THE PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT OF RACIAL SOCIALIZATION ON IDENTITY CONCEPTUALIZATION AND RACE-RELATED STRESS OF BLACK COLLEGE STUDENTS AT A MULTI-RACIAL CAMPUS

by

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Abstract

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by

Sachelle Heavens

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Thirty-six male and female black college students attending a small private college in New Jersey participated in a mixed method study exploring recollections of received parental racial socialization, covering childhood through entrance into college. Recollections of racial socialization were gathered using a survey administered to all 36 students and face-to-face interviews with a small subset of six students, which generated rich material on experiences with racial socialization. Results from the survey showed an increase or decrease in reported protective, protective, and total (combined) racial socialization messages were not significantly related to an increase or decrease in reported race-related stress. A more complicated picture was derived from the interviews in that the participants did negotiate racial identity; however most endorsed a racial identity orientation within a pointedly mainstream experience, with minor focus on Black

culture. Directions for future research on other sources of resilience against race-related stress, such as self-efficacy, and the limitations of the study are also discussed.

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Chapter 1

Background

Parents are the primary sources of racial socialization for minority children. For many minority families living in the United States, racial socialization is a way to teach younger generations about cultural and ethnic heritage, how to cope with prejudiced and discrimination, and the desire for eventual racial equality (Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Chen, 1997, 1999; McAdoo, 2002a). By emphasizing matters of race early in development and pointing out its importance to society and mainstream American culture, many families enable minority children to deal with difficulties associated with membership in a stigmatized group.

Racial socialization encompasses the intersection of ideologies and values (e.g., racial equality, freedom), long-term goals (e.g., physically and emotionally healthy adults), and short-term goals (e.g., a child's developing understanding of the significance of being a minority in American society). Racial socialization can be viewed as a set of preparatory processes for (a) cultural socialization, or teaching children about their ethnic heritage and instilling ethnic pride; (b) preparation for bias, or teaching children about racism and preparing them to face discrimination; and (c) egalitarianism, or emphasizing the similarities between, and the equality of, all races (Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Chen, 1997, 1999; McAdoo, 2002a). In general, studies have found that parents have less difficulty teaching about the positive dimensions of racial pride and egalitarianism than teaching other negative dimensions such as preparation for bias (Caughy & O'Campo, 2002; Hughes & Chen, 1997).

The Construction of Racial Socialization in Black Family Life

Racial socialization as it pertains to African-Americans has been studied extensively. However, few researchers have examined the transmission of racial socialization within the dual contexts of societal discrimination and identity conceptualization. The current study explores the effects of racial socialization as recalled by first-year college students in order to gain an understanding of (a) how racial socialization is associated with Black youth's experiences of race-related stress in and out of the campus environment and (b) whether level of academic success in college is associated with recollections of racial socialization. To this end, the following literature review explores the theory of racial socialization, its construction, the varied content of parental message transmission as it relates to Black families, racial identity conceptualization of Black youth, and the effect of racial socialization on stress. This section ends with a discussion of the potential impact of racial socialization on Black college students' negotiation of their identities in society, especially in regard to their experiences with discrimination and race-related stress management.

For minorities living in the United States, racial socialization is a complex construct that parents and families engage in to convey knowledge and awareness of themselves. In addition, recognizing and understanding the perceptions other groups have of minorities as individuals and as members of a stigmatized group are also of concern. In this dissertation, the researcher conducted a detailed exploration of the nature of racial socialization—specifically how its messages are imparted, received and understood

within the social networks of Black families. This method was considered useful to developing a solid theoretical foundation on which to base the need for future study.

Literature Review

Studies that have investigated the structure of parental racial socialization on Black children and adults have relied upon a wide array of quantitative and qualitative measures to document and understand the dual exchange of message transmission and interpretation (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Frabutt, Walker, & MacKinnon-Lewis, 2002; Murry & Brody, 2002; Murray, Strokes, & Peacock, 1999; Marshall, 1995; Ward, 2000; Lareau, 1999). Such studies reveal a great deal of information regarding the various modes of transmission of parent-child and parent-youth racial socialization practices.

Past research has examined the types of parental messages about race given to youth regarding identity conceptualization, race relations in America, and how to locate one's fit within a society that has historically oppressed people of color. Embedded within parental messages of racial socialization are conceptualizations of a group dynamic that encompasses culture, ethnic group membership and connectedness. Particular attention has been paid to the types of parental messages given to youth regarding education, race relations in America, and issues of placement within the educational system.

A study by Franklin, Boyd-Franklin, & Draper (2002) found that many Black parents hold the belief that education is the only way to prepare children to take advantage of opportunities in a world where they are confronted with racism. Ensuring that their children achieve a formal education that culminates in the attainment of an

advanced degree is therefore an important socialization goal for these parents to transmit to the next generation (S.A. Hill, 2001; Marshall, 1995).

According to Thornton, Chatters, Taylor, & Allen (1990), many Black parents report practicing some form of racial socialization. In their findings, sixty-four percent of Black parents conveyed messages to their offspring regarding race. In the same study, Thornton found patterned differences in these parent-child socialization messages that varied in frequency according to socioeconomic variables such as marital status, gender, education, and family income. Thornton's study was the first to examine such relationships with a national sample of Blacks.

Research has shown that the racial socialization practices of people of color vary widely between families of different demographic characteristics (e.g. income, class, education) and within-group differences also exist between families that share similar demographics.

The content of racial socialization messages in Black families.

The importance of racial socialization to Black families in particular was underscored by Stevenson, Cameron, Herrero-Taylor, & Davis (2002). Stevenson and his colleagues believed that parental racial socialization guides the development of social identity development in adolescent Black youth; it is a complex "emotional process influenced by parental, peer, societal, and community socialization beliefs and experiences" (Stevenson, et al., 2002, p. 88). In addition, racial socialization is enacted by parents in an attempt to remove the psychological blemishes of belonging to a historically stereotyped racial group. Peters (1985) remarked that racial socialization is "a process

that Black parents engage in to raise physically and emotionally healthy children who are Black in a society in which being Black is perceived negatively" (p. 151).

In most of the racial socialization literature, the content of racial socialization messages can be captured by the following three categories: 1) cultural messages encouraging the adoption and celebration of racial pride, 2) messages that place emphasis on one's frame of reference within the minority experience, and 3) messages that place emphasis on one's frame of reference within a mainstream experience (Boykin, 1986; Boykin & Toms, 1985; Demo & Hughes, 1990; Fatimilehin, 1999).

Culture messages emphasize racial pride and specific teachings about Black Americans or African culture (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Demo & Hughes, 1990; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Stevenson, Cameron, Herrero-Taylor, & Davis, 2002). Messages that emphasize the minority status make children aware of—and prepare them for—an environment that is often oppressive to Blacks. Mainstream experience messages attach less significance to race but stress life skills and personal qualities, such as ambition and confidence in addition to emphasizing Blacks' co-existence in mainstream society (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Demo & Hughes, 1990; Stevenson et al., 2002).

Ethnic identity and socialization.

Findings in the research literature are inconsistent and thus inconclusive on whether racial socialization stressing a positive and proactive perspective results in positive identity development.Racial socialization stressing awareness and preparation for experiences with discrimination has a boomerang effect that results in less positive identity outcomes. Children and adolescents who receive messages calling constant

attention to and acknowledgement of the racial divide reportedly develop insecure identities that are dampened by the expectation of encountering discrimination and prejudice (Lesane, 2006, 2002b; Marshall, 1995). How Black college students ultimately exhibit their identities from experiences of racial socialization and display resilience or despondence in identity formation is of key focus; the possibility of these potential findings is at the core of this study.

Oyserman, Gant and Ager (1995) argued that the perception and salience of one's racial and ethnic background and its connection to academic achievement crystallizes during adolescence. They operationalized this pattern of identity development by using a tripartite model known as racial ethnic identity (REI). Oyserman and her colleagues conducted studies that showed how Black adolescents' REI impacts academic performance and the motivation to do well in school (Oyserman et al., 1995; Oyserman, Harrison, & Bybee, 2001); Oyserman, Bybee, & Terry, 2003). Social situations that delineate membership in a socially stigmatized group are likely to drive Black students to define themselves by those traits (i.e., I am Black and Blacks do not do well in school). However, Atschul, Oyserman, & Bybee (2006) contend that the content of one's REI is likely to vary as the context of the situation at hand changes. For example, individuals may focus on their own group, on racism from other racial groups and the need to overcome it, or on one's connection as a minority person to and with the larger society, depending on feedback from various social institutions.

One social institution where "context-based REI rapidly and frequently changes" for Black youth and other minority groups is school (p.1158). Regarding REI and

academic achievement, Oyserman et al. (1995) found that when race was made salient, striving to do well in classes declined, except among youth high in all three REI components: Connectedness, Awareness of Racism, and Embedded Achievement. For these youth, the pursuit of academic excellence did not decline, indicating that REI can serve to buffer psychological trauma that can result from the internalization of negative stereotypes about the poor academic achievement of Blacks (pp.123-125). REI content that is context dependent can thus be seen as a strategic way for Blacks to effectively cope with discrimination and attacks on their intellectual capacity.

A critical point that is sometimes overlooked within the literature is that Black identity is almost never referenced to White identity. This ability of Blacks to immerse themselves with ease into the mainstream culture— a culture that is not naturally organic to an Afrocentric perspective—is important for scaffolding a shield of resistance against White prejudice towards Black life and culture. Underscoring this distinction and the recognition of context-sensitive behavior/attitude changes is the realization that one's identity as a minority is eternally meshed within two cultures: the mainstream and that of one's racial-cultural community.

Code-switching and identity formation.

As a major contribution to the discourse on ethnic identity and socialization, Cross (1998) termed context-based REI content and its strategic transformations by Black youth as code-switching. Black students wishing to identify with the Eurocentric ideal of intellectualism (and to be seen as academic achievers by the White world at large) yet yearning to maintain ownership of their culture, take part in a delicate dance between

what Boykin describes as the world of the mainstream (White culture) and the world of one's ethnic-racial culture (Blackness). Cross (1998) demonstrated that code-switching helps Blacks to "differentiate between the important dimensions of stigma management"—aspects of black identity versus black identity dynamics that afford one success within mainstream institutions such as schools and colleges.

Similarly, a study by Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley & Chavous (1998) noted the importance of the salience of minorities' conceptualization of their racial identity in various situations. Salience reflects the fact that cues from the social context may make a particular identity more important. For example, a Black female's racial identity as a daughter of her parents, who are of African ancestry, may be less salient while she is at home than when she is at school. In situations where the individual's racial group is in the numerical minority, race tends to be more salient.

Work by Sellers and his colleagues (et al., 1998) demonstrated the clever ways in which Blacks can move back and forth in between various contexts and racial cultures. Black students who are able to bridge the mainstream (White) classroom and peer contexts (other Blacks) may not feel the discomfort often associated with being the only person of color in the classroom, given one's race is not salient in that scenario (Sellers, et al., 1998). Perhaps these students' identities as college students are more important than racial identities at this time. However, the "manifestation of positive social cues" in relationships with other African-American peers outside the classroom (e.g., sense of brotherhood or sisterhood) may make race more salient at those times. Therefore, the

"psychological tensions associated with living in two social worlds" may be buffered or decreased for these students (pp. 34-36).

A number of studies have shown that although race may continue to be salient for in the classroom, Black students may continue to achieve because of other motivating factors—such as racial pride. Research has shown that Black students who did well in school and were motivated to achieve high grades usually maintained high levels of school engagement or as a way of combating racial discrimination (see Bowman & Howard, 1985; O'Connor, 1997; Sanders, 1997, for descriptions). In many cases, many parents of these students told their children that high academic achievement and/or the expression of a motivation to excel academically was a great way to resist the negative perspectives of teachers or other people with negative views of students of color (Sellers et al., 1998, p.33).

One study referenced by Franklin and Franklin (2000), conducted by Hrabowski, Maton, and Greif (1998), observed Black male adolescents' success in an academic program and what factors were attributed to their accomplishments. Some children were brought up by both biological parents, some were brought up in single-parent households, and others were raised by other relatives, such as grandparents. Regardless of the parenting background, all males agreed that their caregivers instilled in them the initiative to achieve their goals using socialization messages of racial pride and self-esteem. Examples of these messages included emphasizing intellectual prowess and the importance of education. By encouraging their children at a young age to adopt a resilient attitude toward academic achievement in spite of potential bigotry they may

face, the parents of the program attendees provided key motivation for their offspring's career success (pp. 84-86).

Cultural appreciation within socialization messages.

Generally, cultural models of parenting include the ideologies, short- and long-term goals, and values that guide the child-rearing decisions and actions of parents in a particular cultural group. For Black parents living in America, racial socialization is a complex prospect to undertake, because they must socialize their offspring to function in two social groups: the society they live in—the American culture which reflects Eurocentric values and social norms and simultaneously marginalizes non-European practices—and the Black community within which they hold membership (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Hale-Benson, 1986). As a way of balancing the positive and negative aspects that have shaped Black history and culture (McAdoo, 2002a), many Black parents have adopted an adaptive cultural model of racial socialization (Murray et al., 1999).

This model put parents or primary caregivers at the forefront of children's development of their racial identity. Murray and his colleagues (1999) claim that the models are adaptive in the sense that they are able to be adjusted for use in different situations. For example, parents who wish to teach their children how the blight of racism against Blacks can be overcome can connect a disruptive event such as slavery, to something more constructive, such as the political and social strides made by newly-freed Blacks during post-bellum Reconstruction.

Although practiced differently, adaptive cultural models are transmitted across generations of families, and are frequently practiced throughout the socialization process.

Adaptive cultural models of racial socialization enable the simultaneous expression of both the fears and hopes of the future of a stigmatized group. Understandably then, for many Black families, racial socialization is taught to children as an integral part of their cultural makeup.

Boykin's Triple Quandary Theory: An adaptive cultural model of racial socialization.

How culture comes to life within the individual's negotiation of self, one's place in the world, one's impact on it and on the people around him/her was explored in the writings of A. Wade Boykin. Boykin felt that a culture-sensitive model is needed to orchestrate the "big-picture" that exists in the minds of Black parents, as they effectuate racial socialization for their children. He theorized that parents sought to prepare Black children for (a) experiences with discrimination and stigma, (b) experiences within the Black community itself, and (c) experiences within mainstream society. From this perspective, Black youth are in constant negotiation with the racial component of self and its social positioning, which he called the Triple Quandary. According to Boykin, Blacks experience the Triple Quandary as "tempered by concomitant negotiation through the minority and [African American] cultural realms" (Boykin, 1986, p. 66). "The minority experience is based on exposure to social, economic, and political oppression" (Boykin, 1986, p. 67). Boykin argued that this participation is also tempered by the hegemony or social domination of White Americans. Consequently, the minority experience requires adaptive responses by Black people; they have developed defensive methods to cope with the stressors created by oppressive forces.

Boykin and Toms (1985) outline three adaptive orientations that Black people use to deal with life in America. First, one can take an active versus passive role when confronting the realities of racism and oppression. Second, one can participate in system engagement or disengagement; that is, one can be oriented toward participation in mainstream institutions or one can seek to function independently of mainstream society. Finally, one can be oriented toward system change or system maintenance. These different orientations are not mutually exclusive; thus an individual could be characterized as passive yet participate in system engagement and system change (p. 79). It is important to note that in making these claims, Boykin also stressed that a personality dynamic is involved in the picture. It is not enough for one to just choose action over passivity or attachment over detachment. The components of self that one decides to present to or hide from others is essential to the ways in which these adaptive orientations are displayed.

Proactive and protective messages: Parallel to the Triple Quandary Theory?

A study by Stevenson (1994) revealed the existence of two additional facets of Boykin (1986) and Boykin and Toms' (1985) Triple Quandary that are similar in nature to culture and minority experience messages: proactive and protective racial socialization messages. Protective racial socialization is characterized by messages about the presence of racism in society while proactive racial socialization is characterized by messages relating to the strengths of an individual or of a group of people. Both of these types of racial socialization provide an accurate framework that brings together divergent perspectives on racial socialization messages. Stevenson (1994) found that adolescents

who reported receiving proactive racial socialization messages, such as racial pride, possessed more security and self-confidence in their own Blackness. Youth whose parents gave their children protective racial socialization messages were less likely to have pro-White and anti-Black attitudes. These analyses were particularly pivotal to the study's finding that Black adolescents develop their own racial socialization perspectives from a variety of unique sources and situations.

In work on the development of a racial socialization attitude scale, Stevenson (1994) identified four racial socialization factors: the Racism Awareness Teaching factor (RAT), the Spiritual & Religious Coping factor (SRC), the Extended Family Care factor (EFC), and the Cultural Pride Reinforcement factor, (CPR). Scale factor analysis of these four factors was conducted to validate the scale for use with African-American teens. Specifically, the second-order analysis showed that the RAT factor exemplified the transmission of protective socialization messages, while the SRC, EFC and CPR factors exemplified proactive socialization messages. Proactive messages from the RAT factor promoted an appreciation of Black culture and cultural empowerment. Protective messages from the other three factors promoted methods of coping with and being aware of societal oppression.

Stevenson (1994) concluded that proactive messages enabled Black adolescents to arm themselves with cultural pride in the midst of minority hatred and to develop a healthy psychological view of themselves as members of a discriminated group whose collective social capital can be garnered to surmount oppression. Protective messages warned Blacks of potential obstacles they might face as racial minorities and taught a

myriad of ways to effectively combat the negative emotional and psychological effects of prejudice and discrimination.

Although not necessarily using the term “proactive” per se, a number of messages that could be categorized as proactive racial socialization have been identified in the literature. These include messages focusing on racial pride, egalitarian values, and personal development of skills and character regardless of race (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Stevenson et al., 2002). In addition, a number of messages that could be considered protective racial socialization have also been identified. These include messages that focus on the reality of having to negotiate racial barriers and messages warning against trusting White institutions (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Stevenson, 1994; Stevenson et al., 2002).

With Stevenson’s (1994) discussion of proactive and protective messages, increased attention is then drawn to the culture-sensitive model of Boykin’s (1986) Triple Quandary. Stevenson demonstrated that proactive messages championing Black culture are used to resist racial oppression. Protective messages raise the awareness of racial injustice. Both of these message types are similarly equated to the mainstream, cultural, and minority domains of Boykin’s Triple Quandary. Culture has been a constant focal point of other studies that examined the relationship between racial socialization and race-related stress management, as will be evidenced in the discussion that follows.

Emphasis on cultural awareness and racial pride.

Like Stevenson's (1994) study that confirmed the positive influence of proactive and protective messages on the psychological well-being of Black people, findings by

Ward (2000) show that teaching "healthy" strategies for resistance against prejudice is especially encouraged for college-bound adolescents and young adults of color as they venture into a world that can be hostile and unwelcoming to them (Ward, 2000). Ward interviewed 35 Black families about their racial socialization practices and found that children who receive messages about the existence of racism and who are taught how to strategically buffer its ill effects feel psychologically and emotionally prepared to wage battle against future discrimination they may face.

For many of the Black parents interviewed, message transmission was intended to shape their offspring's understanding of the dynamics of race and racial oppression which in turn would help them to resist encountered oppression in a proactive and effective manner. From her interview data, Ward (2000) developed a list of several resistance strategies Black parents reported using to socialize their children and adolescents about race. Notably, these strategies seemed to cultivate a secure development of one's racial identity, which is an important precursor to the establishment of a grounded and culturally confident adult.

Similar to Ward, in Boys into Men, Raising our African-American Teenage Sons, Franklin and Franklin (2000) discussed how Black parents could help their young boys and adolescents transition into proud and strong self-assured adults. The authors looked at various studies that assessed the threat of racism and discrimination on the lives of Black children and adolescents, and then offered advice for parents on lessening the detrimental effects of racism on their children.

Racial socialization and coping with racism.

Studies have examined the relationship between racial socialization and identity conceptualization and indicated that Black students' perceived self-esteem may be heightened by racial socialization messages emphasizing cultural pride and dampened by messages that call attention to the presence of racial divisions. This correlational relationship echoes that of racial identity and racial socialization.

Bowman and Howard (1985) examined the content of race socialization messages Black parents conveyed to their children. Three hundred seventy-seven participants of third-generation African-American families took part in the study. Parents' racial socialization messages consisted of four themes: (a) racial pride, (b) self-development orientations, (c) racial barrier orientations, and (d) egalitarian views. Racial pride messages taught children about Black unity, informed them of the richness of their cultural heritage, and instilled in them overall positive feelings toward their individual identity and the identity of the group at large. Self-development messages encouraged the individual growth of positive personality traits. Racial barrier messages focused on an awareness of racial inequalities and offered strategies for coping with these social divisions. Egalitarian messages emphasized equality between races (pp. 135-137). According to Bowman & Howard (1985), imparting a combination of messages from all four themes was found to be the most helpful way for parents to engage their children in a spirited celebration of their collective culture and individual character. The parents who listed and described the gamut of themes to their children gave them the necessary tools to manage, praise, and protect their identities. From informing their children of

potential outgroup discrimination they may face, to keeping alive the ever-present hope of eventual equality between minority and non-minority groups, these parents fostered in their children a foundation for a well-balanced identity development. Conversely, children who received messages reflecting only one or two themes were perceived to develop fractured and incomplete ideologies of themselves and their place in the world.

Message type effect on race-related stress encountered in the classroom: Does it matter?

While some Black families promote positive, proactive racial socialization messages in their offspring, other families attach less importance to this aspect. Recent research shows that Black youth who have received positive messages regarding racial identity are more likely to succeed in school and demonstrate high academic motivations than Black youth not receiving positive messages. Frabutt et al. (2002) conducted a study with 66 African American mothers and their preteen sons and daughters. Frabutt and his colleagues videotaped mother/child interactions and asked for all participants to complete questionnaires regarding family demographics and parenting. The mother-child interactions were coded using a coding system called Iowa Family Interaction Scales (IFIS) (Melby et al., 1993) (p. 282). The IFIS measures the quality of the behavioral exchanges between family members. Interactive behavior between mothers and children were coded using dyadic interaction scales.

Dyadic interaction scale ratings were determined by three components: (a) the frequency of the behavior, (b) the intensity of the behavior, and (c) the context in which the behavior occurs. Mothers were categorized into three groups (high, moderate, and

low) according to their rate of socialization with their offspring. The rate of socialization was determined by the degree to the extent that mother-child interaction took place around discussions of race awareness. Results showed that mothers in the moderate socialization group displayed the most positive behavior toward their children, were the most involved, and monitored their child's activities the most. Mothers in that group also displayed the lowest levels of negative behavior. Mothers in the moderate socialization group had children who displayed the most positive behavior toward their mothers and displayed the lowest levels of negativity (Frabutt et al., 2002, pp. 283-284).

