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WHAT'S WITH ALL THE "HYPE?": RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, RACIAL IDENTITY, RACIAL SOCIALIZATION, AND HYPERMASCULINITY AMONG AFRICAN AMERICAN ADOLESCENT MALES

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AFRICAN AMERICAN ADOLESCENT MALES

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DISSERTATION

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
College of Education
at the University of Kentucky

By

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Lexington, Kentucky

Chair: Danelle Stevens-Watkins, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Counseling Psychology

Lexington, Kentucky

2016

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

WHAT'S WITH ALL THE "HYPE?": RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, RACIAL
IDENTITY, RACIAL SOCIALIZATION, AND HYPERMASCULINITY AMONG
AFRICAN AMERICAN ADOLESCENT MALES

Experiences tied to individual and institutional racism have a long and persistent history of impacting the livelihood of African American people. Some theorists and researchers have argued that African American males have adopted masculine identities that emerged as coping responses to their experiences with racism and oppression (Cunningham, Swanson, & Hayes, 2013; Franklin, 2004; Majors & Bilson, 1992; Spencer, 1995). Younger males, are increasingly demonstrating an exaggerated form of masculinity (hypermasculinity) in response to their environments, particularly those in urban communities, as a coping response (Spencer, Fegley, Harpalani, & Seaton, 2004). The degree to which racial discrimination is related to hypermasculinity is not fully understood. Previous research has demonstrated that strong racial identity and some dimensions of racial socialization can be helpful in mitigating the negative impact of distress related to racial discrimination. In the current study I used Spencer's (1995) Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST) to examine the relationships among racial discrimination distress, racial identity, racial socialization, and dimensions of hypermasculinity among a sample of 156 African American, male adolescents from predominantly low-income backgrounds. Multiple regression analyses were used to examine the relationships among these variables. Results revealed statistically significant relationships among some dimensions of racial identity, racial socialization, and hypermasculinity. No statistically significant relationships emerged between racial discrimination distress and dimensions of hypermasculinity. Implications for these findings are discussed.

KEYWORDS: African American Males, Hypermasculinity, Racial Distress,
                       Racial Identity, Racial Socialization

Christina Marie Boelter Jordan_____

December 18, 2016_____

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Chapter One: Statement of the Problem and Literature Review

Despite many decades of research and intervention, African American Males (AAMs) continue to be a hypervulnerable population within the United States. For example, according to the National Center for Health Statistics (2014), in 2013, the fifth leading cause of death among AAMs was homicide, yet homicide did not appear in the list of top ten causes of death for any other demographic. According to Cassidy and Stevenson (2005), African American adolescent males are more likely than any other group to die by homicide or to be victimized by a violent crime. AAMs continue to be incarcerated at higher rates than other populations (Carson, 2014), experience disproportionate rates of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) (Centers for Disease Control & Prevention, 2014), and lag behind other groups in educational attainment (Kena et al., 2015). AAMs are not inherently deficient, but rather evidence suggests that the expectations and demands placed upon them as a function of their intersecting gender, racial, and economic identities may contribute to the maintenance of these statistics. There are detrimental cultural and environmental demands and expectations tied to these identities that require a coping response to survive. Some of the commonly implemented coping strategies are believed to increase AAM's vulnerability to perpetuating violence or being left at risk for victimization.

Experiences tied to individual and institutional racism have a long and persistent history of impacting the livelihood of African American people. Some theorists and researchers have argued that AAMs not only endorse dimensions of masculinity that are reminiscent of an African worldview (Kambon, 1992), but they have also adopted characteristics of masculinity that emerged as coping responses to their experiences with racism and oppression (Cunningham, Swanson, & Hayes, 2013; Franklin 2004; Majors &

Bilson, 1992; Spencer, 1995). Younger males, especially, are increasingly demonstrating

an exaggerated form of masculinity in response to their environments, particularly in

urban communities (Spencer, Fegley, Harpalani, & Seaton, 2004). This exaggerated

form of masculinity is often referred to as hypermasculinity (Burk, Burkhart, & Sikorski,

2004). While these attitudes and behaviors may be adaptive in response to contextual

demands, ultimately, they are maladaptive and leave AAMs at risk for experiencing

negative life outcomes (Spencer et al., 2004).

The study of hypermasculinity is of increasing interest given the persistent

national exposure to significant police brutality experienced by African American,

adolescent and adult males. The role of race, racism, and stereotypes are often

hypothesized to influence situations such as these, as well as contribute to the

hypervulnerability of this population. However, it is not clear what factors serve to

exacerbate or protect these youths from becoming victims of these circumstances.

Research has shown that racial socialization and strong racial identity can serve as

protective factors in the face of discrimination (Lee & Ahn, 2013), but the particular

relationship between these variables and hypermasculinity is less well understood,

especially among adolescents. Understanding how experiences with racism and potential

protective factors relate to the endorsement of hypermasculine beliefs would provide

critical insight into the development of interventions aimed at improving coping skills

and life outcomes of AAMs. The particular focus on adolescence is key, given the

malleability of emerging identities within this developmental period. Better informed

intervention at this stage could change the life trajectory for some of the most vulnerable

youth. The following sections will further address this phenomenon through a review of

relevant literature on racism and racial distress, African American masculinity, hypermasculinity, and potential protective factors, to include racial identity and racial socialization. The subsequent goal of the proposed study is to examine the relationships among racism, racial identity, racial socialization, and hypermasculinity.

Review of the Literature

The following sections will address the literature related to the specific variables of interest in the current study. The first section reviews literature related to racism and racial distress, which are hypothesized to negatively influence development among AAMs. The second section will address theories and research specifically tied to perspectives about African American masculinity. The third section reviews theories and research related to hypermasculinity among AAMs, as well as mainstream populations. The final sections address racial identity and racial socialization, both factors believed to serve as protective factors for AAMs against experiences related to racism.

Racism and racial distress. According to Williams, Spencer, and Jackson (1999), "the term racism includes ideologies of superiority, negative attitudes and beliefs about out-groups, and differential treatment of members of those groups by individuals and society's institutions" (p.72). It impacts the socioeconomic viability and mobility of groups, as well as the equitable distribution of desirable resources (Williams et al., 1999). Racism occurs at institutional, structural, and individual levels and is both overt and covert (Neville, Spanierman, & Lewis, 2012; Sue et al., 2008). The race-based disparities across important indicators of adaptive life outcomes, such as educational attainment, incarceration rates, business ownership, access to healthcare, and physical and mental health outcomes, are some of the more observable consequences of racism.

There are multiple forms and layers of racism that interact to shape the environment in which African American people develop. Sue and colleagues' (2008) explanation of microaggressions helps to capture the experience of overt racism, as well as more covert experiences of racism. They define microaggressions as "brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults toward people of color" (p. 330).

Personal experiences with racism have immediate impact on the targeted individual, and across time, become increasingly harmful, particularly after multiple experiences (Allen, Scott, & Lewis, 2013). Experiences with racism cause distress and eat away at the psychological well-being of its victims in multiple ways. For example, some individuals internalize the negative stereotypes and attitudes perpetuated about their racial group. Stress that results from internalized racial oppression can lead to feelings such as shame, guilt, anxiety, and resentment, and result in self-blame and hatred for one's racial characteristics, group membership, or feelings about other members of one's racial group (Bailey, Williams, & Favors, 2014). Further, there is a growing body of literature supporting the assertion that experiences with racism can result in post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Helms, Nicolas, and Green (2010) provided a compelling argument for the acknowledgement of racism and ethnoviolence as sources of PTSD. They argued that experiences with racism may involve physical and psychological assaults that constitute abuse. If experiences with racism are not considered an important source of distress, they may be overlooked as a source of trauma (Helms, Nicolas, & Green, 2010). Also important to note, the vicarious experience of

racism and ethnoviolence (i.e., the murders of Eric Garner, Tamir Rice, and Alton Sterling by police) can be a source of trauma as well (Helms et al., 2010). In a qualitative study of ten African American adults from varied backgrounds (*n* = 4 males), participants reported a range of psychological and physical symptoms that resulted from microaggressions including, but not limited to: depression, anger, feeling betrayed, feeling hopeless or helpless, insomnia, hypertension, hypervigilance, and, other post-traumatic stress symptoms (Hall & Fields, 2015). A longitudinal study was conducted with a sample of 504 African American students in grades 7 to 10 to examine the predictive relationship between experiences with racism and depression (English, Lambert, & Ialongo, 2014). English et al. (2014) found that across all four waves of data, racial discrimination was positively correlated with depressive symptoms one year later. The finding by English et al. (2014) not only demonstrates a relationship between racism and psychological distress, but also demonstrates a relationship across time.

Racism is not only experienced on a micro level, but also on a macro level. The construct of institutional racism addresses the systematic oppression of African American people (Neville et al., 2012). The term speaks to the rules and policies within institutions and organizations that create and maintain differential opportunities for people as a function of their race (Neville et al., 2012). The disparate outcomes among AAMs observed across most domains are largely maintained through the mechanism of institutional racism. This occurs through limited access to resources, opportunities, and services, as well as policies and practices that increase the likelihood of interaction with the criminal justice system. The educational system is also an institution through which racism is perpetuated. Allen, Scott, and Lewis (2013) discussed the multiple ways in

which district, school, and teacher level practices and ideologies maintain disparities and undermine the overall success and well-being of students of color, particularly those from African American and Latino backgrounds. Differential implementation of discipline policies, school curriculum, and teacher interactions often serve as vehicles for institutional racism (Allen et al., 2013). According to Allen and colleagues (2013), practices within the school environment communicate information to students about "their capabilities, the importance of their contributions, and their expected life outcomes based on who they are" (p. 118). Some research has shown that experiences with institutional discrimination can negatively impact adolescents. Fisher, Wallace, and Fenton (2000) found that self-esteem was inversely related to discrimination distress in educational and peer contexts among a multiracial sample of 177 adolescents in grades 9 to 12. In a longitudinal study involving 714 African American adolescents, increases in reports of discrimination were correlated with increased conduct problems and depressive symptoms (Brody et al., 2006). The relationship between discrimination and conduct problems was stronger amongst boys in the study (Brody et al., 2006).

Given the nature of both individual and institutional racism, racism is omnipresent, impacting African American people across all contexts in which they function (Forman, Williams, & Jackson, 1997; Kessler, Mickelson, & Williams, 1999) and some suspect that AAMs may experience more race-based discrimination than African American females (Thomas & Blackmon, 2015). If AAMs do experience more race-based discrimination, it seems especially important to better understand how to support healthy development within this social location.

The research addressing racial discrimination highlights the adverse psychological and physiological outcomes experienced by African Americans, particularly amongst AAMs. In a review of literature by Wade and Rochlen (2013), there were numerous reports of studies linking racism to increased rates of cardiovascular disease, hypertension, and lower psychological well-being. They stated that racism has consistently emerged as a predictor of psychological distress among working and middle-upper class AAMs. In a cross-sectional study of 674 African American men between the ages of 18 and over 40 years, Hammond (2012) found that everyday racial discrimination was related to more depressive symptoms. Experiences with racism have also been empirically linked to engagement in violent and unhealthy behaviors. For example, in a longitudinal study that included a sample of 325 African American adults (mean age = 20 years) from an urban environment, Caldwell, Kohn-Wood, Schmeelk-Cone, Chavous, and Zimmerman (2004) found that regardless of gender, racial discrimination was a strong predictor of violent behavior. Further, in a cross-sectional study, Stevens-Watkins, Brown-Wright, and Tyler (2011) found a positive relationship between race-related stress and number of sexual partners among a sample of African American high school adolescents. More specifically, males in the study reported significantly higher levels of race-related stress and number of sexual partners than females, thus potentially increasing their risk for contracting sexually transmitted infections (STIs) (Stevens-Watkins et al., 2011). The culmination of these findings demonstrate that racial discrimination is correlated with negative life outcomes for AAMs.

In light of the impact of racism on AAMs, traditional conceptualizations of masculinity (i.e., masculinity ideology) that are typically tied to a mainstream,

Eurocentric worldview do not sufficiently explain the development of masculinity among this population. This approach fails to consider the intersection of race and gender in the development of identity. There is a significant body of theoretical and empirical literature supporting the assertion that aspects of African American masculinity are connected to coping with and reacting to the stress of racism, stereotypes, and survival in a hostile society. The next section will address this phenomenon in more detail.

African American masculinity. While biological explanations are used to explain differences in primary sex characteristics and often inform expectations for how males think, feel, and behave (Nairne, 2011), masculinity is considered a socially constructed concept (Sullivan, 2001). Connell (1995) used the plural term masculinities to highlight that different groups of men socially construct different meanings of what it means to be masculine. Therefore, the process of developing a masculine identity can be seen as a social endeavor. As such, definitions and conceptualizations of masculinity are sensitive to the zeitgeist, culture, and context (Sullivan, 2001) and thus, vary across time and social location. Researchers have argued that AAMs have developed a unique form of masculinity in response to their social location as an oppressed, marginalized group (Franklin, 2004; Majors & Bilson, 1992; Spencer, 1999). There are two major schools of thought tied to the idea of a unique masculine identity among this population. One is that AAMs endorse a value system tied to a traditional African worldview that conflicts with the values espoused in mainstream culture (Jamison, 2006; Kambon, 1992; Kiselica, 1995). This includes characteristics such as communalism, spirituality, and valuing of oral tradition and humanism (Boykin, 1986). A second perspective is that African American masculinity is informed by reactivity to their relative lack of power and

privilege due to racism, oppression, and stereotypes and the subsequent need for coping mechanisms (Cassidy & Stevenson, 2005; Franklin, 2004; Majors & Bilson, 1992; Seaton, 2007; Spencer, 1999, 2001; Spencer et al., 2004). Here, their ability to fulfill traditional masculine ideals is, consequently, restricted due to limited access to resources and opportunities. According to Majors and Bilson (1992) "being male and being Black has meant being psychologically castrated –rendered impotent in the economic, political, and social arenas that Whites have historically dominated" (p.1).

Before further exploring the ways in which AAMs view masculinity, it seems prudent to have some working knowledge about mainstream definitions and conceptualizations of masculinity. Traditional masculinity ideology is a commonly used term and refers to the ideological endorsement and internalization of a belief system about masculinity and male gender that is grounded in the relationship between what is male and female (Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku, 1993). Thompson, Pleck, and Ferrera (1992) asserted that this conceptualization promises men privileges, some types of men more privileges than others (e.g., straight vs. gay), and serves as a standard for normative development. Characteristics or standards of masculinity within this framework have been operationalized in different ways, but seem to have some common threads. More specifically, Pleck and Sawyer (1974) identified core "imperatives" that describe masculine behaviors to include seeking achievement and suppressing emotion. Brannon (1976) described four clusters of masculinity norms that were labeled "no sissy stuff," achieving status, cultivating independence and self-confidence, and developing the penchant for aggressiveness. Cicone and Ruble (1978) described three dimensions believed to undergird what is perceived as masculine characteristics. Males are expected

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to be active and achievement oriented, dominant in interpersonal relationships, and level-headed and self-contained. According to Doyle (1989), there are five themes to include (a) anti-femininity, (b) success, (c) aggression, (d) sexuality, and (e) self-reliance. Levant (1996) echoes these assumptions citing traditional norms of masculinity as emphasizing competition, status, toughness, and emotional stoicism.

These messages seem to communicate that being masculine involves an emphasis on aggression, competition, dominance, anti-femininity, devaluation of emotion, and independence. While endorsing these values likely results in access to some desirable outcomes, researchers have long found associations between endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology to negative outcomes and behaviors as well. For example, in a national, cross-sectional study ($N = 1880$) that included 755 White, 676 African American, and 386 Latino adolescent males between 15 and 19 years of age, Pleck, Sonenstein, and Ku (1993) found significant correlations between endorsement of traditional masculinity ideology and being suspended, sexual activity, number of sexual partners, engaging in coercive sex, using alcohol and drugs, and being picked up by the police. Levant (1996) stated that aggression and violence, devaluation of women, fear and hatred of homosexuality, detached fathering, and neglect of health needs were the "unfortunate but predictable results of the male socialization process" (p. 259). Pleck and O'Donnell (2001) conducted a cross-sectional design study using a sub-sample of 587 African American and Latino adolescents from a larger sample and found that among males in the sample, endorsements of traditional masculinity beliefs was positively correlated with violence-related behaviors and substance use. Masculinity ideology has also been linked to increased life stress, poor coping (Eisler & Blalock, 1991) and

restriction of emotion (Levant & Wong, 2013). Wester, Vogel, Wei, and McLain's (2006) cross-sectional study revealed that experiencing conflict between traditional male roles and situations that require non-traditional behaviors was positively correlated with psychological distress among a sample of 130 African American college men. Together, these findings highlight the widespread, potential negative impact of traditional masculine ideologies, as it affects the individual, interpersonal dynamics, families, and society at large, making the study of masculinity identity processes of significant import. In contrast, in a cross-sectional study with a sample of 92 African American college males between the ages of 18 and 25 years, Corneille, Fife, Belgrave, and Sims (2012) found that the rejection of masculinity ideology was associated with greater relationship mutuality and fewer sexual partners. This finding suggests that failure to endorse traditional masculinity ideology may be related to more positive outcomes, at least among AAMs. Franklin (1984) argued that there were differences in theories that sought to explain White male masculinity as compared to African American masculinity. He proposed that White men were seeking to alter traditional masculine beliefs, whereas African American men were looking to construct new ones in response to cultural and contextual differences in their experience. Meaning, White men desired to retain the core aspects of traditional masculinity and make adjustments as necessary. However, AMMs were seeking to create new ideologies of masculinity. Part of the differences in experience can be attributed to the perpetuation of negative stereotypes about AAMs.

