CAMPUS CLIMATE PERCEPTIONS FOR BLACK STUDENTS AT A

PREDOMINANTLY WHITE UNIVERSITY: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN

RACIAL-ETHNIC SOCIALIZATION, RACIAL-ETHNIC IDENTITY, AND CAMPUS

ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION

A Dissertation

by

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ABSTRACT

After years of historical exclusion and despite societal progress, Black students at predominantly White universities (PWIs) continue to experience more negative outcomes than their White counterparts and Black students who attend historically Black colleges and universities. The discriminatory experiences that Black students encounter on PWI campuses shapes their perceptions of the campus (racial) climate. Previous findings indicate that racial socialization can act as a buffer for these negative experiences (Anglin & Wade, 2007; Fischer & Shaw, 1999)and involvement in campus organizations can provide additional social support for Black students at PWIs (Guiffrida, 2003; Patton et al., 2011). The current study takes a nuanced approach to understanding within-group differences for Black students at PWIs by exploring the relationships between campus organization affiliation, racial socialization, racial identity, and perceptions of campus climate. A total of 52 students who identify as Black or African American completed a survey which included measures of racial identity, racial socialization, campus organization affiliation and perceptions of campus climate. The results were analyzed using multiple regression analyses. The findings support previous research regarding the connections between racial identity and racial socialization, while adding more clarity to the connections between these internal experiences and students' perceptions of campus climate and campus organization participation. Surprisingly, campus organization affiliation did not predict perceptions of general campus climate. However, perceptions of campus racial climate did not predict perceptions of general campus climate, as predicted. Correlations between racial socialization and perceptions of campus racial climate were also found in the expected directions. Racial identity was found to mediate the relationship between preparation for bias

racial socialization messages and organization participation for this subset of students. The

results are discussed in detail within.

DEDICATION

Dedicated to those who went before me and those who will follow behind.

I am because you are.

CONTRIBUTORS AND FUNDING SOURCES

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Retention and campus experiences of Black students on college campuses is an emerging issue that spans various disciplines. One way to track student experiences and hear students' perspectives of their university is by surveying campus climate. Campus climate refers to "the current perceptions and attitudes of faculty, staff, and students regarding issues of diversity" (Rankin & Reason, 2005, p. 48). Campus climate surveys are meant to measure institutional factors that can predict students' perceptions of the quality of the campus environment (King & Ford, 2003). Campus climate surveys allow universities to gather information that is tailored to their own campus at a university-specific level, rather than at the national level such as the National Study on Black College Students and the National Survey of Student Engagement. However, studies have shown that perceptions of campus climate differ depending on who is being asked, often with students of color on predominantly White campuses reporting more negative perceptions of the campus climate than White students (Mackell, 2012; Rankin & Reason, 2005). Further, studies have demonstrated that various personal ideologies and worldviews can affect the perceptions of campus climate and inclusion (Worthington et al., 2008). As such, even university-wide measures of climate may not provide sufficient insight into the unique experiences of Black students on university campuses.

Campus racial climate is a subcategory of campus climate that can be particularly helpful when exploring some of the negative experiences that Black students encounter on predominantly White campuses. Campus racial climate measures factors such as the racial composition of the institution, incidents of racism on campus, exposure to minority perspectives and the presence of minority organizations (King & Ford, 2003). Culturally focused

organizations or other campus organizations can help Black students find a sense of community and a place to relate to their peers and generate more positive outcomes (Guiffrida, 2003). For example, Black students who involve themselves in Black Greek-Letter Organizations report being more engaged with positive academic practices, including building relationships with faculty (Patton et al., 2011). These positive experiences within organizations could potentially impact student's overall perceptions of campus racial climate.

While studies suggest that Black students at predominantly White universities have poorer retention rates than their peers due to negative experiences and feelings of isolation (Guiffrida, 2003), many Black students choose to remain at the university while simultaneously not feeling included on campus. This distinction is important to explore because there is less research available about the Black students who remain at their university, achieve academic success, and graduate even if they did not have a particularly positive view of their campus. It is also important to note that some of these students might seek and find types of support other than being in Black student focused organizations. These distinctions can be categorized as within-group differences, which, thus far, have received less attention in the literature. At this time, more information about between-group differences exists between students of color and White students at predominantly White universities.

Various factors have been associated with higher attrition rates of Black students at PWIs (Braxton, 2000; Tinto, 2005). Researchers have found that conflicts between the campus environment and students' identity are particularly responsible for student attrition (Evans et al., 1998), particularly for Black men (Cuyjet 2006; Harper, 2004, as cited in Harper & Quaye, 2007). Guiffrida (2003) and others (Tinto, 1993) have focused on the impact that social integration has on attrition rates of Black students at PWIs. In particular, social integration has

been documented as a positive outcome of organization affiliation for college students. Social integration refers to the personal affiliations that students have with faculty, staff, and peers, outside of the academic setting (Guiffrida, 2003). However, the impact of racial-ethnic identity has not been considered as often in this context (Harper & Quaye, 2007). If more information were known about what leads to differences in persistence and academic success for some Black students, it would be easier to understand and improve conditions for Black students who are affected by higher attrition rates and other outcome disparities. Exploring the influence of racial-ethnic identity on these factors, particularly the ways that individuals can translate their racial-ethnic identity into avenues for success would be particularly useful (Harper & Quaye, 2007).

Black undergraduates who attend historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) tend to experience better outcomes in several areas when compared with Black undergraduates who attend PWIs. For example, in terms of academics, student development, retention, campus engagement, and relationships with faculty, Black students at PWIs do not fare as well as Black students at HBCUs. Conversely, Black students who attend HBCUs tend to report feeling supported and included on their campuses. Black students at HBCUs also report positive psychological outcomes including racial pride and positive self-image. Black students who attend PWIs report higher levels of exclusion and alienation from their white peers (Allen, 1992). This study assesses factors that can influence Black students' perceptions of general campus climate and campus racial climate at predominantly White universities including racial-ethnic socialization, racial-ethnic identity, and campus organization affiliation.

While it is established that certain between-group differences exist, it is helpful to consider within-group differences on these same issues in order to avoid homogenizing the personal beliefs and perceptions of all Black students. This study helps to bridge various gaps in

research regarding campus racial climate perceptions of Black students attending predominantly white four-year universities. The combination of variables explored in this study add greater depth to this topic. Knowing more about within group differences can help universities provide activities or organizations and help individual students decide to engage in these activities that would be more likely to produce desired outcomes for all. This study sought to explore the various ways in which these perceptions are affected by the individual differences in racial identity and racial socialization, as well as participation in campus organizations.

Statement of the Problem

Black students generally have more negative experiences than White students at PWIs. A long list of negative outcomes have been associated with this, and among the most often reported are poorer retention, social integration, and academics. While Black students at PWIs experience higher dropout rates than other groups (Astin, 1997; Murtaugh et al., 1999; Peltier et al., 1999), some Black students persist and are not hindered by these common negative outcomes. Studies have indicated several variables that contribute to the overall Black college student experience. For example, Black students who enter college with a strong racial-ethnic identity have a higher cumulative GPA than students who enter college without a strong racial-ethnic identity (Jenkins, 2001).

One outcome that Black students at PWIs are exposed to more often than not is racial bias or discrimination. The discriminatory experiences that Black students encounter on college campuses shapes their perceptions of the campus (racial) climate. These discriminatory experiences and the perceptions of the campus climate can also negatively influence their racial identity (Chavous et al., 2018). Positively, racial socialization acts as a buffer against racist encounters (Anglin & Wade, 2007), and engagement in minority organizations or other campus

organizations can help Black students find a sense of community, relate to their peers, and generate more positive outcomes (Guiffrida, 2003). However, Black students who come from predominantly White schools and neighborhoods prior to college might not experience Black organizations as crucial to their social integration process. In fact, they might find participation in such organizations to be uncomfortable (Guiffrida, 2003). Additionally, Black students who choose to participate in mainstream, or non-Black centered student organizations, often perceive negative appraisals from their same-race peers (Harper & Quaye, 2007). Guiffrida (2003) found that at times these students felt less comfortable and socially adjusted when surrounded by other Black students, particularly if attending college was the first time they had experienced that dynamic. Overall, these outcomes demonstrate that Black students at PWIs may experience difficulties during their transition to college for a variety of reasons, and that these differences may be explained by individual-level variables of racial socialization, racial identity and campus organization involvement. Further exploration into the within group differences are warranted, as not enough research exists to explore the nuanced experiences which lead to the success and persistence of some Black students. Knowing more about what makes these students successful could also help provide insight about students who are not as successful or who experience a wide variety of negative outcomes associated with being a Black student at a PWI. This approach of understanding the experiences of resilient individuals to gain insight into the mechanisms that may promote increased success of marginalized populations is highlighted in the theoretical frameworks discussed next.

Theoretical Framework

The relationships between racial socialization, racial identity, campus organization affiliation, and campus climate perceptions will be explored with consideration to the Symbolic Interactionism Theory (Blumer, 1969) and the Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (Spencer, 1995).

The Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (Spencer, 1995) was developed by Margaret Beale Spencer in 1995 and incorporates a phenomenological perspective into Bronfenbrenner's (1989) ecological systems theory by linking perception with context. This integration of theories captures the meaning making process that underlies identity development as well as its outcomes (Spencer, 1995; 1999).

The PVEST model describes identity development over the life course of an individual. Experiences occur in different cultural contexts, such as peer group, community, and home, across the life course. According to the PVEST, one's perception of the experiences in different cultural contexts, not the experiences themselves, influence self-perception (Spencer et al., 1997). PVEST is a recursive and cyclic model that consists of five components which are linked by bidirectional processes. The components of PVEST include 1) risk contributors, 2) net stress engagement, 3) reactive coping methods, 4) emergent identities, and 5) life-stage coping outcomes (Spencer, 1995; Spencer et al., 2003).

The risk contributors component consists of any factors that could predispose an individual to adverse outcomes associated with psychological stressors. Protective factors, such as cultural capital, can offset these risks. Common risks for minoritized youth can include sociohistorical processes such as discrimination and subordination, sociocultural expectations such as race stereotypes, or socioeconomic conditions such as poverty. Youth of color's perceptions of these processes, expectations, and conditions influences their self-appraisal. The

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net stress engagement component refers to the overall experience of situations that challenge the psychological well-being and psychological identity of an individual. Specifically, this refers to risk contributors that are present in everyday life and can be offset by available support systems. Negative feedback and experiences of discrimination are common stressors for minority youth. If proper interventions and support systems are not in place, these stressors can have adverse consequences (Spencer et al., 2003).

The third component, reactive coping mechanisms, are employed to resolve situations that produce dissonance. Awareness of dissonance is acute and unavoidable due to the normative cognitive maturation process. Strategies to solve problems are reactive coping mechanisms that can either lead to maladaptive or adaptive solutions. It is possible for a solution to be adaptive in one setting, such as one's neighborhood, but maladaptive in another, such as school (Spencer et al., 2003).

Self-appraisal continues as coping strategies are employed. Strategies which yield favorable results are preserved and become stable coping responses over time. This process creates emergent identities, which define how individuals see themselves between and within various contexts. Identity is defined by a combination of self and peer appraisal, sex role understanding, and cultural and ethnic identity. Identity creates the foundation for future perceptions and behavior. These behaviors and perceptions contribute to the final component, life-stage specific coping outcomes, which can be either productive or adverse. Adverse outcomes include poor health, self-destructive behaviors, and incarceration, while productive outcomes include good health, high self-esteem, and productive relationships. Individuals cycle and recycle through the PVEST framework throughout their lifespan (Spencer et al., 2003).

According to PVEST, environmental risk and protective factors are experienced as supports or stresses rather than being deterministic. An individual's vulnerability is conceptualized as the balance or imbalance that results from these risk and protective factors, or supports and stressors. Therefore, an individual's level of vulnerability is based on their social positionality, which typically includes interlocking systems of support and oppression. PVEST makes room for developmental differences in the ways that individuals make sense of critical points of intersection (Velez & Spencer, 2018).

Symbolic Interactionism (Blumer, 1969) is a social psychological approach which studies how individuals develop socially as a result of participating in group life. Many sociologists contributed to the intellectual foundation of the approach including George Herbert Mead, John Dewey, William James, and others but the term was popularized by Herbert Blumer (1969). According to Blumer (1969) there are three principles of symbolic interactionism. The first premise states that the actions humans take towards situations are based on their assigned meanings. The second premise is that meaning arises from or is derived out of social interaction with peers. The third premise is that meanings are handled and modified through the interpretive process of the person who encounters them (Blumer, 1969). Five characteristics of Symbolic Interactionism exist including 1) human interaction, 2) interpretation rather than mere reaction, 3) response based on meaning, 4) use of symbols, and 5) interpretation between stimulus and response (Blumer, 1969).

This approach is based on the assumption that social reality is continuously created and recreated through the use of symbols and human interactions (Quist-Adade, 2018). Mead (1969) asserts, "society consists of individuals interacting with one another" (p.7). He also asserts that these interactions occur predominantly on the symbolic level, as individuals who are acting must

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account for the actions of others while they are engaging in that action. In Symbolic Interactionism, it is believed that responses human beings have are not based on actions themselves but rather on the meaning that they associate with those actions. In this way, human interaction is mediated by the interpretation of the meaning of one another's actions. Mead (1969) also suggests that before and during an action, individuals take into account the expectations, threats, and demands that might arise in the situation in which they are acting. This is known as self-indication.

Symbolic Interactionism theory also assumes that social reality is created when people engage in conversation with each other and does not exist on its own (Quist-Adade, 2018). Further, according to Symbolic Interactionism, acting units develop their actions on the framework of social organization. Structural features such as social systems, social roles, and culture set conditions for the actions but do not determine the actions. Social organization is said to influence action in that it shapes the situations in which people act and it supplies the fixed set of symbols people use when interpreting situations (Mead, 1969).

According to PVEST, one response that individuals have to risks and challenges in their environment is attaching to a peer group that "provides positive, or at least less threatening feedback" (Spencer et al., 1997). This is exemplified in the decisions that Black students might make to join a Black student organization if they do not feel otherwise supported on a predominantly White campus. The risks and challenges in this case can refer to the potential negative experiences and outcomes for Black students at PWIs that have been detailed in literature, and one protective factor could be the campus organizations. The phenomenological nature of PVEST leaves room for exploration of the fact that individuals can be exposed to the same experience, in this case the campus racial climate of a PWI, and react with either resiliency

or psychopathology (Spencer et al., 1997). This component could speak to the fact that all Black students do not necessarily endure negative outcomes as a result of the environment, due to individual and/or internal factors.

Within Symbolic Interactionism theory, the university itself can be viewed as a small society. In fact, college campuses have been referred to as microcosms of larger society (Harper & Quaye, 2007; Mwangi et al., 2017). The interactions between the individual students, faculty members, staff members, administrators, and others on campus can create a shared reality. The perceptions of campus racial climate will quantify the expression of this shared reality. Therefore, the experiences that Black students have and the treatment they receive from other individuals on their campus can affect their perceptions of campus racial climate, and potentially their perceptions of themselves. Black students' involvement in campus organizations could potentially act as a buffer to any negative self-perceptions or negative perceptions of campus racial climate that might come as a result of negative interactions with individuals or systems on campus. The following conceptual model displays the variables proposed for this dissertation:

Figure 1

Conceptual Model
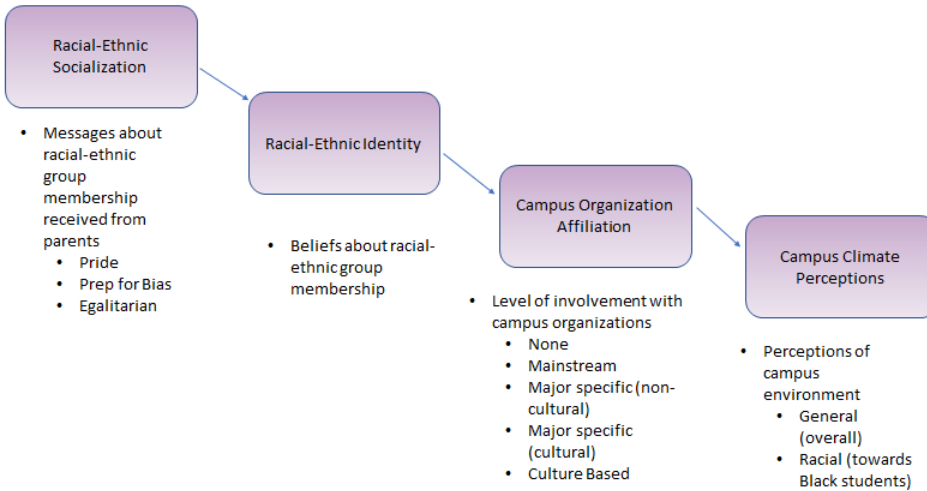
Organization of the Dissertation

In summary, the literature on Black students' experiences on campus has failed to incorporate a resilience approach, and has not explored within-group, individual-level markers of adjustment on campus. In response to this need, this study sought to explore the individual-level experiences of racial socialization and racial identity, campus organization affiliation, and subsequent perceptions of general campus climate and campus racial climate. Chapter II provides an in-depth discussion of the previous research and relevant literature on campus climate, campus organization affiliation, racial-ethnic identity, and racial-ethnic socialization. Chapter III presents the intended research methodology, statistical procedures and methods used. Chapter IV discusses adjustments to research methodology as well as the results of the analyses, and Chapter V provides concluding discussion about the study.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Black Students in College

Historical Exclusion

The pursuit of higher education has historically presented obstacles for Black Americans. Social mobility for racial and ethnic minorities has been hindered due to the fact that they have been historically underrepresented and disadvantaged in higher education (Harper et al., 2009). Black Americans have been forced to attend segregated colleges and universities for the majority of the past two centuries. In general, Black people were denied access to any form of education for more than two centuries during slavery (Bracey, 2017). Many states passed laws that made it illegal to teach slaves to read and write after uprisings such as the Stono Rebellion in 1739 in South Carolina and Nat Turner's Revolt in 1831 (Woodson, 1915, as cited in Bracey, 2017). In the 19th and 20th centuries, Southern state governments enacted several laws that restricted Black students to elementary education and prevented them from attending institutions of higher education. Due to governmental mandates and other practices of institutionalized racism, Black students could not enroll in institutions of higher education from 1636 until the 1830s (Anderson, 2002). Although later policies claimed to intend to overcome these injustices, they often reinforced the inequities instead (Bracey, 2017).

The Formation of HBCUs

Black Americans had no choice but to create their own institutions of higher education due to being largely denied access to White institutions. These limitations to access for Black Americans persisted into the 1960s (Bracey, 2017). HBCUs were first established in the late 1800s by formerly enslaved people and other individuals in Black churches or otherwise affiliated with Christianity, and were founded on the philosophical principles of racial, social, and community uplift (Bracey, 2017; Lomax, 2006). Therefore, Black students who attend HBCUs tend to experience networking opportunities as well as academic, civic, and interpersonal engagement to the same degree on these campuses that White students experience at PWIs.

Black College Students Today

Many Black students still face racial discrimination in their pursuit of higher education, especially at PWIs. Some would even classify integration of higher education as a failure. Feagin et al. (1996) stated that integration has an assimilation process that forces Black students to adopt White practices, views, and norms, which likely has negative impacts on the psychosocial development of Black students. Indeed, racial discrimination is ingrained into PWIs in blatant, subtle, and covert ways, and the assimilation process that Black students are often exposed to at PWIs is one way.

A review of literature involving Black students who attend predominantly White universities indicates that there is a trend of Black students having less than pleasurable and potentially negative experiences on PWI campuses. In addition to normal adjustment concerns associated with the transition to college, Black students must also deal with the added stress of being a Black student in a predominantly white space (Cohen & Garcia, 2008). Black students

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who attend PWIs report higher levels of exclusion and alienation from their White peers (Allen, 1992).

There are differences in the graduation and retention rates of Black students at PWIs and their White peers. Although Black students are attending PWIs at an increased rate, attrition rates of Black students are increasing as well. Black students' graduation rates are 21.3% lower than the graduation rates of White students (Cross, 2002). Additional studies point out that attrition rates for Black students at PWIs are more than one and a half times greater than White students at PWIs (Cross & Slater, 2004). Further, it is suggested that Black students are more likely to drop out due to social isolation (Guiffrida, 2003), developmental concerns, and feelings of social estrangement in addition to academic concerns, while White students' attrition rates are often related to academic variables only (Chavous, 2002).

Many PWIs have problems hiring and retaining Black faculty (Bracey, 2017). The same harsh racial environment that makes retention of students of color difficult also impacts the retention of faculty of color. In fact, it is often even more difficult to retain Black staff at PWIs than it is to retain Black students (Stewart, 2015). It is possible that this lack of diverse faculty is connected to Black students' reports of difficulty connecting with faculty, administration, and staff on PWI campuses, as Black students often explicitly desire to be mentored by Black faculty (Dahlvig, 2010). This lack of support can negatively impact the academic performance of Black students (Chavous, 2000; Feagin, 1992). Additionally, the environment at most PWIs is not explicitly created for supporting the growth of Black students.

Differences in experiences for Black students at PWI vs Black students at HBCU

Overall, there are notable differences in experiences and outcomes of Black undergraduate students at PWIs when compared to Black students at HBCUs. Black students at HBCUs often report a more positive college experience than Black students who attend PWIs. Black students at HBCUs also perceive that their school provides more institutional support and report being more integrated into campus life (Davis, 1994). Prior research has demonstrated that Black undergraduates who attend HBCUs tend to experience better outcomes in several areas when compared with Black undergraduates who attend PWIs. For example, in terms of academics, student development, retention, campus engagement, and relationships with faculty, Black students at PWIs do not fare as well as Black students at HBCUs. Conversely, Black students who attend HBCUs tend to report feeling supported and included on their campuses. Black students at HBCUs also report positive psychological outcomes including racial pride and positive self-image (Allen, 1992).

The findings about differences in the psychosocial development, racial and ethnic identity development, and psychological well-being between these two groups of Black students have been less consistent. One variable that has been used to assess positive psychological functioning is African self-consciousness, or having pro-Black knowledge, awareness, and beliefs, as well as the practice of African culture and philosophy (Cokley, 1999). While Baldwin et al. (1987) found that Black students from HBCUs displayed a higher level of African self-consciousness compared to Black students at PWIs, Cheatham, Thomlinson, and Ward (1990) replicated the prior study and found that Black students at PWIs had higher levels of African Self-consciousness. Cheatham et al., (1990) examined the psychosocial development of Black students at both types of universities using the Student Life Development Task and Lifestyle Inventory (STDLI), the Racial Identity Attitudes Scale, and the Career Decision Scale. No

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significant differences were found for career decision scores or racial identity scores, but Black students at PWIs scored higher on the scales of Emotional Autonomy, Academic Autonomy, and Cultural Participation. This study among others raises questions about the belief that HBCU environments are better at facilitating the psychosocial development of Black students than PWIs.

