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No Strangers to Hardship:

African Americans, Inequality, and the Politics of Resilience

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction

of the requirements for the degree

Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science

by

Christine Marie Slaughter

2021

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

No Strangers to Hardship:

African Americans, Inequality, and the Politics of Resilience

by

Christine Marie Slaughter

Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science

University of California Los Angeles, 2021

Professor Lorrie Frasure Yokley, Chair

What is the role of African American's racial resilience in American politics? To date, there are few accounts of how resilience matters in politics. Nor are there accounts of how racial resilience influences political engagement and participation, particularly in costly political acts. This dissertation examines how the perception of racial resilience among African Americans influences their political participation in American politics. This project presents a novel framework and an original measure of racial resilience, a psychological trait developed in response to a collective triumph over prolonged adversity. This dissertation investigates how African Americans' varied response to adversity shapes their political involvement and engagement. The dissertation relies on original observational and experimental data to determine (1) what demographic and ideological factors influence the development of the unique response to adversity for African Americans and (2) how the perception of racial resilience for African

Americans influences their political engagement. The main theoretical argument is that African Americans' experience of prolonged adversity has bestowed a unique worldview of responding to adversity with persistence. African Americans' persistence in the face of collective obstacles is associated with increased political participation. I find that racial resilience is less associated with specific demographic characteristics of African Americans. In addition, the results indicate that African Americans' perception of racial resilience is associated with participation acts, such as waiting in line to vote and attending a protest demonstration. This dissertation extends the overall understanding of Black political behavior. The findings of this dissertation have implications for the study of the political behavior of non-Black Americans, including Latinos, Asian Americans, and Whites, but also among other marginalized groups that have experienced forms of hardship. Furthermore, the contributions of this dissertation expand beyond racial and ethnic politics to understand how contemporary political participation requires extra-ordinary effort and engagement, and resilience to adversity is central to participation.

The dissertation of Christine Marie Slaughter is approved.

Natalie Remi Masuoka

Matthew Alejandro Barreto

David O. Sears

Lorrie Frasure Yokley, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2021

To My Mom, Theresa. For your support and encouragement at each step of the way.

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VITA

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Chapter 1 Introduction

Introduction

Despite the prolonged barriers to inclusion and full citizenship of African Americans into the American polity, African Americans are enthusiastic about participation in democratic politics.¹ A generation's long struggle for access to the ballot box relied on the resilience of African Americans. In the face of natural, economic, and social disasters, African Americans are steadfast participants in electoral and non-electoral politics and participate in the political process to advance the collective standing of the group. The question of what motivates an individual's engagement in politics has generated much inquiry over decades in political science. Scholars of mainstream American political behavior have explored the predictors of engagement: socioeconomic resources, socialization, social networks, political predispositions, campaigns, and mobilization as necessary tools for individuals to exert influence in society through voting (A. Campbell, Gurin, and Miller 1954; A. Campbell 1967; Verba and Nie 1974; Rosenstone, Hansen, and Reeves 2003; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995; Niemi and Junn 2005; Green and Gerber 2015; Gerber and Green 2017).

Specifically, over the past six decades, there has been considerable attention from participation scholars towards addressing African American political decision making and political behavior. Verba and Nie (1974) frame Black political participation through the heightened sense of racial consciousness possessed by African Americans, which contributes to their higher levels of engagement, despite lower socioeconomic status. The role of group consciousness have been postulated by Gurin, Miller, and Gurin (1980), Miller et al. (1981), and Gurin, Hatchett, and Jackson (1989), and it is apparent that awareness about the group's social and economic standing are relevant to collective behaviors and electoral participation. Alternative theories, specifically tailored to the Black experience, examine how participation in church organizations and connection with spirituality (Harris 1994), Black group consciousness (R. Shingles 1981), and strong intra-group ties through a shared collective identity (Tate 1994; M. Dawson 1994) is associated with Black political participation. The persistence of adversities

¹ Throughout the dissertation, I use the identification terms "Black" and "African American" interchangeably. In addition, I capitalize Black to indicate that I am referencing a group of individuals, and not a color.

experienced by African Americans, and its relationship to political engagement can be further investigated. Additional frameworks and psychological concepts are needed to understand political motivation of African Americans to engage in the political process.

To date, few studies have systematically examined how psychological traits, better yet group-based psychological traits, such as a resilience to collective adversity, shape political behavior outcomes among marginalized and historically oppressed groups, such as African Americans. In multiple sub-fields of psychological research, generations of psychologists have drawn on the concept of resilience, defined as the ability to "bounce back" from hardships (Bonanno 2004). Individually resilient individuals are those that become more enduring of challenges and setbacks over time. In addition, possessing the trait of resilience hardens individuals and their outlook on life and releases a positive effect from a negative, stressful, or traumatic life event (Ong et al. 2006). However, few accounts of resilience are present in the study of politics and political participation.

Research in political science has addressed under what conditions that economic adversity serves as a motivator of engagement (Rosenstone 1982). However, there is no consensus on how hardships have collectively influenced the political psychology, and political engagement of racial groups, specifically African Americans, in the United States. Scholars have examined how African Americans have a differential response to adversity compared to other racial groups. This is reflected in their response to natural disasters such as Hurricane Katrina (Levy et al. 2006), but also economic crises such as the Great Recession of 2009. In the aftermath of the financial fall-out from the Great Recession of 2009, African Americans remained a larger share of the electorate, even after reporting worse economic conditions from the previous year (Huyser et al. 2018). Other evidence that supports African Americans' differential response to hardship is that unlike other racial and ethnic minorities, African Americans in poorer health, and who have experienced traumatic life events, are more engaged in political activism (S. A. Peterson and Somit 1994). With regards to criminal justice, where African Americans are particularly targeted, Walker (2019) finds that these negative encounters can mobilize participation against systemic injustices. Indeed, it is well known that once Black Americans become involved, they participate at high levels (Verba and Nie 1974). However, the mechanisms, especially the cognitive psychological processes, that facilitate African American participation and involvement require greater specification and attention.

I develop and build *the politics of resilience*, a framework that provides intuition, measurement, evidence, and implications of how African Americans' differential response to collective hardship has manifested into a form of racial resilience. I examine how racial resilience leads to African American's political engagement. By doing this, I define how a racialized sense of resilience has been present for African Americans. I provide a subsequent measurement of this trait of racial resilience. I demonstrate its usefulness for explaining African American political behavior. A general measure of resilience has been tested within social, personality, and educational psychology fields. However, there is not a measure that addresses a collective sense of resilience shared by members of a racial group.

African Americans are expected to overcome the hardships they face. Varying types of social, economic, and political disadvantage and disenfranchisement from American institutions have relegated African Americans towards the lower echelon of society, evidenced by their

placement on various social and economic indicators (Conley 2010). African Americans have been subject to enslavement, repression during America's reconstruction, extra-judicial terror through lynchings in the American South, and treatment as second-class citizens under Jim Crow. The magnitude and duration of these discriminatory practices has a vast and enduring impact on shaping beliefs and outlooks among Black Americans today. Dawson's (1994) measure of linked fate captures this collective understanding of Black people's racialized social and political experiences in the United States, which manifests in their near uniform political decision making.

Despite these barriers, Black Americans are enthusiastic about the political process (Walton 1985) and seek to elect candidates who substantively and descriptively align with their interests, forming coalitions to protect their communities, and actively engaging in resistance to political threats. As a result, the need to respond, and respond with resilience, has been at the forefront of their lived experiences. This is demonstrated in the reality that individual members of oppressed racial groups have resorted to individual and collective action to have their demands for inclusion addressed (Lipsky 1968; Gamson 1968; Morris 1999). On one hand, African Americans have persistently pushed for equality -- a process that has taken generations to make incremental change. On the other hand, this continued fight and overcoming of hardships may have led to political alienation and retreat from the political system due to the constant encounter with hurdles (Citrin et al. 1975; Jackson 1973). The literature has addressed the former - political alienation - and its effects on political engagement. The political persistence of African Americans is demonstrated in their collective action despite inattention from institutions and political actors. However, the trait of racial resilience that characterizes African Americans, and the extent to which it is shown in their the political persistence has yet to be fully examined.

This dissertation addresses the shortcomings of the understanding of adversity and racial resilience in American politics, specifically as it concerns the African American experience in the United States. First, I aim to provide a theory of the politics of resilience, which outlines how African Americans' differential response to experienced hardship is a distinct attribute of the group. Second, I provide evidence that racial resilience is a measurable cognitive attribute. I show this through a series of pilot surveys, survey experiments, and representative surveys of African Americans. Third, I examine the demographic contours of racial resilience, focusing on how racial resilience varies among African Americans. Then, this dissertation has the goal of investigating what, if any, the psychological attribute of racial resilience plays in the political participation, involvement, and engagement of African Americans. I conclude by discussing how racial resilience is expected to have implications in the study of other racial and ethnic minorities, and subjugated social groups.

In answering these questions, the project engages in a multi-methods examination that relies on original and existing observational data. The dissertation layouts a theoretical framework to understand how and why experiences with hardship have political influence as a source of motivation or as a withdrawal from political engagement. This framework provides an outline of how African Americans channel their trait of racial resilience into the political realm. Furthermore, the framework allows political scientists, policy practitioners, and community activists to understand when we can expect the psychological trait of resilience to drive political outcomes and how to engage individuals facing insurmountable hardships.

Why African Americans?

African Americans have faced collective adversity in the United States. One primary mechanism of ensuring that African Americans are withheld from seats of political power has been

the restriction of voting rights, as a way to halt and deter political incorporation (Anderson and Durbin 2018). In the immediate aftermath of the American Civil War, during the nation's reconstruction, African Americans in the South were threatened with and experienced gross acts of violence. White and Southern politicians, many but not all staunch supporters of the enslavement of African Americans, sought harsh means of repression, wielding their control of the state power to terrorize Black people. Even in the face of repression, Black people were agentic in their demands for inclusion and equity in society (Brundage 1993; 1997; Tolnay and Beck 1995; Williams 2012). The individual behaviors, as well as the institutional practices associated with Black disenfranchisement in the South, still bear political consequences today for Black residents in those same counties (Key and Heard 1984; Ananat and Washington 2009; Acharya, Blackwell, and Sen 2018).

This history and context of African Americans' pursuit for equality, namely through access to voting, positions them uniquely to critique the Democratic process in the United States. The collective mistreatment of African Americans within political institutions have armed them with a unique perspective where their individual treatments are so intertwined with the group's treatment and so forth. However, in spite of maltreatment, African Americans remain steadfast participants in politics, generally supporting Democratic candidates, and policies that benefit the status and uplift of the group . Aside from discussing politics with friends, the most rudimentary act of political participation and engagement is routinely voting in presidential elections. While African Americans had restricted access to the ballot prior to the 1965 Voting Rights Act, mass political engagement did not occur until after this important legislation. Not only did the Voting Rights Act imbue African Americans with the right to vote freely, it also crystallized support for the

Democratic party, an alignment that began during the United States Labor movement (Schickler 2016).

Unlike other racial and ethnic minority groups who have political heterogeneity, African Americans behave as a politically homogenous group. However, this political homogeneity – often in support of the Democratic party - does not equally influence political behavior, specifically voter turnout. Varying political contexts have increased and decreased Black political engagement. Figure 1.1 reports the percent turnout in presidential elections among Black Americans, Hispanics, Whites, and other non-Hispanic races since 1980. Evidenced by Figure 1.1 African American turnout is on a steady rise, after reaching a historic low in the re-election campaign of incumbent President Bill Clinton with only 53% participation of eligible Black voters. The apex of Black turnout occurred with the re-election campaign of Democratic incumbent President Barack Obama with 68% participation of eligible Black voters. Rates of Black participation in the November 2012 general election surpassed the participation of White Americans for the first time since the collection of data of this kind.

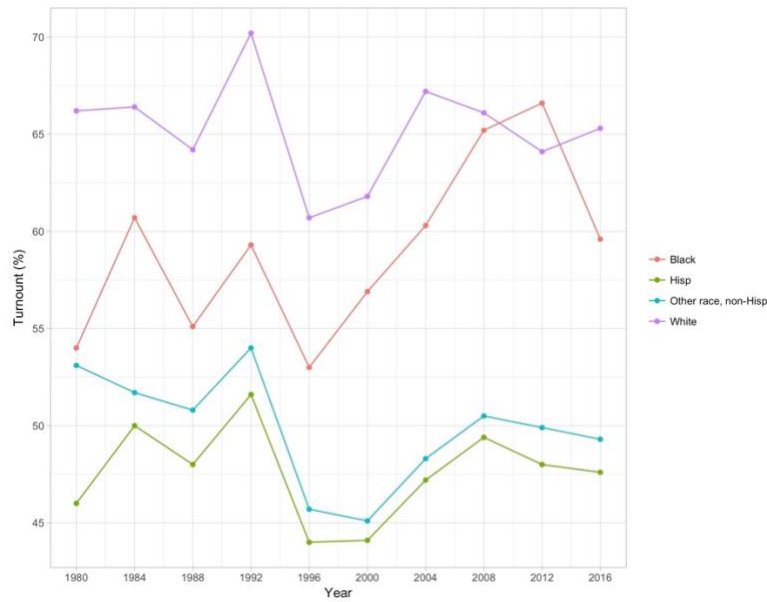


Figure 1.1 Voter Turnout among Black Americans, Hispanics, Whites and Others
Data are from the U.S. Bureau of the Census Current Population Reports (2017)

President Barack Obama’s re-election in 2012 occurred after Shelby County, Alabama v. Holder (2013) Supreme Court ruling. The implications of this decision altered the difficulty associated with registering and voting, and thus ultimately influences who becomes a part of the electorate (Hajnal, Lajevardi, and Nielson 2017; Kuk, Hajnal, and Lajevardi 2020). Many Black Americans continue to be excluded today through ongoing implications of voter identification (Hajnal, Lajevardi, and Nielson 2017; Kuk, Hajnal, and Lajevardi 2020), lower polling place quality (Barreto, Cohen-Marks, and Woods 2009; E. B. McGowen 2010) and longer wait times (Clinton et al. 2020; Pettigrew 2017; 2020; Shepherd et al. 2020)

Electoral participation should be examined beyond voter turnout. Figure 1.2 examines the voting eligibility among Asian American, Hispanic, Black, and White Americans by gender in the United States. Smooth (2006) alerts to an alarming pattern shaping the composition of the Black electorate, in the aftermath of the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1964 (VRA). Black women have higher rates of voter eligibility and are participating more than Black men, in addition to

supporting Democratic candidates more than Black men. However, African American men face unique circumstances of political disenfranchisement through high rates of felony criminal convictions, and imprisonment with the criminal justice system. In Figure 1.2, I examine intra racial gender differences in voter eligibility. Figure 1.2 confirms Smooth’s assertion that there are intersectional effects of access to the political franchise, with Black women having higher rates of eligibility (70% in 2012) as compared to African Americans men (60% in 2012). While the largest intra-racial gender disparity is between Black women and men, a gendered pattern emerges across several racial and ethnic groups according to the rates of eligibility. Over time, more Hispanic women are eligible to vote, as compared to Hispanic men, and more White women are eligible to vote as compared to White men. However, unlike these groups, there is not a uniformed collective experience of adversity, and differential treatment of institutional discrimination that maintains these disparities and practices.

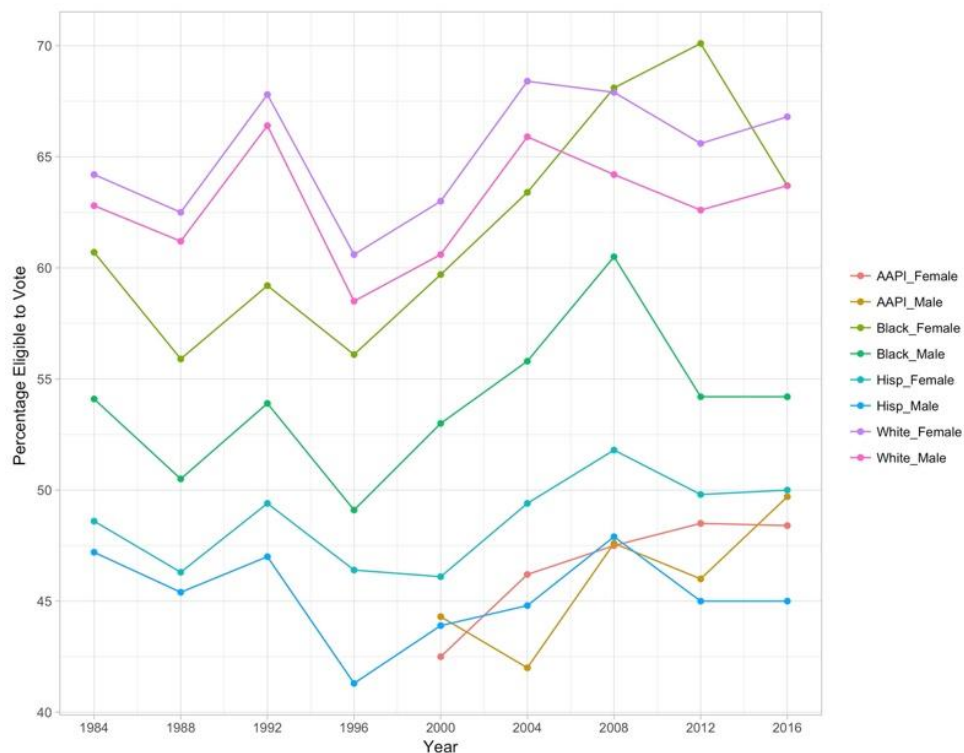


Figure 1.2 Gender Differences in Voter Turnout (2019)

Center for American Women and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University. Data are from the U.S. Bureau of the Census Current Population Reports (2017)

Political disenfranchisement, and its distinguishing features of African American life has been previously examined by scholars. Americans have faced many formal and informal barriers to political incorporation and participation. As a consequence, voting rights have been a primary organizing principle and defining feature of incorporation into American society for racial and ethnic minorities (Tate 1994). Many Black Americans continue to be excluded from participation through ongoing implication associated with voter identification laws (Hajnal, Lajevardi, and Nielson 2017; Kuk, Hajnal, and Lajevardi 2020). These include lower polling place quality (Barreto, Cohen-Marks, and Woods 2009; McGowen 2010) and longer wait times (Clinton et al. 2020; Pettigrew 2017; 2020; Shepherd et al. 2020). These institutional choices have created across age, gender, socio-economic status, race, and ethnicity. How might the group based racial resilience be influential in fostering individual perseverance for Black Americans to overcome such barriers?

Argument

The primary argument advanced in the dissertation is that African Americans' persistent, intergenerational, and collective experience of political, social, and economic hardship has overtime led to the formation of a racial resilience, a cognitive attribute, which equips African Americans with an ideological worldview that minimizes defeat by adversity. Given the trajectory of African Americans in the United States, I argue that African American resilience is necessary for engagement in the political process, which requires an abundance of resources, including time, money and civic skills to become acculturated to formal and informal politics (Brady, Verba, and Schlozman 1995; Verba et al. 1993a). A prominent theory of electoral participation is that an individual participates when the benefits of participation outweigh the costs of participation.

Tailoring this framework alongside the racial context it becomes puzzling as to why there is a persistent engagement on behalf of African Americans. In a Downsian framework (1957), as the incentives (benefits such as policy change advancing racial progress, or alleviating racialized burden) become minimized for African Americans to participate, and the costs (preparation required) of voting increase, it becomes less rational to vote.² However, we know that the costs of voting for African Americans are constantly in flux given the political context, and institutional restrictions to participation. I argue that the presence of racial resilience in African American life explains this persistent engagement, and perseverance despite the minimized benefits of participation.

