Chapter I

Introduction

The United States has a colorful racial history in which institutional laws and governance have worked towards the oppression of entire racial and ethnic groups (Johnson, Rush, & Feagin, 2000). More than forty years after the end of Jim Crow and the civil rights movement, racism continues to plague populations of color on a routine basis; African Americans are largely the targets of such racism (Johnson et al., 2000). Despite doing away with laws that legally sanction racism, inequities in the educational, criminal justice, and economic sectors persist. Within the education realm, majority African American school jurisdictions often lack the tangible and intangible resources found in predominantly White jurisdictions (Brooks-Gunn, Klebanov, & Duncan, 1996), African American students are often tracked into less competitive academic trajectories than White students (Oakes, 1985). Institutions of higher learning that serve predominantly African American populations routinely receive less funding than majority serving institutions (Richardson & Iii, 2004). Within the criminal justice system, African Americans are more likely to receive the death penalty (Jacobs, Carmichael, & Kent, 2005), and more likely to receive harsher sentences overall compared to individuals of other racial groups when they commit similar crimes (Bushway & Piehl, 2001). Similarly, the economic pursuits of African Americans are also challenged by housing discrimination (Lauren & Robert, 2004; Ross & Turner, 2005) and unfair loan practices (Feagin & Imani, 1994; Williams, Nesiba, & McConnell, 2005). Essentially, the rights

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and opportunities made available to individuals of other racial and ethnic groups are often systematically denied to African Americans.

African Americans, as a community, have historically played a major role in the advancement of their racial group despite being the victims of pervasive systemic racism (Johnson, Rush, & Feagin, 2000). Established organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and the Black Panthers are only a few of the African American organizations that have worked towards racial parity and improved social conditions for African Americans. In addition, numerous individuals within the African American community have worked and fought for racial equality and progress for the African American community (Battle & Wright, 2002; Fendrich & Lovoy, 1988; Mattis et al., 2004). Furthermore, accounts from the Civil Rights era suggest college-aged African Americans were instrumental in this movement as well (Thompson, 2004). For instance, many of the leaders and ground-workers for organizations like the NAACP, SNCC, and SCLC were young adults who desired social change.

Today African Americans are faced with a very different racial climate than they were forty years ago. Federal and state laws sanctioning racism and discriminatory practices have largely been eliminated and as a result significant strides have been made in the educational, economic, political and social sectors for African Americans (Roscigno, 2000). The economic standing of the racial group is on the rise (Ross & Turner, 2005), and more African Americans are holding prominent political positions (Williams & Morris, 1987). It could be argued that most of the current generation of

college-aged African American adults have been spared much of the blatant racism that previous generations have endured. This suggests a larger question regarding the involvement of African American college-aged adults in contributing to the betterment of the African American community. Specifically, given the strides that have been made in race-relations and the doors that have been opened for African Americans, some may question if there is still a need for large-scale social action efforts that solely focus on improving the lot of African Americans.

Social Responsibility in the African American Community

Contemporary portrayals of African Americans in the media paint a largely negative picture of this population. Popular media portrayals suggest African American possess a variety of negative traits, are primarily concerned with their individual successes and are less concerned about the conditions of the larger society (Dates, 1990). Moreover, individuals within the racial group are often depicted as dangerous and lacking the wherewithal to effectively contribute to any sector of society (Dixon, 2006). Such portrayals are problematic, as many African American adults actively seek out opportunities to contribute to society as well as their racial community (Ginwright, James, Kirshner, O'Donoghue, & McLaughlin, 2002; Watts, 1992). Such ideals are actually widespread within the African American community as there is a longstanding ideology touting the importance of social obligation or "giving back to the community" (Shaw, 1996). In short, there is a cultural emphasis on social responsibility. Social responsibility is conceptualized as a sense of citizenship obligations, awareness of social injustices, and a commitment to work towards social justice (Olney & Grande, 1995). The majority of the social responsibility literature examines service-learning participation

(Markus, Howard, & King, 1993; Reeb, Sammon, & Isackson, 1999) and the personality construct generativity (McAdams & de St. Aubin, 1992) among predominantly White populations. Within this body of literature very little consideration is given to cultural factors that might be related to the construct. Furthermore, little is known about the extent to which African Americans endorse social responsibility as a cultural tenet or how they go about fulfilling it.

The very meaning of social responsibility suggests factors such as social identification and ideological stance are influential in assessing social responsibility endorsement. A number of scholars have proposed that endorsement of social responsibility to the African American community is at least partially influenced by the meaning and significance of race in individual's lives (Brookins, 1999). Similarly, other scholars suggest previous experiences with race are influential in African American's social responsibility endorsement (Watts, Williams, & Jagers, 2003). For instance, research in this area indicates that African Americans who report racially stressful encounters also report greater social responsibility endorsement (Mattis et al., 2004).

In spite of the growing body of literature focusing on the link between social responsibility and race-related factors, it is still unclear how social responsibility and perceptions of societal racism are linked. For instance, if individuals believe the racial disparities found in education and health are largely a result of institutional racism, are they more likely to endorse social responsibility to the racial group compared to individuals who believe these inequities are not rooted in institutional racism? This question is of particular interest given that the current generation of college-aged African Americans have had relatively few experiences with blatant, institutionalized racism. For

this reason, particular attention is devoted to understanding how social responsibility endorsement is associated with the attitudes individuals hold about their racial status and their experiences with racial discrimination.

The Present Study

During young adulthood, individuals are inundated with opportunities to become involved in organized structured activities. Although many of these activities are athletic or social in nature, others are politically and community-oriented. In a similar vein, opportunities to become engaged in political and community efforts are also less structured, such as informal mentoring, staying informed about political and social causes relevant to African Americans, or encouraging other African Americans to become involved in causes relevant to the racial group. Nevertheless, college is a time where many young adults are presented with opportunities to forge lasting commitments to social issues and causes significant to them (Cole & Stewart, 1996). The college environment provides access to organizations and activities that focus on contributing to the racial community, as well as organizations and activities that strive towards "the common good." For these reasons African American college students will be the focus of this research. Although service to the institution, community, and wider society is often touted as a central principle in the higher education system (Kezar, Chambers, & Burkhardt, 2005), it remains unclear how African American students within this system enact these principles in ways that benefit their racial group. A quantitative data analysis approach using information gathered from a survey instrument is used to investigate the ways in which social responsibility endorsement is related to race-related factors among

college-aged African Americans.

Previous research suggests the ways in which social responsibility plays out in the African American community may not be fully captured by standard measures of the construct (Mattis, 2001). This critique is particularly relevant for the current research, as the primary aim is to examine the extent to which African Americans endorse social responsibility within their racial communities, not mainstream society. Although endorsement of social responsibility to the racial group may be evident by involvement in the electoral process or protest behavior, endorsement of social responsibility may also manifests in less explicit ways. Hence, the proposed study conceives of social responsibility to the racial group as a set of attitudes and behaviors that demonstrate a concern for the well-being of the African American community and a concern for social justice issues impacting African American people and institutions. As such, this study examines attitudes and behaviors aimed at improving the social conditions of African American people.

The current study proposes that social responsibility endorsement among college-aged African American adults is associated with a host of race-related factors. The primary goal of this research is to begin to establish a race-relevant framework for studying social responsibility endorsement *among* African Americans, *towards* the African American community. A critical first step in this process is to investigate how social responsibility endorsement is related to experiences with racial discrimination and the meaning and significance individuals ascribe to their race. Although empirical research suggests racial discrimination and racial identity are influential in the psychological and academic functioning of African American young adults (Caldwell,

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Kohn-Wood, Schmeelk-Cone, Chavous, & Zimmerman, 2004; Sellers, Caldwell, Schmeelk-Cone, & Zimmerman, 2003; Sellers & Shelton, 2003), it is unclear how these variables are associated with other domains of functioning. Race-related attitudes and experiences are critical to a discussion of social responsibility.

This research also examines the role of background and contextual factors in social responsibility endorsement. In addition to more common background variables such as age, gender, and parent education, the current work also explores religious service attendance and employment status as factors related to social responsibility endorsement. Most relevant to a college-student population is the university context. For African American college students in particular, university racial composition is a critical factor in shaping their day-to-day reality. More specifically, previous research suggests university racial composition facilitates racial attitudes and beliefs among African American young adults (Cokley, 1999) as well as feelings of cultural connectedness (Allen, 1987). Hence, the current study also evaluates university racial composition as a critical factor associated with social responsibility endorsement among African American college students.

Underlying the African American tenet of social responsibility to the racial group may be a greater acknowledgement of the historical and present-day oppression that persists in the lives of African Americans. To evaluate this notion, the current dissertation explores the association between social responsibility and perceptions of societal racism. This research suggests that individuals who perceive societal racism as deeply embedded in the everyday experience of African Americans may be more committed to work towards eradicating social injustices and show greater endorsement of

social responsibility. This work also examines how other race-related factors (racial identity and racial discrimination) interact with perceptions of societal racism to moderate social responsibility endorsement.

Finally, while socially responsible individuals benefit the communities and causes they serve, there is evidence to suggest social responsibility endorsement is also associated with more positive psychological adjustment (Van Willigen, 2000). However, elderly White samples have been the focus of much of this research and it is unclear if these findings will replicate with a younger population of color who face unique race-related stressors. While African American young adults experience developmental challenges unique to their developmental stage, they also face instances of individual racism in their daily lives and the consequences of decades of systemic racial oppression in their communities. Together, these dynamics suggest the relationship between social responsibility and psychological outcomes might not be as straightforward for African American young adults as it is for elderly White populations. Hence, social responsibility may also be associated with negative psychological adjustment outcomes as it may be viewed as an additional stressor for African Americans who are left to manage the deleterious effects of racism and discrimination in their communities. The current study investigates this relationship.

Chapter II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This section reviews the social responsibility literature. First, the meaning of the construct social responsibility, as well as its multidimensional nature receive particular attention. Following this section, work that has been conducted with predominantly White populations is reviewed and discussed. This section then explores social responsibility among African Americans. Though church involvement and socioeconomic status are briefly discussed, race-based oppression and racial identity are of primary interest. Next, social responsibility among African Americans is contextualized in a section that focuses solely on social responsibility among African American college students. Next, to address the link between social responsibility and psychological outcomes, a review of the literature in that area is provided. Finally, the limitations of the literature, the conceptual framework, and the current study are presented.

Conceptualizations of Social Responsibility

Research on social responsibility suggests socially responsible individuals show a willingness to accept the consequences of their own behavior, are dependable and trustworthy, and demonstrate a sense of obligation and commitment to the group (Gough, McClosky, & Meehl, 1952). Scholars also offer that socially responsible individuals have a great concern for ethical and moral problems, endorse social justice for members of society, and are more engaged in the activities of their communities and broader society

(Gough et al., 1952). Gough and colleagues' (1952) conceptualization of social responsibility is inherently a multifaceted one. Essentially, this conceptualization implies that social responsibility is not only concerned with accountability to the wider society, but also accountability to one's self. Contemporary research places a greater focus on accountability and obligation to society (Cole & Stewart, 1996). Specifically, more recent research characterizes social responsibility as a sense of citizenship obligations, awareness of social injustices, and a commitment to work toward social justice (Olney & Grande, 1995). The current work adopts several features from the characterizations discussed above and posits that social responsibility is showing concern for members of society and its moral and ethical problems, demonstrating awareness of social justice, and making efforts to fight against social injustice.

The study of social responsibility has declined in recent years, as more recent empirical investigations have focused exclusively on civic engagement and activism. Although these concepts are features of social responsibility, the current work proposes that social responsibility is more encompassing than either civic engagement or activism alone. Civic engagement is concerned with individual's sense of concern and care for the development and well-being of larger society. More specifically, civic engagement acknowledges the responsibility and obligation many individuals ascribe to helping their country and improving society (Christiano, 1996; Flanagan, Bowes, Jonsson, Csapo, & Sheblanova, 1998). A small number of scholars who study civic engagement focus primarily on individuals' involvement in the democratic and political process (Sherrod, 2003), whereas others concentrate on volunteer and community service involvement as avenues for civic engagement (Van Willigen, 2000). In a sense, civic engagement tends

to focus on more formal behaviors related to the electoral process, democracy, and community service, while less formal and organized forms of engagement are disregarded. Activism is also a topic of interest within the literature. In many ways it is deemed riskier than civic engagement. Corning and Myers (2002) suggest an activist orientation is encompassed by various collective, social-political, problem-solving behaviors which may be institutionally bound or conventional, and span low-risk or high-risk.

Despite the apparent distinctions between civic engagement and activism it is clear that both constructs suggest a level of social action at the individual level. Although the means of achieving particular goals are sometimes dissimilar, civic engagement and activism both seek to achieve desired goals within society. Hence, this work suggests social responsibility is in many ways a conceptual hybrid of civic engagement and activism. Specifically, social responsibility embraces the democratic nature, formality and structure that are intrinsic to civic engagement, while also acknowledging the avant-garde, high-risk orientation of activism. Furthermore, social responsibility focuses heavily on the social justice ideals that are characteristic of activism.

Social Responsibility: Attitudes and Behaviors

Measuring social responsibility is a complex task, as individuals can demonstrate their support for social responsibility in a number of ways. Social responsibility endorsement is evident in individuals' personal ideologies, attitudes, their behavior, and their motivations for particular behaviors. However, within the social responsibility literature there is a preoccupation with social responsibility behaviors. Particular attention has been given to volunteering, organization membership, activism, and political

behavior. While such behaviors (and a host of others) are critical to understanding the ways in which individuals contribute to their community, focusing solely on these types of behaviors oversimplifies our conceptualization of social responsibility. Individual's behavioral involvement in socially responsible behaviors does not provide in-depth information about intent or motivation of the individual. There are a number of reasons why individuals participate in behaviors, activities, and organizations that have community and social justice components. Such involvement may be professionally, socially, or economically rewarding to the individual, as well as beneficial to a particular community. Feeling a sense of responsibility to the racial community may not be the predominant, or even secondary, concern of individuals engaged in socially responsible behaviors.

In a similar manner, focusing solely on social responsibility attitudes does not provide an accurate picture of social responsibility endorsement. While it is necessary to gain a better understanding of individuals perspective towards social responsibility, focusing on this area alone only raises more questions about the link between attitudes and behaviors. What is particularly interesting is that attitudes towards social responsibility have been vaguely discussed in related bodies of literature focusing on African Americans. For instance, communalism, or the idea that individuals within a community are accountable for one another and share in group accomplishments and failures (Boykin, Jagers, Ellison, & Albury, 1997), touches on some aspects of social responsibility. More specifically, two key features of communalism are concern for group duties and responsibilities over individual concerns and an emphasis on sharing and contributing support of the group. While social responsibility attitudes are also concerned

with group matters and efforts to support the group, endorsement for social responsibility attitudes places a particular focuson social justice that is not evident in the communalism literature. Though other researchers have inquired about individuals attitudes regarding group well-being, this body of work fails to directly address issues related to social justice for African Americans and also lacks information regarding socially responsible behaviors.

To gain greater insight into social responsibility endorsement, it is important that the construct be studied from a multidimensional perspective. Studying both social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors in conjunction with one another likely provides greater information than just studying one of them alone. Ultimately, there is a need for this body of work to move past the one-dimensional perspective of social responsibility and move towards a more multidimensional perspective. This perspective would make distinctions between these constructs much more evident. For instance, a primary difference between these facets of social responsibility endorsement is that social responsibility attitudes focus more on what individuals *should* do, whereas the behavioral component of social places greter emphasis on what the particular individual actually does.I aruge that neither of these components is more important than the other, but that they simply provide different information about social responsibility endorsement.

The argument can be made that social responsibility endorsement absent of behavior cannot be classified as social responsibility, yet there is clear evidence to suggest structural constraints (e.g. time, money) inhibit social responsibility behaviors (Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995). For instance, individuals who face economic

challenges may be less likely to participate in social responsibility behaviors that pose a threat to their job security (e.g. union membership, strikes, walkouts, signing petitions) compared to individuals who do not face economic challenges. Similarly, certain types of social responsibility behaviors require extensive time commitments that may be difficult for some to meet. While individuals in both circumstances may hold attitudes that support a particular effort, external life situations render them less able to show their social responsibility endorsement (McAdam, 1986; Wall, 1995). Aside from contextual factors that inhibit or promote social responsibility endorsement, there is simply value in understanding the attitudes individuals hold about social responsibility separate from their behaviors, and vice versa.

Evidence of the importance of studying both social responsibility attitudes and behaviors separately is evident in work conducted by Stewart and colleagues (Stewart, Settles, & Winter, 1998). Stewart and others investigated the felt impact of social movements among three groups of college women: activists, engaged observers, and nonparticipants. Engaged observers were characterized as women who participated in social movements in less direct ways than activists. Specifically, these women were interested in observing and showing moral and financial support for social movements and causes, but were less likely to participate in protests and other overt activist behaviors. However, activists were more prone to engaging in traditional social responsibility behaviors such as protests, boycotts, and unionizing. The distinction between activists and engaged observers can be construed as a variation on the continuum of social responsibility. While some endorse social responsibility attitudes and become minimally involved in social justice efforts, others take on causes and become

fully engaged in achieving social justice. Despite this wide spectrum of social responsibility endorsement, Stewart and colleagues found that activists and engaged observers attributed similar levels of personal meaningfulness to the movements and that both groups reported similar political attitudes and actions at midlife (Stewart et al., 1998). Hence, the activists and engaged observers held similar attitudes about social responsibility, but differed from one another in their actual level of engagement. To account for this the authors argue that to gain a comprehensive understanding of social responsibility it is critical that the literature expand to also incorporate examinations of individuals' *attitudes* about social responsibility, as well as their social responsibility *behaviors*.

The complexity of social responsibility is also compounded by the lens through which individuals view the world. Specifically, race, age, religion, sexual orientation, and a host of other social identities influence the ways in which individuals endorse and act on their social responsibility believes. However, this has not been reflected in the social responsibility literature, as the default has been to treat social responsibility as if it operates the same for all groups and communities. For instance, early studies of social responsibility among African Americans focused primarily on voting behavior and other activities associated with the democratic process (Olsen, 1970). Such operationalization presents obvious problems as there is a checkered history regarding political behavior among African Americans. Within the African American community less informal behaviors may be more common. In addition to organizational membership and religious involvement, African Americans may be more likely to engage in behaviors that go unrecognized. For instance, many African Americans serve as mentors. Often these

mentoring relationships are unaffiliated with formal organizations and provide very little

formal structure. Similarly, others demonstrate "small acts" of social responsibility as

they occur in their daily lives (i.e. helping the elderly in a particular time of need,

contributing monetarily to a local community cause, taking someone into their home,

etc.). Empirical research rarely mentions these acts of social responsibility, but they are

particularly relevant to African Americans.

Predictors of Social Responsibility

Previous research suggests a host of demographic, sociological, political and

psychological factors are related to social responsibility endorsement (Bekkers, 2005).

White-collar workers, individuals who live in resource-rich neighborhoods, individuals

with higher levels of education and higher incomes are more likely to endorse social

responsibility compared to blue-collar workers, persons who live in poor neighborhoods,

and individuals with less education and lower incomes (Wilson, 2005). Among the

demographic factors related to social responsibility, many of them are indicators of

socioeconomic status. In fact, sociologists proposed the socioeconomic model of political

participation which suggests engagement in society is largely influenced by access to

resources (Verba & Nie, 1972). Traditional socioeconomic resources such as education

and income are included in the model, as well as less conventional indicators such as

individuals' skill set and time (Verba et al., 1995). These scholars assert that social

responsibility endorsement is greater among individuals with higher incomes, as these

individuals have the free time and civic skills necessary for social responsibility, in

addition to higher incomes (Verba et al., 1995).

Socioeconomic background is not the sole determinant of social responsibility

endorsement. There is literature to suggest there is a relationship between individuals'

political attitudes and social responsibility endorsement. For example, individuals who

hold political attitudes consistent with leftist-ideologies and have greater interest in

politics are more likely to be engaged in social responsibility behaviors (Bekkers, 2005).

Empirical studies also conclude that greater knowledge of political occurrences is related

to higher levels of activism (Bekkers, 2005; Lawless & Fox, 2001). Investigations of the

link between social responsibility and psychological variables yield significant findings

as well. Self-efficacy (Klobus-Edwards, Edwards, & Klemmack, 1978; Reeb, 2006;

Sherkat & Blocker, 1994), group consciousness (Duncan, 1999; Gurin, Miller, & Gurin,

1980), social support and sense of community (Omoto & Malsch, 2005) are linked to

higher levels of social responsibility endorsement. Bekkers (2005) examined personality

characteristics as predictors of social responsibility endorsement and found that

conscientiousness, extraversion, and empathetic concern were positively associated with

involvement in political and non-political voluntary associations. However, like

demographic, sociological, and political factors, psychological characteristics alone are

not entirely predictive of social responsibility.

Motivations for Social Responsibility

While the research literatures in psychology, political science and sociology have

identified a number of correlates of socially responsible behavior, understanding these

relationships does not explain *why* some individuals hold attitudes fight against social

injustice and others do not. Batson, Ahmad, and Tsang (2002) developed a framework to

explain motivations for social responsibility endorsement. The authors concluded that

individuals subscribe to one of four types of motivations when engaging in socially

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responsible behaviors: egoism, altruism, collectivism, and principlism.

Egoism, the earliest motivation discussed in the literature, suggests the ultimate goal of individuals who do good in society is to enhance their own self-interest (Batson, Ahmad, & Tsang, 2002). Specifically, individuals may receive material or social rewards, or avoid material, social, or self-punishment. Egoistic motivations are not a preferred motive for social responsibility endorsement, as it is believed that this type of motivation begets *temporary* social responsibility endorsement. Essentially, once individuals reach their personal goal they may be less likely to demonstrate socially responsible attitudes and behaviors. A second motivation offered within the literature is altruism, or the desire to enhance the welfare of individuals other than oneself (Batson et al., 2002). Individuals who are motivated by altruism perceive the needs of others, but go a step further and hold the welfare of other's as a primary goal. However, in the context of social responsibility, altruistic motivations are limited because they are targeted towards specific others, not larger abstract social groups (the poor, sexual minorities, women, etc.). For instance, individuals are more likely to demonstrate altruistic motivations towards people with whom they share similar perspectives and have personal relationships.

Given the focus of the current study, of great interest is Batson and colleagues assertion that individuals who endorse social responsible attitudes are also motivated by collectivism. Collectivist motivation is characterized as the desire to improve the welfare of a particular group (Batson, 1994). This motivation is aroused under two circumstances: when a group's well-being is threatened or when a group's well-being can be improved in some way. Under either of these conditions an individual with a collectivist motivation is likely to endorse social responsibility attitudes and behaviors that benefit the group.

Although the group-based nature of this motivation presents an "us vs. them" frame, it addresses the needs of a larger community, whereas egoism and altruistic motivations are more focused on individual persons. The final motivation proposed by Batson (1994) is principlism. Individuals motivated by principlism seek to uphold moral principles. This perspective speaks to ideas about justice and good in society. Principlism is likely a motivator for individuals who face oppression or perceive some level of inequity in society.

Collectivism and principlism provide a frame from which to begin thinking about social responsibility from a group-specific perspective. Given this, the current dissertation focuses on social responsibility endorsement among a racial group who likely shares similar experiences and ideals about justice and equality, African Americans. Specifically, this research examines social responsibility endorsement *among* African Americans, *towards* the African American community. This distinction is critical, as it shifts the discussion away from mainstream social responsibility endorsement towards a more race-relevant perspective. This study will contribute to the extant literature on social responsibility by focusing on a population that has been traditionally understudied. The vast majority of studies on social responsibility have included primarily White middle-class participants. The extent to which the literature focusing on predictors and motivations for social responsibility generalizes to other populations is unclear.

Social Responsibility among African Americans

The story of social responsibility among African Americans is a complex narrative. Until forty years ago African Americans were barred from certain mainstream civic activities and community service organizations. Basic democratic rights were

withheld from members of the racial group, as they were denied the right to vote and to participate actively in the electoral process. Despite the institutional barriers placed in the paths of African Americans who wanted to address social injustice and participate in democracy, African Americans historically were depicted as uninvolved and *socially irresponsible* in mainstream society and popular media (Olsen, 1970; Woodward & Roper, 1950; Wright & Hyman, 1958). Such assertions are troublesome, as they overlook the many ways in which African Americans engage within their own racial community. Furthermore, the literature fails to account for institutional barriers such as segregation and denial of voting rights that prevented many African Americans from being as involved in social justice and community involvement.

Historically, African Americans have relied on their collective efforts as a racial group to improve their social and economic plight in society. Driven by the perception that government institutions and social welfare agencies are not likely to respond to their needs, African Americans have traditionally worked within the group to address concerns and issues. The impetus for social responsibility within the racial community is rooted in historical and material circumstances that stress success through collective group efforts (Slevin, 2005). Social responsibility is held up as more than simple charity work or volunteering, but instead is touted as a means of essential racial uplift or "community caring" (Collins, 1990; Slevin & Wingrove, 1998). Evidence of this is found in the socialization patterns of African American children. Shaw (1996) offers that African American parents, teachers, preachers, and community leaders intentionally instill a collective consciousness and sense of social responsibility in young African Americans through formal and informal efforts. She also points out that the ethos of social

responsibility, which is so heavily stressed within the African American community, is in utter contradiction with larger society's individualist ideology.

For African Americans, the concept of racial uplift is a particularly salient impetus for social responsibility. A major theme in the post-slavery history of African Americans has been the need for individual African Americans to work to uplift the entire race socially and economically to higher station within the hierarchy of American society. Although African American leaders such as Sojourner Truth, W.E.B. DuBois, Booker T. Washington, Martin Luther King, and Malcolm X proposed very different strategies and goals for racial uplift, they were all consistent in one important respect. All of the leaders believed that each individual African American had a collective responsibility to the African American community as a whole.

A recognized ideology and tradition of social responsibility abounds within the African American community (DuBois, 1965; Shaw, 1996). For instance, some African Americans engage in informal mentoring as a way of "touching" the lives of others in the community, while others base their career decisions on how they can best contribute to the racial community. Although there are many factors related to social responsibility endorsement among African Americans, without question, the greatest amount of attention has been paid to African American religious and church going behavior, as well as socioeconomic status. Before a discussion of social responsibility in the African American community is initiated, it is necessary to first understand the ways in which church involvement and socioeconomic status are related to the ideology of racial uplift that has been passed through generations of African Americans.

The Black Church and Social Responsibility

The Black church serves as a powerful institution in the African American community, as close to three-quarters of African Americans attend church on a regular basis (Chatters, Taylor, & Lincoln, 1999). Similar to other religious institutions, one of the primary functions of the Black church is to provide spiritual guidance to its members (Billingsley & Giovannoni, 1972). However, the Black church is also faced with the added task of addressing the political and social concerns of its members. For instance, more than half of African Americans believe the Black church should be involved in contemporary social change efforts (Gallup Organization, 2001). Perhaps as a result of the rich history and tradition of social action efforts in the Black church, African Americans perceive the Black church, more than any other voluntary or pro-social organization or institution, as the social institution most likely to relieve African American communities of social ills (GallupOrganization, 2001). The Black church was a prominent organizing force during the civil rights movement (McAdam, 1982; Morris, 1984). Churches served as coordinating centers and recruitment centers for sit-ins, boycotts, marches and other activist behaviors. These institutions have traditionally provided the physical and social space for organized social and political action (McVeigh & Sikkink, 2001).

The strength of the Black church is rooted in its ability to address the cultural needs of African Americans. The Black church has historically provided a culturally-specific forum for individuals to fight against the oppression they experience in larger society (Billingsley, 1999; Harris, 1999). Many of these religious institutions tout a type of religiosity that encourages concern for the racial community, the poor, and the disenfranchised. In a sense, many churches promote a religious stance that advocates for

social justice and serves as an avenue and outlet for African Americans to cope with racism (Calhoun-Brown, 1998; McAdam, 1996). While this ideology is not consistent across Black churches, many Black churches socialize their congregation to become politically and civically involved in social justice efforts both inside and outside of the church context. Specifically, churches endorse a Black liberation theology, or a theology which teaches traditional biblical teaching while also integrating themes fighting against oppression and achieving social justice (Grant, 1989). Coupled with their aid for disenfranchised and marginalized groups, Black liberation theology socializes many African American churchgoers to endorse social responsibility (Lincoln & Mamiya, 1990).

Not surprisingly, African Americans who hold orthodox religious views are more likely to believe racial oppression and discrimination in society are critical in explaining many of the ills that plague the African American community (Edgell & Tranby, 2007). In line with these views, Mattis and colleagues' (2004) study of pro-social involvement among African American men reported evidence that religiosity predicted membership in social justice organizations which focus on fighting inequality (Mattis et al., 2004).