Current and past perceptions of African American masculinity have been shaped by racist stereotypes dating back to slavery (Isom, 2007). In Isom's (2007) literature review, she discussed the earliest conceptualizations of African American men as the

"brute laborer and sexually charged brute" (p. 409). Over time, and as the positions of African American men shifted, other images emerged to include being incompetent and lazy, a sexual predator of White women, servants and dancing entertainers, and the "always accommodating uncle figure" (Isom, 2007). She asserted that the images of AAMs have always been tied to aggression, lack of success, sexual prowess, and knowing one's place in relation to White men. In consideration of traditional masculinity ideologies, one could reasonably argue that some aspects of the aforementioned stereotypes are diametrically opposed to some of its ideals. Consequently, it can have implications for the masculine identity development of AAMs. Particularly, presumptions of inferiority, incompetence, and laziness are misaligned with traditional, mainstream ideals of manhood and could leave AAMs feeling insecure and vulnerable. Isom argued that AAMs experience a struggle between their socially constructed selves and their authentic selves. Conceivably, the discrepancies between self-appraisals and stereotypes cause distress. Moreover, given the widespread, long-standing nature of these stereotypes, African American men are at risk for internalizing them due to repeated exposure and exposure to the responses from others who believe the stereotypes. Another consideration is that the perpetuation of more "desirable" stereotypes that align with traditional, mainstream masculinity, such as sexual prowess, could increase the expression of these characteristics and increase the vulnerability of AAMs (Pleck & O'Donnell, 2001; Stevens-Watkins et al., 2011).

The study of African American masculinity has evolved over time and involved multiple conceptualizations and assessments. According to Hammond and Mattis (2005), early investigation on African American masculinity perpetuated beliefs that they were

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problematic and abnormal. This early line of study focused on issues such as

abandonment of family responsibilities (Frazier, 1939), submissiveness (Elkins, 1959),

and sexual promiscuity (Broderick, 1965; Reiss, 1964), which has contributed to the

misperceptions about African American men that still impact their social mobility today

(Hammond & Mattis, 2005). One of the first to shift the focus was Staples (1978), who

examined problems from a sociohistorical perspective that considered the role of

contextual factors. Hammond and Mattis (2005) stated that many models used to

describe African American masculinity are "blocked opportunity" models that

conceptualize them as poor and falling near or outside "the margins of the opportunity

structure" (p.116). They asserted that these perspectives fail to consider the various

socio-economic status (SES) levels in which AAMs occupy. An expansion of study

emerged when Cazenave (1979) examined the role of fatherhood among middle-class,

African American men and found that the role of father was taken seriously, despite

supposition to the contrary. Consequently, researchers began looking at the role of

environmental and developmental factors on African American masculinity development.

Qualitative techniques have been used to investigate the unique definitions of

African American masculinity. Findings have suggested that AAMs do hold definitions

of maleness and manhood that are outside of traditional, mainstream values and are tied

to their experiences with racism and oppression. Hunter and Davis (1992) conducted a

cross-sectional study using interviews and Q-sort methodology with 32 AAMs to explore

their definitions of manhood. They elicited four major themes to include self-

determinism and accountability, family, pride, and spirituality and humanism. In a later

study, Hunter and Davis (1994) repeated the study and elicited similar findings with a

sample of 32 African American adult males, from various ages and backgrounds in central New York. One major theme was identity and development of self and included the following sub-themes: free will, maturity, pride, self-development, economic viability, and, perseverance (Hunter & Davis, 1994). A second major theme was spirituality and humanism and included the following sub-themes: respect for womanhood; connectedness to human community, spirituality, and moral principles; and, belief in human equality (Hunter & Davis, 1994). A third major theme among conceptualizations of manhood was family. The sub-themes included family role expectation, equity in male-female relations, and, family responsibility and connectedness (Hunter & Davis, 1994). The data reflected the men's experiences in the context of racism and economic insecurity (Hunter & Davis, 1994), which highlight the role of context in identity development. The authors did observe that men aged 30 years and above demonstrated more expansive definitions of masculinity and were more comfortable talking about it than men 25 years of age and under, which suggests there are some developmental differences to consider. Mainstream values tied to masculinity or masculinity ideological themes appear to be minimal within these conceptualizations of manhood. Responsibility to and respect for others emerged as highly important (Hunter & Davis, 1994), which could be argued to reflect the collectivistic orientation of a traditional African worldview.

Hammond and Mattis (2005) replicated the work of Hunter and Davis (1994) with a sample of 15 AAMs aged 17 to 79 years of age in central New York. The data yielded 15 themes of what it meant to be a man. The results overlapped in that the most commonly reported response was related to responsibility-accountability. Also, the

respondents defined manhood as relationally constructed (Hammond & Mattis, 2005), which contrasts with traditional masculinity ideology of independence. The four major themes to emerge were manhood as an interconnected state of being, manhood as a fluid process, manhood as a redemptive process, and manhood being a proactive course (Hammond & Mattis, 2005). Manhood as a proactive course was related to the anticipation of potential barriers or threats to one's identity (Hammond & Mattis, 2005), which could be used to support the perspective that African American masculinity is, to some degree, a reaction to or coping mechanism to deal with racism, oppression, and stereotypes. These findings provide important insight into potential values that AAMs use to define and shape their masculine identities. The lack of participation by younger AAMs in this study limits our understanding of how developmental stage may or may not inform the trajectory of beliefs and behaviors related to masculinity among this population, however.

Using a sample of African American boys in grades 5 through 7, Isom (2007) investigated conceptualizations of gender and African American masculinity. Initial responses of what it meant to be a male were tied to physicality and behaviors. Responses seemed to replicate "cool pose" as outlined by Majors and Bilson (1992). However, as the researcher dug deeper and participants talked about the ideal male, responses addressed interconnectedness with others, social responsibility, and caring (Isom, 2007), which is more reflective of what has been observed among adult samples. The author noted that there were minimal hypermasculine descriptions given as they talked about the men they hoped to become. An interesting, yet disturbing, finding was observed with the intersection of race. When asked to describe African American girls,

the responses were more negative than when asked to describe females. Responses shifted from more neutral descriptors to those that were highly sexualized and focused on their body parts (Isom, 2007). Terms such as "ghetto" and "booty call" were used. One might wonder if these views are the beginning of a racialized expression of masculinity or internalization of racism. The same phenomenon was observed between descriptions of males and AAMs, with AAMs being described as "bad" or "ghetto." The negative descriptions of AAMs were surprising in light of their relatively positive descriptions of what it meant to be Black. Moreover, when asked to describe Black males as students, the terms "lazy," "dumb," and "bad" were used, but self-appraisals were more positive, while acknowledging some flaws. These findings demonstrate the previously discussed struggle between the socially-constructed self and the authentic self. Participants talked about their desire for teachers to see them more favorably (Isom, 2007). They wanted their teachers to know that they were smarter, kinder, and more helpful than what was believed, which was more aligned with their idealizations of manhood. These findings seem to highlight the conflict that AAMs experience when facing negative stereotypes and the perceptions that others have about them compared to who they believe they are, their values tied to masculinity, and who they want to become as men, even at a young age. This study demonstrates the impact of racism on the self-concept of African American youth and further builds the case for understanding the impact of racism and oppression on the development of masculinity among AAMs.

Franklin (2004) talked about Black male identity through the lens of what he termed the Invisibility Syndrome, which he purported starts in childhood and develops across stages. From this perspective, as a result of experiences with racism and

microaggressions, AAMs begin to experience feelings of invisibility. He defined this invisibility as "an inner struggle with feeling that one's talents, abilities, personality, and worth are not valued or recognized because of prejudice and racism" (p. 4). Based upon his clinical work as a psychologist, he outlined a list of signs and symptoms associated with feelings of invisibility, including, but not limited to frustration, anger, chronic indignation, questioning one's worth, substance abuse, and hopelessness. He further explained that this syndrome limits the ability for African American men to fully use their resources to achieve their life goals, maintain healthy relationships, and ultimately, achieve a happy life (Franklin, 2004).

Majors and Bilson's (1992) conceptualization of African American male identity is oft cited throughout the literature on this topic. Cool pose is defined as "a ritualized form of masculinity that entails behaviors, scripts, physical posturing, impression management, and carefully crafted performances that deliver a single, critical message: pride, strength, and control" (p.4). This concept has contributed to the current understanding of how African American male identity is influenced by racism and oppression. Hammond and Mattis (2005) argued that this conceptualization frames the practices of African American men as artificial and characterizes their behaviors and thoughts as "mimes" or "postures" rather than processes of development. While there is some criticism of this conceptualization (see Hammond & Mattis, 2005), "cool pose" speaks to the desire for AAMs to find ways to cope, to protect their efficacy, image, and masculinity in the face of negative stereotypes, and perhaps, in the face of their own self-doubts. In an effort to do so, the consequences could potentially be an over-exaggeration of mainstream, traditional masculinity, also termed, hypermasculinity.

Hypermasculinity. It can be gleaned from the findings on traditional masculinity that the exaggeration or intensification of such beliefs and behaviors could have even more profound implications. According to Burk, Burkhart, and Sikorski (2004) hypermasculinity involves over-valuing of competition, aggressiveness, status, and self-reliance and devaluing of cooperative, care-taking activities. Interpersonal violence, demonstrating dominance over others, and sensation seeking are considered critical to one's gender identity among hypermasculine men (Burk et al., 2004). Also, hypermasculine men tend to largely view women as sexual conquests or sex objects (Burk et al., 2004). Spencer et al. (2004) stated that hypermasculinity involves stereotypic displays of power, as well as suppression of any signs of vulnerability. Previous research has linked hypermasculinity to the perpetration of physical and sexual violence. For example, O'Donohue, McKay, and Schewe, (1996) found that among a sample of undergraduate students, those who held a lower expectancy of negative outcomes for rape, had a greater history of coercive sexual behaviors, and had a higher future likelihood of raping, were more likely to fit a hypermasculine personality profile. The authors of this study did not provide demographic information regarding this sample; thus, the generalizability of these findings is not clear. Hypermasculinity has also been linked to non-sexual aggression towards women. Parrott and Zeichner (2003) conducted an experimental study with a sample of 533 undergraduate men (African American men, $n = 3$) in which the participants were able to deliver electrical shock to a fictitious woman competitor in a game. The researchers found that men in the high hypermasculine group demonstrated significantly higher levels of aggression than those in the low hypermasculine group. Moreover, there were statistically significant differences between

the reports of having assaulted a woman in which they were romantically involved

between high and low hypermasculine men, with men in the high hypermasculine group

reporting having done so more often. While both studies (O'Donohue, McKay, &

Schewe, 1996; Parrott & Zeichner, 2003) have limited generalizability to African

American men given the provided demographic data, the findings may provide additional

insight into the reasons why working to minimize the endorsement of hypermasculine

beliefs and behaviors is important.

Examination of the implications of hypermasculinity is not new. According to

Corprew, Matthews, and Mitchell (2014), researchers have studied hypermasculinity for

over 25 years and among the emerging adult population, studies have linked it to

aggression towards men who violate gender role norms, increased risk-taking behaviors

(such as drug use, high numbers of sexual partners), depression, alexithymia, poor coping

skills, and low academic achievement. Spencer et al. (2004) stated that hypermasculinity

among adolescents can lead to conflict in school, in their neighborhoods, and with family.

Hypermasculinity, then, can be considered a risk factor to the well-being of both the

individual and others, leaving one particularly vulnerable to perpetuating violence against

others as well as putting oneself at risk for violence, harm, and/or incarceration.

Just as it is believed that traditional masculinity beliefs are largely the result of

socialization processes, hypermasculine beliefs are also considered to be transmitted

through socialization (Mosher & Tomkins, 1988), again reiterating the role of context in

identity development. Some argue that the perpetuation of hypermasculine stereotypes

and the images portrayed of African American adolescent males, as well as actual

hypermasculine expression, contribute to them being viewed as older (Cassidy &

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Stevenson, 2005; Spencer et al., 2004). The misperception that African American adolescent males are older in age often results in the failure of adults to recognize their developmental needs as boys. Thus, adults fail to provide the support, empathy, and nurturing needed by these youth (Cassidy & Stevenson, 2005). Simultaneously, these young men are not asking for what they need and act as if they are fearless and do not need support because it goes against their internalized, hypermasculine identity ideals (Cassidy & Stevenson, 2005; Spencer et al., 2004).

Beyond the vulnerability of AAMs in the context of racism and oppression, the fact that many urban environments (often largely comprised of people of color) tend to pose additional threats and risks to its inhabitants is another consideration when examining hypermasculinity. Some argue that the display and/or endorsement of hypermasculinity is a coping response to environments that leave young AAMs hypervulnerable. According to Cunningham, Swanson, and Hayes (2013), the display of hypermasculine behaviors among adolescent AAMs is a learned coping response used to address perceived risks in their neighborhood. Spencer et al. (2004) argued that perceived or actual threats of violence pose additional stress and serious psychological and physical risks to adolescents. Moreover, they asserted that these young men become increasingly vulnerable because the confines of masculinity expectations and the demands of their environment restrict the acceptability of asking for help; therefore, while they may portray confidence and stability, they may, in fact, be scared and/or wanting or needing help and support. Cassidy and Stevenson (2005) argued that feelings of fear are consistently overlooked as a source of aggressive behaviors. In situations in which danger needs to be avoided, hypermasculine behaviors may be adaptive (Spencer

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et al., 2004). While hypermasculine coping responses may adequately help a young man negotiate a short-term need, these coping strategies used across time can result in increased encounters with stressors and increase the chances of more negative life outcomes (Spencer et al., 2004). For instance, if a young man has to walk to school through a neighborhood in which he may regularly come in contact with gang members or drug dealers, it may behoove him to portray himself as "hard" to avoid being a target of harassment or victimization. In contrast, repeated display of this behavior could potentially invite unwanted fights for having to prove that he is in fact "hard" leaving him vulnerable to becoming hurt, killed, or jailed. In situations such as these, the adolescent is using hypermasculinity as a coping strategy; however, the degree to which he would choose these behaviors without the environmental stressors or whether he equally endorses all attitudes and behaviors tied to hypermasculinity could vary (Burk et al., 2004) and is not well known.

While there appears to be study of specific dimensions related to the construct of hypermasculinity, such as aggression or sexual behaviors, the study of hypermasculinity as a multidimensional set of values and beliefs informing one's identity and subsequent behaviors among African American adolescent populations appears to be limited. Study of hypermasculinity among this population has focused on areas such as perceptions of teacher and peer attitudes; contextual factors, such as neighborhood environment; and, emotional states. For example, Spencer et al. (2004) used a cross-sectional subset of 239 adolescent males from urban areas (59% African American) that were a part of a larger, longitudinal study to examine the relationships among stress, support, perceptions of self and hypermasculinity. The researchers found that lower achieving males were more

likely to endorse hypermasculine attitudes than higher achieving males; furthermore, there were differences in their perceptions of teacher and peer support in which lower achieving males felt less supported than higher performing males. An inverse relationship between peer and teacher perceptions and hypermasculine attitudes emerged among participants in the study (Spencer et al., 2004), suggesting that perceived support could serve as a protective factor against the need to display hypermasculinity as a coping strategy.

Among 125 African American adolescent males from an urban area, who were high on hypermasculinity, Seaton (2007) found a positive correlation between neighborhood disorder (a variable computed based upon factors such as number of residents below poverty and resident employment status) and general fear. Seaton's (2007) finding provides support for the assertion that hypermasculinity may function as a survival mechanism. In a longitudinal study comprised of 241 African American male adolescents from an urban, impoverished background, Cunningham and colleagues (2013) found an inverse relationship between teacher expectations and hypermasculine attitudes. The finding was stronger amongst those who reported more negative personal experiences in public places such as malls, stores, and their neighborhood. Additionally, hypermasculine attitudes in year three of the study were the strongest predictors of hypermasculine attitudes two years later; this finding suggests that hypermasculine beliefs are likely to persist across time without intervention.

In sum, hypermasculine beliefs and behaviors among African American youth may emerge through socialization processes in the context of racism, oppression, and safety concerns. Evidence suggests that hypermasculinity can function as a coping

mechanism; it may also serve as a survival function at times and as a risk factor at others, particularly across time. Understanding the assets that help to protect adolescent AAMs, particularly in urban areas, from using hypermasculinity as a coping strategy in response to environmental stressors is limited, but seems prudent. As such, this literature review will now examine potential assets that could function as protective factors to include racial identity and racial socialization.

Racial identity. Racial identity is defined as identification with groups of people who have been socialized as belonging to a racial group (Helms, 1993). The study of racial identity among African Americans has evolved over time and is argued to be one of the most important constructs examined in research that focuses on African American people (Marks, Settles, Cooke, Morgan, & Sellers, 1996). Similar to the ways in which African American masculinity was first conceptualized from a deficit perspective, the racial identity of African Americans was first viewed through the assumption that they suffered from self-hatred and failed attempts at meeting European American standards (Marks et al., 1996). Early attempts at investigating racial identity were threaded with attempts to demonstrate that African Americans had low self-esteem, yet, self-esteem was not actually directly assessed until the 1960s (Marks et al., 1996). In fact, the direct measure of self-esteem demonstrated that African Americans had strong self-esteem and some studies even showed that they had higher self-esteem than European Americans (Marks et al., 1996). Marks and colleagues (1996) reported that as studies directly measured self-esteem, along with the zeitgeist of Black empowerment and the building of the African American image in the 60s and 70s, the perspective on examining racial identity began to shift as well. This resulted in new conceptualizations and models of

identity development. The first major theory of racial identity was developed by Cross (1971).