Murry and Brody (2002) found that Black mothers' experiences with racism, along with their thoughts about themselves as members of a racial minority group, are incorporated into their socialization practices taught to their children. The researchers investigated the links between maternal racial self-perception, race-related socialization approaches, and psychological resources accessible to the mother with child academic outcomes in poor Black families. Study participants were 156 Black single mothers with an only child ranging in age from 6 to 9 years. The findings showed that mothers who identified positively with their racial identity and warned their children about the realities of racial discrimination, yet also discussed socialization strategies for succeeding despite these obstacles had children who were more eager to attend school than did those children whose mothers did not identify positively with their racial identity and did not engage in racial socialization (Murry & Brody, 2002).

Overall, this study highlighted the importance of contextual factors in understanding the influence of Black parents' attitudes and behavior on their children's

development and academic achievement. Black parents who publicly displayed a healthy racial identity attitude about themselves in turn encouraged their children to want to adopt a similar orientation on their own. The top-down effects of this identity-forming process increased their children's desire to learn and to enjoy their education. The findings of the research also demonstrated that those parents who instilled their own racial pride within their children, who taught them to be wary of the worldly prejudices they may encounter in the future, and who armed them with sound and effective methods to combat those prejudices, are an integral part of molding their offspring's racial and academic identities.

Literature Summary

Parental racial socialization for Black families is a complex prospect to undertake because parents must socialize their children to exist and thrive in two social groups that are often at odds with one another: the larger society or American culture, and the Black community with which one is linked, connected and associated (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Hale-Benson, 1986). Black youth are in constant negotiation with the racial component of their identity and its social positioning in preparation for (a) experiences with race-related discrimination and stigma, (b) experiences within the Black community itself, and (c) experiences within mainstream society,. Black children are prepared for multiple experiences with racial socialization (e.g., how to exit, enter, and generally deal with mainstream participation, code-switching, Black life itself). It is in all three of the previously mentioned dimensions that racial-cultural socialization is expressly evident.

Recall that there is an emphasis in the literature on issues of protection and proactive socialization affecting the lives of Black children. Shifting from children to adults, this study will inquire how Black college students deal with life through their management of the three experiences of the Triple Quandary.

General Aims of the Dissertation

Exploration and Expansion of the Triple Quandary Theory.

The extant research helps us understand how parents convey cultural dignity and potential obstacles to their children, but it is still unclear how proactive and protective racial socialization can affect young adults' racial identity and their management of race-related stress in academic and social milieu. To this end, this dissertation seeks to explore what, if any, potential impact parental messages of racial socialization may have on Black college students' experiences and buffering race-related stress and identity conceptualization.

For the purposes of this dissertation, the concepts of racial socialization, identity conceptualization and negotiation, and experiences of race-related stress are of particular focus. How do Black college students recall and carry parental socialization messages? And to what extent do these students, in turn, employ their recollections when negotiating everyday life within a multi-racial academic environment? To begin to understand the socialization process, this dissertation explores how parental racial socialization messages are transmitted to students and what components were recalled by students—stressed, downplayed or marginalized—during their enrollment at a multi-racial urban university.

To reiterate, Boykin (1986) posited that Black Americans contend with three distinct yet interrelated psychological domains of lived experience, the mainstream, the minority and the cultural. These domains have inherent meaning, according to Boykin. The Triple Quandary theory argues that Black parents socialize their children according to three agendas:

1. Mainstream socialization, which teaches aspirations of attaining social and economic success, or living the American dream (e.g., striving for and obtaining a decent-paying job and achieving social mobility).

2. Black cultural socialization, which teaches the cultural modes of African Americans that are linked to traditional West African tradition.

3. Minority socialization, which serves as a buffer for racism in American society (Boykin & Toms, 1985).

Theoretically, this dissertation explores the processes outlined by Boykin's Triple Quandary theory (Boykin, 1986; Boykin & Toms, 1985). This study explores black college students' recollections of racial socialization and the extent to which these recollection influence their everyday life—inclusive of instances of race-related-stress—in the context of a small but highly multi-racial college. In particular, how does racial socialization impact an individual's identity negotiation of each component of Boykin's Triple Quandary (1986) and facilitate their coping with experiences of race-related stress?

Exploratory Research Inquiries

Research Inquiry 1:

Participants reporting racial socialization messages will better evidence useful strategies for dealing with the minority domain—coping with discriminatory behavior or attitudes directed toward them, and will also fluidly engage with the mainstream and cultural domains of the Triple Quandary. Participants with more vivid recollections of race-related socialization will show greater sophistication in the way they handle race-related stress in their everyday life in college. Specifically, participants reporting a greater emphasis on proactive messages (i.e., messages relating to racial pride, interracial interaction and egalitarianism) and lower emphasis on protective socialization messages (i.e., messages relating to the presence of racism) will better anticipate and manage race-related stress.

Research Inquiry 2:

The conceptualization of racial identity, of which is a very small but integral part of the Black cultural experience, was perceived to be related to students' experiences of race-related stress in the context of higher education. Higher education is still seen by laypersons and scholars alike as a social institution dominated by the mainstream. Therefore, this study applied Boykin's (1986) theory of the Triple Quandary to the hypothesis that those students recalling a greater combination of protective as well as proactive racial socialization messages will be more likely to narrate life experiences that reflect a balance of minority, mainstream, and black cultural experiences—i.e., the Triple Quandary.

Chapter 2

Method

Participants

Study participants included 36 Black American adults (26 women, 10 men) who lived in a New Jersey metro area near New York City and attended a multi-racial college in the community. Six of the 36 students (three women and three men) completed the interview-mapping phase of the study and also completed the survey. An additional 30 students completed the survey portion of the study but were not interviewed. All demographic information was obtained via participant self-report (see Appendix A, demographics/information sheet). Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 20 years, with a mean of 18.3 years (SD = .51). Participants described their ethnicity as African-American (*n* = 30, 83.3%), West Indian/Caribbean Black (*n* = 1, 3%), Latino/Latina Black (*n* = 1, 3%), and Mixed (*n* = 4, 11%). Individual demographics (e.g., race, economic background, parental education, self-reported GPA, etc.) was broken down and reported separately for each ethnic group.

College freshmen were specifically chosen for the sample because the researcher felt their stories and survey responses would provide a unique perspective for the purposes of the study. Since these students were just entering undergraduate study, an option they actively chose to further their education, it was surmised that their first-time experiences as independent adults in an unfamiliar academic setting would be useful for the researcher to use to scaffold their personal and scholastic expectations for the future.

The college student body was very diverse; a 2010 fact sheet about the college from its official website estimated that full-time students came from 29 states and from more than 32 countries around the world. Notwithstanding students of European ancestry, many other minority groups besides Black Americans, the population of interest for the study, were present on campus during the time of data collection. This multi-ethnic and multi-cultural setting provided a unique context from which to garner participants and gather data for the study.

Instrumentation

There were two distinct groups of participants for this study: an interviewed, surveyed, and mapped group, comprised of six individuals, and a survey-only group, comprised of 30 individuals. A mixed methods approach served to offset the weaknesses inherent within any given method. Obtaining subjective responses via semi-structured interviews and a concept-mapping session allowed complex conceptual questions and perceptions to be addressed in person and in real time, while the administration of a survey instrument to a larger sample enabled the researcher to assess the impact of racial socialization and management of race-related stress events on a larger scale.

Semi-structured interview. A semi-structured interview protocol comprised of fifteen questions was used to ask the six participants involved in the qualitative part of the study about received messages of racial socialization, experiences of race-related stress, and racial identity beliefs. The protocol was composed of three main inquiries: (a) What kinds of messages have students received, if any, regarding racial socialization from their parents? (b) How do students develop a stable and secure racial identity and

how do they feel about being a Black American? and (c) To what extent do students attribute their motivation to succeed in school to received parental messages of racial socialization and racial identity? Because the intent of the current study was to explore in-depth meanings of educational and cultural beliefs and practices held by the participants, probes and follow-up questions were used to solicit descriptive examples as illustration of their points.

An example of one of the protocol questions read, “Did your parents, or the people who raised you talk to you about race frequently? What did they talk about?” Another example: “What issues, if any, related to being Black and going to school were brought up in conversations with your parents or caregivers?” (See Appendix A, Interview Protocols 1 and 2) The semi-structured interviews were analyzed using conceptual theory from the literature as well as grounded codes that emerged from the interviews themselves.

Concept mapping. The six interviewed participants were asked to construct a visual representation that reflected their understanding and interpretation of how they identify and place value upon the relationship between the variables of interest: socialization message transmission, race-related stress, and racial identity (see Appendix A, Interview Protocol 3). Concept maps are a powerful and unique method of gaining information and organizing research data. Concept mapping is not only a useful learning tool but also a keen evaluation tool; research evaluators increasingly request study participants to employ these mapping strategies to elicit information from their memory and past experiences, thereby forging a link between human cognition and the scientific

inquiry of this phenomenon (Sirin & Fine, 2005; Mintzes, Wandersee, & Novak, 2000; Novak, 1990; Novak & Gowin, 1984).

Analysis of the concept mapping exercise was conducted through the application of grounded theory, a method of discovering theoretical components within and connections between aspects of data that is usually qualitative. By systematically looking for shared themes related to racial socialization, discrimination/race-related stress, and identity formation within the information provided by the participant in his or her map, theoretical conceptualizations about the themes are then generated and explicated for discussion purposes (Strauss, 1987; Glaser, 1992).

Racial socialization scale. All participants completed the Teenager Experiences of Racial Socialization Scale (TERS) (Stevenson, et al., 2002), a 40-item, 3-point, Likert-type scale (1 = never, 2 = a few times, 3 = lots of times) designed to assess the quality and frequency of racial socialization messages that participants may have heard from parents or caregivers. The TERS has five subscales. The first subscale, Cultural Coping with Antagonism (CCA), assesses messages associated with the importance of overcoming racial hostilities and the role of spirituality and religion in coping with such difficulties. The second subscale of Cultural Pride Reinforcement (CPR) assesses messages of cultural pride and knowledge instilled in African American youth. The Cultural Appreciation of Legacy (CAL), subscale assesses messages that endorse recognition and appreciation of African-Americans' cultural heritage. The fourth subscale, Cultural Alertness to Discrimination (CAD), assesses messages related to awareness of racism in society and challenges to healthy race relations between Blacks

and Whites. The fifth and final subscale, Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream (CEM), assesses messages about the relative importance of majority culture (e.g., White) institutions and the values and benefits that African Americans can receive by their involvement with these institutions. Higher scores on each of the subscales are indicative of increased parent-youth transmission of racial socialization messages. For the purposes of this study, the five subscales of the TERS were reconfigured into three new subsequent subscales. This first new subscale was comprised of *protective* messages, equivalent to the CAD. The second new subscale was comprised of *proactive* messages, resulting in the combining of the CCA, CPR, CAL, and CEM subscales and dividing the summed total by four. The third new subscale comprised a total summation of all five subscales and dividing the summed total by five.

According to Stevenson, et al. (2002, p. 93), Cronbach's alpha for the entire TERS scale was .91. An alpha of .71 or greater was reported for most of the factors (CCA: α = .85; CPR: α = .83; CAD: α = .76; CAL: α = .74; CEM: α = .71). For the present study, Cronbach's alpha for the entire TERS scale was .94. Most of the coefficients for the subscale factors ranged from adequate to very high (CCA: α = .80; CPR: α = .73; CAD: α = .65; CAL: α = .85; CEM: α = .76). These high alphas demonstrated the sound reputation of the TERS as a reliable instrument to measure racial socialization.

Experiences of race-related stress. To assess all participants' recent experiences of race-related stress, Landrine & Klonoff's (1996) Schedule of Racist Events was administered. The Schedule of Racist Events (SRE) is an 18-item, 6-point Likert scale

self-report measure designed to assess racial discrimination in the lives of African-Americans and to provide a measure of culture-specific stress for this population. Participants rate whether a stated scenario has happened to them in the past year (recent racist events subscale), in their lifetime (lifetime racist events subscale), and how stressfully they appraised the events (appraisal of events subscale).

For the Recent Racist Events subscale, items address issues such as being treated unfairly by teachers, doctors, neighbors, or waiters; having been called racist names; or having been unfairly suspected of a wrongdoing. A score of 1 indicated that the participants considered an item to never have occurred within the past year, and a score of 6 indicated that the participants considered an item to occur very frequently within the past year. For the Stress Appraisal subscale, a score of 1 indicated that the participants considered an item to not incur any noticeable stress, and a score of 6 indicated that the participants considered an item to incur very noticeable stress. For the purposes of this dissertation, the Lifetime Racist Events subscale was not used. In addition, the researcher saw fit to combine the Recent Racist Events subscale and Appraisal of Events subscale together into one single measure of Total Stress.

Landrine & Klonoff (1996) reported Cronbach's alphas were high for the measure at .95 for the Recent Racist Events subscale and .94 for the appraisal of events subscale. In comparison, the present study's Cronbach's alphas for the Recent Racist Events and the Appraisal of Events subscales were .87 and .92, respectively. This demonstrates that the SRE is an internally consistent measure, capable of accurately assessing the

frequency of an individual's experience of racist events and the resulting stress affect of those events.

Procedures

A mixed methods design was undertaken for this study. A quantitative survey was administered, including 40 items from the TERS (Stevenson et al., 2002), to assess the frequency and value of received messages of racial socialization and the 18-item Schedule of Racist Events (SRE) (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996), to assess experiences with discrimination. Because there is no validated self-report measure that has been developed specifically to assess the Triple Quandary, the TERS was also used as a surrogate measure of the three experiences—mainstream [White] experience, minority experience and Black cultural experience—articulated in the Triple Quandary (Boykin, 1986). The TERS has been widely used in the social sciences to understand various aspects of racial socialization. This study presents one of the first opportunities for the TERS to be used to investigate the effect of racial socialization on racial identity negotiation for Black students.

Pilot. A pilot study was conducted in the summer of 2009, with three students and one administrative assistant as participants. Two of the four participants were male, and the other two were female; all self-identified as African-American. Surveys were administered to assess their parental racial socialization experiences and management of race-related stress events. Interviews and concept mapping exercises were conducted with the piloted participants, in order to qualitatively assess received racial socialization messages, perceived management of race-related stress and perceived racial identity.

Interview. The interview participants were recruited by placing numerous visits to various classes on the campus of the college, where a brief discussion of the study ensued. Students who met the criteria needed for the study and expressed interest were informally asked to participate. Each of the six consenting participants participating in the qualitative part of the study completed a 30-minute semi-structured interview with the researcher. The interview questions covered a variety of issues that included but were not limited to the following: early childhood experiences surrounding race and discrimination, recent experiences surrounding race and discrimination, cultural involvement/immersion within the household and community, perceived social fit within the university, general self-reported impressions of being and identifying as Black, feelings about higher education, self-perceived academic achievement motivation, self-perceived definition of academic success, 'proving stereotypes wrong' about Black intellectual inferiority.

Immediately concluding the interview, the six participants completed the TERS (Stevenson et al., 2002) to assess potential racial socialization messages conveyed to them regarding race and minority issues. Next, the participants were administered the SRE (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996) to assess their recent experiences with race-related stress in the past year. Upon completing the two questionnaires, the six participants were finally instructed to create a flowchart concept map demonstrating perceived links between received racial socialization messages, race-related stress and racial identity beliefs. The mapping construction served to explain participants' linear and non-linear connections between the measures, thereby providing important insight into how these

students of color engage in an evolving discourse: how they interpret their lived experiences within a society that challenges conceptions of self, of and that at times, threatens their cultural integrity. This entire procedure was conducted with all six participants in late fall of 2009 and was repeated a second time in the spring term of 2010.

Survey. Thirty additional freshman undergraduates comprised the second group of participants. Participants volunteered to complete the two questionnaires, as described previously, online; the questionnaires were uploaded to a secure, SSL-layered, popular survey-creation internet website. This online administration method enabled comparisons and contrasts to be made between the six interviewed participants' perceptions of racial socialization, Triple Quandary identity negotiations and experiences with race-related stress and those of the larger sample group. Just as with the sample of interviewed participants, the larger surveyed sample benefited from discussing how they, via their family's teachings, managed their place within their world and within society. Both participant groups will hopefully use these experiences to eventually become independent and confident adults.

The survey participants were recruited by placing numerous visits to various classes on the campus of the college, where a brief discussion of the study ensued. Students who met the criteria needed for the study and expressed interest were informally asked to participate. No incentive for participation was given, other than the researcher's expressed hope that though participating in the study, the students would gain an interest in reading more about and participating in future psychological research on the lives of

racial minorities. These students were given flyers informing them of the website URL where the survey was posted. Out of 72 students that expressed initial interest in the study, only 30 actually participated. After consenting to participate in the study, they completed the two questionnaires on the secure website. Statistical analysis of the survey results for these participants, through Kendall's tau correlations and descriptive data, provided a broader level of analysis.

Coding of interviews. Qualitative data analysis included the construction of a coding system to locate, identify, and interpret semantic patterns or themes in the semi-structured interviews of the six participants that centered on discussions of key topics (See Figure 14 for a full tabular list of categories and their respective coded themes). An integral part of the qualitative analysis for this research involved making the data more manageable and organized. This was done by creating six categories across each of the transcribed interviews. Category 1, consisted of common race-related themes relating to received racial socialization messages, which included *parent-respondent discussions about race, racism, and/or race relations* (e.g., positive and/or negative feelings of Blacks and any other race other than Blacks; intra-group and inter-group racial stereotypes). Participant interview data that reported parental discussion of concepts relating to the presence of racism, race-related discrimination or prejudice were coded as *protective* racial socialization messages. Participant interview data that reported parental discussion of concepts relating to racial pride, owning material or physical objects, attending community events, using catch phrases such as "Black is beautiful" or wearing clothing that evident of reflecting a cultural appreciation of a Black identity were coded

as *proactive* racial socialization messages. Category 2 consisted of common themes relating to respondents' *personal views of race, racism, and/or race relations* (e.g., positive and/or negative views of the self as a Black person and other Black people; interracial relationships). Category 3 consisted of common themes relating to participants' *recent personal experiences with race-related stress* (e.g., perceived racial discrimination against respondent). Category 4 consisted of common themes related to participants' *perceived academic-achievement motivation* (e.g., desire to get good grades; score high marks on exams). Category 5 consisted of common themes related to participants' *perception of academic success* (e.g., what is necessary for success). The final category, Category 6, consisted of common themes related to participants' perspective on *viewing self academic achievement motivation as an unexpected indicator of Black intellect* (e.g., devotion to personally exemplifying Blacks' interest in higher education).

For the purposes of this study, categorizing the transcribed interviews into six distinct yet interrelated areas enabled the researcher to answer questions within the context of the study as well as provide insightful information that might be meaningful to outside audiences—with the help of qualitative data categorization (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996).

Mapping. For the mapping exercise, themes emerged through grounded theory. Maps were drawn and captioned with meaningful phrases or key words from the illustrator. These phrases developed into common themes that illuminated participants' perceived connections between the variables of the study: their racial socialization

history—their perception and interpretation of those received messages—their experiences with race-related stress, and their perceptions of their racial identity.

Chapter 3

Results

Survey-only Participant Data

Demographics. Participants consisted of 23 women and seven men. The reported childhood economic background of participants were working class (*n* = 14, 46.7%); middle-class (*n* = 11, 36.7%); upper-middle (*n* = 3, 10.0%); and poor (*n* = 2, 6.7%). With respect to current economic background, the majority of participants were split between working class (*n* =12, 30.0%) and middle class (*n* =14, 46.7%) with upper-middle class (*n* = 2, 6.7%) bringing up the rear. Only (*n* = 2, 6.7%) described their current financial state as poor.

With regard to parental education, 33.3% (*n* = 10) of mothers of participants had obtained a high school diploma or equivalent; 23.3% (*n* = 7) had taken some college coursework; 33.0% (*n* = 9) had obtained a college degree; 3.3% (*n* = 1) had obtained a graduate degree and 10% (*n* = 3) were designated as "Other" (e.g. some high school, technical school, etc.). The educational status of the fathers of participants ranged from a high school diploma or equivalent (*n* = 12; 40%); some college (*n* = 1, 3.3%); college degree (*n* = 8, 26.7%), graduate degree (*n* = 1, 3.3%) to Other (e.g. unknown, incarcerated, technical school) (*n* = 8, 26.7%).

Assessment of the Triple Quandary. Because this study holds that racial identity is a very important contribution to the racial socialization of Black students, the Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale or TERS (Stevenson et al., 2004) was deliberately selected as a surrogate measure of the Triple Quandary (Boykin, 1986). One

or more of the five subscales within the TERS reflects an individual's connection with a mainstream (White) experience, a minority experience, or a Black cultural experience. Decidedly, this approach seemed the most parsimonious with the researcher's conceptualization of the theory. Table 1 shows how scores from the three TERS subscales were configured to create three scores that represent the three dimensions of the Triple Quandary Theory. The TERS was used as a surrogate measure for the Triple Quandary proposed experiences.

For the purposes of this study, two of the TERS (Stevenson et al., 2004) scales, CCA and CAL, were considered too abstract to try to combine into distinct domains; these were eliminated to make a one-to-one match with the remaining scales. These three values will dominate the analysis that follows. Thus, CEM is equivalent to the Mainstream Experience domain of the Triple Quandary, CAD is equivalent to the Minority Experience domain of the Triple Quandary, and CPR is equivalent to the Black Cultural Experience domain of the Triple Quandary:

1. *CEM can be equated with Mainstream (White) Experience***.** This subscale measures the importance of majority culture (e.g., White) and the values and benefits that African Americans perceive they can receive by their involvement with these institutions. Strong attitudes or messages endorsing this orientation are geared toward promoting active participation within and identification with the majority (White) culture.
2. *CAD can be equated with Minority Experience.* The CAD measures awareness of racism in society and challenges to healthy race relations

between Blacks and Whites. Strong attitudes or messages endorsing these orientations are geared towards actively participating within a Black-identified framework while harboring caution toward full-on participation within the White world. That is, they are Black-identified but are not necessarily White-rejective. The protection aspects of the scale can thus be linked to the Minority Experience component of Boykin's Triple Quandary.

