowledge that can be helpful to clinicians, teachers and administrators in meeting the needs of African American undergraduate students. In taking this study we hope that you will benefit by thinking about your racial identity and what it means to you.

#### **How will the information I provide be used?**

The information you provide will be used to help researchers gain knowledge into the experiences of African American undergraduate students on predominately White campuses.

### **What measures will be taken to ensure the confidentiality of the data or to protect my privacy?**

Records identifying participants will be kept confidential to the extent allowed by applicable laws and regulations. Records will not be made publicly available. However, federal government regulatory agencies, auditing departments of Iowa State University, and the ISU Institutional Review Board (a committee that reviews and approves research studies with human subjects) may inspect and/or copy your records for quality assurance and analysis. These records may contain private information.

To ensure confidentiality to the extent allowed by law, precautions will be taken to protect your privacy including: combining your data with the data collected from other participants so that no individual information will be identifiable. All data will be stored in password protected computer files. If this study is published names of institutions selected will be kept confidential. No identifiers collected will be linked to participant responses. IP addresses will be stored separately from survey data and will not be linked to participant responses. IP addresses of participants will be checked periodically to check for repeated data entries. The privacy policy of survey monkey states that they will not use the information collected from surveys in any way, shape, or form. Survey monkey collects IP addresses for system administration and record keeping. The principal investigator (Asale Hubbard) and research faculty supervisor (David Vogel) are the only ones who will have access to the data. The data will be stored on a computer in a locked office within the Department of Psychology. A password is required to access the data and only the principal investigator and faculty supervisor will have access to the password.

### **Will I incur any costs from participating or will I be compensated?**

You will not have any costs from participating in this study. By participating in this study you may choose to enter into a drawing to win 1 of 4 \$50 gift certificates. The odds are 1/250 of winning. If you choose to enter into the drawing you will need to provide contact information (e-mail address, street address, city, state and zip code). By collecting your contact information we can ensure that you are able to receive the certificate.

### **What are my rights as a human research participant?**

Participating in this study is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part in the study or to stop participating at any time, for any reason, without penalty or negative consequences. You can skip any questions that you do not wish to answer. Please print a copy of this informed consent for your records.

### **Whom can I call if I have questions or problems?**

You are encouraged to ask questions at any time during this study.

- For further information about the study contact Asale Hubbard, at [ahubb@iastate.edu](mailto:ahubb@iastate.edu), or 515-294-0169 and Dr. David Vogel, at [dvogel@iastate.edu](mailto:dvogel@iastate.edu), or 515-294-1582.
- If you have any questions about the rights of research subjects or research-related injury, please contact the IRB Administrator, (515) 294-4566, [IRB@iastate.edu](mailto:IRB@iastate.edu), or Director, (515) 294-3115, Office for Responsible Research, 1138 Pearson Hall, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa 50011.

## APPENDIX B: RECRUITMENT E-MAIL

Hello,

My name is Asale Hubbard and I am an African American graduate student currently working on my Masters in Counseling Psychology. After having gone to a predominately White institution for my undergraduate experience I would like to study the experiences of African American students at such institutions and how they might differ from the experiences of those attending historically Black institutions. Your experiences are of great importance to me and through my research I hope to gain knowledge that can help to improve the experiences African American students have on predominately White campuses. I thank you in advance your willingness to participate in this very brief study.

Link to Study: <http://www.surveymonkey.com/s/HHDBZ7Z>

In this study you will be presented with online questions including demographic questions in regards to your experience on campus. Participation is voluntary and will last less than 1 hour.

Participating in this study may ask you to think about your racial identity or particular experiences on campus but should be no more stressful than typical daily activities. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and you may refuse to participate. If you decide to not participate in the study, it will not result in any penalty.

To ensure confidentiality to the extent permitted by law, the following measures will be taken. No identifying information will be associated with your responses at any time. All responses are completely confidential. If the results are published, only group, not individual, responses will be reported.

This study has been approved by the Institutional Review Board. For further information about the study contact the investigator Asale Hubbard, at [ahubb@iastate.edu](mailto:ahubb@iastate.edu) or 515-294-0169. If you have any questions about the rights of research subjects or research-related injury, please contact IRB Administrator, (515) 294-4566, [IRB@iastate.edu](mailto:IRB@iastate.edu), or Director, (515) 294-3115, Office for Responsible Research, 1138 Pearson Hall, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa 50011.

