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CULTURAL FACTORS THAT PREDICT CIVIC ENGAGEMENT IN AFRICAN
AMERICAN YOUNG ADULTS

A thesis presented in partial fulfillment of requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
in the Department of Psychology
The University of Mississippi

by

UMIECA NICOLLE HANKTON

August 2011

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ABSTRACT

In light of historical and current challenges related to oppression, racism, and socioeconomic inequities, civic engagement may be particularly beneficial for African Americans. Both quantitative (self-report measures) and qualitative (interviews) methods were used to investigate the role of socio-cultural constructs such as racial identity in predicting civic engagement in African American young adults. Participants were 171 African American students enrolled in a predominately white university in Northern Mississippi. A majority of the participants were single, female, freshmen, and heterosexual. Each participant completed survey packets that included a demographic questionnaire and measures that assessed racial identity, acculturation, self-efficacy, and experiences with racism. Regression analyses revealed racial identity to be the only significant predictor of service involvement, religious involvement, future civic behavior, political awareness, social justice attitudes, and diversity attitudes. Emerging from qualitative data were motivators and sustainers of engagement, the influence of key relationships and religion, and factors that contribute to disengagement. Overall, the findings from this study are in line with earlier research pointing to the strong influence of racial identity on motivational behaviors such as help seeking and academic achievement. The present research opens the door to possible approaches for enhancing the development of African American youth and emerging adults, namely through civic engagement and sociopolitical awareness.

KEYWORDS: African Americans, Racial Identity, Civic Engagement, Impact of Religion

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my mother, Dianne Hankton. I thank you for the sacrifices you made so that I could achieve my life goals. Without your guidance, inspiration, support, and prayers, this would not have come to fruition. This is only the beginning for us! Until our next journey begins, I am pleased to submit this manuscript in your honor.

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Interest in youth civic engagement has received widespread attention as youth are establishing themselves as viable negotiators of change within their school and community environments. Engagement efforts range from a variety of participatory behaviors such as volunteering, holding memberships in 4-H and student council organizations, participation in church organized activities (Youniss, McLellan, & Yates, 1997), as well as assisting in various political arenas (Torney-Purta, 1990). Awareness of youth impact ignited a push to increase youth civic engagement out of a concern for political stability, survival of the democratic system (Sherrod, Flanagan, & Youniss, 2002) and commitment to the political system (Flanagan, 2003).

Research suggests that civic engagement increases political, economic, and cultural knowledge, and leadership skills (Flanagan, 2003). In addition, engagement in civic related activities has been suggested to have a positive impact on youth development with beneficial contributions to society (Balsano, 2005; Sherrod, 2003; Flanagan & Levine, 2010). When given an opportunity to become civically engaged, youth explore their competencies, learn responsibility, and gain a greater appreciation for social reform (Youniss, McLellan, & Yates, 1997). Through these same opportunities, youth learn tolerance and respect for diverse ideas, persons, and customs that may be incongruent with their belief system (Flanagan & Faison, 2001).

Previous civic engagement studies identified factors that may influence engagement behaviors among young adults (Youniss, McLellan, Hart, 1997; Torney-Purta, 2002; Sherrod, 2008). Factors suggested to predict youth civic engagement include civic knowledge and involvement in previous service related activities (Torney-Purta, 2002), socio-economic status

and education, self-efficacy, family socialization (Andolina et al., 2003; McIntosh, Hart, and Youniss, 2007), ethnic and cultural influences, religion, minority status, and racism (Sanchez-Jankowski, 2002). However, few studies have specifically investigated African Americans involvement in civic related activities (Celestine, 2009; Cohen 2006; 2010). Therefore, it is unclear whether these predictive factors are the same for African Americans or other minority groups. Types of engagement and motivation for engagement are probably dissimilar for African Americans given the past racial climate (O'Donoghue & Kirshner, 2003).

Reported Declines in Civic Engagement

Awareness of the benefits of youth civic engagement coupled with the reported decline in rates of youth engagement has caused a stir in the positive youth development community (Putnam, 1995; Sherrod, 2003). Efforts to increase and maintain youth engagement have been the foci of many researchers and youth advocates. To fully address the notion of a decline in youth engagement, it is imperative to define civic engagement and the forms in which it may be displayed (Celestine, 2009). Civic engagement is most commonly cited as a compilation of individual or group behaviors designed to improve conditions that impact the quality of one's community and/or to address public concerns (Colby, 2000). As it exists in the literature, civic engagement is discussed in terms of political awareness and involvement and/or civic behaviors related to community service and volunteering. Therefore, the reported decline in civic engagement may not be the sole result of disengagement, rather a limited focus on one or two specific forms of engagement. For instance, gaps in the literature may occur as researchers may only be interested in specific political behaviors and not civic behaviors (Gibson, 2001; Sherrod, Flanagan, Youniss, 2002). This leaves the other areas of civic engagement unaccounted for and poses the threat of publishing misleading information. Putnam countered this notion of civic

decline by suggesting that traditional forms of engagement may have been replaced with new forms of engagement (Putnam, 1995; 2000). Therefore, studies reporting declines in civic engagement may be too narrow in scope to encompass the various forms of civic engagement.

Traditional Forms of Engagement

Keeter and colleagues (2002), attempted to organized traditional forms of engagement into meaningful categories. Traditional forms of engagement were divided into several categories consisting of civic behaviors, political behaviors, and electoral behaviors. Behaviors related to volunteering, fundraising, organizing community outreach programs, and active affiliations with organizations that promote community development were labeled as civic activities. Behaviors of expression such as protesting, boycotting, buycotting, and contacting officials, print media, and broadcast media were categorized as political voice. Lastly, behaviors such as voting, campaigning, donating to political officials, and encouraging others to vote were considered electoral activities (Keeter et. al., 2002; Lopez et. al, 2006).

Lopez et al. (2006) surveyed youth between the ages of 15-25 and found that 36% of their participants engaged in some form of volunteerism. Volunteerism was the largest self-reported percentage of engagement followed by persuading others in an election (35%), boycotting (30%), and voting regularly (26%). Seventeen percent of the participants had not participated in any forms of engagement. However, these numbers may be stilted by the measurement of traditional forms of engagement. Whether these identified forms of engagement hold constant in other ethnic and racial groups remain unclear as measurement of these behaviors have been studied primarily in members of the dominate culture (Celeste, 2009). Putnam's (1995) notion that traditional forms of engagement may have been replaced with nontraditional forms of engagement raises questions related to differences in engagement based on ethnic,

racial, and cultural differences. An interesting question to consider is whether youth of color engage in the same forms, frequency, intensity, and duration of engagement as their counterparts.

Predictors of Engagement

Socio-economic status plays a crucial role in the development of civic engagement (Foster-Bey, 2008). According to Jankowski (2002), parental influences may impede or promote the development of civic engagement depending on one's socio-economic status. For the wealthy, a plethora of opportunities are made available for civic engagement through networking, the need to continue family traditions (history) of civic involvement, and recognizing the impact that present involvement may have on the future. Access to other viable resources such as newspapers, magazines, internet, attendance at local, state, and national meetings (e.g. town-hall meetings, party conventions, and political debates), also increases knowledge about civic engagement which may lead to a greater desire for activism. However, with limited resources individuals with lower socio-economic status and lower educational attainment may experience limited opportunities for engagement (Foster-Bey, 2008; Hart & Atkins, 2002; Sherrod, Flanagan, & Youniss, 2002). Political science scholars have noted gaps in participation between individuals of low and high socioeconomic status (Schlozman et al., 1999). Hart, Atkins, & Ford (1998) highlighted qualitative discrepancies in the acquisition of resources between youth of low socio-economic statuses living in urban communities compared to youth of middle to upper socio-economic statuses living in suburban communities. Hart and Atkins (2002) found that youth living in urban environments were likely to encounter barriers that would potentially stifle opportunities to acquire knowledge about their environment as well as accessibility to resources.

Education

Education has also been found to have a strong impact on civic engagement (Thomas, 2000). Many high schools across the United States and abroad require students to enroll in civic courses and/or complete a pre-selected number of community service hours before graduation. This and related policies have been implemented in many colleges and universities. Aside from community service requirements, some universities have adopted service learning curricula that require students to reflect on their service commitment and the impact of their involvement through writing, reading, and speaking assignments (Torney-Purta et al., 2001). Knowledge acquired from service learning helps with the development of competencies and increase confidence in skills levels. Differences in the amount of community involvement exist between college graduates and non-college graduates. Hyman and Levine (2008) found that individuals with college experience were more likely to be involved in community projects than those without college experience. Study results indicated that 35% of college graduates assisted with community projects as compared to less than 20% of non-college graduates.

Efficacy

Self-efficacy refers to the belief in a person's ability to successfully execute tasks or exhibit behaviors that produce a desired outcome. According to Bandura (1986), people avoid situations where efficacy is low and quickly activate in situations where efficacy is high. As a result, efficacy is essential to human survival and perseverance. Therefore, to succeed during difficult times, individuals must believe that they have the tools to produce desired changes during these times (Bandura, Pastorelli, Barbaranelli, and Caprara, 1999). Developmental psychologists have recognized notable differences in efficacy across racial lines and socioeconomic status. Minority youth and youth from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, when

compared to White middle class youth, typically reported lower levels of efficacy and a greater disconnection from their community (Bandura, 1997; Torney-Purta, 1990).

Woodly (2006) posits that low self-efficacy in African American youth potentially limits their abilities to govern desired outcomes which may result in reduced engagement. Self-efficacy may be impacted by the reality of institutional racism, cultural and political mistrust, and family and environmental factors, as well as awareness of socioeconomic status, history of oppression, and negative personal experiences. These factors may influence levels of efficacy and/or perceived effectiveness for implementing change (McCorkle, 1991). African American's knowledge of the privileged group's (Caucasians) perceptions and unsuccessful past attempts at organizing and activating change may invoke feelings of hopelessness and result in stagnation of efforts. Mobilization is often impacted by wavering levels of self-efficacy and the individual's lack of belief in their capabilities to effect change (McLaughlin, 1993 & 2000).

Family Influence

Knowledge about the role and necessity of the political system is acquired through both formal (e.g. educational system, government, and media) and informal (e.g. peers, family, and religious affiliations) institutions. Each institution provides its own perception of the norms of society and importance of civic engagement (Sanchez-Jankowski, 2002). Informal institutions comprised of family members have been shown to have an influence on political knowledge and civic participation. Adolescents and emerging adults who were exposed to and engaged in political discussions with parents and other family members were more likely to develop higher levels of political knowledge and become involved in political activities than those not exposed to these discussions.

Andolina et al. (2003) found that 18-25 year olds raised in environments where political discussions were heard regularly displayed higher rates of voting, volunteerism, and other civic engagement when compared to individuals reared in environments where these types of discussions did not occur. McIntosh, Hart, and Youniss (2007) conducted a study that investigated the influence of family political discussion on youth civic development. Higher levels of political awareness, national news monitoring, and community service involvement were reported by youth who were exposed to public affairs through family discussion. Linked to youth civic development were parental characteristics such as parent's educational level, knowledge of political affairs, donations to political causes, and affiliations with professional and social organizations. Youth whose parents were involved in civic activities and engaged in civic discussions were more likely to be involved in civic activities as adults than those whose parents were not actively involved (Verba, Scholzman, and Brady, 1995).

