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The Context of African American Emotion Expression: College Campus Influences

Deon Brown
Virginia Commonwealth University

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The Context of African American Emotion Expression: College Campus Influences

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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at Virginia Commonwealth University.

by

Deon William Brown

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Director: Fantasy T. Lozada

Assistant Professor Developmental Psychology

Virginia Commonwealth University

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Abstract

DEON WILLIAM BROWN

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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Major Director: Fantasy T. Lozada, Assistant Professor, Developmental Psychology

Theoretical frameworks suggest that African Americans express emotion in context-specific ways that are unique to their familial socialization experience (Boykin, 1986; Dunbar, Leerkes, Coard, Supple, & Calkins, 2017). However, less is known about how African Americans express emotion across familial and public contexts. The current study was interested in exploring the contextual differences in emotion expression among 188 African American/Black college students from 3 different types of college campuses: predominantly White (i.e., PWI), historically Black (i.e., HBCU), and racially diverse. Data were collected via an online survey in which students reported the school they attend, their emotion expression in the family and on campus, and their experiences with racial discrimination on campus. Latent profile analysis (LPA) was conducted to test the exploratory hypothesis of contextual differences in emotion expression. Five profiles of African American students' emotion expression in the family and on campus emerged: *High Positive and Negative Submissive Expression* (n = 49; 26%), *More Family Expression* (n = 8; 5%), *Low Family and Campus Expression* (n = 24; 13%), *More Campus Positive and Negative Dominant Expression* (n = 45; 24%), and *More Positive and Less Negative Dominant Expression* (n = 63; 33%). While college campus racial composition type

was not a significant predictor of profiles of emotion expression, Wald chi-square = 8.83, p = .360, racial discrimination was, Wald chi-square = 1.00, p = .041. Specifically, African American students who reported more frequent experiences with racial discrimination were more likely to be in the Less Family Expression/More Campus Expression profile than in the More Positive and Negative Submissive Expression profile. Additionally, the More Campus Positive and Negative Dominant Expression profile was significantly different than both the Low Family and Campus Expression profile and the More Positive and Less Negative Dominant Expression profile. In other words: racial discrimination experiences were associated with less expression of emotion in the family and more expression of emotion in the campus context (particularly positive emotion). These results are largely consistent with African American mothers' emotion expression in the family (i.e., greater positive emotion relative to negative emotion). Furthermore, they contribute to this literature in that African American youth express emotion differently in the family context compared to campus, particularly in the face of racial discrimination. Future studies should continue to investigate contextual emotion expression as it may have implications for the transition of emerging adults during the college experience.

Vita

Deon William Brown graduated from Open High School, Richmond, Virginia in 2012. While attending Virginia Tech for his Bachelor of Science in Psychology he got involved in the Student African American Brotherhood (SAAB) and the Association of Black Psychologists (ABPsi), the latter of which he became president of. He got involved with the Black Male Summit event, which eventually transformed into the Black Male Excellence Network (BMEN). His first research experience was with the Cognition, Emotion, and Self-Regulation Lab (CEaSR Lab) in 2013-2014. He later went on to get additional research experience with the Child Study Center 2014-2015. During his senior year (i.e., 2015-2016) he briefly volunteered with the Recovery Effort After Adult and Child Trauma (REAACT). Deon also participated in the student leadership panel at the Uplifting Black Men Conference and received the Undergraduate Achievement Award from the Black Graduate Student Organization (BGSO) during this time. In spring 2016 he received his degree and returned to Blacksburg in the fall for the Virginia Tech Post-baccalaureate Research and Education Program (VT-PREP). During this time he was a research assistant for the Social Development Lab in which he refined his research interests before applying to graduate school. He was later accepted into the VCU Developmental Psychology Doctoral program and attended in fall 2017 upon receipt of the Initiative for Maximizing Student Development (IMSD Graduate Study Award). In spring 2018 he presented at the Southeastern Psychological Association (SEPA) annual meeting and won the Committee on Equality and Professional Opportunity Student Award for Research on Minorities. In fall 2019 he successfully defended his master's thesis entitled "The Context of African American Emotion Expression: College Campus Influences".

Introduction

Emotion expression has implications for both physical health and social outcomes (e.g., Ekman & Davidson, 1993; Izard, 1990; Keltner, 1995). Emotion expression refers to an individual's sending of emotional information to regulate or communicate internal states (Ekman & Davidson, 1993) and may manifest in multiple modalities such as the face, the voice, gestures, and postures (Scherer, Clark-Polner, Montillaro, 2011). Observers of emotion expression use these modalities as cues to imply how one is feeling (Flannery, Torquati, & Lindemeier, 1994). However, emotion expression does not always reflect the emotion that one is experiencing. Furthermore, perceivers of emotion expression do not always accurately recognize the emotion being expressed. While early emotion expression research suggested that several basic emotions (e.g., anger, fear, sadness, joy) are expressed prototypically and recognized universally (Tomkins, 1962; Ekman, 1972; Izard, 1971), recent research highlights the cultural specificity of emotion expression, which involves stylistic differences that inhibit the accuracy of emotion recognition cross-culturally (Elfenbein & Ambady, 2002; Elfenbein & Ambady, 2003; Beaupre & Hess, 2006). This reduction in accuracy may reflect intentional emotion expression decisions made by the expressor that are related to power dynamics between social and racial groups.

Minority groups may be more subject to contextual influences of emotion expression given their social status in comparison to numerical or cultural majority group members (Veevers & Henley, 1977). Within the United States, African Americans remain a numerical and cultural minority which is reflected in their historical and current experiences of being enslaved, persecuted, oppressed, and discriminated against physically and culturally. Over time, these experiences have yielded beliefs and behaviors among African American groups that are adaptive in preparing for and responding to discriminatory experiences and intergroup

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interactions (Boykin, 1986; Garcia-Coll et al., 1996). Garcia Coll and colleagues (1996) describe that adaptive cultural practices arise out of racism and subsequent promotive and inhibiting environments and have implications for ethnic-racial minorities' developmental competencies, including emotion-related competencies such as emotion expression. For instance, recent theory suggests that African American parenting includes an adaptive combination of racial and emotion socialization that prepares African American children for coping with racial discrimination by promoting "emotion-centered racial coping" (Dunbar, Leerkes, Coard, Supple, & Calkins, 2017). Yet, there remains little understanding and empirical investigation of the normative manifestation of African American emotion-related behaviors and how this may reflect adaptive cultural behavior sets. The purpose of the current study is to investigate the contextual differences in emotion expression among African Americans as a demonstration of how emotional competence among ethnic-racial minorities may reflect cultural adaptation in the face of various contextual exposure to in-group and out-group members. Below, I describe theoretical frameworks that are useful for investigating variation in emotion expression across contexts for African Americans.

Theoretical Frameworks

One theory that may be useful in understanding how African Americans' emotion expression may look different across contexts is Triple Quandary Theory (Boykin & Tom, 1985). Triple Quandary Theory asserts that African Americans constantly navigate three distinct "realms of experience": the mainstream experience, the African American cultural experience, and the minority experience (Boykin, 1986). The mainstream experience is the traditional American society that all citizens participate in, regardless of background or identity, which tends to be Eurocentric and emphasize values such as individualism, conformity, and

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universality. Simultaneously individuals of African heritage who live in America have the African American cultural experience, which is rooted in West African values such as communalism, expressive individualism, and harmony (Boykin, 1986). While these cultural values are specific to African Americans many minority groups demonstrate "biculturality" that reflect mainstream American values as well as the values of their cultural group of origin. Additionally, Boykin argues that African Americans occupy minority status that is characterized by "social, economic, and political oppression" that is explicitly tied to race compared to other racial/cultural groups (1986), reflecting the minority experience. The mainstream experience, the African American cultural experience, and the minority experience are in sharp contrast to each other and create a "triple quandary" for African Americans in which they must operate in different psychological spaces to achieve success in America.

One potential implication of the Triple Quandary Theory for African American behavior is the cultural context of emotion expression. Boykin refers to a cultural ethos about emotion held among African Americans as *affect*, "an emphasis on emotions and feelings, together with a special sensitivity to emotional cues and a tendency to be emotionally expressive" (1986). In other words, Boykin suggests that African Americans express emotion in a culturally specific style and to a greater degree than White Americans due to the cultural ethos of *affect*. However, these characteristics of African American emotion expression may not always be observed given social norms for the appropriateness of emotion in different settings (i.e., display rules; Ekman & Friesen, 1968), particularly as these display rules may be tied to the consideration of protection from bias and discrimination from non-African Americans or from presenting an image of being a stereotypical "loud" or "angry" African American (Consedine & Magai, 2002; Mabry & Kiecolt, 2005). As such, African Americans may be more inclined to express their emotions

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more intensely or authentically, not only in the presence of familiar others (e.g., family and friends), but also among other African Americans who likely have similar familiarity and exposure to African American styles of emotion expression.