Therefore, it is likely that Black students can engage in meaningful psychosocial development and academic success in either environment. The differences students report in studies are likely to be associated with individual-level personal and psychological factors within students (Cokley, 1999), as well as individual differences in the environment and available resources at each university. For example, each PWI varies in terms of funding (private or public), academic strength, and overall campus racial climate, while HBCUs vary in terms of funding, academic strength, as well as availability and promotion of Afrocentric speakers and programs (Cokley, 1999). PWIs can also differ on availability and promotion of Afrocentric speakers and programs.

Black students at HBCUs tend to see benefits in both performance or educational attainment and persistence or retention (Terenzini et al., 1997; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991). In some studies, Black students at HBCUs report being better adjusted and more engaged in and committed to college life (Fleming, 1984). Black students who attend HBCUs are less likely to consider transferring institutions and report higher expectations of completing a baccalaureate degree than Black students who attend PWIs. Black students at HBCUs also report being more satisfied with their college experience and indicate that they would choose to attend the same institution again more often than Black students at PWIs (Terenzini et al. 1997). Black students at HBCUs tend to report more positive adjustment to the school environment and more African-

centered attitudes while Black students at PWIs report difficulty finding a sense of belonging and social acceptance on their campuses (Anglin & Wade, 2007; Chavous, 2002).

Some background demographic differences may exist between the average Black student that attends an HBCU and the average Black student at a PWI. Some older studies have shown differences in the educational backgrounds of the parents of students who attend PWIs and HBCUs. Gurin and Epps (1975) found that in the 1970s more Black students at HBCUs had fathers that did not graduate from high school than Black students at PWIs (as cited in Freeman & Thomas, 2002). However, later reports found that Black students at HBCUs tended to have better educated fathers and mothers than Black students at PWIs (Astin & Cross, 1981). Allen (1992) found that Black students at HBCUs were more involved on campus, but later studies found that this might not be the case (Bentley-Edwards & Chapman-Hilliard, 2015).

Astin & Cross (1970) found that Black students who attended PWIs tended to have had better grades in high school and to have applied to and been accepted to more colleges than Black students at HBCUS. However, Black students at HBCUs reported more aspirations toward earning an Ed.D. or a Ph.D. than Black students at PWIs (Astin & Cross, 1970). Black students at HBCUs are more likely to live on campus and enroll in more class hours than Black students at PWIs (Terenzini et al., 1997). Additionally, Black students who attend PWIs have been found to prioritize financial and status goals while Black students who attend HBCUs tend to be more concerned about political structures and prioritize community action (Astin & Cross, 1970). Black students who choose to attend PWIs often do so due to the academic reputation of the university, being recruited by an athletic department, and a desire to attend school near their homes (McDonough et al., 1997).

Bentley-Edwards & Chapman-Hilliard (2015) found that Black students who attended HBCUs had a higher percentage of pre-college interaction with Black people, while Black students who attended PWIs had a lower percentage of pre-college interaction with Black people. They concluded that Black students who had everyday access to other Black individuals during childhood and adolescence were likely to be more invested in the Black community (Bentley-Edwards & Chapman-Hilliard, 2015).

Students are also often impacted by financial constraints in various ways (Freeman & Thomas, 2002). One of the main differences between Black students at HBCUs and those at PWIs which remains consistent is financial support. In the 1970s, more than half of Black students at PWIs had scholarships or grants that paid for most or all of their college expenses, while only one third of Black students in Black colleges held similar grants and scholarships (Gurin & Epps, 1975 as cited in Freeman & Thomas, 2002). It is possible that limited financial resources available at HBCUs could hinder their ability to attract more students. The importance of financial aid in college decision choice is the most consistent finding, as Black parents often cannot afford to pay for their children's post-secondary education (Freeman & Thomas, 2002).

Black students can experience differences in their levels of social integration and the way they relate to their peers based on institution type. Positive social adjustment and development has been attributed to the social environment on HCBU campuses in multiple studies (Bohr et al., 1995; Fleming, 1984; Negga, Applewhite, & Livingston, 2007; Palmer et al., 2010). Some research has shown that Black students at HBCUs are more likely to perceive unity and acceptance in the student body and are therefore more likely to participate in the campus community than Black students at PWIs (Allen, 1992). Black students at HBCUs also reported

that their peers are more likely to encourage them to continue being enrolled in school (Terenzini et al., 1997).

Reports of the quality of interactions with faculty and administration are also different between institution types. Specifically, Black students report greater faculty support and social support at HBCUs than Black students at PWIs (Terenzini et al., 1997). Black students at HBCUs also report better relationships with professors than those at PWIs (Allen, 1992). Additionally, Black students are more likely to find more congruent mentoring in the HBCU environment (Cross, 1994). Black students at HBCUs have more positive relationships with faculty members and perceive faculty members as being concerned with their teaching and development (Terenzini et al., 1997)

Several notable campus climate differences are reported by Black students who attend PWIs compared to Black students at HBCUs. In fact, the factors that influence campus climate perceptions might be slightly different between the two institution types. Overall, findings suggest that Black students at HBCUs and Black students at PWIs report differences in campus climate between the types of institutions, with the climate at HBCUs being slightly more favorable. Black students at HBCUs report the environment to be more nurturing than Black students at PWIs (Cross, 1994).

Black students at HBCUs experience less racial harassment both from peers and on an institutional level than Black students at PWIs (Cross, 1994). There is also less occurrence of racist sentiments and incidents on HBCU campuses and Black students are less likely to perceive racial/ethnic discrimination at HBCUs than PWIs (Terenzini et al., 1997). Black students who attend PWIs report experiencing racial discrimination more often than Black students who attend HBCUs (Allen, 1992; Fleming, 1984; Campbell et al., 2019). Black students who attend PWIs

report more institutional and individual racism as well as global racism stress than Black students who attend HBCUs (Bentley-Edward and Chapman-Hilliard, 2015).

The environment at HBCUs could provide more racial identity affirmation for Black students than the environment at PWIs. This environment can be described as "welcoming" for Black students and a place where they can "thrive in a context of acceptance and mutual support (Bracey, 2017). Black students at HBCUs report higher racial identity than Black students at PWIs (Cokely, 1999). More cultural and extracurricular activities are reportedly offered at HBCUs. Black students who attend PWIs are more likely to be in an environment where negative images or stereotypes of Black Americans are perpetuated, which can lead to lowered self-esteem and other distress. Conversely, Black students who attend HBCUs are more likely to be in an environment where cultural awareness is promoted and positive images of Black people are promoted (Cokely, 2002). According to Bracey (2017), "HBCUs are known for nurturing black, underserved students while offering specialized instruction, such as exploring... what it means to be a black college student" (p. 678).

Campus organization involvement opportunities and practices are another area where Black students at HBCUs and PWIs can experience differences. Black students at PWIs report more involvement in affinity organizations (such as the Black Student Union) while Black students at PWIs report more involvement in career or academic based organizations (Bentley-Edwards & Chapman-Hilliard, 2015). It is possible that these findings are due to the fact that broadly racially affirming organizations such as Black Student Unions are not available at HBCUs given that the purpose of such organizations is for Black students to be able to organize, socialize, and support each other in otherwise socially isolating environments (Fries-Britt, 1998). Therefore, the need for such a space at HBCUs is less likely. However, the affinity organizations available at HBCUs

are often more specific and related to ethnicity such as the Caribbean Student Alliance or nationality, such as Nigerian Students United. (Bentley-Edwards & Chapman-Hilliard, 2015).

Black students at PWIs have been found to be less involved on campus than Black students at HBCUs in some studies (Allen, 1992; Terenzini et al., 1997), but other studies have found no significant differences in reports of organization participation. This could be a result of recent efforts for PWI campuses to be more diverse and inclusive, especially in terms of affinity organizations (Bentley-Edwards & Chapman-Hilliard, 2015). Participation in extracurricular activities for Black students at both types of universities has been positively related to racial cohesion and racial agency. Although Black students at HBCUs report being involved in more academic organizations than Black students at PWIs, these organizations only positively influence racial cohesion for Black students at PWIs (Bentley-Edwards & Chapman-Hilliard, 2015).

Academic Success

Research involving comparisons of Black students who attend HBCUs and Black students who attend PWIs often center around the impact that college racial composition has on either academic pursuits or (psychosocial development). Specifically, studies often address intellectual and cognitive development (related to GPA or academic achievement), or racial and ethnic identity development, psychosocial development, and general psychological well-being (Cokley, 1999). In terms of the academic-focused line of inquiry, Davis (1994) found that Black men who attended HBCUs had higher GPAs than Black men who attended PWIs after exploring the relationship between perceived social support and academic performance of Black males at either type of institution. Bohr et al. (1995) also found that Black students at PWIs and HBCUs

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are almost equal in terms of cognitive development, but those at HBCUs perform better on writing skills tests than those at PWIs.

Conflicting results have been found about the differences in academic success between Black and White students who attend PWIs. The findings about the ideal environment for supporting academic success for Black college students are mixed. Some research suggests that the culturally affirming and congruent HBCU environment can lead to greater academic success. Black students at HBCUs have been found to have higher academic motivation scores but slightly lower GPAs than Black students at PWIs (Reeder & Schmitt, 2013). Other studies show that Black students perceive less institutional fit and less satisfaction with the academic environment at PWIs (Allen, 1992; Fleming, 1984). However, Bentley-Edwards and Chapman-Hilliard (2015) found no significant differences in GPA between Black students at PWIs and Black students at HBCUs. Of note, Black students at PWIs in general have less favorable relationships with their professors than Black students who attend HBCUs (Allen, 1992).

Some studies indicate that Black students at PWIs experience less academic success than their White peers. A significant relationship has been established between campus climate and academic performance for Black students that attend PWIs. A supportive campus environment has been linked to better grade performance in both White and Black students (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991). However, Black students often perceive the campus environment more negatively than White students. The sense of alienation that Black students often experience on PWI campuses can negatively impact students' grade point averages (Loo & Rolison, 1986). Low academic interest is more strongly associated with social isolation at school for ethnic minority students than ethnic majority students (Zirkel, 2004). Black students at PWIs appear to exert more effort to achieve the same goals as their White peers. Black students at PWIs deal

with a variety of issues in addition to the basic issues associated with beginning college such as lack of campus support, as well as feelings of frustration and isolation from the campus environment. Additionally, Black students reported having to work harder to balance social and academic demands with managing daily college life (Brower & Ketterhagen, 2004).

Current Problems Facing Black Students at PWIs

Although financial strain is an issue that can affect retention rates for Black students at PWIs (Slater, 2009), the current problems facing Black students at PWIs today largely fall under the umbrella of a negative campus climate. Black students at PWIs often experience a conflict between the culture of the university they attend and their own cultural background, or a lack of fit with the environment (Chavous, 2000). Overt and covert racism on campus is one of the largest components that contributes to this perception of negative campus climate. Many Black college students experience racial discrimination as often as once every other week. Ambiguous racial incidents are experienced even more frequently (Swim et al., 2003).

Incidents of racism and discrimination on campus can negatively impact the physical and emotional safety and psychological well-being of Black students on college campuses. The experiences of discrimination that Black students face on PWI campuses can have negative impacts on their mental and physical health (Stevens et al., 2018). This can ultimately impact their satisfaction and success in college. D'Augelli and Hershberger (1993) found that as many as 59% of Black students report being the target of racial insults at least once or twice and 41% report hearing disparaging racial remarks occasionally. Biasco et al. (2001) found that over 75% of college students can agree that while it might not be openly expressed, racial hostility can still be felt on some college campuses. Even if they do not personally experience these acts

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of discrimination, Black students are likely to hear of incidents of racism and discrimination occurring on their campus (Biasco et al., 2001).

Mainstream campus does not provide Black students with much support from the effects of a negative racial environment (Thelamour et al., 2019). Racist incidents, historical oppression, and continuing systemic/institutional racism, can influence Black students' perceptions of campus climate-as well as the behaviors that others in the campus environment, such as faculty, administration, staff, and other students engage in. Black students often report feeling less connected to their campus than their White peers (Johnson et al., 2007). However, it is possible for Black students to feel connected with their academic department and still feel disconnected from the campus or institution as a whole (Costen et al. 2013).

Universities claim to support diversity, and often have diversity statements displayed on their website, but university policies are often colorblind and/or not truly inclusive**.** Black students still experience negative outcomes including discrimination and exclusion without receiving adequate support from official university admin and faculty. Even when they appear to be well-adjusted and academically successful, Black students still often experience "othering" and stereotypes on PWI campuses (Harper, 2009). Black students often still perceive that the cultural norms of PWIs support racial segregation and tension, even if they have close interracial friendships on campus (Antonio, 2001). Lower college persistence, performance, and academic adjustment has been associated with the perception of a hostile racial climate on campus for Black students (Chavous, 2002). Although studies suggest that academic outcomes overall are poorer for Black students at PWIs (Allen, 1992), individual Black students could still achieve academic success at these colleges. While studies suggest that Black students at PWIs have poorer retention rates than their peers due to negative experiences and feelings of isolation

(Guiffrida, 2003), many Black students choose to remain at the university while simultaneously not feeling included on campus.

Student organizations with a cultural, racial, or ethnic specific focus often provide space for students to feel supported and included. Institutions can provide a more engaging and welcoming environment for students of color while "addressing the systems that continue to marginalize Black students" by providing programming for faculty, staff, and students, that focus on "recognizing and correcting interpersonal forms of discrimination that oppress minority students" (Thelamour et al., 2019). However, some Black students choose not to be involved in this manner on campus even when opportunities are available. Currently there is a tendency in the literature to categorize Black individuals together and focus on between-group differences in terms of race and ethnicity. Therefore, taking a closer look at the within-group differences that can exist in the Black college student experience can help to gain more understanding about how to make improvements.

Campus Climate

History of Campus Climate/Purpose of Measuring Campus Climate

Rankin & Reason (2005) define campus climate as "the current perceptions and attitudes of faculty, staff, and students regarding issues of diversity" (p. 48). Campus climate perceptions are a function of what individuals have personally experienced, but they are also influenced by how members of the academy are regarded on campus (Rankin & Reason, 2005). In other words, campus climate perceptions are influenced by individuals' beliefs about the respect that various groups receive on campus and they consist of measurements of individuals' personal experiences on campus. Campus climate should be viewed as "not only the perceptions of marginalized individuals, but rather a multidimensional environmental factor" that impacts educational

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outcomes (Hurtado et al., 2008). Campus climate research is a means of correcting negative experiences that certain marginalized or underrepresented groups experience in college. Institutional change should be the ultimate goal in researching and reporting campus climate data (Harper & Hurtado, 2007).

As the racial-ethnic population of the United States becomes increasingly diverse, increases in the racial-ethnic diversity of college students are also seen. However, there has been an increase in racial segregation in American high schools (Orfield et al., 1997) which can lead to students experiencing their first significant interracial contact in college (Rankin & Reason, 2005). This is particularly true of Black students who attend predominantly White universities. The climate of university campuses often reflects the growing unease and racial tension within American society as a whole (Mwangi et al., 2017; Mack et al., 1997). Learning and social outcomes for college students can be influenced by the campus climate in which these interactions occur (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991). Therefore, universities must monitor the perceptions of campus climate in order to learn about the quality of interactions among students, faculty, and administration, as well as make an effort to increase diversity within the university.

Due to the exclusion that various groups have historically experienced in the pursuit of higher education, assessing campus climate has become commonplace. Racial-ethnic minorities, women, people with disabilities, and sexual minorities are among those who have historically been excluded from institutions of higher education (Worthington, 2008). Higher education became more accessible to historically marginalized groups following a series of court cases and political decisions, however, access to PWIs can still be somewhat restricted for Black students, as previously discussed. Historically and even today, Black students and other marginalized groups have experienced discrimination, harassment, and other negative interactions with peers

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and university representatives in pursuit of higher education. More recently, the positive impacts of a diverse student population and campus environment have been explored. Improving the campus climate for diversity and inclusion has become the focal point of enhancing diversity outcomes and processes in higher education (Hurtado et al., 1998). While campus climate assessments were initiated as a reactive measure to deal with issues affecting minority populations on campus, these studies are now often undertaken as a proactive measure.

The Four Dimensions of Campus Climate

Four common dimensions of campus climate have been identified as being internal to and within control of individual colleges and universities including the history of the institution and its legacy of exclusion or inclusion, the structural diversity, the behavioral dimension of climate, and the psychological dimension of climate (Hurtado et al, 1998,1999). Specific institutional structures such as resources, policies, and curriculum have also been added to this framework (Milem et al., 2005). It is rare for any one study to assess all of these dimensions, but some surveys attempt to measure the impact of changing policies in a university or examine existing norms and structures through a multidimensional approach (Hurtado et al., 1998).

Structural diversity refers to the presence of historically underrepresented groups at an institution (Hurtado et al., 1999) and it is related to minority students' academic adjustment to college, experiences with racism, and perceptions of tension on campus (Hurtado, 1994; Hurtado et al., 1996). Increasing structural diversity is commonly thought of as the first step towards fostering positive intergroup relations and overall a positive climate (Hurtado et al., 2008). Assessing structural diversity can help institutions to understand campus climate, and structural diversity must be present in order for changes in perceptions and behaviors to be seen (Hurtado et al., 2008). However, studies have shown that increases in structural diversity alone do not

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improve racial climate (Cabrera et al. 1999; Hurtado, 1992; Hurtado et al., 1999; Milem et al., 2005).

The psychological dimension of climate captures the degree to which individuals feel singled-out on campus due to their background (Nora & Cabrera, 1996), perceive discrimination and racial conflict on campus (Hurtado, 1992), and perceive institutional commitment/support related to diversity on campus (Hurtado et al., 1999). Most studies of campus racial climate focus on this dimension by assessing students' (and at times professors') perceptions and experiences of discrimination on campus (Hurtado et al., 2008). The psychological dimension is often conflated with racial climate as a whole; however, it is important to recognize the psychological dimension as an aspect that is distinct from overall assessments of campus racial climate (Hurtado et al., 2008). Hurtado (1994) found that perceiving hostility or tension on campus and experiencing racism on campus were related yet separate constructs. The quality of cross-racial interactions can also influence perceptions of a hostile campus climate. Specifically, students can have frequent positive cross racial interactions and still perceive the climate to be hostile (Locks et al., 2008).

The behavioral dimension of climate is generally an attempt to assess the level of engagement with diversity or the intergroup relations on campus. It is assessed with reports of participation (or lack thereof) in campus diversity activities and programs, enrollment in diversity courses. It is also assessed with reports of contact between and among different groups on campus (Hurtado et al., 2008). Distinctions have been made between campus facilitated diversity engagement (such as interventions, programs, events, and diversity coursework) and informal interactions (outside and inside of the classroom) (Gurin et al., 2002; Hurtado, 2005). Additionally, developments in research of behavioral climate have determined that assessing the

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quality of cross-racial interactions (Gurin P. et al., 2002; Saenz, 2005) is more useful than assessing the frequency of these interactions (Chang, 1999; Pascarella et al., 1996).

Impact of Campus Climate Perceptions

Several findings have been consistent across campus climate research. First, benefits have been associated with campus climates that encourage cross-racial interactions among different groups of students. Second, members of historically oppressed groups tend to view the institutional stance towards campus climate more negatively than members of historically advantaged groups. These perceptions can range from overt negligence to benign neglect. Finally, members of historically advantaged groups tend to hold more positive views of campus climate than members of historically oppressed groups (Harper & Hurtado, 2007).

Through campus climate research, connections have been shown between campus climate and various educational outcomes (Hurtado et al., 2008). Positive outcomes such as increased persistence and higher GPA (Rankin & Reason, 2005), as well as satisfaction with the collegiate experience (Milem, 2003) have been associated with the quality of the experiences that students have with diverse others in college environments. However, hostile campus climate has been associated with poor scholastic performance and low persistence outcomes for ethnic minority students (Hurtado et al., 2008). Negative campus climate can also be a predictor of poor psychological adjustment for students of color. Those who perceive the campus to be racially threatening report less attachment to the university and greater feelings of alienation (Cabrera & Nora, 1994). Experiencing discrimination on campus can contribute to a sense of isolation from campus organizations, peers, and faculty as well as interfere with students' affective and cognitive development (Cabrera et al., 1999; Hurtado, 1992).

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Overall, students of color perceive the campus climate less favorably than White students do. Students of color are also more likely to disagree that the university fosters diversity and adequately addresses issues of racism than White students are (Rankin & Reason, 2005). Harper and Hurtado (2007) found that a perceived lack of institutional commitment to diversity is associated with negative behaviors among students, including higher level of discrimination and racial hostility (Milem et al., 2005). A perceived lack of institutional commitment to diversity also negatively impacts the academic achievement of students of color (Milem et al., 2005). Students' perceptions of campus policies seem to be influenced by racial identity as well. White students tend to report campus climate as being positive and rate instructors' efforts to include multiple viewpoints into curriculum and institutional policy related to retention and recruitment of individuals of color highly (Miller et al., 1998).

Despite efforts to increase diversity, disparities remain in higher education, particularly for African American students (Worthington, 2008). Understanding the ways that Black students perceive campus climate is of particular importance because of the notable disparities in experience and outcome that have been seen in the literature. For Black students, campus climate including personal experiences with racism on campus, can be a mediator between their academic performance and academic potential (Mallinckrodt, 1988). Additionally, Black student's well-being has been shown to be related to their feelings about the university. Students who felt better about the university they attended reported higher overall well-being scores (D'Augelli & Hershberger, 1993).

Black Students and Campus Climate

Studies have shown that perceptions of campus climate differ depending on who is being asked, often with students of color on predominantly White campuses reporting more negative

perceptions of the campus climate than White students (Ancis et al., 2000; Chavous, 2005; Mackell, 2012; Rankin & Reason, 2005). When polled together, Black and White students report different experiences of the same campus environment (Ancis et al., 2000; Chavous, 2000; Rankin & Reason, 2005). Students from different racial groups often perceive the same campus environment in different ways (Chang, 2003; Evans et al., 1998; Hurtado, 2007; Strange & Banning, 2001).

Even when controlling for factors such as GPA, academic major, gender, and semester standing, Black students report lower general well-being and a more negative appraisal of the university than their White peers (D'Augelli & Hershberger, 1993). Black students also report incidents of harassment more often than their White peers. Further, Black students (as well as other students of color) report being the targets of racism on campus and describe the interracial interactions on campus as less friendly (Rankin & Reason, 2005). White also students believe Black students are less likely to experience discrimination than what Black students actually report (D'Augelli & Hershberger, 1993). Although White women at times report gender-based harassment experiences, these reports were not as frequent or prevalent as race-based harassment that Black students on predominantly White campuses experience (Rankin & Reason, 2005).

There are multiple factors to consider when assessing perceptions of campus climate for Black students in addition to how they feel about the university they attend. Specifically, background or demographic variables such as SES as well as the percentage of other Black students in their high schools or neighborhoods can influence behaviors and campus climate perceptions (Chavous, 2000). Additional factors that might not impact other students the same way can influence Black student's influence perception of their college experience, such as financial stressors, not knowing as many students on campus prior to their arrival, and support

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from other college educated individuals in their lives (D'Augelli & Hershberger, 1993). Prior

educational experiences and academic preparedness for college, as well as perceptions of support

from university faculty can also influence Black students' appraisal of campus experiences

(Allen, 1992). However, even when controlling for these variables, experiences of harassment

and discrimination on campus can create a negative perception of campus climate for Black

students (D'Augelli & Hershberger, 1993).