Contextual Influences of Religion, Race, and Racism

In some communities, the church not only serves as an avenue for worship, but it also provides a venue for political forums and discussions (Brown & Brown, 2003). During election year, many local candidates use the convenience of the church as a method to expeditiously access a mass of individuals to discuss their political platforms and solicit votes. A study that examined the relationship between church involvement and African American men's likelihood to volunteer found that men who attended church regularly had higher probabilities of volunteering. In addition, men who were more invested in church life reportedly devoted more time to volunteerism each year (Mattis et. al, 2000; Mattis et. al, 2004).

Through the use of focus groups, Sherrod, Flanagan, and Youniss (2002) found that marginalized youth have an invested interest in political issues. However, rather than being

invested in issues impacting the whole country, they tend to be more invested in issues related to their family, race, and religion. According to Sanchez-Jankowski (2002), frequency and passion for civic engagement continues to be impacted among minority youth with a history of rejection and exclusion. Attitudes toward civic engagement among ethnic minority youth may be largely influenced by the need for improvements and changes that directly affect their community.

Racial Identity

Racial identity is a cultural construct that has been shown to have a strong impact on a number of motivational behaviors such as psychological, medical, and spiritual help seeking, adjustment, aggression, and academic achievement (Johnson, Bastien & Hirschel, 2009). However, research exploring the role of racial identity in predicting civic engagement behavior is scarce. Racial identity refers to an individual's sense of group membership based on their perception of a shared racial heritage with a specific ethnic group. W. Cross (1971) originally proposed a racial identity model that presented four stages of identity: Pre-encounter, Encounter, Immersion/Emersion and Internalization.

The pre-encounter stage describes a period of time during which an individual abandons his/her "Blackness" and romanticizes everything that is not related to Black culture. The encounter stage is characterized by an awareness of one's identity as a Black person. The Immersion/Emersion stage occurs when the individual submerges himself or herself into everything that is Black. This stage also consists of complete commitment to the Black culture and, often, a rejection of non-Black values. The internalization stage is the final phase in the model and describes a time during which individuals become content with their identity and embrace opportunities to interact with other cultures. Individuals do not fit perfectly in each stage. They may have attitudes that represent a number of the stages. Racial identity attitudes

will fluctuate based on the context, although most individuals will have dominant attitudes associated with one stage (Helm, 1995).

Racial identity has been linked to a number of outcomes such as academic success, psychological well-being, and self efficacy (Carter, 1991; Phinney, 1990; Pyant & Yanico, 1991). Given the model of racial identity, as it relates to African American civic engagement, individuals with internalized attitudes would be expected to participate in civic behaviors that would benefit society. Pre-encounter attitudes would possibly be related to fewer displays of civic engagement. Few studies have specifically investigated the impact of racial identity on civic engagement behaviors in African Americans (Lott, 2005).

Present Study

Interest in youth civic participation is growing as youth and emerging adults are increasingly seen as playing a crucial problem solving role as society faces new social and environmental problems. Within empowerment approaches and a social justice orientation, collective social action is increasingly viewed as key to optimal development (Benson et. al, 1998; Johnson & Tucker, 2008). The importance of civic engagement and the implications of involvement has on preserving society are well documented (Sherrod, 2002; Youniss, McLellan, Yates, 1997). The current literature on youth development and civic engagement implies that self efficacy, education and civic knowledge, familial influence, socio-economic status, and religion were general predictors of civic engagement.

While these factors have been implicated as strong general predictors of engagement, the current literature failed to show how these factors specifically influence engagement among African American youth and/or how African American youth become civically engaged. Additional gaps in the literature exist in the identification of the types of activities that African American youth engage in as well as the outcomes of their engagement (Celestine, 2009). The current study proposes that in addition to the general predictors of engagement (e.g. efficacy, family influences, education, religion, and socioeconomic status), cultural factors such as racial identity and experiences with racism will also play a major role in the development and prediction of types of civic engagement in an African American sample of college students. The following hypotheses were proposed:

Hypothesis 1: Based on our qualitative analysis of interviews we expect to find socio-cultural aspects related to engagement to emerge as follows: A) family/social, religious, and racial motivations for engagement; B) family, church, schools and social organizations (e.g. Greek) as avenues/facilitators of engagement; and C) education/tutoring; serving poor, elderly and sick; racial justice or racial reconciliation, or otherwise uplifting the Black community will be foci of engagement efforts.

Next, a series of hypotheses were proposed to examine predictors of the type and amount of engagement, civic attitudes and skills and voting behavior. Specifically, we hypothesized:

Hypothesis 2: Sociodemographics, previous service, family socialization, religious involvement, and racial identity would predict type of current engagement.

Hypothesis 3: Sociodemographics, previous service, family socialization, religious involvement, and racial identity will predict current amount/level of engagement (number of hours per week).

Hypothesis 4: Sociodemographics, previous service, family socialization, religious involvement, and racial identity will predict current membership in service-related organizations (number of organizations).

Hypothesis 5: Sociodemographics, previous service, family socialization, religious involvement, and racial identity will predict civic attitudes and skills.

Hypothesis 6: Sociodemographics, previous service, family socialization, religious involvement, and racial identity will predict self-reported participation in the 2008 presidential election.

Finally, we had specific directional hypotheses about the relationship of various racial identity stages to civic engagement.

Hypothesis 7: Internalization racial identity attitudes will be positively associated with self-efficacy and civic attitudes and skills whereas, immersion/emersion, pre-encounter and encounter attitudes will be negatively associated with self-efficacy and civic attitudes and skills.

Hypothesis 8: Racial identity will predict the type of civic engagement. Immersion/emersion attitudes will be associated with engagement that will specifically benefit the African American community. Individuals in the internalized stage will be more likely to engage in activities that benefit society as a whole.

Methods

Participants

The current study investigated how African American emerging adults aged 18-24 ($M=19.54$, $SD=1.52$) became civically involved in their communities and beyond. Participants were 171 African American students who attended The University of Mississippi, a predominately white university in Northern Mississippi. Seventy percent of the participants self identified as female ($N=119$) and (97%) as heterosexual ($N=163$). The largest percentage of the participants were freshmen (44%), followed in percentage by sophomores (20%) and seniors (19%). The remaining participants were classified as juniors (17%) or graduate students (1%). Ninety-one percent ($N=156$) of the participants reported connections to a religious organization with 73% reporting their religious denomination as Baptist ($N=118$). Levels of maternal educational attainment ranged from grammar school (19%), some college or technical school (32%), college graduate (32%), and graduate degree (18%). Rates for paternal educational attainment ranged from grammar school (43%), some college or technical school (26%), college graduate (14%), and graduate degree (12%).

Although majority of the sample were freshmen, many already had post graduation plans to attend graduate school (51%), professional school (38%), teach (11%), join the armed forces (4%) or work in a civilian/government position (2%). Only 5% of the participants were undecided about school or career plans after college. Respondents were provided with a list of world issues and asked to endorse items in which they felt concern. The majority of participants

were concerned about civil rights (91%), the AIDS epidemic (87%), domestic violence prevention in women (85%), racial reconciliation (74%), and women's rights (74%). Interestingly, world issues such as global warming (38%), international affairs (34%), environmentalism (32%), and gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender rights (14%) received the fewest endorsements.

Survey Procedures

Participants were recruited via email and written announcements sent to individuals, student organizations and the psychology student participant management (PSPM) system. Participants completed survey packets in an individual or group setting. Completion time of the survey packets ranged from 35 minutes to an hour. Participants were informed of confidentiality and submitted signed informed consent documents. Upon completion of the surveys, an information session was held for interested participants.

Measures

The survey packet consisted of several standardized psychometric measures that assessed predictors of civic engagement including self-efficacy, previous community service, racial identity, and key relationships. The packet included the following measures: demographic questionnaire, Black Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (RIAS-B), General Self-Efficacy Scale (GSE), Civic Attitude and Skills Questionnaire (CASQ), African American Acculturation Scale (AAAS), and the Schedule of Racists Events (SRE).

Demographic Questionnaire. The demographic questionnaire, adapted by the researcher, asked participants to indicate their gender, age, race, highest educational level completed, income level, religious affiliation and involvement, post graduation plans, membership in service organization, and types of community involvement.

General Self Efficacy Scale. The General Self-Efficacy Scale (GSE; Schwarzer & Jerusalem, 1995) was originally developed in German in 1979 and has since been published in 26 other languages. Its purpose is to assess a general sense of self-efficacy in order to predict coping with daily stressors and stressful life events. It is acceptable for the general population, but is not designed for those under 12 years of age. It contains 10 items, each with a four point Likert-type scale (1 = *not at all true*, 2 = *hardly true*, 3 = *moderately true*, 4 = *exactly true*), and takes about 4 minutes to administer. It is considered to have acceptable reliability; Cronbach alphas in the upper 0.80s (Schwarzer & Jerusalem, 1995). Internal consistency for this study was .81.

Black Racial Identity Attitudes Scale. The Black Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (RIAS-B) was designed to operationalize Cross's (1971) Nigrescence identity model (Parham and Helms, 1981). This measure was developed on a college sample with Cronbach alphas ranging from .50 to .79. It is used to assess attitudes held by African Americans towards whites and their own reference group. In addition, it also examines the four stages of Cross's theory. Participants respond to the 50 items on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 5 (*strongly agree*) to 1 (*strongly disagree*). Total scores are the sums of the item values for each of the four factors. The higher the individual factor scores the more attitudes a person possesses from that particular factor. The internal consistencies for this study were as followed: preencounter (.77), encounter (.56), immersion/emersion (.75) and internalization (.74).

African American Acculturation Scale-Short Form 33. The African American Acculturation Scale (AAAS-33) is a 33-item scale which has shown good initial construct and concurrent validity (Landrine & Klonoff, 1995). The scale is comprised of 10 factors of African American culture. Participant responses are scored on a 7-point Likert-type scale that ranges

from 1 (*totally disagree/not at all true*) to 7 (*strongly agree/absolutely true*). Individual subscale scores can be computed by summing the items for each subscale or participant's ratings for all the items can be totaled to obtain a composite acculturation score. Internal consistency for the total score ranges from .81 to .88 (Landrine & Klonoff, 1995). The Cronbach's alpha for the current study was .84.

Schedule of Racists Events. The Schedule of Racists Events (SRE) is an 18-item inventory designed to examine the frequency of racist events (over the lifetime and in the past year) and appraisal of these events as causing stress (Landrine and Klonoff, 1996). There are 18 items describing specific events such as being treated unfairly by teachers and professors. After each event, respondents answer three questions about the frequency and level of stress associated with each event on a six-point Likert-type scale. The estimates of internal consistency range from .94 to .95 for the three subscales measuring recent events, lifetime events and appraised events (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996). Internal Consistency for the current study was .91 (recent), .89 (lifetime), and .93 (appraisal).

Civic Attitudes and Skills Questionnaire. The Civic Attitudes and Skills Questionnaire (CASQ; Moely, Mercer, Ilustre & Miron, 2002) is a 44 item self-report questionnaire that produces scores on six separate scales used to gather information about participant's self evaluation on civic attitudes and skills. Items are presented as statements and respondents choose a numerical representation of their level of agreement 1 (*completely disagree*) to 5 (*agree completely*). Internal consistencies for each scale range from 0.69 to 0.88, and three month test-retest reliabilities for each scale range from .56 to .81 (Moely, Mercer, et al, 2002). Internal consistencies for this study were as followed: civic action (.93), interpersonal skills and problem

solving (.87), political awareness (.83), leadership (.78), social justice (.68), & diversity attitudes (.35).