The Black church serves as the largest African American institution (Calhoun-Brown, 1996; Lincoln & Mamiya, 1990). Scholars have explored the extent to which the social institution influences different aspects of social responsibility endorsement. Alex-Assensoh and Assensoh (2001) study of African Americans social responsibility endorsement, church attendance, and environmental context concluded that participants who resided in the inner-city had less access to important political resources when they reported no involvement with a church. Brown and Brown (2003) examined church-

going behavior of African American adults and found that involvement on church committees and church political communications facilitated greater endorsement of social responsibility. However, church attendance alone does not predict social responsibility endorsement. Fitzgerald and colleagues (2005) replicated the work of Brown and Brown (2003) and found that once control variables and church involvement were accounted for, church attendance was actually associated with a lower likelihood of engaging in protest behavior. These findings suggest one of two possibilities. First, individuals who attend church may view their church involvement as their sole "extracurricular" activity and withdraw from other types of involvement. Second, the particular sample in this study may have attended churches where protest behavior and other social responsibility behaviors were discouraged. In this case, it is understandable that the relationship between social responsibility and church attendance would be negative.

The findings by Fitzgerald and colleagues (2005) raise an interesting point. Although church involvement and the particular mission of a church are influential factors in African Americans social responsibility endorsement, other demographic factors impact this relationship. Of particular interest is socioeconomic status. In their study of African Americans political participation and church-based resources, Brown and Brown (2003) concluded that although church attendance did not vary by socioeconomic status, participation in church activities and church networks were influenced by SES. Specifically, individuals of higher socioeconomic status were more likely to hear or discuss politics in church. The complexity of socioeconomic status within the Black church is compounded by Fitzgerald and Spohn's (2005) study which concluded that although participants with college degrees reported greater involvement in

social responsibility behaviors than individuals without college degrees, there was no significant relationship between participation in church activities and involvement in protest behavior among church-going African Americans with college degrees. Yet, church involvement was predictive of protest behavior for individuals who reported fewer years of education. These studies suggest a complex relationship between social responsibility endorsement, church involvement, and socioeconomic status. This relationship is not confined to church involvement, but is evident in the larger discussion of social responsibility.

Social Responsibility and Socioeconomic Status

Social responsibility endorsement is evident in any number of ways. Individuals can simply voice their attitudes about ensuring social justice and fighting inequality, or they can volunteer for a community organization, vote, participate in a political campaign, lend support to a neighborhood watch program, tutor, mentor, etc. Under ideal circumstances, socioeconomic status would not be a factor in determining what socially responsible behaviors individuals engaged in. Unfortunately, this is not the case. Social responsibility is inherently a "classed" phenomenon, as indicators such as income and education limit individual's opportunities to communicate their support for social justice. Although the social responsibility literature that focuses on predominantly White populations suggests there is a fairly linear relationship between social responsibility endorsement and income and education, the relationship is not as clear-cut for African American populations.

In recent decades socioeconomic heterogeneity among African Americans has increased significantly. Although African Americans are overrepresented in the working

class, there is now a considerable African American middle-class (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). In fact, the number of African Americans earning $75,000 or more has tripled in recent decades (U. S. Census Bureau, 2000). Such income dynamics add to the complexity of being African American in this society. While working-class and middle-class African Americans share some similar experiences simply as a result of being African Americans living in the United States, their are important class differences in their experiences. This is particularly true in the context of social responsibility. Rose (1997) asserts that social class is the lens though which values, beliefs, and strategies are perceived. Hence, an individual's social class influences the meaning they ascribe to social responsibility, as well as the strategies they use to fight against social injustice.

Evidence of the influence of socioeconomic status is apparent in Ginwright's (2002) qualitative study of working-class and middle-class African American members of a grassroots organization developed to improve conditions at a predominantly African American high school. Ginwright's qualitative study of African Americans suggests that although working-class and middle-class participants are concerned with improving the educational environment for students at the high school, they differed in their definition of what "improvement" meant. The working-class participants were more interested in addressing the resource inequities in the school (i.e. books, appropriate courses, basic materials), while the middle-class participants were more concerned about implementing a sense of racial pride in the students. Essentially, the working-class participants viewed the problem from a concrete perspective, whereas the middle-class participants wanted to address their concerns using an ideological perspective. These findings are supported by other scholars who assert that middle-class African Americans are less concerned with

day-to-day survival, but are more focused on searching for personal meaning and improving quality of life; this clearly cannot be the priority for working-class African Americans as they must address resource and material concerns first (Inglehart, 1990). These findings point to the ways in which social responsibility endorsement, and its manifestation, is largely influenced by socioeconomic factors. Yet, these examinations do not address whether individuals of a particular socioeconomic status are more or less socially responsible than individuals from another socioeconomic status.

The relationship between social responsibility and socioeconomic status in literature that focuses primarily on White populations appears linear such that individuals with greater access to resources report greater endorsement of social responsibility, whereas individuals with fewer resources report less endorsement of social responsibility (Wilson & Musick, 1997). However, it is not clear if this is also the case for African American populations. For instance, Battle and Wright (2002) examined the social participation of African Americans from diverse socioeconomic and educational backgrounds. The results suggested that African Americans with higher levels of education and income were more engaged in political activism and community activism compared to individuals with less education and income. Contrary to these findings, Mattis and colleagues' investigation of community and political involvement among African American men found that income was not associated with involvement in community-based organizations, political organizations, or social justice organizations (Mattis et al., 2000). However, the authors did find that level of education was a factor in social responsibility engagement within the sample. Specifically, men with college and professional degrees were more likely to volunteer in community-based organizations

than men without advanced degrees (Mattis et al., 2000). Participants with advanced

degrees may have established more social and business ties during their tenure as

students; these relationships may have presented them with greater opportunity to

become involved in organizations and activities. Despite findings from previous studies,

income was likely not a robust predictor in this study because there was relatively little

variance in income among the study participants. However, it is clear that the relationship

between social responsibility and socioeconomic status is not a linear phenomenon, but is

dynamic in nature.

Theoretical Approaches to Social Responsibility

Undoubtedly there is great emphasis placed on the Black church and

socioeconomic status as robust and dynamic predictors of social responsibility

endorsement among African Americans. Although these factors provide some

perspective, they clearly are not the sole factors that explain support for social

responsibility. In fact, a number of scholars have focused exclusively on race-related

factors to explain social responsibility endorsement among African Americans. Aside

from the literatures focusing on the role of the Black church and socioeconomic status,

this line of research represents a significant portion of the social responsibility literature.

In fact, much of what is known about social responsibility is based on the premise that

race-related factors are critical in African American's social responsibility endorsement.

Social Responsibility in the Context of Oppression and Discrimination

African Americans have been consistent targets of oppression and racism for well

over a century. Either through physical coercion, denial of rights and resources,

restriction of mobility, or through more subtle ideological means, institutional structures

and individuals have exercised their power to maintain a state of inequity between

African Americans and other members of society (J. Feagin & Hernan, 1995; Watts,

Griffith, & Abdul-Adil, 1999). The African American community has not escaped this

oppression unscathed. Compared to other racial groups African Americans have lower

incomes and less wealth, are more likely to live in poverty, have higher incarceration

rates, receive fewer years of education, and experience poorer health outcomes (Bobo &

Smith, 1998). These disparities are not the result of a "failing race," but are largely the

result of to systemic institutional barriers that limit opportunity for African Americans.

Early scholarly perspectives on African American social responsibility

endorsement seem to acknowledge the disparity in social conditions among African

Americans and offer it as an explanation for social responsibility endorsement. In fact,

the theoretical underpinning of the social responsibility literature is largely rooted in the

hypothesis that perceptions of group oppression are the driving force behind social

responsibility endorsement among African Americans. The earliest of these theories is

the *compensation theory* (Myrdal, Sterner, & Rose, 1944). This theory asserts that

African Americans are more actively engaged in society than Whites, and that this

excessive involvement is pathological in nature. Essentially, Myrdal and colleagues

suggest African Americans' endorsement of social responsibility reinforces an ego

damaged by the oppression and stigmatization they experience in larger society.

Furthermore, the authors argue that African Americans participate in same-race

organizations because they receive emotional support they would not receive in other

organizations and activities. Myrdal and colleagues also suggest the efforts African

Americans extend to fight against social injustice do not result in effective social change, as the preoccupation with psychological and social support drains efforts.

Though several studies claim to provide evidence "supporting" this theory (Klobus-Edwards et al., 1978; McPherson, 1977), these studies do little more than present empirical evidence that African Americans show greater support for social responsibility than do Whites. Specifically, these studies conclude that African American adults have higher rates of church membership and religious involvement (Drake & Cayton, 1945; Lenski, 1961; Orum, 1966; Washington, 1964) and are more likely to be members of organizations and associations compared to Whites (Babchuk & Thompson, 1962; Olsen, 1970; Orum, 1966). Despite these results, findings from the aforementioned studies do not speak to the broader conceptualization of social responsibility beyond religious involvement and organizational membership. More importantly, in these studies racial oppression and discrimination are presented as critical variables associated with social responsibility endorsement. However, these variables are not included in the analyses of the aforementioned studies (Klobus-Edwards et al., 1978; McPherson, 1977; Olsen, 1970). Hence, it is difficult to determine whether perceptions of oppression lend to our understanding of social responsibility endorsement among African Americans as the compensation theory suggests, as perceptions and experiences with racial oppression were not actually examined.

A second limitation of this framework is that it assumes African Americans perceive themselves as deficient and in need of reinforcement because they encounter racial oppression and discrimination. Specifically, Myrdal and colleagues assumed African Americans internalized the racist and stereotypical attitudes held by dominant

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racial groups. This assumption is fairly common in the psychological literature. To the contrary, research suggests African Americans actually feel good about being a member of the racial group (Rowley, Sellers, Chavous, & Smith, 1998) and have higher levels of global self-esteem (Twenge & Crocker, 2002). A similar drawback of the compensation perspective is the supposition that African Americans who endorse social responsibility are doing so to offset psychological deficiencies. Unfortunately, relatively few empirical investigations have actually investigated the link between social responsibility endorsement and psychological adjustment among African Americans. One of the few studies to examine social responsibility endorsement and psychological adjustment was conducted by McPherson (1977). This study explored self-esteem in African Americans and Whites who indicated involvement in social responsibility behaviors. A within-group analysis indicated that African Americans who were heavily involved in organizations and activities reported higher levels of self-esteem than African Americans who were less involved in organizations and activities. Also, African Americans reported higher levels of self-esteem than Whites. The authors suggested these findings offer support for the compensation theory in that African Americans who showed greater support for social responsibility displayed more positive psychological adjustment.

What is interesting in this study (McPherson, 1977) is that African Americans reported fairly high levels of self-esteem and psychological adjustment. According to the internalization of stigma perspective, this should not have been the case. Internalization of stigma, argues that because African Americans are the targets of oppression and prejudice, they take on negative societal stereotypes about their group and experience self-hate. Though this perspective has been tested empirically in the literature, little

qualitative support has been offered to support it. Contrary to the compensation theory

and the internalization of stigma perspective, there is a large body of literature that

suggests African Americans have particularly high levels of global self-esteem compared

to members of other racial and ethnic groups. Twenge and Crocker (2002) conducted a

meta-analysis of empirical studies focusing on self-esteem among African Americans,

Whites, Latinos, Asians, and American Indians and found that African Americans

consistently reported the highest levels of self-esteem relative to the other racial and

ethnic groups. These findings are contrary to assertions made by early scholars such as

Olsen (1970) and Myrdal and colleagues (1944). Several explanations have been put

forth to explain this phenomenon. They include the stigma as self-protection, positive

racial identity, and cultural differences.

In addition to the internalization of stigma perspective, scholars have argued that

membership in an oppressed group buffers self-esteem against the negative impact of

racial discrimination (Crocker & Major, 1989; Rowley, Sellers, Chavous, & Smith,

1998). This perspective is posited as the stigma as self-protection hypothesis. In general,

this hypothesis posits that any individual who is a member of a minority group will have

higher levels of self-esteem compared to members of the majority group because they

compare personal outcomes to similarly disadvantaged others, attribute rejection or

failure to prejudice, or devalue domains in which the group performs poorly. An

alternative to this theory is the perspective that focuses on positive racial identity. Rooted

in social identity theory, this perspective suggests that when individuals are devalued in

society, they make efforts to achieve a more positive identity for their group. Essentially,

scholars argue that as race becomes a more salient identity and individuals feel positive

about being African American, higher levels of self-esteem are reported (Branscombe, Schmitt & Harvey, 1999). Within-group examinations of self-esteem among African Americans have also shown that even when race is not central to the self-concept, African Americans report high levels of self-esteem (Rowley, et al., 1998). Specifically, Rowley and colleagues (1998) examined the relation between self-esteem and Racial Centrality among African American college students and found that although there was not a relationship between self-esteem and Racial Centrality, participants still reported high levels of self-esteem. However, for those individuals who held race as central to their self-concept, there was a positive relationship between self-esteem and feeling positive about being African American (i. e. Private Regard). This interaction finding lends to the positive racial identity perspective, while also highlighting the complexity of the relationship between self-esteem and racial identity.

Scholars have also speculated that higher levels of self-esteem are common among members of oppressed groups because there are cultural differences in the definition of self-concept. Specifically, Oyserman, Coon, and Kemmelmeier (2002) suggest that members of different racial and ethnic groups attach distinct meanings to the conception of the self, particularly as it pertains to individualism and collectivism, (see Fiske et al., 1998). Twenge and Crocker suggest these theories are not competing perspectives, but may actually work together to facilitate higher levels of self-esteem. These alternative explanations are contrary to notions that African Americans experience low self-esteem and only lead to further questions regarding the utility of the compensation theory.

The compensation theory is also limited in its conceptualization of African

Americans' self-concepts. Cross (1991) suggests the self-concept is composed of two factors: personal identity and reference group orientation (RGO). Cross argues that personal identity is reflected in all humans, regardless of social identity. It is captured by more general constructs such as self-esteem, self-worth, personality traits, introversion, etc. However, RGO encompasses those characteristics that are specific to social identity. Consistent with the current study focusing on African Americans, RGO includes factors such as racial identity, group identity, race awareness, racial ideology, etc. Under this conceptualization, personal identity and RGO are separate domains that explain self-concept when examined jointly. Yet the compensation theory argues that RGO *causes* personal identity (e.g. negative racial experiences lead to low self-esteem). The very foundation of this theory is questionable.

A second theory that sits both in contradiction and agreement with the compensation theory is the *isolation theory* (Wright & Hyman, 1958). Wright and Hyman assert that African Americans are less concerned with doing good in society compared to Whites and that the disparate rates of endorsement are a consequence of oppression. Similar to the compensation theory, the isolation theory puts forth that African Americans are less socially responsible because they suffer from intense feelings of alienation from mainstream society. Upon further testing, the isolation theory does not stand up to empirical testing. Specifically, the basic premise that African Americans are less socially responsible than Whites has been debunked by other scholars who introduced demographic controls into their models, mainly socioeconomic status, a step not taken by Wright and Hyman (1958). For instance, after controlling for socioeconomic status and age Olsen (1970) and Orum (1966) concluded that African Americans actually

showed greater support for social responsibility than Whites.

A glaring limitation of the compensation and isolation theories is that these theories present a landscape in which African American social responsibility is deemed pathological if it does not mirror the trends set by Whites. A similar, yet slightly different weakness inherent in both theories rests on the initial premise that there is a discrepancy in social responsibility endorsement among African Americans and Whites. If there is not a difference in levels of social responsibility endorsement among African Americans and Whites, or the disparity is not in the expected direction, these theories become irrelevant. Aside from the limitations associated with the comparative nature of these theories, the compensation theory and isolation theory also use a very similar rationale for explaining the disparity between African American and Whites social participation. Generally, these scholars conclude that societal oppression and discrimination are the driving forces behind African American support for fighting social injustice. While it is likely that oppression and discrimination are influential factors in African Americans social responsibility endorsement, these variables are not the sole determinants for this group. Aside from this argument, neither study actually accounts for perceptions of racial oppression or individuals' experiences with racial discrimination.

Though early literature on social responsibility does not actually assess African Americans' experiences with or perceptions of oppression and discrimination, later studies of social responsibility endorsement suggest a relationship between the construct and system-blame, or the belief that the responsibility for African Americans social condition is attributable to inequities in the social system (Miller, Gurin, Gurin, & Malanchuk, 1981). Gurin, Miller, and Gurin (1980) investigated rates of social

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responsibility endorsement and attributions of system-blame among dominant groups (e.g., men, Whites, middle-class, younger) and subordinate groups (e.g., women, African Americans, working class, elderly). The findings were most pronounced for African Americans such that individuals who were closely identified with the racial group reported the highest levels of system-blame. Most importantly, African Americans who felt the social structure was responsible for the condition and state of the racial group also reported the highest levels of support for collective action within the racial group to address such conditions.

As a follow-up to work by Miller and colleagues, Klobus-Edwards and others (1978) set out to examine participants' endorsement of social responsibility and system-blame attitudes. Specifically, these scholars assessed the extent to which individuals held society responsible for their social position and rates of organizational involvement among African Americans and Whites. The authors found that African Americans who endorsed high levels of system-blame were more likely to be members of structured organizations, to be affiliated with informal organizations, and to have some affiliation with religious organizations. Moreover, the authors found that the most socially-engaged African Americans also reported the highest levels of self-efficacy. These individuals were not necessarily compensating for perceived shortcomings because they were African American, but were likely acting on their perceived level of competence. It should also be noted that the differences within the African American sample were greater than the differences found between African Americans and Whites.

Similarly, Shingles' (1981) study of system-blame, self-efficacy, and political participation found that the positive relationship between system-blame endorsement,

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high self-efficacy, and political participation was true only for those African Americans who shared a sense of commonality with other African Americans. Put another way, the interaction between high levels of system-blame and self-efficacy translated into political participation only for participants who felt that they share an oppressed identity with their racial group. Based on these findings it seems that system-blame and self-efficacy are critical factors in social responsibility endorsement among African Americans who hold particular racial attitudes. These studies provide a much needed integration between sociological and psychological approaches when studying social responsibility. While there is merit in these studies, it is still necessary to understand the ways in which personal experiences, not just societal perceptions, are related to social responsibility endorsement.

Racial Discrimination from a Personal Perspective

Although strides have been made with regard to societal oppression, more recent research suggests African Americans continue to confront race-based discrimination in their daily lives. African Americans disproportionately experience discrimination as a result of their race (Forman, Williams, & Jackson, 1997). In line with this, scholars report anywhere from 58% to 80% of African Americans have personally experienced racial discrimination at some point in their lifetime (Krieger & Sidney, 1996; Ren, Amick, & Williams, 1999). In fact, Kessler, Mickelson, and Williams (1999) assessed individual attributions of unfair treatment made by African American adults who participated in a large scale study, and found that 89% of participants who discrimination attributed it to their racial status.

Encounters with racial discrimination are viewed as inhibitors to healthy

functioning, as racial discrimination is categorized as a stressful experience for African Americans (Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999; S. P. Harrell, 2000; Sellers, Morgan, & Brown, 2001; Williams, 1996). The most frequent source of stress reported by African Americans is racial discrimination and blocked opportunity (Williams, Yu, Jackson, & Anderson, 1997). Under, Lazarus and Folkman (1984) proposition that the perception of a stimulus as stressful results in psychological distress, evidence suggests racial discrimination experiences are associated with higher levels of depression, feelings of hopelessness, as well as decreased psychological well-being, self-concept, self-esteem, and life satisfaction (Forman, 2003; Nyborg & Curry, 2003; Sanders Thompson, 2002; Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003).

Despite the early literature proposing a link between social responsibility and oppression and discrimination, there has been a relative decrease in this research area. While social responsibility is acknowledged as a mechanism to combat oppression and discrimination (Watts et al., 2003), few efforts have empirically examined this process. This is surprising given the conceptual and operational strides that have been made in the study of racial discrimination. One of the few studies that actually examined the link between African American social participation and encounters with racial discrimination focused on men only (Mattis et al., 2004). Specifically, Mattis and colleagues investigated racial discrimination experiences as predictors of social responsibility endorsement and found that the more bothered individuals were by discrimination, the more likely they were to belong to a social justice organization. The authors of this study suggested consistent encounters with racial discrimination may serve as reminders of social inequity, and actually motivate African Americans to work towards equality and

social justice for their racial group. Alternatively, it is also possible that belonging to organizations and engaging in other social justice behaviors makes individuals more sensitive to racist encounters. Given the cross-sectional nature of the study, the causal direction of the relationship is unclear. Also, by limiting the focus of the study to volunteer involvement and membership in social justice organizations, the association between pro-social engagement and racial discrimination may be underestimated, as individuals may be involved in other efforts that fall outside of traditional volunteer work and organizational membership.

Social Responsibility and Racial Identity

There is more to the experience of oppressed people than their oppression (Watts et al., 2003). Previous research suggests the extent to which an individual views themselves as part of a group is related to social responsibility endorsement. McAdam and Paulsen (1993) put forth that the decision to engage in voluntary behavior is an expression of identity, a feeling of being connected to the individuals who will benefit from one's engagement. This idea is not new.

In the study of social responsibility and race-related factors interest in "group identification" is fairly common. Similar to the literature that focuses on oppression and discrimination, the group identification literature grew out of an interest to explain why rates of social responsibility behaviors were higher among African Americans than Whites. Inherently, approaching the question in this way prompted scholars to explore racial identification as a critical mechanism in explaining social responsibility endorsement. In line with this perspective, Lane (1959) proposed the *ethnic community*

theory. This theory offers that members of minority groups show greater support for social responsibility (originally operationalized as political participation) because they share a common, oppressed identity with other members of their group. Essentially, this theory suggests members of minority groups share a common bond and that this shared experience draws the group closer and serves as a mechanism through which attitudes about collective and social action are encouraged. More specific to African Americans, the ethnic community theory puts forth that African Americans are more aware than Whites of the utility of organized efforts as a means of achieving group goals and ensuring social justice (Billingsley, 1968). Although there is some aspect of this theory that attributes social responsibility endorsement to oppression, the primary thrust of the theory presents group identification as a critical factor in explaining social responsibility endorsement.

The ethnic community theory implies that members of minority groups are involved in social justice efforts that benefit their group specifically. For instance, African Americans who view themselves as part of the racial group and are socially responsible should be involved in activities that directly benefit others in the African American community. This concept, instrumental participation, was presented by Gordon and Babchuk (1959) and expanded by Jacoby and Babchuk (1963). Instrumental participation is characterized as having goals beyond the scope of the organization that either seek to create or maintain the desired condition of members of a particular group. Conversely, expressive participation is characterized as primarily serving the socioemotional needs of organization members. Stoll (2001) investigated these phenomenon among Black, Latino, White, and Asian adults from diverse socioeconomic

backgrounds. The results from this study provide ample support for the instrumental

participation phenomenon in that after controlling for poverty, neighborhood racial

composition, and other demographic variables, African Americans participated in more

cultural organizations and church organizations than any other group, while other racial

and ethnic groups participated in more expressive organizations. Stoll extended the study

to examine whether residence in a predominantly African American neighborhood was

associated with social responsibility endorsement, specifically organizational

involvement. In support of the ethnic community theory, the results show that individuals

who reside in predominantly African American neighborhoods, regardless of

socioeconomic status, are involved in more cultural organizations compared to African

Americans who reside in neighborhoods with fewer African Americans. From these

findings the authors argue that not only is race critical to understanding aspects of social

responsibility in a contemporary society, but that community norms that stress social

responsibility to the racial group are still prevalent within the African American

community. While this may be accurate, it is also important to consider that cultural

organizations are primarily located in neighborhoods of color. Hence, in many ways these

findings are intuitive.

Another assumption put forth by the ethnic minority theory is that individuals

must actually view themselves as part of a minority group. Although an individual may

be perceived as part of a minority group in larger society, it is not assured that they will

view themselves as part of that group. In an attempt to test the theory Olsen (1970)

examined whether identification as an ethnic minority was related to social responsibility

endorsement. Specifically, African American participants were asked if they identified

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with an ethnic minority community (ethnic identifiers) or not (non-identifiers). The findings showed that African Americans who identified as members of an ethnic minority community showed greater support for social responsibility than individuals who did not identify, in that they were more active in 13 of 15 social and political arenas. Olsen asserted that social responsibility is less about oppression and a shared identity, and more about cultural norms. Specifically, Olsen argued that identification with a group in and of itself is not a robust predictor of social responsibility, but that the cultural and community norms one accepts as a member of that group are what drives social responsibility endorsement. This theory became known as the *cultural norms theory*. The theory suggests within every culture or community there are group norms which influence the extent of social responsibility endorsement. Under this theory an individual immersed in a culture where social responsibility is emphasized is more likely to support social responsibility than if the culture did not hold social responsibility up as a group norm.

Mattis and colleagues examined the relationship between the likelihood of involvement in volunteer organizations and social justice organizations and communalism among African American men (Mattis et al., 2004). The authors also studied the relationship between the amount of time dedicated to these organizations and communalism. Communalism, or an orientation in which cultural norms of interdependence and social obligation are priority over individual needs (Boykin, Jagers, Ellison, & Albury, 1997), served as an indicator of African American cultural norms in this study. The results from the study partially support the cultural norms theory. Specifically, there was not a significant relationship between communalism and the likelihood of involvement in a volunteer organization or social justice organization.

However, the authors did report a significant, positive relationship between communalism and the amount of time dedicated to volunteer work. The authors concluded that the cultural norms theory may not adequately predict the *likelihood* of involvement in social responsibility behaviors, but may actually serve as a better indicator of the *degree* of involvement in social responsibility behaviors.

The Evolution of Group Identification

The concept of group identification being linked to social responsibility endorsement has been reinterpreted in the literature to some extent. Most notable is the concept of group consciousness which gained recognition in the early 1980's. Group consciousness is defined as identification with a group in which an individual recognizes the group's position in the power hierarchy, rejects rationalizations of relative positioning, and embraces collective action to address the problems of the group (Gurin et al., 1980). Although group consciousness addresses some aspect of group identification as discussed by Lane (Lane, 1959), the construct presents a more evolved and developed form of group identification. Group consciousness is not exclusive to a particular race, gender, or class of people, but speaks more to an individual's general sense of consciousness and belongingness to a particular group.

Given the focus on collective action as a means to achieve group goals, it is clear that group consciousness is a critical construct to understand in the context of social responsibility. Gurin and colleagues (1980) explored group consciousness in a diverse sample of adults which included individuals of varying racial backgrounds, genders, class positions, and ages. Findings from this study suggest group consciousness among African Americans is high, particularly relative to other groups. In general, African Americans

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were more likely to believe that African Americans should work together to achieve the best interest of the racial group (i.e. support a collectivist orientation) and more likely to identify with their racial group membership than other oppressed social groups. More importantly, African Americans who indicated that they closely identified with their racial group reported higher levels of political consciousness and were more committed to using collective action as a means of achieving social change than African Americans who did not identify closely with their racial group. The findings for African Americans were more pronounced among African Americans than they were for any other social group including Whites, women, and individuals from lower socioeconomic status. Based on these findings it is possible that racial identification is more critical to African Americans social responsibility endorsement than it is for other oppressed groups. If in fact this is true, the heightened salience of race in this society, as compared to gender and socioeconomic status, may account for this divergence. These findings have been replicated and suggest further that among African Americans greater identification with the racial group is associated with greater support for social responsibility (Deaux, Reid, Martin, & Bikmen, 2006; Gurin et al., 1980; Troop & Wright, 1999) At the crux of these studies (Deaux et al., 2006; Troop & Wright, 1999) is social identity theory, or the idea that individuals who identify more with a particular group and perceive themselves as disadvantaged compared to other groups, will be more likely to engage in collective action. This theory offers a cross-section between identification with a group and comparing oneself to members of other racial/ethnic groups. The compensation, ethnic community theory, and cultural norms theories focus on one aspect or another, but fail to incorporate both domains in their work.

Though the ethnic community theory, cultural norms theory, and literature on group consciousness point to the significance of group identification in social responsibility endorsement, they take a somewhat simplistic view of the construct among African Americans. Essentially, these perspectives hint at the importance of identification and a feeling of belonging to the group, but do not go beyond this. Specifically, these theories of social responsibility endorsement do not examine what being part of a racial group actually *means* and how different meanings likely influence social responsibility endorsement. For instance, the group consciousness literature argues that individuals sometimes feel a shared sense of oppression with other members of their group (Gurin et al., 1980); this assumes that an individual equates their group membership with oppression. The theories presented up to this point have not actually explored whether members of the African American community view oppression as part of what it means to be African American. Ultimately, what would be most useful in this literature is a conceptualization of racial identity that acknowledges that African American racial identity is about more than oppression and discrimination. More specific constructs would be useful in this discussion; a multidimensional conceptualization of racial identity, or the meaning and significance one attributes to their racial status (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998), would allow scholars to draw more specific conclusions about the relationship between social responsibility and different aspects of racial identity within the self. The Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI) (Sellers, Smith et al., 1998) addresses this complexity.

Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity

The Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity posits that there are several

dimensions to racial identity: salience, Centrality, regard, and ideology. Salience and

Centrality address the significance of race, while regard and ideology capture the

meaning one attributes to their racial status. Salience refers to the extent to which one's

race is relevant to them at a particular time. It is a momentary conceptualization of racial

identity, dependent on the context of the situation. Conversely, Centrality refers to the

extent to which an individual normatively defines her/himself with regard to race. Unlike

salience, this is a stable construct, and not dependent on the context of a situation. Regard

is the individual's affective and evaluative judgment of her/his race. There is a private

and a public component to this dimension. Private Regard refers to how positive or

negative a person feels about being a member of her/his racial group, while Public

Regard addresses how positively or negatively one believes others feel about African

Americans. Ideology is comprised of four concepts: nationalist, minority, assimilationist,

and humanist. Nationalist Ideology refers to the unique experience of being African

American. Individuals who endorse a Nationalist Ideology stress the distinctiveness of

being African American and believe that the experiences of this group are dissimilar from

other groups. Minority Ideology refers to the extent to which individuals believe that

there are commonalties with other minority groups. Specifically, endorsement of the

Minority Ideology suggests the experiences of African Americans are similar to the

experiences of other racial/ethnic minorities, sexual minorities, religious minorities, etc.

The assimilationist ideology refers to the extent to which persons identify with the

mainstream. Individuals who endorse this ideology find similarities between African

Americans and mainstream society. Finally, the humanist ideology concentrates on the

commonalities between all humans, regardless of group membership. Specifically,

endorsement of the humanist ideology stresses the similarities between all humans regardless of racial or ethnic group membership.

The MMRI has been used to investigate racial identity as a predictor of pro-social and maladaptive behavior. Generally, the research literature posits that racial identity is associated with positive social functioning such that individuals who feel more positive one feels about their racial group are more likely to demonstrate positive behavioral outcomes. Caldwell and colleagues (Caldwell, Sellers, Bernat, & Zimmerman, 2004) investigated the direct relationship between racial identity attitudes (Centrality and Private Regard) and alcohol use among a sample of at-risk African American youth. Results indicated that adolescents who felt more positive about being African American reported less alcohol use than those who felt less positive about their racial status. Caldwell and colleagues (2004) also examined adolescents' experiences with racial discrimination and the moderating effects of racial identity in predicting violent behaviors in African American adolescents. Findings revealed that adolescents who encountered racial discrimination but believed others had positive feelings about African Americans, or a positive Public Regard, were involved in more violent behavior than their counterparts who believed others had negative perceptions of African Americans, or lower Public Regard. Also, males who indicated that race was central to their self-concept reported fewer violent behaviors than their male counterparts with a less central racial identity. These results suggest individuals who more strongly identify with their race and hold more positive feelings about their racial group are likely to engage in more positive behaviors. Although this study did not focus on social responsibility, it is interesting to note that there is a link between racial identity and positive behaviors. This

begs the question, what are the implications for the relationship between social responsibility and racial identity? Chavous (2005) explored the relationship between Racial Centrality and organizational involvement among African American college students who attended a predominantly White university. She found that individuals who held race as a central theme to their identity also reported more involvement in African American organizations. Though organizational involvement is not an explicit focus of the current study, the findings by Chavous (2005) suggest Racial Centrality may be critical to individuals' engagement in race-specific social responsibility behaviors.

The meaning and significance individuals attribute to their racial status contributes significantly to their behavioral engagement, as well as the way in which they cope with discrimination. Coupling this body of literature with the group consciousness literature, it is likely that individuals who strongly identify with their racial group and view their racial group positively are more likely to endorse social responsibility. Despite the seemingly positive outcomes associated with racial identity (Arbona, Jackson, McCoy, & Blakely, 1999; Caldwell, Kohn-Wood et al., 2004), few empirical efforts have investigated its association with social responsibility endorsement among African Americans.

In an attempt to link social responsibility and racial identity Mitchell and Dell (1992) explored racial identity and campus involvement in a sample of African American college students. Although the MMRI was not used, the authors examined whether African American students' involvement in cultural specific activities was related to their racial identity. Using a stage model of racial identity, the Nigrescence model (see Cross, Parham, & Helms, 1991), the authors found that there was a negative relationship

between involvement in cultural-specific campus activities and scores on the pre-encounter subscale of the RIAS. However, there was a positive relationship between involvement in cultural-specific activities and being in the encounter, immersion, or internalization subscales of the RIAS. Hence, African American students who were more identified with their racial group were more likely to participate in Black organizations, whereas individuals who did not identify with their racial group as strongly were less likely to participate in activities and organizations specific to the African American community. Although this study contributes to the literature on social responsibility and racial identity it overlooks the meaning individuals attribute to their racial status.

Similar to work conducted by Mitchell and colleagues (1992), Harper and Quaye (2007) conducted a qualitative study to evaluate the relationship between social responsibility endorsement and racial identification among African American male student leaders. Although this study was qualitative in nature, the authors also conceptualized racial identity using the Nigrescence model. From qualitative interviews the authors concluded that these leaders had reached the internalization stage of racial identification, and that their engagement in predominantly African American, as well as mainstream activities and organizations, was evidence of their endorsement of their racial identity. Although this study adds to the literature, its findings are limited as the participants were all male and student leaders, a select population. The extent to which these findings extend to a more general population of African Americans is unclear. Also, racial identity was not explicitly measured in this study, but was inferred qualitatively.

Social Responsibility and African American College Students

Opportunities for social responsibility endorsement are varied across the life-span.

There are points during the life-cycle when individuals have greater opportunities to become members of organizations, participate in social justice activities, volunteer, etc. The college environment is ripe with prospects for social responsibility engagement via membership in organizations, engagement in volunteer work, involvement with the electoral process, and protest behavior. In fact, institutions of higher education often encourage social responsibility among students (Oesterle, Johnson, & Mortimer, 2004). Using longitudinal data, Oesterle and others (2004) found that the odds of engaging in volunteer work increased by five percent for every month a student attended a college or university. Despite the prevalence and opportunity for social responsibility among college students, this body of literature is largely based on adult populations (Oesterle et al., 2004). This is a shortcoming in the literature as many of the factors that predict adult social responsibility endorsement are not associated with college student endorsement (Oesterle et al., 2004). On the other hand, support for social responsibility during young adulthood is predictive of social responsibility endorsement in midlife (Fendrich & Lovoy, 1988). For instance, Cole and Stewart (1996) found that women's involvement in student activism during their college years was predictive of midlife political involvement. Consistently, empirical evidence replicates this finding and suggests college student social responsibility endorsement has critical implications for behavior in later life (Fendrich & Lovoy, 1988).

Whether or not college students support social responsibility is largely influenced by their perceptions of the community. In a study examining college student community service involvement, Hellman, Hoppes and Ellison (2006) concluded that sense of connectedness to the community was related to intentions to engage in community

service such that individuals who felt more tied to the community were more likely to report intentions to engage. Coupled with data that indicates socioeconomic status is not an influential factor for college students' social responsibility endorsement (Oesterle et al., 2004), it is possible that college students sense of social responsibility is less influenced by demographic characteristics, but more impacted by individuals' affective feelings and beliefs.

In spite of what is known about college student social responsibility endorsement, it should be noted that there is great heterogeneity in individuals' college experience. The vast majority of college student social responsibility literature is based on the experiences of middle-class, White students at predominantly White institutions. However, college student social responsibility endorsement is largely influenced by age, racial status, and the racial composition of the university (Moore, Lovell, McGann, & Wyrick, 1998). For African American students this is especially important as their racial status and their experiences around race may significantly impact their social responsibility endorsement. Further, a significant number of African American college students attend historically Black institutions, while an ever-growing number of African Americans students attend predominantly White institutions (Allen, 1992; Wilson, 1994). Previous literature suggests university racial composition is a significant factor in African American college student's social responsibility endorsement. Allen (1992) compared social responsibility endorsement among African American students at historically Black and predominantly White institutions. In the presence of demographic factors, as well as variables accounting for academic behaviors, academic aspirations, personal adjustment to the campus environment, and campus unity, the results indicate that university racial

composition was the most robust predictor of students' level of engagement, such that attendance at historically Black institutions was associated with greater involvement.

University Racial Composition

The most apparent distinction between historically Black institutions (HBIs) and predominantly White institutions (PWIs) is obviously their racial composition. Yet, the variation between these institutions extends beyond this. Historically Black institutions are regarded as having a "special mission," such that they seek to enroll students with social, financial, and academic barriers who would otherwise be unable to enroll in college. In general, students who attend HBIs come from backgrounds where their parents have fewer years of schooling, earn less income, and hold less prestigious occupations compared to African American students who attend predominantly White institutions (Allen, 1992). Despite these statistics, and the differences that exist *between* historically Black institutions, African American students who attend HBIs report more positive psychological adjustment, more significant academic gains, and greater cultural awareness compared to African American students who attend PWIs (1992). Similarly, students at HBIs also report greater satisfaction with their college experience (Outcalt & Skewes-Cox, 2002). With regards to specific aspects of their college experience, students at HBIs reported greater satisfaction with the sense of community, student interaction, and availability of leadership opportunities on their campus compared to their counterparts at PWIs (Outcalt & Skewes-Cox, 2002).

The experiences of African American college students at PWIs are a stark contrast to the experiences of African Americans at HBIs. While African Americans at PWIs are faced with the traditional demands during their transition to college including academic,

institutional, personal-emotional, and social adjustment (Baker, McNeil, & Siryk, 1985), they also face the additional task of negotiating cultural differences that exist between themselves and fellow students and faculty. These students often report feelings of alienation and hostility from their White counterparts, as well as experiences with racial discrimination (Allen, 1992; Anderson, 1988; Schwitzer, Griffin, Ancis, & Thomas, 1999). In a multi-site study of African American students at predominantly White institutions, close to half of respondents indicated that they did not feel as if they were part of campus life (Allen, 1985). To combat these negative feelings and experiences scholars suggest African American students at PWIs become involved in student organizations, particularly Black student organizations. These types of organizations are often viewed as a source of support for students. For instance, Chavous (2005) found that African American students who perceived unequal status between African American and White students on their campus were more involved in African American organizations. In another study Guiffrida (2003) interviewed African American students at a PWI and concluded that the primary motivation students cited for joining a Black student organization was to establish comfort with students from their same racial background. The students cited that such engagement allowed them to connect with students who had similar interests, provided a rest from battling negative stereotypes, and allowed them to share their experiences on the majority White campus. While support was a primary motivation for participation in Black organizations, it was not the sole motivation. The students also indicated that their involvement in Black organizations was spurred by a desire to contribute to the African American community. In fact, many of the students indicated that giving back to the African American community was as important as

feeling connected to other African American students. The students' efforts included service within the campus community as well as beyond the campus environment. Thus, while Black student organizations serve both instrumental and expressive functions by serving as a source of support for African American students as well as a mechanism for African American students to contribute to their racial group.

Despite the heterogeneity among HBIs and PWIs, these institutions share at least one commonality: a commitment to service and social participation. The Association of American Colleges and Universities asserts that institutions of higher education encourage civic responsibility (Thornton & Jaeger, 2006). Specifically, colleges and universities promote the knowledge and support of democratic values and processes, the desire to act beneficially in the community, and the use of knowledge and skills for societal benefit. While these are common features of most institutions of higher education, HBIs have added to their mission race-specific values as well. Specifically, HBIs have a long tradition of emphasizing the importance of group identity and responsibility to the racial group (Slevin, 2005). Given this, it is possible that individuals at HBIs are more likely than individuals at PWIs to engage in efforts that benefit the African American community specifically. Although African American students at PWIs are likely to engage in similar activities, their involvement may be hindered by the overall lack of institutional support for such practices. This premise is based on Tinto's theory of student departure (Tinto, 1987) which asserts that college students who perceive their norms, values, and ideas as similar to their institution are more likely to become socially engaged with the institution.

In spite of the growing body of literature examining the social participation of

African American college students, there are several limitations to this work. First, although racial composition is influential in African American social responsibility endorsement, cultural and psychological variables are likely influential factors in their engagement (Allen, 1992). Very few contemporary empirical studies have examined the link between social responsibility and psychological and cultural variables in a college context. It is possible that experiences with discrimination and feelings about being a member of the racial group are just as influential in predicting social responsibility among this population. A second limitation of the college student social participation literature is that the vast majority of this literature focuses on involvement on the college campus. However, college student's involvement is not limited to the campus community, but often extends to the larger community.

Social Responsibility and Psychological Outcomes

There are a host of positive outcomes associated with social responsibility endorsement. Previous research suggests support for social responsibility is associated with higher educational attainment (Chapman & Morley, 1999; Franz & McClelland, 1994), better academic performance (Reeb et al., 1999), feelings of empowerment (Ferrari et al., 1999), the development of social skills and cultural awareness (Sax & Astin, 1997), and future political involvement (Fendrich, 1977; Paulsen, 1991). However, what has garnered the greatest amount of attention in this area is the link between social responsibility and psychological outcomes.

Inherently socially responsible individuals benefit persons within the communities they serve, as well as the communities at large. Given the social justice component and communal nature of social responsibility this is not surprising. What is interesting is that

the benefits of social responsibility are not limited to communities and persons within these communities, but extend to the individuals engaged in social responsibility work. For instance, Rietschlin's (1998) study indicates that adults involved in voluntary associations report significantly fewer depressive symptoms than individuals not involved in voluntary associations. These findings held even after controlling for demographic characteristics. Furthermore, the author also found that individuals who were involved in voluntary associations were protected from stress. In fact, at higher levels of stress, membership in voluntary associations was more protective.

Thoits and Hewitt (2001) sought to explore relations between volunteer work and happiness, life satisfaction, self-esteem, mastery, depressive symptoms, and physical health among adults across time. Initial cross-sectional analyses suggest the number of hours participants volunteered was associated with happiness, life satisfaction, mastery, and physical health, such that more hours of volunteer work at Time 2 was associated with more favorable psychological outcomes at Time 2. Although this study was longitudinal, measurement issues prevented the authors from examining the causal relationship between volunteering at Time 1 and psychological outcomes at Time 2. However, the authors were able to address a critical gap in the literature. A logical methodological concern in this body of research is whether psychologically healthy individuals are more prone to endorse and engage in social responsibility in the first place. This is critical to the literature as the pre-existing characteristics individuals bring to the situation likely influence later psychological outcomes. Thoits and Hewitt explored this idea in their longitudinal study and found some evidence to support the idea that preexisting psychological characteristics do impact the relationship. Specifically,

individuals who were happier, had higher levels of life satisfaction and self-esteem, good physical health, and lower levels of depressives symptoms at time 1 were more likely to report more hours of volunteer work at time 2. Surprisingly, few studies account for pre-existing person-level characteristics.

Although there is an accumulation of research focusing on the link between social responsibility endorsement and psychological adjustment, the majority of this research focuses on elderly populations. Scholars conclude that among the elderly social responsibility is associated with fewer depressive symptoms (Morrow-Howell, Hinterlong, Rozario, & Tang, 2003; Musick & Wilson, 2003) and higher self-esteem (Omoto, Snyder, & Martino, 2000). Interestingly, a significant portion of this literature focuses intently on age differences (i.e. young adulthood, midlife, elderly) in the relationship between social responsibility endorsement and psychological outcomes. Musick and Wilson (2003) examined the direct relationship between social responsibility endorsement and depressive symptoms among two age groups, adults under 65 years of age and adults over 65 years of age, across three time-periods. While there was a negative relationship between meeting attendance and depressive symptoms for both age groups, the authors found that volunteering was negatively associated with depression for individuals who were at least 65 years of old. Participants who volunteered and were at least 65 years of age reported fewer depressive symptoms compared to individuals who were not engaged in volunteer work. For participants under 65 years, volunteering was associated with fewer depressive symptoms only when they were engaged in the activity for a longer period of time. Also, the relationship was much more robust for participants over 65 years of age. Furthermore, participants who volunteered consistently reported the

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most favorable psychological outcomes, regardless of age.

Similarly, Van Willigen (2000) investigated dimensions of volunteering (i.e. volunteering status, volunteer hours, type of organization) among two age groups (individuals under 60 and individuals age 60 and over). Although there was a positive relationship between volunteering and life satisfaction in both age groups, under 60 years old and 60 years of age and over, findings regarding the other aspects of volunteering were more complex. Specifically, young and midlife adults involved in only one organization experienced fewer psychological benefits compared to elderly adults who reported more positive psychological outcomes. Also, the elderly reported higher levels of life satisfaction as their level of commitment to voluntary work increased, essentially. Conversely, among the younger adults, who were below the age of sixty, the relationship between commitment to volunteering and life satisfaction was positive only when participants spent less than 100 hours of their time volunteering. Hence, taking into account the findings by Musick and Wilson and Van Willigen it appears that although young adults experience some psychological benefit from social responsibility engagement, the relationship is much more consistent and robust among the elderly. Also, it seems that the psychological benefits of social responsibility for younger people are more limited than they are for older adults in that younger adults may experience burn-out at higher levels of endorsement and involvement.

Theoretical Approaches

Placing this research in a developmental context is critical, as much of the theoretical research examining the link between social responsibility and psychological outcomes is based on elderly populations. This has clear implications for understanding

this relationship among a college-aged population. One of the more prominent theories in this research area, role theory, is largely referenced in research with elderly populations. Moen, Dempster-McClain, and Williams (1992) proposed role theory which posits that individuals who take on many roles (family roles, work roles, social roles, volunteer roles, etc.) either benefit psychologically and physically as a result of increased social networks (i.e. role enhancement), or suffer psychologically and physically because they have too many different roles (i.e. role strain). Specific to the positive relationship between social responsibility and psychological adjustment outcomes, this theory suggests individuals experience positive psychological outcomes associated with social responsibility endorsement because they have access to greater resources, a larger social network, and more power and prestige than they would have if they were not involved in socially responsible activities. Specific to the elderly, Moen and colleagues suggest social responsibility endorsement increases the social networks of the elderly, and that this increase in social networks is what drives more positive psychological and physical health outcomes. Though role theory is often referenced in research focusing on the relationship between social responsibility and psychological outcomes in the elderly, role theory is also applicable to younger adults as well. However, theorists in this area of study posit that role theory may be particularly salient to the elderly as they experience a loss of other roles, but less salient for younger adults as they experience an increase in roles (i.e. family roles, work roles) which may render voluntary roles less impactful (Musick & Wilson, 2003; Piliavin, 2005; Van Willigen, 2000). Hence, in this context role theory is especially applied in research that focuses strictly on elderly populations, but is rarely referenced in research with younger age groups. While the utility of role theory is

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not discounted for younger populations, it is likely that other explanations also exist which contribute to our understanding of the relationship between social responsibility endorsement and psychological outcomes.

Rooted in the learning and conditioning literature, Cialdini, Kenrick, and Baumann (1982) offered a hypothesis that posits that the relationship between social responsibility endorsement and psychological outcomes is driven by positive reinforcement. Specifically, the authors argue that the positive reinforcement individuals receive when they engage in socially responsible behaviors stimulates positive psychological outcomes. The authors put forth that the feeling one receives after they have done a good deed becomes a "socialized secondary reinforcer." While this theory may be relevant to adults, it was initially developed for use with adolescents. However, Musick and Wilson (2003) provide a similar argument in their study of social responsibility and psychological outcomes among the elderly by suggesting that individuals who are involved in volunteer work are rewarded with gratitude and social recognition. The authors posit that volunteering fulfills a sense of purpose and provides meaning and structure for individuals.

Limitations of the Literature

The aforementioned studies present clear support for a relationship between social responsibility and positive psychological outcomes. However, it should be noted that the samples from which much of these data were drawn were predominantly White and middle-class (Chapman & Morley, 1999). As noted, race-related factors and socioeconomic status are critical determinants of social responsibility endorsement, as they provide much needed information about the context of social responsibility

endorsement for oppressed groups (Gurin et al., 1980). To disregard these factors does a

disservice to the work. Furthermore, work by McIntosh and Danigelis (1995) suggests the

within-group differences among African Americans regarding social responsibility

endorsement and psychological adjustment are deserving of further attention. Also, these

studies largely disregard race-specific endorsement of social responsibility. To the

author's knowledge, there are no empirical investigations that focus on race-specific

social responsibility endorsement and its link to psychological adjustment outcomes.

While it is possible that the findings mirror those in the mainstream literature, it is also

possible that race-specific social responsibility may actually serve as a source of stress

for individuals who hold particular racial attitudes or become "overly involved" in their

cause. Specifically, African Americans who show high levels of social responsibility

endorsement across time may come to resent their "obligations" or possibly experience

burn-out. Ultimately, because African Americans may view race-specific social

responsibility endorsement as more personally relevant, they may be more likely to strain

their psychological, emotional, and material resources to contribute to the racial group.

Taken together, these limitations call for investigations of the relationship between social

responsibility endorsement and psychological adjustment among African American

young adults.

Exploring the relationship between social responsibility and psychological

endorsement among African Americans is especially important as the backbone of the

social responsibility literature embraces the idea of African Americans "devalued self-

esteem" serving as an explanation for social responsibility endorsement (McPherson,

1977; Orum, 1966; Wright & Hyman, 1958). In an attempt to explore the validity of the

compensation theory, which suggests African Americans suffer from devalued self-esteem and endorse social responsibility to make up for perceived shortcomings (see above), McPherson (1977) investigated the relationship between organizational membership and self-esteem in African Americans. This is one of the few studies to explore the relationship between social responsibility and psychological outcomes among African Americans. The results indicated that African Americans who were members of more organizations reported higher levels of self-esteem than African Americans who were involved in fewer organizations. McPherson concluded that these results show support for the compensation theory (see above).

It must be pointed out that when relationships are found between social responsibility endorsement and psychological outcomes among Whites, there is not a presumption that the relationship is driven by "devalued self-esteem" or attempts to make up for perceived shortcomings. Other explanations are given to account for the association (i.e. role theory, reinforcement, motivation). It is unclear why such assertions are made only with African American populations. This study underscores the need for additional research in this area on African American populations that does not presume that African Americans are in some way deficient. Also, it is possible that the relationship between social responsibility and psychological outcomes is greatly impacted by one's membership in an oppressed or dominant group. Individuals' perspectives on social responsibility may have very different psychological implications if their efforts are personally-relevant to them. For instance, an African American who advocates for better schools in a predominantly African American district may have a different perspective than if she was advocating for improved schools in a predominantly White school district.

The individual may view the school context as a primary means of success and achievement in life for African American children and therefore work proactively to acquire the best resources for students. Yet in the case of a White school district the individual may only become involved in response to some significant event. Finally, the success or failure of a social movement may differentially impact individuals who are members of the oppressed group. Specifically, frequent social action that results in little social change may bring on feelings of inadequacy, helplessness, or even hopelessness as their efforts may seem futile and suggest a bleak outlook for the group. Given the dearth of literature in this area, it is particularly difficult to make predictions about the relationship between social responsibility and psychological outcomes for traditionally oppressed groups.

The Conceptual Framework

Though social responsibility has a long tradition within the African American community, over the years there has been a relative decline in this area of research. Much of the work in this area was conducted more than two decades ago, when the social position of African Americans was much different than it is today. Although African Americans have not reached full parity since the Civil Rights and Black Power movements, they have made substantial gains socially, economically, politically, and in other arenas (Bobo & Gilliam, 1990). Progress that has been made in race relations and racial equality over the years likely has some impact on social responsibility endorsement within the African American community. Hence, there is a great need to update the social responsibility literature to reflect the present-day socio-historical context. As suggested by Stewart and Healy (1989) explorations of social phenomenon should recognize the

historical time in which the research takes place. However, to make sense of social responsibility from a more contemporary perspective it is necessary to first understand those factors that have traditionally influenced social responsibility endorsement among African Americans. In explaining social responsibility among African Americans no two factors have been as heavily studied as involvement in the Black church and socioeconomic status. Understanding the role of the Black church and socioeconomic status puts African American social responsibility in a proper context to go beyond what would normally be categorized as simple demographic or control factors.

Though church involvement and socioeconomic status have received great attention in the research literature, the phenomenon is more complex and influenced by multiple demographic, psychological, sociological, and political factors. Oppression, racial discrimination, racial identity, and the racial composition of the setting in which one functions are dynamics of the African American experience and may not be as applicable to majority populations. In other words, this aspect of the study explores the link between social responsibility endorsement and different levels of reference group orientation. Although the early literature explored the ways social responsibility endorsement varied among African Americans via the compensation, ethnic community, and cultural norm theories, these approaches largely operate from a deficit perspective and do not fully acknowledge the complexity of African Americans' experience' in society. Put plainly, these studies focus more on personal identity as an outcome of RGO, but do not fully explore specific domains of RGO among African Americans. This is evident in the literature as recurring themes of self-hate and White preference are touted as primary explanations for behavior. What further complicates the study of social

responsibility among African Americans is many African Americans focus on fighting injustices that plague other African Americans and their communities. Unfortunately, very few empirical efforts focus on this aspect of social responsibility. While there is some knowledge about the political behavior, organizational involvement, and volunteering behavior of African Americans, the extent to which individuals participate in pro-social behavior to contribute specifically to their racial group and hold attitudes supporting such activities is unclear.

Given the complexity of social responsibility endorsement among African Americans (Mattis, 2001), it is necessary to first acknowledge the multifaceted nature of social responsibility. Specifically, support for social responsibility is evident both in the attitudes individuals hold as well as the behaviors they choose to engage in. Focusing solely on social responsibility behaviors does not provide an accurate picture of one's social responsibility endorsement. To lay the ground work for future conceptualizations of social responsibility, the current dissertation explores social responsibility attitudes as well as social responsibility behaviors. This multifaceted approach provides a better understanding of how different aspects of social obligation are associated with other constructs. In line with this, this dissertation first explores the relationship between social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors. While it is probable that there will be a correlation between these variables, the extent of this relationship is unknown. Building on these findings a second aim of the study is to explore demographic differences in both social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors.

Employing the compensation, ethnic community, and cultural norms theories, this study also investigates the ways in which perceptions of societal oppression, experiences

with racial discrimination, and racial attitudes are separately and jointly associated with social responsibility endorsement. First, in light of the hypothesis that African Americans' perceptions of oppression and experiences with racial discrimination influence their social responsibility endorsement (Lane, 1959; Myrdal et al., 1944), this study will explore the relations between social responsibility attitudes and behaviors with perceptions of societal oppression and experiences with racial discrimination. While a relationship between perceived societal oppression and social responsibility is expected as put forth by the compensation theory, I contend that this relationship is facilitated by a desire to fight against societal oppression, not to make up for shortcomings of the African American community. While perceptions of societal oppression are influential, the current study will also examine personal experiences with discrimination as correlates of social responsibility. It is expected that there is an association between social responsibility attitudes and behaviors with racial discrimination such that greater endorsement of social responsibility attitudes and behaviors are related to a greater frequency of racial discrimination encounters. It is also expected that the multiplicative effect of perceptions of societal oppression and experiences with racial discrimination further explain variation in social responsibility attitudes and behaviors.

To provide a better understanding of social responsibility endorsement and the role that the meaning and significance of race plays, Racial Centrality, regard, and ideology are examined. In utilizing the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity as a framework for racial identity, this study acknowledges the complexity of racial identification beyond "a shared sense of oppression". Racial Centrality is critical to a discussion of social responsibility as it contributes to our understanding of how perceived

identification with the group may or may not facilitate social responsibility endorsement. Furthermore, examining the regard dimension provides greater information about the affective meaning of racial identification and clarifies whether a damaged self-concept, or feeling negative about being African American and/or believing others perceived African Americans negatively, relates to race-specific social responsibility endorsement. Endorsement of nationalist and minority ideologies underscores how perceptions of group distinctiveness may be related to social responsibility ideals, as these ideologies buy into the concept that African Americans and other minorities endure a unique struggle. Generally, it is expected that individuals who hold race as more central to their self-concept, feel more positive about being African American, and believe others hold more negative views of African Americans will report greater support for social responsibility attitudes and more involvement in social responsibility behaviors. While the relationship between social responsibility endorsement and Minority Ideology is unclear, it is also anticipated that individuals who endorse the uniqueness of being African American will show more support for social responsibility.

This work explores social responsibility endorsement and its relationship to psychological adjustment outcomes (i.e. self-esteem, depressive symptomatology, psychological well-being, and life satisfaction). Based on previous research with predominantly White samples, it is expected that endorsement of social responsibility attitudes and engagement in social responsibility behaviors will be related to more positive psychological outcomes.