Previous work on emotion recognition across racial and cultural groups supports the notion that African American emotion is more accurately recognized by other African Americans (e.g., Elfenbein & Ambady, 2002). Furthermore, African American emotion expression is often mis-recognized and mis-attributed as anger in comparison to European American emotion expression (e.g., Thomas, Coard, Stevenson, Bentley, & Zamel, 2009; Barbarin et al., 2013; Halberstadt, Castro, Chu, Lozada, & Sims, 2018). African Americans report knowledge of the ways in which African American emotion is misunderstood and stereotypically categorized as anger (Parker et al., 2012; Lozada, Riley, Brown, & Rowley, 2018). Additionally, scholars have theorized that African American youth may be more sensitive to the context of emotion expression as a result of the parental socialization process in African American families (Dunbar, Leerkes, Coard, Supple, & Calkins, 2017). The Integrative Conceptual Model of Parental Socialization (Dunbar et al., 2017) suggests that African American families approach the parental socialization process differently than families from other racial/ethnic groups in that they both validate and suppress the emotional experiences and expression of their children within the family as a form of preparation for bias that youth may experience in public from members of a different racial group. Thus, African American emotion expression is likely to vary considerably across contexts in which they are more often exposed to members of their own racial group in comparison to contexts in which there are few members of their racial group. Below, I review empirical work on African American emotion expression in both the family and public context.

African American Emotion Expression within the Familial Context

Much of what is known about African American emotion expression can be found in the empirical work on emotion socialization, in which family expressiveness (i.e., the overall tone of emotion expression in the broad family context) and parental emotion expression (i.e., emotion modeling) are measured. Studies that assess both of these constructs have involved families of multiple racial/ethnic groups. Descriptively, studies examining family expressiveness among African American families suggest that it is both different from and similar to that of families from other racial/ethnic groups (Hill & Tyson, 2008; Morelen, Jacob, Suveg, Jones, & Thommasin, 2013). For instance, African American mothers of elementary school children reported less negative family expressiveness than European American mothers (Hill & Tyson, 2008). However, African American college students reported similar levels of family expressiveness to White college students but more positive family expressiveness than Asian college students (Morelen et al., 2013). Furthermore, studies examining parental emotion expression between families of multiple racial/ethnic groups suggest that African American mothers of preschool children are less likely to express negative emotion than European American mothers (Nelson et al., 2012) but report similar levels of emotion expression overall compared to non-African American caregivers (e.g., Hispanic, bi-racial, non-Hispanic White; McCoy & Raver, 2011).

Taken together, studies on African American familial emotion expression suggest that similar to other families, African American families are characterized by high positive emotion expression relative to negative emotion expression. Additionally, some studies suggest that African American mothers engage in less negative emotion expression relative to other ethnic

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groups. Thus, although Boykin (1986) suggested that African American family life is characterized by collectivist values such as the importance of extended family, respect for elders, and open emotion expression, there is some evidence to suggest that open emotion expression may not extend to negative emotions in the home. Dunbar and colleagues (2017) suggest that a restrictive style with regard to the expression of negative emotions in the home may be a socialization strategy to help African American children understand the importance of regulating and restricting negative emotion in preparation for emotion expression in public spaces where their negative emotion may be misunderstood. However, open and unrestricted negative emotion expression is likely less common in the family context regardless of race/ethnicity. Thus, to more fully understand African American emotion expression, familial emotion expression should be compared to expression in more public contexts. Below I review literature that investigates African American emotion expression beyond the family context.

African American Emotion Expression Outside the Familial Context

In contrast to what is known about African American emotion expression from the emotion socialization literature, the knowledge of normative emotion expression beyond the family context is notably limited. Yet, given theory and preliminary empirical evidence that there is concern about African American emotion expression outside of the home, it is important to understand the nature of African American emotion expression in other, more general, public contexts. Educational settings (e.g., primary, secondary, and higher educational schooling contexts) are relevant and necessary additional contexts to understand African American emotion expression. Historical and current challenges posed against African American students' educational success are dictated by and reflective of stereotypes and biases around these students' cultural background, abilities, and behaviors. Thus, it is within educational contexts

that African Americans engage in impression management to combat such stereotypes which likely includes modification of emotion-related behaviors such as expression.

African American adolescents at the secondary level of education report use of various emotion expression strategies (e.g., suppression, management, expression) with regard to anger (Thomas, Coard, Stevenson, Bentley, & Zamel, 2009). Students who reported suppression of anger were perceived more favorably (i.e., less disruptive to the classroom) by African American teachers. African American young adults in the higher educational setting have been found to demonstrate both positive and negative emotion among African American and White college students. Imagined interactions with White students seem to elicit more negative emotion whereas imagined interactions with other African American students elicit more intense emotion altogether (Vrana & Rollock, 1996). Furthermore, the facial affect of African American students is neutral during social greetings with unfamiliar others regardless of race compared to White students who demonstrate more smiling activity relative to frowning (Vrana & Rollock, 1998). In contrast, African American students have also been found to exhibit greater positive affect and less negative affect compared to White students in imagined emotional situations presented audibly by same-race researchers (Vrana & Rollock, 2002).

Taken together, the limited work investigating African American emotion expression in educational contexts may suggest flexibility according to the situational demands of the environment. Such emotion regulatory flexibility (Bonanno & Burton 2013), may prove to be adaptive or beneficial for African American students. For instance, African American students benefitted from the suppression of anger in high school classrooms such that their teachers viewed them more positively (Thomas, Coard, Stevenson, Bentley, & Zamel, 2009). Although teacher race was not accounted for in the study by Thomas and colleagues (2009), the high

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school in which the study took place was described as having a predominately African American teaching staff. This may suggest that race is not the sole factor influencing African American emotion expression. Studies of African American emotion expression among peers in higher educational settings (i.e., researchers and actors) suggest greater negative emotional responses to imagined interactions with White people, emotional control with regard to unfamiliar audiences, and differences in facial affect compared to White students' emotion expression (Vrana & Rollock, 1996; 1998; 2002). It is important to note that all of the studies in the higher education setting were conducted on a predominantly White college campus and authors concluded that African American emotion expression is more restricted in predominantly White spaces. This restriction of emotion expression by African Americans among White audiences may be a direct result of explicit racial and emotion socialization that occurs in African American families that may emphasize the safety of expression among members of one's own racial group (i.e., African Americans) and the dangers of expression among members of other racial groups (i.e., Whites; Dunbar et al., 2017; Lozada et al., 2018). As such African American students' emotion expression in an educational setting may be associated with the presence or absence of in-group and out-group members. However, this restriction may also be associated with one's own negative experiences with racial discrimination in those educational contexts. Below, I further discuss these potential factors associated with African American emotional expression in educational contexts.

College Campus Racial Composition Type and African American Student Behavior

For many African Americans in the United States (US), primary and secondary schooling experiences are commonly comprised of an over-representation of White, female teachers, a lack of African American cultural representation in schooling curriculum, and negative biases and

stereotypes about African Americans' academic abilities (Boykin, Tyler, & Miller, 2005; Gershenson, Holt, & Papageorge, 2016). Such experiences may continue for African American students as they transition to college, especially given that majority of colleges and universities in the US can be described as Predominately White Institutions (PWIs) in which 50% or more of the student enrollment is comprised of White students (Brown & Dancy, 2010). In addition to the demographics of student enrollment, many PWIs were also historically institutions that denied admission to non-White, specifically African American, students (Brown & Dancy, 2010) and may continue to have vestiges of such racist and segregationist views in admission processes and standards, academic traditions and curriculum, lack of ethnic-racial diversity among university faculty, and campus landmarks and buildings. As such, PWIs may be one such educational context in which African American students may engage in impression management through restrictive emotion expression in an attempt to combat against negative stereotypes about African Americans and legitimize one's place in a predominantly White academic context. Evidence of such impression management among African American students at PWIs has been found in qualitative studies in which these students describe having to expend energy in dealing with stereotypes about African Americans as they engage with White professors and White students on campus and in the classroom (e.g., Fries-Britt & Turner, 2002).

However, there are other colleges and universities in the US that serve more diverse student populations. Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) are higher education institutions that have an explicit mission and commitment to educating African American students and were established to provide African Americans access to higher education in the face of Jim Crow segregation (Samuels, 2010). HBCUs tend to have a student enrollment of 60% of African American students or higher (Gasman, 2013) and are often characterized by having

inclusive admissions standards and policies for African Americans, a greater representation of African American teaching faculty, academic traditions and curriculum that celebrates and emphasizes African American and African diasporic perspectives/thought, and campus landmarks and buildings that reflect pride in African American history and achievements. As such, African American students who attend HBCUs may engage in less impression management through restrictive emotion expression as these students may feel less of a need to protect one's self from negative stereotypes or pressures to legitimize one's status as an African American. Evidence of a different approach to impression management for African American students who attend an HBCU can be found in qualitative studies in which these students describe feeling that their interactions with professors and other students from similar backgrounds as their own leaves students feeling supported, confident, and energized in their academic spaces (Fries-Britt & Turner, 2002).

Finally, some colleges and universities may be characterized as having a diverse student population by nature of no one racial/ethnic group having the numeric majority in student enrollment and/or White student enrollment being less than 50%. The number of such colleges and universities are likely to increase given the shifting demographics of the US, which are projected to be "minority white" by 2045 (United States Census Bureau, 2018). Although these colleges and universities likely vary in their sociohistorical background with regard to educational access for African Americans and representation of diverse perspectives within academic traditions and curriculum, these diverse institutions provide African American students with an increased exposure to members of various different racial/ethnic groups. Further, there is little research that specifically documents African American students' experiences at racially diverse schools. One qualitative study suggested that experiences with racism on racially diverse

campuses may be tempered by resilient racial attitudes fostered by a racial diverse campus culture (Lancaster & Xu, 2017). Thus, it is unclear what level of impression management that African American students may engage in with regard to their emotion expression on a diverse college campus.