3. *CPR can be equated with Black Cultural Experience.* The CPR measures the cultural pride and knowledge instilled in African American youth. Strong messages or attitudes endorsing this orientation are characterized by absorption in the Black cultural experience and a marked rejection of the White cultural world. That is, they are Black-identified and are White-rejective.

The mean scores of students in the sample were calculated for each of the three Triple Quandary components as measured by the TERS subscales; the higher the mean, the greater the endorsement of that orientation. Participants who generated high scores across all three factors indicate that they were more capable of managing the college context than those participants with high scores on CAD and low scores on the CEM and CPR scales. The former are seen as more flexible and able to enact identity without undue defensiveness, while the latter are more ineffective at code-switching and/or get very uptight when they are "forced" to code-switch. As seen in Table 2, participants highly endorsed the CEM subscale, equated to Mainstream Experience (M = 17.07, SD =

3.54). Strong endorsement was present as well on the CPR subscale, equated to Black Cultural Experience (M = 18.03, SD = 3.56). Participants' lowest endorsement was attributed to the CAD subscale, equated to Minority Experience (M = 16.80, SD = 4.14). The high mean scores on the Mainstream, Minority, and Cultural Experiences were not antagonistic, oppositional, or zero sum. This finding demonstrates fluidity in the expression of cultural identity; participants did not align themselves to a starkly Black or White frame of reference. Therefore, it is possible to be highly identified with the mainstream culture and one's minority culture.

Correlations. Table 5 reports the following statistical analysis. A Kendall tau rank correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between reported total racial socialization and reported race-related total stress. There was no significant correlation between the two variables, τ =.075, n = 30, n.s. Overall, there was little to no correlation between total racial socialization and race-related stress. An increase or decrease in reported total racial socialization was not significantly related to an increase or decrease in reported race-related total stress. As stated earlier, the total racial socialization score was computed by summing all five TERS subscales Stevenson et al., 2002) and dividing the summed total by five.

A Kendall tau rank correlation coefficient was also computed to assess the relationship between reported protective racial socialization messages and reported race-related total stress (See Table 5). There was no significant correlation between the two variables, τ =.061, n = 30, n.s. Overall, there was little to no correlation between protective racial socialization messages and race-related stress. An increase or decrease

in reported protective racial socialization messages was not significantly related to an increase or decrease in reported race-related total stress. The protective racial socialization score was equivalent to the TERS CAD subscale (Stevenson et al., 2002).

A final Kendall tau rank correlation coefficient was computed to assess the relationship between reported proactive racial socialization messages and reported race-related total stress. There was no significant correlation between the two variables, τ =.096, n = 30, n.s. Overall, there was little to none correlation between proactive racial socialization messages and race-related stress. (See Table 5). An increase or decrease in reported proactive racial socialization messages was not significantly related to an increase or decrease in reported race-related total stress. Proactive racial socialization was computed by combining the CCA, CPR, CAL, and CEM subscales and dividing the summed total by four (Stevenson et al., 2002).

Interviewed Participant Data

Fall 2009 and Spring 2010: Assessment of the Triple Quandary. Table 3 and Table 4, respectively, show the Fall 2009 and Spring 2010 mean scores of the interviewed participants for each of the three Triple Quandary orientations measured by the three TERS subscales (Stevenson et al., 2002); the higher the mean, the greater the endorsement of that orientation. For both the fall and the spring administrations, participants strongly endorsed the CEM subscale (Mainstream Experience), and also highly identified with the CPR subscale (Black Cultural Experience) and CAD subscale (Minority Experience). Since the scores were not antagonistic, oppositional, or zero sum,

it demonstrates that these participants were highly identified with the mainstream culture and their minority culture.

Qualitative Data Analysis of Participant Interviews

Fall 2009: Initial interviews. As indicated earlier, the Fall 2009 interviews with the 6 participants were grouped into six categories and coded for common themes voiced collectively by the sample. Participants were assigned pseudonyms to ensure confidentiality. All of the interviews were in themselves unique snapshots of meaningful memories and moments that emerged from within the context of the semi-structured questions. Most of the interviewed participants answered the interview questions and drew concept maps with unique perspectives and colorful detail. How each of these students interpreted their individual lived experiences as college freshmen of color just embarking on the beginning of their scholastic journeys within a society that often challenged their conception of self, intellectualism, and at times, threatened their cultural integrity was vital to record, measure, and understand.

Fall 2009: Jane.

Jane had an overall racial socialization message type that could be described as a mix of protection toward Black culture and selective engagement within the mainstream (e.g., racial pride, egalitarianism, awareness of racism, cautious participation in the mainstream). The socialization messages received from Jane's parents about acquiring racial pride and growing up Black were semi-frequent and often contextualized within stereotype-baiting stories that depicted the negative ways in which some Whites

perceived Blacks. She remarked on *parent-respondent discussions about race, racism, and/or race relations* in this way:

Jane: They have to tell me [about the expectation of racism], that way I understand, as I'm growing up that whatever I experience I'm not unfamiliar with it. And I'm not used to it. At least I'll know it's going to happen. They said a lot. I'm gonna be discriminated against because of my skin tone. But don't let what other people think of me stop me from doing what I want to, because if I want to, I can do whatever I want. Be whoever I want to be.

PI: What did you think about what they were telling you?

Jane: When you're young, you don't really understand until you actually experience the discrimination or anything. When they're telling you, you're like "No that's not gonna happen." But when it actually happens, then you're like "OK, Well, they were telling me for my own good." And I'm glad they told me, that way I know how to approach the situation.

PI: What kinds of things, if any, did your parents/caregivers tell you about other races when you were growing up?

Jane: Kinda neutral talk. They weren't exactly, talk about each race. But mainly, Caucasians. How they would act towards me, like depending on where I was at. Simple things. I live in South Jersey, so, there's certain parts where if I go there, I'm gonna be stared at. Because they're not used to that many African-Americans being there, in that area. Like a diner, or a basketball game or something like that. I'm gonna be stared at. And I might be talked about behind my back, stared at a little bit, but you know, that's it.

PI: Has that happened a lot?

Jane: Yeah, enough times to know it's not right. I've been called the N-word before by a grown White man, when I was, probably about 10.

Remarks like these demonstrated the extent to which Jane's parents tried to socialize her to believe that she should be proud of being Black in that as long as she strove to not act "black", don't give in to what being and acting Black means, stereotypically speaking—"they're expecting you to…get irate and ignorant and start yelling and get physical." Cautionary messages that encouraged a- self-protective view included topics such as the awareness of racism, responses to racism and discrimination and interracial marriage. As a child and pre-teen, she was encouraged by her parents — especially by her mother — to marry anyone of her choice, regardless of race,. However, as she grew older, Jane's experiences with interracial interactions and ideas about race relations caused her to shift her opinions about her *personal views of race, racism, and/or race relations* away from those of her parents:

Jane: My mom, she said whoever you bring home as long as they're good, it doesn't really matter. But when you're growing up and you see, OK well, if I were to marry a Caucasian person, then his family wouldn't accept me or my family wouldn't accept him. You kinda just go into what you know best. You don't exactly go into interracial relationships. Even though it doesn't really matter…

PI: What would you tell your children about being Black in America? How does this differ from what your parents/caregivers told you, if at all?

Jane: You're gonna be discriminated against no matter the year or the century. Doesn't really matter. You're gonna be a minority your whole life. I'd probably tell my sons it more, because they're Black men, they're Black males, it'll be harder for them than Black females.

PI: Why?

Jane: That's how my mother instilled in me. My two brothers, she told them growing up, you're gonna have it worse than me, they're gonna have it worse than me because they're Black males. She made it seem like they're at the bottom of the totem pole. They're racist against them. [Jane]

Jane made friends with people of any race, as long as associating with them didn't bring her down from a moral standpoint. Jane's received socialization messages impacted her Triple Quandary by causing her to place considerable emphasis on incorporating the Minority Experience domain into the Mainstream Experience domain, thereby creating a version of self within the mainstream that reflects who she is ethnically and racially as a Black woman. She was proud of her ethnicity, as were most other participants. Similar to the other participants, the Black Cultural Experience domain of her identity was rather muted, and no racial socialization in the household during childhood ever centered on the expression or celebration of ethnic culture.

In regards to Jane's *recent personal experiences with race-related stress,* she reported one early encounter that initially angered her and rendered her helpless, but eventually made her more determined to stand up for herself and ultimately led her to directly confront a second, later individual for a similar offence.

If something happens to me with another person, I don't always tell my mom or my parents, I don't. ‘Cause most times I deal with it on my own, I don't really need her. PI: So there wasn't anything specific, when you were younger? Jane: I didn't tell my mom the day I got called the N-word by a grown man in my own neighborhood. I looked at White people in general different after that experience. 'Cause I know I couldn't react the way I wanted to, 'cause I was young and he was a grown man. But whenever I would see this White girl my age and she would say something racist toward me, then I would, it would be this confrontation, because I know I could react the way I wanted to because we were in the same age bracket and I could do actually something about it. But even though, it's not gonna stop what she thinks, but at least I can defend myself. [Jane]

The *perceived academic-achievement motivation* of Jane was very high, in part because to her, college was a different ball game than high school, grade-wise:

Jane: It's different in college because in high school, if you fail class, you're not necessarily paying for high school, so you fail class — you can take it over, or summer school. But college is different; you want to get your good grades. I'm more motivated to get good grades that way, my GPA is up and I don't have to worry about retaking any courses or having to drop out of school or anything because of my bad grades or failing any classes. High school is different, where you're more tracked down in high school by teachers to get your work done. But here, you have to be more independent on yourself and get your work done. I'm more motivated here than I was in high school.

PI: That's a result of having to pay for it?

Jane: Yeah. You don't want to waste your money, at all.

Similar to her academic achievement motivation, Jane's *perception of academic success* became more serious and indicative of her personal future worldly goals once she entered college:

Jane: Well the way I was raised, grades are very important. You want to bring home good grades instead of bad ones.

PI: Do you think good grades are reflective of you being successful or not being successful?

Jane: In a way, you want to do your best. And if you have a bad grade, then that's showing that you're not doing your best. So how can you go into the outside world and not doing your best, you're just doing minimum, instead of pushing it to the max, and doing what you know you can do instead of what you feel is just required just to get by.
PI: What does being successful mean to you? Academically and non-academically?
Jane: Academically, it means getting good grades. I don't necessarily need to get, have a 4.0 or anything. But as long as I have good grades and I don't have any failure grades or D's then I'm successful as long as I'm doing what I have to do and getting all my work done. And I know I tried my best doing the work, and then I'm successful.

Jane's *discussion of viewing self academic achievement motivation as an unexpected indicator of Black intellect* was evidenced in most of the other five participants' interviews. Jane had an 'I did-it-all-by-myself' mantra that she personally abided by. She claimed this mantra could and would quickly shut up those naysayers that didn't believe Blacks had the interest, determination, or sheer ability to go to school, see their programs of study to completion, and perform well :

Jane: “When you're growing up you wanna prove all those people that told you that you couldn't do it, that you'll never go anywhere despite your race, and then you have the Caucasians, or it doesn't really matter the race, you're like African-Americans they'll never do anything if they get a college education, it doesn't really matter because they're not gonna be able to do anything with it. You wanna be able to prove those people wrong and get the good jobs that you know you can. And then be able to throw it in their face, like I'm successful, what are you doing with your life? I can do what I want because I have the power. It's all about power, in a way.

PI: Why do you say that?

Jane: 'Cause you wanna be able to have the power, you wanna have the control over your own life and your own thoughts instead of letting other people control you. If you're going through your life letting other people dictate what you do, then you're not gonna be in control of yourself. Exert your power over what you do, be independent.

Effect of socialization and racial identity development on management of race-related stress. Racial socialization messages sponsoring both cultural protection and selective engagement of the mainstream enabled Jane to develop her racial identity in ways that would enable her to buffer experienced discrimination and engage in the mainstream as she saw fit. Jane moved easily between multiple domains. She appeared to relish her ability to do so, while dually paying homage to the Black cultural experience—the place where she felt most at home. Reported discriminatory experiences were few for Jane, but those that did occur were often reacted to with voiced indignation. Her reactions against her attackers sometimes echoed her parents’ own responses to

discrimination: as a victim of racism or prejudice, the best thing to do was to react in opposition to expectation.

Jane: “Don’t react, just walk away because you know you’re better than that. Don't [react], my mom said, don't. If somebody—if a Caucasian person were to confront you about your race, don't “black”, act “black” like don't give them what they want and what they're expecting. Because they're expecting you to get irate and ignorant and start yelling and get physical. She said don't do that because you're giving them what they want, what they're expecting. PI: Did you take their advice? Jane: Sometimes I did, sometimes I didn't. I can't lie. It bothers you when you hear it. But sometimes you can't react; sometimes you have no choice but to react at that moment.

PI: How did you react in the times when you didn't follow her advice?

Jane: Sometimes if I hear it, I'm either gonna keep walking, like OK whatever, it doesn't really bother me. But sometimes you can't help it, depending on your mood that day. And I'll just be like, we'll start arguing. I won't get into physical confrontations with you, but don't talk to me, talk down to me like you're better than me, that's just only gonna make me mad.

Concept map analysis. The flowchart map drawn by Jane confirmed the findings within her interview data. (see Figure 1). Jane’s received racial socialization messages instilled self-efficacy, independence and racial pride within her, which helped Jane to actively strive toward accomplishing many academic tasks in a “harsh” world that didn’t believe racial minorities could achieve “much of anything.” In particular, the cautionary, protective overtones she received about race relations in general and her own personal

interactions with discriminatory Whites increased her determination to develop a mindset dedicated to surpassing the expectations and stereotypical beliefs of others. This sense of personal agency, combined with socialization messages of selective engagement and encouragement, influenced Jane to think of college as being something she could excel in if she "set my mind to it" and exerted the effort.

Fall 2009: Robert.

Robert exhibited an overall racial socialization message type that could be described as full engagement within the mainstream culture (e.g., racial pride, egalitarianism, awareness of racism). Robert's parents imparted few messages of racial socialization; those that he remembered did not explicitly deal with matters of race. On *parent-respondent discussions about race, racism, and/or race relations* he had this to say:

Robert: They talked about being responsible and what I had to do when I got older and stuff like that. But they never put race into it. My mom and dad never really talked about race at all. I learned about it from others.

PI: What did you learn about from others?

Robert: Well, I don't know, like it was basic stuff. Like how Black people are not liked by some Whites because of dumb reasons. It wasn't anything specific, just really basic stuff.

PI: You want to talk more about that? Can you elaborate more?

Robert: I can't really remember too many details, like I said, it was like, basic. Stuff that I learned over the years, in conversations.

PI: So with your parents it was never explicit? Talking about race?

Robert: Nah.

PI: Did you ever ask them, yourself, about Blackness or Whiteness?

Robert: No, not really.

The neutral stance regarding race imparted by Robert's parents was evident. Robert gained knowledge about stereotypical tensions between Blacks and Whites from his friends. Although these peers had told him about "basic" problems of White prejudice and discrimination against Blacks, Robert's personal views of race, racism, and/or race relations remained impartial and decidedly nonchalant —just like the beliefs of his parents:

My dad's all Black, and he married my mom, who's half White. So it doesn't matter with them, and they don't care. So I don't really care about it. I consider myself Black, but most other people think I'm mixed. To me, there's nothing particularly bad about being that way. [Robert]

Robert held similarly egalitarian perspectives on his own interracial relationships. His received socialization messages impacted his management of the Triple Quandary by enabling him to blend the minority domain into that of the mainstream, thereby creating a version of self within the mainstream that reflected his biracial ancestry. Similar to the other participants, the Black cultural domain of his identity was absent, and no racial socialization in the household during childhood ever centered on the expression or celebration of Black culture.

In regards to Robert's *recent personal experiences with race-related stress*, he had few to speak of. He offered one experience but declined to elaborate further only saying that, retrospectively, the incident was likely in jest:

Robert: Well, I know in high school, people used to make fun of me. But now that I'm in college, there are so many different types of people here, people are really just here to learn and have fun. So they really throw the race card out the window. When I was younger, my friends would joke about race, but they never said anything serious where I would get mad. There was this one time though, it was weird. This one White dude who was friends with me and he said I looked like an "Oreo." That isn't like a lot to get mad at, but he kept on saying stuff, like I looked weird, why did I look light but I definitely wasn't like him, you know, White. He pissed me off.

PI: What did he say?

Robert: I don't know now, but it made me mad. Now, though, I think I made a big deal about it, we started talking and was cool in like a few minutes, actually. If it happened now, I wouldn't be mad like I was then. Oreo ain't a word to become mad about, not like other words.

The *perceived academic-achievement motivation* of Robert was moderately high:

I feel motivated. But in high school, I didn't because, well, you see a lot, you see people drop out. And it affects you, because you're thinking some of your friends are going that way, they say it's not for me, it's not working for me, but now it's different. I like learning stuff every day, the homework is hard sometimes and I don't feel like doing

it, (laughs) but it's interesting. I'm learning so much about life in general, I'm learning about things I never even thought about. It's crazy. [Robert]

Robert's *perception of academic success* mirrored that of his academic achievement motivation:

College is always the first step. These days, you don't really have to go to school, but it's a good thing because in getting an education you're learning. But these days people are making money off just anything. To me, not really a lot. I really don't want to be famous or anything, I just want to be regular, like to live comfortable, with a house, kids. I just really don't wanna worry about money. I'm a social guy, but I don't like to participate in any clubs or anything. So I would say, grades are the most important right now. I would say having a 3.0, try to get a 3.0 every year, helps me to build my resume. [Robert]

Robert's *perspective of viewing self academic achievement motivation as an unexpected indicator of Black intellect* indicated his confidence in his intellectual ability, despite the stereotypical beliefs of school authorities that his scholastic potential would be compromised by his current status as a student athlete:

When I was talking about high school, right, I had played basketball, I was real good at basketball. So a lot of the teachers would let me slide. Like, even if I knew what I was doing on the test sometimes, they would say, "you don't have to worry about that question." Like if I had a question, raise my hand to ask a question, they would say "don't worry about it" and I would be like "huh?" And I would see when I get the test back; I would have the right answer. So it's funny. And now it's like, in the summertime,

I actually got hurt, and I can't play basketball until next year. So now it's like, you know how people say athletes are dummies, and now, I'm actually getting good grades. I'm not playing basketball. I'm not in my basketball mode and it's like, I'm actually smart, if you think about it. So I can actually do what people think I can't do. [Robert]

Effect of socialization and racial identity development on management of race-related stress. Racial socialization which encouraged minimizing the presence of racial tension in favor of magnifying egalitarianism was impressed upon Robert by his parents. This led him to develop his racial identity in ways that would enable him to shrug off experienced discrimination and comfortably engage in the mainstream as a biracial Black male, while still personally identifying with Black culture and a Black identity. Reported discriminatory experiences were few for Robert, but those that did occur were often summarily dismissed.

Concept map analysis. The flowchart map drawn by Robert indicated internal inconsistencies within it that were not present within his reported interview data (see Figure 2**)**. Robert's received racial socialization messages, though not related to race per se, instilled in him an egalitarian mindset, which made him want to do well in college. This was clearly reflected in both the interview and the mapping exercise. However, Robert made some interesting connections on the map that were not voiced in his interview. Coming from a biracial background and living in a low-income community evidently posed some challenges for him; if you are poor and biracial, you are perceived as Black to others and that perception could lead to a "lost [sic] of culture," potential discrimination from both Blacks and Whites and the danger of becoming unmotivated in

school. On the other hand, Robert considered a biracial person who is able to pass as White as living a better life. "Things would be different"; one could "learn more about culture," not be discriminated against, have "more opportunities" to succeed, and be more inclined to excel in the classroom.

Fall 2009: Kevin.

Kevin had an overall racial socialization message type that could be described as a mix of protectiveness toward Black culture and selective engagement within the mainstream (e.g., racial pride, egalitarianism, awareness of racism, cautious participation in the mainstream). Kevin's mother in particular was a constant source of racial socialization; conversations about racial injustice occurred at an early age. To Kevin, these discussions were initiated because his mother felt that as a Black male, his gender would directly affect others' expectations of him. On *parent-respondent discussions about race, racism, and/or race relations* Kevin said:

Kevin: My father, we really didn't live with him much, so he didn't talk about it. My mother, she talked about it a lot, even to this day, she will talk about it. She will say, when I was little, she would say, she even says it now, that growing up as a Black man, that you have it harder, three times as harder than someone of a different race, especially of a Caucasian descent. And that's mostly what she said, to always strive hard and work as hard as you can because, in life already, you have two strikes against you, so, just strive harder.

PI: What did you think about that, when she was saying those things?

Kevin: When I was little, I didn't quite understand, I'm like, “OK, I don't see it so far. I don't know what you're talking about.” But in school, they explain it, they tell you about the slavery and all the different racial discriminations that went on and prejudices that went on during the ages and everything so. I kinda understand it now and experience things.

At an early age, Kevin was aware of the ominous history of racial prejudice that past generations of Blacks suffered. Confirmation of his mother’s warnings came from history and social studies classes at school. These cautious messages about growing up in a harsh world that seemed generally suspicious of Black men affected Kevin’s *personal views of race, racism, and/or race relations*, so much so that his own current beliefs paralleled those of his parents:

Kevin: I believe the same thing my mother told me. That being a Black person in the world that we live in, that you gotta work twice as hard. That in life, as a Black person you do have three strikes against you. And if it comes up in the working field that you're going against another White man, that they might pick him above you, although you have the same criteria. My mother, she would you know, say, watch out, especially around women, because that, it can happen with any racial thing, but with Black people, since you have two strikes against you, it's always harder. So with women, just make sure that you're always respectful, be on your tip-top behavior, because anything can happen. And history shows that it's happened many times. She told me, that's the only thing she said in the future to watch out for.

PI: What did you think about all that?

Kevin: What I thought about that was, I'm that kinda way anyway. I'm a slow-working kind of person, I like perfection, and always being respectful and mannerful, so that's how she grew me up and that's how I am.

Kevin's management of the Triple Quandary was demonstrated in his skill at incorporating a-self image that reflected characteristics like "perfection" and "respect into the mainstream experience domain, thereby forcibly revising the expectation that the White world may have had of him—as a potential threat. This gentler, less menacing image of self that he presented to the mainstream culture strengthened his resistance against being defined by racist stereotypes. The cultural domain of Kevin's identity was "never big in the family;" however, the family's practice of doing "Jamaican cultural things," such as playing soccer ("a Caribbean thing"), or eating Jamaican cuisine from time to time, made the need for celebrating ethnic Black practices visible.