Interview Procedures

After the completion of the quantitative portion of the study, all of the participants were divided into 3 groups (e.g. high, neutral, and low) based on the number of reported service hours per week. Once divided, 10 participants from each group were randomly selected and invited to participate in the second and final phase of the study. An initial email announcement was sent to the selected participants requesting their continued participation in the study. Two additional follow-up emails were sent to participants who did not respond to the initial email. Only 2 participants agreed to participate in the second phase of the study. Therefore, additional participants were randomly selected and emails were sent requesting participation. After 3 months of attempting to solicit participation in phase 2 of the study, 7 participants (2-high engagement, 3-neutral engagement, & 2-low engagement) agreed and interview dates and times were selected. Interviews were conducted by two advanced clinical psychology doctoral students. Interview times ranged from 45 minutes to 70 minutes. Each interview was transcribed verbatim and reviewed for units of meaning and themes.

Data Analysis

Quantitative

Prior to analyzing results, preliminary tests (e.g. descriptive analyses) were conducted to examine the distribution of scores on the predictor and criterion variables. Results suggested that the criterion variables violated the assumption of normality (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). Histograms were used to investigate the shape of each distribution. Transformations were conducted to reduce negative skewness. Initially, a reflection and square root transformation was conducted on each of the civic attitudes and skills scales. After the transformations, each scale was re-examined to assess normality. Civic action was negatively skewed prior to transformation and remained negatively skewed after the transformation. In an attempt to reach near-normality, a logarithmic transformation was further used on the civic action scale of the CASQ (Pallant, 2010). Results of the logarithmic transformation produced a positively skewed distribution. Regressions were used with and without transformation to examine the impact of racial identity on civic engagement. Analyses of these variables with and without transformation produced similar results. Therefore, only analyses without transformations are presented.

Due to a large number of predictor and outcome variables, multivariate multiple regression analyses were used to identify which predictor variables significantly predicted the criterion variables. Once identified, multiple regression analyses were used to determine the extent of the impact of the predictor variables on current engagement in service (H2), level of engagement (total number of weekly service hours;H3), current membership in service organizations (H4), civic attitudes and skills (H5), and voting behaviors in 2008 (H6).

Qualitative

Based on Ratner's (2001) approach to effectively analyzing qualitative data, all interviews were transcribed verbatim. Before analyses began, each interview was read thoroughly to gain an understanding of what each interviewee was conveying to the interviewer. Analysis began with each interview being read to identify units of meaning. Units of meaning were individual words or phrases that were related to the research questions being asked and represented a distinct theme. Therefore, each response that was relevant to the research question was highlighted. Following identification of units of meaning, each meaning unit was summarized and organized into central themes. Central themes that were similar in nature were further grouped and categorized into one general theme. Lastly, explanations for each general theme were provided. Interviews were reviewed and coded by the principal investigator and then by a research assistant.

Results

Descriptive

Descriptive statistics were calculated for all predictor and outcome variables (see Table 1). Mean scores and standard deviations for racial identity attitudes were based on 167 respondents. Mean scores for pre-encounter ($M=39.53$, $SD= 8.89$), encounter ($M=15.90$, $SD= 3.45$), immersion/emersion ($M=30.26$, $SD=6.50$) and internalization ($M=57.11$, $SD=5.12$) appeared higher than scores reported in past studies by Parham & Helms (1981). One hundred and seventy-one participants completed the GSE scale. This resulted in mean summed scores of 32.51 ($SD=3.79$) which appeared slightly higher than scores ($M=29.48$, $SD=4.0$) reported in the Schwarzer & Jerusalem (1995) study.

The mean score and standard deviation for the total African American acculturation scale ($M=146.47$, $SD=25.92$) was similar to scores reported in the Landrine & Klonoff (1995) study. However, differences in means and standard deviations appeared in the preferences for things African American ($M=30.36$, $SD= 6.59$), traditional foods ($M= 10.87$, $SD=7.20$), traditional childhood ($M=12.63$, $SD= 6.39$), interracial attitudes/cultural mistrust ($M=8.15$, $SD= 4.38$), and traditional games ($M=4.08$, $SD=3.08$) subscales which appear lower than those reported in the normed sample. In addition, mean scores for the religious beliefs and practices ($M=38.23$, $SD= 6.16$), superstitions ($M=11.07$, $SD= 5.44$), falling out ($M=10.74$, $SD= 3.64$), traditional family values ($M=11.33$, $SD= 2.41$), and family practices ($M=9.01$, $SD= 4.10$) subscales were higher than those reported in previous studies (Landrine & Klonoff, 1995). Mean and standard deviation scores for the recent racist events ($M=33.50$, $SD= 12.38$), lifetime racist events ($M=38.00$, $SD=14.07$, and appraised racist events ($M=40.83$, $SD=22.82$) subscales of the schedule of racist events measure, were much lower in comparison to the normed sample (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996).

The next section provides information related to the extent to which participants felt engaged and types of engagement by category. Perception of degree of engagement varied from actual frequency of engagement. Perception of degree of engagement ranged from not at all active (9%), somewhat active but not consistent (49%), regular—fairly active member (24%), very active (15%), and extremely active—leadership position (2%). Frequency of engagement was measured in terms of weekly service hours. Thirty-nine percent endorsed less than 1 hour a week of service ($N=65$), 40% reported 1-3 hours ($N=67$), 15% reported 4-6 hours ($N=26$), 5% reported 7-12 hours ($N=9$), 0% reported 13-19 hours ($N=0$), and 1% reported 20 or more hours of service per week ($N=2$).

Types of engagement were based on Keeter, Zukin, Andolina, and Jenkins (2002) identification of 19 indicators of civic engagement that were grouped into three categories: civic, electoral, and political voice. Results of the current study showed that majority of the participants engaged in activities that were considered electoral. Fifty-seven percent of the participants voted in the 2008 presidential election, wore political paraphernalia, and/or discussed politics with family. Electoral activities were followed by civic related activities. Fifty-three percent of the participants volunteered at a youth facility, 42 percent engaged/provided some form of human service, and 40 percent volunteered at a residential facility or nursing home. The least amount of participation was seen in the political voice category which included attending a political forum (19%) distributing political flyers (17%), financially contributing to political campaign (11%), attending a rally or protest (9%), promoting racial reconciliation (9%), and participating in a boycott (2%). The next sections will discuss results of the multiple regression analysis (H2- H6) and bivariate analysis (H7-H8).

Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations for Predictor and Outcome variables

Variables	Means	Standard Deviation
Black Racial Identity Scale		
Pre-encounter	39.53	8.89
Encounter	15.90	3.45
Immersion-Emersion	30.26	6.50
Internalization	57.11	5.12
General Self Efficacy Scale		
Self-Efficacy	32.51	.379
Civic Attitudes and Skills Questionnaire		
Civic Action	4.11	.735
Political Awareness	3.48	.768
Social Justice	3.67	.544
Diversity Attitudes	3.83	.691
African American Acculturation Scale		
Preference for things African American	30.36	6.59
Religious Beliefs/Practices	38.23	6.16
Traditional Foods	10.87	7.20
Traditional Childhood	12.64	6.39
Superstitions	11.07	5.44
Interracial Attitudes/Cultural Mistake	8.15	4.38
Falling Out	10.74	3.64
Traditional Games	4.08	3.08
Traditional Family Values	11.33	2.41
Family Practices	9.01	4.10
Schedule of Racist Events		
Recent Racist Events	33.50	12.38
Lifetime Racist Events	38.00	14.07
Appraised Racist Events	40.83	22.82

Table 2
Individual and Family Demographics

Variable	Frequency	% of Sample
Gender		
Male	52	30%
Female	119	70%
Classification		
Freshmen	74	44%
Sophomore	34	20%
Junior	38	17%
Senior	32	19%
Graduate Student	1	1%
Religious Affiliation		
Baptist	118	69%
Methodist	13	8%
Pentecostal	8	5%
Catholic	1	1%
Other	20	12%
Father's Highest Level of Education		
Elementary School (K-8)	5	3%
High School (9-12)	67	39%
Some College/Technical School	45	26%
College Graduate	24	14%
Graduate Degree	20	12%
Do Not Know	10	6%
Mother's Highest Level of Education		
Elementary School (K-8)	3	2%
High School (9-12)	28	16%
Some College/Technical School	32	32%
College Graduate	54	32%
Graduate Degree	30	18%
Do Not Know	1	1%

Predictors of Service Involvement (H2, H3, H4, & H6)

Initial multivariate analyses were used to determine which of the proposed predictors of engagement would be statistically significant to enter into the regression model. Based on multivariate analysis, racial identity was the only significant predictor of engagement. Therefore, standard multiple regression procedures were then used to assess the impact of racial identity as a predictor of current degree of service engagement (H2), amount of engagement (H3), current organizational membership (H4), and voting (H8). For each of the regressions, the four racial identity subscales were entered into the model at once.

Racial identity was a significant predictor of current degree of service engagement (H2), $R^2 = .13$, $F(4, 160) = 5.94$, $p < .001$, and accounted for 13% of the variance. Of the four subscales, encounter was the only variable to make a statistically significant contribution to the model, $B = .310$, $t(160) = 3.21$, $p = .002$ (see Table 3). Results investigating racial identity as a predictor of level (frequency) of engagement, current membership, and voting did not reveal support for the model. Racial identity was not a significant predictor of level of engagement (H3), $R^2 = .05$, $F(4, 159) = 2.05$, $p = .09$, current membership (H4), $R^2 = .05$, $F(4, 161) = 2.23$, $p = .07$, or voting behaviors (H8), $R^2 = .02$, $F(4, 154) = .714$, $p = .583$.

Additionally, supplemental analysis recognized racial identity as a significant predictor of religious engagement, $R^2 = .15$, $F(4, 161) = 7.03$, $p < .001$, with internalization as a significant contributor to the prediction of religious engagement, $B = .297$, $t(161) = 3.93$, $p < .001$. Types of religious engagement for this study included participation in the choir ministry (52%), youth ministry (37%), and community outreach ministry (16%), volunteering with the food and clothes pantry (14%), usher ministry (14%), mission society (13%), education department (7%), and

other unspecified activities (10%). Forty-five percent of the respondents participated in two or more religious activities.

Predictor of Civic Attitudes and Skills (H5)

Multiple regression analyses were used to determine the extent to which racial identity predicted civic action, political awareness, social justice, and diversity attitudes, all subscales of the CASQ (H5). Results suggested that racial identity significantly predicted civic action attitudes, $R^2 = .16$, $F(4, 161) = 7.80$, $p. < .001$. Of the four racial identity attitudes, internalization, $B = .376$, $t(161) = 5.02$, $p. < .001$, immersion/emersion, $B = -.282$, $t(161) = -2.87$, $p. < .005$, and encounter, $B = .226$, $t(161) = 2.39$, $p. < .018$ were significant.

Political awareness was significantly predicted by racial identity attitudes, $R^2 = .18$, $F(4, 161) = 8.60$, $p. < .000$, which accounted for 18% of the variance. Immersion/Emersion was the only racial identity attitude found to not be significant in the model (see Table 4).