The current study also examines university racial composition as an influential factor in social responsibility endorsement. Making sense of the role of university racial

composition will provide a better understanding of how being immersed in a particular racial environment either contributes or hinders social responsibility, as well as how organizational values (via the college context) influence social responsibility ideals and endorsement. Finally, the extent to which experiences with racial discrimination, racial identity, and university racial composition interact with perceptions of societal oppression to moderate social responsibility ideals and engagement is also examined.

Although the crux of the compensation, ethnic community, and cultural norm theories rests on comparing support for social responsibility among African Americans to Whites, this dissertation refrains from using this comparative methodology. The primary focus of this work is to explore the mechanisms associated with social responsibility within the African American community. In fact, there is evidence to suggest there is greater within-group heterogeneity than between-group heterogeneity among African Americans and Whites with regards to social responsibility endorsement (Klobus-Edwards et al., 1978; McIntosh & Danigelis, 1995). Exploring the correlates of this with-in group variance within an African American college sample is the focus of this dissertation.

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Research Questions and Hypotheses

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The dissertation addresses six inter-related questions regarding social responsibility and African American college students. These questions are:

Question 1: *What is the relationship between social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors?*

It is predicted that social responsibility attitudes will be associated with social responsibility behaviors. Although a significant relationship is expected, I believe the

association will be weak. Previous evidence suggests there is often a discrepancy between the attitudes individuals hold regarding social responsibility and their actual behaviors (McAdam, 1986; Stewart et al., 1998). Moreover, there is clear empirical evidence to suggest demographic factors such as socioeconomic status and employment status influence engagement in social responsibility behaviors (Verba et al., 1995). However, these same dynamics are not likely to influence social responsibility attitudes.

Question 2:

Part 1. *Are there group differences in social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors by background and contextual variables?*

With regards to background variables, it is hypothesized that participants who are older, female, and have parents with more years of education will show greater endorsement for social responsibility attitudes and behaviors. Drawing on previous literature (Mattis et al., 2004; Musick, Wilson, & Bynum, 2000) it is also expected that individuals who attend church and are unemployed will show greater support for social responsibility. Finally, participants who attend historically Black institutions will report greater mean endorsement of social responsibility attitudes, while participants who attend predominantly White institutions will report significantly greater involvement in social responsibility behaviors. This prediction is largely based on research that indicates historically Black universities incorporate race-specific social responsibility into their university mission, such that they promote socially responsible attitudes (Slevin, 2005). However, a separate body of literature suggests individuals who attend predominantly White institutions tend to seek out Black organizations and other activities that involve social responsibility towards the racial group as a means of social support in racially

hostile environments (Chavous, 2005; Guiffrida, 2003). Hence, it is likely that while social responsibility attitudes will be endorsed to a greater extent by students at historically Black universities, participants at predominantly White institutions will be involved in significantly more social responsibility behaviors.

Part 2. *Do background and contextual factors moderate the relationship between social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors?*

It is expected that parent education, church attendance, and university racial composition will significantly predict social responsibility attitudes. It is also predicted that parent education, church attendance, employment status, and university racial composition will be related to social responsibility behaviors.

Question 3:

Part 1. *Are perceptions of societal oppression and experiences with racial discrimination related to social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors among African American college students?*

This study hypothesizes that perceptions of societal oppression and personal experiences with racial discrimination are influential in social responsibility endorsement. Specifically, individuals who believe societal oppression is responsible for the social ills plaguing African Americans will report greater endorsement of social responsibility attitudes and report more involvement in social responsibility behaviors compared to individuals who do not believe race is a factor in the social condition of African Americans. Based on previous research (Mattis et al., 2004), it is hypothesized that individuals who experience racial discrimination at higher levels will report greater support for social action favoring African Americans. Believing that society is oppressive

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and discriminatory may serve as a source of motivation for many African Americans who have a desire to work towards social equality.

Part 2. *Do individuals' experiences with racial discrimination moderate the association between perceptions of societal oppression and social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors?*

It is predicted that the relationship between societal oppression and social responsibility (attitudes and behaviors) will be stronger for individuals who experience more frequent racial discrimination. Specifically, more frequent encounters with racial discrimination will exacerbate the positive relationship between perceptions of societal oppression and social responsibility. However, the relationship between perceptions of societal oppression and social responsibility will be relatively unaffected at lower levels of racial discrimination.

Question 4: *Are individuals' racial identity attitudes related to social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors?*

Consistent with the group consciousness research conducted by Gurin and colleagues (Gurin et al., 1980), this dissertation speculates that individuals who see race as central to their self-concept will report greater support for and engagement in social responsibility. Moreover, the ethnic community theory further suggests individuals who hold their race as central to their self-concept will report greater endorsement for social responsibility in that they identify in some way with the group. Similarly, the current study posits that individuals who feel good about being African American will show greater support for social responsibility, whereas individuals who feel less positive about

being a member of the group will show less endorsement. However, it is hypothesized that Public Regard will not be related to social responsibility endorsement. Both the Private Regard and Public Regard hypotheses are in contradiction with the compensation theory, as this theory suggests African Americans engage in social responsibility behaviors as a way to compensate for supposed shortcomings and racial inadequacies as perceived by Whites. These predictions are based on the notion that the feelings and opinions of outgroup members are not necessarily as influential to African Americans as previous scholars claim (Orum, 1966). With regards to the meaning individuals attribute to being African American, it is expected that individuals who perceive similarities between African Americans and other oppressed groups and believe being African American is unique from other social identities and will show more support for social responsibility attitudes and be more involved in social responsibility behaviors. In some respect, this assertion draws on the cultural norm theory in that it posits that particular cultural beliefs, in this case viewing African American racial identity as distinctive, will be associated with greater support for social responsibility attitudes and behaviors.

Question 5: *Do racial identity attitudes moderate the relationship between social responsibility endorsement and perceptions of societal oppression?*

It is hypothesized that the relationship between societal oppression and social responsibility endorsement will be moderated by Racial Centrality, Private Regard, and Nationalist ideologies. Specifically, it is predicted that at higher levels of Racial Centrality, Private Regard, and Nationalist Ideology, the relationship between societal oppression and social responsibility (attitudes and behaviors) will be exacerbated. Hence, the more an individual views race as central to their self-concept, feels positive about

being African American, and believes being African American is a unique experience, the stronger the relationship will be between societal oppression and social responsibility attitudes and behaviors. A moderating relationship is not expected for Public Regard and Minority Ideology.

Question 6: *To what extent are social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors related to individual's self-esteem, prevalence of depressive symptoms, psychological well-being, and satisfaction with life?*

Based on previous research (McPherson, 1977; Musick & Wilson, 2003), it is expected that there will be a positive relationship between social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors with more positive psychological outcomes. Chiefly, individuals who indicate greater support for and involvement in social responsibility will report fewer depressive symptoms, and higher levels of self-esteem, psychological well-being, and life satisfaction.

Chapter III

METHOD

Participants

Three hundred and three self-identified African American male and female college students were recruited for participation in the current study. The participants were recruited from three predominantly White institutions (PWI) and two predominantly Black institutions (HBI). The present sample consists of 152 African American students who attended a PWI (50 recruited from the University of Michigan, 50 recruited from Michigan State University, and 52 recruited from the University of Cincinnati) and 151 African American students recruited from the HBIs (75 recruited from Morgan State University and 76 recruited from North Carolina A&T State University).

With regards to the overall sample, an overwhelming majority of the participants in this study are female (81.2%). At the time of data collection the average age of participants was 20 years old (M = 20.10, SD = .17). See Table 1. The average GPA reported by participants ranged from 3.00 to 3.24; 57% of the sample indicated that they had a GPA above 3.00. The median family income reported by students was between $50,000 and $59,999. Although 46.3% of participants' mothers received at least a college diploma, the median level of education completed by participants' mothers was "some college." Fifty-five percent of the sample was employed and 54% attended religious services at least once a month.

Participants by University Racial Composition

Predominantly White Institutions. Participants from predominantly White institutions (N = 152) reported a mean age of 19 years old (M = 19.34, SD = 2.13). See Table 3. These individuals were also overwhelmingly female (N = 122) and held freshmen classification status (N = 77). The majority of participants (62.5%) reported a GPA of at least 3.00. The sample GPA mean fell between 3.00 – 3.24. Also, the majority of respondents indicated that their parents had either completed some college or received a college diploma. The mean level of total family income was $60,000 – 69,999. Close to half of these respondents were employed and a little over half of the sample (53%) attended religious services at least once a month.

Historically Black Institutions. Respondents from HBIs (N = 151) reported a mean age of approximately 21 years old (M = 20.87, SD = 3.58). Similar to the sample recruited from PWIs, an overwhelmingly 83% of participants from HBIs were female. The mean GPA reported by individuals from HBIs fell between 2.75 – 2.99. Close to fifty-two percent of the sample from HBIs reported a GPA that was at least 3.00. These participants also held more senior status at their universities; 58% of them were either junior or senior students. On average, respondents indicated that their parents' highest level of education was some college and that their total family income was between $60,000 – 69,999. The majority of participants who attended HBIs were employed. Fifty-four percent of the sample attended religious services at least once a month. See Table 3.

Overall, participants from PWIs were younger, held less senior standing in their universities, and had higher GPAs than their counterparts at HBIs. Compared to students from PWIs, respondents recruited from HBIs indicated that their parents had fewer years of education. More participants from HBIs were employed and they generally indicated

that they attended religious services less frequently than their peers at PWIs. However, the gender distribution was comparable across both types of institutions. See Table 4.

<u>Participants by University</u>

University of Michigan. The University of Michigan is a large public PWI located in a small city in the Midwestern region of the country. The total undergraduate enrollment of the university is 26,083 students; 13, 016 students are male and the remaining 13, 067 are female. Twenty-five percent of undergraduates are non-White. African Americans in particular make up four-percent of the undergraduate student body.

Fifty participants were recruited from the University of Michigan. The sample was majority female (74%) and upperclassmen as 14% of the participants were freshmen, 22% were sophomores, 38% were juniors, and 26% indicated that they were seniors. The mean age for participants at this recruitment location was approximately 20 years old (M = 20.38, SD = 2.68). Over half of the participants (52%) reported a grade point average of 3.00 or above. Sixty-five percent of the participants from this location indicated that their mothers' highest level of education completed was at least a college degree. Also, 58% of the participants reported that they were employed. See Table 2. The response rate at this recruitment location was 7%.The response rate is particularly low at this recruitment site as a large number of students were contacted by email for participation in the study (N = 735), while the desired sample size was only 50 participants. However, taking into account the number of individuals who actually opened the recruitment email and clicked on the link to the study (N = 146), the response rate increases to 34%.

Michigan State University. Michigan State University, another PWI, is a land-grant public institution, also located in the Midwestern region of the United States. As of

fall 2007, of the 46, 045 students, approximately 36, 000 are undergraduates. Fifty-four percent of the university population is female, while 46% are male. With regards to racial composition, 7.4% are African American, 5.1% are Asian/Pacific Islander, 2.8% are Hispanic, and 0.7% are Native American. The remaining 84% are White.

Fifty students were recruited from Michigan State University. The participants from this recruitment location were overwhelmingly female, as females made up 86% of the sample. The mean age of participants in this study was 18 years old (M = 18.34, SD = 1.59). Moreover, 90% of the participants indicated that they were freshmen. Over three-quarters of the participants reported a GPA over 3.00. Twenty-one participants, or 42%, indicated that their parent had received at least a college diploma. Over half of the participants reported that they were not employed. The response rate at Michigan State University was 8%. Again, the rate is somewhat low as a result of the high number of students who were contacted to participate (N = 596). However, accounting only for participants who opened the email and clicked on the study link (N = 163), the response rate increases to 31%.

University of Cincinnati. The University of Cincinnati is a predominantly White, public, research university located in an urban city also in the Midwestern region of the country. The University of Cincinnati enrolls more females, 54.3%, than males, 45.7%. Of the 36,518 students 58% of the students at this institution are undergraduates. African Americans make up 10.3% of the student population, Asian/Pacific Islanders 2.8%, and Hispanics 1.5%.

Of the 52 individuals who took part in this study from the University of Cincinnati, only ten, or 19.2% of the participants, were male. On average participants

were 19 years old (M = 19.29, SD = 1.43) and reported a GPA that ranged from 3.00 to 3.24. Mostly freshmen and sophomores volunteered to participate in this study (75%). Forty-two percent of the participants indicated that their mother had received at least a college diploma. Exactly 50% of the participants were employed while 65% reported that they attended religious services at least once a month. See Table 2. The response rate at this recruitment site was 94%.

Morgan State University. Morgan State University, designated as a public urban university, is a HBI located in a large city in the Mid-Atlantic region. A primary mission of the university is to address the needs of residents, schools, and organizations within the local metropolitan area. The majority of the student population is female (56%). Of the 5,990 undergraduate students enrolled at the university, 91% are African American, .7% are Asian/Pacific Islander, .9% are Hispanic, and .2% are Native American.

Seventy-five participants were recruited from Morgan State University. Participants at this HBI reported a mean age of 21 years old (M = 21.40, SD = 4.19). In line with this, 60% of the sample was either a junior or senior at the university. A little over three-quarters of the sample were female (76% female). Thirty-seven percent of the participants reported that their mother received at least a college diploma. Approximately 67% of the participants at this site were employed and another 44% attended religious services at least once a month. The response rate at Morgan State University was 54%.

North Carolina A&T State University. North Carolina A&T, another HBI, is located in a major city in the Southeastern region. The undergraduate enrollment as of fall 2007 is 9,048 students. Although 91% of the university student population is African American, 4% identify as White, and the remaining students are of Asian and Hispanic

descent.

At North Carolina A&T State University participants reported a mean age of 20 years old (M = 20.36, SD = 2.78). The gender distribution was mostly female (88.2% female). However, there was a fairly even distribution across classifications such that 23.7% of the participants were freshmen, 19.7% were sophomores, 22.4% were juniors, and 34.2% were seniors. A little over 60% of the participants reported a GPA that was at or above 3.00. Also, 46.3% of the participants reported that their mother received at least a college diploma. Over half of the participants at this location were employed (56.6%) and attended religious services at least once a month (64.4%). See Table 2. The response rate at this site was 68%.

Procedures

Participants from the various universities were recruited using several strategies. Although somewhat different methods were used to recruit students at the University of Michigan, Michigan State University, and the University of Cincinnati they were somewhat similar in nature in that students were recruited via email. However, at the HBIs, Morgan State University and North Carolina A&T State University, participants were recruited in classrooms.

At the University of Michigan the researcher obtained email addresses for all self-identified African Americans undergraduates from the university registrar. At Michigan State University email addresses for all first year African American students were obtained from a university official. At both the University of Michigan and Michigan State University, the researcher sent a blind email to students informing them of the

study. Because students at these universities had not volunteered for the study, but were instead blindly contacted, they were introduced to the study for the first time and given a detailed overview of the study through an email sent out by the researcher. Individuals were made aware that they did not have to participate in the study and that there participation was strictly voluntary. The email also contained an electronic link to the study for interested participants. At the University of Cincinnati a recruitment email drafted by the researcher was distributed to all African American students using a university sponsored list-serv. Initially no individual email addresses were obtained. Instead, interested students were asked to email the researcher their name and email address. The researcher then emailed interested individuals reminding them of the nature of the study; this email also contained an electronic link to the study. At Morgan State University and North Carolina A&T University, the HBIs, students were recruited during class time. The researcher made arrangements with faculty members to visit classrooms to recruit students. The researcher gave a brief verbal overview of the study and asked that interested students provide their name and email address on a sign-up sheet provided by the researcher. The researcher contacted all of the participants who provided their contact information by email. The email reminded individuals about the nature of the study and also provided a direct electronic link to the internet study.

Regardless of recruitment method, once students received the email with the link to the study they were asked to click on it. Once participants clicked on the link a new window was opened on the computer and individuals were taken directly to the survey. The first page of the survey again, provided a reminder about the nature of the study and provided individuals the opportunity to decline participation by closing out of the active

window. Individuals who wished to continue with the study were then presented with an electronic informed consent form which instructed them that they could quit the study at any time and that they could skip any items they desired. Individuals who consented were asked to provide an electronic signature and date. After completing this step participants began the study by clicking on the "*Next*" button. Participants were then presented with a series of questions related to their background, beliefs, experiences, feelings, and attitudes. Each scale, or set of items, was presented separately in that participants had to click the "*Next*" button to continue the survey. Upon completion of the survey participants were debriefed and provided with information about how to retrieve their $15 cash compensation. Specifically, participants were provided with the location, dates, and times where they would be able to pick-up their compensation from the researcher.

Measures

Background Variables

Several variables were used to measure participants' relevant demographic information.

Age. Participants were presented with a single open-ended item asking "How old are you?"

Gender. Participants were presented with a close-ended item asking "What is your gender." The response choices for this item were 0 (male) and 1 (female).

Total Family Income. To assess family income participants were asked "Looking at the categories below, which best describes your family's total household income last year?". Response options included Less than 10,000, $10,000-$19,999, $20,000-$29,999,

$30,000-$39,999, $40,000-$49,999, $50,000-$59,999, $60,000-$69,999, $70,000-$79,999, $80,000-$89,999, $90,000-$99,999, $100,000-$109,999, $110,000-$119,999, $120,000-$129,999, $130,000-139,999, $140,000-149,999, and More than $150,000.

Parent Education. Participants were asked "What is the highest level of education your mother has achieved?" to assess parents highest level of education. Junior high school or less, Some high school, Received high school diploma, Some college, Received college diploma, Some graduate school, Master's Degree, Ph.D./M.D./J.D, and Not applicable were presented as response options.

Employment Status.   "Are you currently employed?" was used to determine whether participants were currently employed. Response options included No (0) and Yes (1).

Religious Service Attendance. Frequency of religious service attendance was evaluated using the item "How often do you attend religious services?" Response options ranged from 1 to 7 and included Never, Once or twice a year, Several times a year, Once a month, Two or three times a month, Nearly every week, and More than once a week.

Social Responsibility Variables

In the present study, participants' social responsibility attitudes and involvement in social responsibility behaviors was used to evaluate feelings of obligation and concern for the racial group and involvement in race-related social action.

Social Responsibility Attitudes. To evaluate participants' attitudes about social responsibility 12-items were developed by the researcher (see appendix A for list of items). The items were scored on a 5-point likert-scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree)

to 5 (strongly agree), where higher scores were suggestive of greater social responsibility endorsement. Consistent with the focus of this study, these items inquire about social responsibility attitudes towards the racial group in particular. Sample items from this measure asks participants to indicate their level of agreement with the statements "Black people should fight against injustice and racism" and "Black people have a responsibility to contribute to the Black community."

To evaluate the psychometric properties of this scale an exploratory factor analysis was conducted. The results from the principal components extraction using a varimax rotation indicate there are two factors underlying this scale, explaining a total of 55.59% of the variance (see Table 5). Closer examination of the extraction indicates that only two of the initial twelve items did not load on the first factor. Coincidently, these were also the only recoded items in the scale, 'Black people should tend to their own business and not worry about the larger Black community' and 'Black people should strive to be the best educated/trained they can be and not spend time getting involved in collective action'. These items were also double-barreled questions. Results from a second factor analysis, not including the items that loaded on factor 2, suggests the scale is most parsimonious using only the ten items that loaded on factor 1 (see Table 6). These ten items explained 53.06% of the variance ($\alpha = .90$).

Social Responsibility Behaviors. The social responsibility behaviors measure is a 15-item index of individuals' levels of involvement in socially responsible behaviors that are intended to improve the plight of the African American community. The researcher developed many of the items used in this scale, and select items were taken from established scales of civic engagement, political participation, and activism. Participants

responded to a four-point rating scale ranging from 0 (Never) to 3 (More than Four Times) indicating their level of involvement with each behavior in the past year. Higher scores suggest greater involvement in socially responsible behavior. Sample items from this scale include "Attended conferences or meetings that focused on Black issues" and "Tutored Black youth" See Appendix B, for all socially-responsible items.

The psychometric properties of the scale were assessed. The internal consistency of the scale was satisfactory ($\alpha = .92$). However, an exploratory factor analysis using varimax rotation was conducted to determine if the items loaded on the same factor. The analysis yielded two factors explaining a total of 57.58% of the variance, Factor 1 alone explained 48.92% of the variance. Twelve items loaded onto one factor, while the remaining three loaded on a second factor (see Table 7). The three items that loaded on factor 2 included "volunteered for a political campaign for a Black candidate", "protested (marched, wrote letters, boycotted, etc.) when you felt you or others had been treated unfairly because of your race", and "protested (marched, wrote letters, boycotted, etc.) in support of a pro-Black cause." "Volunteered for a political campaign" was dropped from all analyses due to low variance. Although the remaining two items loaded on a separate factor, they were not removed from the scale. This was done for two reasons. First, the overall reliability of the scale was unaffected when these items were included ($\alpha = .93$). Second, these items were highly correlated and likely measured the same underlying construct ($r = .88$, $p < .01$). Hence, the social responsibility behaviors scale included 14 items. See Table 8.

Race-related Beliefs, Experiences, and Attitudes

Participants' race-related attitudes were assessed from measures of their perceptions of societal oppression, experiences with racial discriminations, and racial identity.

Group Impact Scale. The Group Impact Scale (α = .94) was used to evaluate perceptions of societal oppression (Harrell,1997). This measure assessed individuals' perceptions of the impact of racism on African Americans as a group, regardless of their personal experiences with racism. Respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they believe racism impacts African American's experiences in the workplace, their health status, health care, and encounters with the police or legal system, etc. This scale is measured on a five-point scale ranging from 0 (not at all influenced by racism) to 4 (extremely influenced by racism). Higher scores are indicative of beliefs that racism and oppression greatly impact the experiences of African Americans (See Appendix C).

The Racism and Life Experiences Scale. Experiences with racial discrimination were evaluated using *The Racism and Life Experience Scales (RaLES)*. The *RaLES* (α = .96) consists of 18 items evaluating how often individuals have been discriminated against because of their race in the past year (Harrell, 1994). Sample items include: "In the past year, how often have you been ignored, overlooked, or not given service (in a restaurant, store, etc.) because of your race?" and "In the past year, how often were you treated rudely or disrespectfully because of your race?". The frequency of discrimination was measured using a 6-point response scale ranging from 0 (never) to 5 (once a week or more). Higher scores are indicative of encountering more racial discrimination (See Appendix D).

Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity. The Multidimensional Inventory of

Black Identity was used to evaluate the stable dimensions of the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (Sellers, Smith et al., 1998). The MIBI-S includes assessments of Centrality, private and Public Regard, nationalist, minority, assimilation, and humanist ideologies. However, the assimilation and humanist ideologies are not utilized in the present study. The 5-point Likert scale ranges from 1 (really disagree) to 5 (really agree). Higher scores are indicative of greater endorsement of the racial identity dimension. See Appendix E.

The Centrality scale ($\alpha = .75$) measures the extent to which being Black is important to the individuals' self-concept. Three statements assess the importance of being Black to the individual. Sample items include "Being Black is an important part of who I am" and "I have a strong sense of belonging to Black people." Regard includes two subscales: Private Regard and Public Regard. The Private Regard subscale ($\alpha = .82$) addresses individuals' feelings about their race and how positively or negatively they feel about being a member of their racial group. Private Regard items include: "I am happy that I am Black" and "I feel good about Black people." Public Regard subscale ($\alpha = .76$) evaluates how positively or negatively the individual feels others view their race. Sample Public Regard items are "Most people think that Blacks are as smart as people from other races" and "Society views Black people as an asset."

The Ideology scale includes four subscales, but only the Nationalist and Minority subscales are used in the present study. The Nationalist subscale ($\alpha = .69$) measures the extent to which individuals stress the uniqueness of being black. This 3-item subscale includes items such as "Black parents should surround their children with black art and black books" and "Black people must organize themselves into a separate Black political

force." The Minority subscale (α = .73) assesses the individual's belief that they share a mutual experience with other minority groups. "Being the only black kid in class is no different than being the only Latino or Asian kid in class" and "There are other people who experience racial injustice and indignities similar to Black Americans." are included in the Minority Ideology subscale.

<u>Psychological Functioning</u>

The present study utilizes individuals' scores on four scales (self-esteem, depression, well-being, life satisfactions) to operationalize participants' levels of psychological functioning.

Rosenberg Self-esteem Scale. Evaluation of individuals' orientation towards the self was measured using the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965). This measure (α = .89) assessed the level of agreement with ten statements regarding how positively or negatively the individuals felt about themselves. Sample items include: "On the whole, I am satisfied with myself" and "I feel that I have a number of good qualities." The 4-point Likert scale included 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree). Higher scores are indicative of higher levels of self-esteem.

Center for Epidemiological Studies – Depression Scale. The Center for Epidemiological Studies – Depression Scale (α = .87) assesses the presence and frequency of depressive symptoms (Radloff, 1977). Twenty-items were used to rate the frequency in which participants experienced symptoms related to clinical depression within the past week. The response scale ranged from 1 (rarely or none of the time, less than one day) to 4 (most or all of the time, 5 – 7 days). This scale included items such as

"I was bothered by things that do not usually bother me" and "I felt everything I did was an effort." Scores were averaged such that higher scores denoted a greater occurrence of depressive symptoms.

Psychological Well-being Scale. The 24-item Psychological Well-being Scale (Ryff, 1989) was utilized to assess individuals' level of generalized well-being ($\alpha = .90$). This is a composite scale of psychological well-being in that it was developed from six subscales. These subscales included Autonomy, Environmental Mastery, Personal Growth, Positive Relations with Others, Purpose in Life, and Self-acceptance. The author of the scale conducted a factor analysis for each subscale and chose the four items from each subscale that loaded highest on each subscale. To assure that the composite scale held together in the current study a factor analysis was conducted using the 24-items selected by Ryff. Similar to initial findings, six factors were revealed in the factor analysis, consistent with the six subscales used to develop the instrument.

Using a 5-point Likert type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree), participants rated their agreement with each statement. A sample item on this scale includes: Higher scores on the scale are indicative of higher levels of psychological well-being. A sample item from the Autonomy subscale was "I have confidence in my opinions, even if they are contrary to general consensus." "In, general, I feel I am in charge of the situation in which I live" was used as a sample item for the Environmental Mastery subscale. Personal Growth was evaluated using items such as "I think it is important to have new experiences that challenge how you think about yourself and the world." The subscale that assessed positive relations with others included items similar to "People would describe me as a giving person, willing to share my time with others."

"Some people wander aimlessly through life, but I am not one of them" was used in the Purpose in Life subscale. Finally, I like most aspects of my personality" was used included in the Self-acceptance subscale.

Satisfaction with Life Scale. Life satisfaction was evaluated using the Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). The 5-item measure (α = .82) assessed participant's level of agreement with five statements, two of them being "In most ways my life is close to my ideal" and "So far, I have gotten the important things I want out of life." The response scale ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree), where higher scores were indicative of greater satisfaction with life.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Preliminary Analysis of Social Responsibility Constructs and Key Study Variables

Means and standard deviations are presented for social responsibility variables,

race-related beliefs, experiences and attitudes, as well as psychological outcomes (see

Table 9). Group differences in these variables are also presented.

Social Responsibility Variables

Social Responsibility Attitudes. Descriptive statistics were assessed for social

responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors. With regard to social

responsibility attitudes, respondents generally indicated that they "agreed" with

statements that endorsed social responsibility to their racial group (M = 3.98, SD = .66).

Participants showed greatest support for the items: "successful Blacks should help other

Blacks to succeed" (M = 4.43, SD = .82); "Black people should fight against injustice

and racism" (M = 4.34, SD = .83); and "Black people should be involved in the political

process so that they can influence who makes decisions that affect the Black community"

(M = 4.28, SD = .85). Less support was found for the items: "Black people should choose

careers that will allow them to make change in Black communities" (M =3.41, SD =

1.04); "Black people have a responsibility to contribute to the Black community" (M =

3.71, SD = 1.08); and "The success of the racial group is dependent on the willingness of

Black people to get involved in the community" (M = 3.86, SD = 1.02). One-way

analysis of variance indicated that participants at the University of Michigan, Michigan

State University, University of Cincinnati, Morgan State University, and North Carolina A&T State University did not differ significantly from one another in their level of endorsement for social responsibility attitudes, $F(4, 298) = .79$, ns. See Table 10.

Social Responsibility Behaviors. On average, participants reported low engagement in social responsibility behaviors ($M = 1.19$, $SD = .75$). The most frequent social responsibility behaviors were: "attended meetings or conferences that focused on Black issues" ($M = 1.50$, $SD = 1.09$); "used your education and/or career skills to contribute to the Black community in some way" ($M = 1.51$, $SD = .11$), and "made a conscious effort to stay informed about issues relevant to Black people" ($M = 1.94$, $SD = .96$). The least frequent social responsibility behaviors were: "protested (marched, wrote letters, boycotted, etc.) in support of a pro-Black cause" ($M = .60$, $SD = .92$); "protested (marched, wrote letters, boycotted, etc.) when you felt you or others had been treated unfairly because of your race" ($M = .62$, $SD = .88$), and "participated in efforts to improve predominantly Black neighborhoods" ($M = .86$, $SD = 1.04$).