Kevin seemed to downplay his *recent personal experiences with race-related stress* as being overtly racist or discriminatory. Unsure of what motivations lay behind these experiences (all of which he vaguely described), Kevin determined that there was likely no malicious intent concerning race involved. The negative overtone of the situation presented in the following quote was instead dismissed as a judgment of his work ethic:

Kevin: It's never really been a direct or sure thing about race that's happened to me. There's things that's happened where I can think it involved race but I was never really sure. So, I never really, I always took it, I'm an optimistic person. I always took it as a good way, and I never wanted to see it as, like, that they're doing this, or they're

judging me because I'm a Black person. So I always felt like, it wasn't of [due to] my race, it's because I didn't work hard enough, or whatever. I didn't do that the person judged me in such kind of way.

PI: So you never thought it was specifically because you're an African-American? *Kevin:* No. Other people would, but I'm optimistic. I always want to see the good in the person, instead of the bad. I never really brought it to my parents' attention. Because I never felt strongly about it. I did have it, I did think it in my mind, but just a little bit. I didn't let the situation try to affect me at all. Because in some things I would see the White man or whatever, they would do. I could also see it in some cases of a Black person. I didn't really want to judge, just judge the White person in that kind of way, as a racist.

Kevin's *perceived academic achievement motivation* was moderately high. Although his grades were average at the time of the interview, he agreed that he was bound to improve them by the next semester because he couldn't afford to waste money to be "average." Kevin's own perspective about excelling in school also changed. He was motivated to do better in college than he had done in high school because he could see the benefits of doing well with other students who were "more involved":

Kevin: Since I just started out, my grades are average. But I always say this to everybody that I see is doing below average, I tell them, "College costs too much money to be doing that. If you have the money, ok, still well, you're wasting it. College costs way too much money to be below average and then. I'm only being average right now

because I'm just learning everything. I'm just getting settled down. But I know for sure, by next semester and the rest of the years, my grades are gonna be in tip-top shape.

PI: How were they in high school?

Kevin: My grades in high school were bad grades and below bad.

PI: Did you feel as motivated?

Kevin: It was kind of a motivation thing, because in high school I could have gotten As and Bs because I was smart and when the time came down to it to do my work, well I know I needed it to pass. I would do it with flying colors. But other than that, since I grew up, my school was so urban. Every kid there, whatever race you were, whether White, Black, Hispanic, Caribbean, Asian, Arabic community, every one of them was urban and everything. Everybody had a certain kind of way where they wasn't so involved in this school, and that's the way I just hung around them. So I just didn't do the best of my ability. But here, it's not the same, but even if it was, I just have the motivation to do well in college, and to go on and take care of myself.

PI: Would you say that, between high school and now, you've changed your perspective?

Kevin: I've changed my perspective, definitely, in school. I get everything that I have to do, and my perspective now is that, you just gotta do your work, and it doesn't matter about anything else you just have to get your work done.

Kevin's *perception of academic success* was parallel to that of his academic achievement motivation:

I see being successful first off, I see it as the grades. Then I also have that, grades apart, to especially with myself, I love to learn new things. I'm a pre-med major. Science, I love science. Science is all about learning new facts, and I love that part. Especially, that you, even if you don't really get the A, that you learn something, and that you can take that with you, and you can teach that to someone else, which I always do. I learn the facts and go home and tell everybody in my house about it and it feels good. And I see that, that's a sign of success. I know a fact that they don't know, and it's also interesting to them. I feel like, I know something, I'm not just an average person, I'm a smart kid. [Kevin]

Kevin's perspective on *viewing self academic achievement motivation as an unexpected indicator of Black intellect* showed his deference for the way his parents brought him up. He wasn't worried about doing well to "prove" himself to others who doubted his intellectual ability as a Black male. Kevin saw himself as raised in the "right" way, knowing how to obtain what was necessary to succeed— and that was all that mattered. In addition, Kevin's mention of people "hatin'" showed his acceptance of the jealous attitude of others as a hard fact of life that must be dealt with accordingly; Kevin understood that, with personal success comes inevitable public resentment:

First off, my motivation is my parents. They've always wanted me to do well and I haven't done my best of my ability and I just wanna show my parents that you know, you grew me up right, and you know, give them something back by showing them that you grew up a smart kid that you did not fail and I am going to be successful. And I'm glad for everything that you taught me and everything you did. That's first off. And

about people that wishes or hatin' on you, there probably are people that doesn't want the Black man to be successful or do not strive to their best. I see that as life and in life you have obstacles. You're gonna have these trials and tribulations that you're definitely gonna go through. And it's life and you're gonna just have to go through it. And that's my motivation, but least. It'll be my least motivation. [Kevin]

Effect of socialization and racial identity development on management of race-related stress. Kevin received racial socialization messages which cautioned him to remain vigilant against the so-called "threatening Black male" stereotype generated by the mainstream culture. These messages, coupled with parental insistence on buffering that prejudice through a public presentation of self that contradicted the stereotype, led Kevin to develop his racial identity in ways that empowered him to resist any stress resulting from discriminatory experiences. He was enabled to participate in the mainstream culture as a non-threatening Black male, while still remaining connected to his cultural self as a young man in possession of a Black (Caribbean) culture and a Black identity.

Concept map analysis. The flowchart map drawn by Kevin reflected the findings that emerged from his interview (see Figure 3**)**. Kevin's racial socialization encouraged him to "be proud of who you are" and "love life and try your best," yet always remain attentive to the stereotype-baiting that could (and likely would) occur in the mainstream culture. This display of character also assisted him in dealing with discrimination ("some people don't like you…for no reason."). He was determined to do well in college and in life, motivated by his parents' wishes for him to excel, and his own desire to make

them—as well as himself —proud. Religious faith was also evidenced in his map; as he plainly stated, “You can do or overcome anything with God.”

Fall 2009: Nancy.

Nancy displayed an overall racial socialization message type that could be described as a mix of protectiveness toward Black culture and selective engagement within the mainstream culture (e.g., racial pride, egalitarianism, awareness of racism, cautious participation in the mainstream). Nancy was frequently told about race while growing up; her parents would often tell her about their own experiences in their younger years. As the child of a biracial father and Black mother, Nancy realized early on how racial discrimination negatively affected her family in the past, and how it could potentially negatively affect her life in the present and future. She described *parent-respondent discussions about race, racism, and/or race relations* as follows:

Nancy: They talked to me pretty often. They said some people want to pick you out because you're Black, they just told me to stay away from trouble. Always remember and be proud of where I come from, I don't want you to go through all the stuff that I had to go through. Whites, they said, they get the easy way out than we do. I felt it was true. I always felt I had to work harder. [If ever confronted with racism], they told me to stand proud and strong. My dad is half-White. So he would tell me how it is growing up being biracial, how he had to go through some stuff.

PI: How did you feel knowing that, as his daughter?

Nancy: I felt bad for him, 'cause he used to get teased and treated differently because he was biracial and not just Black or White. I was scared, a little, because I

would think, oh gosh, I'm never going to get anywhere because I'm not all the way White. But, I get some places (laughs).

Comments like these demonstrated the extent to which Nancy's parents tried to socialize her to believe that she should be proud of being Black; there was no reason to be ashamed of or embarrassed by her history. Cautionary messages that encouraged a self-protective orientation included topics such as the awareness of racism and resistant responses to racism and discrimination. As a child and pre-teen, she was encouraged by her parents —especially by her father—to marry any person of her choice, regardless of race. However, her mother wanted her to "keep the heritage going" by marrying a Black man rather than a man of another race. Nancy reported that although she understood and respected her mother's advice, in the end, it was solely up to Nancy herself who she wanted to marry and, "I might marry out of my race." Nancy's shared experiences with interracial interactions indicated her personal views of race, racism, and/or race relations were likewise open-minded and tolerant:

Nancy: "I didn't really interact with too many different races in the neighborhood I grew up in, it was in Queens, and mostly Black. But I moved later on to a place that had more other groups of people. And I naturally interacted with them on my own. Where I grew up, I grew up in Queens, so it was mostly Black there, so I didn't come into conflict with racism or anything. But I moved to Valley Stream, which is in Long Island, and it's very mixed. Very, very mixed. White, Filipino, and Black out there. So going out there, I didn't really face racism, but you could see the difference between how different cultures live their life. That's basically it.

PI: How does that make you feel, because you're diverse, you're biracial?

Nancy: It makes me feel good because you see all the different races coming together. There's more than that, there's Guyanese, Indian and stuff. Everybody hangs out together. It's not like it's separate.

Clearly, Nancy made friends with people of any race. Her received socialization messages impacted her management of the Triple Quandary in adulthood by causing her to place considerable emphasis on incorporating the Minority experience domain into the Mainstream experience domain, thereby creating a version of self within the mainstream culture that reflects who she is ethnically as a biracial woman. Nancy was proud of her mixed ethnicity. Unlike the majority of the other participants, the Black cultural domain of her identity was visibly expressed with familial events such as the subtle recognition of Kwanzaa–"There's always been candles in the house for the days"— and with neighborhood block parties. These communal activities centered on the expression and celebration of ethnic culture.

Regarding Nancy's *recent personal experiences with race-related stress*, she had one early encounter that initially angered her, but that ultimately made her more determined to stand up for herself in case anything like it occurred again.

Nancy: We were in some science museum in Queens or in Brooklyn or something. And this lady came up, this White lady. Me and my friends were standing in line. And I forgot what words she used, a cow?

PI: Maybe she used another word for cow, like heifer?

Nancy: Yeah, she did. That's it! She goes, you guys move you heifer asses out the way! And my friend's mother was on the trip with us and she came over and just lost it. She just lost it. Because she's like, how dare you call my daughter a heifer without me being here and you not knowing my daughter. I forgot why she did it, it was something so tiny, and there was no need to call her a heifer. I think that's the one racist thing I've ever seen.

PI: Did you bring it to your parents' attention?

Nancy: They were in, just disbelief. And they were friends with my friend's mom, so they called her and like, did that really happen? She was like yeah I've never seen anything like that, in my years of living, I've never seen. I think, 'cause like, her [White woman's] daughter was in line, then she got off the line and wanted to come back and we were like you can't cut! And then she got all upset and called us heifers. Why would you do that? We were in the 5th grade.

PI: Did you feel the same way that your parents did about it?

Nancy: Yeah. That's not right. I was so angry. I still think about how messed up her comment was, but now I'm like, if that happened to me recently, I would have told her off. You don't those kinds of comments without a fight.

The *perceived academic-achievement motivation* of Nancy was very high. She felt that college is an essential part of a proper education, and to not perform well would be unwise because it would be a waste of money and time:

I feel like there's no need to come here, spend your money and not get good grades. I feel like it's another thing that's mandatory. It's also great for learning new

things, learning time management. I swim 9 times a week. Every morning, Monday through Saturday, an hour and a half, 6:00-7:30. Tuesdays and Thursdays we have practice. [Nancy]

Nancy described her *perception of academic success* as a reciprocal relationship between hard work and good marks:

It [academic success] is partially about the grades, because you need to get good grades to be successful. But that success also comes with hard work, so if you work hard, and if you work hard you're gonna get the good grades and the good grades can get you the success if you work hard. It's like a big circle. You always have to work hard to get what you want. [Nancy]

Nancy's response to *viewing self academic achievement motivation as an unexpected indicator of Black intellect* reflected her ability to psychologically shrug off others' doubts of her intelligence, yet at the same time, her yearning to do well, if only to ensure they recognize that their misgivings about her intellect are incorrect: "I personally don't pay attention to those people like that, because I think, they're just ignorant. But, yeah, it makes me want to work harder to prove them wrong at the same time." [Nancy]

Effect of socialization and racial identity development on management of race-related stress. Racial socialization messages sponsoring both cultural protection and selective engagement with the mainstream culture enabled Nancy to develop her racial identity in ways that would buffer experienced discrimination and enable her to engage in the mainstream as she saw fit. She appeared to be comfortable with managing race-related stress encountered within the mainstream experience domain and enjoyed

participating in various Black cultural activities. Reported discriminatory experiences were few for Nancy, with the one reported experience being readily managed.

Concept map analysis. The flowchart map drawn by Nancy was in conjunction with her interview data (see Figure 4**)**. Received racial socialization messages instilled self-efficacy, independence and racial pride within her psyche, which in turn helped her to "always keep my head up, learn about Black culture and history." In particular, the cautionary, protective messages Nancy received about racism, combined with her own personal encounter with discrimination (being called a "heifer") increased her determination to do well in life (effectively "deal with biracial discrimination") and in college ("strive to getting better grades than the Whites") .

Fall 2009: Tina.

Tina reflected an overall racial socialization message type that could be described as a mix of protectiveness toward Black culture and selective engagement within the mainstream culture (e.g., racial pride, egalitarianism, awareness of racism, cautious participation in the mainstream). Tina's parents' infrequently discussed matters of race or race relations with her; however, their remarks did center around how impoverished Blacks— like their own family— could be stereotypically judged by some Whites because of their dependency on government financial assistance (e.g., welfare). The development of confidence and racial pride were also important aspects imparted to Tina. Topics such as these led to *parent-respondent discussions about race, racism, and or race relations*:

Tina: They never mentioned, they never really talked about being Black, and what I have to do. But as I grew up, just as normal behavior, they taught me things like, never let anybody think you can't do anything. Things like that. Certain things that people think Black people can't do. And they just always taught me to let people know that I can do anything I want no matter what my race is.

PI: Did they ever talk about specific race relations?

Tina: Not really. But they just, they didn't, they explained to me how many people need extra help, or a lot of Black people need extra help by going on welfare. But it's not a bad thing but don't depend on it. Not to depend upon anybody for anything because that's when they base stereotypes about Black people, not because they're ghetto, but because they depend on it.

These comments illustrated the extent to which Tina's parents tried to socialize her to believe that she should be proud of being Black and display confidence and self-esteem to accomplish any task at hand. Cautionary messages that encouraged a self-protective view included topics such as the awareness of racism (stereotypes in particular), and the expectation of discrimination. Race per se was not a specific focus of discussion, nor was expectations about Tina's life in the mainstream culture as a Black adult. She grew up in an urban community "basically mixed with a whole bunch of people. And I was always around them from the beginning, so I never really thought about race until I got older." It was then that she developed her own *personal views of race, racism, and/or race relations* from her lived experiences:

Tina: I think that just because you're Black, don't let people think that you're poor. I'd always make sure to have a job, and just basically defeat all the stereotypes that have been placed on Black people for so many years. Just get rid of them. Don't think about them. 'Cause as soon as you think about them, you fall into that trap.

PI: What trap?

Tina: The trap, being the way that other people's thoughts of what you are or should be as a member of a minority race affect you so you start being or acting in that way or like that way.

Although hardened by her expectation of being prejudiced against by racist stereotypes, Tina was friends with people of all races, and her parents encouraged that egalitarian attitude. Her father told her, "'It's not what you know, it's who you know.' So you have to really talk to everybody in the world you can." Tina's received socialization messages impacted her management of the Triple Quandary by causing her to place considerable emphasis on incorporating the Minority Experience domain into the Mainstream Experience domain, thereby creating a version of self that she felt comfortable she could portray within mainstream culture. As with most other participants, she was proud of her background. Racial socialization centering on cultural expression was expressed via house parties and the cooking of "soul food" to which neighbors were invited.

Tina recounted a significant situation where racial prejudice was involved, and while this *recent personal experience with race-related stress* bothered her at the time,

she realized that this experience, and any future others that might occur indicated a problem with the offending individual's "cultural ignorance" not with her or her race:

Tina: I only have one situation where that happened. I was in high school; I was in my last year. We were in class and we were having some debate. My group had gone and then another group had went. But the thing for the other groups to do while they were watching was to come up with questions and stuff to ask them, so the teacher could grade. So, me and my group were asking the other group that was doing their presentation questions, but they weren't prepared. They weren't prepared for the questions that we were gonna ask, they didn't think a lot into their project. So they got upset about that. And then they started going off, yelling, everything. But the whole conversation flipped, and then I was like "That's real ignorant" or whatever. And then, that's when some girl said like, "You're a nigger, who's ignorant?" She was White. And then, I filled up with tears because, not because I was hurt because I was so mad, and I wanted, I never faced, I'd never had that problem in my whole life. But for somebody to sit there and call me that to my face and say "I'm ignorant." That was just crazy. And I wanted to fight. But the teacher didn't hear her, what she said. I went in the bathroom to vent. I just cooled down, came back. Because, what am I gonna do? Punch her in her face so people could really think I'm ignorant? I just walked away and came back. And then I was OK. But I have no respect for the girl; I don't speak to the girl. But I always see her, but I don't speak to her at all.

PI: Even to this day?

Tina: Yeah. I don't' speak to her, 'cause I'm not gonna forget that.

PI: Did you tell your parents about it?

Tina: Yeah, I told my parents. And that's when they just said, "People are ignorant, don't let them get to you." But I wasn't really listening, I just, I was so mad at what happened.

PI: So when that occurred, how did you cope with it?

Tina: I just kinda buried it, and not really said anything about it. Everybody asked me, like days after, "Are you OK?" I'm like, "I'm OK. Leave me alone." I don't think I will ever speak to her again. Because she just took one subject, turned it into something else, like it was something she'd been waiting to say for a long time.

PI: So in your mind, she was waiting for the opportunity?

Tina: Yeah. Yes, some people come up to me, they ask me dumb questions. And they don't come off as wanting to know more, they just come off as ignorant, questions that's based on stereotypes. They're just like, "How do you do this? Or why do Black people always have to do this?" I'd rather just be around people that either they understand it or they want to get to know more about it if they don't understand it. I don't like people that just judge it, and then ask questions. I don't have patience for that. I just ignore them. If you live, if you're not Black and you live where there's no Black people around you, then if you come to me with a sincere question, I will answer it. But most of them don't. I guess if, you don't, again, network with other people of different…if you don't try to get the, some of the Black culture, try to understand it, it's on you, that's your fault. Because you have so many opportunities, even though this is a Jesuit college, it's a whole bunch of Black people around you and there's so many

opportunities to get to learn about what it is to be Black and not even the hardships, ‘cause that’s so common to talk about when you talk about Black people. Just what we do and how we are.

Tina described her *perceived academic-achievement motivation* in this way:

I’m pretty motivated about learning new things and being in college and getting good grades. Sometimes I get discouraged and I flip a little bit. But only because sometimes in college, you never know where your grade is coming from. In high school, everything they teach you, they tell you “oh you got this grade back” you can just tally everything up yourself. But college is so much more different sections to grade you on. I’ve never been the one to stress myself about, “oh my God, I didn’t get an A!” As long as I do my best, that’s what my parents always told me to do my best. So as long as I do my best, I can’t give anything but my best. If I know I truly did my best in the course, whatever grade I get is what I get. But if I didn’t, I would, if I fall, I always find a way, I will always know I have to do good on this, I have to good on that in order to bring my grade up. Because I wouldn’t be satisfied with myself, as well as my parents’ wouldn’t be satisfied with me, but I just don’t like it for myself to have low grades. I don’t think that’s cool. [Tina]

Similar to her academic achievement motivation, Tina’s *perception of academic success* focused on subjective opinions of what she should strive for:

It’s not really whether you get As or Bs in the class, it’s certain things in the class. I think it’s your overall grade. Some people are not good at school, they’re not good at assignments, but even if you pass, you tried your best and you pass with a C, then that’s

success within your own self. You know, "I was successful in passing the course," you're happy about that for yourself. Even though the next person next to you may have passed with a B, the point is you still passed at the end of the day. It does matter toward your GPA, but you're getting that degree at the end of the time you spend in college. And even the richest person, the person that got the best grades, that don't mean they're gonna make the most money when they graduate. They could be the one struggling and they may need your help. [Tina]

Tina's discussion of *viewing self academic achievement motivation as an unexpected indicator of Black intellect* indicated that she was set on excelling in school to the best of her ability. Whether or not she got the highest grade in the class was not her concern because to Tina, "numbers aren't everything." For Tina, there was only marginal concern about making sure other people knew that she, as an African-American woman, was intelligent and capable of academic achievement; she herself was unquestionably certain of that fact:

I don't think I do it just to show those people that I can, I mostly do it for myself. My senior English teacher, she was always hard on me, well, always hard on all the girls, about 50% of the girls in my class, because we were all women and because we were all Black. So she said, "You have to try the hardest out of everybody because there's already people doubting you and I don't want to see, it's sad to see that you let people get to you and you just don't try anymore." So I've always tried, because both because of myself and because I don't want people to think I'm an idiot just because of my race, I'm really not an idiot. You just have to get good grades, but not really worry about it so

much, because if you worry about it, then you have no life, you just stress all the time over grades. [Tina]

Effect of socialization and racial identity development on management of race-related stress. Racial socialization messages sponsoring both cultural protection and selective engagement of the mainstream enabled Tina to develop her racial identity in ways that would assist her in assimilating into the mainstream culture. Instances of discrimination encountered within the mainstream temporarily dampened her spirits, but did not crush her will to rise above them and to proactively move forward. Ultimately, she was able to cope with the stressors of these situations, albeit the stress was internalized. Tina was stereotypically expected to react as an "angry Black woman." In discriminatory situations, where she was a victim, her parents advised her to react opposite of these expectations. Her reactions against the offender in the discriminatory class debate scenario showed that she followed her parents' advice.

Concept map analysis. The flowchart map drawn by Tina confirmed the findings within her interview data (see Figure 5). Tina's received racial socialization messages instilled self-efficacy, independence, and racial pride within her mind. "Success" was a central theme in her map, to which she wrote phrases that connected to and reflected that aspect. Phrases such as "hard work," "do your best" helped Tina to actively strive toward the hoped-for "success" of completing her degree in a world that has historically discriminated against Blacks' participation in higher education. Showing "pride and respect" in being Black and coming from a Black culture while simultaneously "networking" with "different races and other cultures" also meant "success" to Tina.

Fall 2009: Wilbur.