Racial identity accounted for 18% of the variance in predicting social justice attitudes, $R^2 = .18$, $F(4, 161) = 8.67$, $p. < .000$. Preencounter, $B = -.245$, $t(161) = -3.19$, $p. < .002$, immersion/emersion, $B = -.241$, $t(161) = -2.47$, $p. < .014$, and internalization, $B = .215$, $t(161) = 2.89$, $p. < .004$, attitudes were all significant predictors.

Diversity attitudes were significantly predicted by racial identity and accounted for 18% of the variance. Immersion/emersion, $B = -.392$, $t(161) = -4.02$, $p. < .001$, and internalization, $B = .280$, $t(161) = 3.76$, $p. < .001$ attitudes were the only significant predictors of diversity attitudes.

Table 3

Racial Identity as a Predictor of Service Involvement

Variable	Current Engagement			Level of Engagement			Current Memberships			Religious Engagement		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
Pre-encounter	.02	.01	.15	.01	.01	.11	.00	.01	-.01	-.00	.01	-.01
Encounter	.08	.03	.31**	.03	.03	.11	.05	.03	.19	.09	.05	.19
Immersion/ Emersion	-	.01	-.07	-.01	.02	-.07	-.03	.02	-.19	.01	.03	.04
Internalization	.01											
	.03	.01	.15	.04	.02	.19**	.03	.01	.18**	.10	.02	.30**
R^2			.13**			.05			.05			.15**

Note. $p < .05^*$ $p < .01$

Table 4

Racial Identity as a Predictor of Civic Attitudes and Skills

Variable	Civic Action		Political Awareness				Social Justice			Diversity Attitudes		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
	<i>B</i>											
Preencounter	.01	.01	.07	.02	.01	.21**	-.02	.01	-.25**	.00	.01	-.01
Encounter	.05	.02	.23**	.06	.02	.27**	.01	.02	.06	.01	.02	.05
Immersion/ Emersion	-.03	.01	-.28**	-.01	.01	-.10	-.02	.01	-.24**	-.04	.01	-.39**
Internalization	.06	.01	.38**	.05	.01	.29**	.02	.01	.22**	.04	.01	.28**
R^2			.16**			.18**			.18**			.18**

Note. $p < .05^*$ $p < .01^{**}$

Relationship between racial identity attitudes, self efficacy, and CASQ scores (H7)

To test hypotheses 7a and 7b, bivariate correlations were conducted. As hypothesized, in H7a, internalization attitudes were positively associated with civic action ($r=.36, p=.001$), interpersonal skills ($r=.34, p=.001$), political awareness ($r=.29, p=.001$), leadership skills ($r=.27, p=.001$), social justice ($r=.24, p=.002$), and diversity attitudes ($r=.25, p=.001$), and self-efficacy ($r=.29, p=.001$).

As suggested for H7b, immersion/emersion attitudes were negatively correlated with social justice ($r=-.24, p=.002$) and diversity attitudes ($r=-.32, p=.001$). Pre-encounter attitudes were also found to be negatively linked to leadership skills ($r=-.17, p=.03$), social justice ($r=-.34, p=.001$), and diversity attitudes ($r=-.16, p=.04$). Although not statistically significant, pre-encounter attitudes were in the expected direction for self efficacy, civic action attitudes, and interpersonal skills.

Encounter attitudes were also hypothesized to be negatively correlated with self-efficacy and civic attitudes and skills. While diversity attitudes ($r=-.18, p=.02$) were statistically and negatively correlated with encounter attitudes, the relationships between encounter attitudes and civic action, leadership skills, and self efficacy were not significant. Inconsistent with the proposed hypotheses, pre-encounter ($r=.19, p=.01$), encounter ($r=.27, p=.001$), and immersion/emersion ($r=.17, p=.03$) attitudes were all found to be statistically and positively correlated with political awareness (see Table 5).

Table 5

Relationship between racial identity and civic engagement

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Pre-encounter	-													
Encounter	.222**	-												
Immersion/Emersion	.300**	.643**	-											
Internalization	-.144	.087	.154*	-										
Current engagement	.182*	.315**	.206**	.144	-									
Level of engagement	.097	.111	.073	.167*	.350**	-								
Service/Organization	-.043	.083	-.037	.166*	.343**	.195*	-							
Religious	.004	.249**	.210**	.319**	.236**	.262**	.129	-						
Voted in 2008	.110	.049	.091	.064	.036	-.084	-.107	.094	-					
Civic Action	-.013	.093	-.063	.360**	.360**	.191*	.225**	.126	-.060	-				
Political Awareness	.194*	.270**	.172*	.288**	.284**	.055	.084	.119	.098	.373**	-			
Leadership Skills	-.168*	.007	.049	.268**	.038	.093	-.005	.232**	.004	.161*	-.047	-		
Social Justice	-.338**	-.136	-.239**	.236**	-.100	.049	.109	.078	-.071	.239**	-.014	.111	-	
Diversity Attitudes	-.158*	-.183*	-.320**	.252**	.051	.039	.132	-.092	-.089	.315**	.101	.156*	.261**	-

Note. p < .05* p < .01*

QUALITATIVE RESULTS

Relationship between Racial Identity and Type of Engagement

Based on qualitative analysis, it was hypothesized that socio-cultural factors such as family/social connections, religious involvement, and racial identity would serve as motivators for engagement (H1). Family, church, schools and social organizations (e.g., Fraternities and Sororities) would provide avenues for or facilitate engagement. Lastly, education/tutoring, serving the poor, elderly and sick, racial justice, racial reconciliation, or other activities that uplift the Black community would be foci of engagement efforts.

Religion and church involvement, adult mentoring/key relationships, and personal growth and satisfaction were recurring themes throughout the interviews. Civic engagement via church involvement appeared to be a common occurrence in the African American community. Respondents implied a connection between civic engagement and a sense of moral responsibility. One respondent said, “We feel like that’s a part of what God requires of us that we try to help and make society a better place...” Another respondent spoke of civic engagement in terms of one’s christian duty. “In the bible, Jesus first served. So, I never minded serving others because seeing someone else happy makes me happy.”

In addition to the influence of the church, exposure to civic behaviors via important key relationships with community members, family members, and religious leaders appeared to strengthen participants eagerness to engage in service. One interviewee reported that her relationship with a neighbor deepened as a result of the quality of their interactions. In this instance, the respondent’s neighbor was a key figure that helped to formulate her civic attitudes

and behaviors. The following excerpt explains her start to engaging in service. “Growing up, there was this lady, my neighbor. She kind of became my mama. She really kept me involved in the community. She was always involved. When she was doing community service, she made me do it too. So, I would follow her around from serving food on Christmas to tutoring kids.”

From a behavioral modeling aspect, the development and maintenance of engagement through key relationships affirms the importance of identifying mentors that will facilitate and help to support pro-social behaviors. Ideally, identifying mentors would encompass an expanded view of family and social networks to include non-familial relationships. Consistent with the literature on the impact of religion (Brown & Brown, 2003), another respondent reported that he learned about the importance of giving back to his community through his church’s outreach ministry and people in his community. In his account of what inspires him to engage in service, he said, “My pastor and local people encourage us to get out and pick up trash or keep the community clean, help the older folks who can’t help themselves.”

Personal growth and satisfaction in helping others appeared to also influence civic behaviors. Interviewees discussed experiencing gratification from serving others, feeling a sense of purpose and humility and a connection to the community. An interviewee said, “I think it’s definitely a humbling experience [giving back to community]. Sometimes you hear things could be worse, but sometimes doing things outside of your comfort zone really makes you realize things could be worse, and you’re humbled and grateful for what you have done.” Another respondent said, “When giving back, there is a sense of feeling important or you have some kind of place in your community. The simplest thing like seeing somebody else happy makes me happy.” Personal growth and sense of duty also emerged as a theme that influenced civic engagement. “When I started out doing community service, I did it because I felt like it would

look good on a college resume, but now I feel like it's my duty. I feel like it's who I am, what I need to do." This suggests that engaging in service is beneficial to both the recipients of the service as well as the engagers.

As anticipated, activities to improve conditions of the Black community were the foci of engagement efforts. Five of the seven interviewees were engaged in some form of civic engagement, with two being highly engaged. Respondents described their engagement as assisting the elderly, visiting the sick and infirmed, and spending time with youth. When asked who reaped the benefits of their engagement efforts, two specific populations were mentioned: 1) youth and 2) the elderly. Volunteering at youth servicing organizations such as Head Start and the Boys and Girls Club or facilities for the elderly such as nursing and residential homes were the most frequently discussed venues. In addition, respondents identified specific types of engagement and programming that would benefit the Black community. More specifically, one respondent suggested implementing education into the church. "If we could implement [education] programs through our church in the Black community, I think it would have a long-term impact." Another respondent also suggested implementing education programs in the community. "You could set up teen pregnancy prevention centers—because the highest teen pregnancy rates are in the African American community. You can educate them on abstinence or have comprehensive sex education programs that says, 'wrap it up or don't do it at all.'"

Emerging from the data was information that helped to further understand factors that would inhibit a person's engagement in service. Specific causes related to disengagement that were discussed included competing academic and work pressure (time restraints), experiences with racism, disconnection to one's community, and low self efficacy. Commitment to scholarship was discussed as a barrier to service. A respondent suggested that the level of detail in which

she devotes to her school work prevents her from allocating time to do much of anything else. She added once she completed her studies, she would be willing to devote time to help the people of her community, which was a small rural town in Mississippi. Another respondent who also lived in a small rural town in Mississippi discussed feeling disconnected to her community as a result of repeated exposure to racism. She said, “I don’t feel like I got to do anything in Calhoun County because they don’t do nothing for me. I’m tired of folks looking at me as if they better than me. I worked in the hospital one summer and a woman who was sick refused to let me help her. I told her, either I help her or she won’t get helped because I was the only one there at the time.” Refer to tables 6a, 6b, & 6c for themes and sample responses gathered from the following questions:

1. Have you ever thought about engaging in community or social service?

If yes, discuss types of engagement of interest

2. If currently involved, discuss duration and types of involvement
3. Tell me about how you became interested and involved in this topic.
4. Tell me about experiences or relationships that led to your involvement (or lack of)?
5. What has motivated you to action?
6. How has your involvement impact you? Others?
7. Tell me about some obstacles to your involvement

Hypothesis 8 stated that racial identity would influence types of civic engagement. Specifically, individuals with immersion/emersion attitudes would engage in activities to help the African American community. Individuals with internalized attitudes would engage in activities that would benefit society. To test this hypothesis, mean scores for each of the respondents racial identity attitude scores were examined in an attempt to group individuals into

one of the four racial identity attitudes. This hypothesis was not able to be fully tested as each of the respondents endorsed more internalized attitudes, as evident by higher internalization racial identity scores. Data gathered from the interviews failed to find support for this hypothesis as respondents with internalized attitudes specifically discussed the implementation of programs in the African American community such as pregnancy prevention programs and volunteering youth servicing programs that have a propensity to be frequented more by African Americans. Based on the model of black racial identity, it was expected that individuals with more internalized attitudes would have identified and discussed solutions to social justice concerns that would extend beyond the Black community. However, the respondents in this sample discussed involvement with organizations and program development and implementation that traditionally serve or would benefit African Americans.