One-way ANOVA results indicate that engagement in social responsibility behaviors differed across universities $F(4, 298) = 4.09$, $p < .01$. Respondents at the University of Michigan ($M = 1.42$, $SD = .84$) reported greater involvement in these behaviors than respondents at Morgan State University ($M = .98$, $SD = .61$). Similarly, students at the University of Cincinnati ($M = 1.41$, $SD = .69$) also reported significantly greater involvement in social responsibility behaviors than students at Morgan State University.

Race-related Beliefs, Experiences, and Attitudes

Societal Oppression. On average, participants in this sample believe societal

oppression has had a moderate impact on African Americans (M = 2.38, SD = .84). Participants indicated that they believed that: "the way people are portrayed in the media (e.g. TV, movies newspapers)" (M = 3.06, SD = 1.10); "things that happen with the police or the legal system" (M = 2.83, SD = 1.02); "the way the political system works (e.g. the electoral process, districting, voting)" (M = 2.61, SD = 1.18); "the way the public social service system works (e.g. welfare)" (M = 2.60, SD = 1.18); and "housing quality and availability" (M = 2.60, SD = 1.17) were most impacted by race. The items thought to be least impacted by race were: "the environment (e.g. cleanliness, pollution, noise)" (M = 1.72, SD = 1.25); "things that happen in family, social, or intimate relationships" (M = 1.72, SD = 1.28); "self-esteem and emotional well-being" (M = 2.02, SD = 1.21); "relationships between people of your same racial/ethnic group" (M = 2.10, SD = 1.34); and "drug or alcohol problems" (M = 2.16, SD = 1.31). One-way analysis of variance revealed no group differences by university for perceptions of societal oppression, $F(4, 298) = 1.83$, ns.

Racial Discrimination. On average respondents reported experiencing between one and two racial hassles within the past year (M = 1.50, SD = 1.03). The most frequently reported forms of racial hassles were: "being treated rudely or disrespectfully" (M = 1.82, SD = 1.26); "being treated as if you were stupid, being talked down to" (M = 1.83, SD = 1.41); "being mistaken for someone else of your same race" (M = 1.82, SD = 1.46); "being stared at by strangers" (M = 1.74, SD = 1.45); "being observed or followed while in public places" (M = 1.73, SD = 1.37); and "been ignored, overlooked, or not given service (in a restaurant, store, etc.)" (M = 1.70, SD = 1.35). The least reported encounters with racial hassles were: "being laughed at, made fun of, or taunted" (M =

.73, SD = 1.19); "been disciplined unfairly because of your race" (M = .95, SD = 1.30); "being insulted, called a name or harassed" (M = 1.02, SD = 1.24); "other people avoiding you" (M = 1.23, SD = 1.41); and "being accused of something or treated suspiciously" (M = 1.42, SD = 1.32). Group differences were not found for racial discrimination experiences, $F(4, 298) = .93$, ns. See Table 11

Racial Identity. Participants reported that being Black was generally important to their self-concept as indicated by the fact that mean scores for racial centrality were past the midpoint of the scale (M = 3.63, SD = .78). Overall, respondents felt very positive about being African American as private regard scores approached the higher-end of the scale (M = 4.26, SD = .71). Conversely, participants felt that others held negative attitudes about African Americans (M = 2.58, SD = .70). Levels of minority ideology and nationalist ideology were moderate among participants as scores fell at the midpoint of the scale (M = 3.33, SD = .80 and M = 3.20, SD = .73, respectively).

Regarding racial identity group differences by university, no significant differences were evident for Centrality, Public Regard, or Minority Ideology. The overall model for Private Regard approached significance, $F(4, 296) = 2.00$, ns. Participants at the University of Cincinnati reported feeling most positive about being African American (M = 4.44, SD = .54), while participants at Michigan State University felt the least positive (M = 4.09, SD = .76). The omnibus ANOVA test for Nationalist Ideology was significant, suggesting there were significant group differences by university, $F(4, 296) = 2.68, p < .05$. However, Bonferroni post-hoc analyses indicate there were no significant differences between participants at the five universities. See Table 12.

Psychological Outcomes

As a whole respondents reported relatively high levels of self-esteem (M = 3.35, SD = .53). Also, they indicated a low prevalence of depressive symptoms (M = 1.78, SD = 47). Participants reported somewhat high psychological well-being (M = 3.79, SD = .55) and moderate satisfaction with life (M = 4.64, SD = 1.27). One-way ANOVA's indicated no school differences in self-esteem [$F(4, 298) = .57$, ns], depressive symptoms [$F(4, 298) = 1.15$, ns], psychological well-being [$F(4, 298) = 1.60$, ns], or satisfaction with life [$F(4, 298) = 1.69$, ns]. See Table 13.

Correlational Analyses

Bivariate correlations among key study variables (i.e. social responsibility variables, race-related beliefs, experiences, and attitudes, and psychological outcomes) and demographic variables are presented in Table 14. Only relevant findings are discussed within the text.

Correlations between Key Study Variables and Demographic Characteristics

Relationships between key study variables and background and contextual factors (i.e. age, gender, parent education, employment status, religious service attendance, and university racial composition) were examined. Generally, there were few significant correlations between key study variables and background and contextual factors. See Table 15. Social responsibility behaviors were positively correlated with religious service attendance ($r = .29$, $p < .01$) and negatively correlated with university racial composition ($r = .14$, $p < .05$). There was also a positive correlation between Nationalist Ideology and attending a historically Black university ($r = .15$, $p < .01$).

Correlations between Social Responsibility Variables and Key Study Variables

Bivariate correlations between social responsibility variables, race-related beliefs, experiences, and attitudes, and psychological outcomes were analyzed. Results indicate that social responsibility attitudes were positively associated with perceptions of societal oppression ($r = .37$, $p < .01$) and racial discrimination experiences ($r = .14$, $p < .05$). Believing that African Americans should give back to the African American community was also positively associated with holding race as central to the self-concept ($r = .35$, $p < .01$), feeling positive about being African American ($r = .33$, $p < .01$), and Nationalist Ideology ($r = .45$, $p < .01$). Conversely, social responsibility attitudes were negatively related to public regard, such that individuals who indicated that they felt some obligation to contribute to the racial community also believed that others held negative views of African Americans ($r = -.14$, $p < .05$). With regards to the psychological outcomes, bivariate correlations indicate that individuals who endorse higher levels of social responsibility attitudes also have higher levels of self-esteem ($r = .20$, $p < .01$) and higher levels of psychological well-being ($r = .23$, $p < .01$).

There are numerous significant correlations between social responsibility behaviors with race-related experiences, beliefs, and attitudes, and psychological well-being. Both societal oppression ($r = .19$, $p < .01$) and frequency of racial discrimination encounters ($r = .25$, $p < .01$) were positively correlated with social responsibility behaviors. Respondents who were more involved in social responsibility behaviors also held race as central to their self-concept ($r = .32$, $p < .01$), felt more positive about being African American ($r = .28$, $p < .01$), and believed that being African American is unique from being part of any other group ($r = .18$, $p < .01$). Furthermore, individuals who engaged in social responsibility behaviors also reported significantly higher levels of self-

esteem (r = .22, p < .01), greater psychological well-being (r = .26, p < .01), and more satisfaction with life (r = .22, p < .01).

Question 1

What is the relationship between social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors?

Employing a bivariate correlation analysis, the correlation between social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors was examined. Results indicate that social responsibility attitudes were positively related to social responsibility behaviors (r = .29, p < .01). A scatterplot of the relationship between social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors suggests the correlation between the variables is relatively weak. Specifically, involvement in social responsibility behaviors is most prevalent among individuals who show greater endorsement of social responsibility attitudes. However, the scatterplot does not provide definitive evidence of a linear relationship between endorsement of social responsibility attitudes and involvement in social responsibility behaviors. Though the samples' overall level of support for social responsibility attitudes was high, the scatterplot does not provide definitive support for the presence of a ceiling effect. See Table 16.

Question 2

Part 1.Are there demographic differences in social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors by background and contextual variables?

Two univariate analysis of variance models were run to determine if social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors significantly differed by age,

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gender, parent education, employment status, religious service attendance, and university racial composition. Model statistics and post-hoc analyses are discussed when applicable.

Social Responsibility Attitudes. Univariate analysis of variance findings indicate that social responsibility attitudes did not significantly differ by age [$F(15, 301) = 1.11$, ns], gender [$F(1, 301) = 1.19$, ns], parent education [$F(8, 301) = 1.35$, ns], employment status [$F(1, 301) = 1.91$, ns], religious service attendance [$F(6, 301) = 1.15$, ns], or university racial composition [$F(1, 301) = 1.13$, ns]. See Table 17.

Social Responsibility Behaviors. Though differences in social responsibility behaviors were not evident for age [$F(15, 301) = 1.33$, ns], gender [$F(1, 301) = .99$, ns], and parent education [$F(8, 301) = 1.29$, ns], a trend level effect was found for employment status [$F(1, 301) = 2.73$, $p < .10$]. However, engagement in social responsibility behaviors significantly varied as a function of religious service attendance [$F(6, 301) = 5.25$, $p < .01$]. A bonferroni post-hoc analysis indicates that individuals who never attended religious services ($M = .75$, $SD = .20$) were involved in significantly fewer social responsibility behaviors than respondents who attended religious services two or three times a week ($M = 1.37$, $SD = .17$) and who attended services nearly every week ($M = 1.47$, $SD = .16$). Participants who attended religious services once or twice a year ($M = .91$, $SD = .16$) also reported significantly less engagement in social responsibility behaviors than individuals who attended religious services two or three times a week and who attended services nearly every week. Significant group differences in social responsibility behavior were also detected between individuals who attended predominantly White universities and individuals who attended historically Black universities [$F(1, 301) = 16.656$, $p < .01$]. Participants who attended predominantly White

universities (M = 1.39, SD = .15) reported greater involvement in social responsibility behaviors than students at historically Black universities (M = 1.01, SD = .15). See Table 18.

Part 2. Do background and contextual factors moderate the relationship between social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors?

Social responsibility behaviors were regressed on background variables (age, gender, parent education, employment status), contextual variables (religious service attendance, university racial composition), and social responsibility attitudes using Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) linear multiple regression. See table 19. The background and contextual variables explained 19% of the variance in social responsibility behaviors [F(7, 293) = 11.27, p < .01]. Employment status (β = .12, p < .05) and religious service attendance (β = .28, p < .01) were positively related to involvement in social responsibility behaviors. Hence, participants who were employed and attended religious services more often were more involved in social responsibility behaviors. University racial composition was negatively related to engagement in social responsibility behaviors (β = -.20, p < .01). This relationship was such that participants who attended predominantly White universities reported more engagement in activities that contributed to the racial community. Social responsibility attitudes were still positively related to social responsibility behaviors (β = .28, p < .01) after accounting for the direct influence of background and contextual variables.

A second OLS multiple regression model was run to test the moderating effects of background and contextual variables on the relationship between social responsibility

attitudes and social responsibility behaviors. After the background and contextual

variables and social responsibility attitudes variables were centered, interaction terms

were created for each background and context variable with the social responsibility

attitudes variables. Although the overall model was significant, [$F(13, 287) = 6.37$, $p <$

.01], no added variance was explained when the interaction effects were added to the

model (see Table 20). The interaction between employment status x social responsibility

attitudes was the only significant interaction in the model (See Figure 3). Overall,

involvement in social responsibility behaviors was highest among individuals who were

not employed and showed more support for social responsibility attitudes. The least

amount of involvement in social responsibility behaviors was reported by individuals

who reported less support for social responsibility attitudes and were employed. The

difference in the slope of the lines (i.e. not employed vs. employed) was greater at higher

levels of social responsibility attitudes than at lower levels of social responsibility

attitudes. This suggests the greatest disparity in social responsibility behavior

involvement is between individuals who are not employed and are employed but show

greater support for social responsibility attitudes.

Multiple Regression Analyses

To test race-related beliefs, experiences, and attitudes as predictors of social

responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors a series of multiple regression

analyses were conducted. Age, gender, parent education, employment status, and

religious service attendance were treated as covariates in each model.

Question 3

Part 1. Are perceptions of societal oppression and experiences with racial discrimination related to social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors among African American college students?

Social Responsibility Attitudes. An OLS multiple regression model was analyzed to assess whether participants' attitudes toward societal oppression and experiences with racial discrimination were associated with their social responsibility attitudes. See Table 21. The overall model explained 14% of the variance in social responsibility attitudes ($F(7, 293) = 7.84$, $p < .01$). Results indicate a significant relationship between social responsibility attitudes and perceptions of societal oppression ($\beta = .35$, $p < .01$). Specifically, respondents who believed that societal oppression impacted African Americans tended to endorse social responsibility attitudes to a greater extent than individuals who did not believe societal oppression impacted African Americans. On the other hand, encounters with racial discrimination were not significantly related to social responsibility attitudes. With the exception of parent education ($\beta = -.11$, $p < .05$), none of the background or context variables were significantly related to social responsibility attitudes.

Social Responsibility Behaviors. A similar OLS multiple regression model was analyzed to predict individuals' social responsibility attitudes. The model explained 15% of the variance in social responsibility behaviors ($F(7, 293) = 8.73$, $p < .01$). The relationship between societal oppression and social responsibility behaviors approached significance ($\beta = .22$, $p < .10$). The analyses also indicated that respondents who had more frequent encounters with racial discrimination also reported significantly greater

involvement in social responsibility behaviors ($\beta = .22$, $p < .01$). Religious service attendance was significantly related to individuals' engagement in social responsibility behaviors such that individuals who attended religious services also reported higher levels of involvement in social responsibility behaviors ($\beta = .29$, $p < .01$). See Table 22.

Part 2. Do individuals' experiences with racial discrimination moderate the association between perceptions of societal oppression and social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors?

Social Responsibility Attitudes. Although the overall model was significant [$F(8, 292) = 6.84$, $p < .01$] and explained 14% of the variance, results yielded a non-significant racial discrimination x societal oppression interaction term ($\beta = -.01$, ns) indicating that racial discrimination did not moderate the relationship between perceptions of societal oppression and social responsibility attitudes (see Table 23).

Social Responsibility Behaviors. Similarly, the racial discrimination x societal oppression interaction term did not yield a significant coefficient ($\beta = -.07$, ns) in the model predicting social responsibility behaviors. See Table 24.

Question 4

Are individuals' racial identity attitudes related to their social responsibility attitudes and behaviors?

Social Responsibility Attitudes. OLS multiple regression analysis was conducted to examine the relationship between social responsibility attitudes and racial identity attitudes accounting for background and context variables (see table 25). Racial

Centrality, Private Regard, Public Regard, Minority Ideology, Nationalist Ideology and background variables accounted for 26% of the variance in social responsibility attitudes, $F(10, 286) = 11.13$, $p < .01$. Racial Centrality and Private Regard were not significantly related to social responsibility attitudes. Public regard was negatively related to social responsibility attitudes such that participants who believed others held more negative views of African Americans reported greater endorsement of social responsibility attitudes ($\beta = -.15$, $p < .01$). Nationalist Ideology was positively associated with social responsibility endorsement ($\beta = .35$, $p < .01$) such that participants who more strongly endorsed a Nationalist ideology reported greater support for social responsibility attitudes. Minority ideology was not significantly related to endorsement of social responsibility attitudes ($\beta = .05$, ns)

Social Responsibility Behaviors. A similar OLS regression analysis was employed with social responsibility behaviors as a dependent variable (see Table 26). The model explained 18% of the variance in social responsibility behaviors [$F(10, 286) = 7.57$, $p < .01$]. Racial Centrality ($\beta = .18$, $p < .01$) was positively associated with engagement in social responsibility behaviors such that individuals who held race as central to their self-concept reported more involvement in social responsibility behaviors. Both Private Regard ($\beta = .13$, $p < .10$) and Public Regard ($\beta = -.10$, $p < .10$) approached significance. Minority Ideology and Nationalist Ideology were not related to social responsibility behaviors. More frequent religious service attendance was associated with greater involvement in social responsibility behaviors ($\beta = .28$, $p < .01$).

Question 5

Do racial identity attitudes moderate the relationship between social responsibility

endorsement and perceptions of societal oppression?

To assess interactions between perceptions of societal oppression and racial identity attitudes two OLS multiple regressions were analyzed. These regression models include main effect terms for: 1) the background and context variables; 2) the societal oppression attitudes variable; 3) the racial identity variables; and 4) six interaction terms (Racial Centrality x Societal Oppression, Private Regard x Societal Oppression, Public Regard x Societal Oppression, Minority Ideology x Societal Oppression, and Nationalist Ideology x Societal Oppression) assessing the moderating relationship of racial identity on oppression attitudes. All variables within the model were entered in accordance with Aiken and West (1991).

Social Responsibility Attitudes. The model explained 25% of the variance in social responsibility attitudes [F(15, 281) = 7.40, p < .01]. Although the main effects for Private Regard (β = .13, p < .05), Public Regard (β = -.15, p < .01), and Nationalist Ideology (β = .35, p < .01) were significant in this model, analysis indicate there were no significant interactions between the various racial identity dimensions and societal oppression on social responsibility attitudes. See Table 27.

Social Responsibility Behaviors. Although the overall model was significant [F(15, 281) = 5.19, p < .00] and 18% of the variance was explained, there were no significant interactions between racial identity and perceptions of societal oppression. However, there were significant main effects for employment status (β = .11, p < .05), religious service attendance (β = .28, p < .01), Centrality (β = .18, p < .05), and Public Regard (β = -.11, p < .05). See Table 28.

Question 6

To what extent are social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors related to individual's self-esteem, prevalence of depressive symptoms, psychological well-being, and satisfaction with life?

Four OLS multiple regression analyses were conducted in order to examine the relationship between social responsibility variables with psychological outcomes. See Table 29. Both social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors were entered into the model as predictor variables along with age, gender, parent education, employment status, and religious service attendance

Self-esteem. The overall model explained 5% of the variance [$F(7, 293) = 3.35$, $p < .00$)]. The results indicate that social responsibility attitudes ($\beta = .14$, $p < .01$) and social responsibility behaviors ($\beta = .16$, $p < .01$) are positively and independently related to self-esteem. Endorsement of social responsibility attitudes and involvement in social responsibility behaviors was associated with higher levels of self-esteem.

Depressive Symptoms. The model predicting depressive symptoms explained 4% of the variance [$F(7, 293) = 2.63$, $p < .01$]. Social responsibility attitudes ($\beta = -.08$, ns) and social responsibility behaviors ($\beta = -.07$, ns) were not significantly related to depressive symptoms. Age was negatively related to depressive symptoms ($\beta = -.14$, $p < .05$) and employment status was positively related to depressive symptoms ($\beta = .13$, $p < .05$). Hence, younger participants and individuals who were employed reported higher levels of depressive symptoms than older participants and individuals who were not employed.

Psychological Well-being. Nine percent of the variance was explained in the

model predicting psychological well-being [$F(7, 293) = 5.11$, $p < .01$]. Social responsibility attitudes ($\beta = .17$, $p < .01$) and social responsibility behaviors ($\beta = .19$, $p < .01$) were the only significant variables related to psychological well-being. Participants who indicated greater support for social responsibility attitudes and were more involved in social responsibility behaviors reported greater psychological well-being.

Satisfaction with Life. The model explained 13% of the variance in life satisfaction [$F(7, 293) = 7.62$, $p < .01$]. Although endorsement of social responsibility attitudes was not related to satisfaction with life ($\beta = -.05$, ns), results show that greater involvement in social responsibility behaviors was positively associated with satisfaction with life ($\beta = .17$, $p < .01$). In addition, age was negatively related to life satisfaction such that younger participants reported significantly greater satisfaction with life ($\beta = -.17$, $p < .01$). Individuals who attended religious services more often also reported higher levels of life satisfaction ($\beta = .16$, $p < .01$).

Summary of Findings

These results suggest there is a positive relationship between social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors, though this relationship was somewhat weak. These findings support the hypothesis that there is a weak relationship between social responsibility attitudes and behaviors. Despite predictions, there were no group differences in social responsibility attitudes. However, engagement in social responsibility behaviors did vary as a function of religious service attendance and university racial composition. Specifically, individuals who attended church more frequently and attended predominantly White universities reported more involvement in

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social responsibility behaviors. These findings also indicate that even in the presence of background and contextual factors, social responsibility attitudes are positively related to engagement in social responsibility behaviors. However, being employed, attending religious services more frequently, and attending a predominantly White institution were also significantly related to social responsibility behaviors. These findings partially support the hypothesis. An examination of the moderating effects of background and contextual factors on the relationship between social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors yielded a significant interaction between employment status and social responsibility attitudes. This interaction suggests that being employed weakens the relationship between social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors as this relationship is stronger for unemployed individuals than for those individuals who are employed. Though other background and contextual factors did not moderate the relationship between social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors, the moderating effect of employment status partially supports the hypothesis.

The findings indicate that societal oppression is related to social responsibility attitudes, while encounters with racial discrimination are related to social responsibility behaviors. The current data partially support the hypothesis that societal oppression and experiences with racial discrimination would be related to both dimensions of social responsibility endorsement. However, there was not an interaction between societal oppression and racial discrimination for social responsibility attitudes or social responsibility behaviors. This hypothesis was not supported. Background and contextual variables, specifically parent education and religious service attendance, were also critical variables in these analyses.

The results from these analyses indicate that some aspects of racial identity are related to social responsibility endorsement. Specifically, Public Regard and Nationalist Ideology were related to social responsibility attitudes. Yet, Racial Centrality was the only significant predictor of social responsibility behaviors. These findings partially support the hypothesis. Again, religious service attendance was significantly related to social responsibility behaviors. Contrary to the stated hypothesis, these findings also suggest racial identity does not moderate the relationship between societal oppression and social responsibility endorsement.

These findings suggest social responsibility endorsement is positively related to psychological outcomes. Specifically, social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors are positively related to self-esteem and psychological well-being. Involvement in social responsibility behaviors was also associated with greater satisfaction with life. Social responsibility endorsement was not related to the presence of depressive symptoms. Age was the only variable related to depressive symptoms. Despite the lack of association between depressive symptoms with social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors, the prediction that social responsibility endorsement would be related to more positive psychological outcomes was supported.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

This study examined social responsibility endorsement among African American college students. Specifically, this research examined the relationship between social responsibility attitudes and involvement in social responsibility behaviors, as well as the association between social responsibility endorsement with background and contextual factors. This work also investigated the relationship between social responsibility attitudes and behaviors with race-related beliefs, experiences, and attitudes. In line with these study aims, social responsibility theories such as the compensation theory, ethnic community theory, and cultural norms theory were evaluated. Furthermore, the relation between social responsibility endorsement and self-esteem, depressive symptoms, psychological well-being, and life satisfaction was examined.

Overall, findings from this study suggest social responsibility among African Americans is a complex phenomenon. A host of background and contextual factors, as well as race-related factors, are critical to understanding individuals' attitudes about giving back to their racial community. With regards to background and contextual factors, employment status, religious service attendance, and university racial composition proved particularly important in this study. Even in the presence of these background and contextual factors, perceptions of societal oppression, experiences with racial discrimination, Racial Centrality, Public Regard, and Nationalist Ideology were independently related to social responsibility endorsement. This study also highlights the

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ways in which social responsibility endorsement may be beneficial for African Americans. The results from this study suggest social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors are related to positive psychological outcomes.

The focus of this chapter is to interpret major findings from the study. First, I discuss social responsibility endorsement in this sample, the relationship between social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors, and group differences in social responsibility endorsement. I then discuss how race-related experiences and racial identity attitudes are associated with social responsibility outcomes. Next, I pay attention to links between social responsibility endorsement and psychological outcomes and implications for these findings. Finally, I conclude the chapter with a discussion of the broader significance of the study as well as implications for future work, limitations and strengths of this research, as well as some closing remarks.

Social Responsibility Endorsement and Background and Contextual Characteristics

As is evident in research conducted by Shaw (1996) there is a general consensus within some aspects of the African American community that asserts members of the racial group should be engaged in efforts that contribute to the well-being of the African American community and work towards social justice. Findings from the current study are in line with this assertion, as individuals in this sample generally showed high levels of endorsement for social responsibility. These findings suggest that a belief in the importance of holding a social responsibility to one's racial group is so prevalent in the African American community that it may be a normative ideology. The same statement cannot be made for African American college students' actual engagement in social responsibility behaviors. There was a clear discrepancy between social responsibility

attitudes and social responsibility behaviors, in that noticeably fewer respondents were involved in social responsibility behaviors. In some ways these findings are inconsistent with work conducted by Stewart and colleagues (Stewart et al., 1998) in that over three-quarters of the African American women in that sample reported some involvement in traditional activist behaviors related to the Civil Rights movement, and another thirteen-percent reported indirect participation in activist behavior. However, these data were collected at the height of the civil rights movement. The saliency of Black activism during this time period may have greatly influenced their involvement. Other data presented by Stewart and colleagues (Stewart, et al., 1998) suggests actual social responsibility behaviors were less frequent and more variable among African American concerning the women's movement, a social movement that may have held less significance to African American women at the time. Also, the participants in this study were midlife women, whereas the current study focused on college students. Though these two populations may hold similar attitudes, the ability to act on these attitudes may differ greatly. In light of the findings by Stewart and colleagues (1998), the lack of engagement in social responsibility behaviors by individuals in the current sample may reflect a level of complacency with the current social position of African Americans in society and race-relations in general. However, it is also possible that social responsibility beliefs are so widely held within the African American community that individuals believe others within the community will do the work necessary to uphold these ideals. Both theories are beyond the scope of the current study and cannot be tested.

Despite the differing levels of endorsement for social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors, there was a positive relationship between the two types of

social responsibility endorsement. This relationship, though significant, was only modest

(r = .27). It is unclear why the relationship was not stronger between the variables. It is

possible that support for social responsibility attitudes was so uniformly high in this

sample that it may have been difficult to differentiate between individuals who were

involved in social responsibility behaviors and those who were not. However, it is

difficult to determine if this is the case, as the scatterplot did not show conclusive

evidence of a ceiling effect for social responsibility attitudes. While individual's social

responsibility attitudes were above the midpoint overall and involvement in social

responsibility behaviors was minimal, there was some variation between these variables.

Hence, the scatterplot does not provide any additional evidence as to whether or not a

ceiling effect was present. The varied nature of this relationship suggests social

responsibility is a multifaceted construct that should be studied from multiple viewpoints.

While these findings could be presented as evidence for why social responsibility

attitudes and behaviors should not be studied together, I argue that these constructs are

two separate dimensions of social responsibility endorsement and that they each

contribute different, but valuable, information to the study of social responsibility. By no

means are these dimensions the only factors related to social responsibility endorsement.

It would be useful to also inquire about individuals' explicit motivations, as well as

monitor current events and life circumstances as influential factors in endorsement.

Focusing on attitudes and behaviors is a first step in examining those factors that make up

social responsibility among African Americans.

Regarding background and contextual differences, analyses conducted in this

study suggest employment status, religious service attendance, and university racial

composition are critical factors in explaining the disparity between social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors. Perhaps some individuals are at a contextual advantage for social responsibility engagement, in that they are already involved in activities that provide further opportunity for social responsibility engagement. The present data also highlight group differences in social responsibility. Although background and contextual variables were not significant predictors of group differences in social responsibility attitudes, there were clear differences in social responsibility behaviors by religious service attendance and university racial composition.

As previous literature suggests (Harris, 1994; Mattis et al., 2004; Mattis et al., 2000; Musick et al., 2000) more frequent religious service attendance was associated with more involvement in social responsibility behaviors. Though participants in this study were asked to indicate their frequency of church attendance, they were not asked to specify their religious domination or affiliation. Hence, it is unclear whether individuals were members of traditionally African American denominations and churches, which place greater focus on social justice issues related to African Americans. However, it is likely that the vast majority of participants who reported some religious involvement attended predominantly African American churches, as Sunday morning has been coined "the most segregated hour in America" (King,1963). In some ways, the link between social responsibility behaviors and religious service attendance suggests participants in this study attended predominantly Black churches, as previous literature has established a strong link between race-specific social responsibility endorsement and the Black church (Billingsley, 1999).