Rankin and Reason (2005) found that a greater proportion of students of color perceived

the campus climate as "hostile", "disrespectful", and "racist" than White students. Black students

have also described the climate at PWIs as alienating and culturally insensitive (Karkouti, 2016).

On the other hand, more White students describe the campus climate as "respectful", "friendly",

and "nonracist". More students of color also view classroom environments as less than

welcoming for underrepresented groups than White students do. White students are also more

likely to indicate that they feel as though the campus climate is improving, while more students

of color believe that campus climate is getting worse. When asked about the acceptance of

students from underrepresented groups on campus, White (or majority) students view the climate

as being more accepting of these groups than students who are members of underrepresented

groups (Rankin & Reason, 2005). White students also appear to be unaware of the negative

perceptions of campus climate held by students of color (Hurtado, 2007).

Even when compared to other students of color, Black students often have more negative

experiences on college campuses. Black students report experiences of differential treatment

from Latino and Asian students, as well as White students. Black students also perceive more

discrimination and racial conflict than each of these groups (Ancis et al., 2003; Suarez-Balcazar

et al., 2003). In fact, Black students are most likely to report incidents of discrimination to

authorities on campus (Hurtado & Ruiz, 2012). Campus climate perceptions can also impact

Black students' decision to remain enrolled at a university (Tinto, 1975; Jay & D'Augelli, 1991).

Potential Reasons for Negative Perceptions of Campus Climate

Black students' satisfaction with institutions of higher education has consistently been

found to be dependent on how supportive the campus environment is (Chen et al., 2014; Davis,

1991). Additionally, the positive campus climate towards Black students could be what makes

Black students more satisfied at HBCUs (Davis, 1991). Experiences of discrimination on campus

can negatively impact student's perceptions of campus climate and inclusion as well as

compromise their academic adjustment to college (Cabrera et al., 1999). Faculty at PWIs often

remain insensitive to issues of diversity, which can make the dominant subculture in these

institutions hostile to Black students (Keller, 1989). Black students report feeling as though

faculty and peers underestimate their intellectual capabilities (Smedley et al., 1993). Further,

studies have demonstrated that various personal ideologies and worldviews can affect the

perceptions of campus climate and inclusion (Worthington et al., 2008). Navarro et al. (2008)

found that conflicting political ideologies, particularly those that relate to diversity and inclusion,

can create a hostile campus environment for Black students. Members of historically advantaged

groups tend to express more positive views of campus climate than members of historically

oppressed groups (Harper & Hurtado, 2007).

It is possible that students of color and White students are accounting for different

variables when they make their personal assessments of the campus environment. Specifically,

Black students could perceive the campus environment (campus racial climate) negatively

because the campus environment is a reflection of the current racial/social climate in larger

society (Mwangi et al., 2017). Overall, the negative views that Black students have of their

campus climates can be related to their "engagement both on and off their campus environments, through media consumption or campus leadership" (Thelamour et al., p. 267, 2019). White students might be able to avoid or overlook negative behaviors on campus, which is a privilege (Johnson, 2000, as cited in Rankin & Reason 2005). The representation and power that individuals have on campus as well as their positionality influences their varying reports of experiencing discrimination on campus (Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado, 1992; Hurtado et al., 1999). It is possible that White students are also able to avoid or overlook instances of discrimination in larger society, and further they might not recognize the parallels between society and campus climate.

Differences by racial group can also be seen in the reports of interventions that students think could improve the campus climate. Specifically, students of color are more likely to report that workshops, required courses for students, and required training for staff would improve the climate than White students. White students are more likely to believe that there would be no change in campus climate after these interventions. Further, students of color believed that a required class that focuses on racial minorities would improve the campus climate, while White students thought making a required class could make the climate worse. This could indicate that students of color are not satisfied with the current focus on race in their education (Rankin & Reason, 2005).

Institutional Support for Diversity

A direct relationship has been found between campus climate and perceptions of institutional support (Whitt et al., 2001). Institutional support for a non-discriminatory learning environment has been found to be related to various student learning outcomes including students' openness to diversity and challenge. Perceptions of a supportive environment are also

associated with positive social learning outcomes such as racial understanding (Flowers &
Pascarella, 1999; Whitt et al., 2001). Despite the positive outcomes that occur when institutions
embrace diversity, there is often resistance towards this step being taken. Feagin, Vera, and
Imani (1996) found that most white faculty are not supportive of expanded multicultural
programs and policies. Watson et al. (2002) found that students of color at PWIs perceived a
lack of institutional support for multiculturalism, and this lack of support created negative
learning environments for students of color. Institutional support for diversity can be conveyed
through mission statements and diversity statements. Mentioning that diversity is a priority in
these statements, then following up with the development of a diverse student body, core
leadership support, and activities that evaluate and reward progress, is necessary for strong
institutional commitment to diversity (Rowley et al., 2002).

Campus Racial Climate

The majority of climate studies also incorporate elements that attempt to evaluate campus
racial climate (Hurtado et al., 2008). Campus racial climate is a subcategory of campus climate
which can be particularly helpful when exploring some of the negative experiences that Black
students encounter on predominantly White campuses. Campus racial climate measures factors
such as the racial composition of the institution, incidents of racism on campus, exposure to
minority perspectives and the presence of minority organizations (King & Ford, 2003). Campus
racial climate can be defined as the "attitudes, perceptions, behaviors, and expectations around
issues of race, ethnicity, and diversity" within a campus community (Hurtado et al., 2008,
p.205). Campus racial climate should be thought of as a multidimensional construct as it can be
shaped by the behaviors, policies, and practices of those within and outside of the university
(Hurtado et al., 1998). This means that external forces within larger society, especially

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government policies and the sociohistorical context of the university can impact the institutional context for diversity (Hurtado et al., 2008).

Campus racial climate regulates the interactions between students, staff, and faculty (Chang et al., 2011). Students of color often perceive racial conflict on their college campuses (Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado & Ruiz, 2012). The perception of racial conflict on campus, or a poor perception of racial climate on PWI campuses, is often related to the experiences that Black students have on these campuses (Thelamour et al., 2019). Students of color witness and experience more racism on campus and therefore perceive the campus climate as more discriminatory and hostile (Ancis et al., 2000; Cabrera & Nora, 1994; D'Augelli & Hershberger, 1993; Pewewardy & Frey, 2002; Rankin & Reason, 2005). For example, acts of racism are regularly perpetrated by White students on campus without regard to the impact that they will have on students of color. These acts include but are not limited to racist graffiti, racist themed parties and racist Halloween costumes, as well as racist epithets being shouted at students of color (Feagin & Ducey, 2019). Black students also frequently encounter minimization of such discriminatory experiences (Cabrera, 2014), and microaggressions (Sue et al., 2009). Poor perceptions of campus climate can negatively impact retention and adjustment to campus for students of color (Harper & Hurtado, 2007). Black college students report high levels of race-related stress (Bentley-Edwards & Chapman-Hilliard, 2015) and even show symptoms of trauma (Pieterse et al., 2010) as a result of these experiences.

Perceptions of campus racial climate differ by racial groups as well (Miller et al., 1998). Black students at PWIs often experience racial stresses (Fries-Britt & Turner, 2001), and these stresses can undermine their social integration and educational outcomes (Smedley et al., 1993) by diminishing academic sense of self and academic performance (Fries-Britt & Turner, 2001).

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Even in studies where White students and students of color recognize incidents of racial harassment at similar rates, students of color perceive campus climates to be less accepting and more racist than their White peers (Rankin & Reason, 2005). Aside from literature that focuses on diversity in curriculum, there is not a lot of scholarship that establishes an empirical link between campus racial climate and structural support at the institutional level (Hurtado et al., 2008), indicating that this is an area which should be studied more. While various legislations have made it so that some universities are more accepting of Black students from an admissions standpoint, these students often experience racially motivated negative experiences on campus which can lead to further inequality in educational experience (Bracey, 2017).

Another factor that can influence perceptions of campus racial climate is the historical background of the university. The influence of the university's history of exclusion or inclusion involves an in-depth study of norms that are embedded in campus traditions, policies, culture, and its historical mission, therefore this aspect is largely unaddressed in campus racial climate research (Hurtado et al., 2008). However, some studies have attempted to address this concept by assessing the way that diversity is integrated into an institution's rewards system (Hurtado, 2003), or summarizing the legacy of inclusion and exclusion in qualitative climate studies (Harper and Hurtado, 2007).

Conclusion

Black students experience negative outcomes on college campuses, likely because they do not feel supported by the environment. White students do not have the same experience of the environment. Due to these differing opinions, experiences, and values, Black students often must find ways to improve campus climate perceptions and create a sense of safety on their own. One way of doing that is by joining campus organizations. Given that perceptions of campus climate

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are different for various student groups, it is necessary for interventions to improve campus

climate perceptions to be targeted towards those specific student concerns (Rankin & Reason,

2005). Both Black students and White students seem to agree that greater educational efforts

that focus on race could improve the campus climate, but there are differences in the degree to

which either group thinks these efforts would be successful. Students of color were more

optimistic about the improvements that could come from these educational interventions (Rankin

& Reason, 2005).

Black and White students both observe harassment that often occurs on campus, but only

students of color find the campus climate to be hostile, racist, or declining because of these

incidents. Thus, it may be more difficult for students of color to separate their feelings about the

campus climate from their experiences (Rankin & Reason, 2005). Since race is often an

important piece of Black students' identity, services and programs should be made available that

can address various aspects of Black culture (Cokely, 1999). Universities can foster a sense of

campus connectedness in Black students by providing institutional support for the promotion and

maintenance of safe spaces for students of color including multicultural centers and ethnic-based

cultural groups (Thelamour et al., 2019).

Organization Affiliation

Organization affiliation can be categorized based on the number of Black students or

ethnic minorities in the group. For example, organizations that are predominantly Black in

makeup are categorized as Black organizations (Chavous, 2000). The theme or purpose of the

organization can also be used for categorization. For example, Black student associations and

historically Black Greek letter organizations can be categorized as racially-based organizations.

Campus oriented and student government organizations, or organizations that are specifically

tied to university traditions at PWIs can be categorized as mainstream organizations (Jones, 2014).

History of Black Students and Organization Affiliation

Due to the impact of segregation at the time, Black students in the early history of Black colleges were unable to engage in social activities in the community. They were also subject to rigorous schedules imposed by the colleges they attended. Extracurricular activities were created at Black colleges in order to create more well-rounded educational backgrounds for students. The earliest form of student organization available to Black students were debate clubs or literary societies created in Black colleges in 1868. These organizations allowed students to sharpen their intellect and reasoning skills while engaging in critical dialogue about topics that were widely accepted as fact. Members of literary clubs often performed skits at campus events such as graduations. Students in literary clubs also promoted the works of Black writers. Reformist or religious clubs were also popular in the early years of Black colleges. Mathematics, foreign language, social science, writing, and drama clubs became popular by the 1940s. Black Greek letter fraternities were first established in 1907. Similar to the literary societies, the goal of Greek letter fraternities was to encourage service, scholarship, and good character among Black students, as well as fulfill their social needs (Little, 2014). These organizations remain popular among Black college students today.

As Black students began to be admitted into PWIs, scholarship emerged about the need for separate student organizations for underrepresented groups. Initially, some authors argued that attempting to improve race relations on campus by encouraging organizations to engage in "voluntary segregation" would not be helpful. These authors proposed that creating separate organizations for each minority group would be repetitive and expensive. However, they also

warned that combining organizations across groups could also be difficult due to the different interests of each group involved (Peterson, 1978). More recent studies have shown that benefits to creating separate programs specifically for underrepresented groups can be beneficial by increasing minoritized students' use of support services, interaction with faculty, and involvement in student activities (Hurtado et al., 1994). Today, many culturally specific, race-ethnicity focused organizations exist on college campuses. Examples of such organizations for Black students can include the Caribbean Student Association, the African Student Association, or the Black Student Union (Thelamour et al., 2019).

Culturally Specific Organizations

There are several common reasons that Black college students choose to participate in Black student organizations. At times Black students at PWIs report perceiving Black student organizations as more open and friendly than mainstream or predominantly White campus organizations. Black students at PWIs might not have many other Black students in their classes, so joining Black student organizations allows them the chance to connect with peers who share their racial-ethnic groups. Additionally, students report choosing these organizations as they provide opportunities to give back to the Black community and form out-of-class relationships with faculty, as well as a sense of comfort from being around others perceived to be "like them". These opportunities are helpful for Black students who might feel a sense of discomfort or isolation when they find themselves being the only Black student in their classes, places of employment, or residence hall floors. These experiences can be especially difficult for students from predominantly Black schools and neighborhoods who might be in a predominantly White environment for the first time (Guiffrida, 2003).

Black student organizations can provide Black students at PWIs with the space to discuss their experiences of being a racial or ethnic minority on campus. Students report that the opportunity to meet others like themselves, discuss experiences with covert racism or feelings of alienation, and feel welcome on campus is the most important benefit they receive from organization involvement. In these spaces, Black students report being able to "be themselves" and not feel pressure to conform to or disprove negative stereotypes that their White peers might have about Black people (Guiffrida, 2003). Black student organizations also provide students with opportunities for leadership experience and representation. Those who join Black student organizations get a chance to connect with others who look like them and share similar interests or college majors, such as Black business clubs, Black engineering societies, or the gospel student choir (Guiffrida, 2003).

Some students join student organizations that align with their racial or ethnic background in order to connect with peers. Black students who involve themselves in Black Greek-letter organizations report being more engaged with positive academic practices, including building relationships with faculty (Patton et al., 2011). Black students at PWIs report more difficulty connecting with faculty members outside of class than their White peers (Fleming, 1984, as cited in Guiffrida, 2003). Participation in Black organizations can make it easier for Black students to connect with Black faculty members, which has been shown to be related to persistence and academic achievement (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991). *The Choices in Organization Affiliation*

Some Black students choose to engage in mainstream, or non-Black culture specific organizations as well as Black student organizations. These students often report opportunities to develop cross-cultural communication skills and advocate for the Black community. Many individuals take skills and information they learn in mainstream campus organizations back to

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the Black student organizations that they also belong to in order to share information and resources with peers in their racial-ethnic group. Black students who are members of both mainstream and Black culture-specific organizations also report that involvement in mainstream organizations gives them access and visibility with university leadership, which in turn allows them to give voice to Black concerns on campus (Harper & Quaye, 2007).

Still, some Black students at PWIs choose not to engage with cultural or ethnic organizations on campus at all, despite the potential for these organizations to provide students with opportunities to learn more about their culture and connect with others within their ethnic group (Santos et al., 2007). Black students often seek out friendships and campus organizations that have a similar racial make-up to the environment they spent the most time in prior to college (Chavous, 2000). Students who come from predominantly Black environments prior to college are more likely to feel that involvement in Black organizations is vital for their social integration into the university environment. Students who attended predominantly White high schools and lived in predominantly Black neighborhoods report being more comfortable around other Black students but are often already comfortable navigating predominantly White educational environments (Guiffrida, 2007).

Guiffrida (2003) found that the desire to participate in Black student organizations and the results of participating might be different for Black students coming to predominantly White universities from predominantly White neighborhoods and high schools. This concept was supported by Chavous (2000) who found that there is a significant negative relationship between the number of Black people in a student's neighborhood and the number of non-Black culture specific organizations the student joins in college, such that students who had less Black Americans in their neighborhood joined more non-African American organizations. Further,

Black students at PWIs who came from predominantly White home environments can have some difficulty learning to interact with other Black students. Similar to their White peers, their first exposure to Black students and Black culture is often in college. Black students often report experiencing pressure from other Black students to participate in Black student organizations (Guiffrida, 2003; White, 1998). These students report that their same-race peers expect them to understand Black culture and want to immerse themselves in it. In these cases, Black students can experience tension with Black peers and identity conflict, especially in terms of being perceived as "too White" (Guiffrida, 2003). Yet, other Black students who grow up in predominantly White areas and attend PWIs find the experiences of discomfort with Black peers to be enriching, as it leads them to want to connect with and expose themselves to the Black community for the first time (Guiffrida, 2003).

Organization Affiliation and Campus Racial Climate

Chavous (2000) found that students with high perceived ethnic fit, or perceived fit between the college environment and their personal ethnic culture, were involved in more African-American organizations. Students who felt less fit with their environment due to ethnicity joined less African American organizations, but participation in non-race related organizations was not affected. Additionally, students with less race centrality participated in fewer race related organizations and students with higher race centrality joined more African American organizations regardless of perceived ethnic fit. Essentially, students who believe their ethnicity does not fit with the campus environment, and students who do not feel especially connected to their Black identity reported less participation in Black organizations (Chavous, 2000).

Relationships with peers have been shown to be protective factors for Black adolescents who perceive the racial climate at their school to be negative (Golden et al., 2017). Black students' needs are often not met through the mainstream campus environment in terms of feelings of belonging. Black students at PWIs report that creating friendships with other Black students was crucial for their well-being and safety on campus. Relationships with same-ethnic friends can provide students a space for mutual affirmation of their Black identity that they might not get from the mainstream campus environment (Thelamour et al., 2019).

Despite feeling disconnected from the overall campus environment, Black students can attain a sense of belongingness and comfort from culturally specific safe spaces on campus (Thelamour et al., 2019). Ethnicity-based student groups, as well as multicultural centers, and culturally competent mental health professionals can provide safe spaces on college campuses (Museus, 2008). Safe spaces allow marginalized students to escape the prejudices they experience from members of privileged groups (Collins, 1991; Gaines, 2016), and to be themselves authentically and speak openly (Thelamour et al., 2019).

Campus Organizations and Black Identity

Programs that foster identity can add value to the outcomes and experiences of Black students at PWIs (Jenkins, 2001). Racial identity can be enhanced through curricular and cocurricular experiences (Livingston et al., 2010). For example, Chapman-Hilliard et al. (2016) explored connections between academic outcomes and racial-ethnic identity development for students who take culturally empowering courses and found that students who had taken culturally empowering courses reported higher cultural and ethnic identity scores than those who did not. Students who had taken culturally empowering courses also reported higher racial centrality scores and higher intrinsic motivation scores (Chapman-Hilliard et al., 2016). Students

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with higher levels of out-of-class engagement, such as organization involvement, report more advanced racial identity attitudes as well (Taylor & Howard-Hamilton, 1995).

For Black students, organization affiliation can be an avenue for racial-ethnic identity expression (Harper & Quaye, 2007). One of the most popular ways for Black students to be involved on PWI campuses is through Black Greek letter organizations, or fraternities and sororities (Kimbrough, 1995; Sutton & Terrell, 1997, as cited in Patton et al., 2011). For Black men, involvement in Black Greek fraternities during college has been associated with positive outcomes such as greater sense of self-esteem and racial identity (Taylor & Howard-Hamilton, 1995). Greek affiliation for Black men has also been associated with success in college, greater knowledge of Black history, closer bonding with other Black men, and a stronger connection to the campus environment (McClure, 2006). Further, Black men in Black fraternities tend to be more involved in campus and hold more campus leadership positions (Harper & Harris, 2006).

Conclusion

Student organizations have been a part of student life for many years. Student organizations can be categorized as culturally specific using the number of racial-ethnic minorities in the group, or if the purpose of the group directly relates to minority student interests. Organizations that are predominantly White or that focus on university traditions are categorized as mainstream organizations. Student organization participation can lead to various positive outcomes for Black students at PWIs including social support and increased contact with faculty outside of class, particularly when those organizations are supportive of the Black cultural identity or provide a "safe space" for students within the larger PWI environment. Not all Black students choose to join Black student organizations. The decision to join mainstream organizations rather than Black cultural organizations is related to pre-college variables,

particularly contact with other Black people in the neighborhood or at school. Black students who participate in mainstream organizations in conjunction with having leadership roles Black student organizations find that mainstream organizations can provide them access to resources and faculty members that would be otherwise unknown to them.

Racial-Ethnic Identity

Racial identity is "the significance and qualitative meaning that individuals attribute to their membership within [their] racial group within their self-concepts" (Sellers et al., 1998, p. 23). However, racial identity is based on a "socially constructed definition of race that stems from sociopolitical models of oppression for specific groups in society" (Sodowosky et al., 1995, as cited in Santos et al., 2007). Racial identity development is defined as the "process by which individuals develop attitudes and beliefs regarding the significance and meaning of racial group membership" (Seaton et al., 2006). These theories were influenced by developmental models of ego identity such as those created by Erikson (1968) and Marcia (1966).

Ethnic identity can be thought of as of the beliefs and attitudes individuals hold towards their ethnic group (Phinney, 1992) or "an enduring and fundamental aspect of the self-concept that derives from a sense of membership in an ethnic group" (Santos et al., 2007, p. 104). Ethnic identity is also a multidimensional construct that consists of internal elements, such as feelings and thoughts, as well as external elements, such as behaviors. Ethnic identity consists of the emotional significance and value that individuals associate with their ethnic group membership (Tajfel, 1981). The meaning of ethnic identity also includes the beliefs, values, expectations, and behavioral norms that members of a specific group share and are what differentiates groups in society. The meaning of ethnic identity is influenced by various contextual factors including the salience, power, and status of the ethnic group, the level of social acceptance of the group and

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public attitudes of the group in larger society (Phinney, 1996; Sodowosky et al., 1995, as cited in Santos et al., 2007). Finally, ethnic identity is also a dynamic process that changes over time as individuals consider what their racial or ethnic group membership means to them (Helms & Cook, 1999).

In order to understand ethnic identity, the role that race plays in people's lives must be clarified because discrimination is linked to many of the concerns that visible ethnic minorities encounter in this country (Pizarro & Vera, 2001). While racial and ethnic identity can be considered as distinct psychological variables, the influence that they both have on identity formation is often intertwined (Phinney, 1996; Pizarro & Vera, 2001; Smith, 1991). As racial issues such as the oppression of physically distinct groups are better conceptualized in terms of minority/majority status, social scientists suggest that racial identity be encompassed in the overarching construct of ethnic identity (Phinney, 1996; Phinney & Kohatsu, 1997). It is suggested that ethnic identity include but not be limited to race, although for visible minorities, the development of ethnic identity proceeds along racial lines first and ethnic lines second (Smith, 1991). Therefore, the terms racial identity and ethnic identity will be used interchangeably throughout this paper, or combined into the term racial-ethnic identity, in order to refer to the process that Black individuals go through to develop their beliefs and attitudes about both their racial and ethnic groups.

According to Erikson (1950), forming a cohesive identity is a developmental goal for adolescents, however this identity development often becomes central to one's self-definition during late adolescence and extends in to emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2000; Lapsley & Hardy, 2017; Phinney & Alipuria, 1990). Therefore, college campuses are an important setting where

individuals begin to explore their ethnic identity (Santos et al., 2007) and where ethnic identity development, including the development of a racial self-concept occurs (Baber, 2012).