Cross' (1971, 1991; Cross & Vandiver, 2001) Nigrescence theory of racial identity development has served as a major impetus upon which to study and conceptualize the development of racial identity. When first proposed in 1971, Cross asserted that racial identity attitudes change over time and proposed five stages "that reflect restructuring in cognitive and affective approaches to self and society rather than an invariant developmental trajectory" (p.1) (Worrell, Vandiver, & Cross, 2004). In the first stage, labeled pre-encounter, the individual is disconnected from his or her racial identity. The individual is in denial, experiencing self-hatred, or may have an identity rooted in something else (i.e., religion). This stage is characterized by a de-emphasis of being Black and lack of acknowledgment of the salience of race (Cross, 1971). He or she works to assimilate into White culture and embody characteristics associated with Whiteness. Poor psychological functioning and self-hatred are believed to be associated with this stage (Cross, 1971). The individual enters the next stage, encounter, after experiencing a race-based encounter that challenges the individual's pre-encounter attitudes, forcing the individual to acknowledge that race is salient (Cross, 1971). The immersion/emersion stage involves immersion into Black culture. The individual immerses oneself through behaviors such as joining Black organizations, wearing African garb, and attending Black events (Cross, 1971). The individual becomes anti-White and pro-Black (Cross, 1971). If the individual does not experience rejection, disappointment, or become fixated while immersing in Black culture, one will shift to the Internalization stage, which is explained as "pro-Black without strong emotional valence" (Fhagen-

Smith, Vandiver, Worrell, & Cross, 2010). The final stage, internalization-commitment, is characterized by the incorporation of the attitudes into one's life through activism and living a life that is in alignment with one's new identity. Cross (1971) noted that one has more emotional space and energy to engage in these activities in the final stage, suggesting that the process of identity development involves emotional struggle throughout.

Cross (1991) later revised the model in several ways. First, he shifted from explaining racial identity development through a stage model to talking about racial identity through attitudinal themes. Second, Cross (1991) merged the last two stages, internalization and internalization-commitment. Third, several themes were revised and divided into types of attitudes. More specifically, the pre-encounter theme was comprised of (a) assimilation and (b) anti-Black attitudes. Anti-Black attitudes were described as self-hatred and miseducation or accepting negative stereotypes of Blacks. The immersion-emersion theme was composed of (a) anti-White and (b) intense Black involvement attitudes. Finally, the internalization theme involved three attitude clusters: (a) Black nationalist, (b) biculturalist and (c) multiculturalist. The Black nationalist attitude is indicative of those who internalized positive views of Blackness and committed to uplifting the Black community. Biculturalist attitudes suggested almost equal salience to being both American and Black. Multiculturalist attitudes indicated that one identified with as many as three or more reference points or identity anchors (Cross, 1991), which seems akin to the concept of intersecting identities.

Cross and Vandiver (2001) further expanded the theory by modifying and adding attitudes to the themes. The pre-encounter theme now included (a) assimilation, (b)

miseducation, and (c) self-hatred attitudes. The immersion theme included (a) anti-White

and (b) intense Black involvement attitudes. The internalization theme now included (a)

biculturalist (b) Afrocentric, (c) multiculturalist racial, and (d) multiculturalist inclusive

attitudes. The final iteration of the model that informed the development of the Cross

Racial Identity Scale (CRIS) (Worrell et al., 2004).

Parham (1989) expanded the original Nigrescence Model by integrating a

developmental perspective to viewing Cross' (1971) racial identity stages. Parham

proposed three phases to address the major themes of racial identity development. The

late adolescence/early adulthood phase encompassed activism and the visual and

behavioral expression of the endorsement of Blackness. The middle adulthood stage

emphasized institutional issues because this stage of life involves an increase in

responsibility and opportunities (Parham, 1989). The late adulthood phase is

characterized by the consideration of one's role in society and how she or he contributes

to society; thus, in this stage, one considers how she or he takes action as an African

American. Parham also proposed alternative constructs that informed the process of

matriculation through the stages. The term stagnation is used if an individual becomes

stuck in a stage of racial identity. Linear progression occurs when an individual has

progressed through the stages as proposed. Recycling occurs when an individual, who

has reached the internalization stage, encounters a situation or event that causes one to

reconsider his or her racial identity and recycle back to a previous stage; however, he

asserted that it is not likely that one would return to the pre-encounter stage (Parham,

1989). The concept of recycling is different from Cross' later iterations of the

Nigrescence Model given that Cross shifted from a linear model of racial identity

development all together; he viewed racial identity as being composed of varied endorsement of attitudes across each identity theme. Thus, through Cross' lens, the potential to "recycle" is always present and could be responsive to significant race-based events and experiences.

Another major racial identity conceptualization often used in empirical study was proposed by Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, and Chavous (1998). The Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI) views racial identity as stable characteristics that have the potential to be influenced by contextual factors. The authors assert that individuals have multiple identities each with varying levels of importance (Sellers et al., 1998). Within the MMRI framework, the most valid indicator of racial identity is one's perception of what it means to be Black (Sellers et al., 1998). However, the authors make clear that there are no prescriptions about whether the perception is psychologically healthy or unhealthy (Sellers et al., 1998).

The MMRI describes four dimensions that capture one's racial identity to include racial centrality, racial salience, racial ideology, and racial regard (Sellers et al., 1998). Racial centrality is the degree to which race is a central part of one's identity across time. Racial salience is the extent to which one views race as significant at a particular point in time and is thus, influenced by the situation. Racial ideology speaks to one's beliefs, opinions, and attitudes about how African Americans should live and relate to society. Sellers et al. (1998) identified four ideological stances that fall within this dimension. The first is the nationalist philosophy, which give emphasis to being of African descent. Second, the oppressed minority philosophy is focused upon the similarities between African Americans and other groups of oppressed people in our society. Third, the

assimilation philosophy focuses on the similarities between African Americans and the rest of American society. Fourth, the humanist philosophy emphasizes the similarities of all of humanity.

The last dimension of the overall model is racial regard. Racial regard is the person's feelings and evaluation of his or her race (Sellers et al., 1998). Within this dimension is one's private regard, which is the degree to which a person feels positively or negatively about African Americans and being a member of the group (Sellers et al., 1998). Public regard is the degree to which one believes that others view African Americans positively or negatively (Sellers et al., 1998).

These major approaches, particularly Cross' (1971, 1991; Cross & Vandiver, 2001) Nigrescence Model and the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998), have been widely studied in relationship to multiple psychosocial variables, such as psychological distress and self-esteem. Research has shown that positive racial identity can serve as a protective factor in the face of racial discrimination (Lee & Ahn, 2013). Moreover, research has demonstrated that endorsements of racial identity attitudes and themes that undermine positive attributions of being Black and/or focus on mainstream/White culture as one's racial reference group are correlated with more negative psychological outcomes. For example, Wade (1996) examined the relationship between four dimensions of gender role conflict and racial identity attitudes among a sample of 95 African American men between the ages of 23 and 80 years. The data revealed a significant, positive relationship between pre-encounter attitudes and "restrictive emotionality," as well as "conflicts between work and family relations." Encounter attitudes were positively correlated with all four measures of gender role conflict and immersion/emersion

attitudes were positively correlated with endorsement of two dimensions of gender role conflict, including "success, power, and competition" and "restrictive emotionality." Similarly, in a cross-sectional study using a sample of adult AAMs, Mahalik, Pierre, and Wan (2006) found that pre-encounter and immersion-emersion attitudes were positively correlated with psychological distress, as well as endorsements of traditional masculinity norms. Here, African American men who were less likely to feel positive about being Black were also more likely to endorse traditional, mainstream masculinity norms.

While racial identity typically speaks most directly to the experiences of African American people, the significant overlap of racial and ethnic identity calls for consideration of research addressing ethnic identity as well (Umana-Taylor et al., 2014). Umana-Taylor et al. (2014) have proposed the integration of racial and ethnic identity into one construct. They argued that there is significant conceptual and empirical overlap and the trajectory of development of each identity is similar in nature. Furthermore, the intersection of these two identities are very difficult to tease apart, particularly for more recent, globally connected generations. More specifically, as youth of today think about their lived experiences, both their racial and ethnic identities interact to create their experience and they do not think of them as separate. Thus, research that examines both racial and ethnic identity is included to assist in understanding what factors help or hinder psychological well-being. Among a multiracial sample of 4,766 adolescents, Fisher, Reynolds, Hsu, Barnes, and Tyler (2014) found an inverse relationship between ethnic affirmation and both anxiety and depressive symptoms. More specifically, more positive ethnic identity served as a protective factor against both anxiety and depression symptoms among White, African American, and multiracial youth. In Corneille et al.'s

(2012) cross-sectional study, they found that a stronger ethnic identity was related to increased relationship mutuality, even after controlling for demographic and relationship variables among a sample of 92 African American, heterosexual, college men. However, the specific sexual orientation delimitation prevents generalizability to males who identify in other ways.

In Lee and Ahn's (2013) meta-analysis of 18 studies that investigated relationships among racial and ethnic identity, discrimination, and psychological distress, small, but statistically significant correlations were found between psychological distress and the following racial identity categories: (a) pre-encounter/assimilation attitudes (r = .14), (b) encounter attitudes (r = .14), (c) Afrocentricity/racial centrality/private regard (r = -.04), and (d) public regard (r = -.11). The study also revealed that those with higher pre-encounter/assimilation scores reported significantly higher psychological distress than those with higher Afrocentricity/racial centrality/private regard scores (Lee & Ahn, 2013). Although these effect sizes are small, they suggest that a racial identity that views being Black more favorably may be related to less psychological distress. Also of significance, the meta-analysis revealed that the relationship between racial discrimination and psychological distress for children (r = .25) was higher than for adults (r = .18) (Lee & Ahn, 2013) demonstrating that youth may be more significantly impacted by discrimination and/or less prepared to deal with it. Wester et al. (2006) conducted a cross-sectional study with 130 African and AAMs in college and found that those who internalized a more negative racial identity (Self-Hatred from the CRIS) suffered more from their attempts to navigate male gender roles than men who internalized a racial identity that was more embracing of being African American. Here,

racial identity partially mediated the effects of conflicts between traditional male roles and situations in which non-traditional behaviors were needed (Wester et al., 2006). Wester et al.'s finding demonstrates that a more positive racial identity could serve as a protective function in dealing with masculinity-based role conflicts. Among the AAM subset in Caldwell et al.'s (2004) study, those whose race was more central to their identity engaged in fewer violent behaviors when faced with racial discrimination than those with less racial centrality. This finding did not emerge for African American females and suggests that for AAMs, a strong sense of racial identity and connection to that Black community may help to buffer the effects of racism (Caldwell et al., 2004).

Racial/ethnic identity endorsement can vary as a function of gender and community type as well. Fhagen-Smith et al. (2010) examined the racial identity attitudes among a cross-section of 336 African American college students who attended a predominantly White university. Approximately 35% of the sample was male and participants were from families of all economic backgrounds. The authors found that males reported higher internalization Afrocentric scores than females and females had higher internalization multicultural-inclusive scores than males (Fhagen-Smith et al., 2010). This finding suggests that African American females are more likely to embrace or focus on their multiple identities and AAMs may be more focused on their racial identities. The authors asserted that differences may have emerged in response to different socialization experiences (Fhagen-Smith et al., 2010), which supports the need to consider the unique contextual factors and socialization messages that influence the development of African American male identity. Participants from suburban areas reported higher pre-encounter assimilation and miseducation scores than students from

urban areas (Fhagen-Smith et al., 2010). The latter findings suggest that being in an environment that likely has higher proportions of White people may have a more negative impact on racial identity attitudes. No statistically significant differences were found as a function of socioeconomic status (Fhagen-Smith et al., 2010).

The research on racial identity and its correlates is largely focused on adult samples (Gardner-Kitt & Worrell, 2007), particularly college-aged adults. However, as the primary goal of adolescence is associated with identity formation, continued study of racial identity development within this stage is important to understanding how to enhance protective factors for African American adolescents. Moreover, understanding the unique socialization experiences aimed at preparing African American boys to deal with racism while becoming men helps to highlight what is protective in their development. Miller and MacIntosh (1999) liken racial socialization to a "suit of armor against the hostilities of the environment" and with the finding that African American youth are experiencing higher levels of distress in relationship to discrimination (i.e., Lee & Ahn, 2013), ensuring a strong suit of armor is warranted. The next section will take a closer look at racial socialization and its potential to function as a protective factor.

Racial socialization. Racial socialization is another variable believed to function as a protective mechanism in the face of racial discrimination and oppression. Racial socialization is the process by which race-based cultural values and beliefs are transmitted and may be one of the most important practices in preparing youth to navigate a multicultural society (Hughes et al., 2006). According to Hughes et al., racial socialization can include exposure to cultural practices and objects, instilling pride and knowledge about one's history and cultural capital, discussions about discrimination and

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oppression and how to deal with it, and, strategies for successfully navigating mainstream society.

Racial socialization is a broad term encapsulating the transmission of said components of race-based cultural capital, typically from parents to children, with significant variation in its conceptualization and operationalization among scholars (Hughes et al., 2006). Hughes et al. identified four major themes: (a) cultural socialization, (b) preparation for bias, (c) promotion of mistrust, and (d) egalitarianism. Cultural socialization refers to the practices that are used to teach children about their cultural heritage and history; to transmit culture-based customs and traditions; and, to promote pride, both overtly and covertly (Hughes et al., 2006). Specific examples include talking about important people in history; using culturally-relevant books, items, music, and stories; celebrating certain holidays; and, eating certain foods. Preparation for bias involves teaching children to be attuned to and aware of discrimination and ways to cope with the experience of it. Preparation for bias is considered critical to the success and survival of African American people, in light of the omnipresence of individual and institutional racism (Hughes et al, 2006). Promotion of mistrust, the third theme to emerge from the literature, speaks to teaching children to be leery or distrustful of interactions with people from other backgrounds, as well as potential barriers related to their success. The authors cite their previous work (Hughes & Chen, 1999; Hughes et al., 2006) that demonstrated how promotion of mistrust is different from preparation of bias because it lacks advice or direction from parents about how to deal with discrimination. The final theme, egalitarianism, speaks to the use of practices that teach children to value their individual characteristics more than their racial group membership and/or the

avoidance of any discussion about race. Similarly, Boykin and Toms (1985) developed the term mainstream socialization to address strategies that focus children on developing skills and attributes that would help them to be successful within mainstream society, rather than focusing them on their native culture or minority status.

It seems logical to assume that racial socialization is critical to mitigating the effects of racism on the life outcomes of people of color. However, the empirical support regarding the effect of racial socialization is somewhat inconsistent (Lee & Ahn, 2013). It is argued that variation in how scholars operationalize the construct results in confusion and hinders the integration of findings on the impact of racial socialization (Cokely, 2007; Hughes et al., 2006; Sellers et al., 2006). Some dimensions of racial socialization have actually been found to intensify the impact of discrimination, particularly socialization toward bias (Lee & Ahn, 2013). Sellers and Shelton (2003) have argued that because one is more attuned to their racial identity (centrality, as indicated in the MMRI model) and more socialized toward issues of race and racial bias, there is increased ability to recognize discrimination and/or one is more likely to attribute ambiguous situations to discrimination, thus increasing distress. While increased awareness and acuity to see discrimination may increase one's experience of distress, the failure or inability to do so may be troublesome as well. According to Lee and Ahn (2013), those who receive racial socialization and have a stronger racial identity are equipped with some protection from the negative effects of discrimination. These individuals are better equipped because they have knowledge that discrimination results from social injustices rather than their own shortcomings (Lee & Ahn, 2013). Thus, one's self-esteem and self-concept is preserved, to a degree, in the face of stereotypes and

other forms of discrimination (Pascoe & Richman, 2009). Richardson et al. (2015) argued that adolescents who experience racial discrimination, but receive fewer parental supports for negotiating and coping with discrimination may be vulnerable for internalizing stigmatizing experiences related to experiences with racism.

Despite the inconsistency within the literature, there is evidence to suggest that dimensions of racial socialization do help to protect African Americans from the harmful impact of racism. Among a sample including 332 AAMs and 298 African American females, Wang and Huguley (2012) found that preparation for bias socialization buffered the impact of peer and teacher discrimination on grade point average (GPA) and educational aspirations. Additionally, they found a positive, predictive relationship between preparation for bias and school identification. In a longitudinal examination of the relationship between racial discrimination and multiple sexual partners among 221 African American, adolescent males from rural communities, Kogan, Yu, Allen, Pocock, and Brody (2015) found that protective parenting buffered the impact of race-based microstressors on psychological distress. More specifically, racial discrimination among youth with higher levels of protective parenting, to include racial socialization practices, was minor; however, it was a critical factor among adolescents with a lack of protective parenting (Kogan et al., 2015). While Kogan et al.'s (2015) findings may not be generalizable to AAMs in urban areas, it is possible that similar findings may emerge given the omnipresence of racism despite geographic location and the need for appropriate coping skills. Parent racial socialization has also been identified as a potential protective factor within high-risk environments. DeGruy, Kjellstrand, Briggs, and Brennan (2012) found that acceptance of a racial socialization beliefs was negatively

correlated with violence intensity and was marginally significant in moderating the effects of observing violence among a sample of African American, male adolescents who were in the juvenile justice system ($n = 100$) and in a community youth development program ($n = 100$). It is important to note that within several of the aforementioned studies, racial socialization was the composite of multiple dimensions or focused on preparation for bias. Examining the individual and unique contributions of multiple domains of racial socialization may provide additional insight into the best ways to protect the well-being of African American youth.