A logical next step in this area of research is to examine differences in cultural

and political orientation across religious institutions. Initial work by Calhoun-Brown (1996) suggests these factors provide greater information about social responsibility involvement among African Americans than religious service attendance alone. Harris' (1994) study of African American and White churchgoers found that church activism encouraged social responsibility behaviors, but church *attendance* suppressed social responsibility involvement. Religious institutions with an organized social action program unconsciously communicate a culture that supports social responsibility. Fitzgerald and Spohn (2005) suggest this is evidence of a politicized church culture, or a culture where church members are encouraged to become involved in politics and other social issues. In the context of the current study findings, it is possible that the relationship between social responsibility behaviors and church attendance was driven by individuals who attended church frequently, but were also engaged in church activist behaviors. Church attendance may have actually served as a proxy for church activism in the current study. However, this theory cannot be tested as the current study does not offer information about church culture, political ideology, or other variables related to church-activism.

With regard to the differences in social responsibility behaviors by university racial composition, these findings suggest individuals at predominantly White institutions are more involved in efforts to achieve social justice for the African American community. These findings are in line with qualitative work conducted by Guiffrida (2003) which found that one of the primary reasons students at predominantly White institutions became involved in Black student organizations was to address issues relevant to their racial group and to give back to the community (2003). Qualitative data

reported by Guiffrida also suggests African American students become involved with Black student organizations to make connections with people of their same race and to receive social support (2003). This is a common theme in the literature focused on African American students at predominantly White institutions, as Black students at predominantly White institutions are thought to be involved in activities and organizations to meet other African American students who may share similar backgrounds and experiences (Mitchell & Dell, 1992; Moran, Yengo, & Algier, 1994). Relevant to the current study, participants at PWIs may have sought social support by involving themselves in activities that put them in contact with other African Americans; these activities may have been disproportionately social justice oriented. Despite the findings from this study, these data should be interpreted with caution, as the institutions differed greatly in size, location (i.e. rural, urban, suburban), and perhaps institutional climate. The institutional climate at some universities may have been more accepting of efforts geared towards social justice for African Americans. It is also critical to consider that race-related events may have also influenced individuals' involvement in socially responsible behaviors. For instance, public institutions in the state of Michigan, including the University of Michigan and Michigan State University, were recently the subject of a state-wide affirmative action battle. Such movements may have intensified individuals' involvement in social justice behaviors.

An additional explanation for these findings is that it is possible that individuals at PWIs witnessed more disparate racial treatment in the university setting compared to students at HBIs, and may have been prompted to engage in more social responsibility behaviors on their campus. Conversely, participants at HBIs may have sensed greater

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alignment between their personal values and experiences with the university value orientation. If this is the case, students at historically Black institutions may have been presented fewer opportunities to engage in social responsibility behaviors within the campus environment. However, this would still not account for disparities outside of the college context. Though these assertions may explain the disparity in social responsibility behavior by university racial composition, these assertions must be regarded as merely speculative as individuals' motivations for social responsibility engagement were not explored in the current study.

Regarding the disparity in social responsibility behavior endorsement by university racial composition, it appears that residing in a context where social responsibility endorsement is touted as the norm does not necessarily facilitate social responsibility endorsement. Specifically, in contradiction to the cultural norms theory, the current research shows that respondents from historically Black institutions, institutions where social responsibility to the African American community is likely given greater support, were not necessarily more likely to endorse social responsibility. These findings suggest the opposite. Specifically, there were no differences in social responsibility attitudes by university racial composition. Hence, it is important to consider whether the institutional culture is more influential than the culture created within one's own social network. For instance, if respondents from historically Black institutions received abstract messages about social responsibility endorsement from their institution, but students from predominantly White institutions received these same messages from within their smaller social network, do these messages have a disparate impact? The current study findings suggest this may be the case.

Religious service attendance and university racial composition were not the only background factors related to social responsibility behaviors. Analyses in this study repeatedly show that being employed was associated with social responsibility behavior engagement. Individuals who were not employed reported greater involvement in social responsibility behaviors than individuals who were employed. This relationship could be attributed to several factors. First, the opportunity to engage in activities and organizations that contribute to the racial group may be severely limited by structural factors such as employment status. In the case of college students, the time demands of being both employed and being a student, may severely limit students' opportunities for engagement. This relationship is particularly interesting as previous scholars assert that being employed may provide greater opportunity for social responsibility behavior engagement (Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995). The civic voluntarism model (Verba, et al., 1995) posits that being employed offers individuals greater opportunity to acquire the skills necessary for engagement in socially responsible behaviors. The findings here suggest the opposite. However, it is possible that the civic voluntarism model is not as relevant to a college-aged sample, but instead is more applicable to adult populations who are more established in professional careers. Given the life stage of individuals in this study, it is likely that individuals who were employed in this study worked menial jobs that did not provide the institutional structure or resources to facilitate engagement in social responsibility behaviors.

The relationship between social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors was moderated by individual's employment status. Overall, individuals who reported greater support for social responsibility attitudes also reported more involvement

in social responsibility behaviors. However, this relationship was stronger for individuals who were not employed. These findings show that on average, engagement in social responsibility behaviors was highest among individuals who showed greater endorsement for social responsibility attitudes but were not employed. It is possible that individuals who believe group efforts should be used to contribute to the racial group and are employed may face added pressures that hamper their involvement in socially responsible behaviors. Specifically, the time demands of having a job, as well as being a college student, may place a strain on their social responsibility endeavors; a strain that is not present for their peers who hold similar attitudes towards collective action but are not employed. Even when students hold similar beliefs about contributing to the racial group, being employed influences the degree to which individuals will actually participate in socially responsible activities and behaviors.

University racial climate is typically the predominant focus of literature that explores social responsibility involvement among African American college students. While university climate has proven to be influential in African American college students' social responsibility engagement (Allen, 1992; Schwitzer et al., 1999; Thornton & Jaeger, 2006), the findings presented here clearly demonstrate that background and demographic characteristics deserve similar attention. More specifically, attending religious services more frequently and not being employed seem to increase the likelihood of involvement in social responsibility behaviors for African American college students, even when university racial composition is accounted for. Although university racial composition does not adequately account for perceptions of university racial climate, it does provide some information about university context that may be associated

with an institution's racial climate.

Though social responsibility behaviors were associated with religious service attendance, university racial composition, and employment status, no such associations were found for social responsibility attitudes. These findings may lead one to conclude that social responsibility attitudes among African Americans do not differ by background and contextual characteristics. Making such an assumption based on these findings is troublesome. Although the data presented here were collected from a diverse sample of African American college students who differ geographically, contextually, and demographically to some extent, it is important that this work is conducted with non-college populations, where contextual and demographic differences are likely more exaggerated.

Social Responsibility Endorsement and Race-related Beliefs and Experiences

Though significant strides have been made in society concerning race and social justice in the past 40 years, the data from this study indicate there is still much progress to be made. The general notion represented by the data in this study suggests that the majority of African American college students in this sample believe that race-based oppression continues to plague the African American community in many sectors of life. What makes these findings so intriguing is that these perceptions are held by individuals who by and large have never been subjected to explicit, government sanctioned oppression. Despite this, findings from the current study suggest oppression and racism are still relevant themes in the lives of many African Americans. The idea that race-based societal oppression impacts African Americans did not differ by university racial composition. Though perceptions of societal oppression were moderate in this sample, it

is interesting that college students, individuals who are in better social and economic positions than the majority of other same-aged African American peers, still believe societal oppression is relevant to the African American community. Perhaps their personal experiences with racial discrimination facilitate this association.

Though perceptions of race-based societal oppression were somewhat common among participants in this study, personal experiences with racial discrimination were also widespread. Specifically, individuals in this study experienced racial discrimination in their own lives, albeit infrequently. Though individuals reported encountering any specific racial hassle relatively few times in the past year, experiencing racial discrimination was fairly common such that the vast majority of participants reported at least one encounter with racial discrimination in the past year. Overall, these findings are suggestive of the general presence of racism and discrimination in society. Although these experiences may not be rampant everyday occurrences, African American college students are still likely vigilant to the existence of racism and discrimination in their everyday lives. These experiences may serve as stressful experiences as well as reminders of their stigmatized racial status in this society. There is a significant body of literature that suggests unfair race-based treatment is a critical stressor for African American college students and is associated with a host of negative outcomes (Fischer & Shaw, 1999; Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Swim, Hyers, Cohen, Fitzgerald, & Bylsma, 2003; Utsey, Ponterotto, Reynolds, & Cancelli, 2000). According to previous theories of social responsibility (Myrdal, Sterner, & Rose, 1944), such experiences ultimately result in negative self-perceptions and force individuals to engage in pro-social behaviors as a

means to repair the self-concept. The same theoretical reasoning has been used in reference to perceptions of societal oppression.

The findings presented here indicate that individuals who believe societal oppression impacts the African American community are also likely to believe that African Americans should participate in efforts towards collective action; on the other hand, individuals who reported experiencing more unfair race-based treatment were more likely to report *actual* involvement in behaviors that contributed to the racial group. These findings are consistent with the compensation theory which posits that African American social responsibility endorsement is driven by a need to reinforce a negative self-concept that has been damaged by societal oppression and racism. While the empirical relationship established in the current study is similar to theoretical predictions made by Myrdal and colleagues, I assert that the underlying mechanism driving this relationship differs from the authors' predictions. Specifically, I assert that African Americans do not feel a need to compensate for perceived shortcomings, but instead are armed with a sense of agency to maintain and improve conditions for a community of people who are often disregarded by institutional structures and mainstream society. The relationship between social responsibility attitudes and societal oppression may allude to this. Inherent in this relationship may be a general acknowledgment of the lack of societal concern for African Americans and an awareness of the negative impact of outside social structures on the well-being of the racial group. A heightened level of acknowledgement and awareness may motivate members within the racial group to become more engaged and endorse social responsibility to a greater extent.

This research joins only a handful of studies to empirically test the relationship between social responsibility endorsement and beliefs about oppression and racial discrimination (Gurin et al., 1980; Klobus-Edwards et al., 1978; Mattis et al., 2004; Miller et al., 1981). Although findings from this study are consistent with those in the extant literature, the present study is distinct from previous efforts for several reasons. First, work by Gurin and colleagues (1980) and Miller and colleagues (1981) which focused on perceptions of societal oppression, explored between-group differences between various races, genders, socioeconomic groups, and ages. Substantial within-group analyses were not the focus of those studies. This study explicitly focused on within-groups differences among African Americans. Second, these studies were conducted with cohorts of participants who were exposed to Jim Crow and the struggles of the Civil Rights Movement. The same is not true in the current study. Furthermore, those studies focused explicitly on traditional political behavior, which may severely limit the generalizability of the findings. However, the current study focuses on social responsibility attitudes, as well as numerous politicized and non-politicized social responsibility behaviors.

Social Responsibility Endorsement and Racial Identity

There is a generalization in the literature suggesting African American college students view their race as central to their identity and struggle to "fit in" with other racial and ethnic groups (Schwitzer et al., 1999). Contrary to these characterizations, a considerable number of individuals, close to half of the sample, indicated that they viewed their race as not at all central to their identity or only moderately central. Moreover, individuals in this study also perceived commonalities between themselves

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and other oppressed groups; this suggests individuals may not find it as difficult to "fit in" with other racial and ethnic groups. This discussion is not meant to minimize the difficulty some African American college students experience at PWIs, but it is intended to draw attention to the wide array of racial attitudes and experiences that exist among this group. Other empirical studies have also noted the variation in racial identity attitudes among African American college students (Sellers, Chavous, & Cooke, 1998; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). The current findings, coupled with previous literature, suggest it is critical that future research acknowledge the variation within African American college student racial identification.

There were no differences in racial identity with the exception of Nationalist Ideology, by age, gender, parent education, religious service attendance, or university racial composition. Findings indicate that individuals who attended historically Black institutions endorsed higher levels of Nationalist Ideology overall compared to respondents who attended predominantly White institutions. These findings are consistent with previous research that has explored racial identity among African American college students from predominantly White institutions and Historically Black institutions (Sellers, Chavous et al., 1998; Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997). Using the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity, Sellers and colleagues (1997) found that college students who attended HBIs stressed the uniqueness of being African American compared to students at PWIs. In a separate study of the relationship between Racial Ideology and academic performance, Sellers and colleagues (1998) reported a similar trend regarding Nationalist Ideology and individuals at PWIs and HBIs. It is not clear why this finding is so consistent in the literature. Perhaps individuals who believe there is

something unique about being African American are more likely to select historically Black institutions for higher education. However, it is also possible that the race-specific culture of HBIs draws attention to the unique experiences of African Americans and over-time students at these institutions develop racial attitudes more in line with Nationalist Ideology. Both processes may help explain this relationship.

One of the most common notions within the early psychological literature is the assumption that African Americans suffer from a negative self-concept as a result of societal racism and oppression (Cross et al., 1991). These findings, as well as more recent works (see Twenge & Crocker, 2002), refute this notion. Specifically, respondents indicated that they felt very positive about their racial status, despite feeling that other racial groups perceived African Americans negatively. The Private Regard findings are contradictory to popular conceptions of African American racial identity and have clear implications for the social responsibility literature.

At the crux of the compensation theory is the idea that African Americans endorse social responsibility to compensate for a damaged ego, which is the result of racist and oppressive treatment in society. Via the high levels of Private Regard in this sample, the current findings suggest African Americans do not perceive shortcomings associated with their racial status. Though Private Regard does not adequately address issues of self-esteem among African Americans, Private Regard may serve as a proxy for self-esteem, particularly in instances where race is central to the self-concept and racial status and race-based oppression are put forth as explanations for low self-esteem. Furthermore, the relationship between social responsibility attitudes and Private Regard only approached significance. These trend-level relationships were positive, suggesting that individuals

who felt more positive about being African American showed greater support for social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors. In spite of assertions made by Myrdal (Myrdal et al., 1944) African Americans do not seem to internalize a negative self-concept as a result of the oppression and racism they experience in this society. This is particularly interesting as the current findings indicate that African Americans believe other racial groups have negative perceptions of African Americans. Hence, African Americans are aware of oppression and racism in society, but they do not seem to internalize these negative feelings.

Multivariate analyses do suggest there is a negative relationship between social responsibility attitudes and Public Regard. Specifically, individuals who believed that other racial and ethnic groups hold negative perceptions of African Americans reported greater endorsement of social responsibility attitudes. This finding is consistent with the compensation theory put forth by Mrydal and others. However, I offer a slightly different interpretation of this relationship. An underlying assumption of the compensation theory is that individuals who believe others have negative perceptions of African Americans internalize these beliefs and become engaged in social responsibility behaviors to feel better about their membership in the racial group. However, believing others hold negative views about your racial group may encourage African Americans to become more involved in their racial community. Specifically, if African Americans believe that the larger society holds negative perceptions of them as a group, they may become more motivated to do what they can to improve the likelihood that African Americans will be successful. Ultimately, this relationship may indicate an ideological belief by some African Americans that suggests even in the presence of oppression, racism, and low

expectations by larger society, African Americans can be successful when members of the racial group work to oppose social injustice.

In contrast to a handful of empirical investigations have reported findings that support the compensation theory (Klobus-Edwards et al., 1978; McPherson, 1977), the descriptive and multivariate findings in this study ultimately offer only mixed support for the compensation theory. It is possible that the discrepancy between the current study findings and past research is a result of methodological differences. For instance, Klobus-Edwards and colleagues (1978) used a race comparative framework to examine very specific social responsibility behaviors including informal involvement, organizational membership, organizational involvement, religious involvement, and political involvement. Although these authors explored social responsibility behaviors in-depth, they did not actually account for how positive or negative African Americans felt about being a member of their racial group. They also failed to empirically examine the extent to which African Americans believed others perceived the racial group as positive or negative. Essentially, this study did not actually test the compensation theory. Instead of exploring race-related attitudes, research conducted by McPherson (1977) focused more on efficacy and psychological outcomes. Specifically, McPherson explored levels of political efficacy and self-esteem among African Americans who reported some level of organizational involvement. While there is some merit in investigating the link between social responsibility endorsement and psychological outcomes, this relationship does not directly address the underlying assumptions of the compensation theory.

The current findings do offer support for the ethnic community theory. African Americans who more strongly endorsed an ideology that views the experience of being

African American as unique from other social identities (i.e., Nationalist ideology) reported greater endorsement of social responsibility attitudes and individuals who held race as central to the self-concept reported more involvement in socially responsible behaviors. These racial identity attitudes assess group identification and the sense of group-based racial distinctiveness alluded to in the ethnic community theory. Gurin and colleagues (1980) report somewhat similar findings in their discussion of consciousness and identification among African Americans, women, the working-class, and the elderly. Specifically, the findings from their study suggested that greater identification with one's particular group was associated with greater endorsement of collectivist orientation. Similarly, Mattis and others (2000) found support for the relationship between communalism and volunteer work among African American men. Taken together, these studies suggest that when individuals feel more connected to their racial group and perceive their racial status as distinctive from other social identities, they are more likely to endorse collective action efforts and involvement in collective action.

Ultimately, findings from the present study show some support for the compensation and ethnic community theories. While initial response to the current study findings might suggest these theories accurately reflect social responsibility processes among African Americans, it is critical that we reconsider the interpretation of these relationships as put forth by previous scholars. I assert that these relationships are evidence of the strength of African Americans rather than evidence of deficiency. Specifically, though African Americans are fully aware of their stigmatized status in society, they generally resist these popular notions and instead focus on rectifying the

consequences of decades of unfair racial treatment. In many ways this signifies a highly motivated, persistent racial community.

The relationship between holding race as central to the self-concept and being more involved in socially responsible behaviors is consistent with previous literature that reports a relationship between organizational involvement and Racial Centrality (Chavous, 2005; Mitchell & Dell, 1992). It is especially interesting that perceiving race as central to the self is consistently associated with socially responsible behavior, while the meaning individuals attribute to their racial identity is not. Perhaps the distinguishing factor between individuals who actually engage in socially responsible behaviors and those who don't is the significance of race in their lives. While individuals' affective feelings about their racial status and the meaning they attribute to their race may reflect their attitudes towards social responsibility, the significance of race in their lives may determine the extent to which they become involved in behaviors and activities that are consistent with their social responsibility beliefs. While individuals may feel positive about their racial status and believe being African American is unique from being a part of any other oppressed group, these attitudes may be less influential if race is not viewed as a central social identity. Holding race as central to the self may allow for more opportunities to be involved in race-specific behaviors, as individuals may place themselves in a context where race-relevant social responsibility behaviors are common and encouraged.

Racial identity did not moderate the relationship between societal oppression and social responsibility endorsement. This was surprising, as it was expected that the meaning and significance of race would moderate the relationship between societal

oppression and social responsibility attitudes and behaviors. While it was expected that there would be a relationship between individuals' beliefs about the impact of racism on the African American community and their social responsibility endorsement, it was also expected that other individual-level race-related factors would influence this relationship, as person-level processes do not occur in isolation of one another. In this study, it seemed intuitive that racial identity attitudes would have some impact on the association between perceptions of societal oppression and beliefs and engagement in collective action. It is not clear why Racial Centrality, Private Regard, and Nationalist Ideology did not moderate the relationship between perceptions of societal oppression and social responsibility attitudes and behaviors. Perhaps the relationship between racial identity attitudes and social responsibility endorsement is limited to additive effects. Gurin, Miller, and Gurin (1980) also examined the moderating effect of group identification on the relationship between collectivist orientation and power discontent among African Americans and did not find any effects. However, the Gurin et al. study differed somewhat in its conceptual frame of racial identity as compared to the current study. Specifically, Gurin and colleagues (1980) did not inquire about the meaning and significance individuals ascribed to their racial status, but instead focused on how close individuals felt to their racial group. Given these conceptual differences in the conceptualization and operationalization of racial identity, a second attempt to explore the moderating effects of racial identity seemed warranted. However, the findings of the current study and those reported by Gurin and colleagues (1980) suggest racial identity does not serve as a moderator.

Social Responsibility and Psychological Outcomes

Individuals in this study, on average, reported fairly favorable psychological outcomes. Overall, respondents indicated that they had high levels of self-esteem, experienced few depressive symptoms, had moderate psychological well-being, and were moderately satisfied with life. Findings from this study also indicate that both endorsement of social responsibility attitudes and engaging in social responsibility behaviors were related to positive psychological outcomes. Specifically, individuals who showed more support for social responsibility attitudes also reported higher levels of self-esteem and greater psychological well-being. Similarly, participants who reported more involvement in social responsibility behaviors also reported higher levels of self-esteem, greater psychological well-being, and more satisfaction with life. These findings suggest that individuals who feel a sense of obligation to the racial community and individuals who act on that feeling may experience some psychological benefit from their orientation towards social action. However, it is also possible that individuals who are better-off psychologically are more likely to hold more favorable attitudes towards helping others and are more likely to actually become involved in good works. Specifically, these individuals may have more psychological resources to pull from which may support their social responsibility endorsement. Unfortunately, the cross-sectional nature of this study precludes us from making causal attributions. However, based on research conducted by Thoits and Hewitt (2001), both explanations are likely true. Specifically, these scholars examined the relationship between volunteer work and various types of psychological outcomes among adults, aged 25 years and older across time. They found that individuals with greater psychological resources and better mental health were more likely to be involved in volunteer work. However, separate analyses indicated that individuals who

were involved in volunteer work also reported more positive psychological outcomes. Thoits and Hewitt asserted that selection effects were operating, but that there was also evidence suggesting that volunteer work had a positive influence on subsequent mental health outcomes. It is possible that the causal relationships between social responsibility attitudes and positive psychological outcomes found in the present study may also be bi-directional.

The extent to which selection effects are operating in the current sample is unclear. The underlying relationship that suggests social responsibility engagement is linked to more positive psychological outcomes is also unclear. Several theories have been offered to explain this social causation process. In addition to role theory and reinforcement hypotheses, Rosenberg and McCullough (1981), assert that this relationship is driven by individuals' perceptions that they are needed or are important to others. Similarly, Thoits (1992) suggests engagement in volunteer work provides a sense of meaning and purpose to the individual, while others posit that volunteer work is conducted in favorable conditions which provide self-direction and feelings of independence, as well as a challenging environment. These theoretical assertions may be particularly relevant to the college sample in the current study, as such feelings likely aide in identity development. However, it is unlikely that role theory, as conceptualized in this body of literature, is applicable. During this life stage individuals are adding on identities and likely experience no shortage of roles or tasks as would be expected if role theory were operating. However, assumptions cannot be made in this study, as underlying motivations for engagement were not explored. Future work it would be valuable to add a

quantitative and qualitative component to examine the underlying mechanisms that facilitate this relationship.

The findings in the present study clearly link social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors with psychological outcomes for African American young adults. Based on the findings by Musick and Wilson (2003) and Van Willigen (2000), which concluded that there was a positive relationship between involvement in social responsibility behaviors and psychological outcomes for young adults, but that the relationship was stronger among the elderly population, it would be interesting to determine if these effects were more robust among an older sample. Unfortunately, it is not possible to conduct this comparison in the current study.

It should be noted that depressive symptomatology was unrelated to both social responsibility attitudes and behaviors. It seems that the relationship between social responsibility endorsement and psychological outcomes for young adults is most robust for positive psychological outcomes (i.e. self-esteem, psychological well-being, life satisfaction). It is possible that the negative effects of social responsibility endorsement are more prevalent in older populations and are not yet apparent in young adults who have comparatively less experience with social responsibility engagement. Specifically, it is possible that individuals who have been involved in social responsibility behaviors for a longer period of time are more likely to experience some level of frustration or burnout when their efforts do not result in social change or when the demands of their social justice work become too great. Alternatively, the negative psychological effects of social responsibility among older adults may be increased by other life commitments (i.e.

family, career), commitments that most college-aged students do not face at this life stage.

It is noteworthy that believing African Americans should contribute to the racial group and actually being involved in collective action were not related to the presence of depressive symptoms, but were related to self-esteem, psychological well-being, and satisfaction with life. This is interesting given that the measure of depressive symptoms, the Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale, was the only measure of psychiatric disorder. While the CES-D inquired about the frequency of disordered behavior, the other measures of psychological outcomes inquired about individuals' feelings, how they felt about themselves in a general sense. Also, the valence of the self-esteem, psychological well-being, and satisfaction with life scales was positive. Perhaps these differences in measurement shed some light on the discrepancy in findings between depressive symptoms and the other psychological outcomes.

Study Significance and Implications

The current study builds on the social responsibility literature in a number of ways. Most notably the current study assesses social responsibility endorsement among a population that has been markedly absent from this body of work in recent decades, African American college students. Though studies of social responsibility are limited, the work that has been conducted mainly focuses on African American adults and the elderly. However, social responsibility ideals do not develop in adulthood, they are shaped during young adulthood (Niemi & Hepburn, 1995; Stewart & Healy, 1989). There is clear evidence to suggest that early social responsibility behavior is predictive of later involvement (McAdam, 1986; Paulsen, 1991). Taking this into account, it is critical that

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we begin to make sense of the trajectory of social responsibility endorsement among African Americans. This study presents a first step in this process.

African Americans have made strides in the political, economic and educational arenas in recent decades. These advances likely influence perceptions of the impact of racism and race-relations. Hence, the present study sought to update this body of literature to reflect the current racial climate. Though the current study suggests the compensation and ethnic community theories provide a background from which to begin studying social responsibility, this work also suggests the relationship between social responsibility endorsement with societal oppression and racial identity attitudes should be reframed to account for the positive affect African Americans have regarding their racial group membership.

Also, this work examines multiple facets of social responsibility endorsement. Instead of focusing only on social responsibility behaviors, attitudes towards social responsibility were also a major focus of this work. The findings from this study suggest examining social responsibility attitudes adds to our understanding of social responsibility among African Americans. Specifically, these findings indicate that social responsibility attitudes and actual involvement in social responsibility behaviors are related to racial beliefs, experiences, and attitudes in different ways. If involvement in social responsibility behaviors was used as the sole indicator for social responsibility, as is typical in this literature, perceptions of societal oppression, Public Regard, and Nationalist Ideology would seem irrelevant to this work. Furthermore, to my knowledge there are no empirical studies that examine attitudes towards collective action among African American college students across predominantly White and Historically Black

universities. Having a greater understanding of the attitudes and ideas individuals hold about giving back to their community allows for further clarification of the concept of social responsibility.

This work also highlights the impact of background variables on social responsibility endorsement. The relationships between social responsibility endorsement with background factors have generally been ignored in the literature with African American college students, in favor of examinations focusing on racial climate. The findings in this study suggest background factors may also be critical to social responsibility endorsement among this population. It would be useful to examine background factors, as well as perceptions of racial climate, in future analyses to gain more knowledge about the ways in which background factors and perceptions of racial climate are related to social responsibility endorsement when evaluated simultaneously. In addition to a series of direct relationships, this work provides empirical evidence that employment status is a critical factor impacting the association between social responsibility attitudes and social responsibility behaviors. Finally, this study highlights the potentially beneficial relationship between social responsibility endorsement and psychological outcomes. This may have implications for college student well-being, as social responsibility endorsement may be an avenue for individuals to come to develop a more positive self-concept.

Limitations of the Current Study and Directions for Future Research

Despite the strengths of this study there were several limitations. First, the measure of societal oppression assesses individuals' perceptions of the impact of societal oppression. Although unlikely, some individuals may perceive the impact of oppression

as large, but think it has positive implications for the African American community. The current measure does not clearly address this possibility. Future research should include an indicator with less ambiguity in this regard. In a similar vein, the operationalization of social responsibility requires additional attention. Social responsibility endorsement extends beyond activist, political, and civic attitudes and behaviors. It is possible that support for and involvement in collective action efforts is most visible in alternate domains, such as the family context, in the workplace, and in chance one-time encounters (i.e. watching over Black children in public settings). Conceptualizing and measuring social responsibility to the racial group across these domains is challenging. To work towards this goal I plan to use qualitative techniques to improve the conceptualization and measurement of social responsibility. Employing qualitative methods will likely aide in the development of social responsibility as a concept and construct beyond the activist, political, and civic sphere.

An additional limitation of this study is that the sample was overwhelmingly female. Eighty-one percent of the participants in this study were female. However, this may speak to a larger issue among African Americans in higher education. This study may actually reflect the gender composition of colleges and universities in this country, as there are generally more African American females enrolled in institutions of higher learning than African American males (see Slater, 1994; "SPECIAL REPORT: College Degree Awards; The Ominous Gender Gap in African-American Higher Education," 1999)(Journal of Blacks in Higher Education, 1999; Slater, 1994). Specific to the current study, at the University of Michigan, Michigan State, University of Cincinnati, Morgan State University, and North Carolina State A&T University African American females

outnumber African American males by a substantial margin. Hence, the female-male disparity in the current study is only a slight exaggeration of the gender ratio at the universities where the data were collected. Because of this disparity, the gender breakdown of this study made it difficult to detect gender differences. Future efforts must make a concerted effort to include more males before any definitive conclusions regarding the role of gender in our present findings. Given the gender disparity in the current study, as well as the preponderance of social responsibility studies that are gender specific (Cole & Stewart, 1996; Mattis et al., 2004; Slevin, 2005), I would like to examine whether males and females conceptualize race-specific social responsibility in different ways and whether they endorse social responsibility at different rates.