The overall racial socialization message type of Wilbur consisted mainly of protection of Black cultural values (e.g., acute awareness of racism, isolation from interracial interaction, low participation in cultural activities growing up in household). Wilbur discussed the infrequent times his parents would talk to him specifically about being Black or about the struggles/joys of growing up Black as a child; instead they tended to focus on what they perceived as the positive social and economic outcomes of getting an education. The *parent-respondent discussions about race, racism, and/or race relations* centered on Wilbur's adoption of a sturdy work ethic:

They told me that I should expect I will be discriminated against because of the color of my skin, but they told me what was important was that I should always work really hard and go to school to get an education to get the best job I could possess. They just want that straight line kind of thing, keep your mind focused on schoolwork. I don't go to parties, I've been to the movies four times in my life. They've told me not to…follow anybody, try to be the leader and stuff. [Wilbur]

In describing how his father was confronted with and reacted to an incident of perceived racism, Wilbur remarked that his father's response reflected the way he taught Wilbur to react in similar situations. His father was given a disdainful "eye" by his coworkers over a promotion he had received. He didn't physically or emotionally react in any way, except to take a "strong-minded," results-centered approach to the situation. This meant "working twice as hard"; as he "corrects every mistake he makes, he does everything to perfection." Wilbur said that his father's experience taught him that his

father “expects and wants me to try my best to do everything close to perfection.” His own reaction to perceived racism and discrimination as shared later on in the interview reveals that Wilbur has adopted that identical approach for himself.

Wilbur’s own *personal views of race, racism, and/or race relations* were in stark contrast to those of his parents. Whereas his parents rejected the idea of extensive interracial relationships and marriage, Wilbur embraced it and even expressed an attraction to it:

“*PI:* When you were a child, did your parents ever tell you that it was important for you to marry someone of your own race? And if so, what was their explanation for their opinion?

Wilbur: Yeah. They said that it would be easier and less stressful if I married someone African-American or even Jamaican. With other groups, like Whites, it would be a big deal because they, I don't think my parents would approve or be happy for me as much. It's like they would be disappointed.

PI: Why did they say that?

Wilbur: I don't know. They just feel that they're not good people.

PI: What do you mean by that?

Wilbur: I don't know, it's a stereotype they might have.

PI: Really?

Wilbur: Yeah.

PI: What do you think about that?

Wilbur: That's my parents' views and ideas. I really don't listen to them. The more they try to keep me away from that stuff, the more I'm attracted to it.

PI: When you were a child, did your parents ever tell you that it was important for you to interact regularly with people of other races and ethnicities?

Wilbur: They want me to stay true from where I'm from and not integrate.

PI: What do you think that comes from?

Wilbur: I don't know, some type of old school mentality, I would say, where they want everything to be strict and stuff, I don't know.

PI: What would you tell your children about being Black in America?

Wilbur: I don't really know. I would probably tell them, it's a different world now than what I was in and told about by my parents, and that they should interact with everyone and be friendly and if you want to marry, hey, marry. You can get a lot more out of talking to people, than if you're stuck at home, you need to get out there and do your own thing and interact with whoever comes in your path."

Wilbur's account of *recent personal experiences with race-related stress* documented his psychological internalization of his parents' lesson: to strive for perfection when confronted with stereotypes based on skin color or presumptions of intellectual inferiority. Here, one can see how the attempted blows to Wilbur's self-efficacy and self-esteem wielded by the dark throes of prejudice are deflected by his dedication to "get there [to the top]" by virtue of hard work:

Wilbur: I don't know whether it's considered racism, but I'm part of the debate team. I'm the only black person on the debate team. It's like I go to the meetings, and I

get a look like, I don't belong there or something. During the debate meetings we all talk, but outside of the room, they wouldn't associate with me.

PI: How did you feel about that?

Wilbur: I don't know. I get to go to the competition so I'm kinda happy about that. So it's cool to me, it doesn't matter if I'm Black or whatever, I can still get there, so I shouldn't really worry about what everybody else thinks. I know racism exists, I wish it wasn't like that. I'm a real friendly person, I like to make friends a lot, make connections. But I know it's not always possible.

PI: So you say you know it exists, it's there, in the air, when you're among the group. How do you deal with that?

Wilbur: Just go day by day, doing what I have to do. Working hard.

College life and its academic responsibilities was a new world for Wilbur, who half-jokingly stated that it was "the first time I had to study so much." He regarded his gradual acclimation to everything with a laidback perspective, claiming that he felt "pretty good" and believing there was "a good fit" between him and the university. This easygoing nature was reflected in his *perceived academic achievement motivation,* where he "never really thought" about learning new things but knew "it's going to happen, I'm in college" so "whatever comes my way, I'll take it. I'll learn how to take it."

Perceived academic success for Wilbur meant the ongoing practice of doing work well and doing it correctly. Wilbur hearkened back to his parents' mantra of achieving and maintaining perfection at all costs to avoid meeting head-on with racism or discrimination from Whites and other privileged racial groups. With this mantra in mind,

he defined success inside the classroom as “doing whatever you have to do to the best of your abilities to *make sure* that you get it right.”

Similar to his feelings about academic success, Wilbur’s perception of *viewing self academic achievement motivation as an unexpected indicator of Black intellect* centered on doing tasks right and doing them well, and not worrying about what others said about him or other Black people, because “what someone thinks negatively about me or Blacks in general won’t affect how I try to accomplish things in life to the best of my ability.”

Effect of socialization and racial identity negotiation on management of race-related stress. Socialization messages that cautioned Wilbur against forming interracial relationships and bonding with other people threatened to stifle Wilbur’s development of a positive and proud self-identity as a Black male comfortable in his skin and with other racial groups (Minority Experience). However, his eventual emergence as a curious and socially ambitious adolescent willing and daring to go beyond the comfort level of his parents turned Wilbur’s outlook around Gaining confidence through his accomplishments in school (i.e., as the only Black member of the mostly White debate team) and from within his personal life (i.e., as a close friend to people of various racial backgrounds) he is a young man who is beginning to engage in the management of the minority, mainstream, and Black cultural experiences of his life as a college student with relative fluidity.

The racial socialization messages transmitted to Wilbur by his parents did not emphasize racial pride or cultural awareness, nor did they cultivate an appreciation for

Afrocentric values. The messages also discouraged interracial interaction and the adoption of egalitarian perspectives. Nonetheless, Wilbur self-oriented himself toward a perspective that directly opposed the pessimistic messages he received; in fact, his identity formation seems to have encouraged and embraced the very aspects of egalitarianism and interracial fondness that were downplayed by his parents. His confidence in himself as a capable Black man of promising intellect and his strong self-efficacy in his abilities countered any potential damage inflicted by prejudice and discrimination that he experienced with the debate team. Similarly, he took on the goal of achieving academic success in college with undeterred enthusiasm.

Concept map analysis. The flowchart drawn by Wilbur in his concept map (see Figure 6) depicted a young man who struggled valiantly to gradually escape internalizing his parents' restrictive ideologies about race, racism, and egalitarianism. In order to "deviate away from my parents' ideals", he took clear steps to reach that objective. He "dated outside of [his] race" and decided to begin "learning about other cultures." By "taking a different [out]look on life, "staying focused, going to college" and "getting good grades" Wilbur began to sketch out a silhouette of the man he thought he should portray: a self-confident and hard-working collegiate Black male who possesses the "motivation to be successful" and the dedication to see his goals come to fruition.

Spring 2010: Follow up interviews.

As previously indicated, the researcher expected that there might be a change in the narratives of the students as they settled into the college experience. For the second round of interviews, the interview protocol was revised to inquire about the occurrence of

any *new* developments since the fall. For example, the question "Describe your most recent experience involving racism or discrimination that you brought to your parents' attention" was now posited as "Since the last time we met, have there been any new experiences involving racism or discrimination that you brought to your parents' attention?" It was noted that few participants reported any new information for questions 1 through 9 (see Appendix A, Interview Protocols I and II, for a comparison between Fall 2009 and Spring 2010 interview protocols).

The same six categories from the fall were applied to the spring interview data. In an attempt to identify potential differences within participants' narrative at the beginning of the school year compared to the end of the school year, the six participants were interviewed, surveyed, and given the mapping exercise twice. Therefore, for comparative purposes, here, only new developments and insights will be reported from participants' spring interviews.

Spring 2010: Jane.

As in the Fall 2009 interview, Jane's data from the Spring 2010 interview demonstrated a racial socialization message type that is best described as both protective toward Black cultural values and selective engagement with the mainstream culture (e.g., racial pride, egalitarianism, awareness of racism, vigilant participation in the mainstream). As depicted in the Fall 2009 data, the racial socialization messages received from Jane's parents about acquiring racial pride and growing up Black were semi-frequent and often contextualized in stereotype-baiting stories depicting the negative ways in which some Whites perceived Blacks. In effect, Jane's received

socialization messages have continued to motivate her to incorporate the Minority Experience domain of her identity into the Mainstream Experience domain, thereby creating a version of self within the mainstream culture that reflects who she is ethnically and racially as a Black woman.

Jane shared one emotionally significant new development in the category of *parent-respondent discussions about race, racism, and/or race relations* with a noticeable air of unabashed pride in her voice:

Jane: She [her mother] was like, growing up, I taught you guys to love who you are, Black is beautiful no matter what skin tone you are. And she was proud because dark skin is beautiful so you should love it.

PI: What did you think about what she was telling you?

Jane: I felt it was amazing. I realized I'm probably gonna be the only one in my family to bring somebody of a darker tone home. Because I prefer that.

This dialogue between mother and daughter show the latter's agreement with the former's appreciation of having Black skin and the immense value that being Black attributes to cultural capital. The exchange, positive as it seems, also suggests a warning to "watch out" ; others, even within the family, may not share the view that Black is beautiful. Within this message, then, is a self-protective view that acknowledges the ugliness of racism, yet tempers the bigoted sting of other's hurtful remarks or looks is with a self-administered infusion of pride.

Regarding any new developments in her *personal views of race, racism, and/or race relations* compared to those of her parents, Jane said that her attraction to dating

men of other racial groups was in even greater decline than in the Fall 2009 study. Although her parents encouraged her to date inside and outside of her racial group as she pleased, Jane still felt a sense of "belongingness" to her race; she expressed feeling an even stronger fictive kinship with Black males as potential boyfriends and husbands.

In regards to Jane's recent *personal experiences with race-related stress* that occurred since the fall, she described one deeply painful incident involving her brother's rash remarks to her about the social blemish he thought having a dark skin tone represented:

Jane: My brother he said to me, I remember him saying, he's dark skinned like myself, he said, "I'm not gonna marry a dark-skinned woman or have babies with her because I don't want to have dark babies." And I was like, "what are you saying? I was a dark baby, you were a dark baby, so I don't understand what's changed, and Mom taught us to love who we are." But I don't know how he feels about himself.

PI: What did you think about that whole exchange when he said that?

Jane: It kinda hurt because my older brother is a little bit lighter than us, and he also prefers light-skinned women, but I just don't care. It shouldn't really matter to me. My older brother never said anything like that. But for my younger brother to say that, it's just like what's wrong with you, obviously you don't love you. It shows that you don't love a dark-skinned baby or something like that. Or you just have a problem with dark-skinned tone in general, 'cause our family is full of dark-skinned people and I don't understand what the problem is with us, besides the fact that you don't wanna have somebody that looks just like you.

This description of perceived sibling betrayal voiced by Jane exemplified the hurt she felt by her brother's dismissive comment on the repulsiveness of dark skin. Jane was deeply insulted that he strongly opposed procreating with a woman of his sister's complexion for fear of producing a child with dark skin, and further, was seemingly self-loathing of his own dark hue.

Jane reported that her *perceived academic-achievement motivation* increased during the second half of the school year, partly due to acclimation to college life and class workload, and partly due to financial obligations:

Jane: Second semester, I think I'm a little bit more motivated, my classes seemed easier. Dr. [name of professor withheld for confidentiality] always told me your first semester's always gonna be the hardest, so I'm doing better my second semester. I think my classes seem easier now and I feel as though I can do the work. Whereas I was struggling in the first semester. Part of my additional drive is probably because I'm paying out of pocket, though.

PI: That's a result of having to pay for it? Why?

Jane: Yeah. You don't want to waste your money, at all."

PI: How has your GPA changed over the past few months?

Jane: I'm getting higher grades, my papers, I'm taking a little more time in doing those. So my GPA has gotten higher. I study more for my midterms and finals, because last semester, I waited until my finals to really study hard, so [now] my GPA went up. [Jane]

Similar to her increased academic achievement motivation, Jane's *perception of academic success* also evidenced her continued dedication to achieve academic excellence:

To me personally, I could say that the A's and B's are good, to be successful. Also, trying your best, 'cause you can't really be trying your best if you get an F. You have to be doing something wrong. But as long as you're trying your best, and you get those A's and B's and a few C's here and there, I think that's being successful. As long as you get to where you want to be academically. [Jane]

Insofar as viewing *self academic achievement motivation as an unexpected indicator of Black intellect*, Jane expressed a new motivation along with the previously stated notion that her academic self-efficacy could and would halt any racial stereotypes: to be a model of success for her two siblings:

I want to be a good role model for my brothers, he knows that if she did it, I can do it. Black people in general, don't graduate from college. It's good, and I got out there. And my mom is like, you've proven a lot of people wrong, because there's a lot of people who think that Black people don't make it but I've made it.

I think, well I'm successful, I don't know about you. But I'm successful. I'm a successful Black woman. So I'm proving you wrong and, at the end of the day, I'm probably doing better than you. So you can put your head down in shame, I'll hold my head up high. Just know that you motivate me to do well because I'm proving you wrong. It's kind of like society telling you no, you can't do it, but I'm gonna prove you

wrong anyway. And you'll just watch me succeed and I'll be on top and you'll be at the bottom and I'll be looking down at you. [Jane]

Effect of socialization and racial identity development on management of race-related stress. As seen in the Fall 2009 data, the Spring 2010 interview indicated that Jane still tapped into socialization messages that (a)offered protection from the harmful elements of discrimination and prejudice, and that (b) encouraged her participation in the mainstream world as an empowered intellectual woman of color, without second-guessing her abilities and potential for success. Her management of the Triple Quandary matured and grew over the months; her strengthened insistence on celebrating her mother's mantra of Blackness as indeed beautiful acted as a shield against attacks on that belief, both far away and close to home Whether confronted with discrimination in the world or in the classroom, Jane's reaction and counteraction remained the same: the best thing to do is to react in opposition to expectation.

Concept map analysis. Jane's spring flowchart map confirmed the findings within her interview data (see Figure 7). Jane's racial socialization reflected cultural messages of self-efficacy, independence and racial pride, which helped her to actively strive toward doing well in a prematurely judgmental world that often doesn't believe Blacks and other racial minorities can achieve greatness and recognition. In particular, the cautionary, protective overtones she received about race relations in general and her own bewildering exchange with a discriminatory brother increased her determination to develop a mindset dedicated to surpassing the expectations and stereotypical beliefs of others. This personal agency, combined with socialization messages of selective

engagement and encouragement to participate in the mainstream culture without losing her racial identity, caused her to think of her remaining college experience as something she could and would excel at.

Spring 2010: Robert.

Robert's spring racial socialization type reflected his account from the previous fall. He still exhibited full engagement within the mainstream culture (e.g., racial pride, egalitarianism, awareness of racism). No *new parent-respondent discussions about race, racism, and/or race relations* were reported. The absence of parental racial socialization indicated that he learned about matters of race from other sources (Boykin, 1986; Boykin & Toms, 1985; Demo & Hughes, 1990; Fatimilehin, 1999). Robert's friends continued to act as his informers regarding worldwide racial injustice, and as in the Fall 2009 interview, he reported that being an adult of mixed ancestry "doesn't affect me one way or the other. I still see myself as Black." His *personal views of race, racism, and/or race relations* were the same as before.

Robert reported no new recent *personal experiences with race-related stress*. However, on the topic of *perceived academic-achievement motivation*, he did say he felt a renewed sense of purpose to do well while in college because he was becoming familiar with the academic routine.

> Education is the key to becoming successful, you gotta have education. My GPA went up too, that was nice. I think the reason why I got better grades is because I'm becoming more comfortable with my surroundings, or college. So I think that has a lot to do with my increase in GPA. [Robert]

Robert's *perception of academic success* in Spring 2010 continued to reflect his thoughts from the previous fall, but he now noted that working hard in school to get high grades wasn't as necessary as he once believed. "Grades…aren't everything. I think being successful is more like testing the waters to see what I can do. And if I feel that I did my best, then I would say I'm 'successful.'"

Robert's perspective on viewing self academic achievement motivation as an unexpected indicator of Black intellect continued to reflect his high self-efficacy. He had become more committed to becoming an example of an intelligent Black individual to counter those who held stereotypical assumptions that indicated otherwise.

Robert: I would say my first perception in college was that I really didn't care, I would say I cared about my own self. But now I do kinda see it as proving others wrong. 'Cause as I turn on the tv every day I see more and more stuff that I don't like, talking about the people I see every day.

PI: What kind of stuff?

Robert: Just we, minorities are this, minorities are that. Like, we can't do this or…it's just numbers basically. It's not even, like they don't talk about what we have done or what we didn't do.

PI: What's the first thing that comes to your mind when you hear that?

Robert: It makes me wanna, I think in the future, it makes me wanna to be extra successful, so I can give back. But now, I'm gonna take it one day at a time, that's all I can do.

Effect of socialization on racial identity development and on management of race-related stress. By the end of the spring, Robert showed continued development of a secure racial identity; similar to the Fall 2009 interview, he planned to meet and counter any expectation of discrimination with strong psychological resistance and high self-regard. Robert still personally identified with Black culture and a Black identity, but also was comfortably and publicly engaged in the mainstream culture as a biracial Black male.

Concept map analysis. Robert's spring flowchart map somewhat confirmed the findings within his interview data (see Figure 8). Similar to what he reported in Fall 2009, his racial socialization did not specifically center on race but rather on self-efficacy, independence and egalitarianism. This motivated him to "better myself," regardless of the negative expectations of others. However, Robert again chose to focus on a particular message of socialization that was not discussed during the interview: young Black men and the behavioral stereotypes of stealing that mainstream culture often imposes upon them. His mother "taught me never to steal" and it is assumed that he did not because he depicted himself as "innocent" when "accused." The sting of accusation made Robert feel "judged," "like a criminal," and "like I had to disprove others." He reasoned the latter could be done by working to "change the stereotype for others." Robert's late revelation of being accused of a racially stereotypical behavior— only on the mapping exercise, at the end of the interview— led the researcher to speculate that perhaps Robert refrained from discussing it beforehand because he was uncomfortable verbally describing the situation.

Spring 2010: Kevin.

Kevin still exhibited a mix of protectiveness toward Black culture and selective engagement within the mainstream (e.g., racial pride, egalitarianism, awareness of racism, cautious participation in the mainstream). No new *parent-respondent discussions about race, racism, and/or race relations or personal views of race, racism, and/or race relations* were reported. Likewise, there were no new reports of *recent personal experiences of race-related stress*.

On the topic of *perceived academic achievement motivation*, Kevin stated that he found his wilting academic performance during the first half of his freshman year increased his motivation to do better during the second half of the year and beyond:

Kevin: Still the same motivation. It might be a little stronger now, because I did mess up, a little bit. But other than that it's still the same, I guess just stronger right now.

PI: How would you define stronger, what does that mean for you?

Kevin: Just more willpower. More willpower in it. I was lackadaisical about it a little bit. But now, you gotta be on class on time, you gotta do this, you gotta do that, you gotta have your work in on time. Everything is now habit. Everything is set in habit and organized. And I don't feel like I'm gonna mess up anytime soon. Now, in college since I'm in a whole new setting, I'm by myself. Work is a lot harder, teachers really do press you to make sure you have your work done and if you don't have it done, then this is it for you. So, motivation is definitely there.

Kevin's *perception of academic success* seemed to have changed from the previous fall. He still agreed that to be academically successful one generally must do

well in their coursework. However, Kevin now had a new criterion for academic success; to reach his desired outcome, Kevin only would do just enough to pass.

> For me, academic successful is passing. It's just for what I want to do in life, just making sure that successfully I pass everything I'm supposed to. Like college, gotta make sure I get my master's degree, medical school and whatever else it is that I need to do. So that's just academically successful, just passing. [Kevin]

Kevin's perspective on *viewing self academic achievement motivation as an unexpected indicator of Black intellect* did not change from the Fall 2009 interview. He reported that his motivation to do well in school was only for his own satisfaction and that of his parents; he "doesn't care" about anyone else.

Effect of socialization and racial identity development on management of race-related stress. The spring showed Kevin still valued his parents' racial socialization messages that cautioned him to remain vigilant against the so-called 'threatening Black male' stereotyping imposed by the mainstream culture. He continued to develop his racial identity and manage his Triple Quandary in ways that he hoped would give him the ability to overcome discriminatory experiences and to participate in the mainstream as a non-threatening Black male, while still remaining connected with the cultural aspect of his identity.

Concept map analysis. The flowchart map drawn by Kevin reflected the findings within his Spring 2010 interview (see Figure 9). As before, Kevin was still encouraged by his racial socialization to respect the value of others' experiences ("everyone is

equal,") and to also equally value his own ("love who you are.") He also was still determined to do well in college ("you need an education).

Spring 2010: Nancy.

Nancy still exhibited the same racial socialization she displayed during the Fall 2009 interview: a mixture of protectiveness toward Black culture and selective engagement within the mainstream culture (e.g., racial pride, egalitarianism, awareness of racism, cautious participation in the mainstream). She shared a recent *personal experience with race-related stress*—one that had developed just a few days prior to the interview. This incident bothered her and she discussed it with her mother; the conversation evolved into a new *parent-respondent discussion about race, racism, and/or race relations*. Nancy was conflicted about the incident but decided that her *personal views of race, racism, and/or race relations remained unchanged*; she still considered herself open-minded and "eager" to form interracial friendships and relationships:

Nancy: The other day, when was it, I think Monday, we were at a party and this boy got mad because I bumped into him, he was like "did you bump into me because I'm White?" I was like, "What?" And we got into an argument over that, but I just couldn't understand why he would even try to say that and be serious about it.

PI: What did you think about when he said that? How did you react?

Nancy: I was surprised. You don't expect that to come out of somebody's mouth, like is it because I'm White. I just looked at him and I was just like "Where did you even come up with that excuse from?"

PI: What did he say to you when you say that?

Nancy: He, actually it was really elevated, because he started cursing at me, ridiculously. And it just elevated. It was just a heated argument all from that. Because I accidentally bumped into him and he got upset.

PI: So what did you think about that whole incident? Like after it happened?

Nancy: After it happened, my friends and me, we were just like "why?" He caused a big commotion and got himself into trouble and we were just like "was it necessary?"