There are scope conditions of racial resilience for American politics. African American's ideological worldview is shaped by the group experience. Generations of political scientists have argued that race's centrality to the political process is embedded in the set of heuristics it delivers to individuals about their social positioning (Dawson 1994; Sniderman and Tetlock 1993; Hutchings and Valentino 2004). As Cohen and Garcia argue, "individual psychology is affected by collective outcomes" (2005). Specifically, the notion of "linked fate" suggests African Americans are especially likely to think politically in terms of group identity, and this group consciousness, in turn, overrides socioeconomic, religious, ideological, or other gaps among African Americans (Allen, Dawson, and Brown 1989; M. Dawson 1994; Kinder and Sanders 1996; Tate 1994).

² Prominent Critical Race Theorist, Derek Bell argued that Blacks do not experience racial progress, unless their outcomes are synonymous with White interests in advancing Black interests. Interest convergence stipulates that people achieve civil rights victories only when white and Black interests converge. Thus, there is little advancement of African Americans without white's endorsement (Bell 1980). But also, this stream of thinking is present in Black Nationalist thought mainly by Carmichael.

I argue that a psychological trait of racial resilience may be commonplace among many Americans who are engaged and participatory in political process, as participating in politics involves as facing challenges, wins, defeats and losses, hurdles, and setbacks. However, in the face of their devalued presence and contribution to society, African Americans remain agentic in fighting for inclusion, recognition, and basic dignity. Alongside this, there is positive attachment to group membership. Social identity theory predicts that if people belong to a low-status group they cannot leave and whose disadvantaged position in society is relatively unchanging, they will attain a positive social identity by producing and internalizing positive views of their ingroup through the process of social creativity (Ellemers, Kortekaas, and Ouwerkerk 1999; Haslam and Ellemers 2016; Tajfel 1979). African Americans with a higher sense of racial resilience recreate their identity as positive, despite the predominant stereotype that casts negative traits associated with their identity. Consistent with decades of research on African American politics, individuals higher in attributes that link their individual experience of a group experience will possess higher levels of racial resilience.

Despite its apparent salience, political scientists have yet to conceptualize, measure, and understand the political and behavioral repercussions of perceptions of racial resilience in society among African Americans. The first question in this inquiry is, what forces have created the need of a perception of resilience among African Americans? What factors shape African Americans' sense of resilience or lack of a sense of resilience in the United States? How is that perceptions of resilience, or a lack of perception of resilience influence public opinion and political engagement among African Americans? Is African American resilience different from a general sense of resilience among all Americans, or among other marginalized groups? This project addresses these questions and presents a novel framework to examine how the experience of collective and

individual experiences of adversity promote increased political inclusion or political alienation among African Americans in politics. The dissertation uses an original multi-method data collection effort from surveys, experiments, and interviews. These data are used to specifically investigate: (1) the factors that have influenced African Americans to develop a perception of racial resilience, and (2) how a sense of resilience or a lack of resilience has influenced African American engagement in the past, and continues to shape African American engagement in the face of new barriers requiring greater adaptation. To tackle these specific research questions, the dissertation investigates African American political participation through the responses to adversity framework, a framework developed to explain racial differences in response to hardship. I examine the conditions that African Americans have responded to adversity with resilience. Then, I examine when and how we can expect the perceptions of racial resilience to influence political behavior. Through this framework, the project argues that African American's political engagement is anchored on the notion of racial resilience in the context of the adversity experienced in the United States.

But why are feelings of racial resilience so important? How is racial resilience different from a non-racialized sense of resilience? And how does a sense of racial resilience relate to political behavior of African Americans? Resilience is a fundamental aspect of human life, which is noted in attitudinal and behavioral research on how individuals find motivation after tragedy and obstacles. I examine the difference between a racialized sense of resilience and a psychological resilience in the next chapter.

Dissertation Outline

First, in Chapter 1, I give a broad overview of the framework. Throughout the dissertation, I investigate how racial resilience is a psychological factor that shapes the engagement and participation among African Americans. From the responses to adversity framework, I outline the main implications and testable hypotheses. I explore what demographic contours exist among racially resilient African Americans. Finally, I examine the factors that influence participation using the measure of racial resilience as the main independent measure.

Chapter 2 is the theoretical chapter that presents the responses to adversity framework that governs the expectations of the relationships between hardship and adversity, racial resilience, and political engagement. This chapter begins by briefly examining the histories and experiences that detail how racial resilience has shaped the experiences of racial and ethnic minorities in the United States. Next, I examine the African American community's fight for political inclusion and highlight the varied ways African Americans have had to demonstrate resilience in the political realm. Parallel to the fight for inclusion and economic subjugation experienced by African Americans is their orientation towards triumph. The result of African American's persistent challenge to the American system in the quest for equality and equity is their ability to remain optimistic when engaging in politics. Then, I distinguish resilience in politics from resilience as characterized by public health scholars and psychologists. This chapter organizes the central theory of the dissertation, its hypotheses, and its empirical implications. I take the propositions outlined by the theory of *responses to adversity* in chapter 2, and I develop a set of items to measure levels of resilience.

Chapter 3 details the preliminary qualitative and quantitative research that led to the development of the original racial resilience scale. In this chapter, I also describe the process of

validating the scale, including discussions of its psychometric properties, including reliability and convergent validity from the pilot studies. I do this as a lead up to final iteration of the question-wording. I include vetted measures of resilience from social, developmental, and personality psychology research (Block and Kremen 1996; Bonanno 2004; Maddi 2006), as well as the Brief Resilience Scale (Smith et al. 2008), a shortened version of the Connor Davidson Resilience Scale (Connor and Davidson 2003) to form original items on the racial resilience scale. I rely on results from the pilot studies to empirically demonstrate the postulates put forth in Chapter 2 concerning the measurement of racial resilience. The measure developed in Chapter 3 is used throughout the remainder of the dissertation.

In Chapter 4, I examine the demographic contours of racial resilience. Chapter 4 engages how African American have higher or lower perceptions of racial resilience. I look towards existing cleavages in Black political identity and attitudes to grasp how gender, generational status, and socio-economic status influence Black individuals to have greater perceptions of racial resilience. I also engage what, if any, ideological differences exist among African Americans at varying levels of racial resilience. The findings cast light on the intra-racial differences among African Americans, and the intersectionality between race and other characteristics.

In Chapter 5, I explore the behavioral consequences of racial resilience. Chapter 5 engages the unique factors that shape resilience among African Americans and the varied effects that the trait of resilience has on electoral and non-electoral forms of political behavior. One finding is that African Americans higher in racial resilience are more willing to engage in more stressful political acts and political acts where there is an increased risk associated with participation. Relying on original survey data, I demonstrate that African Americans high in racial resilience are more likely

to engage in these politically resilient acts which are higher in costs, but also higher in risks and stress.

The concluding chapter 6 brings together the components of the dissertation. Chapter 6 highlights how racial resilience strengthens our understanding of Black political psychology and behavior by motivating a belief about Black people that is politically salient. The dissertation concludes by underscoring the contributions of racial resilience to African American politics research. In addition, I state the contributions to political psychology and political behavior, class, and inequality, and race and ethnic politics literature. Lastly, I acknowledge the central limitations of the study. I conclude by addressing how future scholarship can incorporate and improve upon the contributions made by this work.

Chapter 2 Toward a Theory of Racial Resilience

I always say African American history is the
quintessential American story.
It's about perseverance and resilience –
something everyone can relate to.
-Phillip Freelon

“The story of African Americans is a story
of resilience and perseverance.
It traces a people who refused to accept the circumstances
under which they arrived on these shores,
and it chronicles the generations that fought
for an America that truly reflects the ideals
enshrined in our founding documents.”
-President Barack Obama

Introduction

The ability to be resilient in the face of hardship or respond to an adverse experience with a positive outlook is fundamental to surviving everyday life. As I present in this dissertation, perceptions of racial resilience sustain the ability of African Americans to collectively strive towards triumph in the face of prolonged adversity. In the theory in this chapter, I demonstrate how racial resilience, as a reflection of African Americans' orientation in how they respond to hardship, is a vital and missing component to the dominant understanding of the factors that motivate African Americans' political engagement and participation.

Understanding racial resilience is paramount to understanding Black political behavior today. A trifecta of social, economic, and political circumstances necessitates a distinct racial resilience of African Americans. Socially, the impacts of racial discrimination targeted towards African Americans diminishes their ability to engage in society without interpersonal stigmatization. Economically, African Americans' median net worth lags significantly behind the

median net worth of White Americans, even after accounting for education and income.

Politically, in the wake of the *Shelby County, Alabama v. Holder* (2013) Supreme Court decision that removed protections of Section 2, Clause 5 for minorities and lower-income voters, voting rights has been in question. States previously monitored under this clause of the VRA have revived Jim Crow like policies to distort the composition of their electorate. The lack of protections influences ease that voters cast ballots.

In the pages that follow, I build upon and contribute to the current scholarship on resilience, motivation, and group identity to consider how racial resilience factors into collective activities, including politics. This theoretical chapter connects literature from sociology, history, and psychology to substantiate a theoretical model that illustrates the distinct mechanisms of racial resilience of Black Americans. I present support for the responses to adversity framework, including research from historical sources, popular culture sources, and responses to open-ended survey prompts from several pilot studies conducted between 2019 and 2021. This model also reveals the implications for participation in a general and highly specialized types of political behaviors.

The aims of the responses to adversity framework are twofold. First, it provides a comprehensive linkage to assess how racial resilience is distinct from an individual sense of resilience. While there is an innate human capacity to be resilient in the face of adversity (Kelley 2005), African Americans' socio-political history is one of sustained and prolonged collective hardship. Second, it captures how the process of racial resilience operates for Black Americans as a response to macro-level and institutional deterrents to Black prosperity. Central to this response to adversity is the unifying agent of strong group identity for African Americans, which

is often the foundation for their racial group consciousness (Allen, Dawson, and Brown 1989; Dawson 1994; Tate 1994; McClain et al. 2009).

Additionally, the model lays the groundwork for testable hypotheses of the influence on political behavior. The tenets from the *responses to adversity* framework suggest that African Americans with a higher perception of racial resilience should engage in political acts that are costly and distinctively riddled with hardship, stress, and risks, such as waiting in line to vote, or participating in a protest demonstration. African Americans have drawn the short democratic straw, with a spectrum of extreme to subtle forms of subjugation, violence, and intimidations intended to thwart their participation in society. Racial resilience is not particularly tuned to standard political acts, such as voting, volunteering with a political campaign, but is more associated with acts that require an extra effort to participate. Similar to how participatory acts are stratified by resources, racial resilience differentially influences certain types of participation over others.

I start by providing an overview of previous scholarship that has used a measure of resilience within developmental, educational, and cultural psychology. I then examine the political science research demonstrates a collective response of African Americans that is different from other groups. In reviewing this research, I argue that although existing resilience measures have attractive features in explaining non-political outcomes, such as increased happiness or well-being, the existing measures are ill-equipped to explain political behavior. In addition, the existing measures of resilience lack the ability to capture the breadth of group-based hardship experienced by African Americans, especially the triumph over adversity and its relevance to politics.

The chapter begins by examining identity, group consciousness, and linked fate in political behavior research. I examine how these former approaches to Black political behavior need greater specification in the conditions that influence the frequency and substance of political engagement. The key focus of this chapter is to define racial resilience and to conceptually distinguish it from an individual sense of resilience. By doing this, I clarify the unique and differential *responses to adversity* by African Americans, which has distinguished the group from other racial and ethnic minorities who have objectively experienced different levels of institutionalized hardship in the United States. In addition, develop a construct to explain Black political behavior.

This chapter shows the processes of linking adversity to resilience that are assumed within the existing literature. There is an intervention that I make through defining racial resilience as a dispositional position towards Black triumph in the face of adversity and hardship, and I provide measurement for this in Chapter 3. This chapter provides the intuition to understand the origins of racial resilience and the demographic differences within African Americans, such as those by gender, class, and generation which may lead to lower or higher racial resilience, which are tested in Chapter 4. In addition, this chapter specifies the conditions where we might expect heightened racial resilience. Lastly, I outline under what conditions racial resilience has political influence.

Ain't No Turning Back Now: Conditions that Foster African Americans' Racial Resilience

For the purpose of theory building, some background on African Americans' social positioning in the United States is required. The brief overview of how and when African Americans have been relegated to 'second-class' citizenship status in America reveals the

continuing thread of the need for resilience in the face of adversity. African Americans require resilience to adversity because of the caveats in applying “liberty, equality, and justice” for all.

African Americans have been subject to de jure discrimination in the form of laws that subjugate and target Black people based on their skin color (Jones 2000; Rothstein 2018). In addition, de facto discrimination experienced by African American in interpersonal relationships has many societal consequences. At every turn of Black Americans experience in the United States, they have confronted inequality, suppressed opportunities, and limited support for prosperity. The events that I cover in this historical overview are not an exhaustive list, but only an overview of periods in which African Americans’ racial resilience was paramount to their perseverance.

Enslaved Africans brought to the shores of Virginia in 1619 have made what we know of America today possible (Gates 2012). From then until after the close of the Civil War’s Reconstruction period in 1877, African Americans were systematically excluded from the “economic institutions that their enslaved labor had helped create” (Rigueur and Beshlian 2019). It is well documented that even during the dark period of enslavement, enslaved Africans resisted the conditions they encountered. Numerous attempts at revolt during the 200 years reflect their resilience in the face of harsh conditions. Take the La Amistad (1839) Rebellion, which sparked greater attention to the abolitionist movement. Against all odds, captive West Africans commandeered the ship to revolt against their arrival in the Americas and elsewhere.

After slavery’s legal end after the Civil War, formerly enslaved Africans experienced a period of advancement during Reconstruction (1860-1880). This period is a highlight in African Americans’ self-determination, primarily with the absence of economic resources. Newly freed people, for instance, established public schools to promote literacy, businesses, building

independent and structural sites for places of worship, improvement associations, and unions (William E. B. Du Bois 1934). In *Black Reconstruction: An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860–1880*, DuBois makes clear how African Americans perseverance in the aftermath of enslavement during Reconstruction was a central project in American history, more broadly. However, the rights of newly freed African Americans varied by state, even by county, as the stronghold of Southern racism, hatred, and vitriol prohibited Black people from thriving in ways that the newly revised laws intended (Henry Louis Gates 2011). Moreover, the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the constitution, at the time, lacked adequate enforcement, which would continue the subjugation of Black people in society.

The post-Reconstruction period revived the dual and second-class citizenship for African Americans, especially in the South, provoking insecurity African American's progress towards embracing their newfound freedom (Gates 2020). Southern Historian Steven Hahn remarks of the 19th century that, despite all the odds against them, 'extraordinary people, who did extraordinary things under the most difficult of circumstances and, in the process, transformed themselves and the world in which they lived' (Hahn 2005). While enfranchised in law, African Americans remained second-class citizens and subjugated to poor whites despite the social and progression made. In the early 1900s, over 90% of all African Americans remained in the South. African Americans migrated to the North in search of prosperity, opportunity, and better lives outside of the South (Grossman 1997; Wilkerson 2011). Midwestern, and Northern cities provided new promise for African Americans seeking more stable employment and better living conditions. However, this migration required collective resilience. Many cities, like those in the South, were also filled with discrimination, low-wage work, and sub-standard living conditions.

Perseverance during these times was vital. Grossman writes, “as bad as things were... this picture of unceasing toil, victimization, and disappointment only tells a part of the story. There was disappointment only because there were hope” (1997, pg. 21). This hope was often tethered to an optimism towards the future, despite current and past obstacles.

When African Americans gained traction in the cities, primarily through the establishment of civil rights organizations such as the National Council of Negro Women (founded in Harlem, New York in 1936), the National Urban League (founded in 1911 in New York City), and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (founded in 1912 in Springfield, Illinois), soon after the nation is gripped with economic turmoil through the Great Depression. Already in an economically fragile position, Black Americans were stunted, more so than their White counterparts who received forms of government aid. In addition, African Americans had less of a financial cushion to fall back on when the economy collapsed, which would not be replenished as part of the New Deal Programs (Greenberg 2009). These programs would discriminate against African Americans in subtle ways, but generally, the “Whites first” approach in hiring was the norm. Greenberg’s historical account of Black experiences in the northern cities (primarily, the chapter that is the namesake of this dissertation), *No Strangers to Hardship* demonstrates how African Americans banded together to overcome what seemed like insurmountable challenges against them. These acts included a variety of communal and organizing efforts for survival in newly found cities and suburbs.

Even after the great economic fallout, where African Americans were unevenly supported in the recovery of the Great Depression, which only amplified racial disparities in the post-war period (1945-1968). In the United States, when White women were enveloped into the workforce, Black women remained largely as domestic laborers. Employment as domestic

laborers and other non-privatized (or commercialized) areas of employment pushed Black women into positions that lacked other forms of income inequity compared to White women, who increasingly worked in jobs held by White men who entered the war. The coupling of gender-based income segmentation by race limited the extent of Black women to gain critical skills needed in the industrializing and automating workforce. On the other hand, Black soldiers were excluded from the economic opportunities offered to White soldiers, recruiting into lower-skilled squadrons, and prohibited from certain military occupations (Parker 2009a). However, the subjugation of Black military members would not prevent them from later becoming Civil Rights advocates in the post-war South upon their return to the states. In fact, these military veterans would deploy their status as they engaged in high-risk and unconventional political participation.

Upon returning from the war, many Black Americans were excluded from the housing markets and suburbanization outside of the central cities, which would form the foundation for modern wealth and equity today (Oliver and Shapiro 2006; Frasure-Yokley 2015). Racial inequality rooted in the inability to choose where to live required African Americans to make their own living communities, often on the fringe of White suburbs (Wiese 2005). White suburbanites relied on the power in local public officials, real estate brokers, administrators, and elected roles, as realtors, city zoners, and councilors, to discourage, if not to stop completely, the racial integration of suburban neighborhoods. These laws, requirements, and amendments would create unequal suburbs and drain resources from the cities where many African Americans resided into the White suburbs (Frasure-Yokley 2015, Trounstein 2019). Lack of residential choice to live in White suburbs deprived Black Americans of the ability to generate wealth in comparable ways to their non-Black counterparts. By limiting where Black Americans could live, how they could receive mortgage aid, and what resources surround their place of residence,

racial inequality was entrenched. Black-White wealth disparities remain wide today, and Black Americans still experience discrimination in real estate and housing markets (Taylor 2019).

As a part a larger package of progressive Civil Rights legislation signed by President Lyndon B. Johnson, the 1968 Fair Housing Act eliminated racial discrimination in housing. However, not all the effects of housing discrimination were negative. Discrimination in the housing market would form racially segregated neighborhoods, which streamlined and compartmentalized Black neighborhoods, Black businesses and economic hubs, and cultural resources apart from White communities. McGowen demonstrates that the exclusionary forming of White suburbs in contrast to Black suburbs did not diminish the capacity of African Americans to thrive in their own suburban environments (2017). Limited access of African Americans to the suburbs had negative yet positive developmental experiences. For instance, much of the intuition behind the “racialized social norms” framework advanced by Laird and White in *Steadfast Democrats* rely on African American experiences of racial segregation to form their own communities, schools, organizations that constrain African Americans from deviating from group norms (White and Laird 2020).