Link to Study: <http://www.surveymonkey.com/s/HHDBZ7Z>

Thank you,

Asale A. Hubbard  
Department of Psychology  
Iowa State University  
515-294-0169  
[ahubb@iastate.edu](mailto:ahubb@iastate.edu)

## APPENDIX C: REMINDER RECRUITMENT E-MAIL

Hello,

My name is Asale Hubbard and I am an African American graduate student currently working on my Masters in Counseling Psychology. You were recently sent an e-mail asking for your participation in an online study and chance to win 1 of 4 \$50 gift certificates. I am sending this e-mail to remind you about the study should you wish to participate.

Link to Study- <http://www.surveymonkey.com/s/HHDBZ7Z>

After having gone to a predominately White institution for my undergraduate experience I would like to study the experiences of African American students at such institutions and how they might differ from the experiences of those attending historically Black institutions. Your experiences are of great importance to me and through my research I hope to gain knowledge that can help to improve the experiences African American students have on predominately White campuses. I thank you in advance your willingness to participate in this very brief study.

In this study you will be presented with online questions including demographic questions in regards to your experience on campus. Participation is voluntary and will last less than 1 hour.

Participating in this study may ask you to think about your racial identity or particular experiences on campus but should be no more stressful than typical daily activities. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and you may refuse to participate. If you decide to not participate in the study, it will not result in any penalty.

To ensure confidentiality to the extent permitted by law, the following measures will be taken. No identifying information will be associated with your responses at any time. All responses are completely confidential. If the results are published, only group, not individual, responses will be reported.

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Link to Study- <http://www.surveymonkey.com/s/HHDBZ7Z>

Thank you,

Asale A. Hubbard

Department of Psychology

Iowa State University

[515-294-0169](tel:515-294-0169)/[ahubb@iastate.edu](mailto:ahubb@iastate.edu)

## APPENDIX D: DEBRIEFING

Thank you for your participation. The study you just participated in was designed to better understand the relationship between campus climate, racial socialization experiences, racial identity and resilience.

As mentioned before, all responses will be kept confidential and no identifying information has been collected. If you provided information to be entered into the drawing identifying information collected for the drawing will not be connected to your survey responses. Your data will also be combined with the data of other participants to further ensure anonymity. These data will be kept in a locked cabinet, in a locked office.

If you have any concerns about the study you just participated in, the researchers contact information is provided.

For further information about the study, contact the principal investigator, Asale Hubbard, [ahubb@iastate.edu](mailto:ahubb@iastate.edu), or 515-294-0169. If you have any questions about the rights of research subjects or research-related injury, please contact the IRB Administrator, (515) 294-4566, [IRB@iastate.edu](mailto:IRB@iastate.edu), or Director, (515) 294-3115, Office of Research Assurances, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa 50011.

## APPENDIX E: MEASURES

## Demographic Questions

Gender

Age

GPA

Major

Year in school

Name of School & City where school is located

Why did you choose this institution?

(It was In-State, It was Out-of-State, I was given a scholarship/award, My (family) financial resources/constraints, Racial Composition of the institution, A relative of mine attended this institution, other \_\_\_\_\_)

Primary social group (Mostly Black, Mixed, Mostly White)

Racial composition of Campus (Mostly Black, Mixed, Mostly White)

Racial composition of Community surrounding Campus (Mostly Black, Mixed, Mostly White)

Description of Community (Rural, Suburban, Urban, Other)

Are you a United States Citizen (Yes or No)? If not where are you from?

How many racial/ethnic organizations do you belong to (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 5+)?

Best estimate of your/your family's yearly income before taxes?

(Less than \$10,000, Between \$10,000 and \$20,000, Between \$20,000 and \$30,000, Between \$30,000 and \$40,000, Between \$40,000 and \$60,000, Over \$60,000)

Highest education level obtained by mother (female guardian) and/or father (male guardian)-  
For Mother check M and for father check F.

(Elementary school, some high school, high school diploma or equivalent, business or trade school, some college, associate or two-year degree, bachelor's or four-year degree, some graduate or professional school, graduate or professional degree)

### Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS)