Protective and Risk Factors

Several protective factors have been associated with having a strong racial and ethnic identity including lowered maladaptive perfectionist tendencies (Elion, Wang, Slaney, & French, 2012), as well as mastery, coping skills, and optimism. Racial identity has been shown to be a predictor of self-confidence, self-esteem, and better overall psychological adjustment (Phinney & Alipuria, 1990; Sellers et al., 1998; St. Louis & Liem, 2005). Students who participate in activities associated with their ethnicity, feel a sense of belonging in their ethnic group, and report higher levels of ethnic pride, have higher levels of self-esteem (Phelps, Taylor, & Gerard, 2001; Phinney & Alipura, 1990; Phinney & Chavira, 1992). A secure ethnic identity has also been associated with positive attitudes towards other ethnic groups (Romero & Roberts, 2003). Overall, the underlying assumption is that individuals with positive and well-developed ethnic identities are also able to achieve psychological well-being and healthy personalities (Helms & Cook, 1999; Phinney & Kohatsu, 1997).

Several negative outcomes have been associated with diminished racial identities including decreased self-esteem (Elion et al., 2012s) and imposter syndrome (Lige et al., 2017). Negative or underdeveloped ethnic identity has also been linked to poor psychological functioning in college-age samples (Roberts & Phinney, 1992; Romero & Roberts, 2003), including depression and anxiety (Brittian et al., 2013). Negative or underdeveloped racial identity has been linked to poorer overall adjustment to college, particularly social and academic dissatisfaction (Anglin & Wade, 2007).

First Appearances of Racial-ethnic Identity in Literature

Scholars began to study Black racial identity development in order to better understand the experiences of Black Americans. The topic was a particular area of interest for scholars during the 1960s and 1970s due to various social movements at the time (Harper & Quaye, 2007). For example, given the historical context of oppression for various racial-ethnic groups, and changes in society such as the Civil Rights movement, it is important to analyze the impact that society has on racial identity development and the thought processes associated with developing this identity. This is an important line of inquiry given the psychosocial impact of racial-ethnic identity on individuals in society. The theory of Black racial identity developed by William Cross is not only foundational to the understanding of Black racial identity, but influential in the creation of several other theories and measures, as explored below.

Measurements of Racial-Ethnic Identity

Some of the most widely used assessments of racial-ethnic identity include the Nigrescence Model (Cross, 1971, 1991), The Racial Attitudes Scale (Parham & Helms,1981), The Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (Sellers et al., 1998), (The Multi-Ethnic Identity Measure Phinney 1989, 1992).

Nigrescence Theory (Cross, 1971;1991). The Nigrescence Theory was developed by William Cross in 1971 and is considered to be the seminal Black racial identity development model (Vandiver et al., 2002). While Nigrescence Theory was first considered to be reflective of the "Negro-to-Black conversion experience", such as the behavior changes seen in Black individuals during the Harlem Renaissance, it was later reconceptualized as a re-socializing experience in which individuals transform their non-Afrocentric pre-existing identity into an

Afrocentric identity (Cross, 1991, as cited in Ritchey, 2014). Others have defined this theory as an explanation of the Black consciousness and identity process for Black Americans, or the developmental process of becoming Black (Constantine et al., 1998). Nigrescence is a stage model in which individuals are theorized to move from a negative view of racial identity into a positive view of racial identity (Anglin & Wade, 2007). The initial Nigrescence model consisted of five stages, but stages four and five were later combined into one stage. The original five stages are a.) Pre-Encounter, b.) Encounter, c.) Immersion-Emersion, d.) Internalization and e.) Internalization-Commitment (Cross, 1978).

The first stage, Pre-Encounter, is viewed as the old frame of reference or identity to be changed (Cross, 1978). Individuals in the Pre-Encounter stage do not find their race to be salient, and often focus on other aspects of their identity such as religion, occupation, and lifestyle. In the Pre-Encounter stage, individuals frequently feel alienated from other Black people, and have unknowingly been socialized towards Eurocentric or White westernized ideologies. These individuals tend to feel as if race has minimal impact in their lives and hold attitudes about race that fall on a spectrum from low salience, to race neutrality, to anti-Black (Cross, 1991). The Encounter stage consists of two steps- encounter and personalize. In the encounter step, the individual experiences a social or personal event that disrupts their previous worldview, making them reconsider the way they interpret their racial identity (Cross, 1978, 1991). In the personalize step, the individual begins to take action as a result of the personal event (Ritchey, 2014). Individuals in the Encounter stage come to the realization that their previous identity feels inappropriate and that a new identity seems attractive (Cross, 1978).

During the Immersion-Emersion stage, individuals commit to change. Therefore, they begin to actively construct a new frame of reference which includes the new information they

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During the Immersion-Emersion stage, individuals commit to change. Therefore, they begin to actively construct a new frame of reference which includes the new information they

have about race. In this stage, individuals can experience several strong emotions including guilt, rage, and pride (Cross, 1991). These emotions, particularly rage, are often the catalyst that inspires Black individuals to seek out history, music, and art that are more representative of Black culture (Ritchey, 2014). It is also common for Black individuals to shift from uncritical conformity to White or Eurocentric culture to uncritical conformity to the demands of Black organizations (Cross, 1991). Either-or thinking, such as vilifying White culture while deifying Black culture, is common during the first part of this stage- Immersion. During the Immersion part of the stage, individuals tend to completely withdraw into Black culture. During the Emersion phase, individuals begin to hold more level viewpoints. Anti-White sentiments tend to decline, and individuals are able to consider the strengths as well as the weaknesses of Blackness (Cross, 1978).

Individuals in the Internalization stage are working through the problems and challenges associated with holding a new identity. They tend to start considering how they view themselves as opposed to how others view them (Cross, 1991). This stage signifies a state of conflict resolution between the old and new identities (Cross, 1978). During the Internalization stage, ideological flexibility resumes individuals engage in critical thinking about their newfound racial identity and the ways in which it has shaped their lives (Cross, 1978, 1991). They begin to embrace what it means to be Black and engage in Black self-love (Cross, 1991). During the Internalization-Commitment phase, individuals become interested in the long-term interests of Black affairs (Cross, 1991).

Individuals who reach the Internalization-Commitment phase move past identity acceptance and into social activism. The distinction made between these phases is that individuals in the commitment phase recognize that they must continue to work towards

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resolution of problems that are shared by the group (Black people) in order for their newfound identity to have political significance (Cross, 1978). Cross, Parham, and Helms (1991) incorporated more flexibility into the Nigrescence model by acknowledging the ideological diversity that can be found in people who reach the Internalization/Internalization-Commitment stage. Specifically, individuals can either embrace a "nationalist" view and focus solely on Black liberation while others embrace a "multiculturalist" view and consider Blackness to be one frame of reference among many. A third option is that individuals take on a "biculturalist" stance and learn to emphasize their Blackness and their Americanness equally. Given that individuals can simultaneously hold a variety of attitudes associated with each stage, Helms (1995) suggested that the concept of racial identity stages be thought of as "statuses" instead. This reframing accounts for the dynamic nature of racial identity formation. Further, Helms asserted that each status is associated with behaviors, or schemas, which racial identity measures asses (Thompson, et al., 2000).

Racial Attitudes Identity Scale (RIAS; Parham & Helms, 1996) & Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS; Vandiver, 2000). The majority of racial identity research uses the Racial Attitudes Identity Scale (RIAS; Parham & Helms, 1981). This measure is used to assess for the various racial identity attitudes associated with the Cross model. Each stage or attitude in the Cross (1971) model is associated with a subscale on the RIAS (Phelps et al., 2001; Thompson et al., 2000). However, the RIAS has been criticized for having low construct validity and reliability (Ponterotto & Wise, 1987). Vandiver, et al. (2000) developed a Black racial identity measure that represents the changes made to the Cross theory and attempts to address the concerns about the psychometric properties of the RIAs.

The Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS; Vandiver et al., 2000) is based on three of the four stages in the adjusted Cross (1991) model (pre-encounter, immersion-emersion, and internalization). However, some distinctions and variability have been added to each stage, in that the CRIS measures six racial identity typologies rather than stages. There are three pre-encounter typologies labelled assimilation, miseducation, and self-hatred. The distinction in these typologies helps to display the variety of attitudes that can be found within the pre-encounter identity. Individuals in the assimilation typology de-emphasize their Blackness while emphasizing their overall American identity. Those in the miseducation typology distance themselves from Black identity while endorsing negative stereotypes about Black people. Finally, those in the self-hatred typology devalue Blackness/Black people and idealize Whiteness/White people. Individuals in the immersion-emersion typology are overall characterized by an anti-White attitude. The internalization identity is represented by the typologies of Afrocentricity and multiculturalist-inclusive (Anglin & Wade, 2007).

Those who embrace a multiculturalist-inclusive typology believe other cultural identities are just as important as Blackness, while those who embrace the Afrocentricity typology emphasize the importance of taking an Afrocentric perspective in most aspects of life. Although the revisions of the Cross model exemplified by the CRIS are not explicitly a stage model, there is an underlying assumption that the typologies within the internalized identity (Afrocentricity and multiculturalist-inclusive) are more adaptive or healthier than the typologies within the pre-encounter identity (assimilation, miseducation, self-hatred). This assumption is supported in studies which primarily used the RIAS with Black college student samples.

Studies have shown that pre-encounter racial identity is associated with lack of self-acceptance and self-actualization (Parham & Helms, 1985a) as well as anxiety, feelings of

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inferiority and inadequacy, and hypersensitivity (Parham & Helms, 1985b). Pre-encounter racial

identity has also been connected to depressive symptoms (Carter, 1991; Munford, 1991 as cited

in Anglin & Wade, 2007) and lack of unconditional positive self-regard (Speight et al., 1996).

Conversely, internalized racial identity has been associated with better psychological health than

other racial identity attitudes (Parham & Helms, 1991). Unconditional positive self-regard

(Speight et al., 1996), positive self-esteem (Phelps et al., 2001), and a lack of depressive

symptoms (Munford, 1994 as cited in Anglin & Wade, 2007) have all been associated with

internalized racial identity.

Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI; Sellers et al. 1998). Sellers et al.

(1998) created another frequently used model, the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity

(MMRI). The model includes three stable dimensions- racial centrality, racial regard, and racial

ideology. Similar to Vandiver et al. (2000), ideologies within the MMRI are typified. The

nationalist ideology highlights the importance of being of African descent while the oppressed

minority ideology highlights commonalities between Black Americans and other oppressed

groups in U.S. society. The assimilationist ideology highlights commonalities between Black

Americans and broader society, and the humanist ideology emphasizes commonalities between

all humans. The MMRI model allows for the manifestation of any individual racial ideology to

be different depending on their positions in the racial centrality and racial regard dimensions

(Anglin & Wade, 2007).

Multi-group Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney 1989;1993). The Multi-Group

Ethnic Identity Measure is a commonly used status model of racial-ethnic identity development

which can be used with several groups. Phinney's four status model is similar to the ego identity

models in that it describes four identity stages that individuals can progress through toward a

healthy ethnic identity resolution. Specifically, the original MEIM builds on Marcia's (1966)

four statuses of ego identity development. These four statuses are meant to identify how well an

individual has explored their identity and the level of commitment they have towards a personal

identity. Marcia (1966), and later Phinney (1989) defined the four statuses of identity

development as identity diffusion, identity foreclosure, moratorium, and identity achievement.

Phinney's (1989) statuses described the level of exploration individuals have engaged in

about the meaning of their ethnic group membership and their acceptance of/commitment to the

role of that ethnic group membership in their lives. Individuals in the diffuse stage of personal or

ethnic group identity development have not begun to explore their identity or committed to any

identity. Those in the foreclosed stage have made a commitment to a particular identity without

personal exploration, based on the beliefs and opinions of influential others. Individuals in the

moratorium status are exploring their identity but have not committed to a particular identity.

Finally, those in the identity achievement status have explored the meaning of a particular

identity and committed to it. The diffuse and foreclosed statuses are seen as immature starting

points, the moratorium status is a transitional stage, and identity achievement is considered to be

the optimal stage of a resolved identity. It has been hypothesized that those in the those in the

"mature" achieved status display higher levels of psychological well-being (Phinney, 1993),

while those in the "immature" diffuse and foreclosed statuses have been hypothesized to display

feeling s of low self-regard and inadequacy (Phinney & Kohatsu, 1997).

The first MEIM consisted of four subscales including affirmation and belonging, identity

achievement, ethnic behaviors, and other-group orientation. The identity achievement subscale

contains items that measure both identity commitment and identity exploration as opposed to

separate constructs. Therefore, this subscale is the most relevant to investigate the four statuses

of identity development. Some researchers advocate for the use of a composite score of ethnic identity from this measure (Phinney, 1992; Roberts et al., 1999). Using a composite score allows researchers to classify individuals into the diffuse or achieved statuses, but there has been some confusion in distinguishing between the middle statuses on this distribution (Seaton et al., 2006). Some studies have attempted to use the MEIM composite scores to operationalize ethnic identity statuses, (Bracey et al., 2004; Martinez & Dukes, 1997; Roberts et al., 1999). In Phinney's (1989) study using structured interviews of 60 African American, Asian American, and Latino (10th graders) coders were able to sort some participants into the achieved identity and moratorium status. However, these coders had difficulty distinguishing between diffuse and foreclosed identity status, therefore a new group called the unexamined identity status was developed. Phinney and Chavira's (1992) follow-up study re-interviewed 18 of the former participants. Coders were able to classify the participants into three identity statuses and find evidence of a progression of identity development that was predicted by the conceptual model.

Multiple studies have connected high composite scores on the MEIM to positive outcomes. Several such outcomes include healthy coping habits, high self-esteem, high optimism levels, more positive family relations and peer interactions, high mastery levels, and fewer aggressive behaviors among African American adolescents (Bracey et al., 2004; Martinez & Dukes, 1997; Phinney, 1992; Roberts et al., 1999). Martinez & Dukes (1997) named three ethnic identity status groups (unexamined, achieved, and searching ethnic identity). In this study a positive linear relationship was established between higher composite ethnic identity status scores on the MEIM and psychological well-being.

Racial Identity and Black College Students

Racial identity has been shown to have an impact on adjustment to college. Anglin and Wade (2007) found that less developed racial identities were a negative predictor of overall college adjustment for Black students. In other words, as Black students' endorsement of negative stereotypes about their racial group increases, the poorer their adjustment to college is. It is possible that this negative relationship is more of a threat for students who identify themselves through negative stereotypes about their racial group (Anglin & Wade, 2007).

Experiences that students encounter on college campuses can challenge or affirm their racial identities (Stewart, 2015). The importance and meaning of ethnicity can shift for some students when they enter the college environment (Saylor & Aries, 1999). For example, some Black students first become aware of the implications of what it means to be Black among White peers on PWI campuses (Ritchey, 2014). Although Black students can face numerous obstacles on PWI campuses including academic obstacles, sociocultural challenges, isolation, and racism (Harper & Quaye, 2007), positive racial identity can protect personal development and academic success of Black students by creating confidence in one's ability (Bakari, 1997). Therefore, Black students with a more positive racial identity are more likely to remain in school (Bakari, 1997).

Identity Based on Institution Type

Associations have been made between the salience of racial identity and college type for Black students. Pre-college racial socialization, or knowledge about race that comes from family and friends is associated with higher race salience for students who attend four-year universities (Hurtado et al., 2015). Hurtado et al., 2015 also found that racial identity is more salient for those who attend PWIs than those who attend HBCUs. Racial identity salience is also related to curricular and cocurricular activities that students participate in. Students who engage in

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classwork focused on issues of diversity and equity, or cocurricular activities facilitated by the campus that relate to diversity have higher racial identity salience, even when controlling for pre-college disposition towards these activities. However, it is still possible that students who were already likely to have higher racial salience are the ones who are more likely to engage in these activities (Hurtado et al. 2015).

Racial Identity Salience

White students at both two-year and four-year institutions think about race less often than Black students. Racial identity salience was most strongly associated with being the target of racial discrimination or bias. This could either suggest that being a target of racial discrimination increases an individual's thoughts about their own race, or that individuals who frequently think about their own race are primed to identify racial incidents (Hurtado et al., 2015). Students of color who come from predominantly White communities and do not have much previous connection to their cultural heritage might experience some acculturative stress when they begin to interact with students of the same ethnicity and White students on campus. Interacting with peers within their ethnic group who have a stronger ethnic identity can cause some students to "realize how little they understood about how their native ethnicity had shaped who they had become" (Santos et al., 2007, p. 110).

Racial Identity and Campus Climate

Studies have shown a negative correlation between racial identity and overall adjustment to college for Black students (Anglin & Wade, 2007). These factors are also negatively related to the perception of a hostile campus climate (Santos et al., 2007). The way that students experience their ethnicity and react to prejudice is affected by whether or not the campus is

perceived as ethnically threatening. Negative ethnic attitudes are likely to be maintained when there is a lack of positive inter-ethnic contact on campus (Wright & Littleford, 2002). Black students who feel strongly identified with their race often feel less connected to their college campus (Parker & Flowers, 2003; Thelamour et al., 2019) and have less overall satisfaction with the university experience than Black students who do not strongly identify with their race (Jenkins, 2001). At PWIs, Black students who strongly identify with being Black experience more discrimination and anti-Black prejudice from White professors, staff, and peers than Black students who do not have strong Black identities (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Black students who feel positively about their racial identity but perceive that staff, administrators, teachers, and peers on their university campus regard the Black race negatively can begin to feel disconnected from the university community (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009).

PWI campuses often operate under the melting pot theory, meaning that everyone is expected to conform to the White middle-class mainstream value structure. However, this climate is not conducive to individuals whose identities are not White and/or middle-class (Bakari, 1997). Discriminatory experiences that often occur on college campuses can threaten the racial identity development of Black students. These experiences also shape Black students' perceptions of campus climate (Chavous et al., 2018). As the mainstream campus environment is often responsible for perpetuating discrimination, connectedness with peers from the same racial background can have a positive psychological impact on Black students at PWIs (Yoon et al., 2012). While studies have shown that there is a negative association between racial identity and social connectedness to the overall college campus, it is possible that participating in same ethnic group friendships can help Black students feel a sense of belongingness and safety that they might not otherwise experience. In other words, although Black students might not feel

connected to the dominant campus culture, having a strong racial identity can help them feel connected to other Black students on campus and facilitate a sense of belongingness on campus by other means (Thelamour et al., 2019).

Racial-Ethnic Identity and Academic Performance

It is difficult to determine whether strong Black racial-ethnic identity has a negative or positive impact on the academic performance and investment of Black students due to inconsistencies in the literature. While many researchers have found no relationship between academic achievement and ethnic identity (Allen, 1985; Gurin & Epps, 1975; Smith, 1991; as cited in Jenkins, 2001), others have found positive relationships between ethnic identity and academic achievement for Black students (Sellers et al., 1998; as cited in Jenkins, 2001). Jenkins (2001) found a positive relationship between a strong African American identity and GPA but a negative relationship between a strong African American identity and general satisfaction with the college experience. Specifically, students who have a strong African American identity, who have experienced rejection or discrimination on campus, who perceive the university to be uncommitted to the concerns of students of color, and who view the campus racial climate as tense and full of conflict, report low satisfaction with their overall university experience (Jenkins, 2001).

Conclusion

Racial-ethnic identity refers to the beliefs that individuals hold about what it means to be a member of their racial or ethnic group. For Black people in the U.S. the concepts of race and ethnicity are often intertwined due to historical contexts and treatment from others. This can be especially salient on PWI campuses. Several tools have been created to measure racial-ethnic

identity. The first measure of Black racial identity was introduced as a stage model where individuals are thought to progress through various identity stages in pursuit of a more advanced Black racial identity. Later scholars have considered the concept of a status model, rather than a stage model, given the complexity of racial attitudes and the potential for individuals to hold thoughts that are characteristic of multiple stages at once. More advanced racial-ethnic identity is associated with multiple positive outcomes including increased self-esteem and better overall psychological functioning. Racial identity development is an important task of adolescence for racial-ethnic minorities, and this process typically continues into college. Racial identity has been shown to be related to the construct of racial socialization (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Marshall, 1995; Sanders-Thompson, 1994; Stevenson, 1994). Racial-ethnic socialization will be explored below.

Racial-Ethnic Socialization

The concept of racial socialization first appeared in the literature in the early 1989s. Black parents expressed a concern that their children would encounter barriers in society due to discrimination and stereotyping, therefore they engaged in efforts to promote prepare children for bias, promote higher self-esteem, and instill racial pride (Peters & Massey, 1983; Richardson, 1982; Spencer, 1983; Tatum, 1987). In the 1990s the concept of racial and ethnic socialization became more widespread and applied in studies of various racial and ethnic groups. For example, it was discovered that recent immigrants to the United States take measures to ensure that their children learn and maintain their native language and cultural values (Rodriguez & Sanchez-Korrol, 1996; Waters, 1994, 1999).

Both racial socialization and ethnic socialization refer to the transfer of information about race and ethnicity from adults to children. These terms can refer to separate phenomena in

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different groups. For example, racial socialization is most often used in reference to the way that African Americans parents maintain the self-esteem of their children and prepare them to face systemic barriers imposed by racism in society (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Peters, 2002; Spencer, 1983; Tatum, 1987). Ethnic socialization research originated in the study of Asian and Latino Americans, and occasionally African and Caribbean groups in the U.S. This research largely focused on the cultural retention, in-group affiliation, and identity achievement of children within these groups, as well as the competing pressure to assimilate to the dominant culture that they might experience (Knight, Bernal, Cota et al., 1993; Knight, Bernal, Garza et al., 1993; Ou & McAdoo, 1993; Quintana & Vera, 1999).

There is considerable overlap in these two concepts. The term racial socialization is still used most often in research of African Americans, the current conceptualization has expanded to include efforts to instill knowledge and pride about African Americans, discussions about discrimination and how to cope with it, exposure to cultural practices, and strategies for success in mainstream society (Hughes et al., 2006). The concept of ethnic socialization has since been applied to various groups and covers similar concepts. Therefore, racial-ethnic socialization can be defined as the transmission of beliefs, values, and information about race and ethnicity (Hughes et al., 2006). Ethnic-racial socialization is commonly used as it is inclusive of all minority groups and refers to "a wide range of issues from assimilation through psychological and physical separation" (Small, 2016, p. 2). Given the lack of consensus in the literature about when either term should be used as well as the significant overlap between concepts, the terms racial-ethnic socialization or simply racial socialization will be used interchangeably for the remainder of this paper.