The residential and environmental context of African Americans is a key element in how they experience politics and society, broadly. Using the application of Medicaid/ Medicare and healthcare coverage as an example, Michener (2017) demonstrates how place matters for access to government aid. State residence determines African Americans’ social and environmental experience. Given the residential segregation, even with the protections of the Fair Housing Act, lower-income African Americans are more likely to reside in areas that are less environmentally safe than their higher-income and non-Black counterparts.

Residents of the Gulf Coast in 2006, experienced first-hand how governmental neglect and lack of oversight, coupled with a natural disaster had societal and political consequences. A watershed moment demonstrating the importance of place is the experience of Hurricane Katrina for New Orleans residents, yet negatively impacting the psyche for Black Americans more broadly (Levy et al. 2006; White et al. 2007; Lee, Shen, and Tran 2008; Lowe, Lustig, and Marrow 2011). For instance, African Americans reached new heights of political distrust in the aftermath of Katrina, even African Americans who lived outside of the Gulf (White et al. 2007). Lower- income African Americans experienced the greatest amount of suffering, while, simultaneously, more well-off African Americans languished while watching the television broadcast of the devastation. Even more, the lack of appropriate government support in times of a crisis for the impacted residents intensified the anger towards officials. The scenes of devastation associated with Hurricane Katrina, and the resilience of the New Orleans residents who coped with natural and human-made tragedies, reflect African Americans' differential response to hard times.

The role of spirituality and faith in God were important factors in the resilience of residents to rebuild through the devastation. However, studies have noted that the subsequent elections in the devastated city were comparable to previous elections. Further, political scientists demonstrated that in the aftermath of Katrina in November 2006, registered voters who experienced more than six feet of flooding were more likely to participate in the election than those who experienced less flooding (Sinclair, Hall, and Alvarez 2011). Thus, while experiencing social and economic crises, African Americans continued to participate in the electoral process.

In retelling these accounts, the goal is to demonstrate the continuing thread of African Americans' agency considering the adversity that they have collectively experienced due to racial inequality and discrimination. Even in individual hardships, African Americans' collective sense of adversity and their experience of racial inequality is associated with their resilience. Even in unequal times, African Americans organize and rely on their individual perseverance to surmount the setbacks posed by collective disadvantage. Given the awareness and familiarity of African Americans to varied kinds of social, political, and economic hardships, their response is not of defeat but to preserve and endure, which mainly constitute a different response to hardship than other Americans. In addition, these accounts support that African Americans' participation in society should not be interpreted as ahistorical or lacking reverence to the context that the participation occurred. It should reflect the past experiences and the response of African Americans. One might say that this differential response is due to the unique socialization experience of African Americans.

Black Americans and The Distinct Racial Socialization Experiences

Evidenced by the historical overview of the events strengthened and required Black Americans' racial resilience, both psychological and material forces influence Black Americans' political socialization. As Walton (1985) suggests, when studying Black political behavior, a confluence of internal and external factors are at play. Morris, Hatchett, and Brown (1989) argue that many accounts of Black socialization are ahistorical and do not account for how changes in the political environment either have or do not influence political behavior. This point is later and better articulated by Phoenix. Phoenix (2020) argues that Black Americans take cues from the political environment in how they are expected to react to political events. However, not all

political events require a reaction from African Americans. Phoenix demonstrates that there are “unique ideological forces driving the perceptions and response of African Americans” to cues from the political environments (D. L. Phoenix 2015, chap. II). However, these cues and are not always specified for the White audience, but indigenous within and to Black social experiences.³

The Civil Right Movement of the 1960s, the Black Power Movement of the 1970s, the Black Pride Movement of the 1980s and the Hip Hop generation of the 1990s and onwards are distinguishable periods of shaping current world views of African Americans, across their respective generations, towards politics (Abramson 1977; Walton 1972; Morris, Hatchett, and Brown 1989; Jr 1997; Nunnally 2010). Regardless of the age or birth cohort, Black Americans are aware of the sacrifices of previous generations because of their socialization about the importance of the Civil Rights Movement (Morris, Hatchett, and Brown 1989). Morris, Hatchett, and Brown argue that the political socialization of the Black protest period had “a profound influence on the political consciousness and behavior of Black Americans” (Morris, Hatchett, and Brown 1989, 299). Morris’ expectations were later revisited. Harris argues that the collective memory of the Civil Rights movement exhibits great influence on Black Americans’ social and political livelihoods, and many Black voters are socialized by these memories (2006). Overall, both Black Americans recognize and reflect on the Civil Rights Movement as a distinct turning point in racial justice and a foundational realignment of Black voters’ relationship to political institutions that were hostile towards their inclusion yet bowed in the face of their resistance.

³ This point was made by Harris in an earlier draft of the “It Takes a Tragedy to Arouse Them: Collective Memory and Collective Action during the Civil Rights Movement”, where he props up a quote by James Scott (1990) who argues that narratives of marginal groups in autonomous settings act as “hidden transcripts”. Similar to an oral history approach of transmission, these transcripts encapsulate the “telling and retelling of past events” and are hidden.

Harris (2006) argues that these experiences and subsequent memories are important as they are momentous events that symbolize the life changes of African Americans. Racial group membership, to the extent that it is transformed into a racial consciousness, plays a role in determining Black political behavior (Miller et al. 1981). Summarizing earlier accounts of group consciousness by Olsen (1970) and Verba and Nie (1974), Miller and colleagues offer a definition of group consciousness as “a self-conscious awareness among group members of their status as a deprived group” (Miller et al. 1981). Group consciousness is a central predictor of African American voting behavior and participation. At its origins, it also is related to what DuBois describes as the “double consciousness” of Black Americans, defining the sense of twoness and the duality of Black Americans (William E. B. Du Bois and Edwards 1903). Dubois writes, "one ever feels his twoness, An American, a Negro, two warring souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings, two warring ideals, and one dark body whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder," However, expanding this definition beyond Black Americans (and beyond the scope of politics), Miller and colleagues define group consciousness as distinct from group identification, and as “the identification with a group and a political awareness of ideology regarding the groups’ relative positions in society along with a commitment to collective actions aimed at realizing the group interest”. Miller and colleagues depart from the work of Jackman and Jackman (1973) and Gurin (1980) to arrive at this definition.

Overall, these literatures lead to similar conclusions. For generations, African Americans have been subject to substandard treatment, yet, in light of these negative experiences, they have utilized cultural and social resources in order to resist defeat. Even today, African Americans are faced with threats to their prosperity in American society. However, despite these obstacles, African Americans must persevere. Given African American’s unique socialization experience in

the United States coupled with the resilience in the face of adversity, it is imperative to undertake a study that theorizes, measures, and examines African American's racial resilience. Further, it is important to explore the variations in the perceptions of racial resilience among African Americans.

The summation of African Americans' collective experiences of differential treatment in the social and legal sphere has mapped onto their distinct experiences of political socialization. I advance how this unique attribute of racial resilience is a salient attribute that influences individual perseverance in political behavior. In this section, I detail the intuition behind the responses to adversity framework.

Theoretical Foundations of the Responses to Adversity Framework

While resilience is a reoccurring area of inquiry among psychologists, the concept of racial resilience is novel, and thus needing an original theoretical foundation. To do so, theories of resilience are an ideal and intuitive starting point. The notion of resilience captures the human capacity to “bounce back” in the face of adversity. Psychological studies have examined how individuals with “resilience” can withstand greater stressors, given their positive adaptation to adversity (Roisman 2005a; Southwick et al. 2014; Bonanno and Diminich 2013).

In psychology, resilience is defined as a positive response to a negative event. In other words, psychological resilience is the ability to experience adversity and adapt positively (Luthar, Cicchetti, and Becker 2000). In other words, resilience is characterized as the ability to “bounce back” from a negative event (Bonanno 2004). Across psychological subfields, two themes characterize how a theory of human resilience flourishes. First, personality psychologists examine how resilience is a personality-based construct operating at an individual level and

characterizing individuals as either a high-resilience or low-resilience person (Anthony 1987; Tugade and Fredrickson 2004).

Second, there is a set of social psychologists and developmental psychologists that view individuals as developing resilience over time, that is, recognizing that resilience takes the form of being responsive to events where there is an activation of stressors that cue up and activate prior concealed resilience traits (Carver 1998; Cherry et al. 2018). In this regard, individuals are nurtured in environments that teach them to be resilient and foster the ability to overcome difficulties (McCreary et al. 2006). The former is a component of one's personality and is self-assessed; the latter is a transitory reaction to a difficult scenario that is refined over time. I position racial resilience in the company of the latter.

Theoretically, individual resilience is similar to the group-based racial resilience. Individual resilience is associated with perseverance despite individual encounters with adversity. However, African Americans having higher levels of individual resilience is not racial resilience. African Americans' perceptions of racial resilience is associated with their individual perseverance in society reflective of the group's experience of hardship. In the remaining sections of this chapter, I focus on how the perceptions of African American's ability have 1) an awareness of economic subjugation, but also 2) an orientation towards triumph instead of defeat is meaningful for their engagement in politics. When engaging the literature on resilience, it is important to recognize how facets of resilience are interconnected with the African American experience.

First, resilience is an outcome of a process of buffering against risks and stressors (1987). This buffering includes developing strong networks of social support, and the development of positive personality traits among children (Masten 2001; Rutter 1985). Support networks are one

form of protective factors that buffer the adverse effects of trauma and exposure to adversity (Utsey et al. 2007). Strong support networks are one form of collective resources that provide a host of individual levels resources. However, in addition to support networks, prominent among African Americans is the unique “cultural beliefs, behaviors and practices” that are associated with their worldviews. Utsey, Bolden, Lanier and, Williams II (2007) notes that these “cultural resources shape and influence coping schemata and cognitive strategies and thereby facilitate the adaptive resources of African Americans during times of stresses and adversity” (p.77). Thus, while having protective factors is not limited to the Black experience, Black Americans have a unique set of cultural tools to help navigate hardships in life. These unique cultural tools are associated with increased resilience.

In addition, resilience occurs in response to an adverse circumstance, whether it be cumulative or episodic instance of adversity. Seery, Holman, and Silver (2010) find that the experience of lifetime adversity as compared to no adversity or higher adversity, is associated with higher life satisfaction, more toughness, and mastery over functioning. Generally the experience of adversity is associated with an individual setback. However, people may also benefit from adverse experiences. Adverse experiences promote growth when coupled with the process of coping with adversity (Seery, Holman, and Silver 2010). These findings are aligned with the premise that, “individuals are not considered resilient if there has never been a significant threat to their development” (Masten 2001). In addition, there are a variety of sources of adversity. Overall, African Americans are at greater risk for experiencing life stress and adversity, including a host of identity-related stressors that are unique to the Black experience (Thoits 1991; Utsey et al. 2007). Taken together, these studies demonstrate that resilience is associated with adversity, yet this adversity can vary in magnitude and timing.

The psychological underpinnings of resilience are drawn from the *hardiness* personality trait (Kobasa 1979). Hardy individuals are those who have higher levels of (1) commitment (the ability to feel involved in the activities of life), (2) control (the belief that one can control or influence events of one's experience), and (3) challenge (the sense of anticipation of change as an exciting challenge to further development) (Kobasa 1979). The constellations of these traits positions individuals to be less prone to the negative effects of stress because of their ability to cope in response to their environment. Individuals that develop the hardiness trait can differentially appraise stressful events because of their ability to cope and positively adapt in harsh circumstances. Some distinctions exist between levels of hardiness among different groups.

In addition to experienced adversity and protective coping factors, racial socialization is important to resilience for African Americans. Racial socialization has broad impacts on African Americans' attitudinal development and behavioral outcomes (Hughes et al. 2006). This racial socialization received by African Americans is done to promote positive self-esteem despite the racial barriers that African Americans face. Brown (2008) demonstrates how increased racial socialization impacts the psychological well-being of Black Americans, particularly in how they are socialized to respond to adverse events of discrimination. Racial socialization is associated with positive mental health outcomes, including increased racial pride, and positive self-esteem. As it relates to politics, racial socialization is associated with political trust (Nunnally 2012). However, beyond these studies, few accounts have examined in-depth the association between racial socialization, resilience, and politically relevant outcomes.

Conceptually similar to resilience is the personality trait of grit. Duckworth et al. (2007, p. 1087) define grit as "perseverance and passion of long-term goals", which is essential to high

achievement. Among high achievers, there are individual differences in the levels of grit. Nevertheless, the grit measure accounted for more variance in predicted outcomes as compared to the Big Five Conscientious personality traits. Duckworth (2007) interprets findings from several studies among various populations to represent that talent and achievement are a product of effort, not innate dispositions. Similar to resilience, grit is developed overtime. Further studies of the benefits of grit have examined diverse populations. Therefore, having a grasp on grit is essential to understanding the mechanisms that underlie resilience, as both are defined by having perseverance.

Despite the different conceptualizations and operationalization of resilience, existing research has highlighted the importance of resilience for a range of positive life outcomes. Broadly, greater resilience has been associated with positive mental health, quick recovery from injury, and positive course correction in the presence of setbacks (Ozbay et al. 2007; Southwick et al. 2011; Spence et al. 2016). Moreover, across cultures resilience is a significant attribute associated with surviving and excelling in life.

Similarly, despite evidence to highlight that resilience and similarly situated concepts such as hardiness and grit have been aptly studied in psychology, there is not a measure of resilience as it pertains to political behavior and participation. Besides examining the role of grit and voting, no other account of political behavior research includes a measure of resilience. For example, Hillygus, Holbein, and Snell (2016) examined the role of grit as a determinant of waiting longer in line to vote and find that grit is a psychological resource that helps citizens overcome burdens faced while attempting to vote. However, unlike Duckworth's studies that measure grit as a personality trait, Hillygus, Holbein and Snell (2016) prime having a "gritter" mindset using a survey experiment and there are weak-to-moderate effects of the role of grit on

voting. In addition, scholars have examined the role of patience – and the ability to wait for a future reward - as relevant for political interest (Fowler and Kam 2006). Finally, direct accounts of adversity by political scientists examine economic adversity without attention to the racial and economic undertones that color the impact of class disparities on political participation (Rosenstone 1982). While these accounts are like resilience to adversity, the lack of a direct measure or mention of resilience undermines how overcoming life's adversity may be meaningful to engagement in the political process. In addition, there is not a framework to capture the psychological perceptions of racial resilience for African Americans.

The role of racial resilience in American politics is intended to address prior shortcomings in the study of group-based resilience for African Americans. This framework draws from the established theories of resilience (Bonanno and Diminich 2013), group-based cultural attributes, racial socialization (Utsey et al. 2007; D. L. Brown 2008), and the individual perseverance associate with grit (A. L. Duckworth et al. 2007) to define racial resilience in American society.

Defining Key Concepts: Attributes, Cognitive Processes, and Motivation Structures

Throughout the dissertation, I will utilize terms to describe the process of the *responses to adversity framework*, which leads to racial resilience. I examine racial resilience as a psychological attribute among African Americans. Unlike personality traits which are ingrained in individuals, attributes are learned over time. Emotions are short-term, transitory, and short-lived. A difference between the trait of racial resilience and the state of group-centric emotions is that emotions are very much temporary, while racial resilience is developed over time, reacting to abstract hardships, whereas it cannot be singularly captured through a reaction. In summarizing decades of research and debates to arrive at a concise definition, traits are defined

as “characteristic patterns of thinking, feeling, and behaving that generalize across similar situations, differ systematically between individuals, and remain rather stable across time” (Schmitt and Blum 2020). Similarly, African Americans experience and awareness of hardships and adversity is associated with the development of racial resilience.

Racial resilience as an attribute connects the storied history and context of African Americans in the United States to current-day behaviors. Second, the processes that support the development of racial resilience are cognitive as opposed to affective. It is not that individuals *feel* racial resilience but rather perceive it as a group attribute or characteristic. This social cognitive ability is important in connecting individual African American’s experience of hardship with their perseverance (Fiske and Taylor 2013). Next, in linking racial resilience to politics, I examine if the presence of racial resilience among African Americans differentiates the substance and frequency of participation. In doing this, I explore how individual differences in a group attribute is associated with the increased motivation of becoming involved in politics at the individual and group level. Political psychologists have characterized the intrinsic and extrinsic forms of motivation (Ryan and Deci 2000). Intrinsic forms of motivation are associated with a desire or a community feeling, while extrinsic motivation is associated with recognition. Taken together, people require some form of motivation in order to get involved in politics (Brady, Verba, and Schlozman 1995). Racial resilience is a factor that differentiates this motivation.

Responses to Adversity Framework and the Politics of Resilience

This dissertation extends that resilience is a positive outlook in the aftermath of a negative event while relying on existing theories of resilience. While there are a host of circumstances that can lead an individual to become more or less resilient, this dissertation focuses on the role of racial resilience, the resilience associated with belonging to a racial group.

As such, the proceeding chapters will evaluate the extent to which African Americans' sense of racial resilience operates as a function of past experiences and how such perceptions of racial resilience influence political participation. Resilience measured in psychology (broadly) does not account for collective experiences as a source of motivation to respond differently to adverse events. Psychological resilience is (1) a personality predisposition of individuals who cannot be deterred by failures and (2) an individual trait that is developed in reacting to an environmental and situational conditions. Racial resilience is historically informed, culturally responsive, and adaptive to political contexts which require greater efforts on behalf of African Americans.

I argue that the perception of racial resilience is based on two components: adversity and triumph. Racial resilience is the (1) recognition of group-based economic subjugation and (2) orientation towards Black triumph in the face of adversity. The relationship between these components is complementary. The adversity component involves recognizing how African Americans have been uniquely targeted in the United States. This sense of economic subjugation and social deprivation is important, because it reveals the tiered power structure where African Americans are often placed on the bottom (Gurin, Miller, and Gurin 1980). In addition, economic subjugation accounts for systemic differences in social status, as compared to individual inequality, which varies among individuals not groups. I take the first component of racial resilience, awareness of economic subjugation, as a signal of a consciousness and discontent with the group's relative position in society, one of the main attributes of group consciousness (Miller et al. 1981). Awareness of both the relative and objective deprivation is necessary to forming beliefs about the group's resilience. African Americans that lack an awareness of the struggles faced by the group cannot be motivated by the hardships that were experienced in the past. A large body of literature in political behavior suggests that recognizing

systemic inequality and injustices can motivate marginalized individuals to participate in political acts.

The triumph component involves an outlook of perseverance over the hardships experienced in the past by African Americans. This is a novel component of a factor that influences political participation in political science. However, among psychologists, perseverance is an important attribute. Perseverance is at the core of many resilience-adjacent concepts, including grit, optimism, hope, and hardiness. Perseverance is defined as a voluntary continuation of a goal-directed task in spite of difficulties or discouragement (Peterson and Seligman 2004). Perseverance is also a component in the commitment dimension of hardiness (Kobasa 1979). Most like the orientation toward triumph component of racial resilience, grit is a disposition towards perseverance and passion for long-term goals (Duckworth 2007). However, in the realm of politics, long-term goals may change or be ill-defined enough for collective action. Similarly, individual resilience requires a sense of optimism towards the future.

To this end, when combined, the two components of racial resilience, the awareness of subjugation and the orientation toward triumph, motivate political engagement for African Americans. In the framework that is set forth, African Americans with greater racial resilience to respond to hardship with resistance and perseverance. On the other hand, those lower in racial resilience will not positively adjust to experiences hardship and respond with resignation and apathy. From these different stances, based on their levels of racial resilience, it is observed that the perception of racial resilience is then connected to political engagement. In the responses to adversity framework, which connects the experience of adversity to participation, I show how varying levels of resilience are associated with outlooks of resistance and resignation. In Table

2.1, I simplify the responses to adversity framework to demonstrate the pathways that perception of racial resilience is associated with participatory outcomes.

