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The purpose of the current study was to understand and attempt to contextualize resilience and the nuanced experiences of Black college women and discover new information that might be insightful to help dismantle institutional barriers that prohibit academic success and overall well-being. The sample consisted of 288 Black female college students. Secondary data analysis was utilized to examine any significant association between racial socialization, resilience, and racial-ethnic identity. Latent profile analysis was performed to identify resilience profiles. Three distinct resilience profiles emerged from the sample.

Resilience profiles related to coping were categorized as *cross-ethnically engaged, pro-ethnically engaged, and disengaged and detached*. *Cross-Ethnically Engaged*, was characterized by participants who reported relatively high levels of seeking campus support from within and across cultural/ethnic groups. *Disengaged and Detached*, was characterized by participants who indicated low scores of seeking on campus support within ethnic groups and across ethnic groups with regard to race-based coping. *Pro-ethnically Engaged*, was characterized by participants who indicated high scores actively seeking on campus support from members of their own racial/ethnic group as a mechanism for coping. Participants who reported receiving more cultural pride focused racial socialization messages are more likely to be categorized with the *Pro-Ethnic Engaged* Resilience profile. Those who reported receiving more alertness to

discrimination racial socialization messages were more likely to be categorized as *Disengaged and Detached*.

The current study findings suggest that racial socialization is an important process in the development of resilience in Black collegiate women attending a PWI. Racial socialization and ethnic identity foster differing coping strategies based on the type of racial socialization messages being received and the stage of ethnic identity that individuals are in. Findings from the current study indicate that the availability of on-campus support for Black female college students is of great import when considering the different ways race-based coping, resilience and support seeking behaviors are demonstrated. This suggests that more university-driven and diversity focused resources can be the determining factor for how campus climate is perceived by students of color.

RESILIENCE IN BLACK COLLEGIATE WOMEN ATTENDING
A PREDOMINANTLY WHITE INSTITUTION:
A LATENT PROFILE ANALYSIS

by

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To my parents, family, friends, village of New Bern, Black women and girls across the globe...this is for you.

APPROVAL PAGE

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	vi
LIST OF FIGURES.....	vii
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE.....	12
III. LITERATURE REVIEW	19
IV. METHOD	32
V. RESULTS	37
VI. DISCUSSION.....	41
REFERENCES	50
APPENDIX A. TABLES.....	65
APPENDIX B. FIGURES	68
APPENDIX C. MEASURES.....	69

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 1. Summary of Descriptive Scores and Correlations of Racial Socialization, Ethnic Identity, Resilience and Climate.....	65
Table 2. Model Fit Statistics and Latent Profile Enumeration.....	66
Table 3. Parameter Estimates Contrasting Pro-Ethnic Engaged versus Two Other Groups	67

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 1. Resilience Profiles of Black Collegiate Women Attending a Predominantly White Institution.....	68

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Historically, Black women have led the way in terms of educational attainment in their communities. Over the past two decades, Black women have continued to enroll in postsecondary institutions at a higher rate than any other demographic group (NCES, 2014). The first Black woman to attend and graduate from a predominantly White institution (PWI) with a BA degree was Mary Jane Patterson in 1862 from Oberlin College (Mack, 2010). Remarkably, Ms. Patterson's feat was accomplished during a time when the country itself was torn in the midst of Civil War regarding the institution of slavery and even a century before the women's rights movement that evolved during the Civil Rights era of the 1960s. The researcher is left to ponder: What factors might have been influential in completion of her education in a historical context where critical parts of her identity, both race and gender, were undervalued?

Prior to the 1950s, Historically Black Colleges/Universities (HBCUs) educated the majority of Black students. Currently, nearly 90% of the Black student population attends a predominantly White school (Collins, Davis, & Hilton, 2013). Although Black women account for merely 13% of undergraduate enrollment, they are over 65% of Blacks attending college (NCES, 2014). Furthermore, the PWI environment is also a climate that is overwhelmingly male. As such, there is a fundamental need to understand

and appreciate the unique psychosocial issues that Black women face during emerging adulthood as they matriculate through predominantly White educational spaces.

Institutional racism and discrimination are part of the historical fabric and infrastructure of the United States and both continue to plague American life. Institutional racism has been defined as a pattern of social institutions (government, schools, banks, etc.) that discriminate against a group of people based on their race (Bonilla-Silva, 2001). As institutional racism has transitioned from more overt acts to covert practices, the adaptive processes employed by Black families balance proactive and reactive strategies to cope with discrimination. These reactive and proactive strategies form the foundation of resilience, the process of positive adaptation in the face of adversity, stress, and trauma.

Because race is embedded in American history, politics, culture and way of life, Black families are charged with having deliberate conversations with their children about institutional and systemic racism in order for them to flourish and achieve. The remnants of an oppression of legacy continue to thrive in systemic and institutional contexts which impacts the day to day functioning of Black individuals and Black families. Institutional racism persists because the White majority culture is in constant fear of losing their relative position of power and privilege. Bobo (1999) purported that group position is intrinsically “tied to entitlement and perceived threat to entitlement and privilege” (p.467). Sears (1988) stated “it (fear) is what separates perceptions of threat from mere stereotypes or the types of resentments defined within the symbolic racism literature” (p.71). Sears (1988) further suggested that the perception of threat is ruled by

self-interest and involves persistent negative stereotyping of Black families, a propensity to blame Blacks for any disparities or gaps in economic standing and pronounced resistance to legislative efforts to diminish America's systemic racist conditions and practices. Institutional racism has shaped the fundamental and essential determinants of quality of life in America: access to education, shelter and housing. Despite this, Black emerging adults and youth are more likely to attend a predominantly White institution (PWI) due to ease of accessibility (NCES, 2014).

Institutional Racism in Education

Black children being raised in the United States will undoubtedly experience unfair treatment and disenfranchisement because of their race. School contexts and academic environments perpetuate institutional racism by disproportionately targeting Black children as having conduct/behavioral issues and learning disabilities (McGuire et al., 2015). Oftentimes, institutional racism in education is evidenced by disciplinary actions, academic advising, and implicit bias which has indicated stark differences in the way Black students are treated in comparison to their non-Black counterparts (Bynum et al., 2007).

School is often the first heterogeneous external environment that children encounter. Unfortunately for children of color, school is also one of the first contexts where their behavior is pathologized (McGuire et al., 2015). Black students have been and are still subject to greater frequency of incidents of implicit bias, the attitudes or stereotypes that affect our understanding, actions, and decisions in an unconscious manner, in classroom settings than their White counterparts (Willie & Reddick, 2003).

Lack of cultural competence, cultural sensitivity and implicit bias remains an issue in the American education system (Oyserman, Harrison & Bybee, 2001). Despite these shortcomings in K-12 school contexts, Black students and students of color are more commonly able to achieve academic success to complete secondary school. Alarming, less high school graduates of color go on to pursue postsecondary education and those who do have a low graduation rate (Oyserman et al., 2001). The existence of very minimal culturally relevant curriculum is a continued concern as we consider developmental processes for all children and young adults, but especially youth of color who learn history devoid of accurate and positive representations of people who look like them (Billings & Tate, 1995). Thus, the need for racial literacy and cultural sensitivity in post-secondary institutions is also an issue of great import when we consider the negative mental health outcomes associated with race-based stress among Black college students pursuing higher education (Stevenson, 2014).

In school contexts, peers have the same profound impact on socialization as teachers. McGuire, Rutland & Nesdale (2015) investigated the influence of peer and school-level factors on children's attitudes toward out-group members. McGuire and colleagues' (2015) findings suggested that "explicit school norm of inclusion did lead to more positive out-group attitudes even when the peer group had a norm of exclusion. Thus, a moral inclusive school norm is a pertinent reminder to children that they should express positive attitudes toward the out-group, even when the in-group has a negative exclusion peer group norm" (p.1295). Therefore, there are implications about the instrumental power of school socialization to either harm or buffer the effects of racism

and discrimination that Black youth experience as a result of institutional racism in education.