As suggested by the previous empirical literature on African American college students' experiences, the ways in which African American students navigate and negotiate these educational spaces varies depending on the type of college campus. However, one such experience that is likely to vary across college campus type for African Americans and which also may have some association with their emotion expression behaviors is the frequency of racial discrimination African American students experience across these college campus types.

African American Students' Experiences with Racial Discrimination on College Campuses

Racial discrimination can be defined as the differential treatment of minority group members by dominant group members which results in negative effects for the minority group members (Seaton, Yip, Morgan-Lopez, & Sellers, 2012). Some of these experiences may include being called a racial slur, being treated as if one is not as smart as others of another racial group, being denied help or service based on one's racial group membership, or being accused of doing something wrong based on one's racial group membership. Although the experience of racial discrimination is interpersonal the behaviors associated with it are rooted in systemic differences between majority groups and minority groups (Seaton, Neblett, Upton, Hammond, & Sellers, 2011).

Racial discrimination work suggests that African American students are likely to experience racial discrimination at PWIs (Feagin, 1992). Specifically, African American students at PWIs may experience overt forms of racial discrimination as described above and/or more

"subtle" forms of racial discrimination in the form of isolation and alienation (Biasco, Goodwin, & Vitale, 2001). This is in contrast to the experiences of African American students at HBCUs in which students perceive a sense of belonging, comfort, and support (e.g., Bohr, Pascarella, Nora, & Terenzini, 1995; Fries-Britt & Turner, 2002).

African Americans' frequent racial discrimination experiences are associated with poorer physical health (Williams & Mohammed, 2009), decreases in mental health and other psychosocial functioning (Seaton, Caldwell, Sellers, & Jackson, 2008; Harris-Britt, Valrie, Kurtz-Costes, & Rowley, 2007), and poor academic outcomes among African American students across schooling levels (Chavous, Rivas-Drake, Smalls, Griffin, & Cogburn, 2008). There is also some evidence that experiences of racial discrimination are also associated with emotion-related skill. For instance, African American mothers' experiences of racial discrimination have been associated with their use of emotion words in a picture book task with their young children (Odom, Garrett-Peters, Vernon-Feagans, & Family Life Project Investigators, 2016). Additionally, racial discrimination experiences seem to promote "emotional vigilance" for minority group members such that they are highly aware of others' positive and negative emotions (Pearlin, Schieman, Fazio, & Meersman, 2005). Taking into account the salience of emotion vigilance for African American families in particular (Boykin, 1986; Dunbar et al., 2017), it may be likely that racial discrimination experiences are associated with African American young adults' emotion expression.

The college campus setting is a relevant context to explore the connection between African American young adults' racial discrimination experiences and emotion expression. While limited work has addressed the two constructs in tandem, one study investigated patterns of African American college students' emotion expression in response to experiences of both

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blatant racial discrimination (e.g., being targeted for a traffic stop due to your race) and subtle

racial discrimination (e.g., being followed around a bookstore by security) by asking students to

rate their mood after imagining the scenes as if they happened to them (Jones, Lee, Gaskin, &

Neblett, 2014). With regard to racial discrimination experiences in general emotional responses

ranged in valence (e.g., anger, outrage, tension, fear, assurance, courage) and intensity (e.g.,

high, low, moderate emotion expression). As for conditions of racial discrimination students'

emotional responses to subtle racial discrimination were characterized by more tense emotional

responses (e.g., disgust, anger, distress) whereas fear characterized emotional responses to

blatant racial discrimination. While the college campus type of the university was unknown these

results suggest that racial discrimination on campus predicts diverse patterns of emotion

expression for African American students.

Current Study: African American Emotion Expression among College Students

The current study aims to investigate the contextual influences of emotion expression

among African American college students. Given previous literature that suggests African

Americans express less negative emotion than positive emotion in both the home and public

context I hypothesize that African American college students will demonstrate greater positive

emotion in the home context compared to the campus context but similar levels of negative

emotion expression in the home context and campus context (hypothesis 1). Furthermore, based

on previous work which suggests that African Americans express emotion in a culturally specific

style and that many African American youth may be socialized to vary their emotion expression

according to racialized context, I hypothesize that profiles of emotion expression across home

and campus contexts will emerge for African American college students (hypothesis 2). To

further contextualize these profiles, I will explore two predictors of African American college

students' profiles of emotion expression: college campus racial composition type and experiences with racial discrimination on campus.

With regard to college campus type and emotion expression profiles, I make several hypotheses. Given previous theory on affect as a cultural ethos among African Americans (Boykin, 1986) and the level of cultural comfort described by African American students who attend HBCUs (e.g., Fries-Britt & Turner, 2002), I hypothesize that students who attend an HBCU are more likely to be represented in a profile that demonstrates similar levels of emotion expression (both positive and negative emotion) at home in comparison to on campus (hypothesis 3). In contrast and consistent with previous work that suggests a great deal of emotion regulation and impression management among African American students who attend PWIs (Feagin, 1992; Biasco, Goodwin, & Vitale, 2001; Vrana & Rollock, 1996; 1998; 2002), I hypothesize that students who attend a PWI are more likely to be represented in a profile that demonstrates differences between levels of emotion expression (particularly for negative emotion) at home in comparison to on campus, with greater expression occurring at home than on campus (hypothesis 4). Finally, given the lack of understanding of African American students' experiences at more diverse universities and colleges, I make no hypotheses regarding what type of profile in which African American students who attend a diverse college may be represented.

With regard to racial discrimination and emotion expression profiles, consistent with previous work that suggests that racial discrimination promotes "emotional vigilance" among African Americans (Boykin, 1986; Dunbar et al., 2017; Odom, Garrett-Peters, Vernon-Feagans, & Family Life Project Investigators, 2016), I hypothesize that African American students who experience more frequent racial discrimination on campus will be more likely to be represented

in a profile that demonstrates differences between levels of emotion expression (particularly for negative emotion) at home in comparison to on campus, with greater expression occurring at home than on campus (hypothesis 5).

Although outside the original scope of the study, I will also examine potentially relevant demographic and contextual factors that may need to be included in the modeling of African American students' profiles of emotion expression such as student gender and the racial composition of the students' friendship group on campus. The investigation of these variables is exploratory, thus I make no hypotheses about the association of these variables with African American students' emotion expression.

Method

Participants

Participants included 188 African American/Black college students ranging in age from 18-54 years. Student representation across the current college campus types are as follows: 26.5% at a PWI, 51.3% at a racially diverse university, and 22.2% at a HBCU. Most participants were female (i.e., 62.4%; 35.4% were male). There was a small percentage of students who identified as "genderqueer/gender non-conforming" (i.e., n = 3). There was relative balance across student classifications: 31.2% freshman, 23.3% sophomore, 24.9% junior, 19.6% senior, and 1.1% other.

Measures

Emotion expression. Emotion expression at home and on campus was assessed using a modification of the Self-Expressiveness in the Family Questionnaire (SEFQ; Halberstadt et al., 1995; see Appendix A). The SEFQ is a self-report measure of the frequency of an individual's emotion expression within the family. The original measure includes 29 items on a 9-point Likert

scale (i.e., 1 = not at all frequently, 9 = very frequently). The modification of the SEFQ involved the same questions as the original version with modified instructions which referred to emotion expression with "others on campus". Exploratory factor analysis (EFA) were conducted for both the original and modified version of the SEFQ.[1]

The final solution from the factor analysis and theoretical examination yielded three subscales for both the family and campus settings: positive, negative dominant, and negative submissive. The positive family subscale included 11 items (e.g., "Praising someone for good work", "Spontaneously hugging a family member"), the negative dominant family subscale included 8 items (e.g., "Showing contempt for (making fun of) another's actions", "Putting down other people's interests"), and the negative submissive subscale also included 8 items (e.g., "Crying after an unpleasant disagreement"; "Sulking (pouting) over unfair treatment by someone"). The positive campus subscale included 13 items (e.g., "Expressing gratitude for a favor", "Apologizing for being late"), the negative dominant campus subscale included 8 items (i.e., same as negative dominant family subscale), and the negative submissive campus subscale included 8 items (e.g., "Falling to pieces when tension builds up"). Reliability for all six subscales for the current collected sample is as follows: positive expression at home (α = .88), negative dominant expression at home (α = .78), negative submissive expression at home (α =

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[1] The original 29-item SEFQ was submitted to a principal axis factor analysis with a Promax rotation. The number of factors to extract was not initially specified. However, 4 factors emerged via the 'eyeball method' with the scree plot output (i.e., taking note of where the 'elbow' occurs and eigenvalues are greater than 1). Additionally, this is consistent with theory for the original SEFQ (i.e., 4-factor solution: positive dominant, positive submissive, negative dominant, and negative submissive factors). The 4-factor solution included 28 of the original 29 items and accounted for 50% of variance in these items. Item 12 was omitted from the final solution because all factor loadings were below .3. Decisions on where to put cross loading items were made based on a combination of the higher of the factor loadings in addition to theory. All Factor 4 (Positive submissive) items were eventually put on Factor 1 (Positive dominant) items when examining internal reliability for subscales, because the positive submissive factor did not appear theoretically distinguishable. A similar approach was also taken for the modified SEFQ. However, all items had factor loadings above .3. Thus, no items were dropped from the modified SEFQ.