AAM racial socialization. Some empirical support suggests there are differences in the type of racial socialization received as a function of gender (Cooper & McLoyd, 2011; Hughes et al., 2006). Research has demonstrated that AAMs receive more messages about preparation for bias (Hughes et al., 2006; Richardson et al., 2015) and less cultural pride socialization than females. Thomas and Blackmon (2015) conducted a qualitative study with 104 parents of African American children between the ages of 6 and 18 after the Trayvon Martin killing and found that parents of African American children were more concerned about the safety of their African American boys. Their socialization practices in response to this tragic event involved teaching their boys how to cope with racism and how to interact with strangers and the police. Similarly, Thomas and Speight (1999) found that socialization for males focused on discussions of negative stereotypes and coping strategies for dealing with racism and socialization for females focused on achievement and racial pride. Richardson et al. (2015) conducted a cluster analysis using longitudinal data among a sample of 491 African American adolescents that was 52% male. The data revealed that males were overrepresented in a cluster of

youth that experienced more frequent discrimination socialization, but few parental

discrimination coping messages. Further, they found that AAMs reported experiencing

more peer and teacher discrimination (Richardson et al., 2015). Boys who experienced

more frequent discrimination but few parental coping messages were over represented in

the racial identity cluster characterized by a more negative racial identity (Richardson et

al., 2015). Thus, the explicit teaching of ways to cope with racism may be an important

piece of racial socialization for African American boys' healthy identity development.

   Relationship between racial identity and racial socialization. Taken together,

there is evidence to support that both racial identity and racial socialization could serve as

protective factors against the adoption of hypermasculinity as a coping response to racial

discrimination. Although distinctive constructs, there does seem to be some relationship

between these two variables. Stevenson and Arrington (2009) conducted a study with a

sample of 108 African American students in grades six through twelve to examine these

relationships. The study revealed small to moderate statistically significant relationships

between dimensions of racial socialization and some dimensions of racial identity as

indicated by the MMRI model (Sellers et al., 1998). Using a sample of 502 Black

adolescents and their parents, Peck, Brodish, Malanchuk, Banerjee, and Eccles (2014)

found a positive relationship between promoting cultural pride and history and

racial/ethnic identity development. However, they found that messages focused on

preparation for discrimination tended to be unrelated to racial/ethnic identity

development. These findings suggest that there is a relationship between dimensions of

racial socialization and racial identity, but that they seem to capture different constructs.

The presented literature review helps to build a case for the consideration of multiple race-based identity and contextual factors in the development of masculinity among young, AAMs. The role of culture, environmental factors, and developmental stage all seem to influence the development of AAMs. As such, the next section will address the theoretical perspective that taps into each of these components and will serve as the framework for the proposed study.

Theoretical Framework

Spencer's (1995) Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST) (Figure 1) builds upon and expands Bronfenbrenner's (1989) Ecological Systems theory. According to Swanson et al. (2003) the model situates human development within the context of the interaction between identity, culture, and experience for youth across all racial and ethnic backgrounds. It "uses an identity-focused cultural-ecological perspective, which integrates issues of social, political, and cultural context with normative developmental processes" (p. 748).
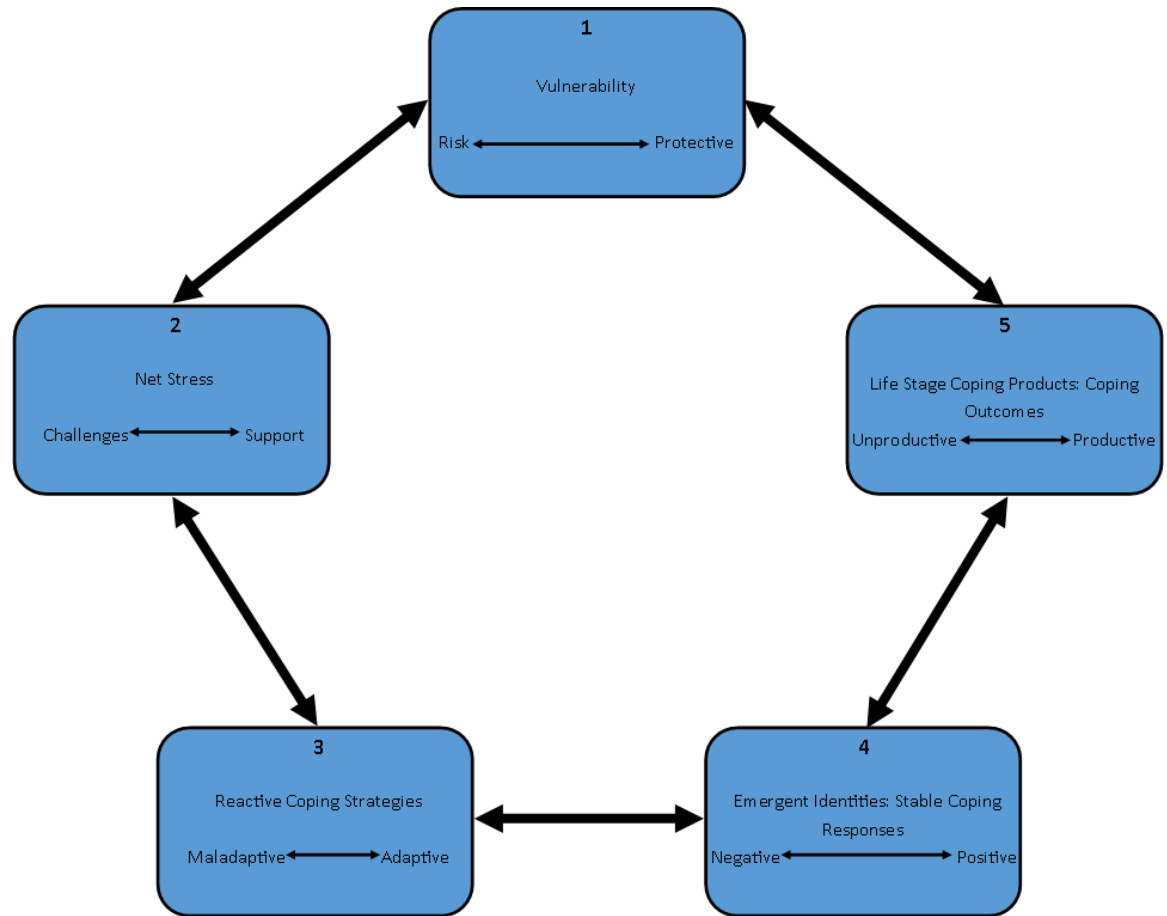
Figure 1. A Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems Theory (PVEST) (Spencer, 1995).

The PVEST model is comprised of five components. The first component, net vulnerability level, includes contextual conditions and factors that may serve as a challenge to or a protective factor of one's development (Spencer, 1995; Swanson et al., 2003). For example, living in poverty, race- and gender-based stereotypes, and historical processes, such as discrimination and racial denigration can impact the development of youth (Spencer, 1995). The second component, net stress engagement, is the actual experience of challenges and supports that impact one's well-being and development (Spencer, 1995; Swanson et al., 2003). Based on previous discussions, one could hypothesize that racial distress, racial identity, and racial socialization experiences can be

situated here. Spencer (1995) asserted that experiences with racism and the subsequent

struggles are major contributors in this component and impact the normative

development that is experienced by all adolescents, such as puberty and identity

exploration. Reactive coping mechanisms, the third component, refers to the coping

strategies used by an individual in response to situations that cause conflict or distress

(Spencer, 1995; Swanson et al., 2003). These coping strategies may be adaptive or

maladaptive, but those that result in desired outcomes will be retained and replicated;

across time, they will become stable coping strategies (Spencer, 1995; Swanson et al.,

2003). It could be argued that hypermasculine attitudes and behaviors that result in

approval or respect from peers are likely to be retained, unless alternative coping

strategies are taught and reinforced (Spencer, 1995; Swanson et al., 2003). The fourth

component, emergent identities, refers to how one identifies within and between various

environments in which one is developing. Swanson et al. (2003) stated that identity is a

combination of cultural/ethnic identity, sex role understanding, and self and peer

appraisal. The process of identity development is considered critical because it informs

behavior, perception, and self-appraisal resulting in productive or adverse outcomes

(Swanson et al., 2003). That Swanson et al. use the term "emergent" suggests that the

identity is somewhat malleable and thus, possibly responsive to intervention. As these

hypermasculine attitudes and behaviors are being developed and reinforced, there are

opportunities to teach males other ways of coping, as well as opportunities to expand

their expressions of masculinity. The final component, life-span, specific coping

outcomes, are the results or outcomes of coping (Swanson et al., 2003). According to the

authors, productive outcomes include good health, good relationships, and strong self-

esteem. Negative outcomes include poor health, incarcerations, and self-destructive behavior (Swanson et al., 2003).

The PVEST model serves as a good framework to explore and explain the masculine identity development of AAMs because it is responsive to the unique set of contextual factors (i.e., racism and its interaction with gender role expectations, structural inequalities) as well as normative issues faced in identity development for all adolescents. Given the primary task of identity exploration and development within the stage of adolescence (Erikson, 1980), further exploration of what supports or hinders the adaptive development of AAMs, as a vulnerable population, is important. The PVEST model has been successfully utilized in multiple empirical studies. Examples include examining the effects of being a victim or co-victim of a violent crime on trauma symptomology among a sample of African American adolescents (Spencer, Dupree, Cunningham, Harpalani, & Muñoz-Miller, 2003), the role of fear in the display of hypermasculinity among African American adolescent males (Seaton, 2007), and, the relationships between negative youth experiences and bravado attitudes among African American males in an urban environment (Corprew & Cunningham, 2012). These studies set the stage for further empirical study utilizing the PVEST model as a framework to aid in better understanding the role of contextual factors in the development of adolescent AAMs.

The current review of extant literature seems to suggest a dearth in the study of how race-based variables influence the display of hypermasculinity among this population. Theoretically, the relationships between hypermasculinity and the presented race-based variables seem logical; however, it has yet to be empirically supported. Thus, the current study sought to expand the existing body of literature by exploring whether

these relationships exist and to what degree. The next section addresses the specific

methodology used to expand our knowledge in this area.

Chapter Two: Method

Chapter two will address the specific methodology used to conduct the current study. The goal of this section is to facilitate the replication and verifiability of the current study. This chapter will provide detailed information about all dimensions of the study to help the reader have a clear understanding of the study implementation.

Sample

The targeted population for this study was adolescent, AAMs from low-income backgrounds. Data were collected from 163 African American adolescent males in grades 9 through 12, who attended a predominantly low-income, African American high school in the Southern region of the United States. After reviewing submitted survey packets for completeness, a total of 156 participants were retained. The final sample included 19 freshmen, 81 sophomores, 42 juniors, and 14 seniors. The average grade point average was 2.88. Students were not asked to report their age. About 82% reported that they received free and/or reduced lunch.

Instrumentation

The following section will describe the instruments used in the current study. Each section will provide an overview of the constructs and/or variables measured, the number of items within the scales, the range of responses, as well as sample items from the measure. Psychometric information is also provided.

Demographic questionnaire. A brief, self-report questionnaire was distributed to gather background information including grade level, family member with whom the student lived, free- and reduced-lunch status, parental education level, and current grade point average (see Appendix A). Free- and reduced-lunch status is often used as a proxy

for SES. Although all participants attend a school identified as serving primarily low-income students, some students in the sample did not qualify for this status. Data analyses were conducted to determine if this variable should be included as a control variable in the final analyses.

Racial distress. The Adolescent Discrimination Distress Index (ADDI) was developed by Fisher et al. (2000) to measure adolescents' reports of distress resulting from perceived race-based discrimination across multiple domains (see Appendix B). This 15 item instrument is composed of three subscales: (a) Institutional Discrimination Distress, (b) Educational Discrimination Distress, and (c) Peer Discrimination Distress. The Institutional Discrimination Distress subscale is composed of six items and measures perceptions of racial discrimination within institutions, such as restaurants and stores. A sample item is "You were harassed by a store clerk or store guard." The Educational Discrimination Distress subscale measures perceptions of racial discrimination within educational settings and contains four items. A sample item is "You were wrongly disciplined or given after-school detention." Finally, the Peer Discrimination Distress subscale measures perceptions of racial discrimination from peers and consists of five items. A sample item is "You were called racially insulting names." Participants are asked if they have experienced the situation because of their race, and if so, they are to indicate the degree to which they were upset by the experience. The measure employs a five-point, Likert-type scale with potential responses ranging from 1 (not at all upset) to 5 (extremely upset) and a mid-point value of 3 (neutral). Scale scores are computed by summing the numeric values of participant responses. A total scale score is computed by summing all numeric responses. No items are reverse-scored.

In Fisher et al.'s (2000) study, the measure was used with a multiracial sample of $N = 177$. A factor analysis was conducted with the 15 items, which yielded the three aforementioned factors. The six items that comprise the Institutional Discrimination subscale (numbers 7, 9, 10, 12, 13) accounted for 22% of the variance in responses. The four items that comprise the Educational Discrimination subscale (numbers 1, 2, 3, 6) accounted for 13% of the variance, and the five items that make up the Peer Discrimination subscale (numbers 4, 5, 8, 11, 15) accounted for 10% of the common variance. The subscales were significantly correlated with each other showing some overlap, but low correlations indicated distinct constructs (Fisher et al., 2000). There was a moderate correlation between institutional discrimination distress and educational discrimination distress ($r = .34$); a small correlation between institutional discrimination distress and peer discrimination distress ($r = .26$); and, a small correlation between educational and peer discrimination distress ($r = .23$). Inter-item reliability and test-retest reliability for the institutional dimension were $\alpha = .72$ and $r_{50} = .76$, respectively. Inter-item and test-retest reliability for the educational dimension were $\alpha = .60$ and $r_{47} = .53$. Finally, inter-item and test-retest reliability for the peer dimension were $\alpha = .60$ and $r_{49} = .75$. Data from the current study produced a reliability coefficient of .83 for the composite of racial distress.

Racial identity. The Cross Racial Identity Scale 2nd edition (CRIS) (Worrell et al., 2004) was developed to assess six Nigrescence attitudes discussed within Cross' (1995) expanded version of the Nigrescence model of racial identity development (see Appendix B). There are six factors measured across 40 items to include: (a) Assimilation (PA); (b) Miseducation (PM); and (c) Self-Hatred (PSH), which are Pre-Encounter

attitudes; (d) Anti-White (IEAW), which is an Immersion-Emersion attitude; and, (e)

Afrocentricity (IA) and (f) Multiculturalist-Inclusive (IMCI), which are Internalization

attitudes. A total of ten items are not used in scoring. Item responses range from 1

(strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) and item scores are computed by summing the

responses within the subscale. No items are reversed-coded. The psychometrics for the

subscales used in the current study (Afrocentricity and Multiculturalist-Inclusive attitude)

are presented next.

The Afrocentricity subscale is comprised of five items (numbers 7, 13, 22, 31, and

37) and measures one's desire to focus on issues from an Afrocentric worldview

(Gardner-Kitt & Worrell, 2007). A sample item from this subscale is "I see and think

about things from an Afrocentric perspective." Cronbach's alpha for this subscale was

.83 in the author's study and .76 in the current study. The Multiculturalist-Inclusive

subscale assesses the degree to which one embraces a pro-Black identity along with a

willingness to interact with members of other cultural groups (Gardner-Kitt & Worrell,

2007). This subscale also contains five items (numbers 5, 16, 24, 33, and 40) and a

sample item is "As a multiculturalist, I am connected to many groups (Hispanics, Asian-

Americans, Whites, Jews, gays & lesbians, etc.)" (Gardner-Kitt & Worrell, 2007). This

subscale yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .82 in validation study and .73 in the current

study.

Convergent validity was examined through bivariate correlations between

subscales of the CRIS with another instrument of Black racial identity called the

Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI) (see Sellers et al., 1998). Only

correlations of $r = .30$ and greater were interpreted (Worrell et al., 2004). Afrocentricity

was positively correlated with the Nationalist subscale (Worrell et al., 2004). Multiculturalist-inclusive was positively correlated with the Humanist and Oppressed Minority subscales (Worrell et al., 2004). Worrell et al. (2004) asserted that these results were theoretically sound.

Discriminant validity was assessed through bivariate correlation analyses conducted between the CRIS subscales and a measure of social desirability called the Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding (BIDR) developed by Paulhus (1984, 1991). The BIDR measures two variables: (a) self-deception and (b) other deception. The authors reported that there were no correlations between CRIS subscales and either BIDR subscales above $r = .23$ to support the assumption that CRIS scores are not strongly impacted by social desirability (Worrell et al., 2004). Bivariate analyses were also conducted with a measure of self-esteem called the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES) (Rosenberg, 1965). Self-hatred was negatively correlated with the RSES suggesting that self-hatred that is based on a negative reference group orientation appears to have a direct influence on personal identity (Worrell et al., 2004).

Racial socialization. The Teenage Experience of Racial Socialization (TERS) scale (Stevenson et al., 2002) is used to assess the degree to which adolescents report receiving familial socialization about managing racism, cultural pride, and spirituality (see Appendix B). There are five factors that comprise the 15-item scale: (a) Cultural Coping with Antagonism (CCA), (b) Cultural Pride Reinforcement (CPR), (c) Cultural Legacy Appreciation (CLA), (d) Cultural Alertness to Discrimination (CAD), and (e) Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream (CEM). The measure also includes a composite factor labeled Cultural Socialization Experience (CULTRS). The instrument uses a

three-point scale with responses ranging from 1 (never) to 3 (lots of times). Factor scores are computed by summing the responses for the items within the factor. The composite score is computed by summing the scale scores for the first four factors. There are no reverse-scored items in this instrument. The psychometrics for the two subscales selected for the current study, cultural coping with antagonism and cultural pride reinforcement, are discussed in the following section.

The Cultural Coping with Antagonism scale consists of 13 items (numbers 3, 5, 6, 8, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25, 26, 27, 31, and 37) and measures reports of socialization messages "about the importance of struggling successfully through racial hostilities and the role of spirituality and religion in that coping" (Stevenson et al., 2002). A sample item is "You should know about Black history so that you will be a better person." A psychometric study data yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .85. The obtained Cronbach's alpha in the current study was .77. The Cultural Pride Reinforcement factor measures receiving messages about having pride and knowledge of African American culture. It is composed of nine items (numbers 9, 11, 12, 23, 24, 30, 32, 33, and 40) and a sample item is "Getting a good education is still the best way for you to get ahead." This subscale yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .83 in the psychometric study and .78 in the current study. Data from the psychometric study resulted in a Cronbach's alpha of .91 for the composite measure.