PI: Did you bring that particular incident to your parents' attention?

Nancy: Yeah I told my mom. She just couldn't even believe it. She was just like "What?!" She said "What'd you say?" She was asking me what I said and what he actually did. And she was like, "Was he gonna hit you?" I said "he was probably thinking about it but he didn't." So she was really mad, she said I should tell somebody. I don't know what she meant by that but…

PI: What did you think about when she said that?

Nancy: I mean I couldn't tell anybody because it happened at a house party, outside of school. If it were to happen in school, I would have told some of administrators. But it happened outside of school. It's cool because that's not gonna change the way I feel about Whites in general. That guy was stupid. I'm eager to make all kinds of friends and meet all kinds of people while I'm here.

Nancy's *perceived academic-achievement motivation* did not change from the previous fall. She still felt motivated to do well because the "higher you go [in school], the more successful you will be. That's how I want to be."

The *perception of academic success* also didn't change for Nancy in the Spring 2010 interview; she still felt that to be successful in school, "you have to be successful no matter what you do." She also reported that the "teachers are there for you, if you're there for yourself to do well." If she needed help with something, she could turn to her professors and expect that they would be there to help her succeed.

Nancy's new response to *viewing self academic achievement motivation as an unexpected indicator of Black intellect* was more descriptive than it was in the Fall 2009 interview. She elaborated on how and what ways she felt that her motivation to succeed academically was a proving ground to silence those who didn't think Blacks could or should shine in the classroom:

Some White people think that Black people don't go to college. My uncle, my dad's family, they're half White, so he told me that if I ever went into communications that he would kill me. 'Cause he said that's the stereotypical Black major. And that turned into a big argument because he said that Blacks usually go into communications to end up being a telemarketer and I thought that was very ignorant of him. That's what they want to do. As a Black person, you have to realize what your choices are and what you want to do. When my mom went to school, she didn't have as many choices as I do. But now that I have choices, she wants me to take advantage of them. She went to college but she wasn't able to go to grad school, so she wants me to go to grad school. She wants me to go all the way, don't stop short at only 4 years, and go all the way. You invest your time in school to be successful out of school. The longer you stay in school and do what you have to do, the better, the more money you can make out of school.

Prove people wrong. Old people that say Black people can't go to graduate school, Black people can't be president. It's stereotypical things that other people say about Black people, what they can't do. [Nancy]

Effect of socialization and racial identity development on management of race-related stress. It was evident that Nancy's received racial socialization messages sponsoring both cultural protection and selective engagement of the mainstream continued to foster the development of her racial identity in ways that would allow her to buffer experienced discrimination and to engage in the Mainstream experience with ease, both academically and in her personal life. Her latest reported experience with discrimination was brushed aside and managed with apparently little difficulty.

Concept map analysis. The flowchart map drawn by Nancy reflected her interview data (see Figure 10). Socialization that instilled in Nancy self-efficacy ("Mom and Dad saying the harder you work the more benefits you receive"), awareness of racism ("Mom and Dad saying racism will always exist"), and racial pride ("Dad saying don't let people tease you, know who and whose you are") made her confident and self-assured. Next to each of these received messages, Nancy listed examples of how she felt her lived experiences reflected and/or gave credence to them.

Spring 2010: Tina.

Tina's racial socialization continued to build her confidence and nurture her racial pride. Overall, messages continued to be depicted as a mix of protectiveness toward Black culture and selective engagement within the mainstream culture. There were no new reports of parent-respondent discussions about race, racism, and or race relations.

Tina's *personal views of race, racism, and/or race relations* also remained consistent. As she had reported in the Fall 2009 interview, she still felt that it was up to the individual to not fall victim to stereotypical assumptions about the typical behaviors within the Black community. She expressed her frustration through a comment about how people of other races target Blacks as being stereotypically uneducated:

> Now I question when are people are going to wake up and learn no race is smarter than another race, no race is more educated than another race. It's the individual, whether they choose to become educated or not. It's not based upon your background, your ethnicity. [Tina]

No additional recent *personal experiences with race-related stress* were reported by Tina since the previous fall. However, her *perceived academic achievement motivation* now solidly came from within herself rather than from the encouragement and expectation of other people, such as her parents and family:

> Over the past year, before it's been authority figures, but now, my motivation is myself. Because there's a lot of things, that lately, I've had to do on my own. At first I was like, "sheesh, I'm out here all by myself "but now I just realize that's how it's gonna be after I get out of college. So I have to prepare myself, so I have to motivate myself. When I get out of college or my junior year, I have to motivate myself to go out and find a job and be able to get my own apartment and pay my bills and everything. So it's on me, it's not on everybody else to motivate me… It's now about what I wanna do in my life and what I achieve out of everything and how I wanna go about it. [Tina]

Tina's *perception of academic success* in the spring demonstrated her growing understanding of the limitations of success when solely defined by a diploma or degree certification. She considered that, in addition to "that piece of paper," a more rounded definition of success would be a fairer benchmark — one that included the individual's wants, needs, and efforts at achieving success.

I've learned that the way the world is going, that when I graduate and I get a degree, the degree is only going to be a piece of paper. It's about what you learn about everything in college, it's not just what you learned about your major, what you wanna be. I learned to show myself more to people so they can know who I am. Because it's not always what you know, it's who you know. If you don't speak to people, if you don't speak up to be heard, people are not going to see that you're intelligent, they're just going to think you're here for no reason. It's more about the learning experience, what you learn about everything and not just one area. [Tina]

Tina's perception of *viewing self academic achievement motivation as an unexpected indicator of Black intellect* indicated that her previous disregard of using her motivation to deter the negative opinions of others had since intensified.

I don't really believe that Blacks can't excel. And I don't really like to listen to other people who say that. It bothers me for them to say that but it doesn't affect me personally, because everywhere I go I let it be known that I'm educated, I'm smart, I'm intellectual. I'm not gonna let other people think that I'm uneducated and I can't do whatever they can do. People shouldn't think that about African-Americans, but it's up to the African-Americans to present themselves that way, a lot of the times they don't

present themselves that way. And the stereotypes just live on just because they don't present themselves in the right manner. [Tina]

Effect of socialization and racial identity development on management of race-related stress. Racial socialization messages sponsoring both cultural protection and selective engagement of the mainstream continued to help Tina develop her racial identity to effectively diminish the psychological and emotional effects of discrimination from mainstream culture. Earlier reported instances of encountered discrimination and race-related stress did not diminish her racial pride, self-confidence and efficacious behavior in achieving the success she desired inside and outside the classroom and it appeared that any future attacks would be similarly and successfully thwarted.

Concept map analysis. The spring flowchart map drawn by Tina confirmed the findings within her interview data (see Figure 11). As in the Fall 2009 interview, Tina still demonstrated her adherence to socialization that instilled confidence, independence, self-efficacy, and racial pride. Two central socialization messages ("closed mouths don't get fed") and ("never let someone tell you that you can't do something") fostered belief systems and actions that she felt would lead her to being successful in life and in school.

Spring 2010: Wilbur.

Similar to the Fall 2009 interview, Wilbur continued to display an overall racial socialization message type that reflected protection toward Black cultural values, (e.g., acute awareness of racism, isolation from interracial interaction, caution in developing relationships with other racial group members. Wilbur again remarked upon how infrequently his parents spoke to him about race or about his own future as a Black male.

Obtaining a quality education and reaping the social and financial benefits, like before, was what his parents focused on. Newly reported *parent-respondent discussions about race, racism, and/or race relations* centered on Wilbur's active engagement with his college studies to set him apart from other African-Americans:

They told me what was important was that I should always work really hard and go to school to get an education to get the best job I could possess. That way, it shows I'm more focused than other students, Blacks included, who aren't as disciplined. I'm not that disciplined yet. With schoolwork, procrastination can be terrible. [Wilbur]

Wilbur's reported *personal views of race, racism, and/or race relations* in the spring didn't deviate much from the open-mindedness he expressed in the previous fall. He stood by his convictions to go against his parents' wishes; he planned to continue interacting and developing friendships with members of other racial groups, with the potential of marrying out of his race. For Wilbur, interracial attraction is something he "can't help:"

You know from before that my parents said that it would be easier and less stressful if I married someone African-American or Jamaican. I'm not necessarily gonna do that, because, that's not what I may want. I'm open-minded way more than my parents are and they wouldn't approve or like it if I happened to decide to marry someone not from my race or ethnicity. But I feel like I've got to make decisions for myself with my own likes and dislikes in mind and them saying stuff like don't go with people who aren't from your background, it'll be hard or difficult, makes me curious to see if it's really going to be like that. I know it's not going to be impossible, it might take hard

work but if I'm attracted to someone of another race or a White girl, then I can't help that. That's not going to go away because my parents think the way they think. [Wilbur]

In revisiting recent *personal experiences with race-related stress*, Wilbur told of a new incident he witnessed on the city bus on his way to school that involved a Black female passenger and the White male bus driver. It was evident that although the situation did not directly involve Wilbur, he apparently felt motivated to put himself in the middle of it:

Wilbur: There was this one time I was on the bus, and this girl was standing up by the back door or whatever, and I don't know whether the bus driver did it on purpose but he kinda stopped the bus suddenly and then she kinda fell down the stairs. He laughed. That was kinda weird. She was Black. Bus driver was White. I don't know, if, he could have just been a really mean person.

PI: What did you think about it?

Wilbur: I helped her up, I really didn't pay much attention to it. But that was a messed up thing.

PI: Why do you say it was messed up?

Wilbur: The way it all went down, she got on the bus right before he closed the doors at a stop, she barely got on, I think, and he might have been annoyed at that, I don't know. But soon after he pulled off she was standing there holding on and he stopped really hard, really sudden and quick. She kinda lost her balance and fell. He saw it and laughed out loud right after she fell. It was a clear laugh not a snicker or giggle. I got up and helped her get up. Yeah. That was weird.

Wilbur wasn't completely sure that the incident was racist in nature, but he nonetheless described it as something that was "messed up." He interpreted the event as a demonstration of how the skin color of the female passenger determined the bus driver's reaction.

Since the Fall 2009 interview, Wilbur had grown accustomed to the hustle and bustle of life as a burgeoning college student. He no longer saw himself as a young man just starting to feel at ease; instead, he now displayed the confidence of a seasoned upperclassman—so well, in fact, that "nobody knows I'm a freshman." Other students apparently shared his perspective: "they all think I've been here for years. It's funny. I fit in great, fine." In the Fall 2009 interview Wilbur displayed an easygoing air toward doing well in college; however, the Spring 2010 interview reveals that Wilbur was somewhat frustrated with his *perceived academic motivation*. While classes were still "pretty easy so far," his motivation toward getting the work completed on time was now poor, and he realized that this procrastination affected his general outlook on his scholastic responsibilities:

I'm still not to my potential yet, because I still have that little slack in me, bugging me. But I'm hoping that next year I can pull myself together, it's all about self-discipline. I'm hoping that I can get myself structured, so that I can get all the work done on time and not procrastinate. [Wilbur]

Perceived academic success for Wilbur still meant the ongoing practice of doing work well and doing it correctly. He still felt he had to continue maintaining perfection at all costs to avoid potential discrimination from other racial groups. During the Spring

2010 semester, success at school meant doing hard work, doing it well, and doing it often. If the teacher recognized the hard work and praised him for it, Wilbur would definitely feel as though the work "doesn't go unnoticed or under the radar." However, Wilbur insisted that regardless of the school's perception or recognition of his work ethic, he would always personally adhere to his father's advice of going the "extra mile" in doing something right the first time.

Wilbur's perception of *viewing self academic achievement motivation as an unexpected indicator of Black intellect* echoed that of his thoughts shared during the Fall 2009 interview. The importance of staying focused on doing tasks right and doing them well ensured he would make himself be all he that he could be as an intelligent and intellectual young Black man. Other people's opinions, especially the negative ones, would not bother him personally or cause him to fall away from his goal of becoming independent, successful, and self-sufficient in his career and personal life. For Wilbur, his motivation to succeed in the classroom was only meant to serve one person: himself. Those who doubted a Black person's abilities or potential because of racial stereotyping and racism were unfortunately short-sighted and ignorant; Wilbur knew that their narrow assumptions and beliefs were destined to be exposed as incorrect.

Effect of socialization on racial identity development and on management of race-related stress. During the Fall 2009 interview, Wilbur had spoken of how his parents' socialization messages to him discouraged the development of relationships with other racial groups and described how these messages made him feel as though being close to people of other races was characterized as a problem. Adhering to these messages could

have halted his entry into and participation with the culture of the mainstream and prevented the establishment of dual allegiances to both the Black and White cultures. His socialization might also have blemished his view of others' perception of his Black culture as something disdainful (indicative of Boykin's Minority Experience). Thankfully that undesired effect was not produced.

The Spring 2010 interview showed that Wilbur had continued his foray into the mainstream world, attempting to balance his racial and cultural identity as a minority to exist within the majority Eurocentric culture of American society. To this end, Wilbur demonstrated that he could not and would not adhere to the beliefs of his parents that, as a Black person, enacting with mainstream culture in an attempt to live peacefully within it was practically impossible. With his first semester behind him, and having gained ample confidence through his accomplishments in school (e.g., as the only Black member of the mostly White debate team) and through his personal relationships (e.g., as a close friend to people of various racial backgrounds) Wilbur is progressively engaged in the management of the minority, mainstream, and cultural domains of his life with relative fluidity.

The racial socialization messages transmitted to Wilbur by his parents evidently did not emphasize racial pride or cultural awareness, nor did they seem to cultivate an appreciation for Afrocentric values. The messages also discouraged interracial interaction and the adoption of egalitarian perspectives. But more than ever determined to grasp the best of mainstream culture and his own culture, Wilbur made up his mind to adopt a point of view that was in direct opposition to the pessimistic messages he

received. In fact, his identity formation seems to have encouraged and embraced the very aspects of egalitarianism and interracial fondness that were downplayed by his family. His confidence in himself as an intellectually capable Black man with high self-efficacy in his abilities indicated that he readily overcame any prejudiced or discriminatory attack that he encountered in his experience with the debate team. Similarly, he took to heart the goal of achieving academic success in college with undeterred enthusiasm.

Concept map analysis. Wilbur's Spring 2010 concept map depicted him trying to figure out where he wanted to end up after college and what qualities he wanted to present to the world (see Figure 12**)**. The map indicates that Wilbur is filled with ideas and dreams of "being successful in everything that I do." In order to realize those ideas and dreams, he was motivated to not let others' negative perceptions of him as a Black man make him "be ashamed." Toward that goal, he indicated participation in "African-American related activities," which undoubtedly made him feel proud of his group and his membership within it. He clearly recognized that, regardless of his egalitarian intentions to form friendly interracial relationships with Whites and actively participate in the mainstream by using its culture and institutions to his advantage, "discrimination exists."

By the end of the Spring 2010 semester, Wilbur showed that he had surpassed many of his own expectations of the previous fall as he began his journey into college. He was learning how to control and shape his life to become what he wanted it to represent. He depicted an increasingly confident young Black man, steadfast in his

decisions to steer his education and his relationships to where he wanted them to go— to make them live up to his standards and not anyone else's.

Summary Thematic Data

The six students who participated in the interview component of this study were challenged to speak candidly about their experiences growing up Black, what their parents relayed to them about the world, their place within it, what "Othered" perceptions may exist in people's minds about them and how to handle those perceptions of others. Participants discussed their experiences as first year college students and about their feelings about being a minority within higher education, an institution which has been historically seen as a place where members of their group were once unwelcome. This method was designed to understand how these six youth managed the multiple statuses (parallel to Boykin's (1986) three Triple Quandary domains) of their lives in various social and academic contexts, and with different individuals, from parents to friends to school officials, across a span of approximately nine months.

The results of the qualitative data indicated that all six participants referenced many socially and culturally based factors they felt assisted them in managing their Triple Quandary. Presented in the following section are a list of common themes nestled within the categories of both rounds of the six participants' interviews, a description of which themes were expressed by each participant, and a presentation of summary statements that illustrate the participant's adherence to that theme:

- **parent-respondent discussions about race, racism, and/or race relations**: reliance on parental socialization messages

- **personal views of race, racism, and/or race relations**: value of pride in cultural heritage and belief in interracial egalitarianism
- **recent personal experiences with racial discrimination:** role of cultural/ethnic self-confidence
- **perceived academic-achievement motivation:** desire to perform well in school
- **perceived academic success**: definitions of academic success
- **viewing self academic achievement motivation as a potential vehicle to disprove racist stereotypes of Black intellect,** devotion to personally exemplify Black individuals' success in education

Thematic Responses.

Theme 1: Reliance on parental socialization messages.

Five of the six participants mentioned key words and phrases relating to this theme in their interviews. Nancy felt that it was important to keep what her parents told her about growing up Black in mind in order to "get through life's many challenges and obstacles." Wilbur and Jane made similar remarks to each other that their parents' discussions of race and racism helped them understand what to expect as they grew older. Kevin acknowledged drawing support from his mother's advice to him on various discussions about race, racism and race relations. Tina said that her whole family served as a sturdy foundation for her in stressful times. Growing up, she valued the talks her parents and aunt would have with her regarding global issues of race and about her own familial background. Infrequent as they were, Robert prized his parents' talks, about

culture while growing up as the son of a Black mother and biracial (Black and White) father.

Theme 2: Value of pride in cultural heritage and belief in interracial egalitarianism.

All participants connected with this theme in their interviews. For Nancy, identifying with her diverse cultural heritage was important; as the biracial daughter of a Black mother and Irish father, she thought it vital to consider herself as a product of both African and European cultures. Kevin and Wilbur likewise dwelled upon the culture of their ancestors in developing their respective views on race-related subject matters and interracial bonding outside of their group. Tina and Jane both viewed their pride in their cultural heritage as a "link" to other Blacks. They both generally respected people of other racial groups and sought friendship with them. In developing his own views about race-related issues, Robert relied upon his diverse cultural heritage and identified with the notion of racial equality although "I like everyone no matter who they are but I usually identify more with Black people."

Theme 3: Role of cultural/ethnic self-confidence.

All participants demonstrated an attachment to this theme in their interviews. Nancy displayed confidence in her cultural and ethnic background, which enabled her to successfully cope with incidents of discrimination. Kevin and Wilbur each reported that their experiences with discrimination in the classroom were tempered by their beliefs that they came from a deservedly proud heritage despite others' claims to the contrary. Tina was comforted by her confidence in her Blackness when confronted by a White classmate

who called her the n-word. Jane, too, was buoyed by her racial pride when called the n-word by a White man in the neighborhood. Lastly, Robert's expressed faith in his culture and heritage seemed to produce a calming effect on him when he was the victim of a stereotypical remark by an insensitive and naïve White friend.

Theme 4: Desire to perform well in school.

Four out of the six participants mentioned this theme in their interviews. Wilbur, Nancy, Tina, and Jane all indicated a desire to perform well in school that revealed their positive attitudes toward academic excellence. Each sought to perform well in school by doing better than what was expected of them. On the other hand, Kevin remarked upon a vague desire to do well in school, although he did not explicate what that meant to him or how he would go about accomplishing that feat. Robert said he was trying to perform "my best" in school but he felt that the effort to do so was forced upon him by the expectations of teachers and parents, and did not stem from an internal motivation.

Theme 5: Definitions of academic success.

Five out of six participants identified with this theme in interviews. Nancy felt that by earning good marks in her classes she would consider herself academically successful, as did most of the others. Kevin commented that he wanted to do achieve good grades in college because it would make him feel "good, like I did something with myself." Tina, Wilbur and Jane each remarked that performing well on school exams and classroom tests was an indicator of their potential for academic excellence. Conversely, Robert felt that obtaining high grades was not the gold standard of academic success, it was rather about "the whole process, not just the letter grade" on the report card.

Theme 6: Commitment to personally exemplify Black individuals' academic success.

All but two of the participants highlighted this theme within their interviews. Nancy and Jane displayed a firm commitment to addressing others' incorrect stereotypes of Black intellect; this was manifested in their collective expressed motivation to do well throughout college. Similarly, Tina sneered at the idea of someone else's "narrow-mindedness" labeling her future or her educational intentions; her success in college would show that the racist stereotypes of others would not and could not define who she personally is and who she represents as an individual. On the contrary, Robert's exemplification of Black intellect was personified by how he applied the knowledge that gained from his college experience; this was the case with Wilbur, as well. Kevin did not feel he had to take it upon himself to disprove racist stereotypes of his group by succeeding in education, or any other area. Put simply, he felt "other people's opinions don't matter."

When gently probed for details, most of the participants willingly clarified the quirks and nuances of their lives and their everyday lived experiences, and these clarifications became important explanations of their motivations for academic achievement. Participants who reported very low GPAs and/or waning academic achievement motivation were often surprisingly articulate in providing reasons for their lackluster academic performances. Such candor and clarity enabled free expression of the often multidimensional, complicated, and complex factors that were involved in each student's perception of the academic component of their lives.

Although the expectation of experiencing racist actions of others, such as being victimized by prejudiced stereotypes, was a big reason why many interviewed participants felt inclined to excel in college, high academic achievement motivation also originated from sources other than race-related rationales. For example, in his fall interview, Wilbur remarked that his own personal gratification and support from family, friends, and his local community were instrumental to his determination to succeed in college. For Wilbur, the psychological presence of others' racist stereotypes was minimal while the presence of family and community support bolstered his academic motives.

Chapter 4

Discussion

More than ever before, there is an urgent need for young Black people to successfully manage, and perhaps even transcend their "ever…two-ness" of being Black in a White world (Du Bois, 1992) and attempt to embrace and celebrate their identity and culture in the face of historical adversity that continues presently (Triple Quandary) (Boykin, 1986). This dissertation served as an exploration of a) how parental racial socialization messages influenced/affected youth efforts to deal with Triple Quandary management and b) an investigation of how these messages are used to tackle discriminatory threats and manage/reduce race-related stress. This was done by specifically targeting a college-age group of Black freshmen.

The TERS (Stevenson et al., 2004) was made up of five subscales, all of which reflected major themes in the psychological literature regarding the racial socialization of youth. The two subscales of the SRE (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996) assessed the frequency of race-related events in the past year and also measured the extent of the evaluation, or appraisal of the perceived stress caused by those events. The scales were used to create/capture the tangible aspects of the Triple Quandary (Boykin, 1986).