.75), positive expression on campus (α = .86), negative dominant expression on campus (α = .82) and negative submissive expression on campus (α = .78).

College campus racial composition type. Each university was assigned a college racial composition type based on the public racial demographic statistics for each school. Specifically, a school was identified as a PWI when White students represent more than 50% of the student enrollment of the campus. A school was identified as racially diverse if White students represent less than 50% of the student enrollment of the campus. A school was identified as a HBCU if Black students represent 60% or more of the student enrollment of the campus and was established before 1964 with the purpose of educating African American students (according to the Higher Education Act of 1965; Samuels, 2010).

University 1 had a student enrollment of 65.7% White students, 4.0% Black students, and 10% students from other racial/ethnic backgrounds ("On and Off Campus"); University 1 was classified as a PWI. University 2 had a student enrollment of 45% minority students ("Facts and rankings"); University 2 was classified as a racially diverse college. University 3 had a student enrollment of greater than 90% Black students; University 3 was classified as a HBCU.

Racial discrimination experiences. Racial discrimination was assessed using a modification of the Black Male Experiences Measure (BMEM; Cunningham & Spencer, 1996). The BMEM was originally designed to assess Black males' experiences and perceptions in public settings. The research team contacted the authors of the original measure to request an official copy and propose potential modifications. The current version of the measure is referred to as the College Campus Experiences Measure (CCEM). The modification is designed to assess college students' campus experiences as it relates to their race/ethnicity. The original CCEM (see Appendix B) has 15 items total with responses on a 5-point Likert scale that range from 0 (never) to 4 (always).

Although reliability was adequate (i.e., α = .64) means were highest for items that represented the opposite of racial discrimination experiences on campus (e.g., "how often do people on campus go out of their way to speak to you as you pass?", "how often do people that you don't know smile when you approach them?"). Therefore, EFA was conducted to determine which items reflected the construct of racial discrimination experiences on campus in particular.[2] A total of 5 items were used to represent the construct of racial discrimination for this study. These include: "How often do professors think you have plagiarized or cheated on your class assignment?", "How often have professors told you that you were being disrespectful in an interaction with them?", "How often have you been told that you were being "too loud" while interacting with your friends on campus?", "How often have campus police thought that you were doing something wrong (e.g., being in a location that you shouldn't be, preparing to steal something, etc.)?", and "How often have you been harassed by campus police (physically and/or abusive language)?". A mean score was computed across the 5 items, with higher scores indicating more frequent experiences with racial discrimination on campus (α = .75).

Control variables. *Gender*. Participants were asked to report on their gender as part of a demographics questionnaire. Participants choose from the following options (numbers represent numeric code assigned to the category for analytic purposes): male (0), female (1), trans male/trans man (3), trans female/trans women (4), genderqueer/gender non-conforming (5), different identity (6). Bivariate associations were examined between gender and the student

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[2] The original 15-item modification of the BMEM was submitted to a principal axis factor analysis with a Promax rotation. The number of factors to extract was not initially specified. However, 4 factors emerged according to the 'eyeball method' with the scree plot output (i.e., taking note of where the 'elbow' occurs and eigenvalues are greater than 1). Factor 1 and factor 2 included items which reflect the construct of racial discrimination experiences on campus (e.g., "How often do you receive "hate stares" from people outside your racial group?" and "How often do you receive "fear stares" from people outside your racial group?" see factor 1 items below). However, the correlation between the two was low (i.e., r = .35). Thus, factor 1 was identified as the racial discrimination factor and used for subsequent analyses.

emotion expression variables to assess whether this variable may need to be controlled for in subsequent analyses.

Racial composition of friend group. Racial composition of friend group was assessed using a race sociometric questionnaire (see Appendix C). Students were asked to report the racial makeup of the friends they "hang out with" on campus and the friends they are "emotionally close with" on campus. Responses ranged from "almost all Black people" to "same number of Black people and people of other races" to "almost all people of other races". A mean variable was created for the racial composition of friend group on campus across those two items. Bivariate associations were examined between the racial composition of friend group variable and the student emotion expression on campus variable to assess whether this variable may need to be controlled for in subsequent analyses.

Procedure

IRB approval was obtained from all three universities involved in the current study. An electronic form of the survey was programmed via the Qualtrics survey system so that the survey could be administered to participants via a link online. When a participant clicked on the survey link, an electronic consent form appeared explaining the purpose, procedures, risks, benefits, confidentiality, compensation, and participant rights during the study. Students were then presented with the option to decide to participate in the survey (i.e., yes or no). If students consented to participation in the survey, they were presented with the electronic survey. The survey was divided into sections by the set of questions that corresponded to each measure. The survey was pilot tested by undergraduate students from the research team, edited according to feedback, and distributed electronically via an anonymous link from Qualtrics. At Universities 1 and 3, students were provided with the opportunity to click on an external link to provide their

email address to receive a $10 Amazon gift card for participating in the study. At University 2, students were provided university credit for participating in the survey through the university's undergraduate research participant management system (i.e., SONA).

Recruitment

Eligibility requirements included being 18 years of age, self-identifying as African American/Black, and providing consent via the previously described method. Participants from all universities were recruited through Black cultural student organizations and faculty on respective campuses (i.e., both in-person and electronically). Additionally, flyers were posted at various locations on each campus. However, due to differences in recruitment success at each campus, additional methods were used at each university as necessary. For instance, the study was announced via the Psychology department listserv at University 1. The study was posted on the SONA research system with compensation of .75 research credits at University 2. Students who met eligibility criteria indicated that they wanted to sign up on SONA and received access via the anonymous Qualtrics survey link. Participants were asked a question about current enrollment in courses which qualified for SONA credit at the end of the survey and redirected to SONA to confirm completion of the survey. Lastly, the study was announced via email and in-person to several STEM professors at University 3. Students who indicated interest in the study were then provided an anonymous Qualtrics survey link. Flyers were also posted on the campus of University 3 which included a QR code for the survey link that students could scan.

The research team encountered recruitment challenges at University 1 and University 3 so the recruitment strategy was altered and the IRB application at University 1 was amended and approved. More specifically, students started the survey but did not complete it, so the research team generated personal links within Qualtrics for each participant which allow them to access

the survey on multiple occasions. Participants were required to submit their email addresses via a

Google Form in order to receive personal links to take the survey. A QR code for the Google

Form was generated, added to the flyer for University 1, and the flyer was distributed via email

listservs and GroupMe for Black cultural student organizations once again. Finally, the lead

graduate student researcher presented on a related topic at the Black Cultural Center at

University 1 and then advertised for the study at the end of the presentation.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Data were cleaned via IBM SPSS Statistics 25. Skewness and kurtosis values were within

range (i.e., 1 to -1) for all main analysis variables except for racial discrimination (i.e., skewness

= 1.941, kurtosis = 4.181). Although these values indicated violations of normality, the racial

discrimination was neither winsorized or transformed.[3] Missing data were explored for all

variables of interest. However, given that there appeared to be more missing data for emotion

expression variables (n = 10) in comparison to the racial discrimination variable (n = 1),

participants who only had complete data for the racial discrimination variable were compared to

participants who had complete data for both the expression variables and the racial

discrimination variable in terms of reports of campus racial discrimination and demographic

variables. There were no significant differences between participants with missing data and

participants with complete study data on racial discrimination, $t(196) = -.09$, $p = .059$, racial

demographics of friend group, $t(197) = -.20$, $p = .843$, age, $t(197) = -.33$, $p = .745$, and gender, χ^2

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[3] Potential outliers were identified via eyeball and the box and whisker plot. Winsorization was attempted, but unable to shift the values of skewness and kurtosis significantly. Analyses were conducted with and without outliers to further examine whether outliers had an effect on the results. The direction of results and estimates were similar regardless of the inclusion of the outlier values. Therefore, outlier values were retained in subsequent analyses.

(3, *N* = *199*) = 3.72, *p* = .294. However, there was an association between missingness on

emotion expression and school, χ^2 (2, *N* = *199*) = 9.62, *p* = .008. According to Cramer's V the

association was low, ϕ_c = .22, *p* < .001.

Descriptive statistics of the study variables are presented in Table 1 and correlations are

presented in Table 2. Overall, students' friend group from home consisted of mostly Black

people and students rarely experienced racial discrimination on campus. Additionally, students

reported moderate levels of emotion expression in both the family and campus context. Racial

demographics of students' friends in the home context were significantly correlated to the

college campus type that students represented, *r* = -.27, *p* < .001, and their expression of negative

emotion in the campus context (i.e., both negative dominant and negative submissive,

respectively), *r* = .15, *p* = .04 and *r* = .16, *p* = .02. Lastly, students' experiences of racial

discrimination on campus was only significantly related to their expression of negative dominant

emotion in the campus context, r = .27, p < .001.