Common Themes of Racial-Ethnic Socialization

Four common themes frequently emerge in racial-ethnic socialization research. These themes, or dimensions, include preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, cultural socialization, and egalitarianism (Hughes et al., 2006). Cultural socialization includes parental practices that implicitly or deliberately encourage children's cultural, ethnic, and racial pride, promote cultural traditions and customs, and teach children about their racial or ethnic history and heritage (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Hughes et al., 2006; Hughes & Chen, 1999). Such practices could include exposing children to culturally relevant stories, music, artifacts, and books, eating ethnic foods, celebrating cultural holidays, talking about historical or cultural figures, and encouraging children to use their native language (Hughes et al., 2006). Cultural socialization is prevalent in many families. Most parents report engaging in cultural socialization by promoting cultural traditions, cultural knowledge, and cultural pride at some point (Hughes et al., 2006). Cultural socialization appears to be one of the more salient aspects of racial-ethnic socialization, as parents in several studies report engaging in cultural socialization more frequently than other (aspects) such as preparation for bias (Caughy et al., 2002; Hughes & Chen, 1999; Phinney & Chavira, 1995).

Preparation for bias refers to efforts that parents take to promote awareness of discrimination in their children and prepare them to cope with it (Hughes et al., 2006; Hughes & Chen, 1999). Discussions of discrimination are a common theme in studies of parental socialization practices that indicate preparation for bias socialization practices (Tatum, 1987; Urciuoli, 1996; Ward, 1991), however it appears to be less salient for many parents than cultural socialization, as it is mentioned less often when parents are asked about their racial-ethnic socialization practices. Preparation for bias is more prevalent among Black parents than those in other racial and ethnic groups (Biafora et al., 1993; Hughes, 2003, Hughes & Chen, 1997, 1999;

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Phinney & Chavira, 1995). It is possible that for Black parents, preparation for bias could be a child-rearing strategy that has been passed down intergenerationally due to historical oppression (Ward, 1991).

Promotion of mistrust refers to practices that parents engage in to emphasize the need for distrust and wariness in interracial interactions (Hughes et al., 2006; Hughes & Chen, 1999). Parents can communicate mistrust to children by cautioning them about barriers to success that they might encounter due to their race or ethnicity, or by warning children about other racial groups (Hughes et al., 2006). These messages are distinct from messages about preparation for bias as they do not contain advice for managing or coping with discrimination (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Johnson, 2001). Both of these socialization messages tend to increase as children get older, possibly in relation to children's experiences with discrimination and shifting cognitions about race (Hughes et al., 2006).

Messages of egalitarianism and silence about race are communicated when parents explicitly encourage children to value individual qualities above racial or ethnic group membership, or avoid discussion of race at all (Spencer, 1983). Boykin and Toms (1985) refer to these practices as mainstream socialization. Egalitarianism and silence about race orient children toward developing characteristics and skills needed to thrive in the dominant, or mainstream, culture, rather than orienting them toward their native culture or minority status (Boykin & Toms, 1985). Emphasizing the value of hard work, equality, and self-acceptance are egalitarianism socialization strategies commonly used by Black parents which can orient children toward the mainstream (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Marshall, 1995). Egalitarianism, along with cultural socialization, is most commonly mentioned by parents when asked open-ended questions about their racial-ethnic socialization strategies (Hughes et al., 2006).

Factors That Influence Socialization Messages

Several contextual and demographic factors influence parental practices regarding racial-ethnic socialization. Demographic factors that can influence parental socialization practices are the child's age and gender, as well as the parents' socioeconomic status, immigration status, and racial-ethnic identity. Contextual factors that can influence racial-ethnic socialization practices are the discrimination experiences of the parent or child, as well as the neighborhood or region that the family lives in (Hughes et al., 2006). The racial-ethnic socialization messages that parents communicate to children shift over time according to the cognitive abilities that children develop over time and the experiences of discrimination they might recognize as they get older (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Umana-Taylor & Fine, 2004). Adolescents may be more likely to initiate conversations about race and bias with their parents due to their increased ability to reflect on their experiences, the increased likelihood that they will encounter discrimination, and their personal identity seeking processes (Hughes & Johnson, 2001). Some studies have shown that parents might change their strategies of racial-ethnic socialization as children age (Hughes et al., 2006).

Given that ethnic and racial minority boys are more likely to be perceived as threatening than racial and ethnic minority girls (Stevenson et al., 2002), the racial-ethnic socialization messages they receive from parents are often different (Brown & Krishnakumar, 2007). Some studies with African American samples have shown that girls are more likely to receive messages regarding racial pride while boys are more likely to receive messages regarding racial barriers (Hughes et al., 2006; Stevenson et al., 2002). Bowman and Howard (1985) found that girls are more likely to report that their parents emphasized cultural pride or that their parents did not teach them about racial status. However, boys were more likely to report that their parents

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emphasized racial barriers and egalitarianism (as cited in Hughes, Rodriguez, Smith, et al., 2006). Thomas and Speight (1999) found that parents also report emphasizing pride and achievement to girl children and emphasizing strategies for coping with racism and negative stereotyping to boys (as cited in Hughes et al., 2006). Stevenson et al. (2002) found that girls report receiving more egalitarian messages when they live in culturally diverse neighborhoods, but boys report receiving more egalitarian messages when they live in predominantly Black neighborhoods. Additionally, girls report receiving more egalitarian messages when they have not had personal experiences of being the target of racism (Stevenson, et al., 2002). Conversely, other studies have found no significant differences in the racial-ethnic socialization messages that each gender receives (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Phinney & Chavira, 1995; Scott, 2003; Thompson et al., 2000).

The type and frequency of racial-socialization messages that parents communicate is also associated with their immigrant status. The perspectives about what cultural knowledge is important to pass on to children and what ethnic group membership means are likely to shift with the length of time that individuals from immigrant groups spend in the U.S. (Hughes, Rodriguez, Smith, et al., 2006). Recent immigrants are more likely to engage in cultural socialization practices with their children than those who have been in the U.S. longer (Knight, Bernal, Garza, et al., 1993; Umana-Taylor & Fine, 2004). More recent immigrants also discuss discrimination with their children more often than those who have been in the U.S. longer (Knight, Bernal, Garza, et al., 1993). Additionally, Black parents' communication of preparation for bias messages are significantly associated with their own experiences of discrimination, and their promotion of mistrust messages are associated with experiences of institution-level discrimination at work, particularly for parents of children aged 9-12 years old (Hughes & Chen,

1997). Experiences of discrimination within the community also predicted preparation for bias messages, particularly for parents with children aged 10-14 years old (Hughes, 2003). Finally, adolescents who reported that a family member had experienced discrimination also reported receiving higher levels of cultural socialization than those without similar experiences with discrimination (Stevenson et al., 2002).

Socioeconomic background and educational history can also influence the racial socialization messages that parents communicate to their children, as differences in these experiences are likely to result in differences in experiences as well as ideas about race and ethnicity. Parents with higher SES report more racial-ethnic socialization than parents with lower SES (Hughes et al., 2006). Preparation for bias and cultural socialization are higher among parents who have managerial and professional jobs (Hughes & Chen, 1997), as well as parents with more years of schooling and higher incomes (Caughy et al., 2002; McHale et al., 2006). Higher income parents are also more likely to provide an Afrocentric home environment than lower income parents (Caughy et al., 2002). When both income and education are considered, middle SES parents are less likely to focus on egalitarian messages and more likely to focus on mistrust and discrimination (Caughy et al., 2002; Thornton, 1997).

As regions and neighborhoods can vary in terms of racial composition, racial history, and patterns of intergroup relations, parents' racial socialization messages can also be influenced by these differences (Hughes, Rodriguez, Smith, et al., 2006). Studies have found more preparation for bias in integrated neighborhoods (Stevenson, McNeil, Herrero-Taylor, & Davis, 2005; Thornton, et al., 1990) than predominantly White neighborhoods (Caughy et al., 2005) or predominantly Black neighborhoods (Stevenson, Herrero-Taylor, et al., 2002). Parents' racial-ethnic identity, particularly the dimensions of ethnic identity such as regard, ideology, and

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centrality can influence their racial-ethnic socialization practices (Sellers et al., 1997). Parents who have high centrality for race or ethnicity and parents who have low public regard could particularly likely to discuss discrimination with their children. Parents with high private regard and high centrality could be likely to communicate messages about racial or ethnic group pride to their children (Hughes, Rodriguez, Smith, et al., 2002). Parents with greater attachment to their ethnic group are more likely to emphasize cultural socialization messages than those with lower attachment (Hughes, 2003; Knight, Bernal, Cota, et al., 1993; Thomas & Speight, 1999, as cited in Hughes et al., 2006). The relationship between parents' cultural socialization practices and ethnic identity were more pronounced for parents of 10-17-year-old children than for parents of 6-9-year-old children (Hughes, 2003).

Different sources of socialization

Children most commonly receive racial-ethnic socialization from communication with parents and caregivers (Priest et al., 2014), but other sources can provide racial socialization as well. Societal figures such as teachers, counselors, doctors, and police, as well as the media, justice, and health systems (Stevenson, 1998, 2003). The sources of racial socialization can fluctuate with age. Peers, mentors, and other adults frequently contribute to the racial socialization process as well, particularly for college students. Community and neighborhood context can also provide a source of racial socialization (Priest et al., 2014).

*Ways Racial-Ethnic Socialization Has Been Measure*d

Racial-ethnic socialization has been measured in many ways over the years. As new developments within the racial-ethnic socialization literature appear, adjustments are made to existing measures and at times new measures are created. One researcher, H.C. Stevenson, has

been foundational in the measurement of racial-ethnic socialization by creating and influencing the creation of multiple measures.

Scale of Racial Socialization (SORS; Stevenson, 1994) & Scale of Racial Socialization for Adolescents (SORS-A; Stevenson, 1994). The Scale of Racial Socialization for Adolescents (SORS-A; Stevenson, 1994) was developed to evaluate the racial socialization beliefs of African American adolescents. A similar measure was also created for parents (the Scale of Racial Socialization- SORS). This was one of the first scales to approach racial socialization with a multidimensional view of the African American experience and combine the current themes in the literature (at the time) about cultural values transmission and the reported strengths of the African American family (Stevenson, 1994). The SORS-A was designed to assess the degree of acceptance that adolescents have towards racial socialization attitudes and messages about race that they received during their upbringing. There are 45 items in the measure which relate to several key areas relevant to Black family functioning such as racism and society, African American pride and heritage, extended family, spirituality, and perception of education (Stevenson, 1994).

Participants respond to the items using a 5-point Likert scale. The SORS-A uses a four-factor model for measurement and interpretation of racial socialization beliefs. The factors include Spiritual and Religious Coping (SRC), Extended Family Caring (EFC), Cultural Pride Reinforcement (CPR), and Racism Awareness Teaching (RAT). The SRC factor includes items about recognizing the role of spirituality in one's life and the EFC factor includes items that promote the role of immediate and extended family in child-rearing. The CPR factor includes items promoting teaching Black culture and history to children and the RAT factor focuses on promoting caution and preparatory views about the presence of racism in society. An overall

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Global Racial Socialization factor was also established. The SRC, EFC, and CPR factors are associated with the higher factor of proactive racial socialization, or child-rearing practices and beliefs that promote cultural empowerment. The RAT factor is associated with the higher order factor of protective racial socialization, or child-rearing practices that promote awareness of societal oppression (Stevenson et al., 2002).

The SORS-A is one of the earlier measures of racial socialization and it set itself apart from other measures at the time because it assessed the perspective of adolescents instead of just parents and it was the first measure to apply factor analysis to the concept of racial socialization. Previous measures typically only consisted of one to five items. The SORS-A set the stage for future racial socialization measures and brought up several important concepts such as the possibility of assessing the views of both parents and youth in order to compare the responses from each group. Additionally, this measure showed the complexity of racial socialization (Stevenson, 1994).

Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale (TERS; Stevenson, 1994) & Parental Racial Socialization Scale (PERS; Stevenson, 1994). Stevenson also developed another scale to assess racial-ethnic socialization from a different angle. The Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale and the Parental Racial Socialization Scale (Stevenson, 1994) were created to measure how often parents engage in racial socialization practices (PERS) and how often an individual receives racial socialization messages (TERS). This measure takes parental perspectives on socialization into consideration and assesses the racial socialization practices of both youth and parents (Small, 2016). The TERS was developed due to a realization that the beliefs and experiences of adolescents might be two different phenomena. Specifically, the previous measure, the SORS-A measures the beliefs that individuals hold about racial-ethnic

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socialization, but the TERS is intended to measure their racial-ethnic socialization experiences (Stevenson et al., 2002).

Several factors in this measure mirror factors found in previous studies of the parental perspectives of racial socialization, such as the Cultural Socialization, Promotion of Mistrust, and Preparation for Bias factors found in Hughes and Chen's (1997) study. The measure incorporates the four common dimensions of racial-ethnic socialization through five factors. In the Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale, Stevenson et al. (2002) divided the dimension of cultural socialization into two factors- cultural appreciation of legacy and cultural pride reinforcement. The dimension of egalitarianism is reflected in the TERS factor of cultural endorsement of the mainstream and the promotion of mistrust dimension is reflected by the cultural coping with antagonism factor (Small, 2016). A composite global racial socialization factor, called the Cultural Socialization Experience (CULTRS) factor was also established. In the initial validation study, Stevenson et al. (2002) established that racial socialization beliefs and experiences are related, but they are different.

Adolescent Racial and Ethnic Socialization Scale (ARESS; Brown & Krishnakumar, 2007) & Cultural and Racial Experiences of Racial Socialization Scale (CARES; Bentley-Edwards & Stevenson, 2015). Additional racial socialization measures have been created based on the TERS. One such example is the Adolescent Racial and Ethnic Socialization Scale (ARESS; Brown & Krishnakumar, 2007). The authors use items from the TERS in conjunction with qualitative findings from Coard et al. (2004) to create a measure that has 17 items assessing racial socialization and 25 items assessing ethnic socialization. Similar to the TERS, the focus of the ARESS is the frequency of messages Black adolescents receive from parents and caregivers. The ARESS consists of three dimensions- promotion of cross-racial

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relationships, coping with racism and discrimination, and racial barrier awareness. The promotion of mistrust dimension, as well as the negative connotations of assimilation that are tied to the endorsement of mainstream dimension are missing from this measure. Further, items that are identified as cultural socialization in other measures are labelled as ethnic socialization and made specific to the African American community (Bentley-Edwards & Stevenson, 2015).

Another example of a newer racial-ethnic socialization measure that builds on items from the TERS is the Cultural and Racial Experiences of Socialization (CARES; Bentley-Edwards & Stevenson, 2015). This measure was created in an attempt to evolve with the shifts in U.S. racial dynamics, which could in turn create nuances in the racial socialization process for Black children, adolescents, and emerging adults. This measure pulls from a slightly different definition of racial socialization which is "the transmission and acquisition of intellectual, affective, and behavioral skills towards the protection and affirmation of racial self-efficacy (Bentley-Edwards & Stevenson, 2015). The concept of racial self-efficacy which is accounted for in this measure covers five psychosocial contexts including stereotype reproduction, identity development, relationship engagement, information and knowledge processing, and styles expression. According to Bentley-Edwards and Stevenson (2015), negotiation and reappraisal of stressful racial/ethnic encounters take place within these dimensions. This measure attempts to further embrace multidimensionality by assessing for potentially negative or contradictory racial-ethnic socialization messages that individuals might receive.

Protective and Risk Factors

Similar to racial-ethnic identity, several positive outcomes have been connected to racial-ethnic socialization. For example, greater academic achievement (Anglin & Wade, 2007; Neblett et al., 2006) and lower depressive symptoms (Bannon et al., 2009; Dunbar, Perry, Cavanaugh, & Leerkes, 2015). Studies have even shown that specific racial-ethnic socialization messages are associated with specific outcomes. For example, positive academic outcomes (Caughy et al., 2002), positive self-esteem (Constantine & Blackmon, 2002), and positive mental health outcomes (Fischer & Shaw, 1999; Stevenson et al., 1997), have been associated with messages that emphasize racial pride and learning about one's culture and heritage. Hughes et al. (2006) noted that these findings are similar across age groups.

Racial Socialization and Racial Identity

Several studies have demonstrated the protective factors of a positive racial identity (Chatman et al., 2005; Oyserman et al., 2001). Interest in studying racial socialization has increased over time due to researcher curiosity about the connections between racial socialization and racial identity. Racial-ethnic identity is one of the most commonly studied outcomes of racial-ethnic socialization, likely because many messages of racial-ethnic socialization are focused on instilling group knowledge and pride in children (Hughes et al., 2006). Cultural socialization has been found to facilitate favorable in-group attitudes and knowledge about their ethnic-racial group in children (Hughes et al., 2006). The children of Black parents who report more racial-ethnic socialization are more likely to express racial identity views that are more advanced according to Cross's (1991) model of racial identity. Specifically, these children's views are characteristic of the "encounter" stage in which they question allegiance to the worldview of the dominant culture (Marshall, 1995).

In several studies, cultural socialization has been associated with more advanced stages of identity development and identity exploration as well as more group-oriented behaviors and more positive group attitudes among Black and Mexican adults and adolescents (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Stevenson, 1995; Umana-Taylor & Fine, 2004). Preparation for bias has also been associated with identity development. Adolescents who have stronger beliefs about the importance of teaching racism display more advanced stages of racial-ethnic identity development (Stevenson, 1995). However, upon reviewing the National Survey of Black Americans from 1979-1980, Demo & Hughes (1990) did not find significant differences in ethnic identity among those who received messages about egalitarianism, those who received messages about discrimination, and those who did not receive any racial-ethnic socialization messages.

Racial-ethnic socialization messages can impact academic outcomes among adolescents and children of color. For example, preparation for bias could make adolescents less vulnerable to negative stereotypes about their racial or ethnic group's intellectual capabilities and therefore influence their achievement and performance (Steele & Aronson, 1998). Black students who were exposed to a curriculum that encouraged them to view academic achievement as an important component of their identity reported higher grades and fewer school absences than their counterparts who were not exposed to the cultural identity affirming curriculum (Oyserman, et al., 2001). Bowman & Howard (1985) found that youths who were taught about racial barriers in society earned better grades than youths who were not taught anything about race. However, this finding was not supported when various demographic, protective, and risk factors were controlled for, as Miller and MacIntosh (1999) did not find any significant relationships between grades and views about racial-ethnic socialization.

Psychosocial outcomes and self-esteem can also be influenced by racial-ethnic socialization. Cultural socialization messages have largely been found to be protective, as adolescents who received messages of cultural socialization along with preparation for bias messages reported lower levels of fighting (Stevenson, Herrero-Taylor, et al., 2002). Self-esteem is highly sensitive to the expectation that one will experience discrimination (Branscombe et al., 1999), thus it is likely that racial-ethnic socialization that leads individuals to believe that they will experience discrimination and unfair treatment could be associated with lowered self-esteem (Hughes et al., 2006). Constantine and Blackmon (2002) found associations between various parental socialization messages and self-esteem outcomes. Specifically, cultural socialization was associated with higher peer self-esteem and preparation for bias as well as cultural association were associated with higher family self-esteem. However, egalitarianism was associated with lower school self-esteem (Constantine & Blackmon, 2002).

When parents only focus on discrimination in their socialization messages, there is the potential for maladaptive consequences, especially for boys. Specifically, Black boys with higher global racial-ethnic socialization scores reported more frequent sad mood and hopelessness than Black boys with lower global racial-ethnic socialization scores. Conversely, girls with higher global racial socialization scores reported less frequent hopelessness and sad mood (Stevenson, 1997; Stevenson et al., 1997). Therefore, overemphasis on discrimination during racial-ethnic socialization can have negative outcomes for adolescents, particularly when these socialization messages lead them to mistrust others and expect discrimination (Hughes, Rodriguez, Smith, et al., 2006).

One of the main functions of racial-ethnic socialization is in enabling individuals to recognize and cope with discrimination (Spencer, 1983). While it is intuitive that preparation for

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bias would be particularly useful with this task, other messages can influence coping with discrimination as well. Cultural socialization can strengthen resilience against discrimination due to its influence on ethnic identity and self-esteem (Branch & Newcombe, 1986; Spencer, 1983). However, egalitarian messages, specifically those associated with equality and appreciation of all groups could socialize individuals to expect equal treatment and therefore leave them unprepared to face discrimination (Spencer, 1983).

Mixed reports have been associated with preparation for bias socialization messages. Some adolescents whose parents discuss discrimination have demonstrated more effective or proactive strategies for coping with discrimination such as seeking support and direct problem-solving strategies (Phinney & Chavira, 1995; Scott, 2003). Exposure to discrimination is only significantly associated with poorer mental health outcomes for adolescents who have not received any racial-ethnic socialization from their parents, meaning that racial-ethnic socialization can be a protective factor against exposure to discrimination (Fisher & Shaw, 1999). However, other studies have shown that Black youths who received more racial-ethnic socialization from their parents report feeling more stigmatized than their counterparts who received less racial-ethnic socialization. This outcome is especially true for individuals who received conflicting racial-ethnic socialization messages (Brega & Coleman, 1999).

Racial Socialization and College Students

The protective factors associated with racial-ethnic socialization are especially important for college students, many of whom are away from home for the first time. Brown, (2008) found that racial socialization, particularly messages that instill cultural pride and messages that emphasize the importance of coping through struggles, is positively associated with resiliency in Black college students. Researchers have found that racial socialization messages that

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emphasize difficulties associated with racism provide college students with a buffer against perceptions of discrimination (Fischer & Shaw, 1999). Receiving racial socialization messages that instill pride in African heritage as a child also appears to be related to the ability to experience academic adjustment in college. Specifically, cultural pride related messages were found to be associated with having a sense of purpose in college and satisfaction with academic courses and performance (Anglin & Wade, 2007).

Conclusion

Racial-ethnic socialization refers to the process that parents of color engage in as they "try to teach their children how to live in a society in which they may feel estranged" (Small, 2016, p. 2). In particular, Black parents engage in these practices to equip their children with socio-emotional protection against racial discrimination (Hughes, 2003). Research shows there are benefits to receiving cultural pride and preparation for bias racial socialization for children, adolescents, and college students (Anglin & Wade, 2007; Brown, 2008; Spencer, 1983).

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study was to explore the relationships between racial socialization, racial identity, and campus organization affiliation for Black college students, and to determine how each of these factors impacts their perceptions of campus climate. This chapter describes the methodologies used for this study. First, the theory and paradigm used to construct the selection of variables and order of inclusion within the conceptual model (see Figure 1) are discussed. Next, the research questions and associated hypotheses for the study are presented. Finally, the recruitment of participants, measures used in the study, and statistical design are discussed at the end of this chapter. The original intent was to test the conceptual model via structural equation modeling techniques. Due to unforeseen constraints, given the COVID-19 pandemic, modifications to the data collection plan were made which also affected the planned analyses. As such, multiple regression analyses tested the research questions described in Chapter IV.

Theoretical Underpinning of the Model

The relationship between the variables of racial socialization, racial identity, campus organization affiliation, and campus climate perception were analyzed with consideration to the Symbolic Interactionism Theory (Blumer, 1969) and the Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (Spencer, 1995). Symbolic Interactionism helps explain the impact that interactions with other people can have on Black students' perceptions of themselves and the campus environment. Whereas Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory speaks to the individual and/or protective factors that mitigate Black students from enduring negative

outcomes because of the environment; in that, some students attain resilience despite heightened risk. Both theories align to help explain the reactions that Black students have to potential risk factors they may be exposed to on a PWI campus. Specifically, Black students' choices of campus organization affiliation can demonstrate reactions to potentially distressing environments, as well facilitate new spaces for symbolic interaction to occur. As such, racial socialization was hypothesized to influence an individual's racial identity, organization affiliation, and subsequent perceptions of campus climate, as noted in the research questions.