Table 2.1: Responses to Adversity Framework		
Perception of Racial Resilience	Outlook / Response to Hardship	Participatory Outcome
Low	Resignation → Apathy	Non-Participation Lower Participation (Frequency) Lower Cost Participation (Substance)
High	Resistance → Perseverance	Greater Participation (Frequency) Higher Cost Participation Higher Risk/ Stress Participation (Substance)

Table 2.1 Responses to Adversity Framework

Racial resilience is a collective trait that African Americans possess. However, varying levels of resilience are associated with different outlooks toward hardship. Overall, rather than being deterred, startled, or enraged in the face of hardships from American political institutions, African Americans that are higher in racial resilience rely on a differential response to hardships. African Americans with lower perceptions of racial resilience may resign to their hardships and orient towards the political system with apathy. This position of lower racial resilience is atypical among African Americans. However, returning to the two components of racial resilience, African Americans that lack awareness of the group's position in society or African Americans that disagree that triumph is a cultural attribute are lower in racial resilience. While I examine African Americans exclusively in the dissertation, it is important to note that as compared to White Americans, African Americans respond differently to political phenomenon as a result of their position in the socio-political and racial hierarchy (Lee, Shen, and Tran 2008; White et al. 2007; Phoenix 2020; Dawson and Bobo 2005). I argue that racial resilience is a distinguishing trait of African Americans given their experiences in the United States. In addition, I demonstrate that

racial resilience is a uniquely measurable trait among African Americans. It is important to detail that racial resilience is specific to the domain of political engagement, and it is not intended to predict outcomes such as those associated with individual resilience.

At this point, it is worthwhile to highlight the expected political implications of the responses to adversity framework. I generally expect that given their perseverance to withstand hardships, African Americans higher in racial resilience are more frequent participants in American politics. Traditional taxonomies of political participation explore the differences between lower-cost and higher costs participation (Downs 1957), where voting is low in cost and benefit. Katosh and Traugott (1982) also examine how the costs of voting are associated with registration and electoral administration. With respect to non-electoral forms of participation, “the percentage of citizens who engage in a particular political activity is a measure of how hard or easy that act is” (Burns, Schlozman, and Verba 2001). However, I also expect that given the endurance of racial resilience, African Americans with a higher perception of racial resilience are more engaged in political acts that vary in their stress and risks. Traditional classification of political participation does not account for the full range of the experiences of African Americans. I explain the intuition that bolsters these expectations.

For African Americans, political participation has seldomly not involved some sort of risk. In the Jim Crow South, attempting to register to vote could be punishable by intimidation and even death (including mob violence) for Black Americans. In addition, Black activism and micro-mobilization against systems of injustices in the context of the South exposed hopeful political actors to a considerable amount of risks (Harris 2006). Particularly as it pertains to high-risk political participation, voting has been linked to Black military service (Parker 2009b). In the post-war South, “physical and economic risks” associated with the “resistance of white

authority” prohibited many civilians from formally participating in politics, including mundane acts. At this time, voting was a form of high-risk activism because of its visibility, in contrast to lower risk activism such as donating to a campaign, working for a candidate to attending a political meeting (Parker, 2009 p. 115).

Other scholars have examined how the perception of risks are associated with political participation. Traditionally, for political scientists protesting is viewed as a form of low-risk, unconventional participation. Protesting represents a variety of acts, such as signing petitions, attending a public meetings, or attending rallies or demonstrations (Schussman and Soule 2005). However, for social movement scholars, protesting is a higher risk act. Similarly, for African Americans has proved a political activity. While protesting, African Americans are likely to encounter violence when engaging in peaceful demonstrations for social causes. Political scientists have examined how the personality disposition of risk attitudes are associated with engagement in conventional forms of participation (Kam 2012), but have yet to examine how participation involves risks or how levels of risk can differentiate participation acts.

Similar to risks, African American’s political participation is likely to involve some form of added stress. Peterson and Gabbidon (2007) examine the role of stressors as an independent measure that prohibits African Americans participation in their local and state politics. However, stressors may also be embedded in political participation for African Americans to engage. Voting lines are longer in majority Black precincts compared to those with fewer Black residents, and polling places generally have lower quality (Barreto, Cohen-Marks, and Woods 2009; Stein et al. 2020). Long wait lines are disruptive, disenfranchising, and “all too common” for Black voters who endure by standing in them (Klain et al. 2020). Unexpected and lengthy

wait times may form a new form of political participation which is more stressful than casting a ballot with ease.

Lasting theories rely on a range of conditions to place structure and boundaries on how and when its empirical implications operate. First, racial resilience is a product of racial socialization for Black Americans. Given their social positioning, Black Americans vary in the extent to which they receive and process racial information, and thus this may produce individual variation in the perception of racial resilience. In addition, Black Americans vary in their embeddedness in Black institutions that offer positive racial socialization, and its meaning for political outcomes (Laird 2019). Because of this, we should expect individual variation in the presence and perception of racial resilience for African Americans.

Second, there are limits to when and how racial resilience has its influence. Not all participation acts require racial resilience. Standard acts of participation, which individuals can complete with ease, may not shore up enough effort to activate racial resilience. Thus, racial resilience is most closely associated with political acts that require added effort and political acts that reflect past modes of activism in which African Americans have engaged. There may be implications of racial resilience for non-political acts, however, these effects are not explicitly considered within the scope of this project.

Most importantly, it is worth clarifying, in simple terms, what racial resilience is and what it is not. The responses to adversity framework are tailored to providing a way of thinking towards African American's participation in American politics. The output of racial resilience is a characteristic of African Americans and their quest for equality and recognition in American society. By advancing a theory of racial resilience, I am not arguing for African Americans to be perceived as superhuman or magical. It is not the intention to argue that Black Americans can

endure more harm than any other racial group in society. The existence of harmful narratives around the lack of pain for African Americans by medical professionals, such as during the clinical trials of the Tuskegee Experiment and other instances contribute to the enduring myths that Black people are less likely to experience pain. These assumptions have material consequences on the lives of Black people seeking medical care. In addition, rhetoric of the ‘superhuman’ and ‘supernatural strength’ has been levied by law-enforcement officers to justify the killing of unarmed Black men and women. It is not the intention or the interpretation of racial resilience to lend to these misleading readings about what and how much Black Americans can endure.

Second, it is not my intention to pathologize the behavior of African Americans. Pathologies such as the “culture of poverty” have enduring and negative consequences on the perceptions of African Americans and other Afro-descendant people (Lewis 1966; R. K. Jones and Luo 1999). While many African Americans’ may have greater perceptions of racial resilience, this should not be used as a to denigrate African Americans who are less racially resilient.

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to provide a framework to understand how racial resilience is associated with African American political participation and engagement. As the chapter has outlined, African Americans have been subject to prolonged and enduring hardships, which, in order to survive, they have had to endure and respond with resilience. In many ways, for many generations, African Americans have had to endure subjugation and have lacked fair treatment, equal opportunities, opportunities for upward mobility, and the ability to participate in electoral

politics. However, embedded in these systemic challenges to African Americans' citizenship in the United States was the ability of Black Americans to mobilize for a better chance and a positive change in society. Systemic forces against their inclusion have only buttressed their resilience, where now these acts of hardships are the basis for their psychological perceptions of racial resilience. As such, it is imperative that social scientists strive to understand better how African Americans' racial resilience is associated with their participation in politics, engagement in riskier and more stressful political behavior, and their opinions of government.

Relying on an extensive body of scholarship in psychology and political science, I developed the responses to adversity framework. I have argued that African Americans' sense of racial resilience is defined by their awareness of economic subjugation, followed by their orientation towards triumph in the face of hardship. I have argued that African Americans develop the perception of racial resilience from their racial socialization, which includes messages of Black pride and resistance generated in everyday encounters in and out of Black institutions. As African Americans become more aware of the hardships Black Americans have faced, but also how they have triumphed in the face of hardship, they will develop a greater perception of racial resilience. This sense of racial resilience strengthens through individual and collective experiences of adversity that are uniquely a result of African Americans' racial identification. In addition, African Americans' sense of racial resilience maintains through their differential treatment in society compared to other racially marginalized groups. As such, African Americans will reinforce their sense of racial resilience through these encounters.

This chapter argues that the presence of racial resilience is a distinct component of African Americans' political participation and engagement. The motivational sources to engage in politics varies. African Americans' unique orientation to hardship and to respond with

perseverance instead of defeat sustains their engagement in politics, which is often contested, threatened, or degraded. Similar to the positive impact for mental health and educational outcomes, racial resilience is associated with other positive outcomes. Given the scholarship that has situated the importance of group-level considerations for individual Black political decision making, I connected how group-based perceptions of racial resilience are important for Black Americans' individual considerations for perseverance to engage in politics. I relied on the theoretical framework of the response to adversity to arrive at this expectation. Therefore, I connected how racial resilience is associated with a desire to not only participate, but to persevere in politics, particularly to engage in higher risk and higher stress political acts.

In the next chapter, I present a measure of racial resilience, the racial resilience scale, that reflects the theoretical foundations presented in the proceeding pages of this chapter. As I introduce the measure, I present expectations regarding the profile of more racially resilient African Americans. After, I address demographic, psychological, and sociological correlations of racial resilience as its perceptions vary among African American voters.

Chapter 3 Meaning and Measurement of Racial Resilience

Introduction

The *responses to adversity framework* of racial resilience in the previous chapter outlines a specific link from collective adversity to political behavior. In this chapter, the focus is developing a measure of racial resilience. Racial resilience is an understudied trait characterizes how African Americans 1) awareness of group-based adversities, and 2) orientation towards triumph are impactful for their willingness to engage in the political system. The response to adversity framework posits that within the United States African Americans' primary response to hardship is with racial resilience. In Chapter 5, I find that the impact of racial resilience exceeds other factors in explaining African American's political behavior. As demonstrated in Chapter 2, despite generations of disenfranchisement and discrimination African American's ability to remain political engaged reflects their differential response to adversity. Racial resilience operates as a source of motivation that undergirds group-based political behaviors. In this chapter, I present the steps to develop the measure of racial resilience.

In chapter 2, I outlined the *responses to adversity framework* which connects the experience of collective adversity to political behavior. Most, if not all, humans have the capacity to be resilient (Felsman and Vaillant 1987; Werner and Smith 1989). Over time, individuals learn to be resilient as a result of the adversity they experience (Hildon et al. 2008; van Wormer, Sudduth, and Jackson 2011). In addition, experiences of trauma, and the ability to positively cope in the aftermath of trauma leads to increased levels of resilience (Bonanno 2004; Qiao et al. 2019). However, these findings reflect a psychological resilience which is not what is under study in this dissertation. Racial resilience differs from a general psychological resilience as it is an

assessment of a group-based traits, and not individual experiences and traits. Furthermore, theories of psychological resilience are not reflective of group-specific contexts, and thus require a novel measure. In Chapter 2, the development of racial resilience among African Americans experience, reflects their unique capacity to “bounce back” and persevere through experiences of subjugation. African American’s history in the United States is distinct from non-Black groups, and the responses to adversity framework highlights the uniqueness of the Black experience of subjugation. The components of the framework which links resignation to apathy and triumph to perseverance demonstrate how racial resilience is influential to political behavior.

While a range of measures exists for psychological resilience, the purpose of this chapter is to develop a meaning and measurement of a different type, racial resilience. Building on the theoretical background of the preceding chapter, this chapter lays out the justification for a dedicated measure of racial resilience. Then, the steps to develop the racial resilience scale are described in detail.⁴ This process involved qualitative interviews, open-ended qualitative survey data, references to African American religious culture, and African American popular culture. While constructing a reliable measure, existing political science measures are evaluated, in addition to the psychological measures of resilience. Then the chapter discusses the iterative process of developing the item wording. The chapter concludes with the racial resilience scale’s psychometric and quantitative properties.

To thoroughly examine what factors shape African American resilience, first I must detail the components of racial resilience that I operationalize and develop an appropriate measure for the concept. Validating the scale takes on several forms. I assess the construct validity of the scale

⁴ Throughout the chapter, I also refer to as the racial resilience scale (RRS) as the Slaughter scale. This is to minimize confusion between the measurement of a general resilience, which I use as shorthand for measures of individual resilience (e.g. Brief Resilience Scale (BRS), Connor Davidson Resilience Scale (CD-RISC)).

which is the extent to which a measure performs in accordance with theoretical expectations (Carmines and Zeller 1979). Then, I examine the evolution of the final racial resilience scale after repeated testing, and an initial racial resilience scale. The racial resilience measure is included on several pilot studies at different time points, with various sampling methods, and among different survey vendors, to assess its reliability.⁵ Across all pilots, I validated the reliability of the scale through maintaining a high internal consistency of the construct, even after adapting the wording in the second version of the scale. The most preeminent scholarship on construct validation, Campbell and Fiske (1959) suggest that confidence in the measure of a trait is supported by evidence of its convergent and discriminant validity. To demonstrate that the racial resilience scale accomplishes this, I undergo a series of tests to demonstrate its convergent and discriminant validity. Towards the end of this chapter on the second version of the racial resilience scale, I examine the discriminant validity, that is, the extent to which the scale does not correlate with unrelated concepts and measures. In addition to detailing the qualitatively way that racial resilience differs from existing concepts, the importance of the empirical distinction is to highlight the novelty of the concept to political science.

In Chapter 4 examines the the demographics contours of the racial resilience scale. African Americans vary in their levels of racial resilience. Even though racial resilience is a group-based attribute, certain demographics may be more or less likely to have strong views about Black American's experiences of subjugation, and their orientation towards triumph. After examining the demographic contours of racial resilience, Chapter 5 explores the behavioral implications of higher racial resilience. Conducting these exercises in this chapter is essential to interpreting the

⁵ While I include both White and Black Americans in the pilot studies, I only include Black Americans throughout the empirical analysis of the dissertation and in the remaining analysis, unless where noted.

analyses of the preceding chapters, as well as providing an empirical measure to an anecdotal phenomenon.

Developing a measure of racial resilience is an important and novel contribution to the study of African American politics, and political psychology more broadly. Previous studies of resilience lack an empirical test that draw on the collective resilience of the group rather than individual personality dispositions and traits (Seery, Holman, and Silver 2010; Morales 2008; Diehl and Hay 2010). In response to this, I expand resilience to develop a scale that captures perceptions of a group-based resilience. To this end, this chapter relies multiple tests to examine the best way to 1) measure racial resilience, 2) define its components, and 3) capture the concept in question wording and application. Given the rise in popularity of the term outside of academe, it is less clear whether resilience is the result of a mindset, or if it is the mindset that leads individuals to withstand adversity. Withstanding the imprecision of a measure of psychological resilience, I situate racial resilience alongside similar constructs in the social and personality and social psychology. Question wording of the existing resilience scales from the psychology literature that are adapted are in Appendix A.

To develop the measure of racial resilience, there is a scale based on initial research, and a more refined version of the scale which I use to explain political behavior. The initial version, and the refined version of the racial resilience scale were developed through an iterative research process. The first version of the scale developed after initial research, and a second scale that improved upon the first. In total, there were four piloted studies which included the first version of the scale, and two pilot studies with the second version of the scale. In addition, there is one larger, and more representative study which includes the second version of the scale. Question wording of the initial version, and the final version are in Appendix B.

Developing a Racial Resilience Measure

This content of the measure emerged through a series of participant observation sessions, interviews, and reading open-ended responses to emotional induction prompts about hardship, pride, and resilience. In addition, I surveyed African American popular culture (i.e., *Ebony*, *Black Enterprise*, and *Jet Magazine*) which chronicled narratives of successful African Americans. Lastly, I conducted five in-depth qualitative interviews. In engaging in the qualitative research, the goal was to ensure that the racial resilience measure was grounded in every-day talk of African Americans. Harris-Perry (2004) notes how Black spaces foster the share of political information, and political knowledge relevant to African American's engagement in politics.

First, I participated in the activities of a long-standing civil rights organization to hear first-hand how younger African American formed attitudes about the political system, and sought to remedy inequalities through their societal involvement. Members Los Angeles Urban League Young Professionals (LAULYP) had a keen awareness of the African American plight. I ascertained that unlike newer social justice organizations, such as the #BlackLivesMatter chapters, National Urban League (NUL) participation may be more connected to the organizations with a longer history of community involvement. African American involvement in civic and voluntary associations is one form social movement participation that lasts overtime (Robinson 2019).

Since 1920, the National Urban League (NUL) has advanced economic justice and prosperity of African Americans living in cities. The Los Angeles chapter of the NUL was established shortly after in 1921. The LAULYP, established in 1999, is a volunteer organization that hosts monthly general body meetings with guest speakers who are people of color in some

aspect of business, entrepreneurship, or social justice. In addition, members complete service projects, donate money to the affiliate chapter of the Urban League, attend National Conferences and participate in advocacy programs. In 2018, the LAULYP had about 86 financial members, and of those 86 members about 30 members regularly attended the monthly meetings. The meetings and special events drew around 50 participants who wanted to think, and talk, about the status of African Americans. During my time with the organization, I paid close attention to the words used, the images promoted, organizational culture that was promoted. To complement this observational research, I tested the awareness of a set of idioms common among African Americans. These cultural sayings were associated with Black resilience.

In addition, I sought to explore in greater detail the reoccurring observations gleaned from the in the civil rights organization. In December 2019 and January 2020, I conducted five interviews with people of color with roots in the Los Angeles area. In the interviews, I listened to how people detail their life histories, connecting their experiences to resilience and their political participation. Table 3.1 details basic information about interview participants using pseudonyms. I recruited participants through sharing a flyer on social media. During the interview, respondents were asked questions about life experiences, trials, adversity, efficacy, political participation, social networks, and assessments of their racial group's political efficacy and participation.

Table 3.1 Characteristics of Opportunity Study Participants

Name	Age	Race	Occupation
Louise	33	African American	Art Distributor
Amber	22	Latina	Unemployed
Louis	24	Latino	Debate Coach
Morgan	20	African American	Student
Shawna	19	Bi-racial (African American and White)	Student

Table 3.1 Characteristics of Opportunity Study Participants

From the interviews, I confirmed that the individual assessment of resilience was distinct from a group-based assessment of resilience. The majority of participants defined resilience as to accomplish something in the face of obstacles which mirrors decades of psychological research (Cohler 1991). In addition, the resilience of African Americans were linked to this experiences in the United States, distinct from other minorities.

When I asked Shawna about the general resilience among Black people, she said,

“Yes, absolutely. I mean, just look at us. I mean, we are beautiful. I'm not. I'm not gonna say that we don't go through like, we don't still struggle. But the amount of stuff to accomplish so easily and all these other oppressions that we face in the world? It's amazing. Like, we can't say that for a lot of races, like they haven't been doing that as much as a race ”.

Evident in Shawna's remarks is the distinct experience of African Americans compared to other races. However, in describing the resilience of African Americans, Shawna omits herself as a racially resilient person. Shawna recognizes the economic subjugation and the differential response of African Americans to hardship.