Table 1
Descriptive Statistics for Demographics and Context

Variable	M	SD
Racial Demographics of Friends	2.25	1.15
Racial Discrimination on Campus	1.39	.50
Family Positive Emotion Expression	5.84	1.65
Family Negative Dominant Emotion Expression	3.50	1.52
Family Negative Submissive Emotion Expression	4.41	1.62
Campus Positive Emotion Expression	4.88	1.52
Campus Negative Dominant Emotion Expression	3.05	1.44

Table 1 (continued)

Campus Negative Submissive Emotion Expression	3.39	1.50

To examine potential associations between demographic variables (i.e., gender and racial demographics of friend group) and study variables of interest (e.g., emotion expression, campus experiences of racial discrimination) independent samples t-tests were conducted for those that were significantly correlated (see Table 2). Given the low number of non-binary or transgender students in the study, only those who self-identified as a male or female were analyzed for gender analyses. Males and females did not differ significantly on campus negative submissive expression, $t(183) = -1.22$, $p = .28$.

To examine potential associations between campus racial composition type and other study variables of interest (e.g., emotion expression and campus experiences of racial discrimination), one-way ANOVAs were conducted with campus racial composition type as the independent variable. Results indicated that there were no significant mean differences for campus racial discrimination experiences, $F(2, 188) = .14$, $p = .869$, positive emotion expression at home, $F(2, 196) = 1.50$, $p = .226$, negative-dominant emotion expression at home, $F(2, 196) = 3.05$, $p = .050$, negative-submissive emotion expression at home, $F(2, 195) = .113$, $p = .893$, positive emotion expression on campus, $F(2, 188) = 1.93$, $p = .148$, negative-dominant emotion expression on campus $F(2, 188) = 1.23$, $p = .286$, and negative-submissive expression on campus, $F(2, 186) = .804$, $p = .449$.

Comparison of African American Students' Emotion Expression across Home and Campus Contexts

To examine differences of African American students' emotion expression across the home and school context, I conducted a paired-samples t-test to compare mean differences in positive, negative dominant, and negative submissive emotion expression in the family context and in the campus context. I hypothesized that African Americans would demonstrate greater levels of positive emotion expression in the family context and similar levels of negative emotion expression across the family and campus context (hypothesis 1). Hypothesis 1 was partially supported by paired-samples t-test results. African American students reported expressing greater positive emotion expression with family ($M = 5.83$, $SD = 1.66$) than on campus ($M = 4.88$, $SD = 1.54$), $t(190) = 7.45$, $p < .001$. With regard to negative emotion, African American students reported greater negative dominant emotion expression with family ($M = 3.52$, $SD = 1.52$) than on campus ($M = 3.05$, $SD = 1.44$), $t(190) = 4.25$, $p < .001$. Finally, African American students reported greater negative submissive emotion expression with family ($M = 4.44$, $SD = 1.61$) than on campus ($M = 3.39$, $SD = 1.50$), $t(188) = 10.11$, $p < .001$). Thus, across all emotions, African American students reported greater emotion expression with family members than they did on campus.

Latent Profile Analyses of African American Students' Emotion Expression at Home and On Campus

To examine the existence of profiles of African American college students' emotion expression at home and on campus and college campus racial composition type and racial discrimination as predictors of student profiles, I used Vermunt's 3-Step LPA approach (Vermunt, 2010) via Latent Gold 5.1 (Vermunt & Magidson, 2013). I hypothesized that profiles of emotion expression across home and campus contexts would emerge for African American college students. First, indicators of positive family emotion expression, positive campus

emotion expression, negative dominant family emotion expression, negative dominant campus emotion expression, negative submissive family emotion expression, and negative submissive campus emotion expression were entered in to the latent cluster model to estimate the number of latent profiles. A total of 10 models were conducted to compare profile solutions across a 1-profile solution to a 10-profile solution. Using the information criterion method for model selection (i.e., lower values for fit indices indicate better model fit; see Table 3), models were compared on a series of fit indices (i.e., BIC, AIC, and AIC3). Comparison of model fit indices suggested that either a 5-profile solution or 10-profile solution fit the data best. Considering the lack of reliability for the AIC method of model selection we concluded that a 5-profile solution was most appropriate for the data (Tein, Coxe, & Cham, 2013). Additionally, lastly, ease of interpretability typically decreases with an increasing number of profiles. Thus, it was easier to interpret the 5-profile solution overall and distinguish between individual profiles.

Table 3

Class Enumeration for Step-1 of Latent Profile Analysis

Model	Fit Statistics				
	LL	Npar	BIC (LL)	SABIC (LL)	AIC (LL)
1-profile	-2096.8841	12	4256.6691	4218.6588	4217.7682
2-profile	-1971.7428	25	4074.5294	3995.3412	3993.4857
3-profile	-1931.3399	38	4061.8663	3941.5002	3938.6799
4-profile	-1886.3516	51	4040.0323	3878.4884	3874.7032
5-profile	*-1843.2724*	*64*	*4022.0167*	*3819.2949*	*3814.5448*
6-profile	-1815.658	77	4034.9304	3791.0308	3785.3159
7-profile	-1803.955	90	4079.6672	3794.5897	3787.9099
8-profile	-1769.7148	103	4079.3296	3753.0742	3745.4296

Table 3 (Continued)

9-profile	-1748.8644	116	4105.7714	3738.3382	3729.7287
10-profile	-1738.564	129	4153.3133	3744.7023	3735.1279

Note. The chosen model is presented in italics. Fit was evaluated with the BIC, SABIC, AND

AIC. LL = log likelihood; Npar = number of parameters; BIC = Bayesian Information Criteria;

SABIC = sample-adjusted Bayesian Information Criteria; AIC = Akaike Information Criteria

Profiles of contextual emotion expression are displayed in Figure 1 with raw means of the

expression variables and Figure 2 with standardized means of the expression variables. Profile 1

(n = 49; 26%) is referred to as the *High Positive and Negative Submissive Expression* profile.

Students in *High Positive and Negative Submissive Expression* were characterized by higher

expression overall relative to the mean, high family emotion expression relative to campus

emotion expression, and high positive emotion expression relative to negative expression (with

the exception of negative submissive emotion). Students in profile 2 (n = 8; 5%), *More Family*

Expression, expressed high family emotion in comparison to campus and high positive emotion

relative to negative emotion. This profile was also distinguished by extremely low emotion

expression in the campus context. Profile 3 (n = 24; 13%), *Low Family and Campus Expression*,

included students who expressed low emotion relative to the sample mean, expressed similar

levels of emotion across context, and reported greater positive emotion than negative emotion.

Students in profile 4 (n = 45; 24%), *More Campus Positive and Negative Dominant Expression*,

expressed greater emotion on campus compared to the family and greater negative emotion

relative to positive emotion. Lastly, profile 5 (n = 63; 33%), *More Positive and Less Negative*

Dominant Expression, included students who expressed moderate levels of emotion expression