Research Questions, Hypotheses, Rationale, and Analyses

The primary research questions for this study were based on the hypothesized relationships between racial-ethnic socialization messages and campus outcomes including organization affiliation, perceptions of general campus climate and perceptions of campus racial climate, as shown in the conceptual model. Racial-ethnic identity was hypothesized to be a mediator between these variables. See Chapter IV for a detailed explanation of the adjustments to the analyses of these relationships. The following research questions were explored.

Research Question 1

Do Black students' organization affiliation influence their perceptions of general campus climate?

Theory-Based Expected Outcome 1 This research question was tested by performing a regression analysis of the path between campus organization affiliation and perception of general campus climate. It was expected that the regression would be significant and that there would be a positive relationship between perceptions of campus climate based on campus organization

affiliation. This means that Black students affiliated with culturally-specific campus organizations would have a more positive perception of campus climate.

Rationale 1: Organization participation promotes feelings of belonging and connectedness to campus, as students in organizations get a chance to form close relationships with like-minded peers. Organization involvement can also help to connect students with faculty members which increases their perceptions of support on campus (Patton, Bridges & Flowers, 2011). These factors can contribute to overall positive feelings towards the campus.

Analysis 1: A significant test of the regression path between campus affiliation and campus climate at the $p < .05$ level would have indicated that the research hypothesis was supported.

Research Question 2

Do Black students' perceptions of racial campus climate predict general campus climate?

Theory-Based Expected Outcome 2 It was expected that the regression would not be significant between campus racial climate and the perception of general campus climate.

Rationale 2: The combination of factors that influence the perceptions of campus racial climate can be different from the combination of factors that influence the overall perceptions of general campus climate. It is possible that students can have negative or discriminatory experiences which will contribute to a negative perception of the campus racial climate, but still feel an overarching connection to the university due to various other factors. According to PVEST theory, individuals in the same environment can experience different outcomes due to the personal risk and protective factors that each one has.

Analysis 2: A non-significant test of the regression path between racial climate and general campus climate at the *p < .05* level would have indicated that the research hypothesis was supported.

Research Questions 3a-c

Is there a relationship between Black students' receipt of each type of racial socialization prior to attending college and their current perceptions of campus racial climate?

Theory-Based Expected Outcome 3a: It was predicted that there would be a negative relationship between preparation for bias prior to attending college and perceptions of campus racial climate for Black students; in that, more bias messages would lead to negative perceptions of racial climate.

Rationale 3a: Students who have been socialized to recognize and understand experiences of racial bias may be more critical of racial interactions on campus.

Theory-Based Expected Outcome 3b: It was predicted that there would be a negative relationship between cultural socialization prior to attending college and perceptions of campus racial climate for Black students; in that, more cultural pride messages (cultural socialization) would lead to negative perceptions of racial climate.

Rationale 3b: Students who have been socialized to value the Black culture and heritage at home may notice a lack of cultural support on campus; thus, decreasing their perception of positive campus racial climate.

Theory-Based Expected Outcome 3c: It was predicted that there would be a positive relationship between egalitarian beliefs prior to attending college and perceptions of campus

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racial climate for Black students; in that, more egalitarian messages will lead to positive perceptions of racial climate.

Rationale 3c: Students who have been socialized toward survival in the dominant or mainstream culture may not notice or be affected by incidents of bias on campus.

Analysis 3a-c: A significant test of the regression paths between each socialization type and campus racial climate at the $p < .05$ level will indicate that the research hypothesis is supported.

Research Question 4a-d:

Does racial identity mediate the relationship between types of racial socialization and certain campus-based experiences?

a. Does racial identity mediate the relationship between cultural pride and perceptions of campus racial climate?

b. Does racial identity mediate the relationship between preparation for bias and perceptions of campus racial climate?

c. Does racial identity mediate the relationship between cultural pride and campus organization affiliation?

d. Does racial identity mediate the relationship between preparation for bias and campus organization affiliation?

Theory-Based Expected Outcome 4: It was predicted that racial identity would mediate the relationship between racial socialization and campus-based experiences.

**Theory-Based Expected Outcomes 4a&b*:* It was predicted that racial identity would mediate the relationship between racial socialization and campus climate perceptions.

Rationale 4a&b: Students may have heard certain messages about racial group membership at home, but racial identity speaks more to the buy-in that students have towards those messages. Students can make different decisions about their racial identity based on their own experiences and interpretations of the messages from their parents. The students' racial identity acts as the lens that they perceive interactions on-campus through.

Theory-Based Expected Outcome 4c&d: It was predicted that racial identity would mediate the relationship between racial socialization and campus organization affiliation.

Rationale 4c&d: Students experience ongoing racial identity development as they matriculate through college. Racial identity can possibly act as a filter between the messages that students received from their parents and the beliefs that they have internalized. Racial identity, or their beliefs about their racial group, will ultimately influence their behaviors associated with organization involvement.

Analysis 4a-d: A significant test of the regression paths between each socialization type and each campus-based experience at the $p < .05$ level would have indicated that the research hypothesis was supported.

Participants

The participants in the study were students who self-identified as African American or Black and are pursuing an undergraduate degree at Texas A&M University. As of Fall 2018, there were 2,173 students enrolled at Texas A&M University who identify as Black. This is 3.39% of the total school population. There was a disproportionate amount of male (47%, $n =$

1,021) and female (53%, $n = 1,152$) students enrolled who identified as Black. The goal was to have similar proportions in the participants of this study. Using Preacher and Coffman's (2006) sample size computation tool with an alpha of .05, power of .8 and 28 degrees of freedom, it was determined that a sample size of 87 students would be necessary. Additionally, a general rule of thumb is that there be at least 10 participants per estimated path (Nunnally, 1967 as cited in Westland, 2010). Therefore, the goal was a minimum sample size of 150 participants.

Procedure

Participants were recruited through various approaches: through psychology courses, student organizations, email Listservs, and word-of-mouth. The study was made available to students who are enrolled in undergraduate psychology courses and are required to participate in experiments for class credit. Additional students were contacted through a modified form of snowball sampling (Johnson, 2014) via email and word-of-mouth. The researcher reached out to club and organization Listservs and social media platforms. Students who completed the survey after hearing about it through a club or organization were encouraged to inform their friends about the study. Initial plans included posting advertisements for the study on campus, however, the same societal circumstances prevented this form of advertising and recruitment as well.

The study was approved and in accordance with Texas A&M's Institutional Review Board. Participants completed an online survey using the Qualtrics software. The survey included measures of racial socialization, racial identity, and the student's perceptions of campus climate. Additional demographic information questions were included. A cover letter was attached to the survey. Completion of the survey after reading and agreeing to the cover letter was taken as informed consent, and the first question of the survey asked students to indicate their consent to continue. Personal and identifying information of participants was not collected.

Participants who took the survey to fulfill research participation credits for class were asked for their email address to ensure that they receive credit. An alternate assignment worth class credit was available for students who choose not to participate in research studies. Due to extremely low participation in the first round of data collection, the IRB was amended in order to create more incentive for students to participate in the study. Specifically, students who were not participating to receive class credit were offered the chance to enter into a drawing to win one of five $20 amazon.com gift cards. Students were asked to provide their email address at the end of the survey if they wanted to participate in the drawing.

Measures

Racial-Ethnic Socialization

The Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale (TERS; Stevenson et al., 2002) includes 40 items which load onto five factors including cultural coping with antagonism, cultural pride reinforcement, cultural appreciation of legacy, cultural alertness to discrimination and cultural endorsement of mainstream. The items are arranged on a 3-point Likert-type scale where respondents indicate the frequency with which they have heard each type of message (1 = never, 2 = a few times, 3 = lots of times) (Stevenson et al., 2002).

The Cultural Coping with Antagonism (CCA) factor represents messages about the importance of successfully coping with racial hostility and the role of religion or spirituality in that coping. An item from the CCA factor is "Black children should be taught early that God can protect them from racial hatred". The Cultural Pride Reinforcement (CPR) factor represents attitudes that endorse teaching of knowledge of African American culture and pride in African American culture. An example item that measures the CPR factor is "Never be ashamed of your color". The Cultural Appreciation of Legacy (CLA) factor represents knowledge of historical

issues and cultural heritage issues such as enslavement. An item in this factor is "You are connected to a history that goes back to African royalty". The Cultural Alertness to Discrimination (CAD) factor represents messages about the challenges of race relations between Black and White people and being aware of barriers that racism can create in society. An item from the CAD factor is "Whites make it hard for people to get ahead in the world". Finally, the Cultural Endorsement of Mainstream (CEM) factor represents messages about the educational and affective benefits that Black people receive from being a part of majority culture institutions. An item in the CEM factor is "Society is fair to African Americans" (Stevenson et al., 2002).

Previous literature has indicated that there are four common dimensions or themes present in racial-ethnic socialization including cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism or silence about race (Hughes et al., 2006). These four dimensions can be seen in the five factors of ethnic-racial socialization included in the TERS. The TERS factors of cultural pride reinforcement and cultural appreciation of legacy are associated with the cultural socialization dimension. The cultural coping with antagonism factor is associated with the preparation for bias dimension. The cultural alertness to discrimination factor is associated with the promotion of mistrust dimension and the cultural endorsement of the mainstream factor is associated with the egalitarianism dimension (Small, 2016).

The reliability of the TERS was assessed during the initial scale construction. The study was previously conducted on a sample of 260 inner-city African American adolescents (124 male and 136 female; mean age 14.3 years). The entire TERS scale, or the Adaptive Racial Socialization Experience (ARSE) had a Cronbach's alpha of .91. The individual factors all had moderate and above reliability (CEM α = .71; CLA α = .74; CAD α = .76; CPR α = .83; CCA α = .85) (Stevenson, Cameron, Herrero-Taylor & Davis, 2002). The TERS has since been used in

studies involving college students and similar reliability was found. In Brown's (2008) study, the entire TERS scale was found to have a coefficient alpha of .90 with the individual factors ranging from .62 to .85. For the current study, four out of the five factors of the TERS were analyzed by creating three subscales to demonstrate cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and egalitarian beliefs independently.

Each subscale created for this study was tested for internal consistency using the items intended by Stevenson et. al (2002). Based on suggestions within SPSS after running reliability statistics, items were removed from certain subscales to get the Cronbach's alpha of each subscale as close to .7 as possible. Cronbach's alpha for the Cultural Coping with Antagonism subscale was .806 and the Cronbach's alpha for the Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream factor was .616. A Cultural Socialization subscale was created to measure the overall cultural socialization dimension, using a combination of the adjusted Cultural Pride Reinforcement subscale and the predetermined Cultural Appreciation of Legacy subscale ($\alpha = .78$). This scale was used in all references to cultural pride and cultural socialization for the analysis.

Racial-Ethnic Identity

Racial-Ethnic identity was measured using the Multi-ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) (Phinney, 1992). The MEIM was created to be used with adolescents and young adults from various ethnic groups. Currently, there are 15 total items and two factors within the MEIM which measure the cognitive and developmental component as well as the affective component of ethnic identity. The ethnic identity search is the cognitive and developmental component to the measure, and affirmation, belonging and commitment, is the affective component. Participants are to indicate their level of agreement with each item on a Likert scale from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 4 (Strongly agree). Example items from the ethnic identity search factor include "I

am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group" and "I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership". Example items from the affirmation, belonging, and commitment factor include "I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to" and "I feel a strong sense of attachment towards my own ethnic group".

The MEIM has been used frequently in studies with a variety of age groups and ethnicities. Despite undergoing multiple revisions, with reliability scores typically above an alpha of .80. The original measure (Phinney, 1992) was normed on both high school and college students. There was a reported reliability of .90 for college students and .81 for high school students. The two factors in the current measure emerged during a study on middle school students (Roberts et al., 1999). These two factors were still assessed in this study, due to consistent overall reliability of the MEIM and widespread use of the two factors. The Ethnic Identity Search subscale consists of items (1, 2 4, 8, 10) and the Cronbach's alpha for this subscale in this study was .76. The Affirmation, Belonging, and Commitment subscale consists of items (3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12) and the Cronbach's alpha for this subscale in this study was .898. However, the overall scale Cronbach's alpha of the MEIM .894 was used for the main analysis portion of this study, as this is listed as the preferred way to score the items (Phinney, 1992).

Campus Racial Climate

Campus racial climate was measured using the School Climate for Diversity Scale-College (Byrd, 2016). This scale was originally normed on 819 multiracial middle school and high school students aged 12-18 ($M = 15.27$). It was later normed on a sample of 294 multiracial college students. The School Climate for Diversity Scale presents a multidimensional framework that includes the domains of school racial socialization and intergroup interactions. Both

reliability analysis and confirmatory factor analysis validated a 10-factor structure for the scale. Each factor is associated with a validating subscale, for example Quality of Interaction, Promotion of Cultural Competence, Colorblind Socialization, and stereotyping. Participants respond to questions on a scale from 1 (not at all true) to 5 (completely true). Examples of items include "There is a lot of racial tension here"; "Students of all races and ethnicities are treated equally at [University Name]"; At [University Name] you've had opportunities to discuss institutional racism"; "People here think it's better not to pay attention to race". Each subscale can be analyzed individually. The following subscales were included in the survey for this study, based on themes that became apparent during the literature review. Internal consistency for these subscales was tested using Cronbach's alpha as follows: Frequency of interaction (alpha = .82), Support for Positive Interaction (α= .84), Equal Status (α= .89), Cultural Competence (α= .90), Critical Consciousness (α= .86), Colorblind Ideology (α= .74), Stereotyping (α= .90). As indicated in Table 3 below, the reliability of every other subscale was acceptable (greater than .7), therefore no items needed to be omitted from any subscales. However, the Quality of Interaction subscale was omitted entirely due to poor internal consistency (α = .12).

General Campus Climate

Perceptions of general campus climate were measured using the General Campus Climate (GCC) sub-scale of the climate measure created by Reid and Radhakrishnan (2003). This climate survey was created using items that were examined in or proposed by prior research on university climate. The authors selected items that related to either academic or racial climate, and created the survey from items that had loadings greater than .45. This pool of items was used to create general campus climate and academic campus climate subscales. Participants responded to the items using a scale of 1-7 where 1 = strong agreement and 7 = strong disagreement. The

four items in the GCC subscale are as follows: 1.) In general, I fit in with other students here (α = .71). 2.) If I had to do it all over again, I would still attend the university (α = .65). 3.) I have found the atmosphere at this university to be very friendly (α = .63). 4.) I feel left out of things here at the university (α = .60). The subscale items were also tested for internal consistency in this study and the fourth item *("I feel left out of things here at Texas A&M University")* was reverse-coded in order to maintain consistency in the coding for each item of the measure. Cronbach's alpha for this subscale was .816.

Campus Organization Affiliation

Campus organization affiliation was measured using questions about organization participation, including categorization of these organizations and quantity of time spent in organizations. These questions were loosely based on question 5.1 from the Texas A&M University Campus Climate Survey, as well as themes found in campus organization research. The two questions that were determined to provide the most accurate portrayal of students' connection to cultural organizations were as follows- *"Which type of organizations do you spend most of your time in"* and *"How would you categorize the majority of the organizations you are involved in"*. These two organization affiliation questions were included in analyses individually, rather than as a subscale. Students were asked to categorize their organization participation on a Likert type scale- 0 (no organization involvement), 1 (majority/mainstream organizations), 2 (major specific, non-culture-based organizations), 3 (major specific, culture-based organizations) and 4 (culture-based organizations). Higher values represent more time spent in culturally affirming organizations and lower values represent more time spent in mainstream organizations. The mean from each question was 2.88 and 2.89.

Additional demographic questions were asked to collect information about students prior to entering college. Specifically, questions were asked about the percentage of Black students in their high school, as well as the percentage of Black people in their neighborhoods and the estimated income of their family in the past year. Participants were also asked how long they have been enrolled in the university. See appendix A-D for information about the measures included in the survey.
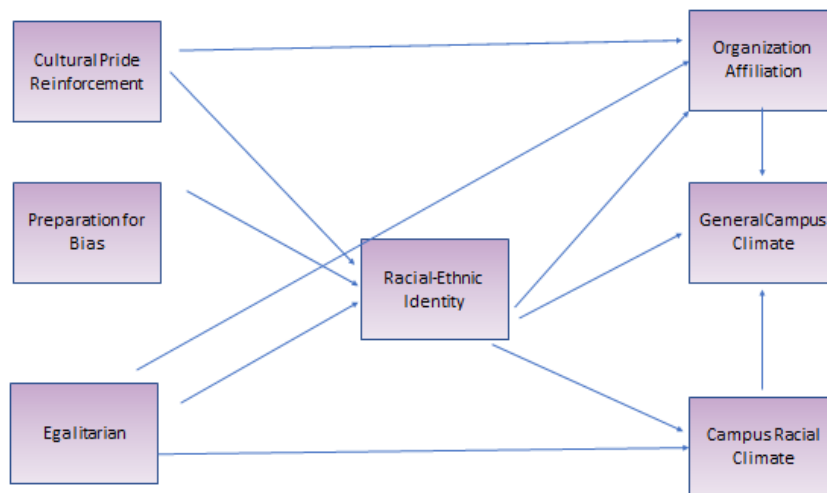
Statistical Design

Hypothesized Path Model

The path model presented in Figure 2 portrays the expected relationships between the variables. As noted previously, this was the intended means of analyses, but due to inability to meet the desired sample size, multiple regression analyses were performed to test each research question instead.

Figure 2

Path Model

Preliminary Analyses

In the preliminary analysis, the researcher checked for missing data, outliers, skewness and kurtosis, as well calculated coefficient alpha. Subscales were created once these analyses were satisfied. Correlations between study variables were also conducted. Multiple regression analyses were conducted using SPSS and mediation analyses were performed using SPSS PROCESS.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS

Data Cleaning and Descriptive Statistics

Responses were removed and not considered for analysis if less than 90% of the survey was complete. There were a total of 84 complete responses to the survey, but only 52 responses met inclusion criteria. Specifically, 32 students who did not identify as Black or African American completed the survey and these responses were not considered in the analysis due to not meeting criteria for the study. Responses were filtered in Qualtrics using participants' responses to the initial demographic question about racial/ethnic identity. Responses were included in the study if the participant selected African American or Black as at least one of their racial identities.

The total sample size was 52 participants; 27% male and 73% female. The majority of participants were classified as juniors (32.7%), with sophomores and seniors being tied for second most responses (26.9% each). Freshman (1.9%) and 6th year seniors (11.5%) had the lowest response rates.

Preliminary Analyses

Bivariate correlations were computed among all study variables (see Table 1). These analyses indicated that the study variables were significantly associated with the intended variables in the expected directions. Cultural socialization (racial socialization) was significantly correlated with preparation for bias socialization, stereotyping (racial climate), and general climate in a positive direction. Cultural socialization was also negatively correlated with cultural competence and equal status (racial climate). The mean of cultural socialization was 31.39 (SD = 4.51). Cultural endorsement of the mainstream/egalitarianism (racial socialization) was

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positively correlated with frequency of interaction and equal status (racial climate). The mean of

cultural endorsement of the mainstream was 5.1 (SD = 1.22). Cultural coping with

antagonism/preparation for bias (racial socialization) was negatively correlated with equal status

(racial climate) and racial identity, but positively correlated with stereotyping (racial climate).

The mean of cultural coping with antagonism was 25.38 (SD = 5.29). See Table 1 on next page

for a summary of all variable correlations.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1. TERS_CS	1																
2. TERS_CEM	-0.01	1															
3. TERS_CAL	.86**	0.002	1														
4. TERS_CPR	.83**	-0.02	.44**	1													
5. TERS_CCA	.65**	0.13	.64**	.456**	1												
6. Quality of Interaction	0.31	-0.1	0.32	0.213	0.106	1											
7. Frequency of Interaction	-0.17	.33*	-0.19	-0.093	-0.151	0.438	1										
8. Equal Status	-.43**	.40**	-.49**	-0.232	-.457**	0.073	-.40**	1									
9. Support for Positive	-0.25	0.27	-0.26	-0.176	-0.168	0.366	.45**	.50**	1								
10. Cultural Competence	-.34*	-0.04	-0.4	-0.151	-0.277	0.182	0.28	.32*	.36*	1							
11. Critical Consciousness	0.18	0.002	0.11	0.219	0.231	0.397	0.21	-0.07	0.32	.49**	1						
12. Colorblind Ideology	0.04	0.12	0.15	-0.111	0.116	0.277	0.26	-0.08	0.14	-0.03	0.22	1					
13. Stereotyping	.49**	-0.13	.48**	.348*	.487**	0.19	-.31*	.63**	-0.18	0.37*	0.04	.30*	1				
14. MEIM_Total	-0.2	0.04	-0.25	-0.08	-.30*	-0.22	0.007	0.23	0.11	0.08	-0.14	0.24	-.30*	1			
15. General Climate	.45*	-0.43	.53*	0.2	0.31	.53*	-0.15	.64**	-0.29	0.002	-0.05	0.3	0.35	-0.25	1		
16. Organization Time	0.19	0.03	0.26	0.05	0.17	-0.12	-0.09	-0.21	-0.05	0.02	.33*	0.29	0.26	-.51**	0.009	1	
17. Organization Majority	0.1	0.24	-0.07	0.27	0.08	-0.12	-0.07	-0.43	-0.23	-0.33	0	0.06	0.49	.66**	-0.04	-.85**	1
Mean	31.19	5.1	10.52	20.67	25.38	11.16	10.21	5.98	12.74	16.64	12.47	9.06	10.07	1.88	40.48	2.69	2.88
SD	4.51	1.22	2.8	2.51	5.29	2.03	2.46	2.4	4.42	4.98	4.96	3	4.21	0.55	3.39	1.41	1.15
Range	1,3	1,3	1,3	1,3	1,3	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,4	8,14	0,5	0,5

*correlation significant at the .05 level   ** correlation significant at or below .01 level

Frequency of interaction (racial climate) was significantly correlated with equal status and support for positive interaction (racial climate) and negatively correlated with stereotyping (racial climate). The mean of frequency of interaction was 10.21 ($SD = 2.16$). Equal status (racial climate) was positively correlated with support for positive interaction (racial climate) and negatively correlated with stereotyping (racial climate) and general climate. The mean of equal status was 5.98 ($SD = 2.4$). Cultural competence (racial climate) was positively correlated with critical consciousness (racial climate) and negatively correlated with stereotyping (racial climate). The mean for cultural competence was 16.64 ($SD = 4.98$). Racial identity was negatively correlated with organization affiliation, meaning that students with stronger racial identity spent more time in culturally focused organizations and vice versa. The mean for racial identity was 1.88 ($SD = .55$). The organization affiliation questions were also correlated with each other in a positive direction. The mean for organization participation was 2.69 ($SD = 1.41$) for the first organization participation question and the mean was 2.88 ($SD = 1.15$) for the second organization affiliation question.