Similarly, Louise articulated how resilience is associated with Black people's experience of subjugation in the United States. She said, “I think that as people, it's in our DNA to fight. Right? I think that's just a part of our culture is fight.” Later in the interview, she defined “fight” to encompass how African Americans have encountered a series of hardships. In light of experiences of hardship, both Louise and Shawna mentioned how awareness of past experiences is connected to current behavior. Shawna goes on to say, “the past isn't stopping us from going out” and becoming esteemed professionals. On the other hand, Morgan mentioned that given her economically privileged background she wish she “had the choice to not be resilient”, and felt that African Americans who endured greater financial hardships had more resilience than her. Similarly, Louise mentioned that while she experienced hardships in adulthood as an entrepreneur, in her upbringing, she was instilled the values of hard work and perseverance.

Broadly, these reflections build upon a broader trend of what respondents associated with resilience: history, perseverance, and triumph. The specific imagery alerts to what images are reflected African Americans awareness of hardship. From these specific conversation's insights provide valuable information for conceptualizing a measure of resilience that accounts for the differential response to adversity embedded in the African American experience. I relied on insights from each interview in order to construct the measure of racial resilience.

Lastly, I made it a point to engage with African Americans' cultural production- including those of a religious spirit, such as hymnals and religious texts, but also more recent productions, such as print magazines, social media tweets, and physical museum exhibitions. The religious articles are included for the extent to which they are commonly mentioned in predominately, or historically, African American churches, where messages of faith and resilience are oft intertwined. African American churches have a prominent role in Black political socialization, and as serving as a mobilizing ground for Black organizing and community building. Primarily, scriptures, images, and messages drawn from the narratives of Moses leading the Israelites through the wilderness, and David defeating the Goliath, all anchor on the resilience of prominent figures in the Bible. Further, messages articulated by Black ministers such as, “...Weeping may endure for a night. But joy *comes* in the morning. There is no doubt about it. No one is immune from tough times. But tough times don't last forever! Joy will come in the morning!”⁶ armor individuals with language that is reflected in the conceptualization of resilience, which I aimed that the measure of resilience captured. In addition to spiritual texts, African American hymnals connect resilience for African Americans in its faith-based roots. Many African American Baptist churches have hymnals routinely sung at

⁶ Psalm 30:5 in the New Living Translation Bible

worship services such as “*We’ve Come This Far By Faith*” articulate the extent to which a spiritually rooted perseverance is central to the African American journey.⁷

When considering popular sources, a litany of resources – including print magazines, social media tweets, and physical museum exhibitions, have broadcasted messages of African American resilience, which I sought to incorporate into a measure of resilience. I highlight two selections where resilience is systemically associated with culture and practices of African Americans. This exercise aids in situating a Black resilience, and its origins in Black culture, not particular exclusive to politics. First, Black Women Centered magazine, *Essence* conducted a September 2015 poll, “Where does your resilience come from?” among its readers and subscribers. The purpose of the poll was to gauge the “source” of Black women’s resilience. Second, in a February 1992 feature on Black History, Musician Winston Marsalis, and Singer Johnny Gill, both mention the resilience of Black women in particular, as an attractive quality. Particularly, Marsalis is quoted, “Black women in this country have a tradition of resilience, spirituality, and optimism that’s the essence of their being. They’ve had to carry some heavy weighs, and they’ve done It, heroically, and they’re doing it every day.” This quote, like the focus of the *Essence* Poll, draws into the gendered aspects of resilience, especially as it presents, and is a desirable quality among Black women. Taken together, these mentions in popular media connect how assessment of resilience are linked to the African American experience in the United States.

Building from the qualitative data, to gain an appropriate sense of how common sayings of resilience were to a public, I presented several sayings that were expected to reflect a socialized resilience among African Americans. In consulting historical documents, Black

⁷ African American Heritage Hymnal: 575 Hymns, Spirituals, and Gospel Song (2001) edited by Rev. Dr. Delores Carpenter (and Rev. Nolan E. Williams Jr).

hymnals, and Black popular culture, the language of resilience, opportunities for passive socialization of resilience, and the necessity for a resilient outlook is rampant. Take, for instance, the saying embedded in freedom song, popular during the Civil Rights Movement, and a rallying cry of many protests, sit-ins demonstrations, and boycott marches, “We Shall Overcome.” This song remains popular during times of protest and struggle.⁸ Mahalia Jackson led the song at the close of the March on Washington in 1963. Freedom songs were “one of the most important and useful weapons to reawaken a long pride of race in Negroes.”⁹ All in all, the song is a refrain of the uphill battle for Civil Rights for African Americans, that at the end of the day, Black people shall overcome. Another example is the popular saying, “If There’s a Will, There’s a Way.” While it originated as an English proverb, it is profoundly used in Black culture, relative to its widespread acknowledgment as protestant work-ethic, self-reliance, or American culture specifically. For instance, famed African American Blues Singer Etta James sings in “I Got the Will” of her mother’s insistence that “If There’s a Will, There’s a Way” generally as a source of perseverance for her to continue along the face of cumulated adversity.

I expected that cultural sayings and proverbs that were ubiquitous in African American culture, would serve as a guide to embracing the racial resilience measure being developed. To that end, I selected sayings that were mentioned or alluded to in the qualitative interviews, appeared in hymnals and other forms of prose, or that I had personally heard growing up in the American South to better understand how these socialized messages have fostered resilience among Black people. In order to discern the culturally relevant sayings, I also included sayings

⁸ The song was written by Peter Seeger, who is not African American, but commonly wrote folk songs used in large demonstrations.

⁹ Gross, Terry. 2020. “Bernice Johnson Reagon On Leading Freedom Songs During The Civil Rights Movement.” Accessed August 10, 2020. <https://www.npr.org/2020/06/19/880245261/bernice-johnson-reagon-on-leading-freedom-songs-during-the-civil-rights-movement>.

that were more reflected of an American Protestant Work-Ethic (PWE). I expected that African Americans were better able to discern the resilience sayings, from the non-resilience sayings. In Pilot 1, the level of awareness of these sayings was compared between Black and White respondents. I tested the relationship between awareness of the resilience sayings, and the racial resilience items. A selection of these sayings is in Table 3.2.

In are the resilience sayings, their origins, and the mean values of awareness among Black and white Americans. Examining these sayings did not yield conclusive evidence that African Americans were more aware of resilience sayings as a form of racial socialization of resilience. Across all the sayings, African Americans had a greater awareness, including those that I hypothesized were related to the presence of racial resilience. However, there is not a distinction between the awareness of PWE sayings and racial resilience sayings. African Americans had an awareness of both PWE sayings and resilience sayings. However, this suggests that the awareness of idioms may not be the direct pathway to resilience, and thus these socialization messages may not be the associated with, or apart of, the resilience measure.

Table 3.2: Awareness of Resilience Associated Messages by Race				
	Sayings/ Idioms/ Proverbs	Source	% Black Aware	% White Aware
Resilience	Ain't No Stopping Us Now	McFadden & Whitehead - Ain't No Stoppin' Us Now	48	31
PWE	Dust Yourself off and Try Again	Try Again – Aaliyah	50	30
Resilience	Lift as You Climb	Ella Baker	20	5
Resilience	If there's a will, there's a way	Similar to Hannibal, in Latin, "Aut inveniam viam aut faciam" "I shall either find a way or make one."	50	35
Resilience	Keep on Keepin' on	Keep On Keepin' On (film), a 2014 documentary about jazz musician Clark Terry	47	38
Resilience	We've come this far by Faith	"We've Come This Far by Faith" by Albert A. Goodson Songs of Zion, 192	48	15
Resilience	Making A Way Out of No Way	Making a Way Out of No Way: A Womanist Theology (Innovations: African American Religious Thought) by Monica Coleman Making a Way Out of No Way is episode four of the six-part series, The African Americans: Many Rivers to Cross with Henry Louis Gates, Jr.	42	8
PWE	Pull Yourself Up by the bootstraps	American newspaper snippet from Sept. 30, 1834	41	37
PWE	What doesn't Kill you makes you stronger	aphorism of the 19th century German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche	54	34
Source: Pilot 1 (N= 319)				
Note: Conducted October 2019. Values are percentages of each racial group.				

Table 3.2 Awareness of Resilience Associated Messages by Race

After identifying the messages of racial resilience that could reflect the differential response of African Americans to hardship, I included two of these sayings into the initial version of the racial resilience scale. From learning that there was less of a connection between the racial resilience measure and racial resilience messages, I sought to understand if racial resilience was tied to an action or event, suggesting that an event is cause of socialization of the resilience message.

Figure 3.1: Black Resilience and Racial Resilience Over Time

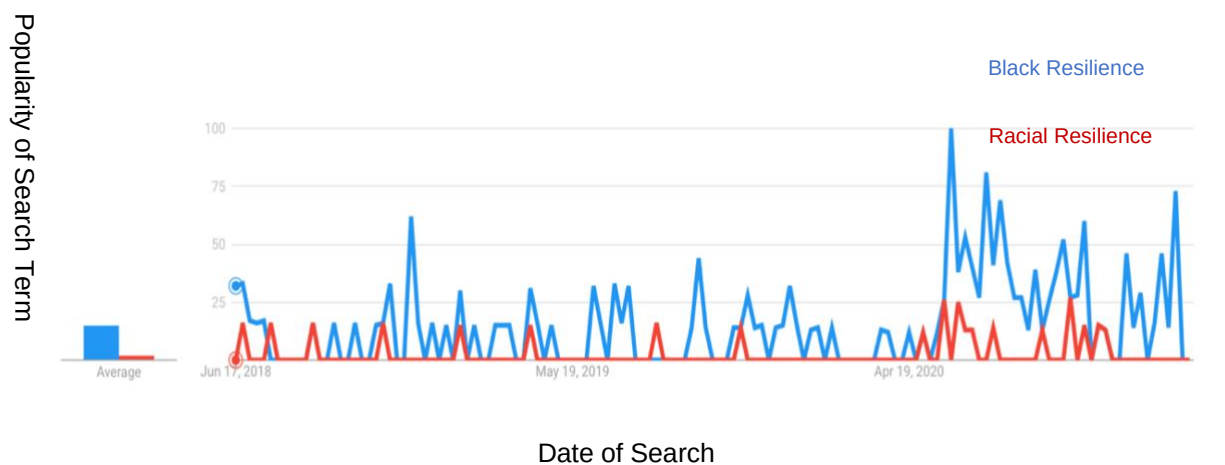


Figure 3.1 Google Trends Data Prevalence of Searches for Black Resilience and Racial Resilience Over Time

Source: Google Trends (<https://www.google.com/trends>)¹⁰

I examined the prevalence of searches for “resilience”, “racial resilience”, “Black resilience” on Google trends from June 15, 2018 until January 27, 2021, to understand the popularity and interest in the terms. While this data does not reveal who searched, or what

¹⁰ Figure 3.1 contains on web searches of Black Resilience, and racial resilience from 6-18-2018 to 1-27-2021 Direct Link to search query is <https://trends.google.com/trends/explore?date=2018-06-15%202021-01-27&geo=US&q=Black%20resilience,Racial%20resilience>

content the searcher eventually selected, it does reveal the interest in the term over time. Figure 3.1 recasts the popularity of the two resilience terms over time.

The peak popularity of the “Black resilience” search term – marked by the blue line --is associated with the beginning of the Black Resilience Fund in Portland, Oregon. This fund was a mutual aid financial resource afforded to Black families during the Coronavirus pandemic, which fostered greater economic uncertainty for many lower-income Black families. Further, searches of “Black resilience” maintain interest during this period of racial unrest in the aftermath of the murder of May 2020 George Floyd, in Minneapolis.¹¹ However, during this period, the word resilience was searched by web users to a much greater extent. When including the word, “resilience” on Figure 3.1, both the red line representing searches for racial resilience, and the blue line, representing searches for Black resilience are nearly flattened. Thus, while resilience is generally searched among over this period, Black resilience and racial resilience’s popularity and interest are bound to race-specific events. From this research, I gained confidence in the assertion that racial resiliencies’ is distinct from resilience. In addition, this further led the charge to develop a novel measure to characterize the racial resilience of Black Americans.

Lastly, I employed a series of emotional induction exercises to generate how events associated with adversity or pride might be tethered to racial resilience in Pilot 3. Emotional induction exercises are an experimental manipulation that is common in psychological studies of emotion (Banks and Valentino 2012; Bower 1981), and have been used to prime and study attitudes of Black Americans, specifically (Banks, White, and McKenzie 2019). I included two prompts where the respondents were asked to recall an event, or accomplishment that they were

¹¹ Hill, Evan, Ainara Tiefenthäler, Christiaan Triebert, Drew Jordan, Haley Willis, and Robin Stein. 2020. “How George Floyd Was Killed in Police Custody.” *The New York Times*, June 1, 2020, sec. U.S. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/31/us/george-floyd-investigation.html>.

particularly proud of and believed either other Americans, or others within their racial group might be proud of. This was done to induce reactions to events associated pride and whether these events were connected to racial identity, or generally to American values and accomplishments. Given the subtlety of the message, and limited number of respondents, I omitted a control group. Each respondent was randomized to view one of the two prompts. Their response length was unrestricted, to take as much time as needed, and that entries would be read for clarity. Table 3.3 Emotional Induction Exercise Conditions and Prompts shows the prompts that respondents read.

<i>Table 3.3 Emotional Induction Exercise Conditions and Prompts</i>	
Condition	Prompt
Race Specific	Now, please reflect on your life experiences and accomplishments. At any point in your life, what have you had to work hard to accomplish? This accomplishment may be anything important to you or that other [African American/ White] people would be proud of.
American	Now, please reflect on your life experiences and accomplishments. At any point have your life, what have you had to work hard to accomplish? This accomplishment may be anything important to you or that other Americans would be proud of.

Table 3.3 Emotional Induction Exercise Conditions and Prompts

Source: Pilot 3 (N = 175)

Among the responses to the prompts, the treatment did little to prompt differential responses among those who felt pride because of the significance of their accomplishment to their racial group, as compared to all Americans generally. In both conditions, many respondents chose to mention graduating from either high school or college. From the emotional induction

exercise, I was able to ascertain that the measure of racial resilience is associated with collective experiences of adversity, rather than individual experiences.

Lastly, to assess the face validity of the racial resilience measure derived from the responses to adversity framework, several open-ended responses were evaluated across the initial and final version of the scale. In Pilot 3, the initial version of the scale was presented, and in Pilot 5, the revised version of the scale was presented. Respondents in Pilot 3 (N=175), and in Pilot 5 (N= 343), were asked, “What is resilience?” and “What is African American resilience?” The response to this open-ended prompt confirm the expectation how African Americans conceptualize racial resilience. Three exemplary quotes sum the lay-definitions of racial resilience.

‘When generations before you work so hard, it is almost innate for us to get up and make something happen. Even if it is working 3 fast food jobs, you’re handling your business. A hustle is a hustle.

‘It’s innate, it’s a feeling of we can’t stop, no matter what, we look at the situation head-on and deal with it.’

‘The African American resilience is despite slavery, Jim Crow and today’s discrimination, blacks still survive and thrive.’

These direct quotes from the open-ended prompts of respondents highlight the group-based assessments of resilience made by African Americans. In each example, there is a differential uses of “we” versus, “you”, which is indicative of the group-based undertones of racial resilience. African Americans perceive racial resilience as a trait generating from the group, but not their individual circumstances. African Americans usage of ‘we’ has symbolized their support of group based attributes, and this has been validated in previous studies (Shingles

1981; Burge 2014). The presence of groups matter in politics (Nelson and Kinder 1996; Hutchings and Valentino 2004) and inform the way individuals conceptualize the relevance of their shared characteristics to politics. In addition, these direct quotations map onto the conceptualization of racial resilience as encompassing group subjugation and triumph, further aiding the extent to which the racial resilience measure has face validity. Further, the respondents in these examples highlight the prolonged adversity experienced by African Americans, and its influence on their current-day worldviews.

However, not all respondents viewed resilience as a racial attribute. A non-trivial number of respondents articulated that resilience is connected to mental capacity to positively adapt to stress. This definition of resilience is more aligned with the definition of resilience as measured in general psychological resilience scales. Take for instance one respondent's conceptualization of resilience, *"I would define it by having the mental strength to overcome hardships in life and achieve success in life with people supporting you."* Her quote emphasizes the importance of supportive relationships and the internal capacity to withstand hardships. Supportive social networks are important to the development of resilience. Further, this Black respondent did not tether resilience to the characteristic of all African Americans, which was more common among the larger sample.

Surveys are a useful tool to study mass opinion and behavior. However, survey questionnaires are not commonly designed with African American respondents in mind.¹² I creating a battery of items for racial resilience, I examined longstanding survey questions that that reflect the structure of well-respected measures of white racial attitudes, like racial

¹², Todd Shaw and Robert Brown developed a novel measure of Black Nationalism, which is not neglected in the formulation of racial resilience (R. A. Brown and Shaw 2002). However, Black Nationalism is more attitudinal, than trait based, which is why it was not the primary source of inspiration in the form of a racial resilience measure,

resentment, authoritarianism, and efficacy. The structure of the racial resilience measure reflects the form of existing measures. In developing the measures, there were no concrete expectations the included content, and number of scale items. Primarily, I aimed to replicate the structure of the racial resentment scale, which is the empirical arm to the study of symbolic racism (Kinder and Sanders 1996). The racial resentment scale connects historical periods (such as to current day attitudes and behavior. As a measure, racial resilience characterizes Blacks American's dispositional response to hurdles and barriers to Black thriving upheld by white-led political institutions.

Also, I revisited writings on Black self-determination. Black self-determination as a concept yields from historically African American churches supporting, sometimes financially, educational investment among its members (Higginbotham 2003; Leak and Reid 2010). However, Black self-determination is deeply interwoven with religion. Vogel writes that the ongoing influence of the color line in the United States despite the self-determination of the Black community, may lead African Americans to feel “despair in the face of persistent racial disparities” (2002). Self-determination appears in the racial resilience scale through the questions that reflect how well one can work with little, and how much an individual can better their situation with minimal resources.

Reflective of the qualitative research, I drew three conclusions: 1) A measure of racial resilience had to include evidence of socialization of messages of strength, 2) there needed to be distinct attention to how individuals internalize group triumph over collective adversity, and 3) distinguished African Americans from other racial and ethnic minority groups. Racial resilience measured in reflection of the three areas I outlined above.

Empirical Development of the Racial Resilience Scale

So, how do I know racial resilience, distinct from an individual resilience when I see it? First, African Americans are expected to be situated at the higher end of the generalized psychological resilience scale as compared to White Americans. I examine this in Pilots 1-4. While this is an imperfect approximate of a measure of racial resilience, it reveals that African Americans are differentially processing hardship, which is a part of my expectations of the role of racial resilience. Second, racial resilience is a group-based phenomenon with individual variation among African Americans. In Pilot 4, I conduct a short survey experiment on item wording. I randomize individual or group based references in the question wording of the Brief Resilience Scale (Smith et al. 2008) and the original Racial Resilience Scale. Lastly, in Pilot 5 and 6, I identify the appropriate measure of racial resilience which has desirable psychometric and quantitative properties.

Data and Measurement

I use data from six original pilot studies to develop the measurement of the racial resilience scale. Table 3.4 includes the pilot number, scale version, sample, and date each study was conducted. Each iteration of the survey involved changes in question wording, order, and content, but the racial resilience items remained constant across scale version. In this section, I review the pilots individually regarding their quantitative and psychometric properties focusing first on scale version 1 (Pilots 1-4) and then on scale version 2 (Pilot 5-6). I conclude the discussion of the pilots through summarizing important findings and

developments. After, I examine the convergent validity to similarly situated constructs.

More information about sample demographics and distributions of other key variables are in the supplemental appendix (see Appendix C).