Stevenson et al. (2002) examined convergent validity by conducting a Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) using family communication about race and gender as the independent variables and the five dimensions and the composite score as the dependent variables. The data revealed statistically significant differences as a

function of communication about race for all TERS factors except alertness to discrimination (Stevenson et al., 2002). Specifically, the results for Cultural Coping with Antagonism was $F(4, 203) = 3.16$, $p < .05$ and Cultural Pride Reinforcement was $F(4, 203) = 3.78$, $p < .01$. Post hoc analyses indicated that those adolescents who reported that their family talked about race the least were more likely to score the lowest on these dimensions. Additionally, moderate communication about race resulted in the highest reports of racial socialization across the four factors. No statistically significant differences as a function of gender were found related to Cultural Coping with Antagonism and Cultural Pride Reinforcement.

Using a separate sample of 172 African American adolescents, divergent validity was examined through a correlation between the TERS and racial socialization beliefs as measured in the Scale of Racial Socialization (SORS-A) (Stevenson, 1994, 1996). The data revealed correlations ranging from $r = -.16$ to .35. The authors concluded that despite the small correlation, these instruments measure distinct constructs.

Hypermasculinity. The Auburn Differential Masculinity Inventory (ADMI) (Burk, Burkhart, & Sikorski, 2004) is a 60 item instrument that measures five dimensions of hypermasculinity to include (a) hypermasculinity, (b) sexual identity, (c) dominance and aggression, (d) conservative masculinity, and (e) devaluation of emotion (see Appendix B). This instrument utilizes a five-point Likert-type scale, with potential responses that range from 1 (not at all like me) to 5 (very much like me). A composite score and factor scores are derived from the summation of corresponding items. Five items are reverse-scored to include numbers 22, 24, 38, 40, and 42.

Two dimensions were used in the current study to include hypermasculinity and dominance and aggression. The hypermasculinity subscale is comprised of 17 items (numbers 5, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 19, 20, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 47, 48, and 59) and measures the exaggeration of male traits and the devaluation of feminine traits. A sample item includes "Women, generally, are not as smart as men." The dominance and aggression subscale consists of 18 items (numbers 1, 2, 22, 23, 26, 27, 33, 34, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 52, 54, 55, and 60) and assesses the degree to which one uses aggression to exert dominance and control over others. A sample item includes "I don't feel guilty for long when I cheat on my girlfriend/wife."

The authors conducted two preliminary validation studies using a sample. Study 1 was comprised of 114 undergraduate men from a university in the southern region. Racial demographics were not collected, but the authors used anecdotal data and the demographics of the school to estimate that 85% of the sample was Caucasian and 15% were African American. Study two consisted of 347 undergraduate men, whose racial backgrounds were estimated to be the same as the previous study. In study 1, Cronbach's alpha was .83 and in study 2, it was .85 (Burk et al., 2004). Evidence of convergent validity was demonstrated through statistically significant correlations between the ADMI and instruments that measure similar constructs. In study 1, the ADMI was statistically significantly correlated with the Hypermasculinity Inventory (HMI) (Mosher & Sirkin, 1984) ($r = .70$, $p = .01$), the Antisocial Practices subscale (Gynther, Burkhart, & Hovanitz, 1979) ($r = .48$, $p = 01$), the Hostility Toward Women subscale (Marshall & Moulden, 2001) ($r = .54$, $p = .01$), and the Sensation Seeking subscale (Zuckerman & Link, 1964) ($r = .30$, $p = .01$). Discriminant validity was demonstrated through the

negative correlation with measures of Social Desirability ($r = -.37$, $p = .01$) and Self-esteem ($r = -.16$, $p = .01$). Using the same measures, in study 2, the ADMI composite score was correlated with the HMI ($r = .47$, $p = .01$). Hypermasculinity ($r = .45$, $p = .01$) and dominance and aggression ($r = .55$, $p = .01$) were positively correlated with the HMI.

Operational Definitions

The aforementioned instruments were selected to measure the variables of interest discussed within the literature review. The operational definitions of these variables are tied to the descriptions of the scales and subscales provided by the respective authors of the instrument.

Low-income background. Low-income background will be defined as a student who receives free-and/or reduced-lunch from his school.

Racial distress. Racial distress is defined as "distress in response to perceived instances of racial discrimination" (Fisher et al., 2000, p. 681) across institutional, educational, and peer contexts.

Racial identity. Racial identity is defined as endorsements of Afrocentricity and multiculturalist-inclusive racial attitudes as measured by the CRIS (Worrell et al., 2004).

Racial socialization. Racial socialization is measured by reports of parents and/or caregivers providing messages tied to cultural coping with antagonism and cultural pride reinforcement dimensions of the TERS (Stevenson et al., 2002).

Hypermasculinity. Hypermasculinity is defined as reports of the degree to which one endorses hypermasculinity beliefs and dominance and aggression beliefs as measured by the ADMI (Burk et al., 2004).

Research Questions

1. Are there statistically significant differences in reports of hypermasculinity and dominance and aggression as a function of free-and/or reduced-lunch status?

2. Is there a relationship between hypermasculinity and reports of racial distress, cultural pride reinforcement, coping with antagonism, Afrocentricity attitude, and multiculturalist-inclusive attitude?

3. Is there a relationship between dominance and aggression and reports of racial distress, cultural pride reinforcement, coping with antagonism, Afrocentricity attitude, and multiculturalist-inclusive attitude?

Research Hypotheses

1. Reports of hypermasculinity and dominance and aggression are not different as a function of free-and/or reduced-lunch status.

2. There is a positive relationship between hypermasculinity and reports of racial distress.

3. There is an inverse relationship between hypermasculinity and reports of cultural pride reinforcement, coping with antagonism, Afrocentricity attitude, and multiculturalist-inclusive attitude.

4. There is a positive relationship between dominance and aggression and reports of racial distress.

5. There is an inverse relationship between dominance and aggression and reports of cultural pride reinforcement, coping with antagonism, Afrocentricity attitude, and multiculturalist-inclusive attitude.

Study Model

The current study focuses on components two and three of the PVEST model (Spencer, 1995) (see Figure 2). The second component in the model, Stress Engagement, addresses the net stress or the actual experience of factors that challenge and support the adolescent's well-being and development (Spencer, 1995; Swanson et al., 2003). It captures the "sum" impact of both the supports and challenges that the individual experiences. The current study focuses on five independent variables that are believed to serve as supports and challenges (net stress) to the identity development of African American adolescent males who attend schools in low-income neighborhoods. The first independent variable is racial distress. The presented body of research suggests that the experience of racial discrimination is a major source of stress for AAMs. Its omnipresence in every domain of functioning and the detrimental psychological effects make it a challenge to the identity development of AAMs. The current study examined the composite of reports of racial distress in institutional, educational, and peer contexts in an attempt to capture the "whole" of their experiences.
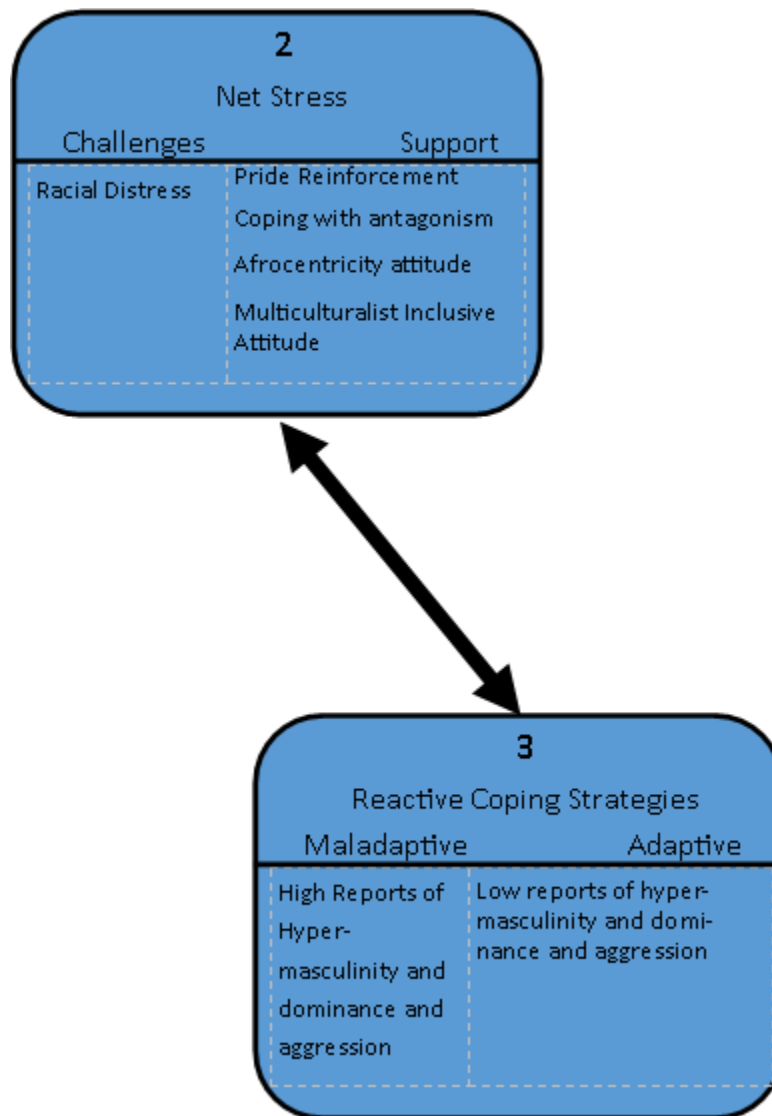
Figure 2. Adapted from PVEST model. Components two and three with current study variables.

The second and third independent variables are related to dimensions of racial identity. Previous research suggests that more positive attitudes about one's racial identity may serve as a protective factor against psychological distress (Lee & Ahn, 2013). Cross' (1971, 1991; Cross & Vandiver, 2001; Worrell et al., 2004) Nigrescence Theory of Racial Identity Development and subsequent instrumentation has significant empirical validation and provides measures of two racial identity attitudes that emphasize

a more positive racial identity. The Afrocentricity attitude reflects the desire to operate

through an Afrocentric worldview, and thus, embraces being Black (Cross & Vandiver,

2001; Worrell et al., 2004). The multiculturalist-inclusive attitude is reflective of a racial

identity that embraces and celebrates being Black while also appreciating and respecting

other racial and cultural identities (Cross & Vandiver, 2001; Worrell et al., 2004).

Consequently, it is hypothesized that these two attitudes could emerge as supports in the

Net Stress dimension of the PVEST model.

The final two independent variables are dimensions of racial socialization. Racial

socialization is also believed to serve as a protective factor against the impact of racism.

The multiple dimensions of racial socialization may have some overlap, but measure

unique aspects of the parent-child socialization process. Moreover, research has shown

differential relationships exist between these dimensions and psychological variables of

interest (Lee & Ahn, 2013). Thus, to combine dimensions of racial socialization, such as

cultural coping with antagonism, cultural pride reinforcement, preparation for bias, and

promotion of mistrust (Stevenson et al., 2002) into one measure of racial socialization

practices would minimize the ability to understand the unique contribution of each

dimension. To ensure adequate statistical power given the available sample size, two

dimensions of racial socialization were selected: cultural coping with antagonism and

cultural pride reinforcement. Cultural coping with antagonism addresses the messages

that children receive regarding how to successfully deal with racial discrimination

(Stevenson et al., 2002). Cultural pride reinforcement is related to messages received

about taking pride in and knowing about African American culture (Stevenson et al.,

2002). Additionally, previous research seems to suggest that coping with racism may

play an important role in developing a healthier racial identity (Peck et al., 2014). Both dimensions were reported to have strongest internal consistency as indicated by Cronbach's alpha on the Teenage Experience of Racial Socialization (TERS) scale (Stevenson, Cameron, Herrero-Taylor, & Davis, 2002).

Referring back to Spencer's (1995) PVEST model, component three, reactive coping mechanisms, reflects the adaptive and maladaptive coping strategies used to deal with conflict and stress. These can be reinforced or extinguished over time as a result of desired and undesired outcomes from their use. It could be argued that the exaggerated masculinity, or hypermasculinity, that has been described as a coping response to racism fits within this dimension of the PVEST model. Thus, the current study situated dimensions of hypermasculinity within this component of the model, which served as the dependent variables in the study. The Auburn Differential Masculinity Inventory (Burk, Burkhart, & Sikorski, 2004) is a measure that examines hypermasculinity as a multi-faceted construct in which an individual can endorse multiple dimensions of hypermasculinity to different degrees. To maintain statistical power, two dimensions were selected: hypermasculinity and dominance and aggression. The hypermasculinity subscale addresses the degree to which one endorses exaggerated traditional male traits and minimizes female traits (Burk et al., 2004). It is believed that this subscale will provide an understanding of the participants' more global acceptance of hypermasculine ideals. The dominance and aggression subscale measures attitudes and beliefs related to the use of force and aggression to control others (Burk et al., 2004). This subscale was selected in response to the increased risk of victimization and incarceration rates among

AAMs and the hypothesis that these behaviors may be used in response to the environmental demands of some urban environments.

Statistical Hypotheses

H1: $\mu_{Yes} \neq \mu_{No}$

H2: $\beta_{RD} < 0$

H3: $\beta_{CPR} > 0$, $\beta_{CCA} > 0$, $\beta_{IA} > 0$, $\beta_{IMCI} > 0$

H4: $\beta_{RD} < 0$

H5: $\beta_{CPR} > 0$, $\beta_{CCA} > 0$, $\beta_{IA} > 0$, $\beta_{IMCI} > 0$

Analyses

Data were screened for missing values and invalid computations through examination of frequency tables. Internal consistency was calculated for all instruments used in the current study using Cronbach's alpha. Descriptive statistics, including the mean, standard deviation, standardized skewness, and standardized kurtosis coefficients, were also calculated for all variables in the study. Bivariate correlations using Pearson's *r* were conducted to check assumptions related to multicollinearity for the main analyses in the study. MANOVA was used to determine if there were statistically significant differences in reports of hypermasculinity and dominance and aggression as a function of free- and reduced-lunch status. Multiple regression analyses were used to examine the degree to which reports of racial distress, cultural pride reinforcement, coping with antagonism, Afrocentricity attitude, and multiculturalist-inclusive attitude are related to dimensions of hypermasculinity (hypermasculinity and dominance and aggression).

Procedures

      The data in this study are archival and are a subset of the African American Male Project in Education (AAMPed) study. Permission to collect data was obtained from a predominantly low-income, African American high school in the Southeastern region of the United States. All AAMs in the school received parental consent forms one week prior to data collection (see Appendix C). Parental consent forms provided details regarding the purpose of the study, duration, limits of confidentiality, and incentives for participation. On the day of survey administration, the principal investigator met with all potential participants in the school auditorium to provide an explanation of the purpose and procedures of the study. Parental consent forms were collected and student assent forms were signed and collected (see Appendix C). A survey packet containing 18 measures was administered for participants to complete at home and return the following day to research team members. Research team members reviewed the survey packet for completeness. Upon receipt of a completed survey packet, each participant received a $20 gift card as an incentive.

Limitations

      There are several limitations within the current study. Participants were selected from one region and one school only, thus limiting external validity. Self-selection of participants may also introduce some bias into the current study. Moreover, the introduction of incentives may also introduce some bias in the sampling, particularly given the focus on AAMs from low-income backgrounds. Additionally, the correlational design of this study prevents any assumptions about causality between independent and dependent variables with the study.

Summary Table

   Table 1 presents an overview of the current research study components. The findings from the current study are presented and discussed in the following chapter.

Table 1

Summary Table

Research Hypotheses	Statistical Hypotheses	Instrumentation	Analyses
Reports of hypermasculinity and dominance and aggression are not different as a function of qualifying free-and/or reduced-lunch status.	H_1: $\mu_Y \neq \mu_N$ (H0: $\mu_{UY} = \mu_N$)	Demographic question to which one answers yes or no	Multivariate Analysis of Variance
There is a positive relationship between hypermasculinity and reports of racial distress.	H1: $\beta_{RD} < 0$ (H0: $\beta_{RD}=0$)	Hypermasculinity = score on hypersmasculinity subscale of the ADMI	Multiple Regression
		Racial distress (RD) = composite score of institutional discrimination distress, educational discrimination distress, and peer discrimination distress of the ADDI	
There are inverse relationships between hypermasculinity and cultural coping with antagonism, cultural pride reinforcement, Afrocentricity attitudes, and multiculturalist-inclusive attitudes	H1: $\beta_{CPR} > 0$ (H0: $\beta_{CPR}=0$) H1: $\beta_{CCA} > 0$ (H0: $\beta_{CCA}=0$) H1: $\beta_{IA} > 0$ (H0: $\beta_{IA}= 0$) H1: $\beta_{IMCI} > 0$ (H0: $\beta_{IMCI}= 0$)	Cultural coping with antagonism = score on the CCA subscales of the TERS Cultural pride reinforcement = score on the CPR subscale of the TERS Afrocentricity = score on the IA subscale of the CRIS Multiculturalist-inclusive attitudes = score on the IMCI subscale of the CRIS	
There is a positive relationship between dominance and aggression and reports of racial distress.	H1: $\beta_{RD} < 0$ (H0: $\beta_{RD}=0$)	Dominance and aggression = score on dominance and aggression subscale of the ADMI	Multiple Regression

There is an inverse relationship between dominance and aggression and pride reinforcement, coping with antagonism, Afrocentricity attitudes, and multiculturalist-inclusive attitudes.