Integration of schools, as a result of *Brown vs. Board of Education*, occurred a mere half century ago, marking what many hoped would be a catalyst for progress and racial equality. Despite this landmark legislation, educational settings and higher institutions of learning have historically been breeding grounds for overt and covert racist practices. Institutional racism remains a prevalent issue in the education system of the United States. Biases and inequities experienced by Black students are known to directly impact academic success outcomes and psychological well-being (Neblett et al., 2013; Swim et al., 2003). This phenomenon is true in K-12 and also in post-secondary institutions. With that in mind, it is important to examine who has a greater likelihood of being impacted by these inequities in collegiate environments. Evidence suggests that the majority of Blacks attending college are women (NCES, 2014). Additionally, nearly 90% of Black students who attend college complete their degrees at coeducational predominantly White institutions (PWIs) and some Black students, collegiate campuses are their first heterogeneous learning environment (NCES, 2014). As a result, these Black students may not be equipped with adaptive coping mechanisms to flourish and succeed in this unfamiliar context. There are conflicting lines of research that suggest Black students attending PWIs perceive issues with institutional fit and dissatisfaction with academic environment and support compared to Black students attending HBCUs, who report convergent cultural spaces that help to foster learning and academic success (Kim, 2002; Reeder & Schmitt 2013). A comparative study examining the experiences

of Black students attending predominantly White institutions versus historically Black universities found that attrition was higher for Black students at PWIs (Bentley-Edwards & Chapman-Hilliard, 2015). However, longitudinal research done by (Kim, 2002) found that there was no statistical significance in academic achievement for Black students attending PWIs and HBCUs.

The ability to overcome adversity for students of color is often linked to their adaptability and resourcefulness despite being faced with ecological and contextual challenges impacted by race. Black collegiate women with greater social network supports are able to tap into extended kin for assistance but others are not so fortunate and have to struggle to get by. Despite encountering barriers, Black college women that have limited social supports and resources are some of the most resilient in terms of stretching the resources they have to accommodate their needs (Fagan et al., 2016). However, Black students who are socialized to be resourceful and adaptive may still experience external stressors from lack of mentorship, university support services, and hostile campus climates.

Black students are more likely to report frustration about non-inclusive campus climates and lack of diversity at their PWIs than White counterparts (Stevenson, 2014). When Black college students enter non-inclusive university environments, there are associated negative psychological consequences, which influence the academic success and psychological well-being of these students (Sydell & Nelson, 2000). Students of color, and Black women in particular, at predominantly White institutions (PWIs) experience higher rates of depression, anxiety, and suicidal ideation as a result of the non-

inclusive environments (Domingue, 2015). The long-lasting negative effects of institutional racism on the mental health of students of color, and Black women in particular, is cause for alarm and warrants further examination in the field of developmental research.

Black Womens' Experiences at Predominantly White Institutions

To better understand the effects of institutional racism on the experiences of Black women attending PWIs, it is best to examine the intersectionality of multiple identities that center those experiences. Because PWIs maintain oppressive hierarchical structures that situate Black women in lower social position based on both race and gender, it is important to acknowledge the ways sexism and gendered racial discrimination impact academic success and overall well-being. Imposter syndrome, feelings of intellectual incompetence, is a common phenomenon among students of color attending PWIs. Black college women who are doing their best to navigate racist and sexist discrimination along with imposter syndrome are at further psychological risk. Bernard and colleagues (2017) conducted a study on 157 Black college women attending a PWI and found that gender and racial discrimination moderated the relationship between imposter syndrome and mental health outcomes. This important finding indicated that there is evidence of an interaction effect between imposter syndrome and gender and racial discrimination. There are implications that suggest gender and racial discrimination can worsen mental health when imposter syndrome exists. Prior research on Black college women has suggested that academic achievement is a significant part of

the gendered racial socialization messages that they receive from parents and community (Thomas & King, 2007).

One of the primary ways that institutional racism manifests on college campuses is in the form of racial microaggressions. The current sociopolitical climate is rife with colorblind, race-neutral ideology that denies the persistent and pervasive existence of institutional racism, which absolves any one from culpability and responsibility for disparities that exist in marginalized and underrepresented groups on college campuses. Institutional racism is defined and reflected in the gross and unequal outcomes in social systems and organizations such as in education, health, occupation, and politics (Carter, 2007). The broader sociocultural issue is the normalization of racism and racial microaggressions in academic spaces. Racial microaggressions are defined as brief, everyday exchanges that send denigrating messages to people of color because they belong to a racial minority group (Sue et al., 2007).

The common assumption is: racism is a part of everyday life and the term everyday racism includes experiences that range from enduring subtle prejudice views and hassles to overt discrimination in daily interactions (Swim et al., 2003). Perceived and actual discrimination can pose barriers for students of color to be actively involved on campus. Capturing the racial climate of an institution is a useful means to gain insight into the culture, practices and beliefs that may contribute to the success or failure of students of color attending predominantly White institutions. Prior research on student perceptions of racial climate has shown that White students, for whom race is less salient, are more apt to view the university environment as providing adequate supports to

minority populations (Chavous, 2005). Students of color are more likely than White peers to evaluate individual factors and institutional-level policies and procedures when disclosing their opinions about the way race plays a role at their institution (Bentley-Edwards & Chapman-Hilliard, 2015). Bentley-Edwards & Chapman-Hilliard (2015) conducted a study with 242 Black college students which examined racial cohesion and dissonance at varying college contexts. Findings from their study concluded that racial cohesion moderated the relationship between White social interactions and racism stress. Black students who identified as having a sense of belonging with their own racial group reported better coping mechanisms for dealing with race-related stress and negative interactions with White peers.

There is substantial evidence that Blacks and other people of color encounter racism and discrimination in their daily lives, which has negative impacts on psychological well-being (Caplan & Ford, 2014; Stevenson, 2014). Additionally, racialized experiences across the life span are a source of chronic and persistent stress that students of color are subjected to in academic environments. Black female students attending PWIs are often exposed to racially insensitive experiences and comments on campus. Black women report and experience racism and more specifically, racial microaggressions, more than students of other racial-ethnic groups at PWIs (Sydell & Nelson, 2000). Moreover, microaggressions are expected and common place. Students of color are often given a message that to be competitive or do well and be valued they must assimilate to “mainstream” culture of the campus and society (Steele, 1992). Students of color are often more likely to experience evaluation or performance bias at

academic institutions where they are underrepresented. Students of color are more likely to receive harsher disciplinary sanctions, in university settings than other students (Sydell & Nelson, 2000). Disproportionate disciplinary sanctions contribute to students of color's perception of campus environments being hostile (Hurtado et al. 2008).

All students adapt differently to racial stressors. Although some students may seem to adapt, racial stressors can still cause sickness. Race-related stress effects can last for long periods of time and manifestations include: anger, anxiety, depression, lowered self-esteem, embarrassment, guilt, shame and isolation (Caplan & Ford, 2014). Common symptoms and signs of detrimental mental health effects caused by race-based stress are: sudden weight gain or loss, hair loss, panic attacks, externalizing behaviors like substance abuse, student absences, decline in quality of work, withdrawn and isolated behavior, and internalizing behaviors like depression and anxiety (Bynum et al., 2007; Carter, 2007; Domingue, 2015). The voracity of effects that occur from experienced discrimination and unwelcoming climates have long-term repercussions for students of color. Prior research has suggested that harmful effects of racialized experiences may be tempered by different coping mechanisms associated with ethnic identity and racial socialization (Caplan & Ford, 2014; Cobb-Roberts, 2011).

Understanding the association between racial socialization, ethnic identity and resilience has been integral to how we examine both the strengths and vulnerabilities linked to people of color's adaptability and coping processes related to experiences of discrimination. Affirming one's sense of belonging to their race/ethnic group has proven to buffer against experiences of racism (Brown & Tylka, 2011; Anglin & Wade, 2007).

Racial socialization messages combined with strong racial centrality help mitigate the detrimental effects of exposure to discrimination and racism (Cooper, Smalls-Glover, Metzger & Griffin, 2015). Ethnic identity development and racial socialization are protective processes that afford emerging adults adaptive skills to navigate spaces where discrimination is likely to occur (Anglin & Wade, 2007). In addition, both racial socialization and ethnic identity are key components to developing resilience among youth of color (Brown, 2008; Brown & Tylka, 2011). This may provide insight about how resilience among Black college students is influenced by their previous racial socialization and ethnic identity experiences within familial and community contexts.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Racial socialization processes are informed by our own experiences, our families communication about their experiences, and external sources such as media, peers, school, and popular culture. Prior research has proposed racial socialization as a resilience factor that prepares individuals for coping with racism (Stevenson & Arrington, 2009). Because prior research has suggested that racial discrimination is unavoidable for students of color (Cooper et al., 2015), the ways individuals develop resilience and respond to racism and racial microaggressions may provide insight to how the process of racial socialization can buffer against associated negative outcomes of racial discrimination like isolation, depression and anxiety.