**Instructions:** Read each item and indicate to what degree it reflects your own thoughts and feelings, using the 7-point scale below. There are no right or wrong answers. Base your responses on your opinion at the present time. To ensure that your answers can be used, please respond to the statements as written, and place your numerical response on the line provided to the left of each question.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
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1. As an African American, life in American is good for me.
2. I think of myself primarily as an American, and seldom as a member of a racial group
3. Too many Blacks “glamorize” the drug trade and fail to see opportunities that don’t involve crime.
4. I go through periods when I am down on myself because I am Black.
5. As a Multiculturalist, I am connected to many groups (Hispanics, Asian-Americans, Whites, Jews, gays & lesbians, etc.)
6. I have a strong feeling of hatred and distain for all White people.
7. I see and think about things from an Afrocentric perspective
8. When I walk into a room, I always take note of the racial make-up of the people around me.
9. I am not so much a member of a racial group, as I am an American.
10. I sometimes struggle with negative feelings about being Black.
11. My relationship with God pays an important role in my life.
12. Blacks place more emphasis on having a good time than on hard work.
13. I believe that only those Black people who accept an Afrocentric perspective can truly solve the race problem in America.
14. I hate the White community and all that it represents.
15. When I have a chance to make a new friend, issues of race and ethnicity seldom play a role in who that person might be.
16. I believe it is important to have both a Black identity and a multicultural perspective, which is inclusive of everyone (e.g., Asians, Latinos, gays & lesbians, Jews, Whites, etc.)
17. When I look in the mirror at my Black image, sometimes I do not feel good about what I see.
18. If I had to put a label on my identity, it would be “American,” and not African American.
19. When I read the newspaper or a magazine, I always look for articles and stories that deal with race and ethnic issues.
20. Many African Americans are too lazy to see opportunities that are right in front of them.
21. As far as I am concerned, affirmative action will be needed for a long time.

22. Black people cannot truly be free until our daily lives are guided by Afrocentric values and principles.
23. White people should be destroyed.
24. I embrace my own Black identity, but I also respect and celebrate the cultural identities of other groups (e.g., Native Americans, Whites, Latinos, Jews, Asian Americans, gays & lesbians, etc.)
25. Privately, I sometimes have negative feelings about being Black.
26. If I had to put myself into categories, first I would say that I am American, and second I am a member of a racial group.
27. My feelings and thoughts about God are very important to me.
28. African Americans are too quick to turn to crime to solve their problems.
29. When I have a chance to decorate a room, I tend to select pictures, posters, or works of art that express strong racial-cultural themes.
30. I hate White people.
31. I respect the ideas that other Black people hold, but I believe that the best way to solve our problems is to think Afrocentrically.
32. When I vote in an election, the first thing I think about is the candidate's record on racial and cultural issues.
33. I believe it is important to have both a Black identity and a multicultural perspective, because this connects me to other groups (Hispanics, Asian-Americans, Whites, Jews, gays & lesbians, etc.)
34. I have developed an identity that stresses my experiences as an American more than my experiences as a member of a racial group.
35. During a typical week in my life, I think about racial and cultural issues many, many times.
36. Blacks place too much importance on racial protest and not enough on hard work and education.
37. Black people will never be free until we embrace an Afrocentric perspective.
38. My negative feelings toward White people are very intense.
39. I sometimes have negative feelings about being Black.
40. As a Multiculturalist, it is important for me to be connected with individuals from all cultural backgrounds (Latinos, gays & lesbians, Jews, Native Americans, Asian-Americans, etc.)

### Connor–Davidson resilience scale (CD-RISC)

**Instructions:** Read each item and indicate to what degree it reflects your own thoughts and feelings, using the 5-point scale below. There are no right or wrong answers. Base your responses on your opinion at the present time. To ensure that your answers can be used, please respond to the statements as written, and place your numerical response on the line provided to the left of each question.

1= Not true at all, 2= Rarely True, 3= Sometimes True, 4= Often True, 5= True nearly all the time

1. I work to attain my goals
2. I take pride in my achievements
3. I believe I can achieve my goals
4. I have a strong sense of purpose
5. I am in control of my life
6. I like challenges
7. I give my best effort no matter what
8. I think of myself as a strong person
9. When things look hopeless, I don't give up
10. I tend to bounce back after illness or hardship
11. I see the humorous side of things
12. I have close and secure relationships
13. I can deal with whatever comes my way
14. I believe coping with stress strengthens me
15. I am able to adapt to change
16. I know where to turn for help
17. Past success gives me confidence for new challenges
18. I can handle unpleasant feelings
19. Under pressure, I can focus and think clearly
20. I make unpopular or difficult decisions
21. I prefer to take the lead in problem solving
22. I have to act on a hunch
23. I am not easily discouraged by failure
24. I believe that sometimes fate or God can help me
25. I believe things happen for a reason

### Scale of Racial Socialization for Adolescents (SORS)-Modified

**Instructions:** Read each item and indicate to what degree it reflects your own thoughts and feelings, using the 5-point scale below. There are no right or wrong answers. Base your responses on your opinion at the present time. To ensure that your answers can be used, please respond to the statements as written, and place your numerical response on the line provided to the left of each question.