Hypothesis Testing

As stated previously, the primary research questions for this study are based on the hypothesized relationships between the variables of racial-ethnic identity, racial-ethnic socialization, campus outcomes including organization affiliation, perceptions of general campus climate and perceptions of campus racial climate. Racial-ethnic identity was hypothesized to be a mediator between these variables. Due to the total number of responses to the survey being less than the desired sample size (150), multiple regression analyses were used to address each individual research question, rather than the intended path analysis via structural equation modeling. Figures 3-8 illustrate the paths used to test the hypotheses in the study.

Table 2

Regression analysis summary for organization participation and climate

Predictor	R^2	F	df	p	B	β	t	95 % Conf. Upper	95% Conf. Lower
Frequency	.02	.41	1,17	.53	-.2	-.15	-.64	-.84	.45
Equal Status	.64	11.58	1,17	.003	-.96	-.64	-3.4	-1.55	-.36
Support Positive	.08	1.54	1,17	.23	-.21	-.29	-1.24	-.57	.15
Cultural Comp.	.00	.00	1,16	.99	.002	.002	.01	-.33	.33
Critical Conscious.	.002	.04	1,17	.85	-.03	-.05	-.19	-.38	.32
Colorblind	.09	1.68	1,17	.21	.32	.3	1.3	-.20	.85
Stereotyping	.12	2.38	1,17	.14	.25	.35	1.54	-.09	.59
Type- Most Time	.00	.001	1,14	.98	.02	.01	.03	-1.52	1.56
Majority	.002	.03	1,14	.87	-.13	-.04	-.17	-1.85	1.58

*Predictors for regression between racial climate and general climate: Frequency of Interaction, Equal Status, Support Positive, Cultural Competence, Critical Consciousness, Colorblind Ideology, Stereotyping
*Predictors for regression between organization affiliation and general climate: Type- Most Time, (Categorize) Majority
* Degrees of freedom varied due to missing data

Research Question 1:

Do Black students' organization affiliation influence their perceptions of general campus climate?

Figure 3

Organization participation predicting general climate perceptions

It was predicted that campus organization affiliation would positively predict the perception of campus climate, and Black students who are affiliated with culturally-specific campus organizations were predicted to have a more positive perception of the general campus climate, as shown in Figure 3. Regression analysis was performed twice using the survey items Organization Affiliation 1: *"Which type of organizations do you spend most of your time in"* and Organization Affiliation 2: *"How would you categorize the majority of the organizations you are involved in"* and as the independent variable. The dependent variable was the subscale created using the Reid and Radhakrishnan (2003) General Campus Climate subscale. The research hypothesis was not supported, as neither organization participation question produced a path that was significant at the $p < .05$ level. Organization Affiliation 1 did not predict perceptions of general campus climate, ($\beta = .01$, $p = .978$, $R^2 = .00$, $F_{(1,14)} = .001$. Organization Affiliation 2 also did not predict perceptions of general campus climate, ($\beta = -.04$, $p = .87$, $R^2 = .002$, $F_{(1,14)} = .03$).

Research Question 2:

Do Black students' perceptions of racial campus climate predict perceptions of general campus climate?

Figure 4

Racial climate predicting general climate

*each significant subscale was analyzed

It was predicted that the regression between perceptions of campus racial climate and general campus climate would not be significant and perceptions of campus racial climate would not predict perceptions of general campus climate, as shown in Figure 4. The following racial campus climate subscales did not predict perceptions of general campus climate: Frequency of Interaction ($\beta = -.15$, $p = .53$, $R^2 = .02$, $F(1,17) = .41$); Support for Positive Interaction ($\beta = -.29$, $p = .23$, $R^2 = .08$, F $(1,17) = .1.54$); Cultural Competence ($\beta < 01$, $p = .99$, $R^2 = .000$, F $(1,16) = .00$) Critical Consciousness ($\beta = -.05$, $p = .85$, $R^2 = .002$, F $(1,17) = .04$); Colorblind Ideology ($\beta = .3$, $p = .21$, $R^2 = .090$, F $(1,17) = 1.68$) and Stereotyping ($\beta = .35$, $p = .14$, $R^2 = .12$, F $(1,17) = 2.38$). Therefore, the hypothesis was supported for these subscales. However, the Equal Status subscale did predict perceptions of general campus climate ($\beta = .-.96$, $p < .01$, $R^2 = .41$, F $(1,17) = 11.58$). Students who indicate more agreement with statements on this subscale have a more positive

perception of general climate overall, which does not support the hypothesis. Therefore, perception of one aspect of campus racial climate predicted perception of general campus climate, but other aspects of campus climate did not predict perceptions of general campus climate.

Research Question 3:

Is there a relationship between Black students' receipt of each type of racial socialization prior to attending college and their current perceptions of campus racial climate?

Overall, the correlations between racial socialization messages and perceptions of campus racial climate were as expected. See Table 2 for details of the correlations between the racial socialization messages and perceptions of campus racial climate.

3a: It was predicted that there would be a negative relationship between preparation for bias socialization prior to attending college and perceptions of campus racial climate, such that students who received more preparation for bias messages would have more negative perceptions of campus racial climate. There was a significant negative correlation between the Cultural Coping with Antagonism (CCA) subscale of the Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization measure (Stevenson et. al, 2002) and the Equal Status subscale of the Byrd School Climate for Diversity Scale (Byrd, C.M., 2016; $r = -.46$, $p = .001$). There was a significant positive correlation between the Cultural Coping with Antagonism (CCA) subscale and the Stereotyping subscale ($r = .49$, $p < .001$). Black students who received more preparation for bias indicated less agreement that students of different races are treated equally on campus and more agreement that Black students are represented in stereotypical ways on campus. Although the correlation

between the CCA subscale and the Stereotyping subscale was positive, the hypothesis is still supported, as both significant correlations indicate that students who received more preparation for bias socialization messages have a more negative perception of campus racial climate.

      3b: It was hypothesized that there would be a negative relationship between receiving cultural socialization and messages at home and perceptions of campus racial climate. Specifically, it was hypothesized that a higher frequency of cultural pride messages before college would lead to more negative perceptions of campus racial climate. There was a significant negative correlation between the created Cultural Socialization (CS) subscale, which is a combination of Stevenson et. al (2002) existing Cultural Pride Reinforcement (CPR) and Cultural Appreciation of Legacy (CAL) subscales of the Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization scale, and the Equal Status subscale of the Byrd School Climate for Diversity Scale (Byrd, C.M., 2016; $r = -.43$, $p <$ .01). There was a significant negative correlation between the Cultural Socialization subscale of the TERS and the Cultural Competence subscale of the Byrd School Climate for Diversity Scale (Byrd, C.M., 2016; $r = -.34$, $p = .02$). Finally, there was a significant positive correlation between the Cultural Socialization subscale of the TERS (Stevenson et. al, 2002) and the Stereotyping subscale of the Byrd School Climate for Diversity Scale (Byrd, C.M., 2016; $r = .49$, $p < .01$). The expected outcome was supported as the results indicate that students who receive a higher frequency of overall cultural socialization are less likely to agree that that university promotes cultural competence or equal status amongst students of different races, and more likely to agree that Black students are viewed in stereotypical ways at the university.

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3c: It was predicted that there would be a positive relationship between frequency of egalitarian messages received prior to college and perception of campus racial climate, in that students who received more of these types of messages would have a more positive perception of campus climate. There was a significant positive correlation between the Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream (CEM) subscale of the TERS (Stevenson et. al, 2002; egalitarian beliefs socialization) and the Frequency of Interaction ($r = .33$, $p = .02$) and Equal Status ($r = .40$, $p < .01$) subscales of the Byrd School Climate for Diversity Scale (Byrd, C.M., 2016). The expected outcome was supported in that receiving more egalitarian messages leads to a more positive perception of campus racial climate. Specifically, students who receive more egalitarian socialization messages indicate more agreement that university promotes frequent interactions between students of different races and that students of different races are treated equally.

Research Question 4:

Does racial identity mediate the relationship between types of racial socialization and certain campus-based experiences?

The PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2017) was used to test the regression paths between each socialization type and each campus-based outcome (perceptions of campus racial climate and organization affiliation) and determine if racial identity was a mediator for these relationships. Overall, the hypothesis that racial identity would be a mediator for the relationship between racial socialization messages and campus-based experience was not supported, except in the case of preparation for bias socialization and organization participation. Results from these analyses are in Table 3.

Table 3

Results of mediation analysis for socialization and campus experiences

IV	Mediator	DV	Direct effect IV on DV *p*	Effect IV on M *p*	Effect M on DV *p*	Indirect effect	95% CI Lower	Upper
TERS-CS	Racial Identity	Frequency	.002	.04	.67	.01	-.08	.07
TERS-CS	Racial Identity	Equal	.01	.04	.45	-.02	-.154	.03
TERS-CS	Racial Identity	Cultural Comp	.027	.06	.93	.004	-.187	.07
TERS-CS	Racial Identity	Stereotyping	.003	.04	.22	.05	-.039	.33
TERS-CCA	Racial Identity	Frequency	.27	.02	.62	.01	-.061	.06
TERS-CCA	Racial Identity	Equal	.005	.02	.62	-.01	-.11	.04
TERS-CCA	Racial Identity	Cultural Comp	.08	.03	.90	.01	-.14	.08
TERS-CCA	Racial Identity	Stereotyping	.004	.02	.28	.04	-.05	.23
TERS-CS	Racial Identity	Org Affiliation	.55	.17	.001	.03	-.02	.12
TERS-CCA	Racial Identity	Org Affiliation	.92	.03	.001	.05	.02	.10

*IV refers to Independent Variable; DV refers to Dependent Variable; M refers to Mediator

4a: It was predicted that racial identity would mediate the relationship between racial socialization and campus climate perceptions. Specifically, it was predicted that racial identity would mediate the relationship between cultural pride socialization messages and perceptions of campus racial climate, as shown in Figure 5. To investigate whether racial identity mediates the relationship between cultural pride socialization and perceptions of campus racial climate, a simple mediation analysis was performed using

PROCESS (Hayes, 2017). The outcome variable for analysis was each of the four

significant racial climate subscales from the Byrd School Climate for Diversity Scale

(Byrd, C.M., 2016; Frequency of Interaction, Equal Status, Cultural Competency,

Stereotyping). The predictor variable for the analysis was the Cultural Socialization (CS)

subscale of the TERS. The mediator variable for the analysis was the total score of the

Multiethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992).

The indirect effect of the CS subscale on the Stereotyping subscale was not found

to be statistically significant [Effect = .05, 95% C.I. (-.04, .33)]. The indirect effect of the

CS subscale on the Cultural Competence subscale was not found to be statistically

significant [Effect = .00, 95% C.I. (-.19 .07)]. The indirect effect of the CS subscale on

the Equal Status subscale was not found to be statistically significant [Effect = -.02, 95%

C.I. (-.15 .03)], which indicates that racial identity does not mediate the relationship

between cultural pride socialization and perception of racial climate-equal status. The

indirect effect of the CS subscale on the Frequency of Interaction subscale was not found

to be statistically significant [Effect = .01, 95% C.I. (-.08 .06)]. Overall, racial identity

did not mediate the relationship between cultural pride racial socialization and

perceptions of campus racial climate, which was not as predicted.

Figure 5

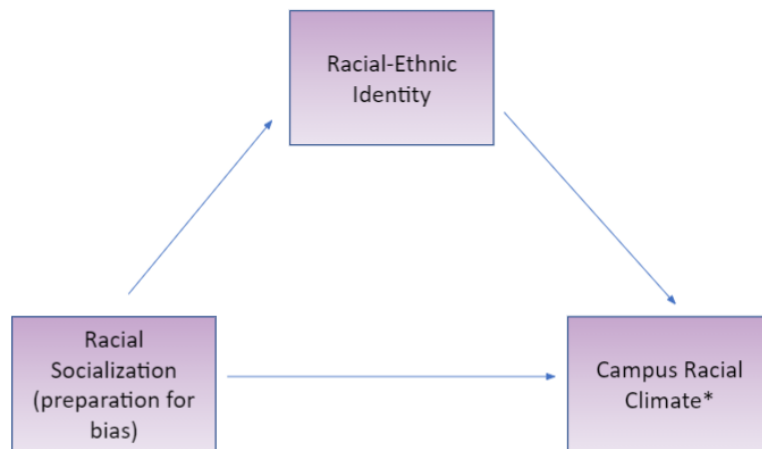*Racial identity mediating cultural socialization and racial climate*
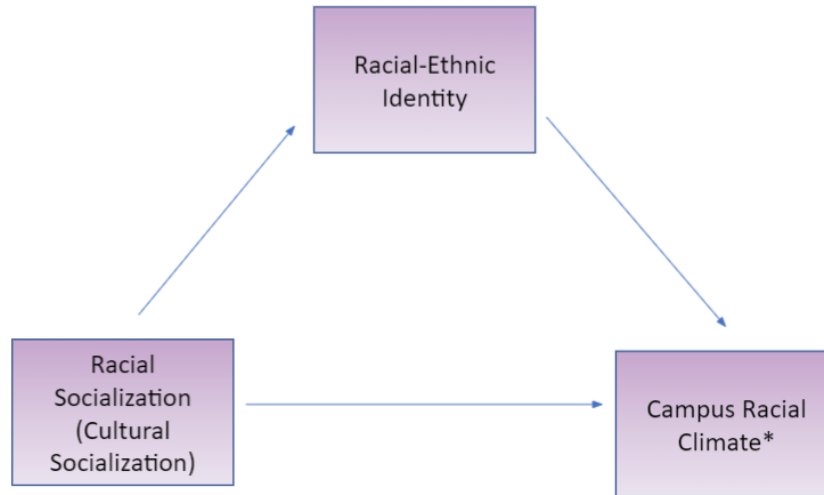
4b: It was predicted that racial identity would mediate the relationship between preparation for bias socialization messages and perceptions of campus climate, as shown in Figure 6. The same steps from 4a were followed using PROCESS, however the predictor variable for this analysis was the Cultural Coping with Antagonism (CCA) subscale of the Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization scale (TERS; Stevenson et al., 2002). The indirect effect of the CCA subscale on the Equal Status subscale was not found to be statistically significant, indirect effect = -.01, 95% C.I. (-.11, .04). The indirect effect of the CCA subscale on the Frequency of Interaction subscale was not found to be statistically significant, indirect effect = .01, 95% C.I. (-.06, .06). The indirect effect of the CCA subscale on the Cultural Competency subscale was not found to be statistically significant [Effect = .006, 95% C.I. (-.14, .08)]. The indirect effect of the CCA subscale on the Stereotyping subscale was not found to be statistically significant

indirect effect = .04, 95% C.I. (-.05, .23). Overall, racial identity does not mediate the relationship between preparation for bias socialization and perception of racial climate-stereotyping.

Figure 6

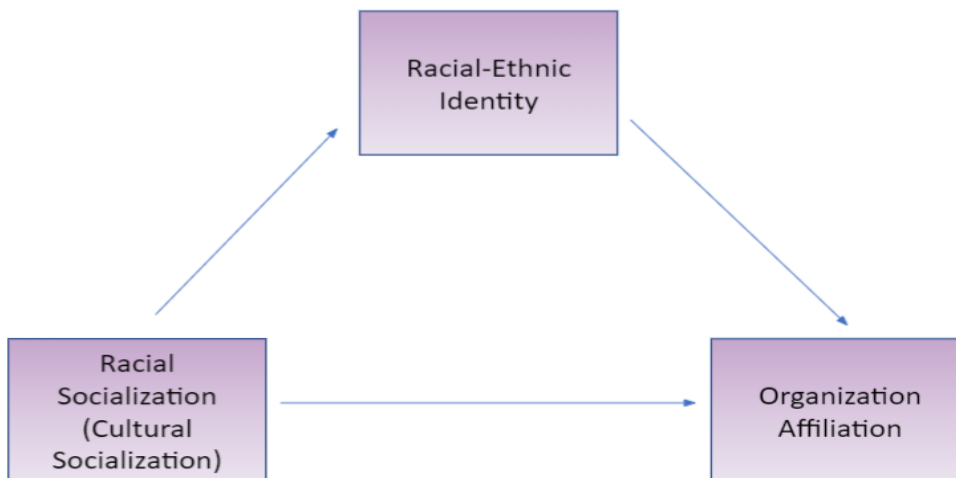*Racial identity mediating preparation for bias socialization and racial climate*

*each significant subscale was analyzed

**4c:** It was predicted that racial identity would mediate the relationship between racial socialization and campus organization affiliation. Specifically, it was predicted that racial identity would mediate the relationship between cultural pride socialization messages and organization participation, as shown in figure 7. To investigate whether racial identity mediates the relationship between cultural pride socialization and campus organization affiliation, a simple mediation analysis was performed using PROCESS (Hayes, 2017). The outcome variable for analysis Organization Affiliation 1 *"Which type of organizations do you spend most of your time in?"* The predictor variable for the analysis was the Cultural Socialization (CS) subscale of the TERS. The mediator variable

for the analysis was the total score of the Multiethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992). The indirect effect of the CS subscale on Organization Affiliation 1 was not found to be statistically significant indirect effect = .03, 95% C.I. (-.02, .12). This indicates that racial identity does not mediate the relationship between cultural pride socialization and organization affiliation, which does not support the hypothesis.

Figure 7

Racial identity mediating cultural socialization and organization affiliation

4d: It was predicted that racial identity would mediate the relationship between preparation for bias socialization messages and organization participation, as shown in Figure 8. The same steps from 4c were followed in PROCESS, however, the CCA subscale was used as the predictor variable. The indirect effect of the CCA subscale on Organization Affiliation 1 was found to be statistically significant [Effect = .05, 95% C.I.

(-.01, .10)]. This indicates that racial identity does mediate the relationship between preparation for bias socialization and organization affiliation, as was predicted.

Figure 8

Racial identity mediating preparation for bias socialization and organization affiliation
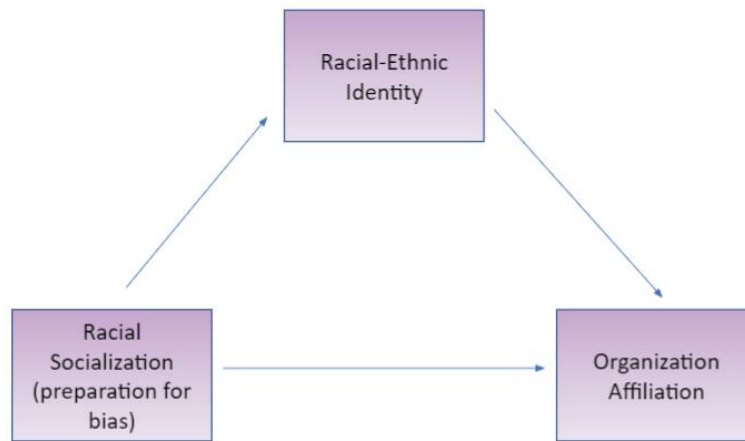
CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The current study sought to add to existing research by exploring the relationships

between racial socialization, racial identity, and campus organization affiliation, and determining

how each of these factors impact Black students' perceptions of campus climate. Prior research

has demonstrated that Black students at PWIs often encounter various barriers and negative

experiences in the campus environment that can lead them to have lower perceptions of campus

climate and campus racial climate than peers of other racial groups, especially white peers

(Ancis et al., 2000; Cabrera & Nora, 1994; Chavous, 2005; D'Augelli & Hershberger, 1993;

Pewewardy & Frey, 2002; Rankin & Reason, 2005). Other studies have highlighted the

protective factors of receiving racial socialization and having a positive racial identity (Anglin &

Wade, 2007; Chatman et al., 2005; Fischer & Shaw, 1999; Oyserman et al., 2001). Further,

participation in campus organizations, particularly those that support the racial and cultural

identity of Black students, has been shown to provide additional support for Black students on

PWI campuses (Guiffrida, 2003; Patton et al., 2011). However, all Black students are not

deterred by negative campus experiences or protected by internal racial or cultural factors in the

same way.

While campus climate surveys are commonly distributed to measure students'

perceptions of their university and other quantitative information, these surveys could benefit

from gathering more detailed information about within-group differences for Black students.

Exploring relationships between racial socialization, organization affiliation, and perceptions of campus climate, mediated by racial identity helped to seek out this detailed information. The results of this study determined that although several significant correlations exist amongst these variables, organization participation was not as influential in overall perceptions of campus climate as anticipated, and racial identity only mediated the relationship between racial socialization and one campus related outcome. Campus climate surveys are used to measure institutional factors that can influence students' perceptions of the quality of the campus environment (King & Ford, 2003), but this study helps to illuminate some of the internal factors that can contribute to these perceptions. Further, the unique time period that data was collected for this survey, namely in the midst of the 2020 COVID-19 pandemic, indicate additional avenues for exploration that were not intended at the onset of this study.

Campus Experiences In A Pandemic

It is of note that the entirety of data collection for this study occurred during a global pandemic which altered the course of daily life, and the college experience in particular. Data collection began shortly after students were told they did not have to remain on campus for the remainder of the spring semester, and continued into the summer, fall, and early spring semester of the following academic year. During this time, most university experiences were conducted in a virtual format. Due to social distancing limitations on in-person gathering, organization participation as it has been known in the research was also minimized. As such, students who participated in the study might not have been on campus, and if they were, group gatherings were discouraged and limited.

Commonly, student organizations have acted as counter-spaces for Black students at PWIs, where they can find cultural, academic, and emotional support that is not always available

in the larger university context. However, at the time that data was collected for this study, the physical connection of these counterspaces was likely nonexistent, and therefore would not have the same impact on perceptions of climate. The sociopolitical climate of the entire United States was also particularly tense during this time. Both of these factors could have made specific campus climate less salient to some students. Prior studies have noted that campus climate is impacted by external forces within larger society, especially government policies, as well as the behaviors, policies, and practices of those within and outside of the university (Hurtado et al., 1998; Hurtado et al., 2008). Therefore, researchers and university administrators must start thinking differently about how minoritized students can connect with each other during college, providing additional options for virtual organization participation, and how the broader societal context can impact the college experience for Black students at PWIs.

Organization Affiliation and Campus Climate

The first hypothesis looked at the relationship between Black students' affiliation with on campus organizations and their perceptions of general campus climate. The regression of the path between organization affiliation questions and the Reid and Radhakrishnan (2003) General Campus Climate subscale was not significant, meaning that organization participation does not influence perceptions of general campus climate. It was predicted that Black students affiliated with culturally-specific campus organizations would have a more positive perception of campus climate. The outcome was not as predicted; as research has shown that organization participation can help students create the kinds of connections with peers and faculty that might increase their feelings of support on campus (Patton, Bridges & Flowers, 2011). However, studies have also demonstrated that various personal ideologies and worldviews can affect the perceptions of campus climate and inclusion (Worthington et al., 2008). Black students who come from

predominantly White schools and neighborhoods prior to college might find participation in culturally focused Black organizations to be uncomfortable, or not needed for their social integration into the university environment (Guiffrida, 2003). Therefore, on this campus, it is possible that factors other than organization participation influenced student perceptions of the university climate. Alternatively, organization participation during the time that data was collected was limited due to social distancing guidelines set in place to prevent the spread of COVID-19. It is also likely that during this time, organization participation was not a main factor in determining students' perceptions of campus climate, as students were not able to engage in traditional face-to-face student organization activities. Additionally, due to most classes being offered online for safety, it is possible that many students participated in the survey but did not actively live on campus or go on campus for classes and activities during this time. Further exploration into what factors are more influential than organization affiliation in determining perceptions of campus climate for this population is needed.