To explore racial socialization, ethnic identity, and resilience of Black collegiate women, theoretical frameworks to explore are Critical Race Theory (CRT), which takes into consideration the individual, family, environmental, and societal factors that influence family processes within racialized systems, and Phenomenological Variant Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST) (Spencer, 1995). These theoretical perspectives are integrated to provide analytical and interpretative insight about the ways Black collegiate women develop resilience to cope in the PWI environment.

Critical Race Theory

Critical race theory provides an intensive sociocultural lens to the stories, experiences, and transmission of values within Black families living in the United States. Delgado & Stefancic (2001) described the critical race theory movement as a “collection of activists and scholars interested in studying and transforming the relationship among race, racism and power” (p. 2). Critical race theory emphasized that for Black families of varied socioeconomic positions, the subjectivity to race-related systemic barriers remained present.

Black families have always had to exist within racialized systems. DuBois (1909) recognized that oppressive structures and racialized systems impacted identity development in Blacks, but he also identified positive aspects to identity formation as a result of those oppressive systems. Applying critical race theory to our examination of Black family life encourages us to consider how consciousness of race is developed within families and how the same consciousness is then transmitted. Bonilla-Silva (1996) purported that race includes a classification of individuals on the basis of either genotype or phenotype and that this categorization implies meaningful difference between those groups. Burton et al. (2010) stated that all critical race theoretical frameworks had the consistent principles which identified that “race was central” to social systems, “racism is institutionalized,” and each individual within the system is a confederate that can either dismantle/challenge or “reproduce and maintain the racialized systems” (p.442). Utilizing

these tenets as a framework to discuss and investigate the experiences of Black women in higher education can improve how we approach research in this population.

The application of CRT to Black college women's experiences at a PWI requires an understanding that race matters and issues of discrimination have not evolved in a linear progression. In fact, contemporary research has demonstrated that racism, race ideology, and racial identity are developmentally cyclical (Bonilla-Silva, 2003). Taylor (1998) noted that context "is crucial for understanding racial dynamics, particularly the way that current inequalities are connected to earlier, more overt, practices of racial exclusion" (p. 122). Omi & Winant (1994) highlighted the significance of the Black social movement in the 1960s as the catalyst for social change, which included antipollution, antiwar, feminism and gay rights. However, during this time of transition and change to improve civil rights for all, institutions of higher learning remained predominantly segregated (by race and location) with disproportionate access to admission and government funding resources (Roscigno, Karafin & Tester, 2013). Closer examination of critical race theory as related to higher education elucidated the glaring reality that despite the historical and sociopolitical significance of Brown vs. Board of Education, Affirmative Action and other landmark legislation, the experiences of Black young adults in pursuit of secondary education did not dramatically change for the better.

Racism and racial socialization do not occur in a vacuum at predominantly White institutions, which is another reason why critical race theory is a useful tool to frame the experiences of Black college women. Taylor (1998) wrote, "As a form of oppositional

scholarship, critical race theory challenges the experience of Whites as the normative standard and grounds its conceptual framework in the distinctive experiences of people of color" (p. 122). For Black women attending PWIs, the process of deindividuation that occurs by being ethnically classified as "other" has its own detrimental mental health costs (Chavous, 2005). Students are typically categorized by ethnicity as Hispanic or non-Hispanic on demographic forms, which is limiting considering the wide ethnic spectrum of citizens in the United States. Furthermore, upon arrival at PWIs there can be an additional pressure on Black college women to either assimilate to the mainstream culture to be deemed "the exception" against negative stereotypes about their ethnic group or seek refuge through immersion and segregation in ethnic minority-led student organizations and housing (Chavous, 2005). In addition to institutional racism, Black women also have to find coping strategies to deal with gendered racism on the interpersonal level. Black women attending PWIs commonly report incidents of gendered racial discrimination remarks related to their bodies, hair, and negative stereotyped behavior (Thomas & King, 2007; Chavous, 2005).

Phenomenological Variant Ecological Systems Theory

It is warranted to note the transition of Black women from enrollment in historically black colleges to PWIs which took place in the early 1970s (NCES, 2014) has reached its peak despite the uptick in overt and covert incidents of racial discrimination at these institutions (NCES, 2014). Oftentimes, Black students at PWIs are not differentiated from students that are non-US native Blacks. This lumping together of racial/ethnic minority college students attending PWIs further undermines the identity

formation process that is central to the period of emerging adulthood, which is the typical developmental stage that students enter collegiate environments. Spencer's Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory, PVEST, (1997) was introduced by developmental psychologist Margaret Spencer to address the lack of consideration of cultural, racial, and other individual phenomenological experiences in developmental processes. As such Spencer's PVEST is intuitively contextualist as it possesses an intersectionality of ecological and critical race theories to explain developmental processes in minority groups. Spencer's PVEST theory (1997) provides a framework to help explain how the pathways between racial socialization, resilience, and experienced discrimination influence ethnic identity development. The crux of PVEST purports that environment and unique lived experiences both play critical roles in an individual's adaptability and coping strategies when faced with conflict and adversity. Black women navigating emerging adulthood and the transition to college life are often moving from community environments that are racially heterogeneous or ethnically diverse to campus environments that are largely homogenous with Whites being the majority population (Warikoo & Deckman, 2014). Depending on the community and neighborhood contexts these young Black women are coming from, their prior experiences related to family and community factors may temper their interactions in the new campus climate and with White counterparts. Additionally, there are non-race related experiences (i.e., spiritual beliefs, regional/cultural traditions, sexuality, etc.) that have influenced their development and how they choose to interact with others and attempt to facilitate academic success (Bailey-Fakhoury & Frierson, 2014).

Swanson et al. (2003) stated that Spencer's PVEST is a best suited contextually based ecological theory as it includes ethnic and racial identity as separate contextual experiences and also considers within group variability of diverse ethnic/racial groups. Developmental outcomes of racially underrepresented groups are often evaluated using a deficit-model or at-risk approach (Spencer, 2015). As a result, contextual factors that may be emergent and adaptive for these groups are labeled as negative and maladjusted behaviors when compared to developmental outcomes of the majority White culture upon which normative developmental milestones are based. Existing research has discussed resilience as a positive adaptation despite negative circumstances and hostile environments (Miller & McIntosh, 1999). Black college women who are more likely to experience negative effects of discrimination cultivate resilience techniques to protect psychological well-being through the process of racial socialization and ethnic identity development (Lee & Barnes, 2015).

When examining adaptation or components of the phenomenological approach, it is important to acknowledge that personal experiences can change an individual's capability to adapt (Spencer, 1995). Due to the distinctive experiences of Black women in emerging adulthood, a phenomenological approach was used in the current study. Phenomenology focuses on individual perspectives and a building up of knowledge through a process of development (Spencer, 1995). Black college women raised in racially-conscious are more likely to internalize positive racial identity and cultural pride focused racial socialization messages to demonstrate resilience (Baber, 2012).

Black collegiate women have their own personal experiences outside of campus climate contexts that are going to impact their ability to adapt to stressors they may encounter in a non-inclusive environment. For those with positive support seeking experiences, adjusting and identifying resources on campus for students of color may be a less difficult task (Domingue, 2015; Baber, 2012). Prior research has found that Black collegiate women who have not been previously met with social supports in their community and school engagement that is diversity focused will likely have the most challenges adapting to campus climate stressors, specifically those barriers that are race-based (Bernard et al., 2017).

The purpose of the current study was to understand the nuanced experiences of Black college women and discover new information that might be insightful to help dismantle institutional barriers that prohibit academic success and stifle resilience. The current study also sought to offer insight on how the experiences of Black women at one PWI engaged in resilience strategies to navigate their campus climate.

CHAPTER III

LITERATURE REVIEW

Our understanding of Black women's cultivation of resilience is rooted in their multifaceted roles within Black families. Black women in the midst of emerging adulthood have fundamental differences in their developmental process because of these roles and experiences. The Black women that choose to pursue their education at a predominantly White institution face a unique set of challenges and issues that White peers do not have to contend with like gendered racial discrimination and imposter syndrome (Domingue, 2015; Bernard et al., 2017). Critical race theory and PVEST suggest that racial ethnic identity development and racial socialization may be critical for how Black women navigate the PWI and negotiate campus climate by seeking various supports at their PWI which impacts resilience.

Racial-Ethnic Identity Development in Black Women

Research has proven that access to social support, active racial socialization and affirmed racial identity are linked to positive psychological adjustment and academic success for Black school aged children and college students (Neblett et al., 2013; Oysterman et al., 2001). Black families and other people of color do not simply undergo racial and ethnic identity processes once they encounter White people or heterogeneous spaces. Race centrality and identification with "Blackness" is fostered by parents' socialization of race (Harris, 1995; Seller et al., 2003). Sellers et al. (2003) identified racial centrality as the key buffering factor when people of color experience

discrimination and racism. Findings from this study (Sellers et al., 2003) suggested that people with high racial centrality have encountered more racial socialization (prep for bias, achievement, cultural pride) and are less impacted in terms of mental health outcomes.