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relative to the sample mean, expressed greater positive emotion relative to negative emotion, and expressed emotion similarly across home and campus contexts. In summary, 5 profiles of emotion expression in the family and on campus emerged: 3 of which emotion expression was consistent across contexts (i.e., *High Positive and Negative Submissive Expression*, *Low Family and Campus Expression*, and *More Positive and Less Negative Dominant Expression*) and 2 of which emotion expression was different between family and campus (i.e., *More Family Expression* and *More Campus Positive and Negative Dominant Expression)*.
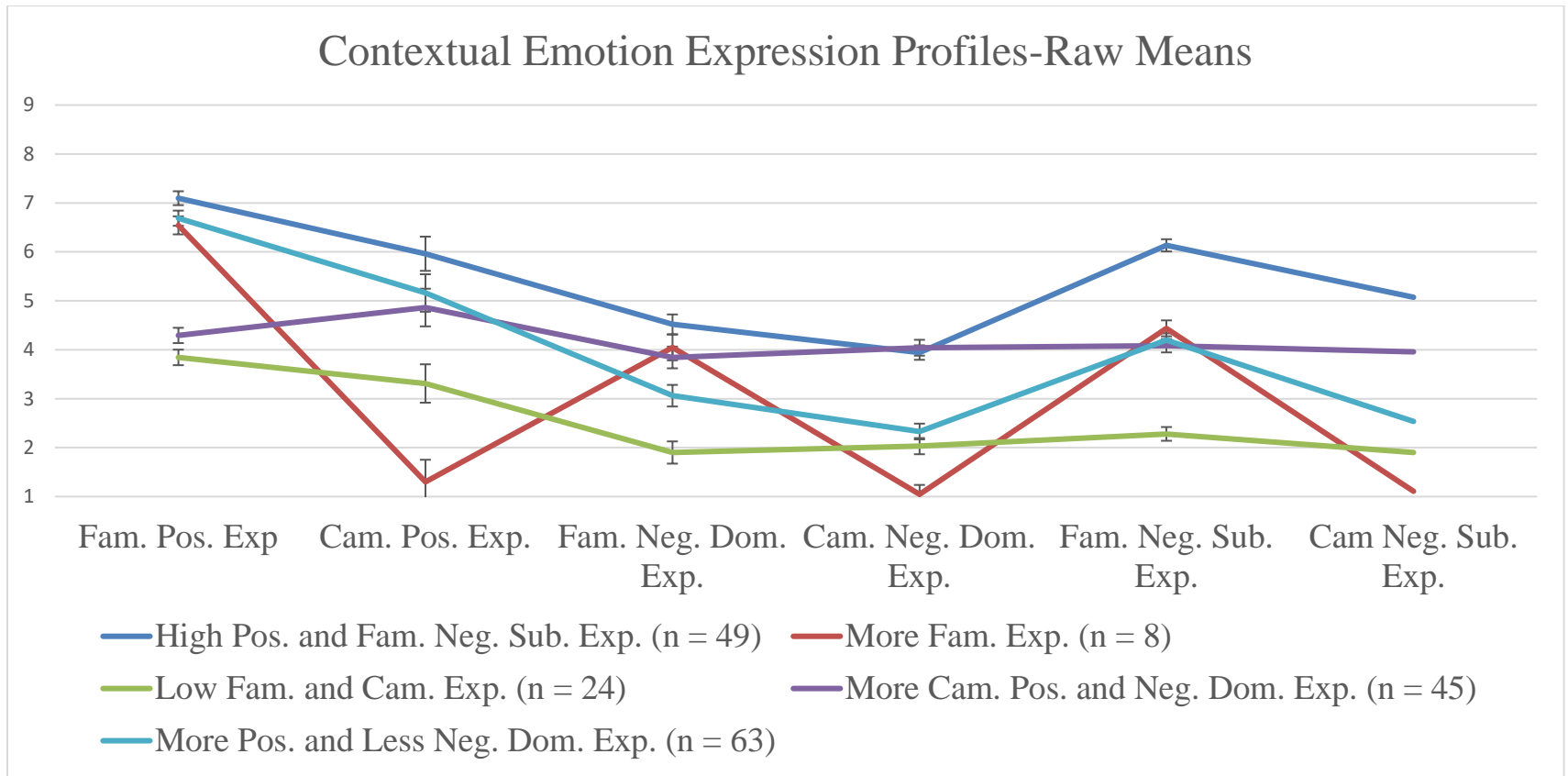
Figure 1. Raw Means for Profiles of Contextual Emotion Expression. Error bars represent standard errors.

pos = positive; emo = emotion; exp = expression; neg = negative; dom = dominant; sub = submissive
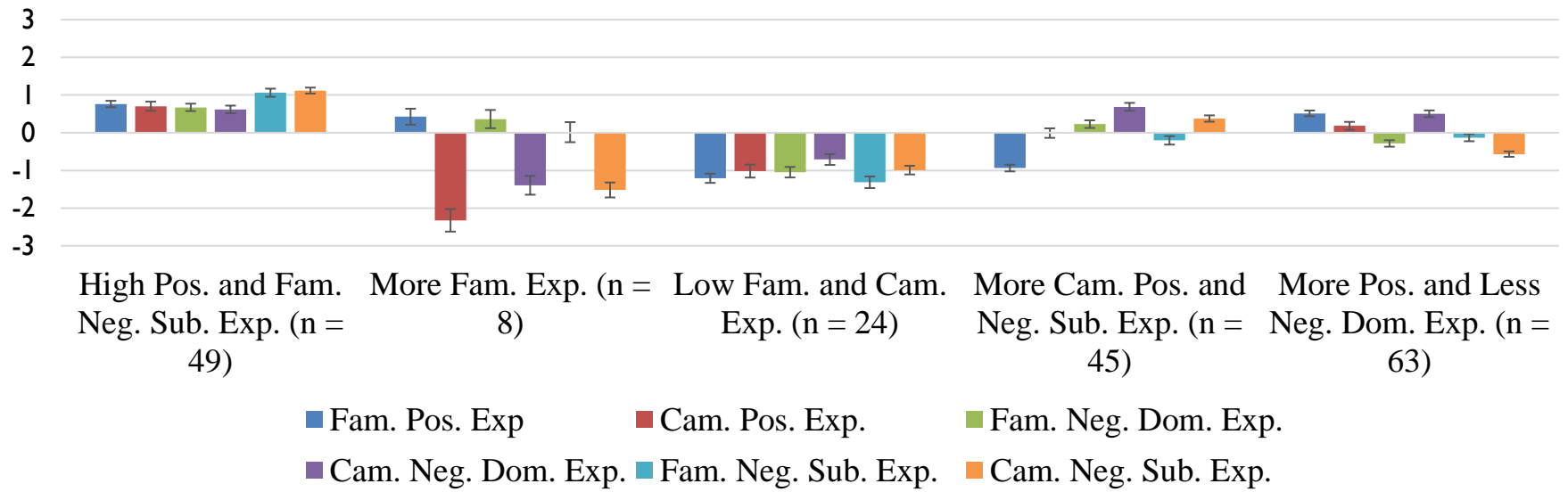
Figure 2. Standardized Means for Profiles of Emotion Expression in Comparison to the Entire Sample. Error bars represent standard

errors. pos = positive; emo = emotion; exp = expression; neg = negative; dom = dominant; sub = submissive

Prediction of Profiles by College Campus Type and Racial Discrimination Experiences

In steps 2 and 3 of Vermunt's approach to LPA, I examined college campus racial composition type and racial discrimination as predictors of profile membership. I hypothesized that college campus racial composition type (i.e., HBCU, PWI, racially diverse) would predict profile membership based on family and campus emotion expression, such that students who attended an HBCU would be more likely to be in a profile with similar levels of positive and negative emotion expression in the family context compared to the campus context and students who attended a PWI would be more likely to be in a profile with greater levels of negative emotion expression in the family relative to the campus context. Lastly, I hypothesized that racial discrimination would predict family and campus emotion expression profile membership such that students who experienced greater levels of racial discrimination on campus would be more likely to be in a profile with greater levels of negative emotion expression in the family compared to campus context.

Given the conclusion from Step-1 of Vermunt's approach to LPA, a 5-class solution was estimated in Step-2, during which the probabilities of participants' likelihood of being placed in specific profiles based on posterior probabilities was estimated and saved for the subsequent step. Step-3 then estimated posterior probabilities as they related to college campus type and racial discrimination on campus. According to Wald tests, school was not a significant predictor of profile membership, $\chi^2 = 8.83$, $p = .36$, whereas racial discrimination was a significant predictor of profile membership, $\chi^2 = 1.00$, $p = .041$. More specifically, students who reported more frequent racial discrimination were more likely to be in the *More Family Expression* and *More Campus Positive* profile than the *High Positive and Negative Submissive Expression* profile ($\chi^2 = 4.13$, $p = .042$), the *Low Family and Campus Expression* profile ($\chi^2 = 4.14$, $p =$

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.042), and the *More Positive and Less Negative Dominant Expression* profile ($\chi^2 = 5.04$, $p = .025$).

Discussion

The overall goal of this study was to explore contextual influences of emotion expression among African American college students across the family and campus context. These contextual influences were examined among African American college students from three college campus racial composition types: a predominately White institution (PWI), a historically Black college/university (HBCU), and a racially diverse campus. I applied Boykin's (1986) Triple Quandary Theory to understanding African Americans' emotion-related behavior across contexts given that Boykin used this theory to suggest that African Americans adjust their behaviors according to context and the cultural/racial background of those they interact with in different settings. Further theoretical framing for the importance of context with regard to African Americans' emotion-related behaviors was considered using the Integrative Conceptual Model of Parental Socialization (Dunbar, Leerkes, Coard, Supple, & Calkins, 2017), which proposes that African American families strategically equip their children with emotion-related skill to navigate different contexts. Consistent with these theories, I expected African American college students' emotion expression to vary with the context in which they report expressing emotion.

My first hypothesis regarding higher positive emotion expression in the family context relative to the campus context and similar levels of dominant and submissive negative emotion across the family and campus context was partially supported; both positive emotion expression and negative (i.e., dominant and submissive) emotion expression was higher in the family context compared to the campus context. This is somewhat consistent with previous literature on

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emotion socialization in African American families, which suggests that African Americans are similar to families of other racial/ethnic groups in that they are more likely to express positive emotion in the family context (Hill & Tyson, 2008; Morelen, Jacob, Suveg, Jones, & Thommasin, 2013; Nelson et al., 2012; McCoy & Raver, 2011). Although I expected that there would be similar negative emotion expression across the family and campus context due to the Integrative Conceptual Model of Parental Socialization (Dunbar, Leerkes, Coard, Supple, & Calkins, 2017), it may not be that surprising that results demonstrate greater negative emotion expression within the family context in comparison to the campus context. For the same reason that African American parents may socialize a restriction in negative emotion expression in the family as practice for restricting negative emotion in public and private settings, so too, African American college students may be engaging in the restrictive negative emotion expression on their college campuses that was taught to them in their homes as protection. Therefore, the study findings suggest that African Americans may be more trusting of all of their emotion expression with family members relative to less familiar or less close individuals in the college campus context. Whether this pattern can specifically be attributed to joint emotion and racial socialization practices that occur in the home should be the focus of future research.