1=Strongly Disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neutral, 4= Agree, 5=Strongly Agree

1. I was taught early that God can protect me from racial hatred.
2. I was taught that all races are equal.
3. Racism and discrimination were the hardest things I had to face as a Black child.
4. I was told (it was implied) that getting a good education is still the best way for a Black child to survive racism.
5. Having a large family helped my family survive life struggles.
6. "Don't forget who your people are because you may need them someday."
7. Schools should be required to teach all children about Black history.
8. Teachers should make it so Black children can see signs of Black culture in classroom.
9. If Black parents teach their children that Blacks have fewer opportunities than Whites, it may help them to survive racism and be successful.
10. Parents can teach their children to be proud to be Black without saying a word.
11. Teaching children about Black history will help them to survive a hostile world.
12. More job opportunities would be open to African Americans if people were not racist.
13. My parents talked about their roots to African culture with me.
14. My parents taught me about racism.
15. Whites do not think of Black people as lazy today like they used to believe 30 or more years ago.
16. Families who talk about racism to their children will lead them to doubt themselves.
17. Black parents should not teach their children to speak their mind because they could be attacked by others in society.
18. Whites do not have more opportunities than Blacks.
19. Our society is fair toward Black people.
20. Black children will feel good about being Black in a school with mostly White children.
21. When children are younger than 5, racism doesn't bother them.
22. A Black person will not be harassed simply because she or he is Black.
23. My family taught me very little about racism in America.

### The Cultural Attitudes and Climate Questionnaire (CACQ)-Modified

**Instructions:** Read each item and indicate to what degree it reflects your own thoughts and feelings, using the 5-point scale below. There are no right or wrong answers. Base your responses on your opinion at the present time. To ensure that your answers can be used, please respond to the statements as written, and place your numerical response on the line provided to the left of each question.

1=Strongly Disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neutral, 4= Agree, 5=Strongly Agree

1. There is racial conflict on campus.
2. There is racial/ethnic separation on campus.
3. There are interracial tensions in the classroom.
4. I have been exposed to a racist atmosphere in the classroom.
5. I have been exposed to a racist atmosphere outside the classroom.
6. Students are resentful of others whose race/ethnicity is different from their own.
7. I am comfortable going to see a faculty member of my own race/ethnicity.
8. I am comfortable speaking with others about my racial/ethnic background.
9. I am comfortable being in situations where I am the only person of my racial/ethnic group.
10. I am comfortable saying what I think about racial/ethnic issues.
11. I am comfortable being with people whose racial/ethnic backgrounds are different from my own.
12. I am comfortable being with people whose racial/ethnic backgrounds are the same as my own.
13. I feel there are expectations about my academic performance because of my race/ethnicity.
14. I feel pressured to participate in ethnic activities at the university.
15. I feel I need to minimize various characteristics or my racial/ethnic-culture (e.g., language & dress) to be able to fit in at the university
16. I feel I am expected to represent my race or ethnic group in discussions in class.
17. I have often been exposed to a racist atmosphere created by faculty in the classroom.
18. I have often been exposed to a racist atmosphere created by faculty outside the classroom.
19. Faculty respect students of different racial and ethnic groups.
20. Students respect other students of different racial and ethnic groups.
21. There is great deal of friendships between students of different racial and ethnic groups.
22. This university provides an environment for the free and open expression of ideas, opinions, and beliefs.
23. Overall, my educational experience at this university has been a rewarding one.
24. I would recommend this university to siblings or friends as a good place to go to college.
25. The overall quality of academic programs at this university is excellent.
26. I feel as though I belong in the university community

## APPENDIX F: IRB APPROVAL

----- Forwarded message -----

From: **Bappe, Roxanne L [ORR]** <rbappe@iastate.edu>  
Date: Tue, Nov 16, 2010 at 9:06 AM  
Subject: IRB ID 10-441 - Approved Materials (Hubbard)  
To: "Hubbard, Asale A [PSYCH]" <ahubb@iastate.edu>  
Cc: "dvogel@iastate.edu" <dvogel@iastate.edu>, "psychadm@iastate.edu" <psychadm@iastate.edu>

Dear Asale,

Attached are your approval letter and copy of your approved IRB application. Please note that the approval is contingent upon approval from the other institutions where you plan to recruit students. Be sure to send a copy of the approval letters to us for inclusion in your file.

Feel free to contact us if you have any questions.

Sincerely,  
Roxanne

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**Roxanne Bappe**  
IRB Coordinator  
Office for Responsible Research  
Iowa State University  
1138 Pearson Hall  
Ames, IA 50011  
[515-294-4215](tel:515-294-4215)  
[515-294-4267](tel:515-294-4267) fax  
[www.compliance.iastate.edu](http://www.compliance.iastate.edu)