Seaton et al. (2012) discovered that racial discrimination and racial socialization can occur as precedents to identity formation triggering exploration of racial identity in youth and resolution. Seaton and colleagues (2012) also found that racial identity and racial socialization are bidirectional in nature; daily influences about race and experiences affect racial identity development over time. Phinney's (1989) stages of ethnic identity model borrowed from Marcia (1966) identity model and consisted of the following stages: diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium and achievement. Phinney's model of ethnic identity took a less culturally relevant approach and described ethnic identity development as a universal process. This stage model, like Marcia's before it, ends with an achievement stage. In most ethnic minority models, the achieved or integrated stage of identity concludes exploration and involves acceptance of one's identity and understanding of what membership means to a particular ethnic group (Phinney, 1989; Helms & Carter, 1990).

Over time, racial-ethnic identity models have evolved based on the changing historical and sociopolitical contexts in the United States. French, Siedman, Allen & Aber (2006) purported that all ethnic and racial identity models begin with the premise that individuals are not aware of their identity within ethnic or racial groups and there is a process of becoming aware that's either facilitated by racial socialization from family,

outside world or racialized experiences. Upon appraising these interactions and experiences, individuals develop a sense of what it means to belong to the group. French and colleagues (2006) proposed that race is salient when you are around other races and especially if you do not belong to the majority group. As such, individuals of color living in homogeneous neighborhoods, attending homogeneous schools during segregated American history may have reported low racial salience within their community contexts and high racial salience upon leaving those racial/ethnic enclaves to navigate spaces (e.g. the workplace, restaurants) dominated and occupied by members of White mainstream culture.

The developmental pathway between racial identity, academic achievement and psychological well-being is commonly investigated during adolescence and emerging adulthood (French et al., 2006; Grieg, 2003; Rivas-Drake et al., 2014). Grieg (2003) theorized that racial identity development has a developmental progression for adolescents even though it is not linear. There are implications that adolescent identity development and ethnic identity affect long term mental health outcomes (Grieg, 2003; Rivas-Drake et al., 2014; Anglin & Wade, 2007). Additionally, the period of adolescence should make researchers consider how belongingness, central to identity formation in adolescence, is related to racial and ethnic identity and self-identification (Phinney, 1990).

Overwhelmingly, research has proven that racial and ethnic identity models provide evidence that racial socialization messages have the power to positively or negatively impact racial-ethnic identity (REI) development (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014;

Seaton et al., 2011). Preparation for bias serves to provide children of color with precocious knowledge about what it means to be a racial/ethnic minority in this country, but it can have stressful effects on psychological well-being (Neblett et al., 2013). There are implications that racial socialization messages that overemphasize discrimination and prep for bias can have a detrimental impact on racial identity (Coard et al., 2005). In terms of mental health and developmental outcomes, a preoccupation with race, perceived threat, and broad generalization of all experiences being labeled as racialized can result depending on the child's age (Seaton et al., 2011; Rivas-Drake et al., 2014). Seaton et al. (2012) conducted an empirical study which found that youth who reported racial socialization as antecedent were in commitment stages of racial identity in adolescence and that exploration was more likely to occur in adolescence for youth who encountered discrimination and had low perceived racial socialization messages from parents and family.

Using a contextual and culturally relevant lens is critical to understanding the fluidity of racial and ethnic identity formation because the effects of racism and experienced racism has heterogenous effects on individuals of color. As exposure to racialized experiences happens, awareness of the significance of race in American society shifts. The frequency of those racialized experiences also impacts how individuals conceptualize belonging to a racial group and how they think others perceive their membership in their racial group (e.g., perceptions, stereotypes, etc.). Persons raised in families who prioritized racial socialization as a parenting practice may have a stronger sense of racial centrality which is one component of racial and ethnic identity (Gay,

1987). A strong sense of ethnic identity has been associated with positive self-concept, self-efficacy, and positive coping styles (Phinney, 1989).

Prior studies have also shown that experiences of racial discrimination have been linked to heightened emotional reactivity and physiological arousal among African Americans. Garcia Coll and colleagues (1996) model of ethnic minority child development highlighted that parental racial socialization is an important mechanism by which ethnic minority families attempt to protect children from the harmful effects of discrimination. Evidence suggests that racial socialization fosters positive racial-ethnic identity in children and healthy developmental outcomes (Neblett et al., 2013; Greig, 2003). Williams et al. (2012) posited that racial-ethnic identity is related to other identity processes in adolescence. Williams and colleagues (2012) also suggested that racial-ethnic identity is related to developmental changes and progress. This hypothesis is supported by an empirical study by French et al. (2006) which reported that when adolescents were introduced to heterogenous school environments, ethnic identity became more salient and they were more likely to engage in the exploration stage of ethnic identity. Ethnic identity may also be a critical component in the development of resilience among Black collegiate women who experience higher frequency of race-based stress on predominantly White campuses and universities.

Racial Socialization of Black Women

Racial socialization has been defined as the process by which racial and ethnic minority parents convey implicit and explicit attitudes and beliefs about the meaning of race and/or ethnicity, teach their children about what it means to be a racial and/or ethnic

minority, and help their children to cope with racial and ethnic discrimination (Stevenson, 1994). The primary source of all socialization messages is family and mothers are most likely to be involved in the process (Thomas & Speight, 1999). Thomas and King (2007) stated, “The socialization processes and subsequent identity development of African American girls is unique because of the interaction of racism and sexism and hence may be better conceptualized as gendered racial socialization” (p. 138). Prior research studies have found that Black girls are more likely to receive racial socialization messages on racial pride, education, premarital sex and relationships with men, psychological and financial independence, and physical beauty (Thomas & King, 2007; Thomas & Speight, 1999; Olson & Gorrell, 2003).

Racialized systems continue to persist today which reinforces the ongoing importance of racial socialization processes in Black families. When examining the effects of racism on Black families, predominantly used measures do not account for the intersectionality of race and gender in experienced racism. This is an alarming notion, because despite Black men being more likely to report greater frequency of racialized encounters, Black women have the poorest mental health outcomes related to race-based stress (Kwate & Goodman, 2015). With regard to racial socialization, Anglin & Wade (2007) asserted that processes and messages can begin in infancy and during toddler years through affirming messages related to phenotypic features. However, due to the change in Black family configuration not being modeled after nuclear family and contemporary research indicating that racial socialization transmission is bidirectional

(Coard et al., 2005), we must conclude that these processes are not always occurring in a uniform and systemic pathway.

The types of racial socialization messages that Black women receive may also vary depending on the generational cohort of extended kin and the historical context of their own experiences of racial discrimination. Furthermore, racial socialization strategies are nuanced and not one size fits all. Racial socialization processes are informed by our own experiences, our families communication about their experiences, and external sources such as media, peers, school, and popular culture (Coard et al, 2005; Neblett et al., 2009). Youth today are exposed to even more modes of racial socialization through social media which has revolutionized connectivity among groups of people (Neblett et al., 2009). Parents and extended kin are known to discuss racial socialization at variable rates (Coard et al., 2005). A parent or grandparent might choose to focus on preparation for bias but omit discussions on pride and achievement. Whether the intention to focus on one area of racial socialization than another is deliberate, there are ramifications on the child's identity and how they cope with encounters of discrimination (Neblett et al., 2009).

Racial stories are one of the primary tools Black families employ to racially socialize their children and pass along collective wisdom and memories. Bonilla-Silva (2001, 2006) described racial stories as being part of a rich history of transmitting values through oral tradition. Grandparents, parents, siblings, and fictive kin alike share stories of their own upbringing, life experiences and experienced racism through racial stories and this intergenerational transmission of racial socialization initiates the process of

racial and ethnic identity formation in childhood (Chase-Lansdale et al., 1994; Coard et al., 2005; Cooper et al., 2015). Additionally, Black mothers and grandmothers are more likely to convey racial socialization messages to children than fathers and other male kin. Thomas and King (2007) conducted a study with Black mothers and daughters which found compelling evidence that racial socialization messages aimed at Black girls (i.e. cultural pride, achievement, spirituality) was perceived as being part of their cultural legacy.