The second hypothesis that profiles of emotion expression for the family context and campus context would emerge was supported. Five profiles of emotion expression emerged: *High Positive and Negative Submissive Expression*, *More Family Expression*, *Low Family and Campus Expression*, *More Campus Positive and Dominant Expression*, and *More Positive and Less Negative Dominant Expression*. The current study adds to the existing literature by expanding upon profiles of African American maternal emotion expression (Nelson, O'Brien, et al., 2012). Additionally, the current study includes different contexts of in which individuals

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report positive and negative emotion expression. The *More Positive and Negative Submissive Expression* profile expressed moderate levels of negative submissive emotion in both contexts in comparison to positive emotion (see Figure 1). These moderate levels of negative submissive emotion were the highest among the sample (see Figure 2). Previous work has suggested that African American mothers are concerned about their children's negative submissive emotions in particular, as they believe such displays jeopardize their success in public contexts (Nelson, Leerkes, O'Brien, Calkins, & Marcovitch, 2012). Thus, it's interesting to see that students in the *More Positive and Negative Submissive Expression* profile expressed moderate levels of negative submissive emotion overall. Perhaps the family emotional climate of these students is generally supportive and this facilitated comfort with the expression of emotion on campus. Participants in the *More Campus Positive and Dominant Expression* profile expressed slightly higher levels of emotion in the campus context (with the exception of negative submissive emotion; see Figure 2). Furthermore, the *More Campus Positive and Dominant Expression* profile demonstrated the lowest levels of positive emotion in the family, along with the *Low Family and Campus Expression* profile (see Figure 2). Given these students' slightly higher expression of positive emotion on campus compared to negative emotion these students appear to be expressing emotion in ways that are consistent with socialization messages that have been documented among African American mothers (i.e., caution in regard to negative emotion displays in public). In contrast to these messages participants in the *More Campus Positive and Dominant Expression* profile may have a family emotional climate which is less supportive of positive emotion displays.

While I can only speculate about students' family emotional climate with the current study it builds on previous work with profiles of African American mothers' emotion expression.

Nelson, O'Brien, et al. found that African American mothers were significantly more likely to be in the high positive/low negative expression profile compared to European American mothers, who were more represented in the very high negative profile (2012). Authors attribute this contrast in expression patterns to the emotion socialization goals of African American families, which include regard for context and caution about negative emotion expression altogether. Thus, the African American students in the current study largely reflect the socialization approach of African American families generally (i.e., higher positive emotion expression than negative emotion expression). Given the replication of African American samples reporting higher positive emotion expression than negative emotion expression (see Labella, 2018 for a review), there appears to be building evidence of there being a preference for the expression of positive emotion among African Americans that may be reflective of the broader African American culture and Afrocultural ethos of communalism. Specifically, more communalist cultures tend to prioritize the expression of emotions that allow for connection, harmony, and cohesiveness in relationships (see Halberstadt & Lozada, 2011 for a review), a characteristic of many positive emotions. Although Boykin (1983) described the Afrocultural ethos of affect as valuing emotion expression and emotion-related information broadly, the current study may help to further refine this ethos by incorporating the preference for positive emotion. Although this preference stems from African American cultural values it is most likely influenced by racial discrimination experiences as well.

I hypothesized that students who experienced greater levels of racial discrimination would report higher levels of negative emotion expression in the home compared to the family context. This hypothesis was not supported; although racial discrimination significantly predicted African American students' emotion expression profiles, more frequent racial

discrimination was associated with a higher likelihood of being in the *Less Family Expression/More Campus Expression* profile. That is, students who experienced more racial discrimination on campus were also likely to express slightly higher levels of emotion on campus than in the family. Although I hypothesized that racial discrimination would predict a profile of differential emotion expression across home and campus contexts, the fact that more frequent racial discrimination was related to a profile in which emotion expression was slightly higher on campus than in the home is surprising. Jones and colleagues (2014) demonstrated that African American students reported a variety of emotional responses to racial discrimination experiences, yet this study relied on self-report of the emotions that students felt in relation to imagined experiences of racial discrimination rather than observed or explicitly expressed emotion. While I cannot conclude that racial discrimination on campus caused higher expression on campus compared to the family, the results from the current study, coupled with the conclusions from the Jones et al. (2014) study, contribute to a building literature linking racial discrimination experiences to African Americans' emotion-related behavior (e.g., emotion understanding; Pearlin, Schieman, Fazio, & Meersman, 2005; Odom, Garrett-Peters, Vernon-Feagans, & Family Life Project Investigators, 2016). Thus, imagined and reported experiences of racial discrimination on campus have been associated with emotional responses and emotion expression on campus and in the family, suggesting the importance of racial discrimination in African Americans' emotion-related behavior.

Lastly, null findings emerged for my hypotheses around college campus racial composition type as a predictor of profiles of African American students' emotion expression in the family and on campus. One explanation for these null findings is that students did not consider the racial demographics of their campus when reporting emotion expression in the

family and campus context. The previous studies of African Americans' emotion expression on predominantly White college campuses suggests that the restriction observed may be less about the interpersonal social interactions and have more so to do with college institutions as a whole (Vrana & Rollock, 1996; 1998; 2002). Additionally, literature on African American's impression management implies that college student behavior is a result of the attitudes and beliefs fostered within the context of predominantly White and historically Black campuses (Fries-Britt & Tuner, 2002), features that may be more related to students' race-related experiences in these settings as reflected in the significant findings of racial discrimination predicting profiles of contextual emotion expression. Taken together, the null findings of college campus type on African Americans' contextual emotion expression suggest that mere attendance of a school is not enough to account for the emotion-related behavior of African Americans on college campuses.

Strengths and Limitations

The current study extends current knowledge of African American emotion expression by considering the emotion expression of non-parental African Americans. The SEFQ is a validated measure of emotion expression, but it has primarily been from the perspective of parents as opposed to the college student sample used in the current study, which has only been done in one study to my knowledge (Morelen et al., 2013). While this feature is unique it also presents a challenge, because the measure originates from the family context and is most likely better suited for considering emotion expression as a form of parental modeling in the home than as typical emotion expression in a college campus setting.

The current study also extends emotion expression literature beyond the family context by assessing emotion expression on campus. This was accomplished through the modification of the SEFQ to include instructions that asked participants how they express emotion on campus. It

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is important to note that question content was not changed; participants answered the same exact questions with regard to emotion expression in the family and on campus. This introduces the question of whether the modification effectively distinguished between the family and campus context. Although results from the paired samples t-test suggest that participants did report differential emotion expression when asked about emotion expression at home versus on campus, the current study relies on self-report across contexts. Thus, one could argue that we are not actually measuring context by simply altering instructions.

One of the predictors of what I refer to as contextual emotion expression was college campus racial composition type. College campus racial composition type was an important feature of our study considering that it intended for students to represent different schools. This was not the case, as most students were recruited from the racially diverse institution, which was most likely due to the use of extra credit compensation. More importantly, college campus racial composition type was essentially a proxy for the racial demographics of one's school. Therefore, it was a nominal variable that may not have held any significance to participants in the way that we expected.

With regard to recruitment of African American college students, the data collection team encountered a number of challenges when recruiting for the current study. The most prominent issue being recruiting adequate numbers of students from each college campus. Both online and in-person strategies were utilized. While in-person recruitment seemed effective in theory the length of the survey deterred many students from completing the survey. Many students started the online survey and never completed the survey, thus reducing our power with a complex analysis such as LPA. As a result the data collection team had to constantly adjust their recruitment approach throughout the course of the study. This may have presented challenges in

terms of managing data given that several changes were made to the compensation structure throughout the collection process.

Future Directions

Future studies should assess the campus context (or at least its relation to students on campus) in a more rigorous way. Thus, in addition to public information available about universities researchers should assess student perceptions of their campus. Additionally, the campus version of the SEFQ needs to be validated. Perhaps participants would answer differently if they are presented with the campus instructions alone (i.e., without the original version). Regardless self-report is limited to the extent that participants answer truthfully, so the ideal method to assess contextual emotion expression is direct observation within the home and on campus. It would be interesting to see whether profiles of African American emotion expression still emerge with this method.

Furthermore, future studies should consider outcomes of contextual emotion expression for African American students. The ways they express emotion on campus are likely to impact academic success as they navigate institutions in which they may encounter people from diverse backgrounds and potential racial discrimination. It's important to note that the family context and campus context are likely to reinforce each other, such that messages African American youth receive at home influence the type of schools they choose to attend and ultimately their college experiences away from the home. Thus, it may be beneficial to consider emotion socialization in future work.

Conclusions

African American young adults in the current study showed a considerable amount of variation in emotion expression with regard to valence and context. While 5 profiles of emotion

expression in the family and on campus emerged, it seems that familial messages about emotion persist even when African American youth are in a public space such as a college campus (i.e., greater positive expression than negative expression). Overall these results suggest that African American youth mostly resemble parental patterns of emotion expression. The experience of racial discrimination may call for them to employ non-traditional types of emotion expression (i.e., greater emotion expression in public compared to the family). Thus, the emotion-related skill that African American families intend to equip their children with were evident beyond the family specifically.