In the initial stages of the study, the researcher expected that experiences of race-related stress would be influenced by the socialization messages that participants reported receiving and orienting themselves toward. Specifically, participants who reported that their parents emphasized proactive messages (i.e., messages relating to racial pride, interracial interaction and egalitarianism) over protective messages (i.e., messages

relating to the presence of racism) were anticipated to be better able to manage race-related stress than those participants who reported an emphasis on protective messages over proactive ones.

The aforementioned hypotheses were not supported by the analysis and interpretation of the data. For the entire study sample of 36 participants, there were no significant findings related to reported racial socialization messages and reported race-related total stress. Overall, there was no statistical correlation between protective racial socialization messages and race-related stress. An increase or decrease in reported protective racial socialization messages was not significantly related to an increase or decrease in reported race-related total stress.

There was also no correlation between proactive racial socialization messages and race-related stress; an increase or decrease in reported protective racial socialization messages was not significantly related to an increase or decrease in reported race-related total stress. Finally, there was no correlation between total racial socialization messages and race-related stress. An increase or decrease in reported total racial socialization messages was not significantly related to an increase or decrease in reported race-related total stress.

In addition, nearly the entire interviewed student sample demonstrated a moderately high to very high enthusiasm for college coursework and wanting to excel in their classes, regardless of socialization message type. This contradicts the findings of previous research, which indicated that Black students' perceived self-esteem and efficacy about their academic performance may be heightened by racial socialization

messages emphasizing cultural pride and dampened by messages that call attention to the presence of racial divisions (Bowman & Howard, 1985; O'Connor, 1997; Sanders, 1997).

In the quantitative analysis of how both survey-only participants and interviewed participants managed the Triple Quandary, the data showed that, overall, most students had displayed considerate skill in managing Mainstream, Minority, and Black Cultural Experiences. Participants managed all three experiences by selectively endorsing each of them as they saw fit in their everyday lives. Additionally, participants demonstrated high mean scores on the mainstream, minority, and cultural experiences; the scores were not antagonistic, oppositional, or zero sum. That is, most participants did not display attitudes and/or identities that strictly adhered to either a White or a Black cultural identity. This finding may have been facilitated by a multi-racial campus committed to a vision of social justice.

The qualitative analysis of the data generated through the interviewed participants revealed that they managed the Triple Quandary through a variety of strategies including:

1. Development of peer relationships across racial and ethnic boundaries.
2. Development of coping strategies to overcome perceived race-related stress within the mainstream culture and to reconcile any inconsistencies between mainstream values and their home and community values.
3. Participation in racially homogeneous and racially heterogeneous events and activities
4. Development of a strong commitment to achieving academic excellence in college and beyond

The qualitative interviews revealed that the six young Black students each found ways to manage their individual Triple Quandary and all felt that they were currently (and would continue to be) academically successful. They were conscious of the images and the subtle messages others held about them and their group; they developed strategies acquired from their family and community (racial and cultural socialization) to successfully manage the cultural, mainstream and minority experiences in school and in their lives. For these students, parental socialization messages formed a kind of psychological wallpaper to support their sense of moving forward; even if the participants didn't entirely adhere to the content of their parents' messages, they relied upon these messages as a source of support.

Overall, the findings showed that the interviewed group—like the survey-only group— did not display attitudes and/or identities that strictly adhered to either a White or a Black cultural identity. They managed mainstream, minority, and Black cultural experiences by selectively endorsing each of them as they saw fit within their lives.

Limitations of the Current Study

One major limitation of the dissertation is that the sample size was too small to analyze to confidently make generalizations regarding the applicability of the research inquiries. The sample size also made it very difficult to generalize the findings to a larger population of Black college students, as it more or less negated the predictive power of the results. For both the survey-only group and the interviewed group, it was virtually impossible to achieve statistical significance between the two self-report measures, the TERS (Stevenson et al., 2002) and the SRE (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996).

To address this limitation in future studies, the participant sample could be expanded to include interested Black college students of all levels, not just freshmen, with comparative numbers of males and females. This expansion of the study population would generate a larger and more gender-balanced participant pool which increases the potential for robust statistical significance. Further, the theoretical implications of the research could be broadened to students possessing more varied social experiences and backgrounds, and in different stages/phases/transitions of their narrative stories from the frontlines of the world.

It was difficult to ascertain the complicated ways in which Black youth interpreted their cultural and social selves and created self-expression from the socialization of their parents with the limited scope of using only the TERS as data analysis began. . This could be addressed in future studies with the addition of the Black Racial Identity Scale (RIAS-B) first conceptualized by Cross (1971) and later modified by Helms (1990, 1995) in addition to the TERS (Stevenson et al., 2002) and SRE (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996). While the TERS efficiently contributed to the study's examination of racial socialization, using the RIAS-B would better explain this inquiry with increased detail paid to the varied categories of racial identity.

Conclusion

The practical implication of the present study's findings is that certain types of familial teachings of race to Black youth may initially seem to threaten to harden their struggle with discrimination and blur attempts at a smooth delineation of their identity "belongingness" within two distinct cultures. However, self-efficacy may play a role in

mediating the negative effects of parental socialization messages. When asked for a frank opinion, most students felt that the potential to excel in their coursework was high, regardless of their actual performance.

Similarly, many interviewed participants reported having used successful coping methods they created on their own to shield against psychological and emotional damage arising from encounters with discrimination and struggles with balancing their dual racial/cultural identities within the Triple Quandary. It is probable that the racial diversity of the university affected the identity development of the attending students: encouraged and emboldened by a mixture of ethnicities and cultures present on campus, many students approached engagement, rather than assimilation, into the academic culture with perseverance and resiliency. This was evident by the high mean scores of the TERS across the three Triple Quandary experiences.

The findings seemed to suggest that racial socialization message type may not unduly or directly influence Triple Quandary identity management, or coping with race-related stress. Future investigations of the effect of racial socialization messages on these variables should include a deep focus on self-efficacy; measuring one's belief as to whether or not a difficulty can be overcome by their competence is paramount to understanding how one interprets their chances in life. Otherwise, the research will not be representative of young Black adults who believe that they can, in the words of interviewed participant Robert, "reach for the blue skies above and touch the moon."

Appendix A

Demographic/Information Sheet

1. How old are you? _____

2. Gender (circle one): Female Male

3. Marital Status (circle one): single married separated divorced widowed

4. Please indicate the number of children that live in your household: _____

5. Please indicate your ethnic background by circling the answer that applies best to you:

   a. African

   b. African American or Black American

   c. West Indian/Caribbean Black

   d. Latina/Latino Black

   e. Mixed (please specify):_____

   f. Other (please specify):_____

6. Undergraduate status (circle one): Freshman Sophomore Junior Senior

7. Current GPA: _____ 6a. Your major: _____

8. Mother's highest level of education (circle one):

High School Some College College Degree

Graduate Degree Other

9. Father's highest level of education (circle one):

High School Some College College Degree

Graduate Degree Other

10. Would you say your ***childhood*** background was (circle one choice that applies best):

poor working class middle-class upper-middle

wealthy

11. Would you say your ***current*** background is (circle one choice that applies best):

poor working class middle-class upper-middle

wealthy

12. Mother's country of birth_____

Father's country of birth_____

Appendix A, continued

Interview Protocol 1

Fall 2009 Interview Questions

1. How frequently did your parents/caregivers talk to you about race and race relations? Follow-up question: What kinds of things did they talk about?
2. When you were a child, did your parents/caregivers talk to you about what to expect when you become a Black adult? If so, what did they tell you?
3. What kinds of things, if any, did your parents/caregivers tell you about other races when you were growing up?
4. When confronted with racism, how did your parents/caregivers react? Follow-up question: What did you think about their reaction?
5. How did your parents/caregivers encourage you to react if and when you were confronted with racism? Follow-up question: How did their suggestions differ your reactions?
6. When you were a child, did your parents/caregivers ever tell you that it was important for you to marry someone of your own race? If so, what was their explanation for their opinion?
7. When you were a child, did your parents/caregivers ever tell you that it was important for you to interact regularly with people of other races and ethnicities? If so, what was their explanation for their opinion?
8. What would you tell your children about being Black in America? How does this differ from what your parents/caregivers told you, if at all?

9. Describe your family's participation in Black cultural activities in your home and/or neighborhood when you were growing up.
10. Describe your most recent experience involving racism or discrimination that you brought to your parents'/caregivers' attention. Follow-up questions: What was their reaction? Did you feel the same way that they did about it?
11. Describe how well you think you fit in as a college student of color at this university.
12. Describe your overall feelings about higher education.
13. How motivated do you feel about getting good grades in college and about learning new things?
14. Do you feel that you can be "successful" even if you do not get good grades in college? What does "being successful" mean to you?
15. Does your motivation to do well in school have anything to do with disproving those who believe that Blacks do not have a desire to succeed academically?

Appendix A, continued.

Interview Protocol 2

Spring 2010 Interview Questions

1. Any differences from last time on how frequently your parents/caregivers talk to you about race and race relations? Follow-up question: What kinds of things did they talk about?
2. Any differences from last time on your parents/caregivers talk to you about what to expect when you become a Black adult when you were a child? If so, what did they tell you?
3. Any differences from last time on what kinds of things, if any, did your parents/caregivers tell you about other races when you were growing up?
4. Any differences from last time on when confronted with racism, how your parents/caregivers reacted? Follow-up question: What did you think about their reaction?
5. Any differences from last time on how your parents/caregivers encouraged you to react if and when you were confronted with racism? Follow-up question: How did their suggestions differ your reactions?
6. Any differences from last time on your parents/caregivers ever tell you that it was important for you to marry someone of your own race when you were a child? If so, what was their explanation for their opinion?

7. Any differences from last time on your parents/caregivers ever telling you that it was important for you to interact regularly with people of other races and ethnicities growing up? If so, what was their explanation for their opinion?
8. Any differences from last time on what would you tell your children about being Black in America? How does this differ from what your parents/caregivers told you, if at all?
9. Any differences from last time on your family's participation in Black cultural activities in your home and/or neighborhood when you were growing up.
10. Any differences from last time on your most recent experience involving racism or discrimination that you brought to your parents'/caregivers' attention. Follow-up questions: What was their reaction? Did you feel the same way that they did about it?
11. Any differences from last time on how well you think you fit in as a college student of color at this university.
12. Any differences from last time on your overall feelings about higher education.
13. Any differences from last time on how motivated you feel about getting good grades in college and about learning new things?
14. Any differences from last time on your feeling that you can be "successful" even if you do not get good grades in college? What does "being successful" mean to you?

15. Any differences from last time on whether or not your motivation to do well in school have anything to do with disproving those who believe that Blacks do not have a desire to succeed academically?

Appendix A, continued.

Interview Protocol 3

Concept Map Instructions, as provided to Fall 2009/Spring 2010 interview participants.

We want to know **what effects** (**positive and/or negative) the information that was shared with you, throughout your youth,** about being Black has had on your experiences with discrimination as a racial minority living in America. We are also interested in learning **if the things that were expressed to you in your early years have had an impact on** your desire to excel in school (e.g. get good grades and test scores).

Draw a map connecting the links **that** you **feel** exist between the messages of racial socialization that you received as a child, your reaction to any discrimination that you may have experienced growing up, and **how well you performed in school**. **Start off with the messages that you received as the center of the map. Then, you can create a "web," based on those messages, which branches off into your reactions to any discrimination you may have experienced later in life, and into any desires or feelings of obligation that you may or may not have had in regards to your school performance.**

Please feel free to ask for assistance if you have any questions about this exercise.

Table 1

TERS Subscales and Relationship to Triple Quandary Theory (TQT)

TERS subscale	Assessment	Relationship to TQT
Cultural Pride Reinforcement [CPR]	Assesses messages of cultural pride and knowledge instilled in African American youth.	Cultural Experience
Cultural Alertness to Discrimination [CAD]	Assesses messages related to awareness of racism in society and challenges to healthy race relations between Blacks and Whites.	Minority Experience
Cultural Endorsement Of Mainstream [CEM]	Assesses messages the importance of majority culture (e.g., White) institutions, values, and benefits African Americans can receive by involvement in the mainstream.	Mainstream experience

Table 2

Survey-only Sample: Mean Scores for Teenager Experiences of Racial Socialization Scale (TERS) Subscales as they coincide with Boykin's Triple Quandary (TQ) domains.

TERS Subscale	TQ Domain	*M*	*SD*
CPR	Black Cultural Experience	18.0333	3.55725
CAD	Minority Experience	16.8000	4.13897
CEM	Mainstream Experience	17.0667	3.54219

Note: $N = 30$. CPR = Cultural Pride Reinforcement. CAD = Cultural Alertness to Discrimination. CEM = Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream.

Table 3

Fall 2010 Sample: Mean Scores for Teenager Experiences of Racial Socialization Scale (TERS) Subscales as they coincide with Boykin's Triple Quandary (TQ) domains.

TERS subscale	TQ domain	*M*	*SD*
CPR	Black Cultural Experience	17.8333	2.63944
CAD	Minority Experience	16.5000	4.27784
CEM	Mainstream Experience	16.6667	3.44480

Note: $N = 6$. CPR = Cultural Pride Reinforcement. CAD = Cultural Alertness to Discrimination. CEM = Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream.

Table 4

Spring 2010 Sample: Mean Scores for Teenager Experiences of Racial Socialization Scale (TERS) Subscales as they coincide with Boykin's Triple Quandary (TQ) domains.

TERS subscale	TQ domain	*M*	*SD*
CPR	Black Cultural Experience	19.6667	1.03280
CAD	Minority Experience	17.8333	3.76386
CEM	Mainstream Experience	17.5000	4.41588

Note: $N = 6$. CPR = Cultural Pride Reinforcement. CAD = Cultural Alertness to Discrimination. CEM = Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream.

Table 5

Survey-only Sample: Kendall tau Correlations between Racial Socialization and Stress Scales.

Measure	Protective RS	Proactive RS	Total RS	Total Stress
Protective RS	-			
Proactive RS	.715**	-		
Total RS	.715**	.945**	-	
Total Stress	.061	.096	.075	-

Note: *N* = 30. RS = Racial Socialization. Protective RS = TERS CAD. Proactive RS = Sum of TERS CCA, CPR, CAL, and CEM subscales, divided by 4. Total RS = Sum of TERS CCA, CPR, CAL, CAD, and CEM subscales, divided by 5. Total Stress = Sum of SRE Recent Racist Events and Appraisal of Racist Events subscales. CCA = Cultural Coping with Antagonism. CPR = Cultural Pride Reinforcement. CAL = Cultural Appreciation of Legacy. CAD = Cultural Alertness to Discrimination. CEM = Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream.

**p < 0.01 (2-tailed)

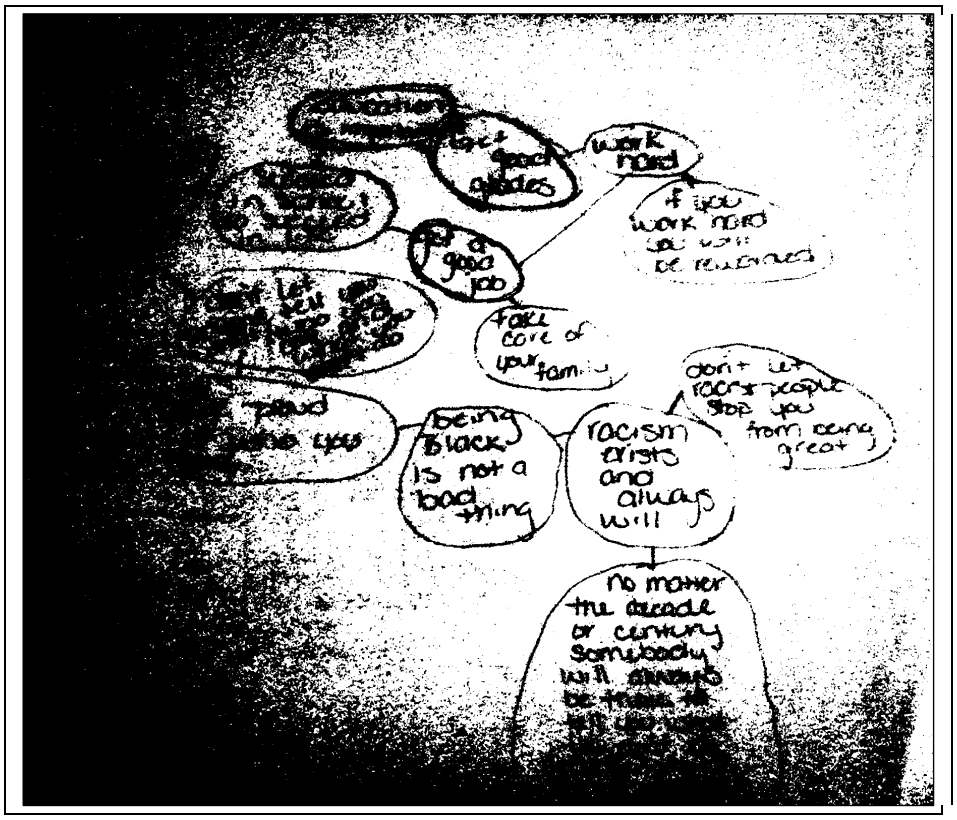

Figure 1. Jane, Fall 2009 concept map.

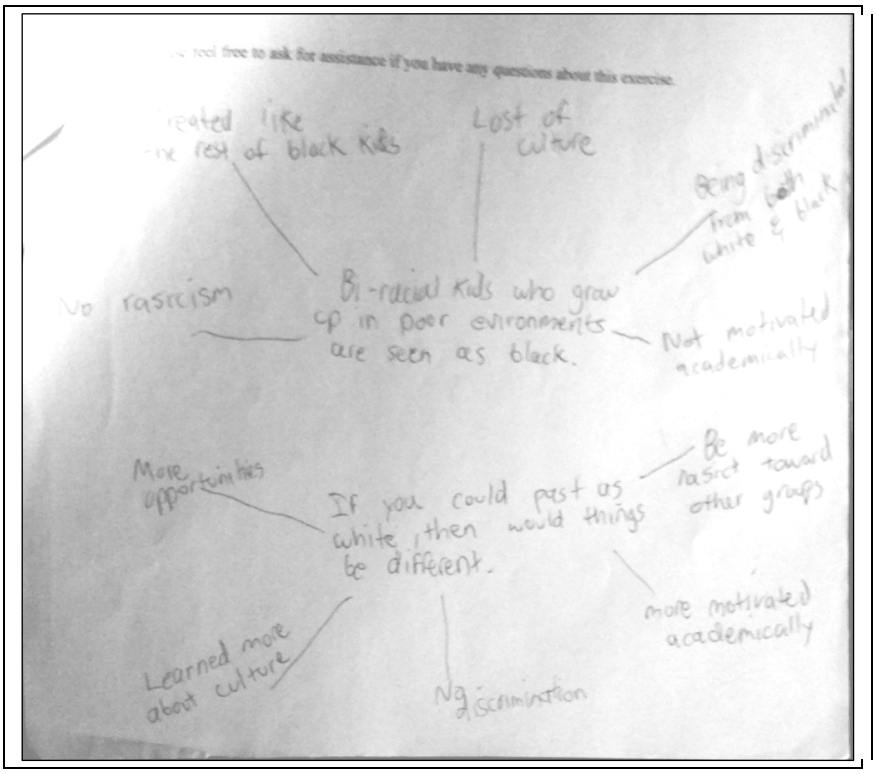

Figure 2. Robert, Fall 2009 concept map.

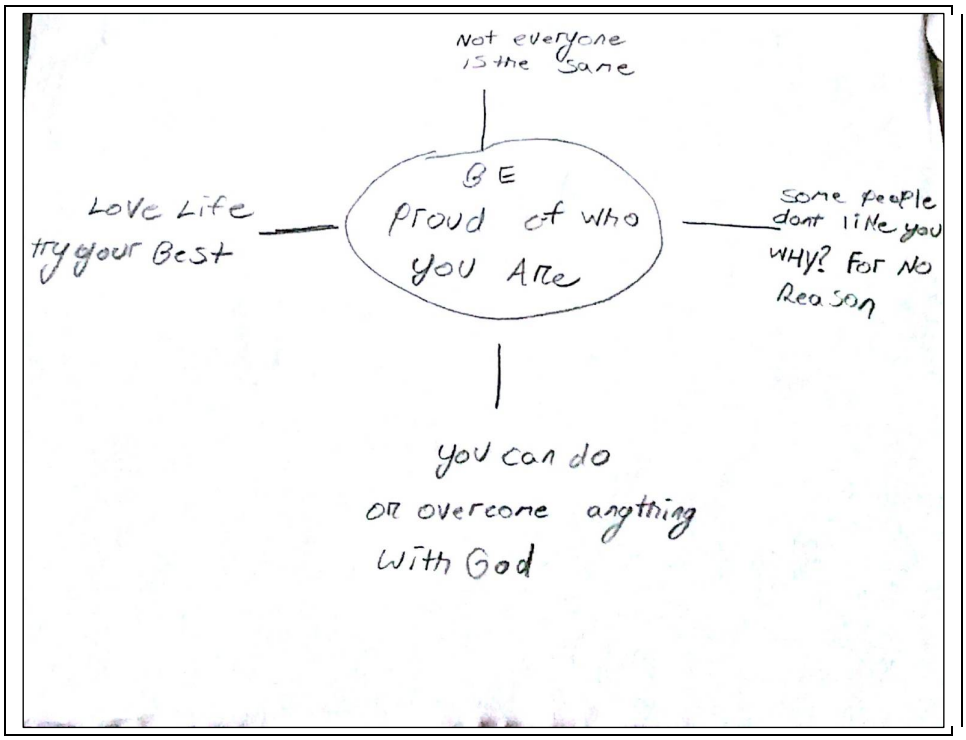

Figure 3. Kevin, Fall 2009 concept map.