Table 6a

Motivators and Maintainers of Service

General Theme(s)	Central Theme(s)	Participant Response(s)
<p>Role of church, social, and family as motivators and maintainers of service</p>	<p>Church provides avenues for service</p>	<p>“The black church is where everything starts in the community.”</p> <p>“Our church promotes a lot and given that we’re very involved with church, we all believe in going out and helping others.”</p>
	<p>Social influence from church and role models</p>	<p>“When I was younger I definitely had a role model, a tutor, somebody that you know sort of impacted me to volunteer with my church.”</p> <p>“[At church] we had people come speak to us and that impacted me in a great way so I can only imagine how it impacted people who I volunteered with.”</p>
	<p>Sense of moral responsibility from Christian Duties</p>	<p>“We feel like that’s a part of what God requires of us that we try to help and make society a better place, so a lot of that comes from my family.”</p> <p>“In the bible, Jesus first served. So, I never minded serving others because seeing someone else happy makes me happy.”</p>
<p>Key Relationships</p>	<p>Community role models</p> <p>Religious leaders</p>	<p>“Growing up, there was this lady, my neighbor. She kind of became my mama. She really kept me involved in the community.”</p> <p>“A friend’s mom is in a Greek organization. She barked on community service and giving back. I figured if she can take time out of her busy schedule to actually give back to the community to make a positive impact, I could do it too.”</p> <p>“My pastor and church people encourage us to get out and pick up trash or keep the community clean, help the older folks who can’t help themselves.”</p>
<p>Personal growth & satisfaction</p>	<p>Gratification from serving others</p> <p>Personal Growth (sense of duty and humility) and Identity</p> <p>Sense of purpose and community connection</p>	<p>“Helping someone else who is less fortunate or unable to do the things that they want or need to do is very pleasing”</p> <p>“The simplest thing like seeing somebody else happy makes me happy”</p> <p>“I think it’s [volunteering] definitely a humbling experience.”</p> <p>“When I started out doing community service, I did it because I felt like it would look good on a college resume, but now I feel like it’s my duty. I feel like it’s who I am, what I need to do.”</p> <p>“When giving back, there is a sense of feeling important or you have some kind of place in your community.”</p>

Table 6b

Benefactors of Service

General Theme(s)	Central Theme(s)	Participant Response(s)
Service Beneficiary	Elderly	<p>“My grandmother is elderly. I like doing things for her and so that encouraged me to do things for other elderly people”</p>
	Sick and Infirm	<p>“I go to the nursing home to help the elderly. We do fruit baskets for the sick and shut-in”</p> <p>“...going to the nursing homes up here in Oxford and sing and give stuff back to the elderly and do things for them that they can't normally do.”</p> <p>“We go around to different houses, like the sick and shut-in and take them food. It's usually an elderly family or the sick.”</p>
	Youth	<p>“...mostly with the kids, like doing stuff with recycling cause it's really big now, Kids' Carnival which is a project with the Boys & Girls club.”</p> <p>“I volunteer at the Boys and Girls Club, and I plan to do Leapfrog which is an afterschool tutoring program.”</p> <p>“I really like being around younger people, being with the youth so I go to the Boys Girls Club and get really involved in the youth program in my church.”</p>

Table 6c

Factors Contributing to Disengagement

General Themes	Central Themes	Participant Response(s)
Causes of Disengagement	<p>Time (competing academic and work pressure)</p> <p>Low Self-Efficacy</p> <p>Low Priority</p> <p>Experiences with racism</p>	<p>“Just time. Having the time to go out there and get involved is the only thing that would interfere with me doing service. Especially since I am in school.”</p> <p>“I have two jobs and I’m in school. I have so much on my plate that I can’t engage all of my time in community service.”</p> <p>“I don’t feel like I would be able to make a difference.”</p> <p>“If the community does have downfalls that I could help, I don’t think that it would be helpful. I don’t think there’s nothing I can do”</p> <p>“I wouldn’t even know where to start.”</p> <p>“It never like crossed my mind to like help this group of people or I need to help my community”</p> <p>“I don’t subconsciously think about going out and doing service. If you don’t come to me and say, “hey I need you to paint this house,” I’m probably not going to do it because I don’t know. If I don’t know about it, I’m not going to go looking for it.”</p> <p>“I don’t feel like I got to do anything in Calhoun County because they don’t do nothing for me. I’m tired of folks looking at me as if they better than me. I worked in the hospital one summer and a White woman who was sick refused to let me help her. I told her, either I help her or she won’t get helped because I was the only one there at the time.”</p>

DISCUSSION

A plethora of research studies have been conducted to examine the importance of youth civic engagement. Results of some studies suggest that youth in the United States are disengaged and as a result, the country is facing a substantial crisis (Putnam, 1996, 2000). Others argue that civic behaviors such as volunteering and community service are at an all-time high (Sherrod & Baskir, 2007). The focus of the current study was to investigate how the previous research findings compared to the rates of civic engagement in an African American sample. Although previous studies identified education (Sherrod, 2002; Torney-Putra et al., 2001), socio-economic status and familial influences (Jankowski, 2002) as key contributors to youth civic engagement, the current study did not support these findings. The current study attempted to show that education, socio-economic status, familial influences, and an added variable, racial identity, would predict civic engagement. However, of the proposed predictors of civic engagement, racial identity was the only significant predictor of engagement. This suggests that racial constructs, such as racial and ethnic identity, should be considered when conducting research with ethnically diverse backgrounds. The following sections will discuss connections between racial identity and civic engagement behaviors, provide information on implications and limitations of the current study, and conclude with future directions.

Racial Identity as a Predictor of Service Involvement

Racial identity was the only predictor of service involvement. Specifically, encounter attitudes were the only predictor of current degree of service engagement. Unexpectedly, racial

identity did not emerge as a significant predictor of the frequency of service involvement, current membership in service organizations, or past voting behaviors. Individuals who “perceived” themselves as being civically engaged actually engaged in the fewest amount of weekly service hours and lacked membership in service oriented organizations. This lack of agreement between how engaged the person felt and their actual behaviors may also explain the lack of support in predicting voting behaviors. Inconsistent with the current study, Lott (2005) found that internalized attitudes were positively correlated with voting behaviors. Future studies should be conducted to investigate the impact of racial identity on voting behaviors as research in this area is scarce (Lott, 2005).

Lack of support for these hypotheses could be attributed to the lack of variability within the sample. Although announcements about the study were posted around the university and invitations to participate in the study were sent to groups such as the Black Student Association , Gospel Choir, and the National Pan Hellenic Council, a large percentage of the participants were freshmen, female, and enrolled in an Introduction to Psychology course suggesting that the sample was not diversified. With more diversification in experiences, classification, and opportunities for engagement, support for these hypotheses may be obtained. It is plausible to assume that participants endorsed high degrees of service involvement because a few months prior to participating in the study, many were high school seniors, possibly active during that period of time, and were experiencing a carry-over effect. But, after starting college, were not able to connect with service organizations because of their freshmen status. It is generally more difficult for freshmen to join certain service organizations (e.g. sororities and fraternities) that require a specific number of completed college credits as a prerequisite for membership.

Supplemental analyses suggested a significant connection between racial identity and religious service engagement. The relationship between racial identity and religious engagement is consistent with previous studies that suggested African Americans' commitment to the missions of their church influences civic engagement (Brown & Brown, 2003; Carlton-LaNey, 2006). Engaging in service to others, whether visiting the nursing home or prison, giving to the poor, caring for the sick or other vulnerable individuals, is considered a part of God's plan (Carlton-LaNey, 2006).

Racial Identity as Predictor of Civic Attitudes and Skills

As expected, hypotheses related to the influence of racial identity on civic attitudes and skills were supported. Racial identity predicted civic action, political knowledge, social justice attitudes, and diversity attitudes. These findings add support for the importance of examining cultural constructs such as racial and ethnic identity when examining minority civic engagement (Celestine, 2009; Cohen et.al, 2007).

Internalization, immersion/emersion, and encounter racial identity attitudes significantly predicted civic action attitudes. Internalization and encounter attitudes were positively associated with future civic engagement. Immersion/emersion attitudes were negatively link to civic action. Therefore, as immersion/emersion attitudes increase, the probability of engaging in future community service or action may decrease.

Political awareness attitudes were also significantly predicted by racial identity attitudes with the exception of immersion/emersion attitudes. Pre-encounter, encounter and internalization attitudes were positively connected to political awareness. Lott (2005) found similar results as pre-encounter and internalization attitudes were positively correlated with

political awareness and participation. Individuals with pre-encounter attitudes were more likely to engage in pro-White, anti-Black political activities. Conversely, individuals with internalized attitudes would be more likely to engage in political activities that benefit multiple races. The lack of a relationship between immersion/emersion attitudes and political awareness is surprising. As individuals begin to exhibit immersion/emersion attitudes, the focus of attention tend to shift towards acquiring knowledge about the history and culture of their race. This suggests that exploration of self and group identity should possibly be accompanied by an awareness of local and national affairs that specifically impact one's racial group.

Social justice attitudes were predicted by racial identity attitudes. More specifically, pre-encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization attitudes were all significant predictors. Pre-encounter and immersion/emersion attitudes were negatively associated with social justice attitudes. Social justice attitudes were based on the expression of attitudes concerning the causes of poverty and misfortune. As a result, individuals who only embrace the values and customs of one culture, whether it is the dominate or non-dominate culture, may not be concerned with social dilemmas that impact other cultures. On the other hand, internalization attitudes were positively linked to social justice attitudes suggesting that individuals who identify with the non-dominate culture but welcome opportunities to interact with other cultures may be more aware of social issues beyond the Black community.

Lastly, racial identity also predicted diversity attitudes with immersion/emersion and internalization attitudes being the only significant predictors. Individuals with internalized attitudes typically embrace opportunities to interact with other cultures. Therefore, it is not surprising that internalization attitudes influenced diversity attitudes. Consistent with the theory of black racial identity, the negative relationship between immersion/emersion attitudes and

diversity attitudes was expected as individuals with immersion/emersion attitudes tend to submerge themselves into the “Black” culture while alienating anything that is not Black (Cross, 1971).

Relationship between self-efficacy, racial identity and CASQ scores

Self efficacy was positively and statistically correlated with internalization attitudes. This result was consistent with previous research that linked internalization attitudes with civic skills (Colby et al, 2003). A statistically significant relationship between self efficacy and pre-encounter, encounter, and immersion/emersion attitudes were not found. This suggests that as an individual’s willingness to intermingle with other cultures increase, so does their belief in their abilities to achieve a desired outcome increases. In terms of civic attitudes and skills, self efficacy was positively correlated with civic action, interpersonal and problem solving skills, political awareness, leadership skills, and diversity attitudes. Therefore, individuals with high self efficacy may be more likely to engage in future service behaviors, serve in leadership roles, and have knowledge of political affairs. These findings provide support for the Helm’s (1990) study that found a relationship between internalization attitudes and higher levels of self esteem, personal efficacy, and optimism for the future.