Table 3.4: Sample size of piloted samples including versions of the racial resilience scale				
Pilot	Scale Version / # of Items	Observations	Composition of Sample	Month Collected
I	V1 (6-items)	N= 320	African Americans and Whites Non-Probability Convenience Sample (Lucid)	September 2019
IIa IIb (Same questionnaire)	V1 (6-items)	N = 35 N = 133	African Americans - Convenience Sample African Americans and Whites - Non-Probability Convenience Sample (Prolific)	February – March 2020
III	V1 (6-items)	N= 175	African Americans Non-Probability Convenience Sample (Prolific)	April 2020
IV	V1 (6-items)	N= 52	African Americans Non-Probability Convenience Sample (Prolific)	April 2020
V	V2 (8 Items)	N= 474	African Americans and Non-Probability Convenience Sample (Prolific)	September 2020
VI (attempted re-contact)	V2 (8 Items)	N= 271	African Americans Non-Probability Convenience & Recontact of Prior Participants Sample (Prolific)	March 2021

Table 3.4 Original Studies Including Racial Resilience Scale

Source: Online Samples

Pilots 1-4

Pilots 1-3 included the first version of the racial resilience scale. For Pilots 1-3, both African Americans and whites are included in the study. In Pilot 1, Both Black and Whites were shown the resilience scale where “Black” was the reference group. I calculate the average placement on the racial resilience scale through summing placement on each individual item, and

then averaging across the total number of items. Table 3.5 and Table 3.6 show the distribution of the racial resilience items, and their quantitative and psychometric properties. In Pilot 1, Black Americans were most associated with strong agreement on each item in Table 3.5. In addition, in Table 3.6 shows that the initial scale version had a weaker internal consistency, and thus is a less reliable measure.

Regarding other properties of the racial resilience scale, there are desirable psychometric qualities, and the component structure operates how I theorized in the framework. In Figure 3.2, I show the correlation matrix of the scale items, which reports how 6 items are related to one another. In the correlation matrix, the blue coefficient colors indicate that there is a positive, but weaker associations between all the items in the scale. The strongest correlation coefficient among the items is $r = 0.42$ and this demonstrates a modest relationship. In addition, I examined the structure of the measure using an exploratory factor analysis in Figure 3.3 and Figure 3.4. In Figure 3.3, I test if two underlying factors are best to construct racial resilience, instead of the three factors in Figure 3.4. This analysis highlights that there is a modest correlation between the two factors, and there is not much gained through the inclusion of a third factor.

From Pilot 1, I learned that Black and White Americans respond to the racial resilience scale in similar, but different ways. However, in this Pilot, I asked White respondents about Black racial resilience. Thus, whites scoring higher on the racial resilience scale, as compared relatively to Blacks, indicates a greater endorsement of Black resilience, rather than a White resilience, among Whites. In reconfiguring the scale, I sought to continue examining Black and White differences in response to the items but giving White Americans the ability to assess racial resilience from the White vantage point, which I pursue in the second pilot.

Table 3.5 Individual distributions of racial resilience measures - Scale Version 1			
	Pilot 1	Pilot 2	Pilot 3
	n=319	n=126	n=175
	% Strongly Agree		
1. I believe that Black people have experienced generations of hardship.	53%	40%	89%
2. Even though African Americans generally have to work with very little, they always find ways to get it done.	50%	28%	55%
3. Even if I am struggling, there is something I will do to better the situation	38%	32%	53%
4. No one has said to me "If There's a Will, There's a Way" as encouragement	33%	32%	6%
5. I try hard to do the best that I can, even when I want to give-up.	47%	33%	55%
6. I believe that people can "Make a Way Out of No Way".	41%	25%	45%
Note: Percent values are amount the number respondents with strong agreement on item. For shifts in wording across pilots see Appendix B. Respondents are African Americans only.			

Table 3.5 Individual distributions of racial resilience measures - Scale Version 1

Source: Pilot 1, Pilot 2, Pilot 3

Table 3.6 Quantitative and Psychometric Properties of Racial Resilience Scale Version 1						
Pilot	Race	n	Racial Resilience Score (Average)	Standard Deviation	Median	Cronbach Alpha (α)
1	Black	190	0.83	0.16	0.88	0.56
1	White	129	0.73	0.14	0.77	0.56
2	Black	53	0.73	0.12	0.80	0.73
2	White	73	0.56	0.12	0.56	0.73
3	Black	175	0.77	0.18	0.82	0.61
4	Black	46	0.73	0.19	0.70	0.78

Table 3.6 Quantitative and Psychometric Properties of Racial Resilience Scale Version 1

Source: Pilot 1, Pilot 2, Pilot 3, Pilot 4

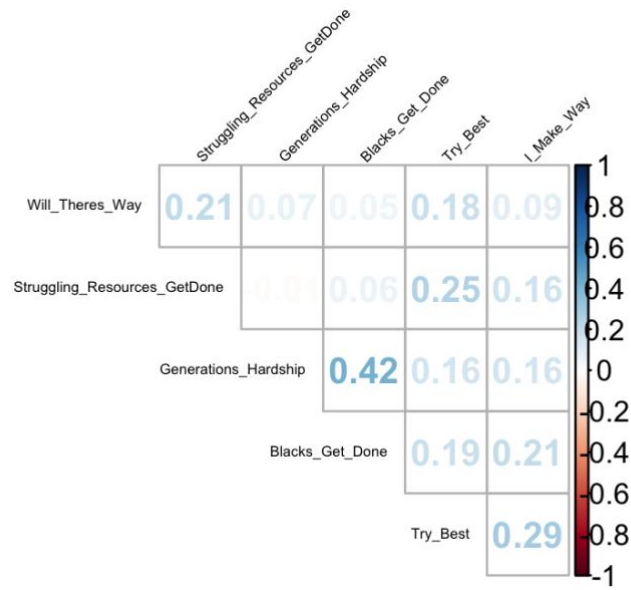


Figure 3.2 Correlation Matrix of Racial Resilience

Factor Analysis

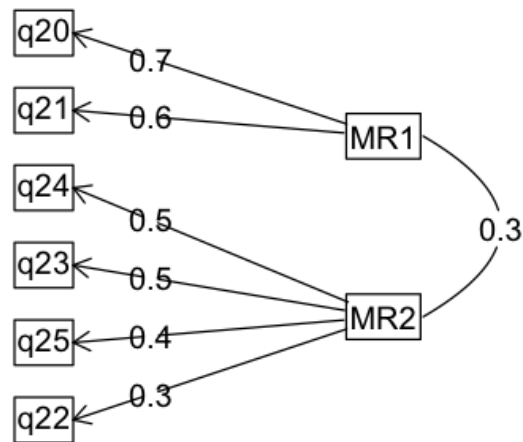


Figure 3.3 Two Factors of Racial Resilience

Factor Analysis

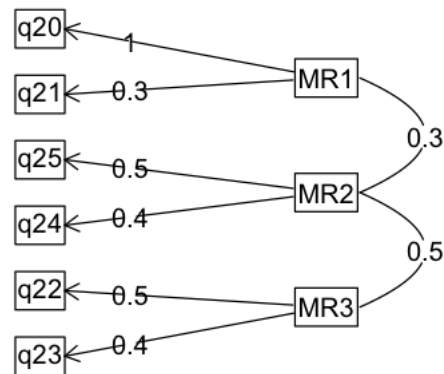


Figure 3.4 Three Factors of Racial Resilience

The second pilot included measures of cultural sayings racial resilience, efficacy, group-based identity, and varied forms of electoral and participation. I focus on the properties of the racial resilience scale. Table 3.5 shows the distribution of racial resilience items among Black respondents and Table 3.6 shows differences among Black and Whites respondents of the racial resilience scale. Building from Pilot 1, African Americans and White Americans were shown the scale items with their racial group reflected in the item wording. The items also were modified. The items “I can better my situation with what I have” changed slightly to be more detailed of the context becoming, “Even if I am struggling, there is something I will do to better the situation. The other items of the scale remained unchanged.

With these changes to the scale, the internal consistency improved to $\alpha = 0.70$. This range indicates a greater certainty that the items are measuring a unified construct. Even though the sample size of Pilot 2 is fewer cases as compared to Pilot 1, the increase of internal consistency signals improvement of items to tap into one unified construct of racial resilience, measuring among groups independently.

Key differences are found within the distribution of two items of the racial resilience scale: generations of hardship, and working with little for African Americans and Whites. In both items, the plurality of African Americans that agree on the economic hardship and scarcity experienced by Black people has increased. Accurately, white respondents do not evaluate their experiences of economic hardship and scarcity in the same way. White Americans have a greater spread of responses to these items. Across the racial resilience items, African Americans are truncated within the right most column, indicating a greater agreeance with the items, consistently, than white Americans.

In addition, I combined responses from Blacks and Whites to gather mean values of racial resilience. Values are assigned to each respondent, and an average is calculated to arrive at a racial resilience score. I recoded and standardized the scale to contain values between 0-1 and the values closer to 1 are indicative of higher resilience. The plurality of response sets contains 5-item responses that include a neutral category, while some have 4-item response sets that omit a neutral category. Table 3.6 shows the overall improvement of the measure when these changes are adapted. Overall, both for Black and White respondents is a higher mean value (> 0.50). For Black Americans, the mean is 0.88 (sd = 0.17), and for White Americans, the mean is slightly lower at 0.62 (sd = 0.18).

Next, in Pilot 3, I further tested the racial resilience items among Black respondents to make improvements on the scale with the target demographic group where it is expected to explain and predict behaviors. However, I recruited a sample of respondents from a convenience network to validate the scale among a Black American sample. In recruiting the sample of individual respondents, I targeted individuals involved in civic groups and social organizations,

including historically Black sororities and fraternities. Eventually, this led to a smaller sample size. I supplemented this convenience sample with online study participants.

Patterns are similar among African American respondents in Pilot 3 to the responses of African Americans in Pilot 2. In Table 3.5 Over 80% of respondents strongly agree that African Americans have experienced a generation of hardship. The plurality of individuals, over 51%, can recall and identify a resilience saying as a form of encouragement. Overall, Black respondents in this pilot overwhelmingly agreed with the items and exhibited higher perceptions of racial resilience.

Next, I consider the mean value of responses to the racial resilience scale, where higher values are indicative of greater perception of racial resilience. Averages are standardized between 0-1. For Black respondents, there is a higher mean value 0.77 (sd=0.18). This is a higher mean value compared to previous values in Table 3.6. This might suggest that the levels of racial resilience were slightly higher among this set of respondents than compared to those from previous studies. However, a few limitations arise when interpreting this relatively high mean value. First, it is likely an artifact of the response set structure. For most of the racial resilience items, there may be a response bias since all the items were presented where agree is the expected category, individual may be less reluctant to disagree with an item. Therefore, those who agree with an item, may not possess the higher racial resilience, but are less likely to disagree with an item. In future iterations of the racial resilience scale, and in Pilots 5-6, these response set is balanced of agree and disagree items. Implementing these changes will increase confidence that the measure is an indicator of higher racial resilience.

Regarding the psychometric properties of the racial resilience scale in pilot 3, there is a slightly lower internal consistency ($\alpha = .55$). However, there are gains in internal consistency

($\alpha=0.63$), when the item, *No one has said, “When There’s a Will, There’s a Way When I am Discouraged”* is removed. Thus, in future iterations of the scale, it is imperative that this item is removed as it is inversely related to the other items within the scale. However, at that point, improving the internal consistency of the scale would only incrementally (0.03) increase with the removal of another item.

Discriminant Validity

In pilot 3, I examined the correlation between placement on the racial resilience scale, and the two existing resilience scales: the 25 item Connor Davidson Resilience Scale (CD-RISC) and the 6 -item Brief Resilience Scale (BRS). As I laid out earlier in the chapter, the BRS is a condensed version of the 25 item CD-RISC. The CD-RISC is the elongated scale, that has sound psychometric properties, and has been tested across a variety of research samples, generally in the psychiatry and psychology field. Both scales assess the ability of an individual to “bounce back” however, they do not assess this capacity to bounce back as a function of a group experience, which the racial resilience scale is tailored to do.

Similarly, to properties in other studies, both the CD-RISC and BRS are internally consistent and reliable. In Pilot 3, both the CD-RISC has strong internal consistency ($\alpha=0.92$), as well as the BRS ($\alpha 0.86$). The CD-RISC is one of the best-known assessments for resilience, thus this high internal consistency is not surprising since it has gone through decades of testing and experimentation. In addition, the BRS is designed to capture the most fundamental items of the CD-RISC, which, it seems to do within this sample with fewer items. The internal consistency of these measures exceeds the values of a reliable scale that measures a uniform construct. The internal consistency of the CD-RISC exceeds the racial resilience scale, though, admittedly, I articulated the ways that it would benefit from improvement and fine-tuning.

Criterion Validity

Next, I compare the mean values of the CD-RISC, BRS, and the racial resilience scale. Comparing the CD-RISC to the original racial resilience scale provides evidence of nomological validity of the racial resilience scale. From assessing the mean values and correlations, I can compare the properties of the novel scale, to a more longstanding existing measure. For consistency, the standardized mean 0.77. The CD-RISC is 25 items, which, in total, sum to a 0-100 score. The BRS is averaged between 1 and 6. For the BRS scale, the average among African Americans in this sample is 3.3, which is slightly above the median, indicating a moderate amount of resilience. On the elongated CD-RISC scale, the average is 69/100. Among a general population sample of adults in the United States, the average score is about 80.7. Thus, like scores of the BRS, individuals also score lower than the reported averages. The comparison of means of the novel racial resilience scale is less comparable to the mean scores of existing generalized resilience scales.

Lastly, I compare the placement of individuals across the CD-RISC, BRS, and the Racial Resilience scale. To do this, I report the correlations of these items with one another. Since the BRS is a derivative of the CD-RISC, I expect this correlation would be higher, demonstrating that these scales are near identical. However, I expect weaker correlations between the CD-RISC scale and the racial resilience scale, and the BRS and the racial resilience scale. The Pearson's r correlation between the CD-RISC and the BRS is also high ($r = 0.62$). This suggests a moderate correlation between these two scales, which, in framework, assess the same latent concept. This correlation is weaker than the expected correlation, however, there are few reports (outside of those validating the use of the BRS scale as a condensed CD-RISC) of what the expected correlations between these two scales.

Next, I examine if, and how, racial resilience correlates with existing scales of psychological resilience. With the elongated CD-RISC scale, racial resilience is moderately correlated at 0.63, and the with the BRS, racial resilience is correlated slightly less correlated at 0.36. Thus, it is not the case that racial resilience is strongly correlated with existing psychological scales of resilience, and thus this is a bit of evidence that these two concepts have similarities but are distinct. Further improvement of the consistency and reliability of the racial resilience scale might better reveal the relationship between these constructs. Given this weakness, I hesitate against drawing a strong conclusion about these constructs being unrelated.

In Pilots 1-3, I gained three insights about the measurement of racial resilience. First, racial resilience measures operate with greater efficiency when the items have a consistent group reference African Americans, rather than include both references to African Americans as a group and individual attributes. Second, the racial resilience measure is less connected to being told different sayings about resilience. While this racial socialization may have influence on the formation of racial resilience, it is not suitable to be included in the measure. Finally, there is greater efficiency when each of the racial resilience items is on a consistent response set. Before implementing these changes in Pilot 5 and Pilot 6, I conducted a short experiment in manipulating the question wording across the two scales.

Pilot 4

Lastly, I examined the scale questions in Pilot 4. In this study, I implemented an experimentation within the question wording of the racial resilience items. The primary rationale behind this decision was to examine the extent to which African American respondents reacted more favorably to the scale with the group as a referential point, or with the individual as a referential point. In Pilot 4, I tested if it was plausible that by merely changing the question

wording of the existing Brief Resilience Scale (BRS), there are greater gains in efficiency compared to a unit change in the Slaughter Resilience Scale. This split wording has been done in the past in current testing while developing a psychological scale. In testing racial resentment, Sears and Henry (2003, 264) manipulated the standard general individualism items used by the National Election Study (Feldman, 1988). In a simple and mechanical way, Sears and Henry reworded each item by changing the reference from ‘people’ to ‘Blacks.’ I do the same by switching from an individual reference of ‘I’ within the question, to ‘African Americans’ in the both the Racial Resilience Scale, and the Brief Resilience Scale.

Table 3.7 shows the distribution of individuals who saw both the racial and individual wording of the Slaughter racial resilience scale. Respondents were randomized into seeing either wording version of each scale. About 11 individuals saw the racial wordings for both scales, and about 12 individuals saw the individual wordings for both scales. The remaining 29 saw a mix of both individual and racial wordings within the items. Table 3.7 shows these combinations.

As I have previously argued, the existing resilience scales were not conceptualized, designed, or measured with the attributes of the group in mind. However, the Brief Resilience Scale (Smith et. al. 2008) has nice psychometric properties, is internally consistent and reliable. For example, question wording adaptations changed the essence of the questions to read, *“African Americans have said “If There’s a Will, there’s a Way” as encouragement”* and *“No one has said to me “If There’s a Will, There’s a Way” as encouragement.* Reports of the question wording are in Appendix A.

This manipulation showed that racial group reference within the racial resilience question is the most effective wording to elicit agreement on the racial resilience items. Several points of evidence lead to this conclusion. First, in Table 3.8, the internal consistency of the racial

resilience scale is highest when Black Americans are the reference ($\alpha = 0.90$). Similarly, the Brief Resilience Scale has the greatest consistency when individual items are asked ($\alpha = 0.87$). If these values were like the individual, and racial items, respectively, it would be apparent that the group referenced in the wording required revision. The similar values demonstrates that even though greater internal consistency for the scale with modified Black BRS item wording, it is not as consistent as the individual BRS wording. Thus, the slight modification in the BRS wording may not capture African American resilience in the way that the racial resilience measure is designed. In addition, the mean values across all conditions were similar. This test also provides evidence of the nomological validity of the measure indicating that the novel measure of racial resilience is similar to the existing measure of resilience.

The experimental manipulation in Pilot 4 was important for several reasons. First, this exercise was helpful to ensure that the novel racial resilience scale was distinctly activating group-based considerations of the African American's resilience. Before Pilot 4, there were both individual and group-based references within the original racial resilience scale. This, in part, reflected the group-based and individual considerations of African Americans, which are often interchangeable. Yet, with this manipulation, I can speak with clarity and evidence that including the group-based considerations within the question wording is most appropriate for the face validity of the construct. Second, the experimental manipulation in Pilot 4 was important to establish a baseline expectation around the existing wording of the Brief Resilience Scale. Preliminary research from Pilots 2 and 3 indicates that altering the wording of the BRS from its original form renders it less consistent among a sample of African American respondents. While the racial group wording of the BRS positions it as more internally consistent than the original

racial resilience scale, it lacks the capacity to speak substantively to African Americans beliefs about their subjugation and triumph in the United States.

Drawing from the four pilots, it is evident that improvements are necessary to increase the reliability and validity of the original racial resilience scale. To speak generally about the quantitative properties of the racial resilience scale, as I have piloted across four independent surveys, the average placement on the original resilience scale has been above the midpoint, for both Blacks and Whites, for each iteration of the questionnaire. In speaking generally about the psychometric properties, the internal consistency of racial resilience scale ($\alpha > 0.50$), which demonstrates a moderate, but improvable, consistency. Experimental manipulation of the wording within the items suggest that it is best to ask the racial resilience scale, with African Americans included in the question wording.