H1: $\beta_{CPR} > 0$
(H0: $\beta_{CPR} = 0$)

H1: $\beta_{CCA} > 0$
(H0: $\beta_{CCA} = 0$)

H1: $\beta_{IA} > 0$
(H0: $\beta_{IA} = 0$)

H1: $\beta_{IMCI} > 0$
(H0: $\beta_{IMCI} = 0$)

Racial distress = composite score of institutional discrimination distress, educational discrimination distress, and peer discrimination distress of the ADDI

Cultural coping with antagonism = score on the CCA subscales of the TERS

Afrocentricity = score on the IA subscale of the CRIS

Cultural pride reinforcement = score on the CPR subscale of the TERS

Multiculturalist-inclusive attitudes = score on the IMCI subscale of the CRIS

Chapter Three: Results

The goal of this study was to examine how racism, racial socialization, and racial identity may serve as challenges or supports to the development of hypermasculine ideals among adolescent, AAMs from low-income backgrounds. More specifically, this study sought to: (a) examine the relationship between hypermasculinity and reports of racial distress, cultural pride reinforcement, coping with antagonism, Afrocentricity attitude, and multiculturalist-inclusive attitude and (b) examine the relationship between dominance and aggression and reports of racial distress, cultural pride reinforcement, coping with antagonism, Afrocentricity attitude, and multiculturalist-inclusive attitude. Data were screened electronically for missing values and invalid computations.

Reliability Analyses

The internal consistency of each data collection instrument was calculated using Cronbach's alpha (Table 2). All reliability coefficients were above the minimal suggested cut-off of α = .70 (Nunally, 1978).

Descriptive Statistics

The means, standard deviations, standardized skewness coefficients, and standardized kurtosis coefficients were calculated for each variable in the study (Table 2). The standardized skewness and standardized kurtosis coefficients indicate that coping with antagonism, Afrocentricity attitude, hypermasculinity, and dominance and aggression are within the ± 2 range, suggesting that they are normally distributed (George & Mallery, 2010). However, racial distress was negatively skewed, with a standardized skewness coefficient of -3.04 and slightly leptokurtic, with a standardized kurtosis coefficient of 2.51. This skewness coefficient indicates that the mean for this distribution

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics of Independent and Dependent Variables

Variables	M	SD	Skewness	Kurtosis	α	n
Racial distress	3.08	0.90	-3.04	2.51	.829	141
Coping with antagonism	2.24	0.34	0.29	-1.04	.770	141
Cultural pride reinforcement	2.41	0.41	-1.16	-2.54	.781	149
Afrocentricity attitude	6.40	1.23	-1.29	-0.44	.764	146
Multiculturalist-inclusive attitude	4.50	4.50	-2.33	1.01	.732	147
Hypermasculinity	2.74	0.74	1.20	-0.61	.793	136
Dominance and aggression	3.32	0.62	0.25	1.31	.737	138

falls to the right of the mean of a normally distributed variable. Thus, participants in this sample reported experiencing racial distress to a slightly higher degree than what would be expected in a normal distribution. The kurtosis coefficient indicates that this distribution is more peaked than a normally distributed variable. The cluster of the scores closer to the mean suggests participants in this study tended to rate their experiences of racial distress slightly more similarly than what would be expected in a normally distributed variable. Consequently, the distribution of scores for racial distress are non-normally distributed. The distribution of scores on the cultural pride reinforcement were slightly platykurtic with a standardized coefficient of -2.54. This distribution of scores were slightly more spread out from the mean than what is expected within a normal

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distribution and suggests more variation in reports of receiving cultural pride reinforcement messages than expected. The multiculturalist-inclusive attitude skewness coefficient was -2.33 which means the distribution is slightly negatively skewed. Thus, the mean of this distribution falls slightly right of a normal distribution, indicating that this variable is non-normally distributed. More specifically, the obtained mean report of multiculturalist-inclusive attitude was slightly higher than what would be expected in a normal distribution.

A reflect and square root transformation was used to address the aforementioned departures from normality of racial distress and multiculturalist-inclusive attitude (Mertler & Vannatta, 2013). The resulting standardized skewness and kurtosis coefficients for racial distress were -0.50 and 0.03, respectively. The resulting standardized skewness and kurtosis coefficients for multiculturalist-inclusive attitude were 0.19 and 0.66, respectively. Upon further reflection, given that the sample demographics were narrowly delimited to include only African American, adolescent, males from low-income backgrounds and the same school, I believed that one might expect a non-normal distribution for these variables, particularly racial distress. More specifically, given that it is not likely that participants would have never experienced racial discrimination, but likely experienced at least some distress in response to racial discrimination, it is not beyond reason to expect these scores to be negatively skewed. To force the distribution into normality may result in losing an accurate picture of what members from this population actually experience and consequently, a more accurate representation of the relationships among selected variables. Considering this perspective, as well as the fact that the departure from normality was not severe, it was

decided that the original distribution would be used. However, the slight departures from normality suggest that results should be interpreted with caution given the potential for an increased chance of committing a Type I error. Type I error occurs when one finds statistical significance when it does not exist; the null hypothesis was incorrectly rejected (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013).

Hypothesis 1

A MANOVA was conducted to determine if economic status should be included as a control variable in the final multiple regression analyses. The assumptions for MANOVA were examined prior to conducting the analysis. The outliers were identified using Mahalonobis distance and three were removed prior to the analysis. The assumption of normality for hypermasculinity and dominance and aggression was assessed using the standardized skewness and kurtosis coefficients for each distribution. These variables were found to be within the range of normality (Table 2). The assumption of homogeneity of variances was assessed through examination of Box's M Test. The results indicated that there were no significant differences between the variances and that this assumption was met. The assumption of non-multicollinearity was assessed by examining the correlation between hypermasculinity and dominance and aggression (Table 3). The resulting correlation coefficient was $r = .66, p < .001$ which is less than the cut-off of $r = .9$ (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). Thus, the assumption of non-multicollinearity was met.

Table 3

Independent Variables Bivariate Correlation Matrix and Sample Size

Variables	1	2	3	4	5
1. Racial distress					
2. Coping with antagonism	.06 $n = 141$				
3. Cultural pride reinforcement	.12 $n = 136$	.62** $n = 137$			
4. Afrocentricity attitude	.24** $n = 137$	.25** $n = 134$	.17* $n = 141$		
5. Multiculturalist-inclusive attitude	.32** $n = 136$	.17 $n = 134$	.40** $n = 142$	.25** $n = 141$	

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

A MANOVA was conducted and revealed no statistically significant differences between students who indicated that they were from a low-economic background and those who did not, Wilks' Lambda = .99, $F (2, 111) = .47$, $p = .63$. Consequently, Hypothesis 1 was supported and this variable was not included in the final analyses.

Assumptions for Multiple Regression

Several analyses were conducted to test the assumptions for regression analyses. Multicollinearity was assessed by examining correlations of all predictor variables (Table 3). The correlation between coping with antagonism and pride reinforcement was $r = .64$, which is not greater than the recommended cut-off of $r = .90$ (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). Examination of Durbin-Watson statistics revealed that the assumption that the residuals were independent was met given the obtained value of 1.68. Mahalanobis distance was used to identify outliers in the distributions of the criterion variables. Three cases were excluded in the final analyses. After the outliers were removed, normality and

homoscedasticity was assessed by examining the normal p-p plot which reflected that the

assumption of normality was met (Figures 3 and 4).
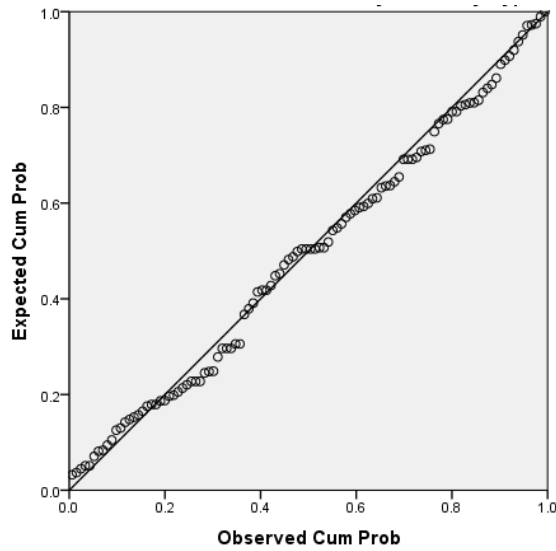
Figure 3. Statistical output of normal p-p plot of regression standardized residual for

testing assumptions. Hypermasculinity as the dependent variable.
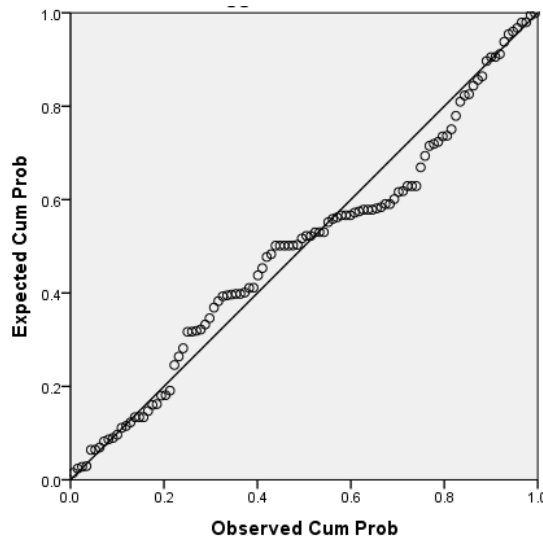
Figure 4. Statistical output of normal p-p plot of regression standardized residual for

testing assumptions. Dominance and aggression as the dependent variable.

Hypotheses 2 and 3

Multiple regression was used to examine whether racial distress, cultural pride reinforcement, coping with antagonism, Afrocentricity attitude, and multiculturalist-inclusive attitude were statistically significant predictors of hypermasculinity (Table 4). The resulting regression model was statistically significant F (5,107) = 8.09, p < .001. cultural pride reinforcement (β = -.40), coping with antagonism (β = -.27), Afrocentricity attitude (β = .22), and multiculturalist-inclusive attitude (β = -.21) were statistically significant predictors. Together, these variables accounted for 28% of the variance in hypermasculinity. Cultural pride reinforcement had a moderate, inverse relationship with hypermasculinity. Coping with antagonism had a small, inverse relationship with hypermasculinity. Multiculturalist-inclusive attitude has a small, inverse relationship with hypermasculinity. These findings provide support for hypothesis 2 and suggest that cultural pride reinforcement and coping with antagonism beliefs, as well as endorsing a multiculturalist-inclusive racial attitude may serve as protection against the endorsement of hypermasculine ideals. A small, positive relationship emerged between Afrocentricity and hypermasculinity, which does not fully support hypothesis 2. While this does provide support for the argument that a relationship exists between Afrocentricity and hypermasculinity, the positive direction of this relationship suggests that holding more Afrocentric views about racial identity is related to holding more hypermasculine ideals, rather than potentially serving as a protective factor.

There were two findings that failed to provide support for the study hypotheses. Racial distress did not emerge as a statistically significant predictor of hypermasculinity, which resulted in the rejection of hypothesis 2. The failure for coping with antagonism to

emerge as a statistically significant predictor of hypermasculinity resulted in partial

rejection of hypothesis 3.

Table 4

Correlates of Hypermasculinity

Variable[ab]	B	SE(B)	β	t	Sig (p)
Constant	4.61	.45		10.18	.000
Racial distress	.03	.08	.04	.40	.34
Coping with antagonism	-.02	.01	-.27	-3.01	.00
Cultural pride reinforcement	-.74	.18	-.40	-4.16	.00
Afrocentricity attitude	.13	.05	.22	2.43	.01
Multiculturalist-inclusive attitude	-.12	.06	-.21	-2.12	.02

[a]$n = 108$. [b]$R^2 = .28$.

Hypothesis 4 and 5

Multiple regression was used to examine whether racial distress, cultural pride

reinforcement, coping with antagonism, Afrocentricity attitude, and multiculturalist-

inclusive attitude were statistically significant predictors of dominance and aggression

(Table 5). The multiple regression model was statistically significant, $F (5,105) = 5.83$, p

$< .001$. However, only coping with antagonism ($\beta = -.47$), emerged as a statistically

significant predictor of dominance and aggression. Coping with antagonism accounted

for 23% of the variance. There was a moderate, negative relationship between coping

with antagonism and the dominance and aggression dimension of hypermasculinity. This

provides partial support for hypothesis 4; coping with antagonism emerged as the

expected potential protective factor against the display of aggression and dominance.

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However, there was no support for hypothesis 3 which stated that racial distress would be

positively related to dominance and aggression. Additionally, there was limited support

for hypothesis 5 given that cultural pride reinforcement, Afrocentricity attitude, and

multiculturalist-inclusive attitude were not statistically significant predictors of

dominance and aggression in this sample.

Table 5

Correlates of Dominance and Aggression

Variable[a][b]	B	SE(B)	β	t	Sig (p)
Constant	3.71	.39		9.44	.00
Racial distress	-.05	.06	-.08	-.79	.22
Coping with antagonism	-.02	.00	-.47	-5.01	.00
Cultural pride reinforcement	-.17	.16	-.11	-1.11	.13
Afrocentricity attitude	.06	.04	.12	1.27	.11
Multiculturalist-inclusive attitude	.02	.05	.05	.44	.33

[a]$n = 106.$ [b]$R^2 = .23.$

The findings from this study have been summarized and can be reviewed in Table

6. The findings from the current study provide partial support for the study hypotheses.

The table includes whether the alternate hypotheses were accepted or rejected. A

discussion about the implications and applicability of the findings is provided in the

following chapter. Additionally, limitations and future directions are discussed.

Table 6

Summary of Results

Hypothesis	*Results*
H1: There are no significant differences between reports of hypermasculinity and dominance and aggression as a function of free- and/or reduced-lunch status.	$F(2,111) = .47, p = .63$ Accepted
H2: There is a positive relationship between hypermasculinity and reports of racial distress.	$t(107) = .40, p = .34$ Rejected
H3: There is an inverse relationship between hypermasculinity and reports of cultural coping with antagonism, cultural pride reinforcement, Afrocentricity attitude, and multiculturalist-inclusive attitude.	$t(107)_{CCA} = -3.01, p < .01$ $t(107)_{CPR} = -4.16, p < .01$ $t(107)_{IA} = 2.43, p < .05$ $t(107)_{IMCI} = -2.12, p < .05$ Partially accepted
H4: There is a positive relationship between dominance and aggression and reports of racial distress.	$t(105) = -.79, p = .43$ Rejected
H5: There is an inverse relationship between dominance and aggression and cultural pride reinforcement, coping with antagonism, Afrocentricity attitude, and multiculturalist-inclusive attitude.	$t(105)_{CCA} = -5.01, p < .01$ $t(105)_{CPR} = -1.11, p = .13$ $t(105)_{IA} = 1.27, p = .11$ $t(105)_{IMCI} = .44, p = .33$ Partially accepted

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Chapter Four: Discussion

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationships between racial distress, racial socialization, racial identity attitudes, and dimensions of hypermasculinity. The expected relationships were conceptualized within an adaptation of the PVEST model (Spencer, 1995), which seeks to examine adolescent identity development through a culturally and ecologically informed lens. The findings from the current study provided partial support for the study hypotheses.

It was expected that racial distress would have a direct relationship with hypermasculinity and dominance and aggression, suggesting that this type of distress could influence the use of hypermasculinity as a coping strategy among African American, adolescent males from low-income backgrounds. The findings of this study failed to provide support for this hypothesis. The extant body of literature suggests that African American masculinity ideologies and behaviors have emerged in response to the relentless experience of racism and oppression, to include characteristics that may be perceived or experienced as hypermasculine (Cunningham et al., 2013; Franklin, 2004; Hammond & Mattis, 2005; Majors & Bilson, 1992; Spencer, 1995). Additionally, previous research has found a link between experiences with racism and violent behavior (Caldwell et al., 2004), as well as conduct problems (Brody et al., 2006). Together, there was evidence to support the hypotheses that racial distress would be related to hyper-masculinity. There are multiple considerations that could be proffered for the failure of the expected relationship to emerge in this study.

Racial distress was examined through the composite score of reports of discrimination across institutional, educational, and peer contexts. It is plausible that the

results may have differed if the unique contribution of each environment was examined. There are differential contextual demands within each context that could potentially exacerbate or alleviate some of the distress experienced within each setting. For example, such a case was demonstrated in Spencer et al.'s (2004) study that found an inverse relationship between peer and teacher perceptions and hypermasculine attitudes. Thus, showing that perceived support within each context, for example, could mitigate the level of distress. Perhaps this indicates a need to include a variable tied to perceived support in future study.

A major consideration in the interpretation of these findings is the degree to which the measure of hypermasculinity captures the experience of AAMs. In Burk et al.'s (2004) validation study, the authors failed to collect race or ethnicity data and thus, were unable to determine whether there were differential findings across race. They do, however, state that the sample "appeared" to reflect the composition of the university from which participants were drawn, which was 85% White and 15% Black (Burk et al., 2004). While Burk et al.'s approach to assessing for racial composition lacks scientific rigor, this estimate suggests that the sample was predominantly White. Thus, the norm group does not include a significant number of Black men, nor does it intentionally reflect those aspects of masculinity valued by them. Referring back to the current body of literature in which this study is grounded, African American men and boys have been found to value characteristics of masculinity outside of traditional mainstream gender norms such as interconnectedness, social responsibility, and caring (Isom, 2007); spirituality and humanism (Hunter & Davis, 1994); and, responsibility-accountability (Hammond & Mattis, 2005). Thus, the current findings may suggest that adolescent,

AAMs do not strongly endorse a more Eurocentric display of masculinity and consequently, to accurately capture hypermasculinity would involve a more culturally-nuanced approach. Research has a long history of using mainstream tools to examine culturally-nuanced phenomenon (Ford & Helms, 2012), which may be a limitation of the current study. The development of a culturally-informed measure of African American masculinity, rooted in extant literature, may provide greater insight into the masculinity of AAMs. It could provide a more accurate picture of how this masculinity relates to experiences with racial distress. Moreover, the concept of hypermasculinity may then look different and whether it is adaptive or not would be a new question.