Although every attempt was made to recruit participants from a similar population from each university, this was not always the case. The vast majority of respondents at Michigan State University were freshmen. This may account for the vast differences in their social responsibility endorsement, relative to the other PWIs. As freshmen these students may not have had the opportunity to become as involved in the university and surrounding communities as sophomore, junior, and senior students. The cross-sectional nature of this study also serves as a study limitation. Given that this data were collected at one time-point it is difficult to determine whether racial experiences and racial attitudes lead to social responsibility endorsement, or vice versa. To address this concern, future efforts will utilize a longitudinal design. This methodology will also provide greater information about the causal nature of the relationship between social responsibility attitudes and behaviors with psychological outcomes.

Building on the findings from the current study, it is also necessary to explore the long-term health implications of social responsibility. Specifically, assessing the association between social responsibility endorsement and psychological outcomes across the life-span may provide greater information about if and when endorsement becomes a stressful experience for the individual. Also, from a longitudinal perspective it would be more feasible to assess the impact of life events and life transitions on social responsibility endorsement.

Strengths of the Current Study

This study is unique in that it utilizes a multidimensional operationalization of social responsibility endorsement. Up to this point most research has focused only on one aspect of social responsibility endorsement, engagement in social responsibility behaviors. By examining several domains of social responsibility endorsement this study demonstrates the varying relationships between social responsibility endorsement and race-related experiences and attitudes.

A second strength of this study is the sample. The participants in this sample are from various parts of the country and represent diverse socioeconomic backgrounds. Furthermore, the multi-site strategy used in this study also allows for a discussion of social responsibility beyond a particular university context, but a discussion that generalizes to both PWIs and HBIs. Furthermore, this study is one of the few studies to focus on social responsibility in the current sociohistorical context. Although there is value in research that was conducted during the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements, these literatures do not address the experiences of the current generation of African American young adults.

Another strength of this study is that it is one of the first studies to employ the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity framework to study social responsibility endorsement among African Americans. Just as the social position of African Americans has evolved over the years, it is also fair to say that the conceptualization of racial identity has evolved. This conceptualization allows for more specific testing of the relationship between social responsibility endorsement and racial identity. The model of racial identity used in this study goes beyond closeness to the racial group as a core feature of racial identity, but instead utilized a multidimensional approach by examining individuals perceptions of race as a central aspect of the self, their affective feelings about racial group membership, and the different ideologies individuals hold about being African American. At the most basic level, the meaning individuals attribute to their racial identity is also examined using this model. Furthermore, utilizing the MMRI in this study of social responsibility provided the opportunity to examine individuals self-perceptions about their racial status, as well as their beliefs about the opinion's held by outgroup members. Such a conceptualization of racial identity allowed for comparisons with previous literature that employed a monolithic racial identity perspective (i.e. group closeness, perceptions of outgroup members), while also providing new information about possible relationships between social responsibility endorsement and the meaning individuals attribute to their racial identity.

This study is also noteworthy because it is one of a few studies to focus on social responsibility endorsement to the racial group. This may provide information that is more relevant to African Americans. Although institutional laws and regulations sanctioning racial segregation have been done away with, African Americans still lead fairly

segregated lives. Neighborhoods (Alba, Logan, & Stults, 2000), schools (Pettigrew, 2004), and sometimes workplaces are separated along racial lines (Bound & Freeman, 1992; King, 1992). It is likely that individuals' attitudes towards and involvement in behaviors that advocate for social justice may also be specific to their racial group. Moreover, if individuals' environment is primarily African American, it is likely that they hold stronger attitudes towards and have greater opportunities to engage in race-specific social responsibility. Finally, it has been noted that the conceptualization of social responsibility in the broader literature may not fully capture social responsibility among African Americans, as political and civic behavior among this group is less frequent compared to other racial groups (Mattis, 2001). Though this could be interpreted at face-value (that African Americans do not endorse social responsibility to the same degree as others), it is also likely that social responsibility has a different meaning to this group. Social responsibility may be more family-, religious-, and community-based than it is for other groups. Continuing to focus on race-specific social responsibility endorsement will provide more opportunities to explore these avenues among African Americans.

Conclusion

A watershed of race-related events, including the management of Hurricane Katrina, the Jena 6 protests in Louisiana, and the presidential campaign of Barack Obama, have elicited a revival of social action among African Americans on a larger scale than in years past. As this nation continues to grapple with the topic of race and systemic racism continues to plague African Americans, it is likely that members of the racial group will continue their efforts to facilitate social change. It is imperative that social science literature explore those factors that may influence social action in order to

predict who is likely to participate in social justice efforts and who holds attitudes

consistent with social justice. Findings from the current study suggest a host of race-

related experiences and racial identity attitudes are associated with social responsibility

endorsement. However, background and contextual factors are also critical to social

responsibility endorsement. This study provides a more complete view of social

responsibility endorsement among African American college students than has been

previously reported as well as offers a new perspective for studying social responsibility.

Figure 1. Conceptual Model Exploring Social Responsibility Endorsement among African American College Students
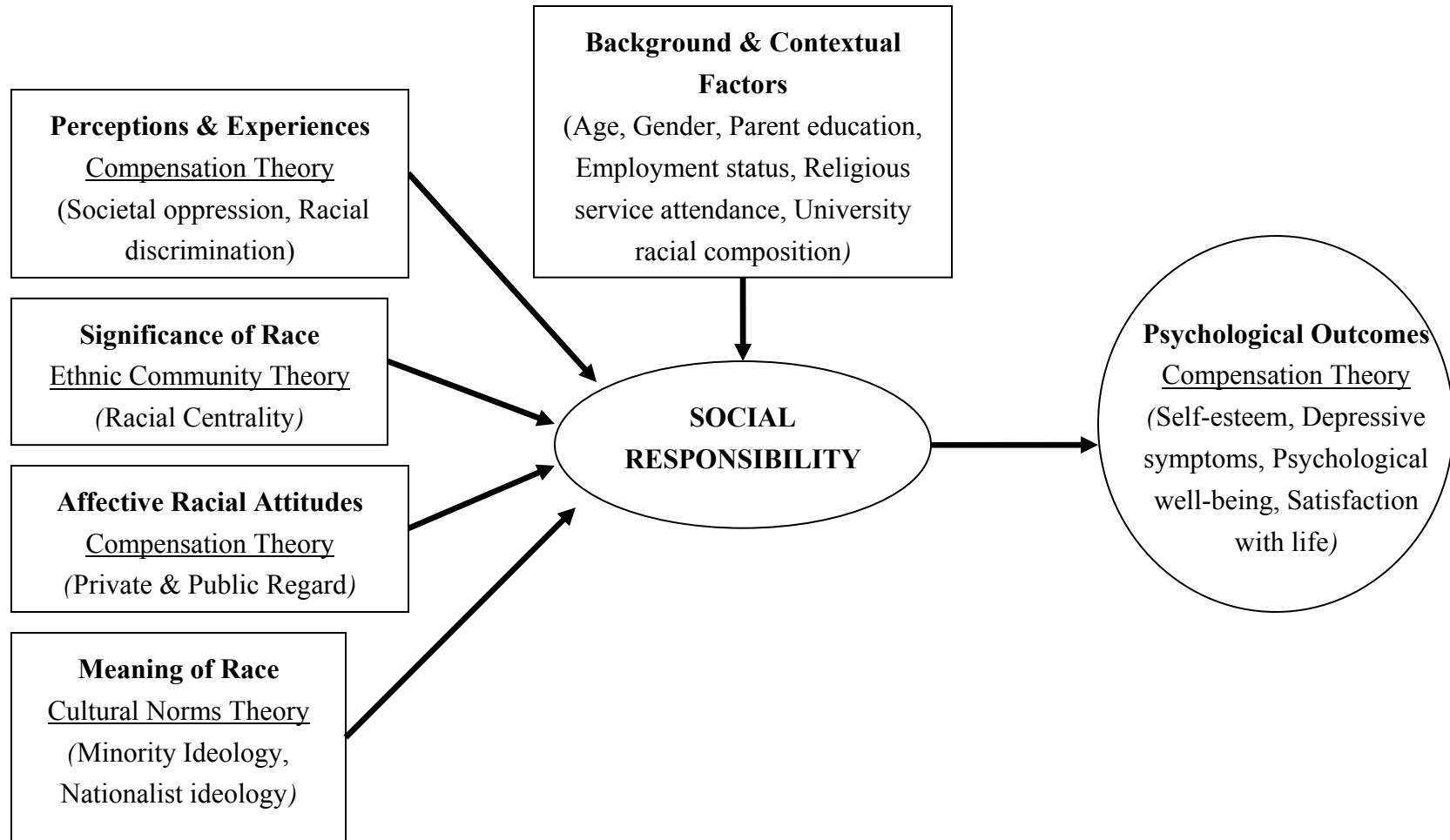
Figure 2. Plot of the Relationship between Social Responsibility Attitudes and Social Responsibility Behaviors
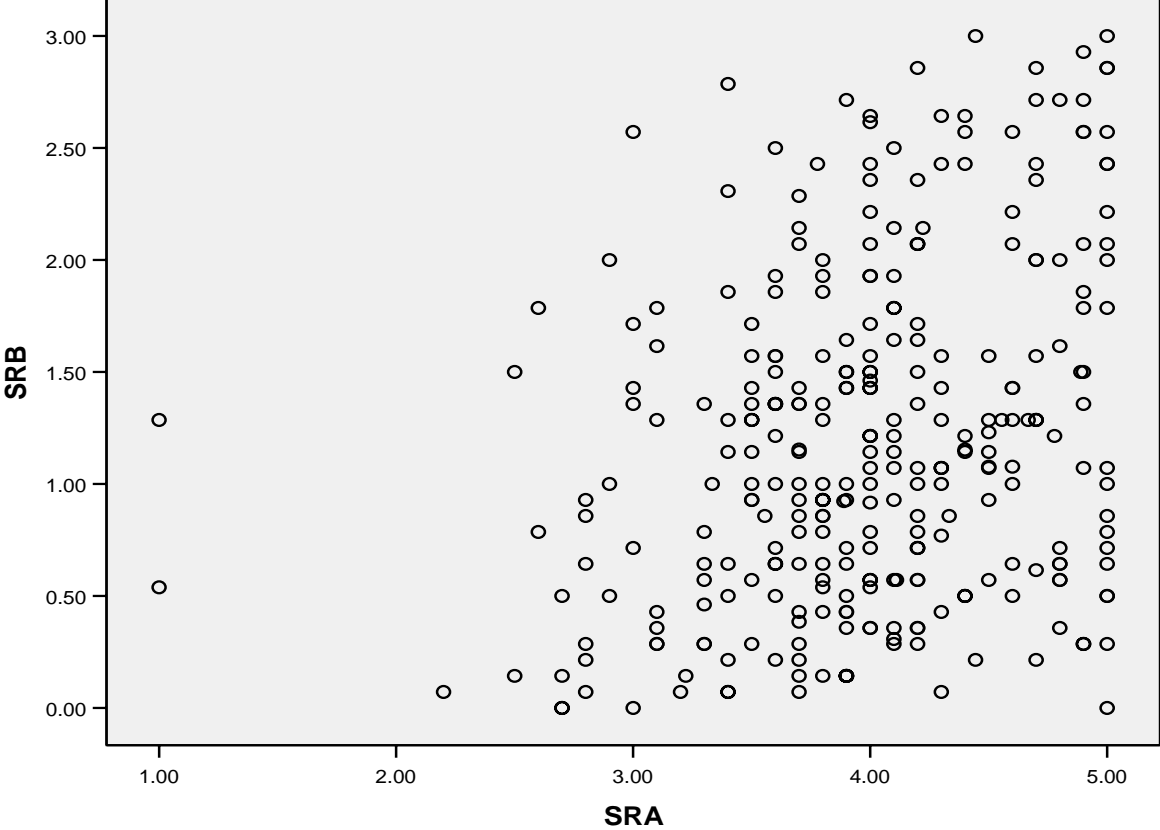
Figure 3. The Moderating Effect of Employment Status on the Relationship between Social Responsibility Attitudes and Social Responsibility Behaviors
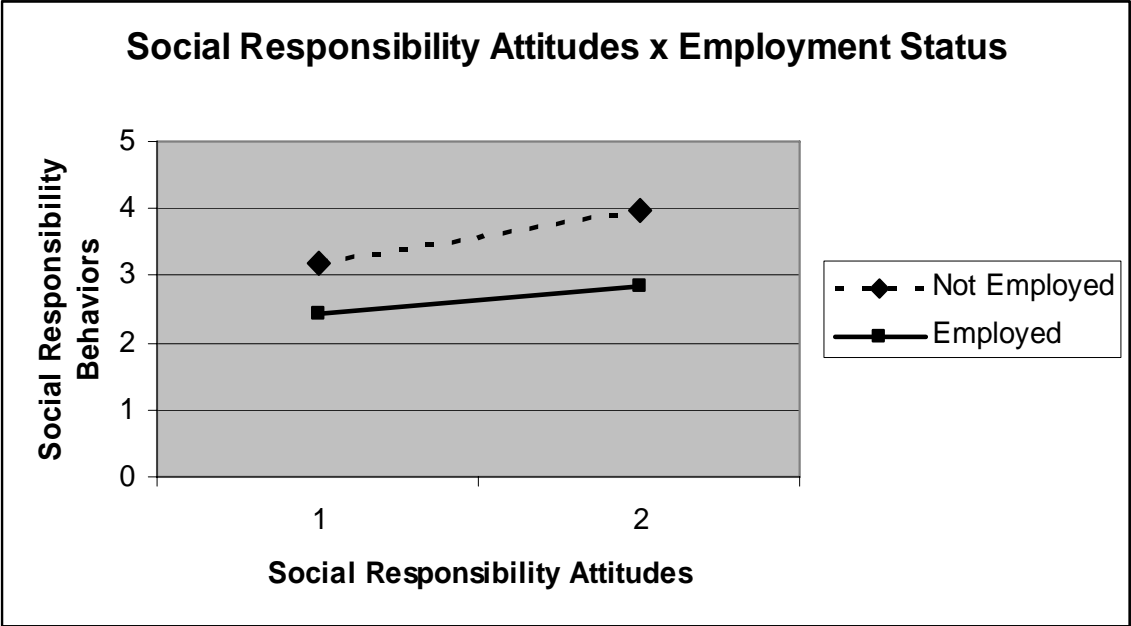
Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations of Full Sample and by University

	Full Sample	UMICH	MSU	UC	MORGAN	NCA&T
	Mean(SD)	Mean(SD)	Mean(SD)	Mean(SD)	Mean(SD)	Mean(SD)
Age	20.10(3.03)	20.38(2.68)	18.34(1.59)	19.29(1.43)	21.40(4.19)	20.36(2.78)
Gender	.81(.39)	.74(.44)	.86(.35)	.81(.40)	.76(.43)	.89(.31)
Classification	2.34(1.15)	2.76(1.00)	1.24(.77)	1.90(1.04)	2.77(.89)	2.67(1.18)
College GPA	4.37(1.96)	4.21(1.97)	3.85(1.92)	4.31(2.07)	4.76(2.20)	4.45(1.60)
Parent education	4.51(1.56)	5.18(1.58)	4.44(1.43)	4.48(1.70)	4.16(1.61)	4.50(1.36)
Total family income	6.67(4.09)	7.71(4.18)	5.85(4.07)	6.42(4.22)	6.96(3.96)	6.39(4.04)
Employment status	.55(.50)	.58(.50)	.36(.48)	.50(.50)	.67(.47)	.57(.50)
Religious service attendance	4.02(1.83)	4.10(1.99)	3.58(1.96)	4.50(1.85)	3.71(1.76)	4.24(1.60)

Note. UMICH = University of Michigan; MSU = Michigan State University; UC = University of Cincinnati; MORGAN = Morgan State University; NCA&T = North Carolina A&T State University

Table 2

Demographic Characteristics of Sample by Institution

	UMICH		MSU		UC		MORGAN		NCA&T	
Total N's	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
	50	(16.5%)	50	(16.5%)	52	(17.2%)	75	(24.8%)	76	(25.1%)
Age										
18	10	(20.0%)	43	(86.0%)	18	(34.6%)	3	(4.0%)	13	(17.1%)
19	8	(16.0%)	3	(6.0%)	17	(32.7%)	21	(28.0%)	16	(21.1%)
20	16	(32.0%)	1	(2.0%)	9	(17.3%)	12	(16.8%)	16	(21.1%)
21	8	(16.0%)	2	(4.0%)	4	(7.7%)	18	(24.0%)	16	(21.1%)
22	5	(10.0%)	0	(0.0%)	1	(1.9%)	6	(8.0%)	11	(21.1%)
23	0	(0.0%)	0	(0.0%)	2	(3.8%)	6	(8.0%)	2	(14.5%)
24	0	(0.0%)	0	(0.0%)	1	(1.9%)	3	(4.0%)	0	(2.6%)
25	0	(0.0%)	0	(0.0%)	0	(0.0%)	2	(2.7%)	0	(0.0%)

	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)	n	(%)
26+	3	(6.0%)	1	(2.0%)	0	(0.0%)	4	(5.2%)	2	(2.6%)
Gender										
Male	13	(26.0%)	7	(14.0%)	10	(19.2%)	18	(24.0%)	8	(10.5%)
Female	37	(74.0%)	43	(86.0%)	42	(80.8%)	57	(76.0%)	67	(88.2%)
GPA										
3.75 – 4. 00	5	(10.0%)	2	(4.3%)	3	(5.8%)	3	(4.0%)	0	(0.0%)
3.50 – 3.74	6	(12.0%)	10	(21.3%)	8	(15.4%)	14	(18.7%)	8	(10.5%)
3.25 – 3.49	6	(12.0%)	10	(21.3%)	9	(17.3%)	8	(10.7%)	12	(15.8%)
3.00 – 3.24	9	(18.0%)	14	(29.8%)	10	(19.2%)	7	(9.3%)	26	(34.2%)
2.75 – 2.99	10	(20.0%)	4	(8.5%)	9	(17.3%)	14	(18.7%)	11	(14.5%)
2.50 – 2.74	6	(12.0%)	2	(4.3%)	5	(9.6%)	12	(16.0%)	11	(14.5%)
2.25 – 2.49	3	(6.0%)	1	(2.1%)	4	(7.7%)	6	(8.0%)	3	(3.9%)
2.00 – 2.24	3	(6.0%)	2	(4.3%)	1	(1.9%)	9	(12.0%)	5	(6.6%)
1.99 or below	0	(0.0%)	2	(4.3%)	3	(5.8%)	2	(2.7%)	0	(0.0%)
School Classification										

Freshmen	7	(14.0%)	45	(90.0%)	25	(48.1%)	5	(6.7%)	18	(23.7%)
Sophomore	11	(22.0%)	1	(2.0%)	14	(26.9%)	25	(33.3%)	15	(19.7%)
Junior	19	(38.0%)	1	(2.0%)	6	(11.5%)	27	(36.0%)	17	(22.4%)
Senior	13	(26.0%)	3	(6.0%)	7	(13.5%)	18	(24.0%)	26	(34.2%)

Parent education

Junior high school or less	0	(.0%)	0	.0%)	1	(1.9%)	2	(2.7%)	1	(1.3%)
Some high school	2	(4.1%)	3	(6.0%)	3	(5.8%)	7	(9.3%)	3	(6.0%)
Received high school diploma	4	(8.2%)	8	(16.0%)	11	(21.2%)	20	(26.7%)	11	(17.9%)
Some college	11	(22.4%)	18	(36.0%)	15	(28.8%)	18	(24.0%)	24	(28.5%)
Received college diploma	15	(30.6%)	14	(28.0%)	12	(23.1%)	16	(21.3%)	27	(27.8%)
Some graduate school	3	(6.1%)	2	(4.0%)	1	(1.9%)	2	(2.7%)	1	(3.0%)
Masters degree	12	(24.5%)	3	(6.0%)	6	(11.5%)	8	(10.7%)	7	(11.9%)
Ph.D/M.D./J.D.	1	(2.0%)	1	(2.0%)	2	(3.8%)	2	(2.7%)	2	(2.6%)
Not applicable	1	(2.0%)	1	(2.0%)	1	(1.9%)	0	(.0%)	3	(1.0%)

Family Income

Family Income										
Less than 10,000	3	(6.3%)	6	(12.8%)	2	(4.2%)	5	(6.8%)	5	(6.6%)
$10,000-$19,999	1	(2.1%)	3	(6.4%)	5	(10.4%)	5	(6.8%)	7	(9.2%)
$20,000-$29,999	4	(8.3%)	5	(10.6%)	7	(14.6%)	7	(9.6%)	11	(14.5%)
$30,000-$39,999	6	(12.5%)	10	(21.3%)	5	(10.4%)	5	(6.8%)	6	(7.9%)
$40,000-$49,999	3	(6.3%)	2	(4.3%)	7	(14.6%)	8	(11.0%)	10	(13.2%)
$50,000-$59,999	4	(8.3%)	5	(10.6%)	3	(6.3%)	5	(6.8%)	6	(7.9%)
$60,000-$69,999	4	(8.3%)	2	(4.3%)	5	(10.4%)	8	(11.0%)	3	(3.9%)
$70,000-$79,999	2	(4.2%)	5	(10.6%)	2	(4.2%)	5	(6.8%)	8	(10.5%)
$80,000-$89,999	3	(6.3%)	1	(2.1%)	1	(2.1%)	8	(11.0%)	5	(6.6%)
$90,000-$99,999	5	(10.4%)	0	(.0%)	3	(6.3%)	3	(4.1%)	3	(3.9%)
$100,000-$109,999	5	(10.4%)	3	(6.4%)	3	(6.3%)	2	(2.7%)	2	(2.6%)
$110,000-$119,999	1	(2.1%)	2	(4.3%)	0	(.0%)	4	(5.5%)	1	(1.3%)
$120,000-$129,999	2	(4.2%)	0	(.0%)	0	(.0%)	4	(5.5%)	3	(3.9%)
$130,000-139,999	2	(4.2%)	0	(.0%)	0	(.0%)	0	(.0%)	1	(1.3%)

	UMICH		MSU		UC		MORGAN		NCA&T	
$140,000-149,999	0	(.0%)	0	(.0%)	1	(2.1%)	2	(2.7%)	3	(3.9%)
More than $150,000	3	(6.3%)	3	(6.4%)	4	(8.3%)	2	(2.7%)	2	(2.6%)
Employment Status										
No	21	(42.0%)	32	(64.0%)	26	(50.0%)	25	(33.3%)	33	(43.4%)
Yes	29	(58.0%)	18	(36.0%)	26	(50.0%)	50	(66.7%)	43	(56.6%)
Religious service attendance										
Never	6	(12.0%)	9	(18.0%)	3	(5.8%)	5	(6.7%)	4	(5.3%)
Once or twice a year	7	(14.0%)	9	(18.0%)	6	(11.5%)	20	(26.7%)	9	(11.8%)
Several times a year	10	(20.0%)	11	(22.0%)	9	(17.3%)	17	(22.7%)	14	(18.4%)
Once a month	4	(8.0%)	1	(2.0%)	6	(11.5%)	3	(4.0%)	9	(11.8%)
Two or three times a month	3	(6.0%)	7	(14.0%)	8	(15.4%)	12	(16.0%)	20	(26.3%)
Nearly every week	16	(32.0%)	11	(22.0%)	12	(23.1%)	16	(21.3%)	18	(23.7%)
More than once a week	4	(8.0%)	2	(4.0%)	8	(15.4%)	2	(2.7%)	2	(2.6%)

Note. UMICH = University of Michigan; MSU = Michigan State University; UC = University of Cincinnati; MORGAN = Morgan State University; NCA&T = North Carolina A&T State University

Table 3

Means and Standard Deviations by University Racial Composition

	Mean(SD)
Predominantly White Institutions	
Age	19.34(2.13)
Gender	.80(.40)
Classification	1.97(1.14)
College GPA	4.13(1.99)
Parent education	4.70(1.60)
Total family income	6.66(4.20)
Employment status	1.52(.50)
Religious service attendance	4.07(1.96)
Historically Black Institutions	
Age	20.87(3.58)
Gender	.83(.38)
Classification	2.72(1.05)
College GPA	4.60(1.92)
Parent education	4.33(1.50)
Total family income	6.67(4.00)
Employment status	1.38(.49)
Religious service attendance	3.97(1.70)

Table 4

Demographic Characteristics of Sample by University Racial Composition

	Predominantly White Institutions		Historically Black Institutions	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**
Total N's	152	50.2%	151	49.8%
Age				
18	71	(46.7%)	16	(10.6%)
19	28	(18.4%)	37	(24.5%)
20	26	(17.1%)	28	(18.5%)
21	14	(9.2%)	34	(22.5%)
22	6	(3.9%)	17	(11.3%)
23	2	(1.3%)	8	(5.3%)
24	1	(.7%)	3	(2.0%)
25	0	(.0%)	2	(1.3%)
26+	4	(2.7%)	6	(4.2%)
Gender				
Male	30	(19.7%)	26	(17.3%)
Female	122	(80.3%)	124	(82.7%)
GPA				
3.75 – 4. 00	10	(6.8%)	3	(2. 0%)
3.50 – 3.74	24	(16.3%)	22	(14.6%)
3.25 – 3.49	25	(17.0%)	20	(13.2%)

3.00 – 3.24	33	(22.4%)	33	(21.9%)
2.75 – 2.99	23	(15.6%)	25	(16.6%)
2.50 – 2.74	13	(8.8%)	23	(15.2%)
2.25 – 2.49	8	(5.4%)	9	(6.0%)
2.00 – 2.24	6	(4.1%)	14	(9.3%)
1.99 or below	5	(3.4%)	2	(1.3%)
School Classification				
Freshmen	77	(50.7%)	23	(15.2%)
Sophomore	26	(17.1%)	40	(26.5%)
Junior	26	(17.1%)	44	(29.1%)
Senior	23	(15.1%)	44	(29.1%)
Parent education				
Junior high school or less	1	(.7)	3	(2.0)
Some high school	8	(5.3%)	10	(6.6%)
Received high school diploma	23	(15.2%)	31	(20.5%)
Some college	44	(29.1%)	42	(27.8%)
Received college diploma	41	(27.2%)	43	(28.5%)
Some graduate school	6	(4.0%)	3	(2.0%)
Masters degree	21	(13.9%)	15	(9.9%)
Ph.D/M.D./J.D.	4	(2.6%)	4	(2.6%)
Not applicable	3	(2.0%)	.0	(.0%)

Family Income

Less than 10,000	11	(7.7%)	10	(6.7%)
$10,000-$19,999	9	(6.3%)	12	(8.1%)
$20,000-$29,999	16	(11. 2%)	18	(12.1%)
$30,000-$39,999	21	(14.7%)	11	(7.4%)
$40,000-$49,999	12	(8.4%)	18	(12.1%)
$50,000-$59,999	12	(8.4%)	11	(7.4%)
$60,000-$69,999	11	(7.7%)	11	(7.4%)
$70,000-$79,999	9	(6.3%)	13	(8.7%)
$80,000-$89,999	5	(3.5%)	13	(8.7%)
$90,000-$99,999	8	(5.6%)	6	(4.0%)
$100,000-$109,999	11	(7.7%)	4	(2.7%)
$110,000-$119,999	3	(2.1%)	5	(3.4%)
$120,000-$129,999	2	(1.4%)	7	(4.7%)
$130,000-139,999	2	(1.4%)	1	(.7%)
$140,000-149,999	1	(.7%)	5	(3.4%)
More than $150,000	10	(7.0%)	4	(2.7%)

Employment Status

No	73	(48.0%)	93	(61.6%)
Yes	79	(52.0%)	58	(38.4%)

Religious service attendance

Never	18	(11.8%)	9	(6.0%)
Once or twice a year	22	(14.5%)	29	(19.2%)

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Several times a year	30	(19.7%)	31	(20.5%)
Once a month	11	(7.2%)	12	(7.9%)
Two or three times a month	18	(11.8%)	32	(21.2%)
Nearly every week	39	(25.7%)	34	(22.5%)
More than once a week	14	(9.2%)	4	(2.6%)

Table 5

Factor Analysis Social Responsibility Attitudes (All Items)

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Commonality
Successful Blacks should help other Blacks to succeed	.73	.13	.55
Black people should choose careers that will allow them to make change in Black communities	.64	-.05	.41
Black people should fight against injustice and racism	.74	.01	.55
Black people should attend community meetings or conferences related to Black issues	.79	.17	.66
Black people should do what they can to ensure that predominantly Black neighborhoods thrive	.84	.08	.71
Black people should be involved in the political process so that they can influence who makes decisions that affect the Black community	.67	.09	.45
Black people should tend to their own business and not worry about the larger Black community	.83	.10	.69
Black people should participate in organizations that serve Black people	.73	.18	.57
Black people have a responsibility to contribute to the Black community	.59	-.14	.36
Blacks should work towards the goal of leaving Black communities better off than they were originally	.67	-.17	.47