Lastly, I examine the relationship between racial resilience and other concepts through a bivariate correlation of the items in the Racial Resilience Scale to other existing measures. By doing this, I speak to the nomological validity of the racial resilience items as compared to a reference point of the existing measures. I examine two concepts: linked fate and efficacy. In pilot 4, linked fate correlates with racial resilience with the group-based wording at only 0.07. This indicates an overall non-existent correlation among these two measures.

Table 3.7: Question Wording of Resilience Scales in the Pilot 4 Resilience Testing			
		Racial Resilience Scale	
Brief Resilience Scale		Individual	Racial
	Individual	n=12	n=14
	Racial	n=15	n=11

Table 3.7 Question Wording of Resilience Scales in the Pilot 4 Resilience Testing

Source: Pilot 4

Table 3.8 Internal Consistency Across Wording of Resilience Scales in the Pilot 4 Resilience Testing			
		Racial Resilience Scale	
Brief Resilience Scale		Individual	Racial
	Individual	$\alpha = 0.73$	$\alpha = 0.90$
	Racial	$\alpha = 0.87$	$\alpha = 0.70$

Table 3.8 Internal Consistency Across Wording of Resilience Scales in the Pilot 4 Resilience Testing

Source: Pilot 4

Pilots 5-6

In pilot 5, I tested an updated racial resilience scale (Version 2) in response to adjustments made over the first four pilots. These adjustments included 1) a firm recognition that racial resilience is group attribute, thus evaluations of racial resilience occur at the group level, 2) the inclusion of two additional items, increasing the scale from 6 items to 8 items, and 3) 7-point response scales for the outcome. However, focus of the scale remains intact with statements reflective of (1) Black Americans' perceptions of group-based hardship and (2)

collective triumph in the face of adversity. I struck to balance content relatable to Black economic subjugation, Black triumph, and Black coping including items that responses range from being affirmative, neutral, and negative. In total, I construct 28 items, which I narrowed to 8-items for the final version. However, in determining the most appropriate measure of racial resilience, I revisited prior, and conducted additional, research into the individual racial resilience items. To this end, I tested a variety of items that were balanced in valence, but also addressed the two factors I determined from Scale Version 1. The full set of items are included in Appendix B.

To evaluate which items were most appropriate to include into the racial resilience scale, I conducted several empirical tests to narrow the items from the unabridged list. The larger scale has very high internal consistency ($\alpha = .92$), and there is decent correlation between items. Figure 3.5 is the inter-item correlation matrix for each of the 28 items that were tested. The darker shades indicate a positive correlation, with deeper shades indicating a stronger relationship closer to 1. The lighter indicates a weaker correlation. I narrowed items with respect to their relationship as they varied together, and how they loaded onto the two components of racial resilience.

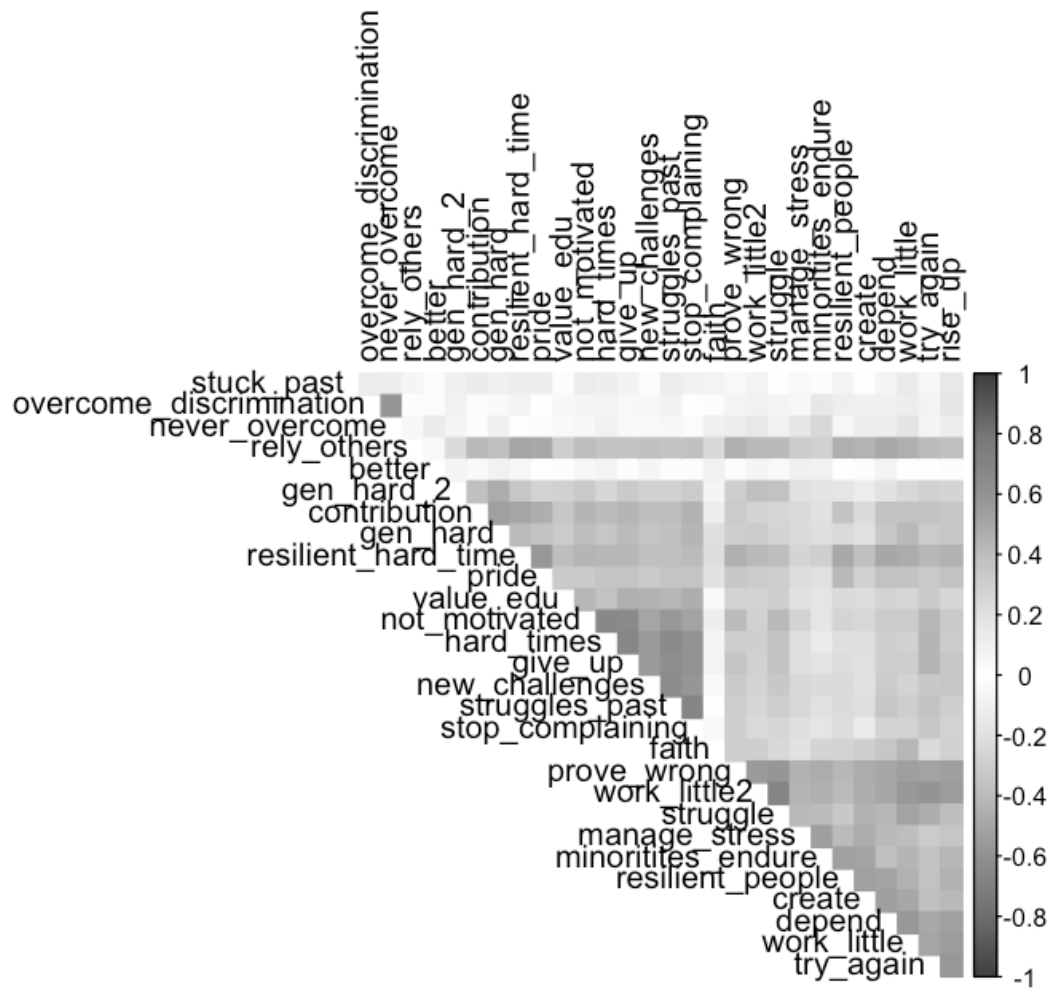


Figure 3.5 Correlation Matrix of Long Racial Resilience Scale

Source: Pilot 5

Table 3.9: Racial Resilience Scale Item Means, Valence, Subscale				
	Item Wording	Mean & SD	Valence	Subscale
1	Black people have experienced generations of hardship in the United States.	.92	+	BES
2	Even when Black people get knocked down, they get up and try again.	.89	+	Black Triumph
3	If only Black people stop complaining about how hard they have had it, they would be able to accomplish something in life.	.75	-	BES
4	Unlike other minorities, African Americans give up too easily when facing a hard task.	.86	+	BES
5	Generally speaking, African Americans are resilient to the hard times they have experienced.	.82	-	Black Triumph
6	Even though African Americans must work with very little, they always find ways to get it done.	.87	+	Black Triumph
7	Black people are a resilient group of people, more resilient than other minorities.	.65	-	Black Triumph
8	Black people always can create something for themselves when others depend on hand-outs.	.62	-	BES

Table 3.9 Racial Resilience Scale Item Means, Valence, Subscale

Note: The wording of the 8 selected items of the Racial Resilience scale Original cumulative values of responses range from 8- 56, and then are divided by the total number of items (8) for a composite score and standardized as 0-1.

Source: Pilot 5

Table 3.9 contains the items that represent the Racial resilience scale (scale version 2). This amended version o of the racial resilience scale has strong psychometric properties, including a high internal consistency ($\alpha = 0.78$). The higher value indicates that racial resilience measures a unified construct, which observes African Americans' unique characteristics. Of the 8-items of the racial resilience scale, four items load onto two sub-scales of (1) recognition of group-based economic subjugation and (2) orientation towards Black triumph in the face of adversity. Through a principal component analysis, I find the two sub-scales yield

a moderate relationship, Pearson $r = 0.60$. In Table 3.9, items 1, 3, 5, 8 correspond to the Black economic subjugation factor with loadings of 0.81, 0.81, 0.61, and 0.50, respectively. On the other hand, Items 2, 4, 6, and 7 correspond to the Black triumph factor with loadings of 0.81, 0.79, 0.63, 0.55 respectively. Items 4 and 8 are split in their loadings onto both factors, but I classify them where they have the greatest loading. However, throughout the remainder of this chapter, I utilize the full racial resilience scale rather than the two separate components.

I present a measure of racial resilience and its uniqueness to the African American experience in the United States compared to other racial and ethnic minorities. Question-wording and individual items mean values for the 8-items are presented in Table 3.9. To have a balanced scale, items 3, 5, and 8 are of negative valence, where a stronger disagreement indicates a greater perception of racial resilience. Items 1, 2, 4, 6, and 7 are of positive valence, and greater agreement indicates higher racial resilience. A histogram of the distribution of placement on the racial resilience scale is Figure 3.6, and the individual items frequencies are in **Error! Reference source not found..**

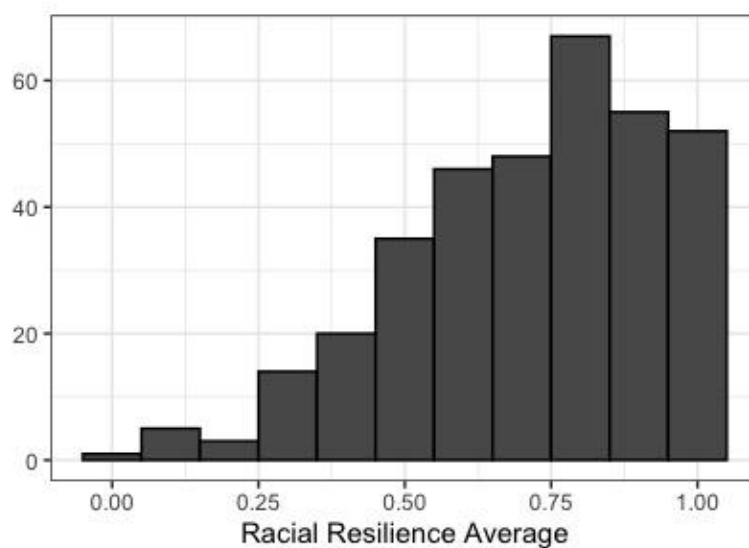


Figure 3.6 Distribution of Racial Resilience

Source: Pilot 5

Respondents are characterized as ‘lower resilience’ and ‘higher resilience’ due to their agreement with the racial resilience items. Respondents who are considered to have lower perceptions of racial resilience fall below the median (0.71), while values above the median exhibit higher perceptions of racial resilience. About 38% of respondents are considered to have lower perceptions of racial resilience and most respondents are classified as having a greater perception of racial resilience. When averaging responses to the scale, the mean value of resilience is 0.72 (sd = 0.17). The higher mean value and the higher median reveal important information about racial resilience as a psychological trait among African Americans. This indicates that, a greater share of more racially resilient individuals are included in the sample. The prevalence of racial sample, lending to believe that racial resilience is a trait common to African Americans. Distributions for each item are reported in **Error! Reference source not found.** and the mean values of each item are in Table 3.9.

The framework suggests that African Americans from an older generation (i.e., Boomers), Black women, and African Americans from a lower-class background, are higher in their perception of racial resilience. I did not find significant differences among African Americans from different socio-economic statuses ($\chi^2 = 13.6$, $p < .13$), or older age cohorts ($\chi^2 = 10.6$, $p < .09$). There are significant differences among Black men and women in their perception of racial resilience ($\chi^2 = 27.7$, $p < .01$). I explore these demographic differences, but also other areas of differentiation of racial resilience, in greater detail in the next chapter.

In addition, I examine the nomological validity of racial resilience to the Brief Resilience Scale (BRS) where there should be a linkage. I included a measure of psychological resilience in

Pilot 5, which, similar to racial resilience, has strong psychometric properties, including a higher internal consistency ($\alpha = 0.88$), and the is 0.66 (standard deviation = 0.22). The average of racial resilience is slightly lower compared to previous measurements of psychological resilience across prior studies. However, rarely is the resilience scale tested on a sample of African Americans in the United States. In addition, racial resilience is weakly correlated with individual resilience, Pearson $r = 0.21$, which is also less than in prior studies.

Overall, in Pilot 5, there is vast improvement of the racial resilience measure, its psychometric properties, and its detection of the underlying construct of racial resilience. By balancing the valence of the items, adding two items, removing the sayings, and revisiting the literatures that frame the intuition behind the measure, the second version of the scale has sound properties. When examining the discriminant validity of the scale, I find that racial resilience is not positively, associated with political alienation. On the other hand, there is convergent validity with the brief resilience scale and linked fate. However, these relationships are weaker. To ensure greater reliability of the racial resilience measure, I conducted an additional pilot to validate the second version of the scale.

Pilot 6

In pilot 6, I tested the same racial resilience items among a diverse sample of African American respondents. Less 10% of the African Americans in Pilot 5 could be recontacted to administer the racial resilience scale again, and slightly over 20% were re-contacted from previous pilot studies conducted on the Prolific online-survey platform. In total, there are 271 African American respondents. The goal of this pilot was to confirm the findings of pilot 5 in addition to exploring more areas where racial resilience has predictive validity.

Compared to the prior pilots, the distribution of racial resilience has a more normal distribution, which higher drop off at the highest level of resilience. In Figure 3.7, the distribution of the racial resilience measure in this study reveals that most individuals are near the mean value. Thus, in Pilot 6, there is a much more balanced placement on the racial resilience scale, which indicates improvement from the distribution in Pilot 5.

Figure 3.7 Distribution of Racial Resilience

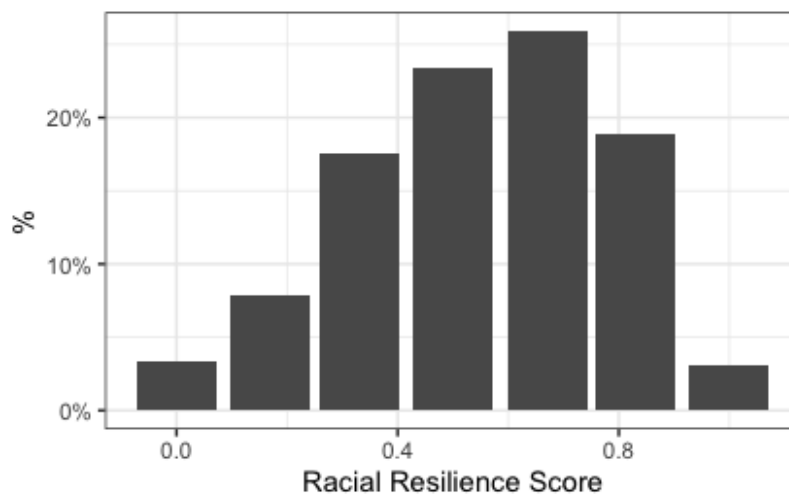


Figure 3.7 Distribution of Racial Resilience

Source Pilot 6

Next, I examine the attributes that are associated with the racial resilience scale. This is done to understand the relationship between racial resilience and similarly situated concepts. Figure 3.8 is the correlation matrix between the individual resilience items, the racial resilience scale average, the brief resilience scale average, linked fate, measures of group consciousness, and identity centrality measures. Given that racial resilience orbits in the family of the political science measures which have been used to understand Black political behavior, these items were

included to test the convergent validity of the measure. In addition, the brief resilience scale allows for the confirmation of the differences between racial resilience and other forms of resilience, which I demonstrated in Pilot 5, as well. As Figure 3.8 suggests, there are positive correlations between racial resilience and similarly situated concept. However, the correlations are modest to moderate. This is a positive signal that racial resilience is an observable construct, and it is not too closely related to existing measures. In addition, this affirms that racial resilience is a unique measure both to existing political science and psychology measures.

Figure 3.8

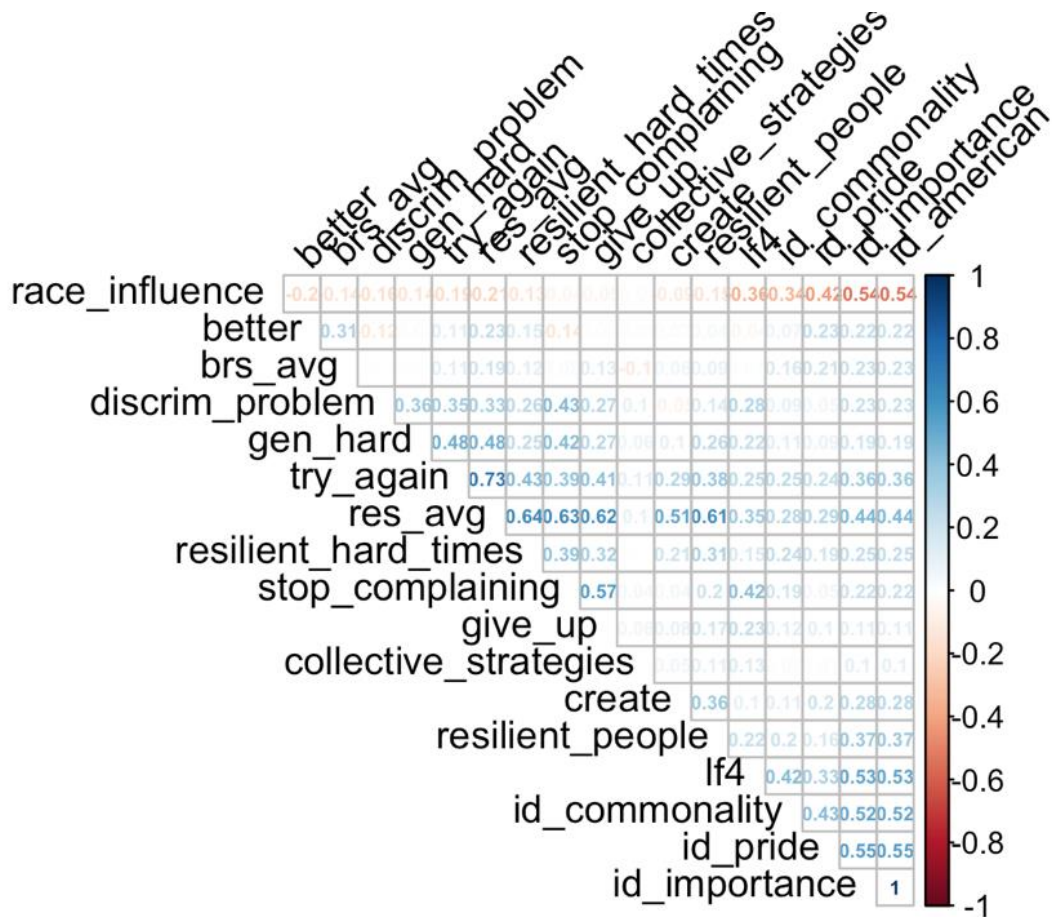


Figure 3.8 Correlation Matrix of Racial Resilience Items, Brief Resilience Scale, Identity Centrality, Linked Fate, and Group Consciousness Measures

Source: Pilot 6

In addition to the less skewed distribution of the racial resilience scale, and its comparability to existing measures, I explore the factor loadings of the racial resilience components. Table 3.10 are the results from a principal component analysis, where I examined how the components of economic subjugation, and orientation towards triumph operate. The first factor (RC1) includes items from the awareness of economic subjugation component, while the second factor (RC2) includes items from the orientation towards triumph component. It is worth mentioning that both the “Try Again” and the “Resilience to Hard times” items from the racial resilience scale, load

onto both factors. Given this discrepancy, I analyze racial resilience as a unified measure in in the remaining empirical chapters.