General Campus Climate and Campus Racial Climate

The second hypothesis explored the relationship between perceptions of racial climate and general campus climate. The regression path between racial campus climate and general campus climate was not significant for most subscales of the racial climate measure, indicating that most perceptions of racial climate do not predict perceptions of general campus climate. However, the path was significant between the equal status racial climate subscale and general climate, indicating that perceptions of equal treatment for all students did impact perceptions of general campus climate. This outcome aligned with predictions about this relationship based on the Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (Spencer, 1995), which indicates that individuals in the same environment can experience different outcomes due to personal risk

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and protective factors. Potential negative or discriminatory experiences that students might have on campus could decrease their perceptions of campus racial climate but stop short of detracting from the overarching connection to the university due to various other factors. Specifically, at Texas A&M there are various traditions at the university which could promote unity amongst students or connection to the university overall. Students could buy-in to these activities or have a certain amount of school pride, despite separate factors or experiences influencing perceptions of the racial climate. The concept of equal status for all students is similar to some of the themes that are incorporated in the general climate subscale, which could explain why perceptions of equal status predict perceptions of general campus climate when other concepts within racial climate do not. Further, students' ability to form an accurate opinion of general climate and racial climate could have been impacted by limitations to their ability to interact with the university environment in person, due to the pandemic. In short, the combination of factors that influences perceptions of general campus climate is likely different than most of the factors that influence perceptions of campus racial climate, and all of these factors were likely impacted by the pandemic.

Racial Socialization and Perceptions of Campus Racial Climate

The third hypothesis explored the relationship between three themes of racial socialization that students might have received prior to attending college and their perceptions of campus racial climate. Overall, each domain of racial socialization correlated with at least one aspect of campus racial climate perception. This outcome was expected, as the messages that students receive at home about what it means to be a Black person or what Black people can expect from society can influence the way that Black students understand the world around them, and therefore how they see the campus racial climate.

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There was a significant negative correlation between preparation for bias socialization and perceptions of equal status in campus racial climate, indicating that students who received more preparation for bias messages at home were less likely to perceive that students of different races receive equal treatment on campus. This was an expected outcome, as it was predicted that students who have been socialized to recognize and understand experiences of racial bias may be more critical of racial interactions on campus. The term racial socialization references the way that African American parents maintain the self-esteem of their children and prepare them to face systemic barriers imposed by racism in society (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Peters, 1985, 2002; Spencer, 1983; Tatum, 1987). In short, students who have been socialized to recognize and cope with bias are more likely to notice when discrimination occurs on campus. The outcome of this research question aligns with current research in the field.

Cultural socialization correlated with several racial climate outcomes. As expected, there was a significant negative relationship between cultural socialization messages and cultural competency, as well as cultural socialization and equal status, indicating that the more cultural socialization messages students received prior to college, the less they perceived the college climate to promote cultural competency or treat students of different races equally. Additionally, there was a positive correlation between cultural socialization and stereotyping, indicating that students who received more cultural socialization prior to college are more likely to perceive that Black students are viewed in stereotypical ways on campus. This is aligned with predictions that students who have been socialized to value Black culture and heritage at home will notice a lack of cultural support on campus; thus, decreasing their perception of positive campus racial climate. Specifically, cultural socialization includes parental practices that implicitly or deliberately encourage children's cultural, ethnic, and racial pride, promote cultural traditions

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and customs, and teach children about their racial or ethnic history and heritage (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Hughes et al., 2006; Hughes & Chen, 1999), including exposing children to culturally relevant stories, music, artifacts, and books, eating ethnic foods, celebrating cultural holidays, talking about historical or cultural figures, and encouraging children to use their native language (Hughes et al., 2006). Students who are used to immersion in such cultural practices might find cultural support at a PWI to be lacking. It is important to explore whether these correlations can be influenced by changes in the way that students engage their campus. During the time of data collection, most interaction with peers and faculty was virtual, and in-person organization participation was minimal.

Racial socialization messages that promote egalitarianism (cultural endorsement of the mainstream factor) were positively correlated with equal status racial climate perceptions, in that students who received more egalitarian messages at home perceived the racial climate on campus to be equal for students of all races. This outcome was expected as it was predicted that students who have been socialized toward survival in the dominant or mainstream culture may not notice or be affected by incidents of bias on campus. Prior research indicates that students whose parents engaged in egalitarian racial socialization are often oriented toward developing characteristics and skills needed to thrive in the dominant, or mainstream, culture, rather toward their native culture or minority status (Boykin & Toms, 1985). Receiving socialization messages that emphasize the value of hard work, equality, and self-acceptance orients Black students with the mainstream factor (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Marshall, 1995). As expected, students who receive more of these types of messages perceive the environment on campus to be equal for students of all races. It is still important to explore whether these correlations were impacted by

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changes in the way students were able to interact with their campus environment in the pandemic.

Racial Identity Mediating Campus Experiences

The fourth hypothesis explored the relationship between three themes of racial socialization and campus outcomes (organization participation and perceptions of racial climate), mediated by racial identity. Overall, most relationships that were explored in this study were not mediated by racial identity, with the exception of the relationship between preparation for bias racial socialization messages and organization affiliation.

Racial identity did not mediate any of the relationships between cultural socialization messages and racial climate perception factors, contrary to the predictions. This finding is partially surprising as Black students who feel strongly identified with their race often feel less connected to their college campus (Parker & Flowers, 2003; Thelamour et al., 2019) and have less overall satisfaction with the university experience (Jenkins, 2001) than Black students who do not strongly identify with their race. Specifically, Black students at PWIs who strongly identify with being Black perceive more discrimination and anti-Black prejudice from White professors, staff, and peers than Black students who do not have strong Black identities (Kaiser & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Although racial identity has been shown to be related to the construct of racial socialization (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Marshall, 1995; Sanders-Thompson, 1994; Stevenson, 1994), the findings in this study indicate that factors other than racial identity are explain the relationship between socialization and perception of climate. As stated previously, the impact of a global pandemic changing the way that students interact with their campus environment, if they are getting their education on campus at all, cannot be ignored for these questions. Further research is needed to explore the factors outside of racial identity that

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could provide more information about the relationship between cultural socialization and perceptions of campus racial climate.

Racial identity did not mediate any of the relationships between preparation for bias socialization messages and the racial climate perception factors, contrary to the predictions. It is possible that students may have received preparation for bias socialization messages at home but found the college environment to be more tolerable than expected. It is also possible that lack of meaningful interaction with the campus environment made it difficult for a connection between preparation for bias messages and beliefs about the university environment to be established. Further research into factors other than racial identity that could mediate the relationship between preparation for bias socialization and perceptions of campus racial climate is needed.

Contrary to the expected outcome, racial identity does not mediate the relationship between cultural socialization and organization participation. As noted before, it is possible that students who were already likely to have higher racial salience are the ones who are more likely to engage in these activities (Hurtado et al., 2015). This finding demonstrates that factors other than racial identity explain why students join certain organizations on campus after receiving cultural socialization messages from caregivers prior to attending college. This could be explained by the timing of data collection, which overlapped with the global pandemic preventing most students from interacting on campus; as well as global attention to racial injustices, which could have impacted racial socialization messages that students received, their choices of organization affiliation, as well as their racial identity. Further research is required to determine what some of these factors might be.

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The relationship between preparation for bias socialization and organization participation is mediated by racial socialization. This finding supports predictions made in this study as well as previous research. Studies have shown that preparation for bias is more prevalent among Black parents than those in other racial and ethnic groups (Biafora et al., 1993; Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Chen, 1997, 1999; Phinney & Chavira, 1995), therefore students who received more of these types of relationships at home, which include teaching about the existence and eventuality of discrimination and strategies for how to cope, could be more likely to be affiliated with Black culturally focused organizations as a way to cope with and protect themselves from anticipated discrimination. However, further exploration into the way that the relationship between these variables could have been impacted by the current societal context is warranted. Specifically, in addition to the global pandemic, there was a significant amount of sociopolitical unrest during the time of data collection, which could have impacted racial socialization messages that students received at home, their racial identity, and their organization affiliation choices.

Implications for Practice

This study adds to existing data in the field regarding campus climate perceptions and offers additional angles to the campus climate research that have previously not been examined in the same place as often. Additionally, the outcomes of this study demonstrate the benefits of adding questions about the racial socialization history and racial identity of students into campus climate surveys, in order to understand the student population at a deeper level. It could also be beneficial to include questions that measure the impact of societal factors on students' experiences at their university. Specifically, climate surveys at PWIs could include questions to

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explore the impact of societal factors on perceptions of campus climate in order to clarify how the university can respond to and support Black students.

In this study, organization participation did not predict perceptions of general campus climate with these participants, which was surprising based on existing literature. Established research has shown that campus climate perceptions for Black students is a critical issue in terms of retention and overall satisfaction (Tinto, 1975; Jay & D'Augelli, 1991), and organization affiliation provides support for Black students that they might not receive within the university broadly (Guiffrida, 2003). This study did not demonstrate a link between organization participation and perceptions of general climate. However, based on prior research and the unusual circumstances that the current data was collected in, it is still important for university administrators and faculty to make sure that student organizations are available on campus to provide the unique support that Black students might need, provided that on-campus interactions become commonplace again. Given the societal context at the time that data was collected in, both organization participation and on campus interactions were limited due to social distancing guidelines meant to contain the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic. Therefore, it is also important to explore what organization participation looks like and what factors can influence the perceptions of campus climate when students are unable to spend a lot of time on campus.

Perceptions of campus racial climate largely did not predict perceptions of general campus climate, which was as expected based on existing literature. The factors that influence perceptions of campus racial climate are not the same factors that influence perceptions of general campus climate. However, there are many benefits to maintaining a positive campus climate both on a general and racial level, which indicates that various entities on campus should continue to work to hear student concerns and work toward comfort, support, and acceptance of

all students. Additionally, further exploration into the way that sociopolitical unrest, such as what was seen during 2020 and continues into 2021, can influence campus climate perceptions is warranted. The racial climate on college campuses is said to be a microcosm of the climate of society as a whole (Harper & Quaye, 2007; Mwangi et al., 2017). Given that global attention was focused on police brutality against Black Americans, among other racialized incidents around the world during the time of data collection, it is possible for students to have been unintentionally primed to view the survey questions a certain way, to feel differently about their campus and themselves, and/or to participate in organizations differently than they might have otherwise done.

Several correlations were found between racial socialization messages and perceptions of campus racial climate. The correlations found in this study were overall as expected based on previous research, in that students who received a higher frequency of racial socialization messages overall appeared to be more critical of the campus racial climate. Further, receiving more egalitarian messages at home appears to make Black students more likely to perceive that the campus racial climate is equal for students of all races. However, higher frequency of cultural socialization (pride) messages has a similar impact on students' perceptions of equal status on campus. Additionally, students who receive more cultural socialization and preparation for bias messages are less likely to agree that the university promotes cultural competence, treats students of different races equally, or represents Black students in non-stereotypical ways. These results highlight both the importance of students receiving positive cultural socialization messages from various sources, and the importance of universities providing the support and education necessary for students to perceive that promoting cultural competence and equal treatment, as well as mitigating stereotypical representations of Black students is important to their university.

For college students, racial socialization can come from peers, mentors, and other adults frequently (Priest et al., 2014). Aside from literature that focuses on diversity in curriculum, there is not a lot of scholarship that establishes an empirical link between campus racial climate and structural support at the institutional level (Hurtado et al., 2008), indicating that this is an area which should be studied more. This area is especially important to study as sociopolitical unrest continues in the country and universities begin to resume in-person activities.

Racial identity mediated the relationship between preparation for bias socialization and organization affiliation, but not the relationship between preparation for bias socialization and perceptions of campus racial climate. In addition, racial identity did not mediate the relationship between cultural socialization (pride reinforcement) and organization participation or perceptions of campus racial climate. This outcome indicates the importance of continued cultural socialization as students matriculate through their programs of study. Further research into the nuance between the types of racial socialization and their impact on student views and behaviors, as well as other factors that can contribute to racial socialization on a societal and university-specific level, is needed.

The results of this study offer a deeper understanding of how universities can support Black students at PWIs. Specifically, university administrators and faculty can advocate to fund, create, and sustain campus organizations and spaces that can be affirming to students of various cultural backgrounds. These funded spaces and organizations can provide Black students with the connections and environment that they need to engage in further racial socialization, enhance their racial identity, and potentially improve their perceptions of the campus climate. It is also important that campus organizations which can provide the type of support that is crucial to Black students at PWIs are equipped to maintain that support and connection for students, even if

physical contact and interaction on campus is limited. These results also provide further

implications for university faculty and administration to offer culturally relevant and

empowering courses that can support the exploration and formation of a strong racial identity for

Black students. Further, it is imperative that faculty are cognizant of how Black students are

represented in course material- particularly as these topics continue to be prevalent in media, as

stereotyping was such a salient theme in racial climate perceptions for students in this sample.

Limitations

One of the main limitations of this study was not reaching the target sample size for

participation. The sample size of the current study was roughly a third of the target sample size.

This smaller than anticipated sample size contributed to reduced power and therefore reduced

ability to detect statistically significant results in the data. Given the COVID-19 pandemic, it was

harder to reach students through the intended means. The recruiting process was hampered by

not being able to post signs with easily accessible QR codes on flyers on campus or connect with

student organization leaders face to face, due to restraints on interaction related to social

distancing regulations. These additional means of recruitment could have provided more variety

among the student sample and made it easier to see certain trends in the data. Further, as many

students were not on campus or participating in organizations face to face to the same degree

they might have in the past, it is possible that the results in this study do not provide a

generalizable account of the relationship between campus climate perceptions and student

organization participation. Alternatively, it could be difficult for students who have not spent a

significant amount of time on campus to form an accurate perception of the campus climate.

Another potential limitation could be the phrasing of the questions about students' organization

participation. Specifically, it is possible that the amount of time students spend in an organization

does not truly demonstrate their affect towards these organizations. It might have been beneficial to ask students which organizations they enjoy the most or which organizations they feel the most supported in. Finally, the self-report nature of the study is a limitation, as gathering information this way can leave room for inaccuracy in participants' responses.

Future Directions

Future studies can expand on these findings by exploring additional factors that could contribute to racial campus climate perceptions and organization participation for Black students at PWIs. It could also be beneficial to explore the same variables in a time when students are able to have a normal or standard college experience- on campus with face-to-face instruction and social gathering. Additional information about the reasons behind students' choices in organization participation, beliefs about the campus environment as well as their racial identity and racial socialization messages they received could be gathered via qualitative studies. Further, as racial socialization can come from many environmental sources outside of the home, and racial identity is known to change over time, it could be interesting to explore what kind of racial socialization messages students received while on campus and which spaces they received these messages, in addition to how their racial identity might have changed over time during their time at the university. Other studies with a broader scope could compare the same variables of organization affiliation, racial socialization, racial identity, and campus climate perceptions for students across different classifications (i.e. underclassmen vs upperclassmen undergraduates, as well as graduate and professional students). Alternatively, it would be similarly beneficial to adjust the scope of the study to gather more accurate data about the experiences of Black students at PWIs during times where a socially distanced college experience is expected.

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Conclusions

      The current study takes a nuanced approach to understanding between-group differences for Black students at PWIs by exploring the relationships between campus organization affiliation, racial socialization, racial identity, and perceptions of campus climate. The findings in this study support previous research regarding the connections between racial identity and racial socialization, while adding more clarity to the connections between these internal experiences and students' perceptions of campus climate and campus organization participation. These findings highlight the fact that more research is needed to understand the impact that individual Black students' racial experiences prior to college, namely their socialization and identity development, have on their perceptions of their environment and the choices they make in connecting with others during college.

      Further, several findings in this study regarding the and the mediating role, or lack thereof, of racial identity were surprising, as they did not support the hypotheses made based on prior literature. The results of this study indicate that racial identity only mediates the relationship between preparation for bias racial socialization messages and organization participation for this subset of students. This outcome directly highlights a need for further research into the connection between Black students' perceptions of the university and the connections that they choose to make on campus with the messages that they receive about their identity and what to expect as a Black person in society prior to college. Finally, the unique social and historical context of this study also illuminates a need to reevaluate the ways that Black students can engage with and feel supported by their university, when traditional means of interaction are disrupted.

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APPENDIX A

MULTI-ETHNIC IDENTITY MEASURE*

1. I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as
its history, traditions, and customs.

2. I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members
of my own ethnic group.

3. I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.

4. I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.

5. I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.

6. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.

7. I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.

8. In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked
to other people about my ethnic group.

9. I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group.

10. I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food,
music, or customs.

11. I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.

12. I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.

13. My ethnicity is

(1) Asian or Asian American, including Chinese, Japanese, and others

(2) Black or African American

(3) Hispanic or Latino, including Mexican American, Central American, and others

(4) White, Caucasian, Anglo, European American; not Hispanic

(5) American Indian/Native American

(6) Mixed; Parents are from two different groups

(7) Other (write in): _____

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

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

CODING SCHEME: (1) Strongly disagree (2) Disagree (3) Agree (4) Strongly agree

_____

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APPENDIX B

TEENAGER EXPERIENCE OF RACIAL SOCIALIZATION SCALE*

1. American society is fair toward Black people.

2. Black children will feel better about themselves if they go to a school with mostly White children.

3. Families who go to a church or mosque will be close and stay together.

4. Black slavery is important never to forget.

5. Relatives can help Black parents raise their children.

6. Religion is an important part of a person's life.

7. Racism and discrimination are the hardest things a Black child has to face.

8. Having large families can help many Black families survive life struggles.

9. You should be proud to be Black.

10. All races are equal.

11. If you work hard then you can overcome barriers in life.

12. A belief in God can help a person deal with tough life struggles.

13. Black children will learn more if they go to a mostly White school.

14. Knowing your African heritage is important for your survival.

15. Racism is real, and you have to understand it or it will hurt you.

16. You are connected to a history that goes back to African royalty.

17. Too much talk about racism will keep you from reaching your goals in life.

18. Schools should be required to teach all children about Black history.

19. Depending on religion and God will help you live a good life.

20. Families who talk openly about religion or God will help each other to grow.

21. Teachers can help Black children grow by showing signs of Black culture in the classroom.

22. Only people who are blood-related to you should be called your "family."

23. Getting a good education is still the best way for you to get ahead.

24. "Don't forget who your people are because you may need them someday."

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25. Spiritual battles that people fight are more important than the physical battles.

26. You should know about Black history so that you will be a better person.

27. "Train up a child in the way he should go, and he will not turn away from it."

28. You have to work twice as hard as Whites in order to get ahead in this world.

29. Whites make it hard for people to get ahead in this world.

30. Be proud of who you are.

31. Going to a Black school will help Black children feel better about themselves.

32. You need to learn how to live in a White world and a Black world.

33. Never be ashamed of your color.

34. Whites have more opportunities than Blacks.

35. A Black child or teenager will be harassed just because s/he is Black.

36. More job opportunities would be open to African Americans if people were not racist.

37. Black children should be taught early that God can protect them from racial hatred.

38. Blacks don't always have the same opportunities as Whites.

39. Black children don't have to know about Africa in order to survive life in America.

40. Racism is not as bad today as it used to be before the 1960s.

CODING SCHEME: 1) Never 2) A few times 3) Lots of times

_____

APPENDIX C

BYRD SCHOOL CLIMATE FOR DIVERSITY SCALE*

Quality of Interaction

There is a lot of racial tension here.

Students of different races/ethnicities trust each other.

People of different races/ethnicities have trouble getting along with each other.

People of different races/ethnicities get along well.

Frequency of Interaction

Students of different races/ethnicities hang out together.

Students of different races/ethnicities work together in class.

Students of different races/ethnicities study together.

Equal Status

The administration treats students of all races and ethnicities fairly.

Students of all races and ethnicities are treated equally at [UNIVERSITY NAME].

At [UNIVERSITY NAME], faculty are fair to students of all races/ethnicities.

Support for Positive Interaction

Students here like to have friends from different racial and cultural backgrounds.

Faculty encourage students to make friends with students of different races.

Faculty and administrators say it's good to be a diverse school.

The administration likes for students to have friends of different races/ethnicities.

Students here think it's good to study with people of different races.

Promotion of Cultural Competence

At [UNIVERSITY NAME], they encourage you to learn about different cultures.

You have opportunities to learn about people of different races and cultures.

You have been exposed to new cultures and traditions here.

You have had opportunities to learn about the culture of others.

Your coursework exposes you to diverse cultures and traditions.

Cultural Socialization

In your coursework you've learned new things about your culture.

At [UNIVERSITY NAME], you have opportunities to learn about the history and traditions of a cultural, ethnic, or racial group that you identify with.

At [UNIVERSITY NAME], you have the opportunity to participate in activities that teach you more about your cultural background.

[UNIVERSITY NAME] encourages you to think about what it means to be a member of your racial/ethnic group.

Critical Consciousness Socialization

Your instructors encourage your political and social awareness of issues affecting your culture.

You have opportunities to learn about social justice.

The faculty teach about inequality in the United States based on race and culture.

In your coursework you have learned about how race plays a role in who is successful in society.

At [UNIVERSITY NAME] you've had opportunities to discuss institutional racism.

Mainstream Socialization

Your school teaches you core American values.

At [UNIVERSITY NAME] you've learned more about what it means to be an American.

A [UNIVERSITY NAME], they encourage you to be proud of what people in the U.S. have accomplished**.**

Colorblind Socialization

[UNIVERSITY NAME] encourages you to ignore racial difference.

People here think it's better to not pay attention to race.

The university has a colorblind perspective.

Stereotyping (α = .73)

Faculty are prejudiced against certain racial groups.

Your racial or ethnic group is seen in stereotypical ways here.

Students here have a lot of stereotypes about your racial/ethnic group.

Your racial or cultural group is represented in stereotypical ways in textbooks and lectures.

CODING SCHEME: 1) Not at all true, 2) A little true, 3) Somewhat true, 4) Very true, 5) Completely true

_____
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APPENDIX D

GENERAL CLIMATE SUBSCALE*

1. In general, I fit in with other students here

2. If I had to do it all over again, I would still attend Texas A&M

3. I have found the environment at this university to be very friendly

4. *I feel left out of things here at Texas A&M

CODING SCHEME: 1) Strongly agree, 2) Agree, 3) Somewhat agree, 4) Neither agree nor disagree, 5) Somewhat disagree, 6) Disagree, 7) Strongly disagree

*Reverse coded item