The success of the racial group is dependent on the willingness of Black people to get involved in the community	.22	.77	.65
Black people should strive to be the best educated/trained s/he can be and not spend time getting involved in collective action	-.12	.77	.60
Eigenvalue	5.38	1.29	
% of Total Variance	44.86%	10.73%	
% Total Variance		55.59%	

Table 6

Factor Analysis Social Responsibility Attitudes (Revised)

	Factor 1	Commonality
Successful Blacks should help other Blacks to succeed	.73	.54
Black people should choose careers that will allow them to make change in Black communities	.64	.40
Black people should fight against injustice and racism	.74	.55
Black people should attend community meetings or conferences related to Black issues	.81	.65
Black people should do what they can to ensure that predominantly Black neighborhoods thrive	.85	.71
Black people should be involved in the political process so that they can influence who makes decisions that affect the Black community	.67	.45
Black people should participate in organizations that serve Black people	.83	.70
Black people have a responsibility to contribute to the Black community	.74	.55
Blacks should work towards the goal of leaving Black communities better off than they were originally	.58	.34

The success of the racial group is dependent on the willingness of Black people to get involved in the community	.65	.42
Eigenvalue	5.31	
% Total Variance	53.06%	

Table 7

Factor Analyis - Social Responsibility Behaviors (All Items)

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Commonality
Volunteered for a political campaign for a Black candidate	.08	.56	.32
Tutored Black youth	.76	.12	.59
Made a conscious effort to stay informed about issues relevant to Black people	.64	.17	.44
Attended meetings or conferences that focused on Black issues	.75	.24	.63
Encouraged other Black people to get involved in the political process	.48	.56	.54
Used your education and/or career skills to contribute to the Black community in some way	.77	.28	.67
Participated in the planning or execution of cultural celebrations (MLK birthday, Kwanzaa, Juneteenth, etc.)	.48	.44	.42
Mentored Black youth	.75	.16	.59
Donated time or money to Black organizations	.74	.19	.59
Protested (marched, wrote letters, boycotted, etc.) when you felt you or others had been treated unfairly because of your race	.26	.86	.80

Attended a cultural event that focuses on Black culture	.70	.23	.55
Participated in efforts to improve predominantly Black neighborhoods	.63	.39	.55
Donated time or money to community service efforts geared towards Black populations	.68	.38	.61
Participated in efforts aimed at increasing the number of Blacks students in college	.65	.43	.60
Protested (marched, wrote letters, boycotted, etc.) in support of a pro-Black cause	.22	.84	.76
Eigenvalue	7.34	1.30	
% Total Variance	48.92%	8.66%	
Total Variance		57.58%	

Table 8

Factor Analysis Social Responsibility Behaviors (Revised)

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Commonality
Tutored Black youth	.75	.17	.59
Made a conscious effort to stay informed about issues relevant to Black people	.64	.18	.44
Attended meetings or conferences that focused on Black issues	.74	.27	.63
Encouraged other Black people to get involved in the political process	.47	.55	.53
Used your education and/or career skills to contribute to the Black community in some way	.76	.30	.67
Participated in the planning or execution of cultural celebrations (MLK birthday, Kwanzaa, Juneteenth, etc.)	.47	.45	.42
Mentored Black youth	.75	.18	.59
Donated time or money to Black organizations	.75	.19	.60
Attended a cultural event that focuses on Black culture	.69	.27	.55
Participated in efforts to improve predominantly Black neighborhoods	.62	.41	.55
Donated time or money to community service efforts geared towards Black	.67	.41	.61

populations

Participated in efforts aimed at increasing the number of Blacks students in college	.64	.43	.60
Protested (marched, wrote letters, boycotted, etc.) when you felt you or others had been treated unfairly because of your race	.22	.90	.86
Protested (marched, wrote letters, boycotted, etc.) in support of a pro-Black cause	.17	.91	.85
Eigenvalue	7.25	1.23	
% Total Variance	51.75%	8.79%	

Table 9

Means and Standard Deviations of Key Study Variables

Variable	Range	Mean (SD)
Social Responsibility Attitudes	1-5	3.98(.66)
Social Responsibility Behaviors	0-3	1.19(.75)
Societal Oppression	0-4	2.38(.84)
Racial Discrimination	0-5	1.50(1.03)
Centrality	1-5	3.63(.78)
Private Regard	1-5	4.27(.71)
Public Regard	1-5	2.58(.70)
Minority Ideology	1-5	3.33(.80)
Nationalist Ideology	1-5	3.20(.73)
Self-esteem	1-4	3.35(.53)
Depressive Symptoms	1-4	1.78(.47)
Psychological Well-being	1-5	3.79(.55)
Life Satisfaction	1-7	4.64(1.27)

Table 10

One-Way Analysis of Variance for Social Responsibility Variables, by Institution

Variable	Group	N	Mean (SD)	*F*
Social Responsibility Attitudes				
	UMICH	50	3.96(.71)	F(4, 298) = .79, ns
	MSU	50	3.87(.55)	
	UC	52	3.94(.54)	
	MORGAN	75	4.00(.66)	
	NCA&T	76	4.07(.75)	
Social Responsibility Behaviors				
	UMICH	50	1.42(.84)	F(4, 298) = 4.09**
	MSU	50	1.15(.83)	
	UC	52	1.41(.69)	
	MORGAN	75	.98(.61)	
	NCA&T	76	1.13(.76)	

Note. UMICH = University of Michigan; MSU = Michigan State University; UC = University of Cincinnati; MORGAN = Morgan State University; NCA&T = North Carolina A&T State University

+p < .10; *p <.05; **p <.01

Table 11

One-Way Analysis of Variance for Oppression and Discrimination Variables, by Institution

Variable	Group	N	Mean (SD)	F
Societal Oppression				
	UMICH	50	2.55(.77)	$F(4, 298) = 1.83$, ns
	MSU	50	2.14(.87)	
	UC	52	2.43(.83)	
	MORGAN	75	2.45(.84)	
	NCA&T	76	2.33(.86)	
Racial Discrimination				
	UMICH	50	1.57(1.03)	$F(4, 298) = .93$, ns
	MSU	50	1.44(1.04)	
	UC	52	1.73(.83)	
	MORGAN	75	1.44(1.10)	
	NCA&T	76	1.41(1.09)	

Note. UMICH = University of Michigan; MSU = Michigan State University; UC = University of Cincinnati; MORGAN = Morgan State University; NCA&T = North Carolina A&T State University

+p < .10; *p <.05; **p <.01

Table 12

One-Way Analysis of Variance for Racial Identity Variables, by Institution

Variable	Group	N	Mean (SD)	*F*
Centrality	UMICH	50	3.50(1.01)	F(4, 296) = 1.63, ns
	MSU	50	3.48(.72)	
	UC	52	3.78(.67)	
	MORGAN	73	3.62(.80)	
	NCA&T	76	3.73(.69)	
Private Regard	UMICH	50	4.22(.75)	F(4, 296) = 2.00+
	MSU	50	4.09(.76)	
	UC	52	4.44(.54)	
	MORGAN	73	4.19(.70)	
	NCA&T	76	4.33(.76)	
Public Regard	UMICH	50	2.67(.76)	F(4, 295) = .73, ns
	MSU	50	2.55(.69)	
	UC	52	2.45(.59)	
	MORGAN	72	2.63(.78)	
	NCA&T	76	2.58(.66)	
Minority Ideology	UMICH	50	3.51(.86)	F(4, 295) = 1.56, ns
	MSU	50	3.40(.75)	
	UC	52	3.28(.76)	
	MORGAN	73	3.37(.79)	
	NCA&T	76	3.17(.83)	
Nationalist Ideology	UMICH	50	3.04(.71)	F(4, 296) = 2.68*
	MSU	50	3.02(.79)	
	UC	52	3.17(.71)	
	MORGAN	73	3.35(.73)	
	NCA&T	76	3.31(.66)	

Note. UMICH = University of Michigan; MSU = Michigan State University; UC =

University of Cincinnati; MORGAN = Morgan State University; NCA&T = North Carolina A&T State University

+$p < .10$; *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$

Table 13

One-Way Analysis of Variance for Psychological Outcomes, by Institution

Variable	Group	N	Mean (SD)	F
Self-esteem				
	UMICH	49	3.32(.56)	$F(4, 297) = .57$, ns
	MSU	50	3.40(.51)	
	UC	52	3.42(.54)	
	MORGAN	75	3.30(.50)	
	NCA&T	76	3.34(.56)	
Depressive Symptoms				
	UMICH	50	1.77(.50)	$F(4, 298) = 1.15$, ns
	MSU	50	1.76(.42)	
	UC	52	1.73(.49)	
	MORGAN	75	1.88(.46)	
	NCA&T	76	1.73(.46)	
Psychological Well-being				
	UMICH	50	3.66(.61)	$F(4, 298) = 1.60$, ns
	MSU	50	3.80(.50)	
	UC	52	3.89(.53)	
	MORGAN	75	3.72(.53)	
	NCA&T	76	3.85(56)	
Life Satisfaction				
	UMICH	50	4.57(1.45)	$F(4, 298) = 1.69$, ns

MSU	50	4.76(1.23)
UC	52	4.86(1.08)
MORGAN	75	4.35(1.29)
NCA&T	76	4.76(1.26)

Note. UMICH = University of Michigan; MSU = Michigan State University; UC = University of Cincinnati; MORGAN = Morgan State University; NCA&T = North Carolina A&T State University

+p < .10; *p <.05; **p <.01

Table 14

Correlation Matrix of Key Study Variables in Full Sample

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. SRA	-												
2. SRB	.29**	-											
3. Societal Oppression	.37**	.19**	-										
4. Discrimination	.14*	.25**	.27**	-									
5. Centrality	.35**	.32**	.31**	.17**	-								
6. Private Regard	.33**	.28**	.16**	.01	.60**	-							
7. Public Regard	-.14*	-.08	-.28**	-.20**	-.13*	.06	-						
8. Minority Ideology	.06	.06	.08	-.10	-.04	.05	.17**	-					
9. Nationalist Ideology	.45**	.18**	.24**	.16**	.42**	.37**	.07	.13*	-				
10. Self-esteem	.20**	.22**	.03	-.18**	.24**	.43**	-.08	-.05	.02	-			

11. Dep. Symptoms	-.11	-.10	-.06	.15**	-.19**	-.31**	.13*	.10	.02	-.65**	-	
12. Well-being	.23**	.26**	.08	-.11*	.31**	.48**	-.04	.02	.08	.78**	-.61**	-
13. Life Satisfaction	-.02	.22**	-.06	-.09	.08	.22**	.19**	.07	-.03	.41**	-.40**	.48**	-

Note. SRA = Social Responsibility Attitudes; SRB = Social Responsibility Behaviors; Dep. Symptoms = Depressive Symptoms; Well-being = Psychological Well-being

+p < .10; *p <.05; **p <.01

Table 15

Correlation's between Demographic and Key Study Variables in Full Sample

Variable	Age	Gender	Parent Education	Employment Status	Religious Service Attendance	University Racial Composition
1.SRA	.10	.10	-.09	.08	.06	.09
2.SRB	-.07	.08	.03	.06	.29**	-.14*
3. Societal Oppression	.12*	.08	.04	.15**	.06	-.01
4. Discrimination	-.04	-.06	.06	.07	-.02	-.07
5. Centrality	.02	.03	-.02	.06	.13*	.07
6. Private Regard	-.01	.07	-.07	-.02	.09	.03
7. Public Regard	-.12*	-.07	.03	-.16**	.08	.02
8. Minority Ideology	-.08	.08	-.02	.00	-.07	-.11
9. Nationalist Ideology	.08	-.05	-.02	.08	-.02	.15**
10. Self-esteem	.00	.06	-.02	-.03	.12*	-.04
11. Depressive Symptoms	-.11*	-.02	.00	.10	-.15**	.00

12. Well-being	-.01	.07	-.07	-.04	.15**	.03
13. Life Satisfaction	-.23**	.09	.14*	-.17**	.24**	-.01

+p < .10; *p <.05; **p <.01

Table 16

Correlation's between Social Responsibility Variables

Variable	1	2
1. Social Responsibility Attitudes	-	-
2. Social Responsibility Behaviors	.29**	-

$+p < .10$; $*p < .05$; $**p < .01$

Table 17

Univariate One-Way Analysis of Variance for Social Responsibility Attitudes by Background and Contextual Variables

	Sum of Squares	**df**	**Mean Square**	*F*
Age	7.01	15	.47	1.11
Gender	.50	1	.50	1.19
Parent Education	4.54	8	.57	1.35
Employment Status	.80	1	.80	1.91
Religious Service Attendance	2.91	6	.48	1.15
University Racial Composition	.48	1	.48	1.13

+p < .10; *p <.05; **p <.01

Table 18

Univariate One-Way Analysis of Variance for Social Responsibility Behaviors by Background and Contextual Variables

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F
Age	9.71	15	.65	1.33
Gender	.48	1	.48	.99
Parent Education	5.05	8	.63	1.29
Employment Status	1.34	1	1.34	2.73+
Religious Service Attendance	15.38	6	2.56	5.25**
University Racial Composition	8.13	1	8.13	16.66**

$+p < .10$; $*p < .05$; $**p < .01$

Table 19

Summary of Simultaneous Multiple Regression Analysis for Background and Contextual Variables Predicting Social Responsibility Behaviors

	B	SE B	β
Variable			
Age	-.01	.01	-.05
Gender	.06	.10	.03
Parent education	.01	.03	.02
Employment status	.18	.08	.12*
Religious service attendance	.11	.02	.28**
University racial composition	-.30	.08	-.20**
Social responsibility attitudes	.33	.06	.28**
R²	.19		
F statistic	11.27**		

+p < .10; *p <.05; **p <.01

Table 20

Summary of Simultaneous Multiple Regression Analysis for the Interaction between Background and Contextual Variables and Social Responsibility Attitudes Predicting Social Responsibility Behaviors

	B	SE B	β
Variable			
Age	-.02	.02	-.07
Gender	.04	.11	.02
Parent education	.02	.03	.03
Employment status	.19	.08	.12
Religious service attendance	.12	.02	.29
University racial composition	-.15	.05	-.16
Social responsibility attitudes	.60	.13	.52
Social responsibility attitudes x Age	.00	.02	-.01
Social responsibility attitudes x Gender	-.19	.17	-.06
Parent education x Social responsibility attitudes	-.02	.04	-.03
Employment status x Social responsibility attitudes	-.28	.13	-.25*
Religious service attendance x Social responsibility attitudes	.02	.04	.03
University racial composition x Social responsibility attitudes	-.09	.08	-.07
R^2	.19		
F statistic	6.37**		

+p < .10; *p <.05; **p <.01

Table 21

Summary of Simultaneous Multiple Regression Analysis for Race-related Beliefs and Experiences Variables Predicting Social Responsibility Attitudes

	B	SE B	B
Variable			
Age	.01	.01	.04
Gender	.12	.09	.07
Parent education	-.05	.02	-.11*
Employment status	.02	.07	.01
Religious service attendance	.02	.02	.04
Societal oppression	.27	.05	.35**
Racial Discrimination	.03	.04	.04
R²	.14		
F statistic	7.85**		

+p < .10; *p <.05; **p <.01

Table 22

Summary of Simultaneous Multiple Regression Analysis for Race-related Beliefs and Experiences Variables Predicting Social Responsibility Behaviors

	B	SE B	B
Variable			
Age	-.02	.01	-.07
Gender	.11	.11	.05
Parent education	.00	.03	-.01
Employment status	.13	.08	.09
Religious service attendance	.12	.02	.29**
Societal oppression	.09	.05	.11+
Racial Discrimination	.16	.04	.22**
R²	.15		
F statistic	8.73**		

+p < .10; *p <.05; **p <.01

Table 23

Summary of Simultaneous Multiple Regression Analysis for the Interaction between Race-related Beliefs and Experiences Predicting Social Responsibility Attitudes

	B	SE B	β
Variable			
Age	.01	.01	.04
Gender	.12	.09	.07
Parent education	-.04	.02	-.11+
Employment status	.02	.07	.01
Religious service attendance	.02	.02	.04
Societal oppression	.27	.05	.35**
Racial Discrimination	.03	.04	.04
Racial Discrimination x Societal Oppression	.00	.04	-.01
R²	.14		
F statistic	6.84**		

+p < .10; *p <.05; **p <.01

Table 24

Summary of Simultaneous Multiple Regression Analysis for the Interaction between Race-related Beliefs and Experiences Predicting Social Responsibility Behaviors

	B	SE B	β
Variable			
Age	-.02	.01	-.07
Gender	.12	.11	.06
Parent education	.00	.03	-.01
Employment status	.14	.08	.09
Religious service attendance	.12	.02	.29**
Societal oppression	.09	.05	.10+
Racial Discrimination	.17	.04	.23**
Racial Discrimination x Societal Oppression	-.06	.05	-.07
R²	.16		
F statistic	7.86**		

+p < .10; *p <.05; **p <.01

Table 25

Summary of Simultaneous Multiple Regression Analysis for Racial Identity Attitudes Predicting Social Responsibility Attitudes

	B	SE B	β
Variable			
Age	.01	.01	.05
Gender	.15	.09	.09+
Parent education	-.03	.02	-.06
Employment status	.02	.07	.02
Religious service attendance	.02	.02	.05
Centrality	.09	.06	.11
Private Regard	.11	.06	.12+
Public Regard	-.14	.05	-.15**
Minority Ideology	.04	.04	.05
Nationalist Ideology	.32	.05	.35**
R²	.26		
F statistic	11.13**		

+p < .10; *p <.05; **p <.01

Table 26

Summary of Simultaneous Multiple Regression Analysis for Racial Identity Attitudes Predicting Social Responsibility Behaviors

	B	SE B	β
Variable			
Age	-.02	.01	-.09
Gender	.04	.11	.02
Parent education	.01	.03	.01
Employment status	.15	.08	.10+
Religious service attendance	.11	.02	.28**
Centrality	.18	.07	.18*
Private Regard	.13	.07	.13+
Public Regard	-.11	.06	-.10+
Minority Ideology	.07	.05	.08
Nationalist Ideology	.05	.06	.05
R²	.18		
F statistic	7.57**		

+p < .10; *p <.05; **p <.01

Table 27

Summary of Simultaneous Multiple Regression Analysis for the Interaction between Societal Oppression and Racial Identity Attitudes Predicting Social Responsibility Attitudes

	B	SE B	β
Variable			
Age	.01	.01	.05
Gender	.14	.09	.09
Parent education	-.03	.02	-.06
Employment status	.03	.07	.02
Religious service attendance	.02	.02	.06
Centrality	.08	.06	.10
Private Regard	.12	.06	.13*
Public Regard	-.15	.05	-.15**
Minority ideology	.04	.05	.05
Nationalist ideology	.32	.05	.35**
Centrality x Societal Oppression	-.05	.07	-.06
Private Regard x Societal Oppression	.04	.07	.04
Public Regard x Societal Oppression	.01	.06	.01
Minority Ideology x Societal Oppression	.02	.05	.02
Nationalist Ideology x Societal Oppression	.02	.07	.02

R²	.25
F statistic	7.40**

+p < .10; *p <.05; **p <.01

Table 28

Summary of Simultaneous Multiple Regression Analysis for the Interaction between Societal Oppression and Racial Identity Attitudes Predicting Social Responsibility Behaviors

	B	SE B	β
Variable			
Age	-.02	.01	-.07
Gender	.05	.11	.03
Parent education	.01	.03	.01
Employment status	.16	.08	.11*
Religious service attendance	.12	.02	.28**
Centrality	.17	.07	.18*
Private Regard	.14	.07	.13+
Public Regard	-.12	.06	-.11*
Minority Ideology	.08	.05	.09
Nationalist Ideology	.06	.07	.06
Centrality x Societal Oppression x	-.06	.08	-.06
Private Regard x Societal Oppression	.13	.09	.11
Public Regard x Societal Oppression	.03	.08	.03
Minority Ideology x Societal Oppression	-.02	.06	-.02
Societal Oppression Nationalist Ideology x	-.02	.08	-.02

R²	.18
F statistic	5.19**

+p < .10; *p <.05; **p <.01

Table 29

Summary of Simultaneous Multiple Regression Analysis for Social Responsibility Variables Predicting Psychological Outcomes

Variable	ESTEEM			CESD			WB			LIFESAT		
	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β
Age	.00	.01	.01	-.02	.01	-.14*	.00	.01	.00	-.07	.02	-.17**
Gender	.04	.08	.03	-.01	.07	-.01	.04	.08	.03	.22	.18	.07
Parent education	-.01	.02	-.02	.00	.02	.00	-.03	.02	-.08	.07	.05	.09
Employment status	-.05	.06	-.05	.12	.06	.13*	-.07	.06	-.06	-.28	.14	-.11+
Religious service attendance	.02	.02	.06	-.03	.02	-.11+	.02	.02	.07	.11	.04	.16**
Social responsibility attitudes	.12	.05	.14**	-.06	.04	-.08	.14	.05	.17**	-.10	.11	-.05
Social responsibility behaviors	.12	.04	.16*	-.04	.04	-.07	.14	.04	.19**	.29	.10	.17**

R²	.05	.04	.09	.13
F statistic	3.35**	2.63**	5.11**	7.62**

+p < .10; *p <.05; **p <.01

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY ATTITUDES

We are interested in learning more about your racial attitudes. Specifically, we want to know the extent to which you believe Black people should do certain things because they are Black. Please rate your agreement with the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1) Successful Blacks should help other Blacks to succeed	1	2	3	4	5
2) Black people should choose careers that will allow them to make change in Black communities	1	2	3	4	5
3) Black people should fight against injustice and racism	1	2	3	4	5
4) Black people should attend community meetings or conferences related to Black issues	1	2	3	4	5
5) Black people should do what they can to ensure that predominantly Black neighborhoods thrive	1	2	3	4	5
6) Black people should be involved in the political process so that they can influence who makes	1	2	3	4	5

decisions that affect the Black community					
7) Black people should tend to their own business and not worry about the larger Black community	1	2	3	4	5
8) Black people should participate in organizations that serve Black people	1	2	3	4	5
9) Black people have a responsibility to contribute to the Black community	1	2	3	4	5
10) Blacks should work towards the goal of leaving Black communities better off than they were originally	1	2	3	4	5
11) The success of the racial group is dependent on the willingness of Black people to get involved in the community	1	2	3	4	5
12) Black people should strive to be the best educated/trained s/he can be and not spend time getting involved in collective action	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX B

SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY BEHAVIORS

We want to know a little more about your involvement on your campus and in the larger community. Below, please indicate how often you have engaged in the following behaviors in the last year.

	Never	Once or Twice	Three or Four Times	More than Four Times
1) Volunteered for a political campaign for a Black candidate	0	1	2	3
2) Tutored Black youth	0	1	2	3
3) Made a conscious effort to stay informed about issues relevant to Black people	0	1	2	3
4) Attended meetings or conferences that focused on Black issues	0	1	2	3
5) Encouraged other Black people to get involved in the political process	0	1	2	3
6) Used your education and/or career skills to contribute to the Black community in some way	0	1	2	3
7) Participated in the planning or execution of cultural celebrations (MLK birthday, Kwanzaa, Juneteenth, etc.)	0	1	2	3
8) Mentored Black youth	0	1	2	3
9) Donated time or money to Black organizations	0	1	2	3
10) Protested (marched, wrote letters, boycotted, etc.) when you felt you or others had been treated unfairly because of your race	0	1	2	3
11) Attended a cultural event that focuses on Black	0	1	2	3

culture

12) Participated in efforts to improve predominantly Black neighborhoods	0	1	2	3
13) Donated time or money to community service efforts geared towards Black populations	0	1	2	3
14) Participated in efforts aimed at increasing the number of Blacks students in college	0	1	2	3
15) Protested (marched, wrote letters, boycotted, etc.) in support of a pro-Black cause	0	1	2	3

GROUP IMPACT SCALE

We are interested in finding out how much you believe racism impacts the daily lives of Black people. When reading the items below indicate how much you think racism affects Black people in each of the domains listed. Remember, when responding to these items, think about how racism affects the lives of Black people overall, even if your life is not affected by racism.

	Not at all influenced by racism	A little bit influenced by racism	Somewhat influenced by racism	Very much influenced by racism	Extremely influenced by racism
1) The community environment (e.g., cleanliness, pollution, noise)	0	1	2	3	4
2) Things that happen with the police or the legal system	0	1	2	3	4
3) Things that happen in the workplace or related to employment	0	1	2	3	4
4) Things that happen in schools and the educational system	0	1	2	3	4
5) The way the public social service system works (e.g. welfare)	0	1	2	3	4
6) The way the political system works (e.g. the electoral process, districting, voting, elected officials)	0	1	2	3	4
7) Violence and crime	0	1	2	3	4
8) Drug or alcohol problems	0	1	2	3	4
9) Things that happen in family, social, or intimate relationships	0	1	2	3	4
10) Financial or	0	1	2	3	4

economic issues					
11) Health status and health care	0	1	2	3	4
12) The way people are portrayed in the media (e.g., TV, movies, newspapers)	0	1	2	3	4
13) Self-esteem and emotional well-being	0	1	2	3	4
14) Things that happen in public places (restaurants, shopping, etc.)	0	1	2	3	4
15) Housing quality and availability	0	1	2	3	4
16) Relationships between people of your same racial/ethnic group	0	1	2	3	4

APPENDIX D

THE RACISM AND LIFE EXPERIENCE SCALE

The next questions ask you to think about being Black as it relates to experiences you have had. Thinking about the last year, please tell us how often you have experienced each event as a result of your Black.

	How often did it happen to you because of your race?					
	Never	Once	A few times	About once a month	A few times a month	Once a week or more
1) Been ignored, overlooked, or not given service (in a restaurant, store, etc.)	0	1	2	3	4	5
2) Being treated rudely or disrespectfully	0	1	2	3	4	5
3) Being accused of something or treated suspiciously	0	1	2	3	4	5
4) Others reacting to you as if they were afraid or intimidated	0	1	2	3	4	5
5) Being observed or followed while in public places	0	1	2	3	4	5
6) Being treated as if you were "stupid", being "talked down to"	0	1	2	3	4	5
7) Having your ideas ignored	0	1	2	3	4	5
8) Overhearing or being told an offensive joke	0	1	2	3	4	5
9) Being insulted, called a name or harassed	0	1	2	3	4	5
10) Others expecting your work to be inferior (not as good as others)	0	1	2	3	4	5

11) Not being taken seriously	0	1	2	3	4	5
12) Being left out of conversations or activities	0	1	2	3	4	5
13) Being treated in an "overly" friendly or superficial way	0	1	2	3	4	5
14) Other people avoiding you	0	1	2	3	4	5
15) Being stared at by strangers	0	1	2	3	4	5
16) Being laughed at, made fun of, or taunted	0	1	2	3	4	5
17) Being mistaken for someone else of your same race	0	1	2	3	4	5
18) Been disciplined unfairly because of your race	0	1	2	3	4	5

MIBI-S

We want to know a little more about your attitudes about race and being Black. Please read the statements below and select the response that most closely represents how you feel about each statement. Remember, all of your responses are confidential.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
1) In general, others respect Black people.	1	2	3	4	5
2) I have a strong sense of belonging to Black People.	1	2	3	4	5
3) Overall, Blacks are considered good by others.	1	2	3	4	5
4) Overall, being Black has very little to do with how I feel about myself.	1	2	3	4	5
5) I have a strong attachment to other Black People.	1	2	3	4	5
6) I feel good about Black people.	1	2	3	4	5
7) Being Black is an important reflection of who I am.	1	2	3	4	5
8) It is important for Black people to surround their children with Black art, music and literature.	1	2	3	4	5
9) Blacks would be better off if they adopted	1	2	3	4	5

Afrocentric values.

10) The same forces which have led to the oppression of Blacks have also led to the oppression of other groups.	1	2	3	4	5
11) The struggle for Black liberation in America should be closely related to the struggle of other oppressed groups.	1	2	3	4	5
12) The racism Blacks have experienced is similar to that of other minority groups.	1	2	3	4	5
13) There are other people who experience racial injustice and indignities similar to Black Americans.	1	2	3	4	5
14) Black people must organize themselves into a separate Black political force.	1	2	3	4	5
15) I am happy that I am Black.	1	2	3	4	5
16) Whenever possible, Blacks should buy from other Black businesses.	1	2	3	4	5

17) I am proud to be Black.	1	2	3	4	5
18) In general, other groups view Blacks in a positive manner.	1	2	3	4	5
19) Society views Black people as an asset.	1	2	3	4	5

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