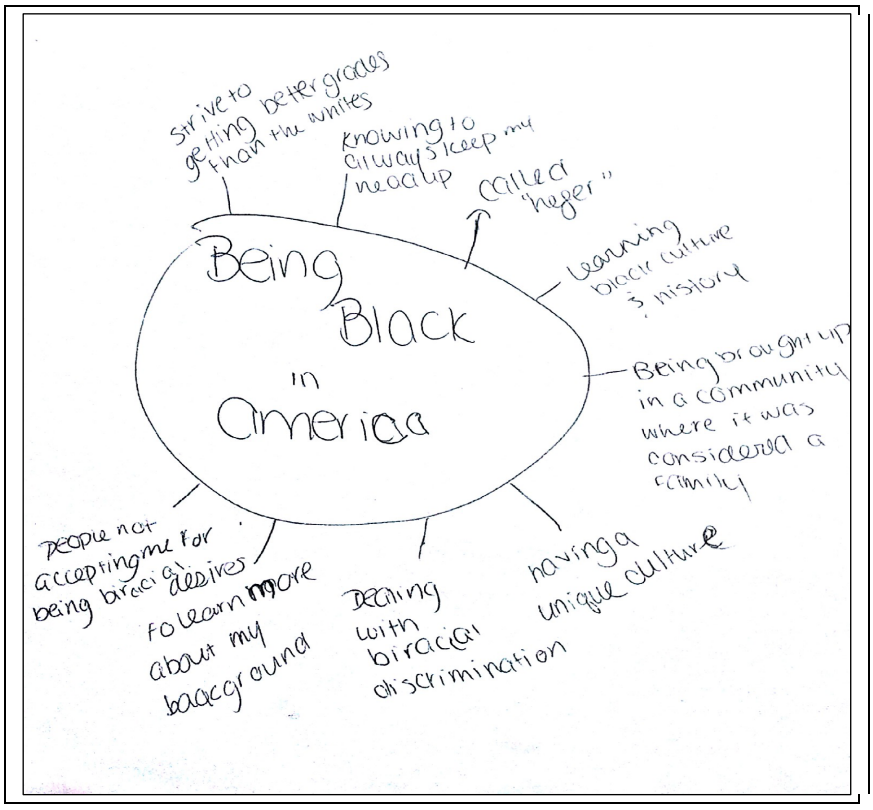

Figure 4. Nancy, Fall 2009 concept map.

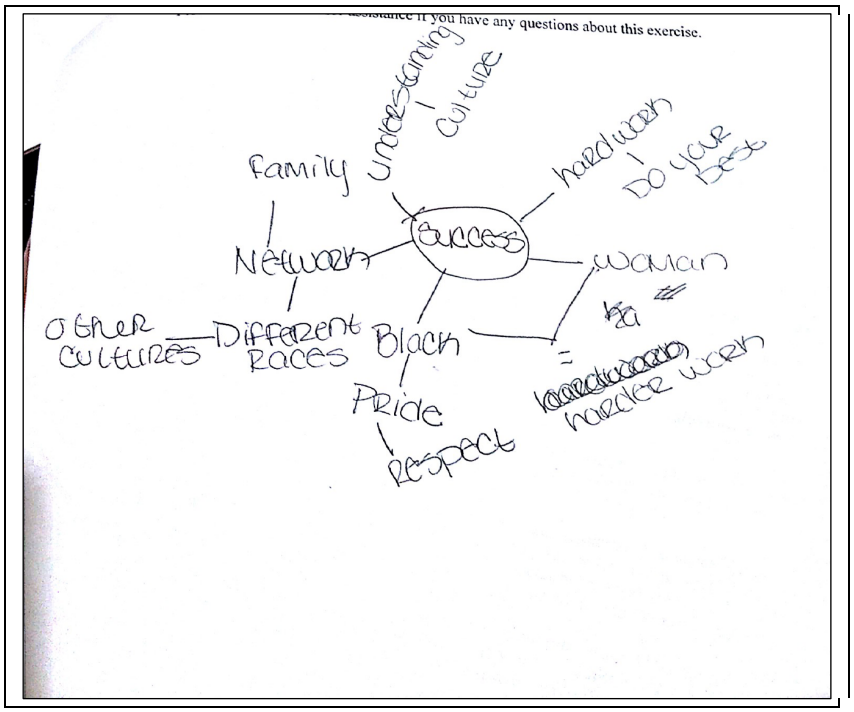

Figure 5. Tina, Fall 2009 concept map

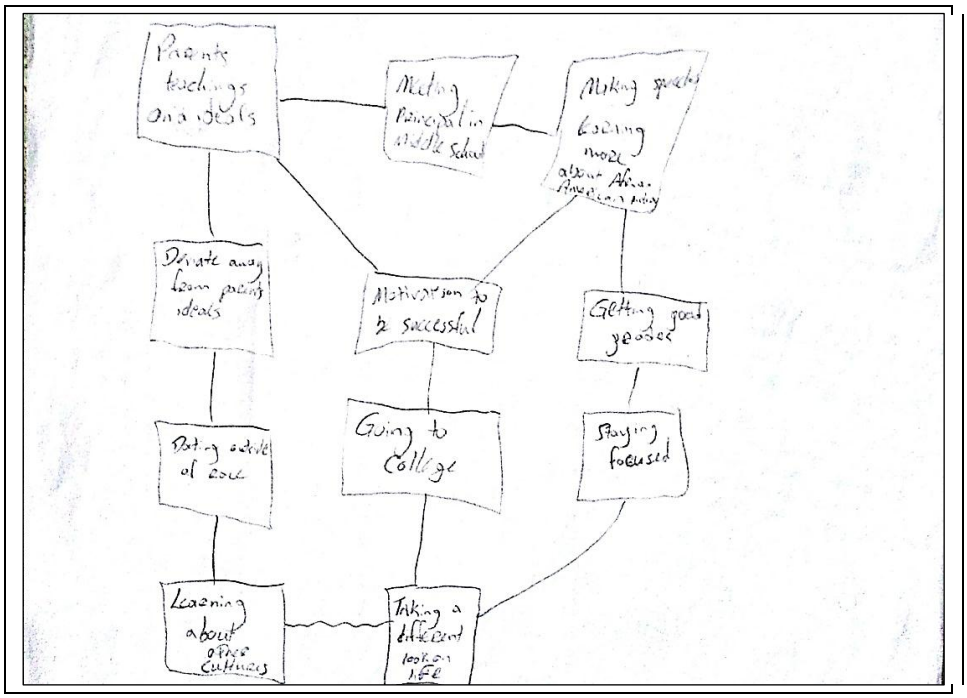

Figure 6. Wilbur, Fall 2009 concept map.

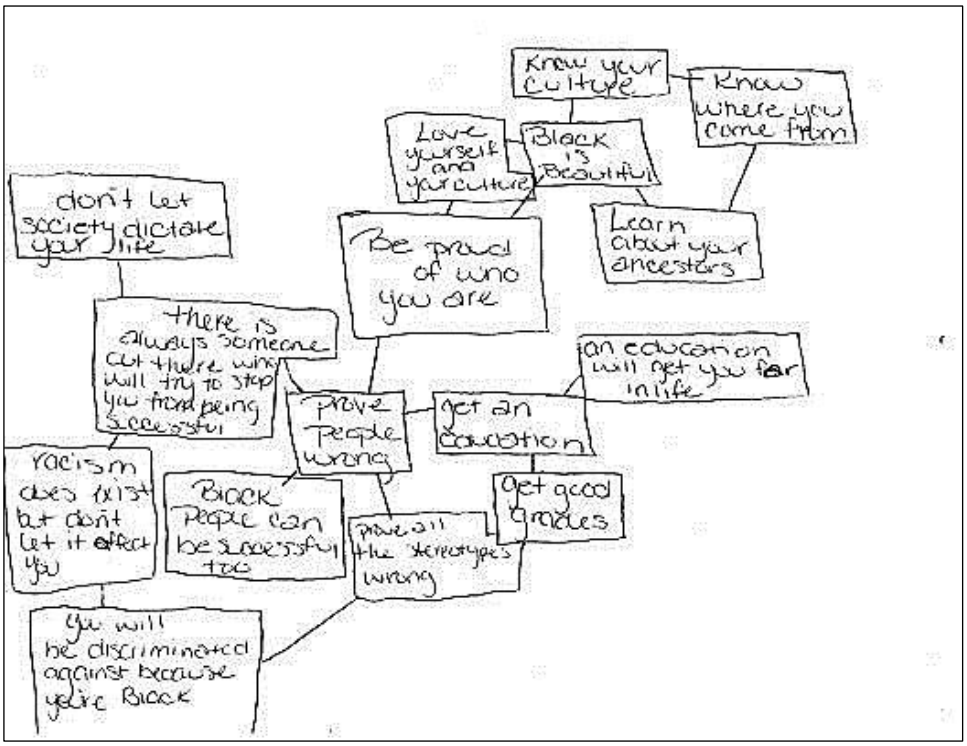

Figure 7. Jane, Spring 2010 concept map.

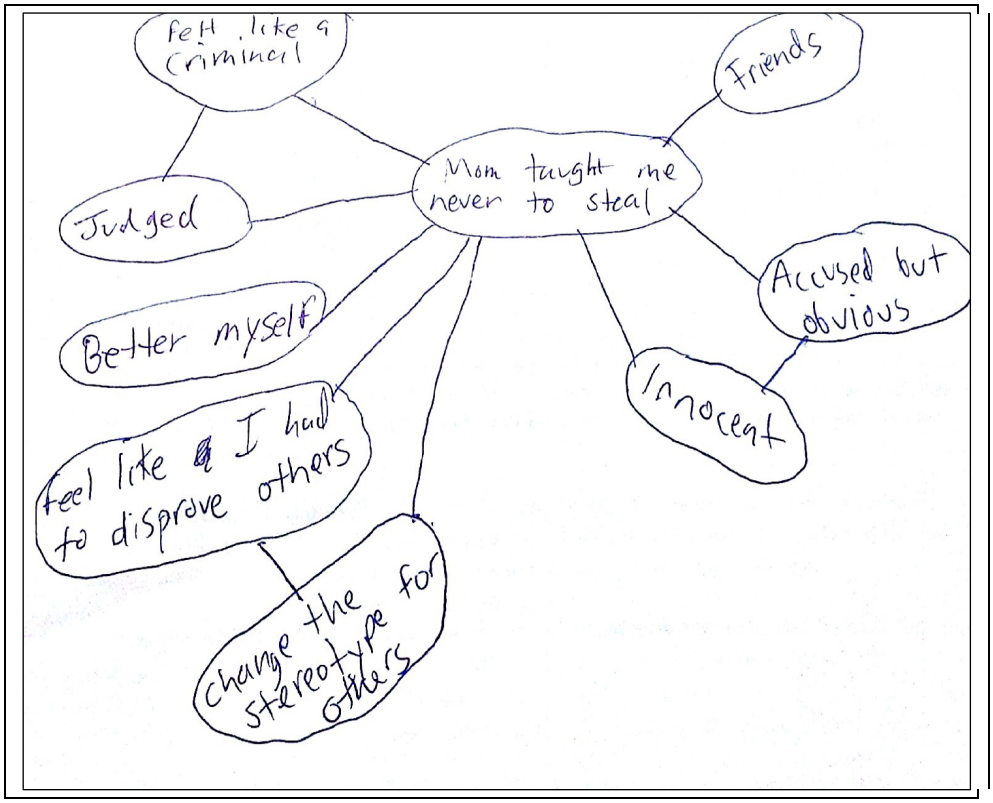

Figure 8. Robert, Spring 2010 concept map.

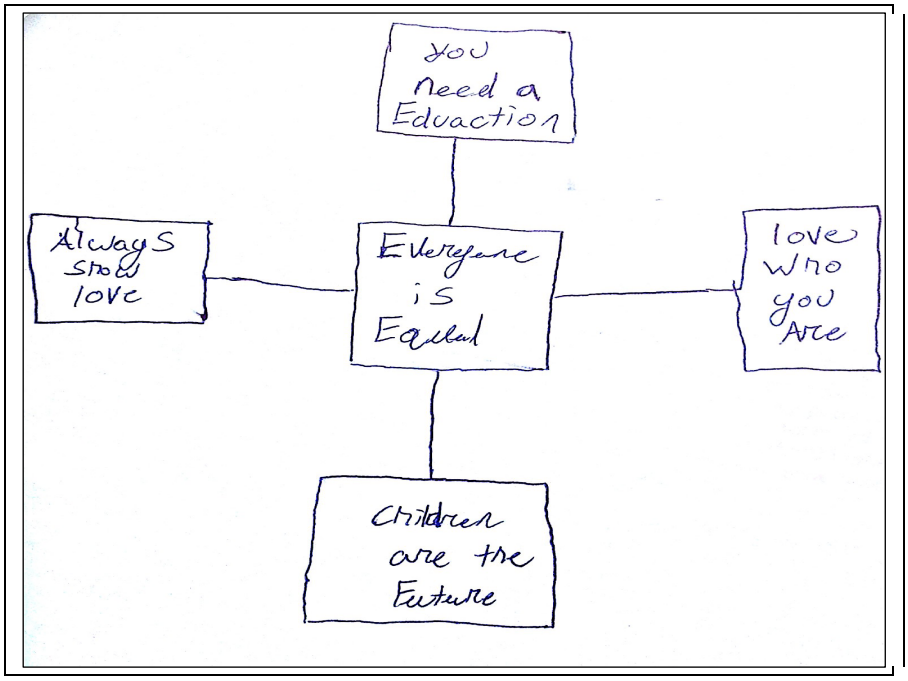

Figure 9. Kevin, Spring 2010 concept map

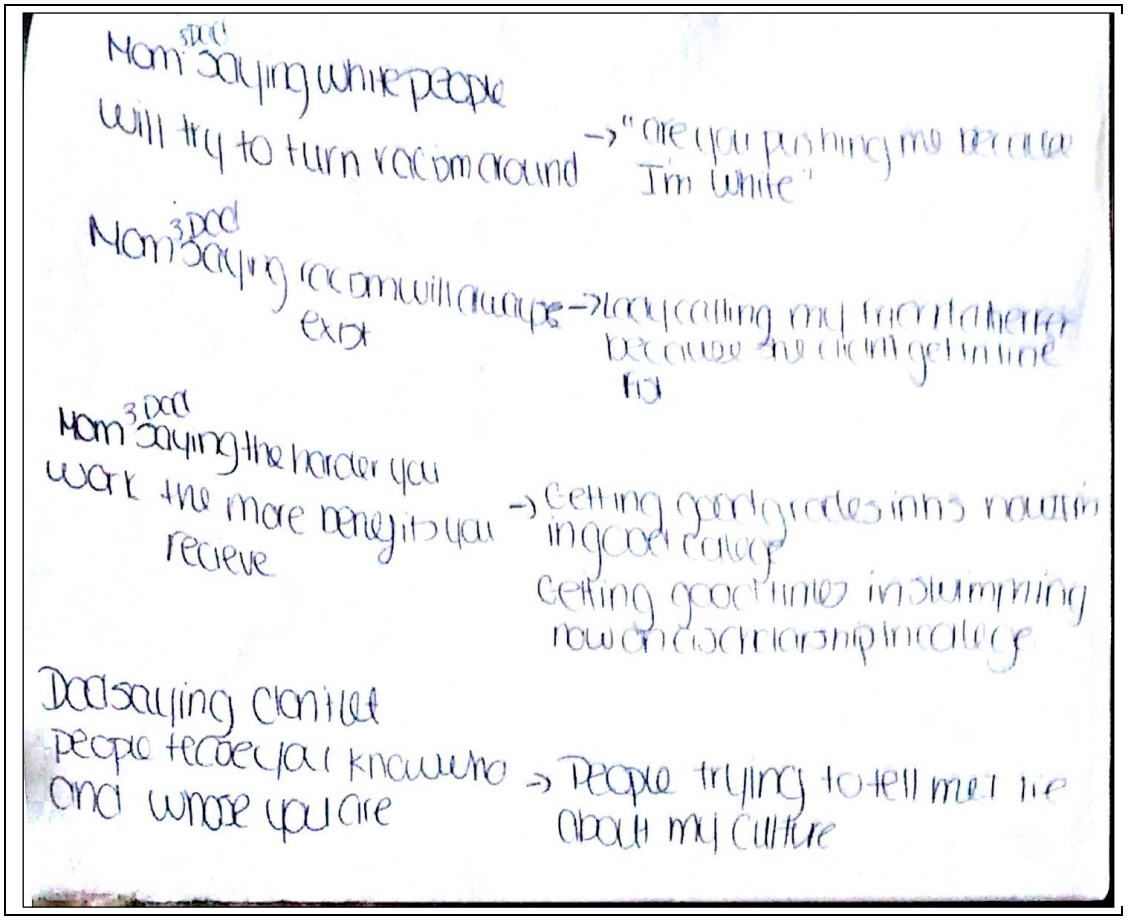

Figure 10. Nancy, Spring 2010 concept map

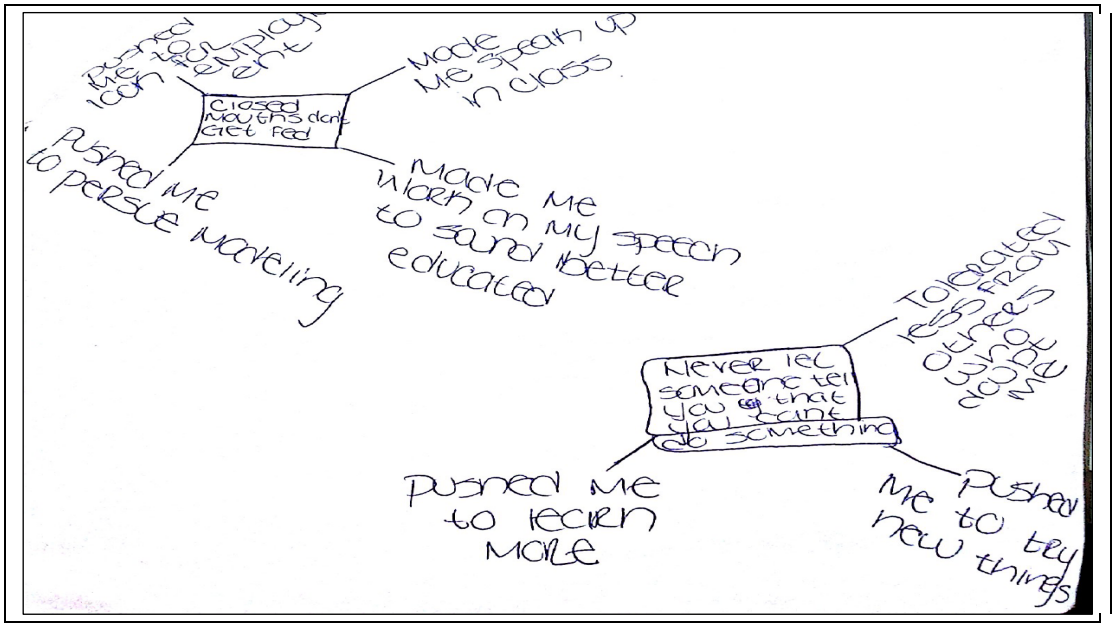

Figure 11. Tina, Spring 2010 concept map

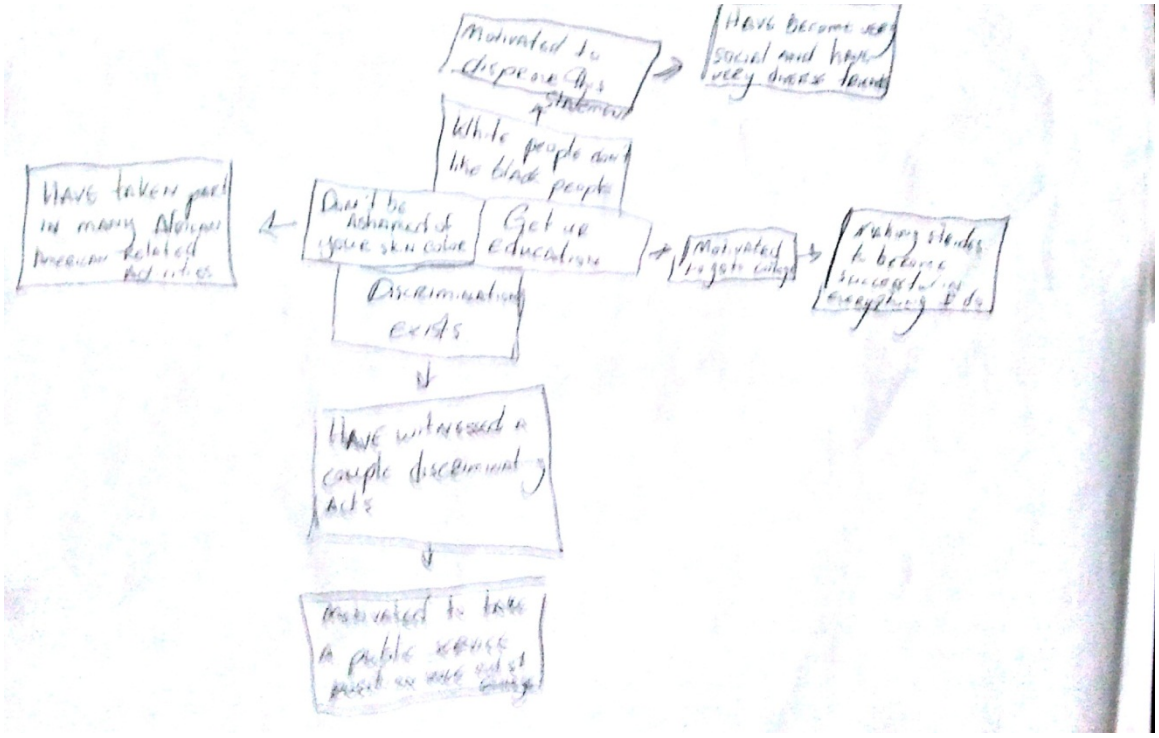

Figure 12. Wilbur, Spring 2010 concept map.

Category	Coding
1. Common race-related themes related to parental RS	• Parent-respondent discussions about race, racism, and/or racial prejudice → protective RS* • Parent-respondent discussions about racial pride, owning cultural objects, appreciating Black identity, etc → proactive RS*
2. Common themes related to personal views of race, racism, race-relations	• Positive and/or negative views of self as Black or others of African descent*
3. Recent personal experience with racial discrimination	• Perceived discrimination against self*
4. Perceptions of AAM	• Desire to get good grades, score high exam marks**
5. Perceptions of academic success	• What success means, what is necessary to achieve it**
6. Viewing AAM as an unexpected indicator of Black intellect	• Devotion to personally exemplify interest in higher education despite stereotypes otherwise, "I am college-worthy"**

Figure 13. Coding chart for qualitative analysis of Fall 2009 and Spring 2010 participant interviews.

Note: RS = Racial Socialization. AAM = academic achievement motivation.

→ = "is equivalent to".

* Theoretically-driven codes.

** Codes devised from grounded theory (developed from interpretation of the interview data)

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