Coard and colleagues (2005) have reported that Black girls are more likely to receive racial socialization messages than boys. Prior research studies have shown that racial socialization transmitted to Black girls at higher rates are potentially protective and impactful as they navigate life as members of an underrepresented group at predominantly White institutions of higher learning (Solorzano, Ceja & Yasso, 2000). The experiences of Black women in collegiate environments are unique. Navigation of unsupportive contexts and negotiation of academic spaces is impacted by both their race and gender, making intersectionality of both identities an important consideration when examining their functioning, adaptation, and success at predominantly White institutions. Thus, Black women attending predominantly White institutions are in even greater need of receiving reinforced racial socialization messages of cultural pride and achievement that are received from elders and family members.

Black women at PWIs will inevitably encounter racialized systems and discrimination. Thus, researchers have suggested that the sooner preparation for bias starts the better (Stevenson, 2014; Coard et al., 2005). The caveat is that conversations

about prep for bias should be age appropriate. Racial socialization messages are often transmitted to young people through the process of adultification. Adultification, a process identified by Burton (2007), defined precocious knowledge as “witnessing situations and acquiring knowledge that are advanced for the child’s age. Black girls experience adultification in family contexts at higher rates than Black boys for various reasons many of which contribute to the functioning of the Black family unit (Collins, 1998). With precocious knowledge, children are often privy to adult conversations and transactions, visually exposed to types of behaviors from which children are often shielded (e.g., parents’ frustrations with financial hardships), or consistent witnesses to the harsh realities of life in high-risk environments” (p.336). Theoretically, adultification around issues of race and identity can be protective against the imminent encounter of racist ideologies and practices. Therefore, Black women in emerging adulthood who have received preparation for bias messages via adultification may prove to have better coping mechanisms and greater resilience when faced with discriminatory systems at predominantly White institutions.

Resilience in Black Women

Resilience has been defined as the process of developing positive outcomes, thriving despite less than favorable experiences, and avoiding negative trajectories that are often associated with risk exposure (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005). Specific to resilience, protective and promotive factors are indicative of stable adaptive and behavioral functioning. Promotive factors are positive behaviors and situations that hinder the potential negative influence of risk factors on developmental outcomes. These

factors encourage healthy development despite the presence of risk factors and foster resilience. Existing prior research has suggested that racial identity and racial socialization have been identified as protective factors in fostering resilience and improving coping to combat issues like covert racism and color-blind race neutral ideologies (Miller & McIntosh, 1999; Stevenson & Arrington, 2009), which can be pervasive at predominantly White institutions of higher learning.

Past research has described coping as the cognitive and behavioral efforts of an individual utilized to manage external or internal demands rising from stressful life events (Wang et al., 2012). Coping research on Black college students has provided evidence to support that cultural values are a critical part of who students turn to for support in dealing with adversity (Wang et al., 2012; Chieng et al., 2004). Chieng and colleagues (2004) conducted a study on 175 Black and Latino college students which reported that interdependence and family support were paramount in students' coping strategies. Furthermore, coping practices were largely influenced by familial conversations about ethnic identity, racial socialization, and cultural values about academic success.

In the current study, resilience was measured by students' adopted methods of coping related to campus engagement. Prior studies have found that adjustment and retention rates of Black students at PWIs is due largely in part to the groups they socially and culturally associate with on campus (Mitchell & Dell, 1992; Constance & Wyatt, 2002). This could have implications for looking at the relationship between resilience and coping via campus engagement and academic success of Black women at PWIs.

Because coping is an important aspect of developing resilience in Black college students, I am interested in the connection between the process of racial socialization as a coping mechanism and ethnic identity development as a promotive resilience factor that facilitates coping.

Existing research has demonstrated that resilience for Black college students is influenced by racial socialization (Brown & Tylka, 2011). Variation in types of messages received and individual characteristics are what ultimately shapes the pathway between resilience and racial socialization. Reynolds (1998) described resilience as a developmental outcome that is impacted by environmental risk factors and personal attributes. Although Reynold's (1998) study sample consisted of adolescent Black youth, findings indicated that academic success was strongly associated with parental expectations, as well as, both scholastic and social resilience. For Black women in particular, the notion of parental expectations of academic achievement is bound in the concept of cultural legacy as discussed by Thomas and King (2002) in their gendered racial socialization work.

Prior studies have shown that parents and families of Black students are instrumental in the development of resilience (Hughes & Chen, 2007; Hunter et al., 2019). Recent longitudinal research conducted by Burt, Lei, and Simons (2017) on a sample of 700 Black youth and their caregivers found evidence to support that familial racial socialization buffers against the effects of racial discrimination. Similarly, Brown (2008) conducted a study on 154 Black college students attending a midwestern PWI and found that variation in resiliency scores was determined by received racial socialization

messages and perceived social support from family and their community. This study's findings align with the tenets of Spencer's PVEST (1995) as social support from the family and community level helped foster resilience and racial socialization messages were transmitted from both family and community influences. This aligns with prior research that youth of color are informed about race and receive racial socialization messages from multiple sources throughout their life course and those messages from family and community contribute to adaptability, coping and self-image (Tang, McLoyd & Hall, 2016; Brown & Tylka, 2011). Thus, the purpose of the current study was to investigate how racial socialization and racial-ethnic identity are associated with resilience and coping strategies of Black collegiate women.

The Current Study

The current study sought to elucidate the role of racial socialization messages on racial-ethnic identity development and resilience in Black collegiate women. Secondary data analysis was utilized to examine any significant association between racial socialization, resilience, and racial-ethnic identity among Black collegiate women attending a PWI. A latent profile analysis was performed to identify resilience profiles. Although the association between racial-ethnic identity, resilience and racial socialization is not novel, existing research has rarely employed advanced statistical techniques to identify profiles related to these variables. The purpose of the current study was to understand and attempt to contextualize the nuanced experiences of Black college women and discover new information that might be insightful to help dismantle institutional barriers that prohibit academic success and stifle resilience. The phenomenon of the

current study was the support seeking resilience strategies employed by Black college women. Specifically, the study sought to answer the following research questions:

1. What resilience profiles emerge for Black college women attending a PWI?
2. Are there variations in Black college women belonging by resilience profiles and racial socialization messages?
3. Are there interaction effects of racial-ethnic identity and racial socialization on resilience?

CHAPTER IV

METHOD

Employing a cross-sectional design, this study utilized data that was collected in the spring semester of 2014 as part of the College Women of Color Study (Johnson, 2013) from a large, research university located in the Midwestern part of the United States. The original study included a larger sample of both Black and Latina women. This predominantly White university was suitable for exploring the study's key variables (i.e. resilience, racial-ethnic identity and racial socialization) given its proportions of students by race and gender. According to the university's Office of Planning and Budgets (2016), the university was comprised of 6.7% Black students and 50% females in 2014. These proportions suggest that there was an adequate number of women to assess resilience, and an underrepresentation of students of color.

Participants

The original and larger College Women of Color study sample consisted of $N = 495$ Black and Latina students, of which $n = 288$ (58.2%) were Black (Johnson, 2013). The sampling criteria restricted students from identifying as any race other than Black. The average age of these students was 20.52 years. 89.6% of the sample had attended schools in Michigan State. The mean high school cumulative GPA was 3.32. Of the sample, 36.5% were from the greater Detroit area, 55.9% were from other areas of Michigan, and 7.2% were from out of state. Almost all (97.8%) students were enrolled in

the institution full time. The percentages of students across year in college are as follows: 33% were seniors (4th year), 26.3% were juniors (3rd year), 23.5% were sophomores (2nd year), 11.5% were seniors beyond their 4th year (5^{th+} year), and 2.8% were freshmen (1st year). This is mostly similar to the overall population of Black undergraduate females (1,620 Blacks—enrolled in 2014) at the institution of interest; for example, the average age of those in the general institution's population is 20.60 years and 88.10% are enrolled in the institution full time.

Measures

The Teenager Experiences of Racial Socialization (TERS; Stevenson, 1994b, 1996). The TERS measure was constructed with the same theoretical model of racial socialization discussed by Stevenson (1994b, 1996). The original assessment consisted of 40 items and six subscales including: *cultural endorsement of the mainstream, cultural alertness to discrimination, cultural appreciation of legacy, cultural pride reinforcement, cultural coping with antagonism, proactive racial socialization experience, and adaptive racial socialization experience*. It presupposes proactive and protective aspects to parenting strategies in families of color, particularly among Black families. The current study utilized the two sub-dimensions of *cultural pride reinforcement (CPR)* and *cultural alertness to discrimination (CAD)*. The items were written to be as clear and behavioral as possible. The response format was changed from a 5-point agreement format to a 3-point frequency format (e.g., never, a few times, lots of times). These changes were made with specific goals: (a) to increase the reliability of a measure on racial conversations and interactions, (b) to further the understanding of family socialization interactions from an

adolescent's perspective, and (c) to better capture the frequency of racial socialization messages without relying on simple yes or no responses. For the TERS in this study, reliability as assessed by Cronbach's alpha was .91. Example items include "Be proud of who you are" and "Whites have more opportunities than Blacks."