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Table 2

Correlations for Demographics, School, Race-related, and Emotion-related Context (N = 188)

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Gender	–	.11	-.14	-.10	.07	.05	.13	.09	-.00	.16*
2. School		–	-.27**	-.05	.02	-.13	.01	-.05	-.11	-.06
3. Racial Demographics of Friends at Home			–	.06	-.10	.08	.02	.11	.15*	.16*
4. Racial Discrimination on Campus				–	-.07	.12	.09	.05	.27**	.15†
5. Family Positive Emotion Expression					–	.23*	.54**	.39**	-.03	.14
6. Family Negative Dominant Emotion Expression						–	.48**	.13	.48**	.31**
7. Family Negative Submissive Emotion Expression							–	.31**	.18*	.58**
8. Campus Positive Emotion Expression								–	.40**	.53**
9. Campus Negative Dominant Emotion Expression									–	.50**
10. Campus Negative Submissive Emotion Expression										–

†$p < .10$, *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

Table 4

Parameter Estimates of Covariates Step-3 Latent Profile Analysis (Profile 1 as Referent Group)

		Profile 2				Profile 3			
	Wald	**Coeff (SE)**	**95% CI**	**OR**	**OR 95% CI**	**Coeff (SE)**	**95% CI**	**OR**	**OR 95% CI**
Intercept	9.52*	-2.27 (1.57)	[-5.35, 0.81]	0.10	[0.00, 2.24]	0.45 (1.36)	[-2.22, 3.12]	1.57	[0.11, 22.55]
School	8.83								
PWI		0.00 (0.00)	[0.00, 0.00]	0.00	[0.00, 0.00]	0.00 (0.00)	[0.00, 0.00]	0.00	[0.00, 0.00]
Diverse		1.81 (1.24)	[-0.62, 4.24]	6.11	[0.54, 69.44]	0.45 (0.64)	[-0.80, 1.70]	1.57	[0.45, 5.50]
HBCU		0.81 (1.45)	[-2.03, 3.65]	2.25	[0.13, 38.55]	0.50 (0.74)	[-0.95, 1.95]	1.65	[0.39, 7.03]
Racial Disc.	9.99*	-0.56 (0.92)	[-2.36, 1.24]	0.57	[0.09, 3.47]	-1.22 (1.02)	[-3.22, 0.78]	0.30	[0.04, 2.18]

Note. Estimates of zero for the PWI covariate reflects that PWI is the referent group for school comparisons. *$p < .05$ - Comparisons based on Wald Statistic Paired Comparisons; PWI = Predominately White Institution, HBCU = Historically Black College/University.

Table 4 (Continued)

	Profile 4				Profile 5		
Coeff (SE)	**95% CI**	**OR**	**OR 95% CI**	**Coeff (SE)**	**95% CI**	**OR**	**OR 95% CI**
-1.67*	[-3.18, -0.16]	0.19	[0.04, 0.85]	0.39 (0.81)	[-1.20, 1.98]	1.48	[0.30, 7.23]
0.00 (0.00)	[0.00, 0.00]	0.00	[0.00, 0.00]	0.00 (0.00)	[0.00, 0.00]	0.00	[0.00, 0.00]
0.60 (0.54)	[-0.46, 1.66]	1.82	[0.63, 5.25]	0.24 (0.51)	[-0.76, 1.24]	1.27	[0.47, 3.45]
-0.13 (0.68)	[-1.47, 1.20]	0.88	[0.23, 3.33]	0.75 (0.55)	[-0.33, 1.83]	2.12	[0.72, 6.22]
0.88 (0.43)*	[0.04, 1.72]	2.41	[1.04, 5.60]	-0.36 (0.58)	[-1.50, 0.78]	0.70	[0.22, 2.17]

Note. Estimates of zero for the PWI covariate reflects that PWI is the referent group for school comparisons. *p <

.05 - Comparisons based on Wald Statistic Paired Comparisons; PWI = Predominately White Institution, HBCU

= Historically Black College/University.

Table 5

Wald Statistics of Pairwise Comparisons of Profiles

	Profile 1 Comparisons				Profile 2 Comparisons			Profile 3 Comparisons		Profile 4 Comparisons
	Profile 2	Profile 3	Profile 4	Profile 5	Profile 3	Profile 4	Profile 5	Profile 4	Profile 5	Profile 4
Intercept	2.08	0.11	4.70*	0.23	1.95	0.14	2.82	2.22	0.00	6.30*
School	2.74	0.6	2.14	1.98	1.73	0.93	3.48	1.17	0.58	4.84
Racial Disc.	0.36	1.43	4.13*	0.39	0.26	2.56	0.04	4.14*	0.61	5.04*

Note. *p < .05; Disc = Discrimination

Appendix D: Self-Expressiveness in the Family and On Campus Questionnaire

This is a questionnaire about the expressiveness people show in different contexts. To answer the questionnaire, try to think of how frequently you express yourself during each of the following situations with family members and place your responses from 1 (not at all frequently) to 9 (very frequently) in the "Expressiveness with Family" section on the left. Then think of how frequently you express yourself during each of the following situations with others on campus and place your responses from 1 (not at all frequently) to 9 (very frequently) in the "Expressiveness with Others on Campus" section on the right. Please choose the number that best indicates how frequently you express yourself in that situation when it occurs. Some items may be difficult to judge. However, it is important to answer every item. Try to respond quickly and honestly about yourself. There are no right or wrong answers, and we do not believe that any answer is better than another.

	Expressiveness with Family	Expressiveness with others on Campus
Telling someone how nice they look. (SEFQ_1)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)
Showing contempt (making fun) of another's actions. (SEFQ_2)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)
Expressing dissatisfaction with someone's behavior. (SEFQ_3)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)

Praising someone for good work. (SEFQ_4)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)
Blaming another individual for problems. (SEFQ_5)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)
Surprising someone with a little gift or favor. (SEFQ_6)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)
Crying after an unpleasant disagreement. (SEFQ_7)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)
Putting down other people's interests. (SEFQ_8)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)
Showing dislike for someone. (SEFQ_9)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)
Seeking approval for something you did. (SEFQ_10)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)
Expressing embarrassment over a stupid mistake. (SEFQ_11)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)
Falling to pieces when tension builds up. (SEFQ_12)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)
Expressing excitement over future plans. (SEFQ_13)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)
Showing admiration. (SEFQ_14)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)
Expressing disappointment over something that didn't work out. (SEFQ_15)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)
Expressing sympathy for someone's troubles. (SEFQ_16)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)
Expressing deep affection or love for someone. (SEFQ_17)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)

Quarreling with an individual. (SEFQ_18)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)
Spontaneously hugging a person. (SEFQ_19)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)
Sulking (pouting) over unfair treatment by someone. (SEFQ_20)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)
Cuddling with an individual. (SEFQ_21)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)
Showing how upset you are after a bad day. (SEFQ_22)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)
Trying to cheer up someone who is sad. (SEFQ_23)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)
Crying when a loved one goes away for a time. (SEFQ_24)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)
Telling people how happy you are. (SEFQ_25)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)
Threatening someone. (SEFQ_26)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)
Criticizing someone for being late. (SEFQ_27)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)
Expressing gratitude for a favor (SEFQ_28)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)
Apologizing for being late. (SEFQ_29)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)	▼ 1 (not at all frequently) (1 ... 9 (very frequently) (9)

Appendix E: College Campuses Experiences Measure

This set of questions asks your opinion about your own experiences on your college campus as a member of your racial/ethnic group.

Mark **NEVER** if the event did not happen, ALMOST NEVER if the event happened 1-3 times, SOMETIMES if the event happened

4-6 times, ALMOST ALWAYS if the event happened 7-9 times, or ALWAYS if the event happened 10 or more times

Statement	Never (0)	Almost Never (1-3)	Sometimes (4-6)	Almost Always (7-9)	Always (10+)
How often do professors think that you have plagiarized or cheated on your class assignment?					
How often have professors told you that you were being					

disrespectful in an interaction with them?					
How often have you been told that you were being "too loud" while interacting with your friends on campus?					
How often have campus police thought that you were doing something wrong (e.g., being in a location that you shouldn't be, preparing to steal something, etc.)					
How often have you been harassed by campus police					

(physically and/or abusive language)?					
How often do people on campus go out of their way to speak to you as you pass?					
How often do people that you don't know smile when you approach them?					
How often do people that you don't know speak or greet you as you approach them?					
How often do you receive "hate stares" from people outside your racial group?					

How often do you receive "fear stares" from outside your racial group?					
Do you generally feel welcome when you walk into classrooms on campus?					
Do people outside your racial group ask you questions as if you are an expert on ALL issues concerning your race?					
Do professional men or women of DIFFERENT racial backgrounds talk to you about career options?					

Do professional men or women of YOUR OWN racial group talk to you about career options?				
Do you ever feel "INVISIBLE" when you walk into a group made up mainly of people from other racial groups?				

Appendix F: Racial makeup of friend group

Please use the following answer choices to describe the general racial makeup of your friend groups

Friends you hang out with (1):   Friends you're emotionally close with (2):

At Home (Home)	At Home (Home)
Almost All Black people	Almost All Black people
More Black than people of other races	More Black than people of other races
Same number of Black people and people of other races	Same number of Black people and people of other races
Less Black people than people of other races	Less Black people than people of other races
Almost all people of other races	Almost all people of other races