Implications for Study

Research Implications

Developmental psychologists and science scholars have been successful in identifying the benefits and general predictors of civic engagement in youth and adolescents (Flanagan & Faison, 2001; Sherrod, Flanagan, Youniss, 2002; Balsano & Lerner, 2005). However, fewer studies specifically investigated the impact of race and racial identity on the development, types of engagement, and avenues in which African Americans engage in service (Cohen, 2006). As a

result, the present study attempted to lessen the gaps in the literature as it related to African American civic engagement. This study adds to the current literature because it demonstrates the need to assess racial identity when attempting to understand why and how African Americans become engaged. In addition, using both a quantitative and qualitative approach to measuring engagement allowed for researchers to further identify factors that may contribute to both engagement and disengagement in the studied population. Relying solely on quantitative data would have yielded insufficient information. Overall, results from the quantitative measures suggested a lack of engagement among the studied sample. However, qualitative data revealed that participants were in fact engaged in forms of service not tapped by the quantitative measures. In addition, qualitative data provided an explanation for low engagement efforts. Other measures such as the AAAS-33 which assessed acculturation on a dimension including traditional family values and traditional religious practices did not reveal support in predicting civic engagement. However, qualitative data demonstrated the importance of family support and the role of the church in influencing civic engagement behaviors in African Americans.

Applied Implications

Information gathered from this study may be used in academic, community, and religious settings to increase civic related behaviors. Specific information emerged from participants' interviews that suggested disengagement among African American young adults for reasons that included a disconnection to their community, lack of resources, time constraints, and feeling as though their contribution would not make a difference. Interview results indicated a potential role for the importance of building mentoring relationships as engagement efforts were typically initiated and maintained by connections to community and religious leaders. Youth development scholars continue to discuss the importance of fostering mentoring relationships and the impact

of the relationship on prosocial behaviors (McPartland & Nettles, 1991; Freedman, 1993; Barrow et al., 2007). By developing programs that would highlight the importance of service and identifying key relationships that would motivate and maintain youth engagement, it is possible to minimize the amount of disengagement by removing constraints, such as low self-efficacy, thus creating avenues for youth to experience success.

Limitations

Sample

This study had limitations associated with the sample studied. Participants in this study were all enrolled in a predominately white (PWI), public, four-year university in northern Mississippi. The majority of the participants identified as freshmen, female, and enrolled in a lower-level psychology course. A more diverse sample would have included participants attending a historically black college or university (HBCU) or community college. The racial identity scores of students attending HBCUs should be different when compared to students attending PWIs based on the theory of black racial identity. For example, students attending HBCUs may report higher immersion/emersion attitudes. The study also lacked contributions from upper-level students in academic disciplines other than psychology. Inclusion of individuals not currently enrolled in college, or who had never been enrolled in college may have offered an array of distinct responses not provided by the present sample. Therefore, the external validity of this study may be questionable.

Problems with participant retention surfaced during phase two of the study. Difficulties arose when attempting to secure participants for the interview phase of the study. Participants were invited to participate in the second phase of the study based on their responses to the question, “How many hour per week do you usually participate in service related activities?”

Many respondents were not interested in participating in the second phase when contacted. Since the study was comprised mainly of students enrolled in psychology courses where participation in experimental research was required, once the semester ended, students were not compelled to continue the study.

Measurement

Social desirability may have influenced participants' responses on some measures. Although rapport was established and maintained with participants, respondents may have attempted to provide responses that would have left a favorable impression with the investigator. Therefore, the participants may have not provided responses that were negative in nature. Measures, such as diversity attitudes subscale of the CASQ, were used that demonstrated low internal reliability consistency with cronbach alphas as low as .35 for the present study. Lastly, the proposed model only accounted for a small amount of variance. Regardless of these limitations, the current study offers valuable information that helps to increase awareness and understanding of cultural factors that impact the development and maintenance of civic engagement behaviors in an African American sample.

Future Directions

To further understand civic related behaviors in African Americans, it would be necessary to conduct studies in settings where African Americans are not the minority (e.g. HBCUs). The assumption is that racial identity attitudes and civic engagement behaviors would differ substantially in African Americans who attend historically black colleges and universities when compared to African Americans who attend predominately white colleges and universities (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991). It would also add to the literature to move beyond the academic environment and study individuals in rural areas, such as the Mississippi delta, where

the availability of engagement opportunities or types of engagement would differ from those in a small town, suburban, or urban area. It may also prove beneficial to widen the age bracket of participants and study youth in middle school and high school. This would allow for the comparison of motivators, sustainers, and benefits of engagement across educational settings based on age. Future studies should also utilize a longitudinal design that will allow for the examination of civic engagement behaviors over a period of time (e.g. freshmen to senior year of high school). Studies of this magnitude would allow researchers to gain a greater understanding of how civic engagement develops and the focus of initial engagement efforts of adolescents. Lastly, qualitative data provided substantive information that suggested a need to continue to use qualitative methods in conjunction with quantitative methods in assessing the role of racial identity on engagement.

Conclusions

The current study examined cultural factors that influenced civic engagement behaviors in African American young adults. The goal of the study was to lessen the gaps in the literature as it related to African Americans and civic engagement by identifying types of engagement, as well as motivators and sustainers of engagement, within the African American community. Data provided partial support for the proposed hypotheses. Results of the current study suggest a need to further examine the influence of racial identity on civic engagement. In addition, it implies a call for the creation of opportunities and avenues for African Americans to engage in behaviors that will increase efficacy and minimize constraints related to lack of awareness, knowledge, and resources.

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Appendix: A

Demographic Questionnaire

Please circle the correct choice or fill in the blank.

1. I believe that it is important for African Americans to be actively engaged in community affairs.

Not at all important 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 Extremely Important 9 10

2. Sex female male

3. Age: _____

4. What is your classification?

- Freshmen
- Sophomore
- Junior
- Senior
- Graduate Student

5. What is your major? _____

6. Are you a member of any of the following campus organizations? If so, indicate the number of semesters of involvement in the provided blank space.

Fraternity/Sorority

- Alpha Phi Alpha _____
- Alpha Kappa Alpha _____
- Kappa Alpha Psi _____
- Omega Psi Phi _____
- Delta Sigma Theta _____
- Phi Beta Sigma _____
- Zeta Phi Beta _____
- Sigma Gamma Rho _____
- Iota Phi Theta _____

Service Organizations

- Black Student Union _____
- NAACP _____
- Students Envisioning Equality through Diversity (SEED) _____
- Omega Phi Alpha _____
- ASB Minority Affairs _____
- Other(s): _____

7. How active were you in the community over the past year?

- Not at all active
- Somewhat active, not consistent
- Regular, fairly active member
- Very active
- Extremely active; involved in a leadership

8. How many hours *per week* do you usually participate in service related activities?

- less than 1
- 1 – 3
- 4 – 6
- 7 – 12
- 13 – 20
- over 20

9. Are you a member of a religious organization (e.g. church, mosque, etc.)? If no, go to question

11.

- Yes
- No

10. If yes, what is your religious affiliation?

- Baptist
- Methodist
- Pentecostal
- Jewish
- Muslim
- Catholic
- Buddhist
- Not applicable
- Other: _____

11. In your religious organization (e.g. church, mosque, etc.), do you participate in any of the following activities/auxiliaries?

- Choir/Music Ministry
- Community Outreach Ministry (e.g. highway/neighborhood clean-up, counseling services, etc.)
- Deacon Board
- Education Department (e.g. adult literacy, computer literacy, tutoring, career/college prep, etc)
- Food/Clothes Pantry
- Mission Society (e.g. visit the sick and elderly, assist with cleaning, deliver groceries, etc.)
- Pastor's Aide
- Social Action Committee
- Usher's Board
- Youth Ministry
- Not Applicable
- Other(s): _____

12. What is your sexual orientation?

- Heterosexual
- Gay
- Lesbian
- Bisexual
- Transgender

13. Average Yearly Income

- Less than 5,000
- \$5,000-19,000
- \$20,000-39,000
- \$40,000-59,000
- \$60,000 and above

14. What is your father's highest level of education?
- None
 - Elementary / primary / grade school (1-8)
 - High school / secondary school (9-12)
 - Some college or technical school
 - College graduate
 - Graduate degree
 - Do not know
15. What is your mother's highest level of education?
- None
 - Elementary / primary / grade school (1-8)
 - High school / secondary school (9-12)
 - Some college or technical school
 - College graduate
 - Graduate degree
 - Do not know
16. Were you 18 years of age or older on November 2, 2004?
- Yes
 - No
17. If so, did you vote in the 2004 presidential election between George Bush and John Kerry?
- Yes
 - No
18. Were you 18 years of age or older on November 4, 2008?
- Yes
 - No
19. If so, did you vote in the 2008 presidential election between John McCain and Barack Obama?
- Yes
 - No
20. Have you ever engaged in any of the following activities? Check all that apply.
Next to each endorsement, please indicate the number of times you engaged in the activity.
- None
 - Wrote a letter, sent an email, phoned, or spoken to a political official, newspaper, or media
 - Distributed flyers about a political candidate
 - Volunteered at local youth facility (e.g. boys and girls club, afterschool program, etc.)
 - Endorsed a candidate by wearing buttons, t-shirts, displaying bumper stickers, etc
 - Contributed financially to a campaign
 - Volunteered at a residential facility or nursing home.
 - Attended a political forum
 - Human Services (e.g. volunteered at a food pantry, homeless shelter, education/tutoring).
 - Racial reconciliation
 - Discussed politics with family
 - Discussed politics with friends, co-workers, associates
 - Participated in a boycott
 - Participated in a protest or rally
 - Other: _____
21. Of the activities you indicated in question #20, which involvement was the most important one to you? _____

22. What are your plans after graduation?
- Armed forces
 - Civilian government employment
 - Graduate School
 - Professional school (law, medical, nursing, etc.)
 - Teach at a primary or secondary school
 - Other: _____
 - Do not know

23. Please check all of the issues that are important to you.
- AIDS awareness
 - Civil Rights
 - Domestic Violence Prevention
 - Environmentalism
 - GLBT affairs
 - Global Warming
 - International Affairs
 - Racial Reconciliation
 - Women's Rights

24. List three issues or concerns not listed above that are important to you.

- 2. _____
- 3. _____
- 4. _____

General Self Efficacy Scale

Please read each item on the following scale and circle how true the item is <i>For You.</i>	Not at all true	Hardly True	Moderately True	Exactly True
1. I can always manage to solve difficult problems if I try hard enough	1	2	3	4
2. If someone opposes me, I can find the means and ways to get what I want	1	2	3	4
3. It is easy for me to stick to my aims and accomplish my goals	1	2	3	4
4. I am confident that I could deal efficiently with unexpected events	1	2	3	4
5. Thanks to my resourcefulness, I know how to handle unforeseen situations	1	2	3	4
6. I can solve most problems if I invest the necessary effort	1	2	3	4
7. I can remain calm when facing difficulties because I can rely on my coping abilities	1	2	3	4
8. When I am confronted with a problem, I can usually find several solutions	1	2	3	4
9. If I am in trouble, I can usually think of a solution	1	2	3	4
10. I can usually handle whatever comes my way	1	2	3	4