A third consideration is whether the proposed hypermasculinity reflects "posturing" and "impression management" as suggested by Majors and Bilson (1992) rather than genuine endorsement of the hypermasculine attitudes measured by the ADMI. In referencing Cassidy and Stevenson's (2005) and Spencer et al.'s (2004) assertion that environmental demands related to fear increases the display of hypermasculinity, perhaps it may be more situation-specific than a global endorsement of hypermasculine beliefs. Meaning, perhaps hypermasculinity is used in situations in which one feels threatened or feels as though he needs to manage his image in the moment. Moreover, it is possible that the tendency to operate through a more mainstream, Eurocentric cultural lens could contribute to a mislabeling of African American adolescent males, particularly from low-income backgrounds, as hypermasculine. Franklin (2004) discussed the struggle that AAMs face in trying to maintain authenticity and display confidence and pride, while being confronted with racism. Culturally-rooted behaviors, dispositions, and attitudes are often negatively misinterpreted, to include being considered aggressive (Franklin, 2004).

The point that hypermasculinity may be context-specific or one may be considered hypermasculine due to culture-based misunderstanding is made more poignant given the mean score of reports of hypermasculinity was 2.74 with a range of 1 to 5; here, a score of 2 means (not much like me) and 3 means (a little like me). This mean score suggests that participants in this study reported relatively low levels of hypermasculinity. Despite these questions, the fact that the other race-based factors emerged as statistically related to hypermasculinity provides additional evidence that racial discrimination and distress play a role in masculinity identity among African American adolescent males. An experimental design would be helpful in further examining this possibility. For example, participants may be randomly assigned to a situation in which race is made salient or not-salient in blocking access to an assigned goal. Observations of how participants respond could be recorded and/or participants may be administered a series of questionnaires that tap into variables of interest, such as intrapsychic processes and ratings of endorsement of racial socialization and racial identity.

I also hypothesized that racial socialization and positive racial identity could serve as a buffer against the display of hypermasculinity; thus, an inverse relationship between these variables was expected. The current study provided partial support for these hypotheses. Coping with antagonism, cultural pride reinforcement, and multiculturalist-inclusive attitude had an inverse relationship with hypermasculinity and only coping with antagonism emerged as statistically related to dominance and aggression. These findings are consistent with previous research suggesting that dimensions of racial socialization (Kogan et al., 2015; Wang & Huguley, 2012) and racial identity (Fisher et al., 2014; Lee

& Ahn, 2013) may serve as protective factors in the identity development of adolescent, AAMs.

Coping with antagonism measured the degree to which participants reported receiving socialization messages "about the importance of struggling successfully through racial hostilities and the role of spirituality and religion in that coping" (Stevenson et al., 2002). These items tapped into messages about culture, family, and strong ties to God and spirituality to aid in dealing with racism and struggle (Stevenson et al., 2002). Thus, exposure to messages about the importance of family and support systems, the heritage and culture of African American people, and spirituality may aid in dealing with the emotions that emerge in response to racism and minimize the use of hypermasculinity to deal with unwanted feelings. Feelings such as anger, indignation, and hopelessness can and do result in response to experiences with racism (Franklin, 2004; Pittman, 2011). The use of anger as a coping strategy to deal with racial discrimination has a negative effect on well-being and psychological distress (Pittman, 2011), so identifying effective coping strategies seems prudent. Researchers and theorists have long reported spirituality as a core value in the African American community and among African American men (Boykin, 1986; Hammond & Mattis, 2005; Hunter & Davis, 1994). It's effectiveness as a coping strategy in the face of physical and mental conditions among African American populations has been empirically supported (Boyd-Franklin, 2010). Given their lack of control over racial discrimination, it could be posited that embracing ways of thinking about overcoming racism, as well as spirituality reduce the likelihood that these young men believe they need to use hypermasculinity to regain some control in their lives or compensate for

feelings tied to potential emasculation (i.e., through lack of access to opportunities or resources). Beliefs such as those tied to coping with antagonism may help them to better manage any desire to act more aggressively in the face of racism. Hughes et al. (2006) stated that racial socialization is critical to the survival of African American people in the face of racism. Thus, these findings provide additional support for this assertion.

The cultural pride reinforcement dimension focuses on messages related to the instillation of pride in being Black and embraces African American culture. Consequently, although previous research suggests that AAMs are less likely to receive these messages (Richardson et al., 2015; Thomas & Blackmon, 2015; Thomas & Speight, 1999), these data suggest that messages related to taking pride in what it means to be a Black person may serve as a protective factor against the adoption of mainstream hypermasculine ideals. This hypothesis aligns with Pascoe and Richman's (2009) assertions that self-esteem and self-concept can be maintained in the face of stereotypes and discrimination given that racial socialization can help youth connect discrimination to social injustices rather than their own shortcomings.

Multiculturalist-inclusive attitude speaks to acceptance of one's multiple identities, including one's Black identity, as well as respecting and valuing other cultural groups (Cross & Vandiver, 2001; Worrell, Vandiver, & Cross, 2004). In the current study, higher endorsements of this attitude indicate more acceptance of a multicultural world. The inverse relationship between this attitude and hypermasculinity suggests that the more integrated one's multicultural identity, the less likely one is to endorse hypermasculinity. The current findings align with Caldwell et al.'s (2004) results that linked stronger racial identity with less violent behaviors in response to racial

discrimination. However, Afrocentricity attitude, which emphasizes an Afrocentric worldview only, had a positive relationship with hypermasculinity. While more positive views of racial identity were expected to have a negative relationship with hypermasculinity, perhaps the ability to be proud and accepting of being Black, while accepting and appreciative of other cultural identities (multiculturalist-inclusive) is more adaptive for AAMs than the strict emphasis on Afrocentricity. Sellers and Shelton (2003) argued that individuals more attuned to their racial identity and bias may recognize and be more likely to attribute ambiguous situations to discrimination. Similarly, it could be that those who endorse a more Afrocentric identity may be more attuned to experiences with racism and oppression or experience more distress due to the incongruence between their Afrocentric worldview and their experiences in a Eurocentric society.

Another hypothesis regarding the direct, rather than indirect, relationship between hypermasculinity and Afrocentricity is the potential for inconsistent interpretations of what it means to be Afrocentric. Yehudah (2015) addressed the misappropriation of the term "Afrocentrism" within academia and mainstream culture. He asserted that there is a lack of understanding of the true values and beliefs inherent within an Afrocentric worldview among some scholars and members of the general public (Yehudah, 2015). The items used in the CRIS (Cross & Vandiver, 2001; Worrell, Vandiver, & Cross, 2004) are face valid, but do not ask about endorsement of detailed or specific tenets of Afrocentricty. Thus, the mere endorsement of an Afrocentric worldview on the measure used in the current study does not ensure that one truly believes and lives these values, which are argued to contrast with a Eurocentric worldview (Boykin, 1986; Yehudah, 2015). Consequently, the inability to ascertain the degree to which participants hold an

authentic understanding of Afrocentricity complicates the current understanding of the relationship that emerged between it and hypermasculinity.

Finally, the observed differential relationships that emerged between racial socialization and racial identity and the two dimensions of hypermasculinity provide additional information. One of Burk et al.'s (2004) assertions was that hypermasculinity is multi-faceted in nature; individuals can hold hypermasculine attitudes to varying degrees across different dimensions. The findings that some variables were significantly related to dimensions of hypermasculinity, but not dominance and aggression may provide support for this assertion. The current study did not examine relationships among all of the available dimensions of hypermasculinity available on the ADMI. In light of the rates of STI infection (CDC, 2014) and findings correlating racial distress to sexual risk (Stevens-Watkins et al., 2011) among AAMs, expansion or replication of the current study should include the sexual identity dimension of the ADDI (Burk et al., 2004).

Application to Counseling Psychology

The findings from this study have implications for counseling psychologists, particularly given that they are increasingly charged to function as agents of social justice (American Psychological Association, 2002). The APA's (2002) *Guidelines on Multicultural Education, Training, Research, Practice and Organizational Change for Psychologists* provided some foundational principles to help aid in ethical psychological work with individuals from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds. These guidelines suggest that psychologists engage in teaching, research, and clinical work in ways that are responsive to the cultural values and needs of those they serve (APA, 2002).

It is important for psychologists to be mindful of their own biases and stereotypes when working with African American adolescent males, particularly from low-income backgrounds. In light of arguments that the values and behavioral presentation tied to African American masculinity are different from mainstream, Eurocentric culture (Cassidy & Stevenson, 2005; Franklin, 2004; Isom, 2007; Majors & Bilson, 1992; Seaton, 2007) as well as the relatively low levels of hypermasculinity reported by participants in this sample, the perception that African American, adolescent males from low-income backgrounds are globally hypermasculine may be inaccurate. Awareness that African American, adolescent males may be misjudged as hypermasculine calls for vigilant recognition that the ways in which young AAMs physically carry their bodies, dress, speak, and seek to assert themselves and their pride may be qualitatively different from mainstream culture (Franklin, 2004); however, exhibition of these behaviors does not mean that they endorse what is perceived to be mainstream, hypermasculine attitudes or that they are somehow deficient. The APA (2002) guidelines also highlight this point: "psychologists are encouraged to recognize that, as cultural beings, they may hold attitudes and beliefs that can detrimentally influence their perceptions of and interactions with individuals who are ethnically and racially different from themselves" (p.17). Thus, ethical practice involves awareness of and respect for various, culturally-rooted ways of being. It also requires being mindful of interpreting culturally-rooted behaviors through a culturally incongruent lens. These suppositions can and should be implemented in the multiple roles in which counseling psychologists function. For example, those who serve as educators should seek to engage in conversations that challenge misconceptions about African American masculinity and highlight the role of cultural differences in

interpretation of hypermasculinity. Those who engage in research should be sure to examine constructs such as hypermasculinity in ways that are congruent with the cultural worldview of those within the study.

Findings from the current study suggest that integrating spiritual beliefs in clinical work with this population, as well as re-affirming pride in being Black and connecting to one's culturally-rooted values and history may aid in the development of effective coping strategies in lieu of hypermasculinity. This knowledge may require counseling psychologists to engage in self-education about various spiritual beliefs. It may also require working with individuals to understand their spiritual beliefs and capitalizing on them as coping strategies in clinical work. The goal is to help young AAMs to develop coping strategies in the face of challenges that do not put them at the same risk as mainstream, hypermasculine ideals. These data also support that while affirming a positive Black racial identity, cultivating respect and appreciation for diversity may also aid in reducing the endorsement of hypermasculine ideals. Here, helping African American adolescent males feel proud and positive about being Black, while also appreciating and respecting other cultural identities is important. This type of support includes helping these younger males to embrace some of their other identities as well.

In order to more effectively incorporate these recommendations, it is imperative that counseling psychologists be educated about African American culture and history, as well as models of racial identity development and racial socialization practices. The charge to learn about African American culture and racial identity development models also aligns with APA's (2002) mandate to be knowledgeable about and have an understanding of individuals from racially different backgrounds. However,

psychologists should always be mindful of individual differences within groups; all African Americans may not endorse the same values to the same degree. This point is highlighted by the multi-dimensional nature of the CRIS (Worrell et al., 2004) and the TERS (Stevenson et al., 2002). These measures of racial identity attitudes and cultural socialization beliefs suggest that individuals can differentially endorse multiple dimensions of each construct. Thus, participants in the study also endorse other dimensions of racial identity and racial socialization to lesser or greater degrees. To account for endorsements across all dimensions would provide a richer, but more complex picture of how these constructs may relate to hypermasculinity among this population. For example, due to sample size limitations, the current study was unable to include endorsements of more negative racial identity attitudes such as assimilation and self-hatred (Worrell et al., 2004). These racial attitudes may function as challenges to the development of African American adolescent males from low-income backgrounds. Moreover, there are additional unstudied variables believed to inform masculinity, such as sexual orientation, that could further influence masculinity ideals. Together, this suggests that clinicians and researchers should be cognizant of the complexity of racial identity and racial socialization practices; individuals will fall at different points along a multi-faceted continuum of attitudes and beliefs. However, while individual differences always exist among any population, findings from the current study do provide additional support for the protective nature of positive racial identity and racial socialization practices to the development of African American adolescent males from low-income backgrounds.

Limitations and Future Directions

There are several demographic based variables that limit the generalizability of this study. First, given that there are cultural differences in thinking and behaving that are influenced by geography and SES (Rogoff, 2003), the generalizability of these findings to adolescent, AAMs in other parts of the country and from middle to upper income backgrounds is limited. A second limitation inherent in masculinity and hypermasculinity ideals are beliefs and attitudes about sexuality and gender roles (Brannon, 1976; Burk et al., 2004; Cicone & Ruble, 1978; Doyle, 1989). Consequently, I hypothesize that the role of sexual identity (i.e., identifying as gay, bisexual, transgender) influences the attitudes, beliefs, and experiences related to masculinity; therefore, this study is limited in its ability to address whether there are differences as a function of sexual identity because participants were not asked to provide this data. I suggest that future research replicate this study and include sexual identity as a variable or replicate this study with a sample of African American adolescent males who identify gay, bisexual, and transgender. Additionally, future research should examine differences among geographically and socio-economically diverse populations.

Another potential limitation in this study emerged through the use of the ADMI (Burk et al., 2004). Understanding African American masculinity is complex given the historical, social, and cultural factors that interact to create it and its expression. Given the lack of data regarding the racial identity of participants within the validation study, as well as the lack of consideration for cultural differences in the development of the instrument, the use of this instrument may not sufficiently address the specific hypermasculine expressions of AAMs. I highly recommend that a measure of African

American hypermasculinity be developed to further examine this phenomenon. There are several approaches from which to address this gap.

One approach is to use themes previously established by researchers such as Hammond and Mattis (2005) to develop a quantitative measure of African American masculinity. Another direction could include qualitative and subsequent quantitative measure of what African Americans believe is considered hypermasculine. These approaches to study could explicitly consider the role of racial distress or the resulting instruments could be used to further examine the relationship between racial distress and the manifestation of African American masculinity. This line of study will examine masculinity and hypermasculinity in a way that honors the African American worldview as a valuable and legitimate way of living. The outcome is a clearer understanding of whether there are race-based, gender norms that contribute to the hypervulnerability of AAMs and/or aid in their protection. It will allow a more accurate examination of how racial socialization and racial identity relate to protecting or inhibiting healthy coping in the face of racism. Additionally, it would clarify what could be considered hypermasculine by these new culturally sensitive standards.

In the current study I sought to empirically establish a relationship between racial distress, racial socialization, racial identity, and hypermasculinity. I anticipated that upon establishment of these relationships that a path model would be the next step to determine if racial socialization and/or racial identity would function as mediating or moderating variables between racial distress and hypermasculinity. While the relationship between racial distress and hypermasculinity was not confirmed in this study, race-based variables did emerge as statistically related to hypermasculinity. Perhaps there is an additional

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variable to be considered in this model that was not included in the study, such as

perceived support (i.e., Corprew & Cunningham, 2012; Spencer et al., 2004) that

impacted the emergence of a statistically significant relationship between racial distress

and hypermasculinity. Conceivably the inclusion of positive racial identity variables

functioned as a mediator and diminished the relationship between racial distress and

hypermasculinity. Future research could further explore these hypotheses. Additionally,

upon the development of a culturally-nuanced measure of masculinity and

hypermasculinity, the proposed mediating and moderating relationships can be further

explored.

The use of regression analyses prevents one from making any assumptions about

causality (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). Future research might use experimental design to

examine the use of coping reactions in the face of racial distress. Experimental design

will allow for multiple ways to directly observe the use of hypermasculinity, racial

identity, and racial socialization as coping responses to racial discrimination.

Additionally, experimental design could be used to examine the use of hypermasculinity

across different situations to observe whether its use is situational or global. Similar to an

aforementioned example, experimental design could include the development of written

scenarios involving an AAM in multiple conditions. These conditions may be situations

in which he is involved in race-based discrimination or blocked access from a goal, an

ambiguous situation in which he is blocked from a goal, and a situation in which there is

no evidence that he could not achieve the goal due to any observable characteristic. After

reading the scenario, the participant could be prompted to write down what he would

think if he were in the situation, as well as how he believes he would respond in the

situation and/or a battery of questionnaires that address variables of interest (i.e., hypermasculnity, racial identity, racial distress) could be administered. Using a sample of adolescent, in such a study could help to expand our understanding of whether hypermasculinity is situational or global, as well as help us to understand the range of effective and ineffective coping strategies used in the face of discrimination.

The instruments used in the current study offered multiple dimensions of the constructs of interests; however, the current study was delimited to specific dimensions of each construct. The ADMI (Burk et al., 2004) measures five dimensions of hypermasculinity and the current study included two. Because individuals may endorse different dimensions of hypermasculinity to varying degrees (Burk et al., 2004), additional study may seek to examine to what degree AAMs endorse the other dimensions of mainstream, hypermasculinity. Of particular interest may be the Sexual Identity dimension given the disproportionate rates of STIs among this population (CDC, 2014).