The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1993). The MEIM consists of 14 items and has a reported reliability of .81 with high school students and .90 with college students. As discussed earlier, it was designed to assess three components of ethnic identity: *affirmation and belonging* (five items); *ethnic identity achievement* (seven items, including two negatively worded, four for ethnic identity exploration and three for commitment); and *ethnic behaviors* (two items). Items were rated on a four-point scale ranging from 1 = strongly disagree through 4 = strongly agree, so that high scores indicate strong ethnic identity. In this sample, reliability of the 14-item scale, as assessed by Cronbach's alpha, was .84. The current study utilized the components of *affirmation, belonging, commitment, and exploration (searching)*. Example items include "I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group" and "I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me."

Coping Scale (Johnson, 2013). The coping scale consisted of ten items, used to measure participants' common strategies used for coping with challenging aspects of the campus climate. Example items on this scale include: "Flying under the radar" and "Seek support from friendships within my ethnic group." Respondents indicated their responses on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 7 (strongly agree) to 1 (strongly

disagree). Items 4,5,7 and 8 were specific indicators of race-based coping strategies and recoded as Items 1-4 in Mplus.

Climate. Attitudes about campus climate were assessed via an 8-item Climate Scale (Johnson 2013) constructed for the study in which the original survey data was collected. Example items on this scale included: “I often feel like I don’t belong here” and “Race and culture not a problem here.” Respondents indicated their responses on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 7 (strongly agree) to 1 (strongly disagree). Items 2, 3, 6 and 7 were reverse scored. Higher scores indicated negative feelings (lack of inclusion) about the campus climate at the institution.

Procedure

Employing a cross-sectional design, this study included a sample size of N=288 students which utilized data that was collected in the spring semester of 2014 from a large, research university located in the Midwestern part of the United States.

Quantitative data allows for statistical comparison of individuals and groups and provides participants a variety of responses to choose from when answering specific questions.

Quantitative data typically allow for more questions to be answered in a shorter period of time, particularly when data collection is electronic. Students also had to meet one of the following criteria in order to be invited to complete the survey: (1) have a 3.5 or higher high school GPA, (2) a 2.7 or greater cumulative college GPA, or a (3) 3.0 or better in the semester in which the data was being collected. The survey was an online survey distributed on a small scale only to students who met the sampling criteria. The online

survey was used because of its advantageous features, such as lower costs, reduced implementation time, and greater access to technology across college campuses.

Data Analytic Plan

To answer my hypotheses, descriptive statistics and correlations were run to analyze the association between resilience, racial socialization and ethnic identity among students. The control variable, campus climate, was included in descriptives and correlations. Latent profile analysis was employed to examine if there were emergent resilience-coping profiles and to determine if profiles were influenced by racial socialization and ethnic identity. Logistic regressions were run to determine the association per unit increase of predictor determining the odds of being in either resilience profile group. In Mplus, ethnic identity domains of affirmation, belonging and commitment were combined and the domain of exploration was examined separately. Additionally, racial socialization domains of cultural pride reinforcement and alertness to discrimination were examined separately.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

Resilience Profile Identification and Description

Descriptive statistics and correlations were initially run in SPSS (see Table 1). The first goal of the study was to identify patterns of Black female students' resilience profiles. A latent profile analysis (LPA) was conducted with Mplus version 6.0 to distinguish resilience (as measured by coping) profiles utilizing participants' self-reported coping strategies for navigating their campus climate. Model fit statistics used to select the appropriate number of profiles include the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC; Akaike, 1987), the Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC; Schwarz, 1978) and Vuong-Lo-Mendell-Rubin Likelihood Ratio Test (VLMRT; e.g., Tein, Coxe, & Cham, 2013). Better model fit is indicated by lower AIC and BIC. Additionally, the VLMRT provides a statistical test for whether the addition of a latent profile improves the overall model fit.

Entropy indicates the accuracy of classification into each profile based on the manifest indicators and can be used to determine the appropriate number of profiles. Higher entropy values denote higher classification accuracy with 1 being the maximum value. Entropy scores greater than .60 but less than .80 are evaluated as moderate. Entropy scores greater than .80 are considered to be high. In order to determine the ideal

number of profiles, the following criteria were considered: (1) model fit statistics, (2) model interpretability and homogeneity, and (3) typology separation.

Three-typology and 4-typology solutions were considered for the current latent profile analysis. The 3-typology solution was found to be the best fit (see Table 2 for model fit statistics). Entropy was highest in the 3-typology solution. Therefore, the LPA results most supported a 3-typology solution representing conceptually distinct typologies of coping based on challenging aspects of campus climate (see Figure 1). For Profile 1 (n=82), *Disengaged and Detached*, participants indicated low scores of seeking on campus support within ethnic group and across ethnic groups and represented 23% of the sample. *Disengaged and Detached* participants also indicated higher scores on avoiding involvement in campus activities and deliberate isolation. For Profile 2 (n=73), *Pro-Ethnic Engaged Resilience* participants indicated high scores actively seeking on campus support from members of their own racial/ethnic group as a mechanism for coping and represented 30% of the sample. For Profile 3 (n=134), *Cross-ethnic Engaged Resilience* participants indicated average scores seeking campus support from within and across cultural/ethnic groups and represented 47% of the sample.

Links Between Resilience Profiles and Racial Socialization

The second goal of the current study was to examine the relationship between the patterning of resilience profiles and participants' reports of racial socialization messages categorized by cultural pride (CPR) or alertness of discrimination (CAD). For individuals in the *Pro-Ethnic Engaged Resilience* profile, higher scores in cultural pride are associated with lower likelihood of belonging to the *Cross-ethnic Engaged* and

Disengaged and Detached resilience profiles. Participants who reported receiving more cultural pride focused racial socialization messages are more likely to be categorized with the *Pro-Ethnic Engaged* Resilience profile.

Links between Resilience Profiles and Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity exploration ($p=.31$) and affirmation/belonging/commitment ($p=.86$) were not significantly associated with likelihood of being in *Cross-Ethnic Engaged*, *Disengaged and Detached* or *Pro-Ethnic Engaged* profiles.

Contextual Correlates of Racial Socialization and Ethnic Identity on Resilience

The third goal of the study was to consider interactions between predictors- a product term was added to both cultural pride and alertness to discrimination separately. Alertness to discrimination and ethnic identity are unrelated to being in the *Cross-Ethnic Engaged* resilience profile or *Disengaged and Detached* profile relative to *Pro-Ethnic Engaged Resilience* profile. The interaction coefficient for cultural pride on ethnic identity affirmation and belonging ($B=-.045$, $p=.97$) was not significant. The interaction coefficient for cultural pride on ethnic identity searching and commitment ($B=2.007$, $p=.01$) was significant. The interaction coefficient is added to the cultural pride reinforcement coefficient at a one-unit increase in the moderator (ethnic identity). As such, this finding suggests that at higher levels of ethnic identity searching, the cultural pride racial socialization effect on engaging in race-based coping strengthens ($B=1.974$, $p=.08$). In summation, the effect of cultural pride racial socialization is stronger on individuals who are actively seeking resolution about their racial identity, which may

influence their desire to seek out co-ethnic students to better cope with the climate at their institution.

The alertness to discrimination and searching interaction yielded no main effects. Therefore, alertness to discrimination is only related to increased likelihood of belonging in *Pro-Ethnic Engaged* (Profile 2) at higher levels of ethnic identity searching. Alertness to discrimination and searching had no influence in likelihood of belonging to the *Disengaged and Detached* (Profile 1) and the *Cross-Ethnic Engaged* (Profile 3) groups.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

The goals of the present study were to (a) identify emerging resilience profiles of Black college women attending a PWI, (b) examine the links between resilience profiles and racial socialization, and (c) determine if there are interaction effects between racial-ethnic identity and racial socialization on resilience profiles. Three resilience profiles were identified and found to be linked with Black female students' self-reported racial socialization experiences. Researchers have suggested that resilience of Black students is integral to their success and overall psychological well-being if matriculating at a non-inclusive campus (Stevenson, 2014; Sydell & Nelson, 2000). In the following section, I will discuss the three distinct resilience profiles, their links with racial socialization and ethnic identity, the strengths and limitations of the current study, and potential implications for future research and practice.