Civic Attitudes and Skills Questionnaire

Rate the extent to which you agree with each statement

	Strongly Disagree			Strongly Agree	
1. I plan to do some volunteer work.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I plan to become involved in my community.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I plan to participate in a community action program.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I plan to become an active member of my community.	1	2	3	4	5
5. In the future, I plan to participate in a community service organization.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I plan to help others who are in difficulty.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I am committed to making a positive difference.	1	2	3	4	5
8. I plan to become involved in programs to help clean up the environment.	1	2	3	4	5
9. I can listen to other people's opinions.	1	2	3	4	5
10. I can work cooperatively with a group of people.	1	2	3	4	5
11. I can think logically in solving problems.	1	2	3	4	5
12. I can communicate well with others.	1	2	3	4	5
13. I can successfully resolve conflicts with others.	1	2	3	4	5
14. I can easily get along with people.	1	2	3	4	5
15. I try to find effective ways of solving problems.	1	2	3	4	5
16. When trying to understand the position of others, I try to place myself in their position.	1	2	3	4	5
17. I find it easy to make friends.	1	2	3	4	5
18. I can think analytically in solving problems.	1	2	3	4	5
19. I try to place myself in the place of others in trying to assess their current situation.	1	2	3	4	5
20. I tend to solve problems by talking them out.	1	2	3	4	5
21. I am aware of current events.	1	2	3	4	5
22. I understand the issues facing this nation.	1	2	3	4	5
23. I am knowledgeable of the issues facing the world.	1	2	3	4	5
24. I am aware of the events happening in my local community.	1	2	3	4	5
25. I plan to be involved in the political process.	1	2	3	4	5
26. I understand the issues facing my city's community.	1	2	3	4	5
27. I am a better follower than a leader.	1	2	3	4	5
28. I am a good leader.	1	2	3	4	5
29. I have the ability to lead a group of people.	1	2	3	4	5
30. I would rather have somebody else take the lead in formulating a solution.	1	2	3	4	5
31. I feel that I can make a difference in the world.	1	2	3	4	5
32. I don't understand why some people are poor when there are boundless opportunities available to them.	1	2	3	4	5
33. People are poor because they choose to be poor.	1	2	3	4	5
34. Individuals are responsible for their own misfortunes.	1	2	3	4	5

35. We need to look no further than the individual in assessing his/her problems.	1	2	3	4	5
36. In order for problems to be solved, we need to change public policy.	1	2	3	4	5
37. We need to institute reforms within the current system to change our communities.	1	2	3	4	5
38. We need to change people's attitudes in order to solve social problems.	1	2	3	4	5
39. It is important that equal opportunity be available to all people.	1	2	3	4	5
40. It is hard for a group to function effectively when the people involved come from very diverse backgrounds.	1	2	3	4	5
41. I prefer the company of people who are very similar to me in background and expressions.	1	2	3	4	5
42. I find it difficult to relate to people from a different race or culture.	1	2	3	4	5
43. I enjoy meeting people who come from backgrounds very different from my own.	1	2	3	4	5
44. Cultural diversity within a group makes the group more interesting and effective.	1	2	3	4	5

Black Racial Identity Scale

1. I believe that being Black is a positive experience.

1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree		Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
2. I know through experience what being Black in America means.

1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree		Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
3. I feel unable to involve myself in white experiences and am increasing my involvement in Black experiences.

1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree		Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
4. I believe that large numbers of Blacks are untrustworthy.

1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree		Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
5. I feel an overwhelming attachment to Black people.

1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree		Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
6. I involve myself in causes that will help all oppressed people.

1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree		Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
7. I feel comfortable wherever I am.

1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree		Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
8. I believe that White people look and express themselves better than Blacks.

1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree		Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
9. I feel very uncomfortable around Black people.

1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree		Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
10. I feel good about being Black, but do not limit myself to Black activities.

1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree		Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
11. I often find myself referring to White people as honkies, devils, pigs, etc.

1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree		Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
12. I believe that to be Black is not necessarily good.

1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree		Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
13. I believe that certain aspects of the Black experience apply to me, and others do not.

- | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|---|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| | Strongly Disagree | | Disagree | Uncertain | Agree | Strongly Agree |
14. I frequently confront the system and the man.
- | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|---|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| | Strongly Disagree | | Disagree | Uncertain | Agree | Strongly Agree |
15. I constantly involve myself in Black political and social activities (art shows, political meetings, Black Theater, etc.)
- | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|---|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| | Strongly Disagree | | Disagree | Uncertain | Agree | Strongly Agree |
16. I involve myself in social action and political groups even if there are no other blacks involved.
- | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|---|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| | Strongly Disagree | | Disagree | Uncertain | Agree | Strongly Agree |
17. I believe that Black people should learn to think and experience life in ways which are similar to White people.
- | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|---|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| | Strongly Disagree | | Disagree | Uncertain | Agree | Strongly Agree |
18. I believe that the world should be interpreted from a Black perspective.
- | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|---|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| | Strongly Disagree | | Disagree | Uncertain | Agree | Strongly Agree |
19. I have changed my style of life to fit my beliefs about Black people.
- | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|---|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| | Strongly Disagree | | Disagree | Uncertain | Agree | Strongly Agree |
20. I feel excitement and joy in Black surroundings.
- | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|---|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| | Strongly Disagree | | Disagree | Uncertain | Agree | Strongly Agree |
21. I believe that Black people came from a strange, dark, and uncivilized continent.
- | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|---|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| | Strongly Disagree | | Disagree | Uncertain | Agree | Strongly Agree |
22. People, regardless of their race, have strengths and limitations.
- | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|---|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| | Strongly Disagree | | Disagree | Uncertain | Agree | Strongly Agree |
23. I find myself reading a lot of Black literature and thinking about Black people.
- | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|---|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| | Strongly Disagree | | Disagree | Uncertain | Agree | Strongly Agree |
24. I feel guilty and/or anxious about some of the things I believe about Black people.
- | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|---|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| | Strongly Disagree | | Disagree | Uncertain | Agree | Strongly Agree |
25. I believe that a Black person's most effective weapon for solving problems is to become part of the White person's world.
- | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------|---|----------|-----------|-------|----------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| | Strongly Disagree | | Disagree | Uncertain | Agree | Strongly Agree |

26. I speak my mind regardless of the consequences (e.g., being kicked out of school, being imprisoned, and being exposed to danger).
 1 2 3 4 5
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly Agree
27. I believe that everything Black is good, and consequently, I limit myself to Black activities.
 1 2 3 4 5
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly Agree
28. I am determined to find my Black identity.
 1 2 3 4 5
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly Agree
29. I believe that White people are intellectually superior to Blacks.
 1 2 3 4 5
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly Agree
30. I believe that because I am Black, I have many strengths.
 1 2 3 4 5
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly Agree
31. I feel that Black people do not have as much to be proud of as White people do.
 1 2 3 4 5
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly Agree
32. Most Blacks I know are failures.
 1 2 3 4 5
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly Agree
33. I believe that White people should feel guilty about the way they have treated Blacks in the past.
 1 2 3 4 5
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly Agree
34. White people can't be trusted.
 1 2 3 4 5
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly Agree
35. In today's society if Black people don't achieve, they have only themselves to blame.
 1 2 3 4 5
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly Agree
36. The most important thing about me is that I am black.
 1 2 3 4 5
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly Agree
37. Being Black just feels natural to me.
 1 2 3 4 5
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly Agree
38. Other Black people have trouble accepting me because my life experiences have been so different from their experiences.
 1 2 3 4 5
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly Agree

39. Black people who have any White people's blood should feel ashamed of it.
1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly Agree
40. Sometimes, I wish I belonged to the white race.
1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly Agree
41. The people I respect most are White.
1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly Agree
42. A person's race usually is not important to me.
1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly Agree
43. I feel anxious when white people compare me to other members of my race.
1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly Agree
44. I can't feel comfortable with either Black people or White people.
1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly Agree
45. A person's race has little to do with whether or not he/she is a good person.
1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly Agree
46. When I am with Black people, I pretend to enjoy the things they enjoy.
1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly Agree
47. When a stranger who is Black does something embarrassing in public, I get embarrassed.
1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly Agree
48. I believe that a Black person can be close friends with a White person.
1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly Agree
49. I am satisfied with myself.
1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly Agree
50. I have a positive attitude about myself because I am Black.
1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly Agree

Instructions: Please tell us how much you personally agree or disagree with the beliefs and attitudes listed below by circling a number. There is no right or wrong answer. We want your honest opinion.

I Totally Disagree Not True at All				I Sort of Agree Sort of True			I Strongly Agree Absolutely True	
1	2	3		4	5		6	7
1. Most of the music I listen to is by Black artists.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
2. I like Black music more than White music.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
3. The person I admire the most is Black.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
4. I listen to Black radio stations	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
5. I try to watch all the Black shows on TV.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
6. Most of my friends are Black.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
7. I believe in the Holy Ghost.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
8. I believe in heaven and hell.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
9. I like gospel music.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
10. I am currently a member of a Black church.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
11. Prayer can cure disease.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
12. The church is the heart of the Black community.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

I Totally Disagree Not True at All				I Sort of Agree Sort of True				I Strongly Agree Absolutely True			
1	2	3		4	5			6	7		
13. I know how to cook chit'lins.					1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. I eat chit'lins once in a while.					1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. Sometimes, I cook ham hocks.					1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. I know how long you're supposed to cook collard greens					1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. I went to a mostly Black elementary school					1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. I grew up in a mostly Black neighborhood.					1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19. I went to a mostly Black high school.					1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20. I avoid splitting a pole.					1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21. When the palm of your hand itches, you'll receive some money.					1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22. There's some truth to many old superstitions.					1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23. IQ tests were set up purposefully to discriminate against Black people.					1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24. Most of the tests (like the SATs and tests to get a job) are set up to make sure that Blacks don't get high scores on them.					1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25. Deep in their hearts, most Whites are racists.					1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26. I have seen people "fall out."					1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27. I know what "falling out" means.					1	2	3	4	5	6	7

I Totally Disagree Not True at All				I Sort of Agree Sort of True				I Strongly Agree Absolutely True			
1	2	3		4	5			6	7		
28. When I was a child, I used to play tonk.					1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29. I know how to play bid whist.					1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30. It's better to try and move your whole family ahead in this world than it is to be out for only yourself.					1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31. Old people are wise.					1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32. When I was young, my parents sent me to stay with a relative (aunt, uncle, grandmother) for a few days or weeks, and then I went back home again.					1	2	3	4	5	6	7
33. When I was young, I took a bath with my sister, brother, or some other relative.					1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Schedule of Racist Events

Circle 1 = if this has NEVER happened to you.

Circle 2 = if this has happened ONCE IN A WHILE (less than 10% of the time)

Circle 3 = if this has happened SOMETIMES (10%-25% of the time)

Circle 4 = if this has happened A LOT (26%-49% of the time)

Circle 5 = if this has happened MOST OF THE TIME (50%-70% of the time)

Circle 6 = if this has happened ALMOST ALL OF THE TIME (more than 70% of the time)

1. How many times have you been treated unfairly by *teachers and professors* because you are Black?

	Never	Once in a while	sometimes	a lot of the time	most of the time	almost all the time
How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How stressful was this for you?	Not at All 1	2	3	4	5	Extremely 6

2. How many times have you been treated unfairly by your *employers, bosses and supervisors* because you were Black?

	Never	Once in a while	sometimes	a lot of the time	most of the time	almost all the time
How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How stressful was this for you?	Not at All 1	2	3	4	5	Extremely 6

3. How many times have you been treated unfairly by your *coworkers, fellow students and colleagues* because you are Black?

	Never	Once in a while	sometimes	a lot of the time	most of the time	almost all the time
How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How stressful was this for you?	Not at All 1	2	3	4	5	Extremely 6

4. How many times have you been treated unfairly by *people in service jobs* (store clerks, waiters bartenders, bank tellers and others) because you are Black?