The ADDI (Fisher et al., 2000) measured reports of racial distress in the educational, peer, and institutional domains; however, in the current study I examined the composite of these dimensions. Given that each dimension presents its own contextual demands, perhaps the inclusion of each dimension, independently, would garner additional insight about how racial distress relates to mainstream, hypermasculinity. Similarly, the CRIS (Worrell et al., 2004) measures six racial identity attitudes and the TERS (Stevenson et al., 2002) measures five dimensions of racial socialization. Future research could expand this work by investigating the multiple relationships that may exist between the unstudied dimensions of racial identity and racial socialization and

dimensions of hypermasculinity. The unmeasured dimensions of the CRIS (Worrell et al., 2004), in particular, would expand our understanding by demonstrating whether less positive racial identity relates to mainstream hypermasculinity and how. All of the unstudied independent variables could be examined in relationship to all five dimensions of the ADMI (Burk et al., 2004).

Conclusion

This study provides new insight about how AAMs express mainstream, hypermasculine ideals and what factors may be related to its endorsement. While on average the participants in this study endorsed lower levels of hypermasculinity, significant relationships emerged between hypermasculinity and dimensions of racial socialization and racial identity. These findings add to our understanding of how racial identity and racial socialization may serve as a protective function for African American, adolescent males in predominantly low-income areas. Supporting them in the development of a racial identity that is intersectional in nature and respectful of other cultural identities may be beneficial to this population. Additionally, clinical work that incorporates spirituality and pride in Black culture may also minimize the endorsement of mainstream hypermasculinity. Finally, these findings seem to suggest a need to develop a quantitative measure of hypermasculinity and/or masculinity that is rooted in the cultural values and experiences of African American people. I recommend that future study expand upon this work by including the unstudied dimensions of racial identity and racial socialization in relationship to both mainstream and culturally-nuanced measures of hypermasculinity.

Appendix A

Demographic questionnaire

Thank you again for agreeing to take part in this important research.

1. I receive free or reduced cost lunch at school. □ Yes □ No

2. I live with:
   a. Mother □ Yes □ No
   b. Father □ Yes □ No
   c. Another family member □ Yes □ No
   d. A non-family member □ Yes □ No

3. My mother graduated from a 4- year college □ Yes □ No

4. My father graduated from a 4-year college □ Yes □ No

5. My brother(s) and/or sister(s) are attending or graduated from college □ Yes □ No

6. My current overall Grade-point average is
   a. 3.5 or higher □ 3.5-3.0 □ 3.0-2.5 □ 2.5-2.0 □ below 2.0

7. Grade level
   a. 9th □ 10th □ 11th □ 12th

8. I plan to go to college
   a. strongly agree □ agree □ disagree □ strongly disagree

9. I have talked to my parents about attending college
   a. strongly agree □ agree □ disagree □ strongly disagree

10. I have talked to my teachers about attending college
    a. strongly agree □ agree □ disagree □ strongly disagree

11. I have talked to my counselors about attending college
    a. strongly agree □ agree □ disagree □ strongly disagree

12. I have talked to my peers about attending college
    a. strongly agree □ agree □ disagree □ strongly disagree

13. Being good at school is an important part of who I am.
    a. strongly agree □ agree □ disagree □ strongly disagree

14. Doing well at school is very important to me.
    a. strongly agree □ agree □ disagree □ strongly disagree

15. Academic success is not very valuable to me.
    a. strongly agree □ agree □ disagree □ strongly disagree

16. It usually doesn't matter to me one way or the other how I do in school.
    a. strongly agree □ agree □ disagree □ strongly disagree

Appendix B

Instrumentation

Adolescent Discrimination Distress Index (ADDI)

Instructions: Please read each statement. After reading each statement, decide whether you have experienced each statement because of your race. For each of these that you have experienced because of your race, rate how much the activity in the statement upset you.

1 = Not at all upset 2 = A little upset ; 3 = Neutral; 4 = Very upset; 5 = Extremely upset

1. You were hassled by a store clerk or store guard. _____

2. People acted as if they were afraid of you. _____

3. People acted as if they thought you were not smart. _____

4. People expected less of you than they expected of others your age. _____

5. You were hassled by police. _____

6. You received poor service at a restaurant. _____

7. You were discouraged from joining an advanced level class. _____

8. You were given a lower grade than you deserved. _____

9. People expected more of you than they expected of others your age. _____

10. You were wrongly disciplined or given after-school detention. _____

11. You were called racially insulting names. _____

12. Others your age did not include you in their activities. _____

13. You were threatened. _____

14. You were discouraged from joining a club. _____

15. People assumed your English was poor. _____

Survey 5 (TERS)

Circle one number on the line that best describes how often you remember hearing any of these messages while growing up: *1 = never, 2 = a few times, 3 = lots of times.* Thank you

1. American society is fair toward Black people.	1	2	3
2. Black children will feel better about themselves if they go to a school with mostly White children.	1	2	3
3. Families who go to a church or mosque will be close and stay together.	1	2	3
4. Black slavery is important never to forget.	1	2	3
5. Relatives can help Black parents raise their children.	1	2	3
6. Religion is an important part of a person's life.	1	2	3
7. Racism and discrimination are the hardest things a Black child has to face.	1	2	3
8. Having large families can help many Black families survive life struggles.	1	2	3
9. You should be proud to be Black.	1	2	3
10. All races are equal.	1	2	3
11. If you work hard then you can overcome barriers in life.	1	2	3
12. A belief in God can help a person deal with tough life struggles.	1	2	3
13. Black children will learn more if they go to a mostly White school.	1	2	3
14. Knowing your African heritage is important for your survival.	1	2	3
15. Racism is real, and you have to understand it or it will hurt you.	1	2	3
16. You are connected to a history that goes back to African royalty.	1	2	3
17. Too much talk about racism will keep you from reaching your goals in life.	1	2	3
18. Schools should be required to teach all children about Black history.	1	2	3
19. Depending on religion and God will help you live a good life.	1	2	3
0. Families who talk openly about religion or God will help each other to grow.	1	2	3
21. Teachers can help Black children grow by showing signs of Black culture in the classroom.	1	2	3
22. Only people who are blood-related to you should be called your "family."	1	2	3
23. Getting a good education is still the best way for you to get ahead.	1	2	3
24. "Don't forget who your people are because you may need them someday."	1	2	3
25. Spiritual battles that people fight are more important than the physical battles.	1	2	3

26. You should know about Black history so that you will be a better person.	1	2	3
27. "Train up a child in the way he should go, and he will not turn away from it."	1	2	3
28. You have to work twice as hard as Whites in order to get ahead in this world.	1	2	3
29. Whites make it hard for people to get ahead in this world.	1	2	3
30. Be proud of who you are.	1	2	3
31. Going to a Black school will help Black children feel better about themselves.	1	2	3
32. You need to learn how to live in a White world and a Black world.	1	2	3
33. Never be ashamed of your color.	1	2	3
34. Whites have more opportunities than Blacks.	1	2	3
35. A Black child or teenager will be harassed just because s/he is Black.	1	2	3
36. More job opportunities would be open to African Americans if people were not racist.	1	2	3
37. Black children should be taught early that God can protect them from racial hatred.	1	2	3
38. Blacks don't always have the same opportunities as Whites.	1	2	3
39. Black children don't have to know about Africa in order to survive life in America.	1	2	3
40. Racism is not as bad today as it used to be before the 1960s.	1	2	3

Survey 4 (ADMI)

The following statements describe certain beliefs. Please read each item carefully and decide how well it describes you. Rate each item on the following 5-point scale: 5 _very much like me, 4 _ like me, 3 _ a little like me, 2_not much like me, 1 _ not at all like me.

1. If another man made a pass at my girlfriend/wife,
I would tell him off.   5   4   3   2   1

2. I believe sometimes you've got to fight or people will
walk all over you.   5   4   3   2   1

3. I think women should date one man.

4. I think men who show their emotions frequently are
sissies.   5   4   3   2   1

5. I think men who show they are afraid are weak.

6. I think men who cry are weak.   5   4   3   2   1

7. I don't get mad, I get even

8. Even if I was afraid, I would never admit it.   5   4   3   2   1

9. I consider men superior to women in intellect.   5   4   3   2   1

10. I think women who say they are feminists are just
trying to be like men.   5   4   3   2   1

11. I think women who are too independent need to be
knocked down a peg or two.   5   4   3   2   1

12. I don't feel guilty for long when I cheat on my girlfriend/
wife.   5   4   3   2   1

13. I know feminists want to be like men because men
are better than women.   5   4   3   2   1

14. Women, generally, are not as smart as men.   5   4   3   2   1

15. My attitude regarding casual sex is "the more the better."   5   4   3   2   1

16. I would never forgive my wife if she was unfaithful.   5   4   3   2   1

17. There are two kinds of women: the kind I date and
the kind I would marry.   5   4   3   2   1

18. I like to tell stories of my sexual experiences to my
male friends.   5   4   3   2   1

19. I think it's okay for men to be a little rough during sex.   5   4   3   2   1

20. If a woman struggles while we are having sex, it
makes me feel strong.   5   4   3   2   1

21. I am my own master; no one tells me what to do.   5   4   3   2   1

22. I try to avoid physical conflict.   5   4   3   2   1

23. If someone challenges me, I let him see my anger.   5   4   3   2   1

24. I wouldn't have sex with a woman who had been
drinking.   5   4   3   2   1

25. Sometimes I have to threaten people to make them do
what they should.   5   4   3   2   1

26. Many men are not as tough as me.   5   4   3   2   1

27. I value power over other people.   5   4   3   2   1

28. If a woman puts up a fight while we are having sex,
it makes the sex more exciting.   5   4   3   2   1

29. I don't mind using verbal or physical threats to get
what I want.   5   4   3   2   1

30. I think it is worse for a woman to be sexually unfaithful
than for a man to be unfaithful.   5   4   3   2   1

31. I think it's okay for teenage boys to have sex.   5   4   3   2   1

32. I like to be in control of social situations.   5   4   3   2   1

33. I prefer to watch contact sports like football or
boxing.   5   4   3   2   1

34. If I had a son I'd be sure to show him what a real man
should do.   5   4   3   2   1

35. If a woman thinks she's better than me, I'll show her.   5   4   3   2   1

36. I notice women most for their physical characteristics

like their breasts or body shape. 5 4 3 2 1

37. I think it's okay for men to date more than one woman. 5 4 3 2 1

38. I sometimes feel afraid. 5 4 3 2 1

39. I think men who stay home to take care of their children are just as weak as women. 5 4 3 2 1

40. I'd rather stay home and watch a movie than go out to a bar. 5 4 3 2 1

41. I like to brag about my sexual conquests to my friends. 5 4 3 2 1

42. When something bad happens to me I feel sad. 5 4 3 2 1

43. I can date many women at the same time without commitment. 5 4 3 2 1

44. I don't mind using physical violence to defend what I have. 5 4 3 2 1

45. I think men should be generally aggressive in their behavior. 5 4 3 2 1

46. I would initiate a fight if someone threatened me. 5 4 3 2 1

47. Women need men to help them make up their minds. 5 4 3 2 1

48. If some guy tries to make me look like a fool, I'll get him back. 5 4 3 2 1

49. I consider myself quite superior to most other men. 5 4 3 2 1

50. I get mad when something bad happens to me. 5 4 3 2 1

51. I want the woman I marry to be pure. 5 4 3 2 1

52. I like to be the boss. 5 4 3 2 1

53. I like to think about the men I've beaten in physical fights. 5 4 3 2 1

54. I would fight to defend myself if the other person threw the first punch. 5 4 3 2 1

55. If another man made a pass at my girlfriend/wife, I would want to beat him up.   5   4   3   2   1

56. Sometimes I have to threaten people to make them do what I want.   5   4   3   2   1

57. I think it's okay to have sex with a woman who is drunk.   5   4   3   2   1

58. If I exercise, I play a real sport like football or weight lifting.   5   4   3   2   1

59. I feel it is unfair for a woman to start something sexual but refuse to go through with it.   5   4   3   2   1

60. I often get mad.   5   4   3   2   1

Appendix C

Consent and assent forms
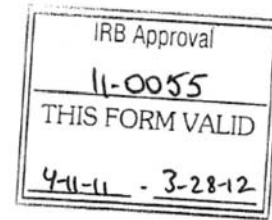
Consent to Participate in a Research Study

Psychological, Cognitive, & Contextual Predictors of African American Male Student Academic Identity

Your child is being invited to take part in a research study about how high school students feel they are doing in school. Your child is being invited to take part in this research study because he is a student at _____ High School. If your child volunteers to take part in this study, he will be one of about 300 African American male high school students to do so.

The person in charge of this study is Dr. Kenneth Tyler, Associate Professor in the Department of Educational, School, and Counseling Psychology at the University of Kentucky. There will be other people on the research team assisting at different times during the study. The purpose of the study is to determine whether certain ideas your child may have about himself are related to his experiences at and feeling about school.

By doing this study, we hope to learn how to make classroom teachers better prepared at interacting with African American male high school students. Many of the questions on the survey your child will complete ask about your child's feelings about and attitudes towards school, teacher-student interactions, being African American and a young African American man, African American culture, and race-related issues.

The research procedures will be conducted after school at _____ High School, with a location to be determined (i.e., the school cafeteria or auditorium). The total amount of time your child will be asked to volunteer for this study is two hours. Your child will receive $20 for completing the survey to the best of his abilities. A candy bar will be provided to those who do not wish to complete the survey.

On the day where the research is scheduled to take place, your child will come to their designated site to complete the survey. Members of the research team will be there to greet and provide instructions for the session. Your child will be given a form which will let them know that no one else will see their answers and they are free to not participate in the study. Your child will also be told that no classroom teachers will be allowed to participate or interact with your child during the survey completion time. Your child will be asked if they understand this form and will sign on the bottom line of the form and return the form if he/she wants to participate. Your child will then be provided a survey packet and a pencil. Instructions on how to complete the survey will be provided. Instructions for the surveys will be read aloud, while your child will read the instructions on his own. Your child will have two hours to complete his survey packet. Once surveys are completed and checked for missing pages, your child will be given $20.

To the best of our knowledge, the things your child will be doing have no more risk of harm than he would experience in everyday life. We cannot and do not guarantee that your child will receive any personal benefits from taking part in this study. One possible benefit for participating in this study is providing information to people who can, in the future, help to make school experiences better for your child.

If you decide that your child can take part in the study, it should be because you really want him to participate. Your child will not lose any benefits or rights he/she would normally have if you choose not to have him/her participate. Your child can stop answering survey questions at any time during the study and still keep the benefits and rights he/she had before volunteering. If you decide to not have your child participate in this study, your decision will have no effect on what happens with your child at his school.

Form C -Nonmed IRB Informed Consent Template

If you do not want your child to take part in the study, you do not have to complete and return this form. As a result, your child will not be notified for participation in the survey completion and will not be expected to complete the survey. There are no costs associated with taking part in the study.

Your child's information from the surveys will be combined with information from other students taking part in the study. When we write about the study to share it with other researchers, we will write about the combined information we have gathered, not on individual children or classrooms. Your child, his friends, or his school will NOT be identified in these written materials. We may publish the results of this study; however, we will keep your name, your child's name, your child's teachers' names and the school's name and any other identifying information private.

This study is confidential. That means that no one, not even members of the research team, will know that the information you give came from your child.

We may be required to show information which identifies you to people who need to be sure we have done the research correctly; these would be people from such organizations as the University of Kentucky.

If you decide to allow your child to take part in the study, your child still has the right to decide at any time that he no longer wants to continue. You, nor your child, will be treated differently if your child decides to stop taking part in the study. Again, your child will receive $20 for completing the survey to the best of his abilities. A candy treat or snack will be provided to those who do not wish to complete the survey.

Given the length of the survey, it is likely that your child may stay up to two hours after school to complete the survey and receive the $20. Therefore, you will need to make sure that your child is able to make it home afterwards.

If you have questions, suggestions, concerns, or complaints about the study or your child's participation in it, you can contact the investigator, **Kenneth Tyler at (859) 257-7873 or Kenneth.Tyler@uky.edu.** If you have any questions about your rights or your child's rights as a volunteer in this research, contact the staff in the Office of Research Integrity at the University of Kentucky at 859-257-9428 or toll free at 1-866-400-9428. We will give you a signed copy of this consent form to take with you.

You will be told if any new information is learned which may affect your condition or influence your willingness to continue taking part in this study.

_____   _____
Signature of person agreeing to have child take part in the study   Date

_____
Printed name of person agreeing to have child take part in the study

_____
Printed name of child given consent to take part in the study

Form D Nonmedical IRB Assent Form Template
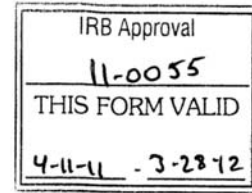
ASSENT FORM/SCRIPT

You are invited to be in a research study being done by Dr. Kenneth Tyler in the Department of Educational, School, and Counseling Psychology, College of Education, University of Kentucky. You are invited because you are an African American male high school student.

If you agree to be in the study, you will be provided a survey packet and a pencil and then instructions on how to complete the survey will be provided. Instructions for each survey will be read aloud, while you read quietly. You will have two hours (120 minutes) today to complete the survey packet. Once surveys are completed, you will receive $20. A candy treat or snack will be provided to those who do not wish to complete the survey.

Participation in the study is finished once the completed survey has been submitted and $20 has been provided to you.

Your family will know that you are in the study.

If something makes you feel bad while you are in the study, please tell Dr. Tyler and/or one of his assistants. If you decide at any time you do not want to finish the study, you may stop whenever you want.

You can ask Dr. Kenneth Tyler—or one of his assistants—questions at any time about anything in this study.

Signing this paper means that you have read this or had it read to you, and that you want to be in the study. If you do not want to be in the study, do not sign the paper. Being in the study is up to you, and no one will be mad if you do not sign this paper or even if you change your mind at any point during the study. You agree that you have been told about this study and why it is being done and what to do. You know your parent(s) have agreed to let you be in the study.

_____   _____
Signature of Person Agreeing to be in the Study   Date Signed

_____   _____
Signature of Parent/Legal Representative   Date Signed

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