The first question of the study was focused on identifying emerging resilience profiles among Black college women attending a PWI. Resilience profiles were characterized by engagement in coping as *cross-ethnically engaged*, *pro-ethnically engaged*, and *disengaged and detached*. The 3-typology profile solution fit the data best based on interpretability and model fit statistics. The most prevalent group, *Cross-Ethnically Engaged*, was characterized by participants who reported relatively high levels of seeking campus support from within and across cultural/ethnic groups. Profile 1, *Disengaged and Detached*, was characterized by participants who indicated low scores of

seeking on campus support within ethnic groups and across ethnic groups with regard to race-based coping. *Disengaged and Detached* participants also reported higher scores on avoiding involvement in campus activities and intentional isolation from multicultural interaction. Profile 2, *Pro-ethnically Engaged*, was characterized by participants who indicated high scores actively seeking on campus support from members of their own racial/ethnic group as a mechanism for coping. Additionally, students who reported more cultural pride messages were more likely to be categorized as *Cross-ethnically Engaged* than *Disengaged and Detached*. This finding supported prior research done by Anglin & Wade (2007) which found that college adjustment was better for students who adopted multicultural identity, endorsed Black identity and were receptive to the culture of others. These findings suggest that there are distinct and heterogeneous profiles of resilience and coping among Black female college students attending a predominantly White institution. Our study findings also align with prior research done by Brown & Tylka (2011) which found that Black female college students seem to utilize various methods of coping and developing resilience in campus climates depending upon the access to and availability of ethnic-focused campus supports. One explanation for differences in resilience strategies could be variation in the participants' school climates and community contexts before attending college. Black female college students that have experienced more adversity and vulnerability prior to college enrollment may have greater adaptability due to previous exposure with discrimination and harsher realities.

The second research question involved determining if Black collegiate women would be identified as belonging to different resilience profiles based upon reports of

receiving different types of racial socialization messages (cultural pride reinforcement messages or alertness to discrimination). This aim suggested that the likelihood of higher engagement in race-based coping/resilience strategies would be reported by participants who received more cultural pride reinforcement messages than alertness to discrimination. Results from the current study further supported prior research that has deemed racial socialization as a key protective factor in the development of resilience and race-based coping in Black female college students, particularly when the climates Black female college students are in are less than inclusive and diverse (Cobb-Roberts, 2011; Phillips, 2011; Anglin & Wade, 2007). Findings substantiated prior research which has proposed that the type of racial socialization messages being transmitted can be either protective or maladaptive in the development of resilience (Utsey et al., 2007). This is evidenced by the characteristics of participants categorized in Profile 1, *Disengaged and Detached*, who report higher levels of alertness to discrimination messages. Consistent with previous studies (Hughes & Chen, 1997, Hughes et al., 2006), when Black families engage in alertness to discrimination and preparation for bias as the primary means of racial socialization, coping often manifests in the form of avoidance and isolation. For students in the *Cross-ethnically Engaged Resilience* profile, racial socialization may be protective for their ethnic identity and resilience development. Interestingly, participants in Profile 2, *Pro-Ethnically Engaged*, who reported engaging in more race-based resilience support-seeking were also the individuals who reported more cultural pride reinforcement messages.

The third research question sought to investigate any potential interaction of racial socialization and racial-ethnic identity on resilience. The current study's findings indicated that the effect of cultural pride racial socialization is stronger on individuals who are actively seeking resolution about their racial-ethnic identity, which may influence their desire to seek out co-ethnic students to better cope with the climate at their institution. Interestingly, there was a moderating association between either racial-ethnic identity and racial socialization and the likelihood of being categorized in different resilience profiles. Participants who are more likely to be engaged in racial-ethnic identity searching were more likely to be categorized as *Pro-ethnic Engaged*, because they are intentionally attempting to navigate what it means to be a member of their racial group in their academic environment. This finding is consistent with previous work that has implied that racial identity and racial socialization are protective factors that help foster resilience to divert harmful effects of racism and discrimination in Black college students (Miller & McIntosh, 1999; Stevenson & Arrington, 2009).

One could presume that for the Pro-ethnic Engaged profile, there may have been more experiences with race-based stressors prior to college or their racial socialization messages about preparation for bias were limited in comparison to cultural pride messages. Interestingly, findings align with Burton's adultification research (2010) that suggests that Black college students likely experience certain markers of emerging adulthood (e.g., increased responsibilities and family roles) earlier in their development than their White peers (Cohen et al., 2003). As noted previously, the primary component of adultification is precocious knowledge, which likely entails being informed about race-

related stressors and discriminatory practices at an early age for Black youth and having to adopt coping skills to build resilience in the face of discrimination (Burton et al., 2010). As evidenced in prior research, adultification via gendered racial socialization is a unique experience of Black women that is carried into emerging adulthood and the transition to college life (Thomas & King, 2007). The current study contributes to existing literature by highlighting the need for investigation of resilience profiles in Black college women to resolve if adopted support seeking strategies can be attributed to the adultification and gendered racial socialization that occurred prior to college enrollment at a PWI.

Strengths of the Current Study

The major strength of the current study is the phenomenological approach and innovation of latent profile analysis to assess the relationship between resilience, racial-ethnic identity and racial socialization. Typically, the pathways between these constructs are examined using correlation and linear regression analysis with the assumption that process of racial-ethnic identity development and racial socialization are uniform and streamlined for Black women. The current study goes beyond answering how the variables are related and if racial socialization and racial-ethnic identity are predictors of resilience and provides the researcher information about what types of individuals are more likely to engage in particular styles of resilience and coping strategies with the understanding that Black women enter into the PWI environment with prior lived experiences that affect their choices. The use of latent profile analysis coupled with a phenomenological approach provided insight about if there were specific characteristics

of individuals from varying contexts that would make them engage in similar or different coping strategies in a challenging campus climate.

Limitations

Although the findings of the current study substantiated that ethnic identity components and racial socialization were integral in identifying resilience profiles of Black college women attending a PWI, there were some limitations that should be addressed. Firstly, the sample size was relatively small. Increasing the sample size would increase the power of the study. The college where the study was conducted was a midwestern PWI, which may have produced unique response patterns due to cultural differences associated with racial climate of that region. Another limitation of the current study is the absence of an assessment that would capture students' history of mental health symptoms and current comorbid presence of pre-existing anxiety or depression, which might influence if students report seeking campus support services to cope with campus climate.

Implications and Future Directions

The current study findings suggest that racial socialization is an important process in the development of resilience in Black collegiate women attending a PWI. Racial socialization and ethnic identity foster differing coping strategies based on the type of racial socialization messages being received and the stage of ethnic identity that individuals are in. Findings from the current study indicate that the availability of on-campus support for Black female college students is of great import when considering the different ways race-based coping and support seeking behaviors are demonstrated. This

suggests that more university driven and diversity focused resources can be the determining factor for how campus climate is perceived by students of color. Future research that is grounded in the use of both PVEST and Critical Race Theory (CRT) in higher education as a tool for retention and academic success for Black students will benefit from the findings of the current study, which make interesting linkages between resilience, racial socialization and ethnic identity.

University practitioners and officials can benefit from understanding the resilience profiles among Black women and other students of color at their higher learning institutions and develop intentional and active mechanisms on campus to promote inclusion and diversity, which prior research (Closson, 2010) has shown improves retention, completion rate, and advancement opportunities for students attending predominantly White institutions of learning. Being that prior research has shown that attrition is an issue for Black students attending PWIs (Anglin & Wade, 2007), the current study provided insight about support seeking strategies that students employed to cope with campus climate. This information could prove vital in future development of support systems within the campus community to ensure academic success for students of color. Development of support systems could also include strategic plans that administrators design with firm guidelines of how to reduce and handle issues around climate, racism and sexism when reported by students and/or faculty/staff.

The current study also provided evidence that Black families often mitigate the harsh effects of racism and discrimination by racially socializing Black women to the

realities of a racially codified and gendered world. Community practitioners and service providers can benefit from this knowledge by adopting a strength-based approach when developing and implementing interventions and support services for families of color who are already marginalized due to racial barriers and socioeconomic position.

Utilizing a person-centered contextual approach when investigating resilience is useful because it acknowledges that everyone has diverse lived experiences and the ability to adapt and cope with challenges is what makes some of the most marginalized individuals also the most resilient.