	Never	Once in a while	sometimes	a lot of the time	most of the time	almost all the time
How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How stressful was this for you?	Not at All 1	2	3	4	5	Extremely 6

5. How many times have you been treated unfairly by *strangers* because you are Black?

	Never	Once in a while	sometimes	a lot of the time	most of the time	almost all the time
How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How stressful was this for you?	Not at All 1	2	3	4	5	Extremely 6

6. How many times have you been treated unfairly by *people in helping jobs* (doctors, nurses, psychiatrists, case workers, dentists, school counselors, therapists, social workers and others) because you are Black?

	Never	Once in a while	sometimes	a lot of the time	most of the time	almost all the time
How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at All					Extremely
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

7. How many times have you been treated unfairly by *neighbors* because you are Black?

	Never	Once in a while	sometimes	a lot of the time	most of the time	almost all the time
How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at All					Extremely
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

8. How many times have you been treated unfairly by *institutions* (schools, universities, law firms, the police, the courts, the Department of Social Services, the Unemployment Office and others) because you are Black?

	Never	Once in a while	sometimes	a lot of the time	most of the time	almost all the time
How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at All					Extremely
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

9. How many times have you been treated unfairly by *people that you thought were your friends* because you are Black?

	Never	Once in a while	sometimes	a lot of the time	most of the time	almost all the time
How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at All					Extremely
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

10. How many times have you been *accused or suspected of doing something wrong* (such as stealing, cheating, not doing your share of the work, or breaking the law) because you are Black?

	Never	Once in a while	sometimes	a lot of the time	most of the time	almost all the time
How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at All					Extremely
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

11. How many times have people *misunderstood your intentions and motives* because you are Black?

	Never	Once in a while	sometimes	a lot of the time	most of the time	almost all the time
How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How stressful was this for you?	Not at All 1	2	3	4	5	Extremely 6

12. How many times did you want *to tell someone off for being racist but didn't say anything*?

	Never	Once in a while	sometimes	a lot of the time	most of the time	almost all the time
How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How stressful was this for you?	Not at All 1	2	3	4	5	Extremely 6

13. How many times have you been *really angry about something racist that was done to you*?

	Never	Once in a while	sometimes	a lot of the time	most of the time	almost all the time
How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How stressful was this for you?	Not at All 1	2	3	4	5	Extremely 6

14. How many times were you *forced to take drastic steps* (such as filing a grievance, filing a lawsuit, quitting your job, moving away, and other actions) to deal with some racist thing that was done to you?

	Never	Once in a while	sometimes	a lot of the time	most of the time	almost all the time
How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How stressful was this for you?	Not at All 1	2	3	4	5	Extremely 6

15. How many times have you *been called a racist name like nigger, coon, jungle bunny, or other names*?

	Never	Once in a while	sometimes	a lot of the time	most of the time	almost all the time
How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How stressful was this for you?	Not at All 1	2	3	4	5	Extremely 6

16. How many times have you *gotten into an argument or fight about something racist that was done to you or done to somebody else*?

	Never	Once in a while	sometimes	a lot of the time	most of the time	almost all the time
How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How stressful was this for you?	Not at All 1	2	3	4	5	Extremely 6

17. How many times have you been *made fun of, picked on, pushed, shoved, hit or threatened with harm* because you are Black?

	Never	Once in a while	sometimes	a lot of the time	most of the time	almost all the time
How many times in the past year?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times in your entire life?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Not at All					Extremely
How stressful was this for you?	1	2	3	4	5	6

18. How *different* would your life be now if you HAD NOT BEEN treated in a racist and unfair way?

In the past year?

Same as now	A little different	Different in a few ways	Different in a lot of ways	Different in most ways	Totally different
1	2	3	4	5	6

In your entire life?

Same as now	A little different	Different in a few ways	Different in a lot of ways	Different in most ways	Totally different
1	2	3	4	5	6

Sample of Semi-structured Interview Questions

(prompts and probes will vary per interview based previous responses)

1. When you think about community service – giving back, what crosses your mind?
2. How do you define community involvement?
3. Have you ever thought about engaging in community or social service?
4. If yes, discuss types of engagement of interest
5. If currently involved, discuss duration and types of involvement
6. Tell me about how you became interested and involved in this topic.
7. Tell me about experiences or relationships that led to your involvement?
8. What has motivated you to action?
9. How has your involvement impact you? Others?
10. Tell me about some obstacles to your involvement
11. What are the opportunities for African Americans to become civically involved in Oxford?
12. What are some ways to increase community involvement among the African American youth?
13. Have you ever thought about becoming involved in politics (e.g. local, state, or national)?
14. What are your thoughts regarding the last presidential election or candidates?
15. Has America embraced our African American president?
16. Do you think there's a connection between politics and community involvement?
17. What do you think of when you hear the term "racial justice?"
18. Have you ever thought about becoming involved racial justice issues?
19. Do you think of community service as a way of pursuing racial justice?
20. What kinds of organizations are in the best position to help people in the community?
21. Does the black church provide opportunities for civic engagement or social activism?
22. What do you see as the church's role in promoting civic activism?
23. Has a member of the clergy or someone in an official position talked about the need for people to become involved in politics?
24. In the past year, have you heard any discussions of politics at your church or place of worship?
25. Has any national or local leader spoken at a regular religious service?
26. Have you talked to people about political matters at your church or place of worship?
27. Has a member of the clergy or someone in an official position ever suggested that you vote for or against certain candidates in an election?
28. Tell me about your circle of friends.

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The University of Mississippi Oxford, MS
Ph.D in Clinical Psychology (Expected August 2012)
Major Professor: Laura R. Johnson, Ph.D

The University of Mississippi (August 2011)
Degree: Master of Arts in Clinical Psychology
Thesis- "Cultural Factors that Predict Civic Engagement
African American Youth"

Dillard University (May 2003) New Orleans, LA
Degree: Bachelor of Arts, Cum Laude
Major: Psychology
GPA: 3.5/4.0 (overall)

GRADUATE COURSES:

Professional Ethics	Social Psychology	Theories of Psychotherapy
Physiological Psychology	Abnormal Psychology	Multicultural Psychology
Cognitive Assessment	Research Methods	Mental Retardation
Quantitative Methods I&II	Conditioning and Learning	Abnormal Psychology
Personality Assessment	Behavior Therapy	Developmental Psychology
Acceptance & Commitment Therapy	History & Systems	Cognitive Psychology

CLINICAL EXPERIENCE:

August 2009-May 2011

**University of Mississippi
Department of Psychology**

Title: Undergraduate Instructor

- Responsibilities include teaching introduction to psychology to 190+ undergraduate students using a multi-modality approach, preparing and delivering lectures, leading classroom discussion, developing and administering exams, and providing academic advising related to the specific course.

July 2007-June 2009

**University of Mississippi
Desoto County School District**

Title: Graduate Intern

- Responsibilities included classroom observations, behavior consultations, and the development of functional behavior analysis and behavior intervention plans.

Supervisors: Shelia Williamson, Ph.D & Kathlene McGraw, Ed.M

August 2005-present

**University of Mississippi
Psychological Services Center (PSC)**

Title: Graduate Therapist (In House Practica)

- Responsibilities include facilitating two weekly group support sessions (e.g. LAMBDA and C3). LAMBDA is support group designed to provide assistance to individuals who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, and/or transgendered. Cultural Connections Group is another support group for international students coping with acculturative stress and who experience difficulties navigating the American education system. Clients are provided psycho-education regarding the coming out process, stages of sexual identity, how to cope with discrimination/homophobia, strategies to minimize acculturative stress, adjustment difficulties, and a plethora of other subject areas. Additional responsibilities include individual therapy with adults and children with various diagnoses ranging from depression to autism spectrum disorders, and behavior modification training with parents. Supervisor: Laura R. Johnson, Ph.D

August 2006-present

**Behavior, Attention, and Developmental Disabilities
Consultants, LLC**

Title: Behavior Specialist

- Responsibilities include providing applied behavior analysis to children with Autism Spectrum Disorders, developing behavior intervention plans, training teachers and assistants on classroom and behavior management,

applied behavior analysis training, assessing students to rule out or confirm developmental disabilities, learning disabilities, and other health impairments, providing recommendations, resources, and other tools to improve teacher/student relations, and attending Individualized Education Plan meetings in various school districts across Northern Mississippi. This list is not all-inclusive.
Supervisor: Emily Thomas-Johnson, Ph.D

August 2004-May 2005

University of Mississippi Oxford, MS
North Mississippi Regional Center (NMRC)

Title: Psychology Intern/Practicum

Member of multimodal treatment team serving adults with mental retardation, developmental disabilities, and/or dual diagnosis of psychiatric and cognitive impairments.

- Job description included the administration of dementia assessments, facilitated weekly Behavior Analysis Training (BAT) with staff members, conducted individual in-patient therapy with clients, identified techniques to maintain appropriate behaviors and decrease inappropriate behaviors, provided behavior modification training using reinforcement schedules, assisted psychologist with report writing and test analysis.

Supervisors: Everlean Mathis, M.S.; Paul Deal, Ph.D

Professional Presentations and Symposiums

Johnson, L.R., Hankton, U. N., Bastien, G., Johnson, C. (2011, November). Positive Youth Development and Civic Engagement in an International Context. Roundtable discussion (to be) presented at the Caribbean Regional Conference of Psychology in Nassau, Bahamas.

Hankton, U. N., Bastien, G., Johnson, C. N., Martin, R., & Johnson, L.R. (2011, August). Does Racial Identity Predict Civic Engagement among African Americans? Poster session presented at the 2011 APA Annual Convention in Washington, D.C.

Hankton, U.N., Drescher, C.F., Johnson, L.R., & Schulenberg, S. (2011, August). Purpose in Life and Civic Engagement. Poster session presented at the 2011 APA Annual Convention in Washington, D.C.

Hankton, U.N. & Johnson, L.R. (2011, February). Gay and Lesbian Concerns in a Global Context. Presented at the University of Mississippi's 2011 Isom Student Gender Conference in University, MS

Johnson, E. T. & Hankton, U. (2009). Tutorial: Psychological Assessment and the 2009 Revised Eligibility Criteria for Mississippi Special Education. Symposium

presented at the 2010 Mississippi Psychological Association annual convention, Gulfport, MS

Hankton, U., Tucker, C., Makino, H., & Johnson, L. (2006). Illuminating the International Student Voice: Translating adjustment needs into culturally competent programs. Poster presented at the 2006 annual convention of the Association for the Advancement of Behavioral and Cognitive Therapy, Chicago, IL.

Hankton, U., Johnson, L. R. & Burns (2004). *Stress associated with racism and general stress as predictors of psychological symptoms in African Americans*. Poster presented at the 2004 annual convention of the Association for the Advancement of Behavior Therapy, New Orleans, LA

Hankton, U. N., Gibbs, S., & Murphy, R. T. (2003). Predictors of undergraduates' stress symptoms six months after September. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southeastern Psychological Association, New Orleans, LA.

Murphy, R. T., Hankton, U., & Gibbs, S. (2002). *Characteristics and evaluation of PTSD associated with violence among youth*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Louisiana Educational Diagnosticians Association, New Orleans, LA.

References available upon request