University led initiatives to train faculty and staff at PWIs to be culturally sensitive are imperative because Black students' success is linked to their social integration on campus (Guiffrida & Douthit, 2010). Students who were actively engaged in ethnic identity searching and more likely to be classified as Pro-Ethnic Engaged Resilient may be categorized differently once finding diversity focused campus support and a committed sense of ethnic identity. In summary, the current study's findings highlight the need to engage in more person-centered study of samples in order to gain more substantial insight about why resilience profiles (individual-level characteristics and attributes) might cause them to engage in one coping strategy over another. The current study also did not examine daily encounters of racial discrimination while attending the university. Future work should also include a measure for participants to report the frequency and types of racial discrimination experiences they have had could provide greater insight about how they are categorized into one of the identified resilience profile groups.

An important area for future study should include a replication examining resilience profiles of Black collegiate women attending both predominantly White institutions and historically Black colleges and universities. Future replications with samples from both PWIs and HBCUs may elucidate additional resilience profiles characterized by other specific traits unrelated to race-based coping. Future research may also benefit from including longitudinal measures to determine if the phenomenological and student-centered approach maintains its integrity over the course of the student's matriculation at the university.

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APPENDIX A

TABLES

Table 1 Summary of Descriptive Scores and Correlations of Racial Socialization, Ethnic Identity, Resilience and Climate

Parameter	1	2	3	4
Racial Socialization	1.00	-.087	.155*	.08
Ethnic Identity	-.087	1.00	-.081	.259**
Resilience	.155*	-.081	1.00	.375**
Climate	.08	.259**	.375**	1.00

Note: Intercorrelations for Black female college participants (n=288) are presented above. *Correlation is significant at the .05 level (1-tailed) . **Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)

Table 2 Model Fit Statistics and Latent Profile Enumeration

	3 profile solution	4 profile solution
Information criteria		
Akaike (AIC)	7594.043	7488.28
Bayesian (BIC)	7748.033	7682.60
Sample-size adjusted BIC (ABIC) ($n^*=(n+2)/24$)	7614.844	7514.53
Entropy	.914	.928
Sample sizes		
Profile 1	134	134
Profile 2	82	71
Profile 3	73	73
Profile 4	-	11
VLMLRT		
	2 vs. 3 profiles	3 vs. 4 profiles
H0 loglikelihood value	-3897.121	-3755.02
2 times the loglikelihood difference	284.199	127.76
Difference in number of parameters	11	11
Approximate p-value	.005	.06

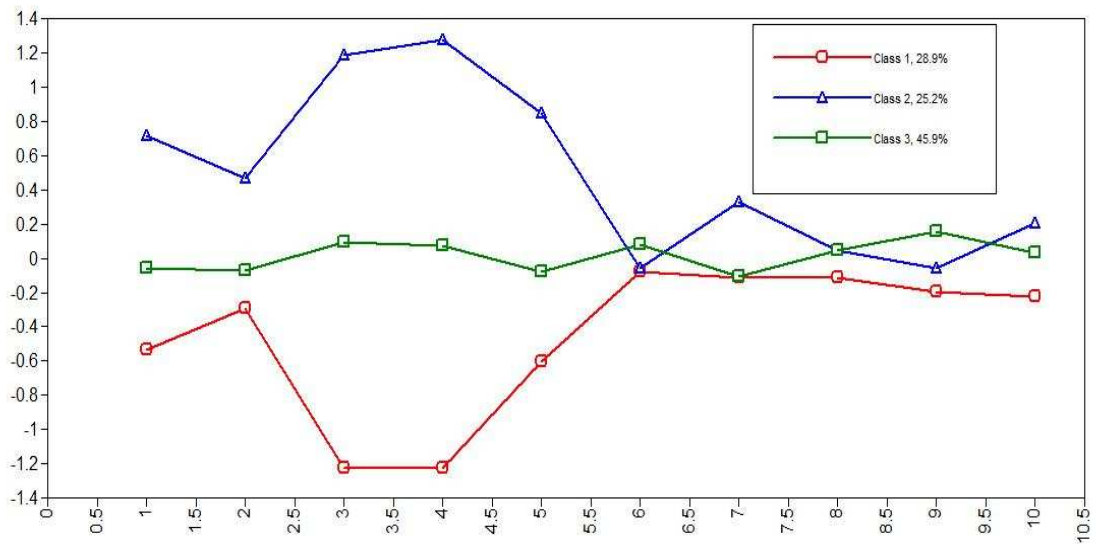
Table 3 Parameter Estimates Contrasting Pro-Ethnic Engaged versus Two Other Groups

Predictor		Beta	Odds Ratio	P-value
Cultural Pride	Cross-Ethnically Engaged	-1.471	.230	.048
	Disengaged and Detached	-1.739	.176	.01
Alertness to Discrimination	Cross-Ethnically Engaged	.025	1.025	.96
	Disengaged and Detached	.404	1.498	.34
Ethnic Identity Exploration	Cross-Ethnically Engaged	.723	2.060	.13
	Disengaged and Detached	.274	1.315	.48
Ethnic Identity Aff/Belonging/Commitment	Cross-Ethnically Engaged	.160	1.173	.76
	Disengaged and Detached	.234	1.264	.61

APPENDIX B

FIGURES

Figure 1. Resilience Profiles of Black Collegiate Women Attending a Predominantly White Institution



Note. Class (Profile) 1=*Disengaged and Detached*, Class (Profile) 2=*Pro-Ethnic Engaged*, and Class (Profile) 3=*Cross-Ethnic Engaged*.

APPENDIX C

MEASURES

Michigan State University Campus Climate Scale

Please assess your feelings about the climate at MSU and in your courses.

1=Strongly disagree 2=Disagree 3=Somewhat disagree 4=Neither agree or disagree
5=Somewhat agree 6=Agree 7=Strongly agree

1. I often feel like I don't belong here
2. I feel a strong sense of belonging at MSU
3. MSU has been very welcoming
4. I feel invisible
5. MSU has not been welcoming to me
6. Easy place to connect and develop friendships
7. Race and culture not a problem here
8. Race and culture obstacles at times

Teenager Experiences of Racial Socialization (TERS)

Do your parents or any of your caregivers say to you any of the following statements now or when you were younger? Circle the number on the line depending on how often you remember hearing any of these messages: 1 = never, 2 = a few times, 3 = lots of times. Circle only one number per question.

Cultural Alertness to Discrimination

- | | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|
| 1. Blacks don't have the same opportunities as Whites | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 2. Whites make it hard for Blacks to get ahead | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 3. Black child will be harassed for being Black | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 4. More jobs to Blacks if no racists | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 5. Whites have more opportunities than Blacks | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 6. Has to work twice as hard as Whites | 1 | 2 | 3 |

Cultural pride reinforcement

- | | | | |
|---------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|
| 1. Education is the only way to survive racism | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 2. Be proud of who you are | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 3. Never be ashamed of your color | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 4. You should be proud to be Black | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 5. Work hard, overcome barriers | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 6. Don't forget who your people are | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 7. God beliefs help us cope | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 8. We live in two worlds—Black and White | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 9. Racism is not as bad today as before the 1960s | 1 | 2 | 3 |

Phinney's Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM)

The two factors, with this version, are as follows: ethnic identity search, items 1, 2, 4, 8, and 10; affirmation, belonging, and commitment, items 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12. (None of the items are reversed.) Use the numbers below to indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

(4) Strongly agree (3) Agree (2) Disagree (1) Strongly disagree

- 1- I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.
- 2- I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group.
- 3- I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.
- 4- I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.
- 5- I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.
- 6- I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.
- 7- I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.
- 8- In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.
- 9- I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group.
- 10- I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs.
- 11- I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.
- 12- I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.
- 13- My ethnicity is
 - (1) Asian or Asian American, including Chinese, Japanese, and others
 - (2) Black or African American
 - (3) Hispanic or Latino, including Mexican American, Central American, and others
 - (4) White, Caucasian, Anglo, European American; not Hispanic
 - (5) American Indian/Native American

(6) Mixed; Parents are from two different groups

(7) Other (write in): _____

14- My father's ethnicity is (use numbers above)

15- My mother's ethnicity is (use numbers above)

Michigan State University Coping Scale

What are common strategies you use for coping with challenging aspects of the MSU climate in your experience?

1=strongly disagree 2=disagree 3=somewhat disagree 4=neither agree nor disagree

5=somewhat agree 6=agree 7=strongly agree

1. Flying under the radar
2. Focus on my studies
3. Stay to myself
4. Seek support from friendships within my ethnic group
5. Seek support from friendships across cultural and ethnic communities
6. Be invisible as much as possible
7. Minority student mentors
8. Minority faculty mentors
9. Be a joiner and active in MSU community, clubs and activities
10. Rely on family and frequent home visits