Table 3.10 Principal Component Analysis			
	item	RC1	RC2
give_up	3	0.81	
stop_complaining	2	0.81	
gen_hard	6	0.6	
try_again	7	0.51	0.4
create	4		0.8
resilient_people	5		0.79
work_little	8		0.63
resilient_hard_time	1	0.43	0.55
		RC1	RC2
SS	loadings	2.27	2.18
Proportion	Var	0.28	0.27
Cumulative	Var	0.28	0.56
Proportion	Explained	0.51	0.49
Cumulative	Proportion	0.51	1

Table 3.10 Principal Component Analysis of Racial Resilience Scale

Source: Pilot 6

Returning to examining racial resilience as a unitary measure, I look at the internal consistency of the items when grouped together, as intended. The different metrics that evaluate internal consistency are in Table 3.11. The results demonstrate that racial resilience has a higher internally consistency ($\alpha = 0.72$). Table 3.12 indicates that this value does not shift tremendously if one of the items were dropped. This alpha is much higher than in prior pilot studies. In many ways, this demonstrates an improvement of the racial resilience scale through the iterative data collection process. In addition, the values indicate that across varying sample sizes of African Americans, there remains consistency in the evaluation of racial resilience.

Table 3.11 Cronbach's alpha and Guttman's Lambda 6					
raw_alpha	std.alpha	G6(smc)	average_r	S/N	median_r
0.72	0.72	0.75	0.25	2.6	0.28

Table 3.11 Cronbach's alpha and Guttman's Lambda 6

Source: Pilot 6

Table 3.12 Reliability if an item is dropped:							
	Raw Alpha	Standard Alpha	G6(smc)	average_r	S/N	var.r	med.r
resilient_hard_times	0.66	0.66	0.7	0.22	2	0.04	0.23
stop_complaining	0.68	0.68	0.69	0.23	2.1	0.027	0.28
give_up	0.68	0.68	0.7	0.23	2.1	0.033	0.28
create	0.72	0.72	0.74	0.27	2.6	0.038	0.31
resilient_people	0.68	0.68	0.71	0.23	2.1	0.04	0.28
gen_hard	0.69	0.69	0.72	0.24	2.2	0.038	0.23
try_again	0.65	0.65	0.68	0.21	1.8	0.037	0.22
better	0.77	0.77	0.78	0.32	3.3	0.018	0.36

Table 3.12 Reliability if an item is dropped

Source: Pilot 6

In the evidence from Pilot 6, the measure of racial resilience has improved from past studies. In addition, there are consistent patterns between Pilots 5 and 6, which suggest that racial resilience has high test-retest reliability. In addition, the psychometric properties of the racial resilience scale are robust, and replicability. Further, I confirmed that while racial resilience may have two components, additional work is needed to explain how these two factors can be measured. In the principal component analysis, it is not as straightforward since two items load onto both factors. While the inclusion of additional factors may reduce these mixed findings, substantively if there is a third component to racial resilience, it has yet to be named or theorized. Given the relatively higher internal consistency of the measure, it is safe to move forward of measurement as a

unified construct. Further, in this pilot, racial resilience was compared to existing and similarly situated measures, where I detected moderate relationships. Overall, the results of pilot 6 indicates that the final measurement of racial resilience is sufficient to include as a predictor of behaviors for the purpose of this study.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I moved racial resilience from the abstract into a measured and vetted construct. In order to understand the implications of racial resilience, first it needed measurement. This chapter has presented the steps taken to develop the measure. The measure of racial resilience is intent to having meaning, and thus there were several steps taken to ensure that the measurement mapped appropriately onto the concept. Taken together, the findings in this chapter reflect the data collection process that led to the formation of the racial resilience measure.

The goal of this chapter was to create a measure of a novel concept of racial resilience. I demonstrated empirically how the novel measure of racial resilience diverges from existing measures of resilience in social and personality psychology. Lastly, through reporting differences in means, frequencies of individual items, and psychometric properties of the initial racial resilience items across four pilots, I demonstrated that racial resilience is an observable concept among African Americans. I also explored the components of racial resilience. In Chapter 2, I outlined that racial resilience comprised of both a recognition and orientation. First, I outlined that the subjugation component captured how an individual must recognize the past experiences of adversity among African Americans. Second, I outlined that given this experience, they must also be oriented towards triumph. However, in the analysis of the scale, these components were not rigid factors of racial resilience. There was support that most items reflected this

classification, however, there were other item which failed to load completely on their relevant factor. From this, I analyze the scale as a unified measure.

In this chapter, I presented results from six pilot studies that I undertook to develop the measure. I relied on the insights from Pilots 1-4 to revamp the measure of racial resilience which I tested in Pilots 5-6. After each pilot study, I detailed what was learned leading up to the final question wording, response item set, and item valence. It is important to mention that in each pilot study, the order of the racial resilience items was randomized to prevent acquiescence bias on the final items of the scale. Through six pilot studies, it became apparent that the racial resilience measure required explicitly mention to African Americans, broad mention to the experience of adversities – and not economic adversity alone. In addition, the measure was best suited among African American respondents, as compared to both Black and White Americans. Third, it was apparent after scale version 1 that racial socialization messages of resilience were not pertinent to the racial resilience measure.

In the next chapter, I take up the question of what, if any, demographic differences exist among individuals with higher racial resilience. This is done to understand if there are any differences among the racially resilient, which may influence having higher or lower levels. I expect that if there any differences among African Americans, these are differences by gender, generation, class, and region. I explore each of these possibilities using regressions and descriptive analysis. Overall, I find that there are no major differences between African Americans on the factors that are most associated with the development of racial resilience.

In Chapter 5, I examine the predictive validity of the scale. In doing this, I test whether racial resilience is associated with non-electoral forms of political participation in the ways that I hypothesized in the *responses to adversity* framework in Chapter 2. There is a high predictive

validity of the racial resilience scale, as it is associated with political behavioral outcomes. I examine this relationship over pilots 5 and 6, but also a larger more representative dataset.

This chapter outlines a replicable manner to develop a scale of racial resilience. There are several important contributions of having a distinct measure of racial resilience which can be applied across various social and political surveys. Furthermore, the process can be applied to the study of other groups. However, it is less clear if the measures from the racial resilience scale can generalize to non-Black marginalized groups. To develop the measure, in the first section of the chapter I detailed the qualitative inquiry, interviews, and content analysis which led to generating the initial set of racial resilience items. The importance of measure of the racial resilience scale is that it maps onto the meaning of racial resilience. In this chapter, I have outlined the process of developing a measure of racial resilience tailored to group specific characteristics and traits. This sets up for examining the outcomes associated with this novel and original measure.

Chapter 4 Demographics of Racial Resilience

Introduction

In an interview, former President Barack Obama said, *'I want young folks to embrace the adversity that they may experience, because it's going to give you more grit, more understanding of what you can get through, what you can overcome.'*¹³ This very much embodies the politics of resilience, and the connection between adversity and resilience is apparent in his spoken word, and particularly the subject of his commentary. However, it raises an equally important question about *who* is racially resilient, and who is not. Obama targeted his words to young people of African descent. If this message resembles any other messages from Obama to African American youth, it coincides with a push to accept greater responsibility for their upward mobility (Price 2016). Younger African Americans lack the first-hand experience of the Civil Rights movement, and thus may need several reminders that adversity is commonplace in the African American experience (Harris 2006). Does this lead older African Americans to possess racial resilience more than their younger counterparts?

Given the cleavages in African Americans' socialization experiences based on several demographics and institutional affiliations, we should expect that certain African Americans have a higher propensity of racial resilience as compared to others who lack these attributes. In this chapter, I examine the social determinants of racial resilience among African Americans. Like the inferences about racial resilience which are drawn from President Obama's quote above, one might intuitively expect that resilience wavers and is more expressed among certain intra-racial social

¹³ See the full article and the quote pull. <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-9017835/Obama-wants-young-black-Americans-embrace-adversity-face-grit.html>

group. Age, or generational cohort status, is one demographic characteristic of African Americans where we might suspect differences. In many areas of political attitudes and racial attitudes, there are stark differences in adherence among age cohort (DeSante and Smith 2020; Smith, Bunyasi, and Smith 2019). Other categories of demographic difference are important to political and racial attitudes, such as racial resilience. For instance, Simien demonstrates that African American are increasingly divided in gender with respect to linked fate, where African American women with stronger gender identification are less attached to their racial identity (Simien 2005).

Alternatively, is racial resilience more prevalent among African Americans of a higher socio-economic status?. A quarter of African Americans in the United States live in poverty, thus, should we find that individuals with a first-hand experience of economic scarcity are more resourceful than those with greater income, and status? In a similar vein, income status in the United States is correlated with geographic location. Wealth concentration among African Americans is demarcated by region (Darity, Addo, and Smith 2020; D. Hamilton 2009; Hamilton, Easley, and Dixon 2018; Muñoz et al. 2015). Are higher levels of racial resilience more bound to certain geographic regions – such as the American south where the majority of African Americans remain after enslavement and Jim Crow? The questions surrounding the demographic correlates of racial resilience are important to understand how the racial resilience is distributed within African Americans in the United States.

In addition to demographic characteristics, there are institutional affiliations where racial resilience may wax or wane. Black Americans do not exist within a vacuum in the United States and neither does the maintenance of their racialized identities. African American identity and socialization is developed in Black-centered public spaces, such as Black churches, Black social networks, Black educational institutions, where African Americans have curated a unique cultural

experience. Consistent with the racialized social constraint mechanism of Black political behavior (White and Laird 2020), participation in Black institutions strengthens Black identity. Many aspects of political identity, including the development of racial resilience, occurs in predominately Black spaces (Harris-Perry 2004). African Americans more present in these indigenous Black spaces or counter publics may have greater racial resilience compared to African Americans that lack engagement in predominately Black institutions. To this end, in this chapter, I thoroughly examine racial resilience's empirical connection to institutional factors. Understanding where racial resilience is fostered for African Americans explains how some individuals exhibit higher or lower levels of racial resilience.

In Chapter 3, I detailed the construction and the development of racial resilience scale which is the empirical assessment of racial resilience. While the measure of racial resilience is novel to the study of politics, and lacks a strongly associated measure, existing concepts of African American attributes relative to politics to provide greater intuition of how racial resilience is a useful measure. I demonstrated how racial resilience characterizes African American's awareness of subjugation and their orientation towards triumph. I presented findings regarding the psychometric quantitative properties of the final version of the scale. The previous chapter empirically established the origins of the measure, while this chapter takes a theoretical and empirical approach to investigating the demographic, and attitudinal correlates of racial resilience.

This chapter investigates the factors that shape African American's racial resilience. I examine which facets of the Black community exhibit greater perceptions of racial resilience. I examine the African American's demographic characteristics and political predispositions associated with racial resilience across the initial and final version of the racial resilience scale in Pilots 1 through 6. I find that racial resilience is associated with a host of demographic, attitudinal,

institutional affiliations, and political predispositions. Demographically, I find that women have a higher mean level of racial resilience compared to their male counterparts. Also, I find racial resilience is associated with higher levels of education, but not income. With respect to attitudes, I find that African Americans with a greater sense of linked fate are also more racially resilient, as compared to those that with lower levels of linked fate. Politically, I do not find significant differences between the ideological backgrounds or partisan identities. This evidence suggests that the socialization from Black institutions of messages and cues shape how African Americans respond differentially to adversity.

Distinctions in the Formation of Black Political Identity and Attitudes

Even cohesive social groups have relevant intra-group distinctions, cleavages, and wedges. Even while group solidarity is an integral facet of a politicized group identity (Carmichael and Hamilton 1992), African Americans have different political experiences as a result of their age, gender, socio-economic status, and region of residence. While Black identity, and race, more generally is a meta-language where individuals interpret their interactions in the world (Higginbotham 1992), and are categorized by others (Tajfel 1974), there are intersections with other identities which alter racialized experiences (Crenshaw 1989). Building up to examining demographic differences among African Americans, I outline how class, gender, generation, and region exert influence on Black political identity and attitude formation in prior research.

Class

Limited evidence exists to support mass class-based differences among African Americans. However, African Americans are divided by class in their reactions to and experiences of political and social events (W. J. Wilson 1987). Wilson postulates that African American's weakening

racial ties is motivated by their burgeoning class consciousness which leads to a different perspective on social and political issues. Dawson (1994) examines the minimal influence of class when the enduring impact of race consistently shapes Black American's life chances. Consistent with his expectations, Dawson does not find meaningful class differences among Black voters who have a stronger sense of 'linked fate.' The Black utility heuristic eliminates any temptation that a higher earning African American might have because the evaluations of the group status are more relevant for politics than individual status. In this regard, the Black utility heuristic forestalls meaningful class differences among Black Americans.

Alternatively, Tate (1994) finds that even though Blacks are united politically by race, Blacks are also divided by class (p. 21). This division among African Americans has long been theorized at least going back to earlier sociologist accounts, such as Frazier (1965) originally in 1957, the *Black Bourgeoisie* study of middle – class African Americans disdain for prototypical Black behaviors and DuBois (1899) *The Philadelphia Negro* examining how class status influence shaped life chances for Black Americans in the city (Du Bois, Anderson, and Eaton 1996). Quantitative research that includes substantial differences by class is also limited, as many political scientists only look to socioeconomic status as a control variable rather than explicitly examined differences in attitudes by class status.

However, outside of the study of political attitudes, it is known that middle-class Black Americans are treated much differently than lower-class Black Americans (Pattillo 2010; Pattillo 2000). Studies that focus on the attitudes and behaviors of lower class African Americans, nearly exclusively focus on poor African Americans, even though the majority of African Americans are not poor (Darity, Addo, and Smith 2020; Pattillo 2005; Pattillo 2000). Despite upward economic, mobility, wealth disparities among African Americans lurks in the background shaping their

economic prosperity. Thus, scholarly attention to African Americans' class status and political behavior largely follows Dawson's (1994) finding that class differences are trumped by racial identity.

Gender

Gender is also a salient category of difference among African Americans. Black women, relative to Black men, are doubly disadvantaged at the intersection of their race and gender (Githens and Prestage 1977). Gender also examined as a control variable, rather than an analytic category of interest when examining Black Americans attitudes towards politics. Many scholars of race and gender examine Black women to their female counterparts rather than examining Black women to their male counterparts. Thus, differences between Black women and Black men are relatively underexamined in the extent to which they vary systemically.

Black feminist political scientists have explored the unique political attitudes of Black women (Prestage 1991; Simien 2006; Smooth 2006; Brown 2014). Prestage (1991) catalogs the historical periods – pre-emancipation, reconstruction, post-reconstruction to World War II, and the second reconstruction - that have distinguished the political plight of Black women in the United States. The distinct experiences of Black women bare out in the intra-racial politics between Black men and women. Black men have more high-profile social roles and rapid advancement in society relative to Black women. Simien (2005) demonstrates that Black male issues dominate the rhetoric of Black issues, which isolates issues facing Black women. Simien and Clawson (2004) identify how African American men have lower rates of Black feminist consciousness than Black women. Black men possess a heightened racial identification as compared to Black women, because their lived experiences prioritized as race. Black male patriarchy, in this regard, diminishes how Black women's experiences are relevant for the advancement of the race overall.

Several scholars have noted the conditions under which Black women have higher levels of racial consciousness relative to their levels of gendered consciousness (Gay and Tate 1998; Wilcox 1996). Examining the tenants of consciousness, group identification, system blame, collective action, and power discontent, Wilcox (1996) finds that Black women possess both a racial and gendered consciousness. Black women with heightened dual consciousness were raised in highly educated families, and more frequently attend church services. Gay and Tate (1998) revisit feminist consciousness a period where women's empowerment in the business and political world rose dramatically. However, still, during the 1990s, Black women's preferences are more aligned with their racial consciousness as compared to a gendered consciousness, particularly as it pertains to policies that redress racial inequality (pg. 179). Competing examinations of race or gender confirm the salience of racial identification as powerfully shaping Black Americans' assessment of their identity.

Thus, it is expected that gender is a relevant identification for understanding differences in racial resilience among Black people. Select studies have documented how Black women have fostered resilience amongst themselves. Dale and Safren (2018) demonstrate that Black women living with HIV/ AIDS rely on family, children, friends and peers and partners for formal and informal support networks in the aftermath of traumatic events as a resilience resource. Indeed, Blacks women's social networks have served as a source of support for various facets of life, including in the realm of generating political information and political participation (R. K. Brown and Brown 2003; Farris and Holman 2014; Liu, Austin, and Orey 2009). Even more, generally studies of psychological resilience focus on African American women, as compared to the broader Black community (Todd and Worell 2000; Laditka, Murray, and Laditka 2010; van Wormer, Sudduth, and Jackson 2011).

Generation

Generational status captures the socialization experiences major social events that vary over time. Much of the research on the differential socializing experiences for African Americans is levied towards the Civil Rights Movement of the 1930s to 1960s, and the Black Power Movement of the 1970s which followed (Morris, Hatchett, and Brown 1989). Sears and McConahay (1970) show age differences in the impact of the Watts riots (1965) on Black American's racial socialization towards other groups that experience less inequality. Harris (2006) argues that the collective memory of the Civil Rights Movement operationalized through the recall of specific traumatic events among African Americans is associated with views toward the effective types of collective action. Overall, all groups have greater memory of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, followed by the Brown v. Board of Education decision, and the Emmitt Till murder, and the Scottsboro Boy Trials. However, older African Americans (over the age of 65) had the greatest recall of these events.

In addition, racial socialization varies by generational status. The majority of studies on generational differences examine racial attitudes among Whites to a changing ethnic America, finding differences among younger Whites and older Whites (Schildkraut and Marotta 2018). With respect to Black Americans, Nunnally (2010) finds that sources of socialization vary across generations. While family is the primary source of African American socialization for all cohorts, other forms of socialization agents vary across generational cohort groups. In addition, Simien (2005) finds that age is positively correlated with racial identification among African Americans, with older African Americans embracing linked fate more than younger African Americans. Smith (2014) and Smith, Bunyasi, and Smith (2019) examine generational differences among African

Americans regarding racial inequality and linked fate. In both accounts, differences emerge in how generational cohorts perceive their ties toward other African Americans.

Generational cohort status factors into the variation of racial resilience by age. Mannheim's theory of generational identity (1952[1928]) argued that respondents' age structured their recall of important national and world events over the past 50 years. African Americans with a more vivid recollection of African American subjugation and hardship may be more entuned to racial resilience, as compared to those with greater distance between these experiences. However, more recent research has found that perceptions of the #BlackLivesMatter movement waver by generational cohort. For example, older African Americans are more supportive of the #BlackLivesMatter movement as compared to younger African Americans (Board et al. 2020). Given a rise in the protests as a result of police killings of un-armed African American men, the current socialization experiences may drive Black attitudes towards recognition of group-based triumph. Generational status serves as a proxy for socialization experiences which ultimately factor into evaluations of racial resilience.

Geography and Region

Black Americans differ by their region of residence, and residence in an urban or rural environment. The Southern United States – including Texas, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, Maryland, Louisiana, Virginia, South Carolina, Alabama, and Mississippi -- stewarded much of the country's toil around the enslavement of African Americans. The White South has a commitment to upholding racial oppression and the subjugation of African Americans through informal systems such as Jim Crow, and formal suppression of African Americans through 'white primaries', and other limits to political enfranchisement and economic opportunity (Hood III, Kidd, and Morris

2012). Given the unique political culture of the South (Key 1984[1949]; Matthews and Prontho 1966), African Americans living in the region may possess a greater awareness of the triumph of the group in the region, specifically the group's racial progress.

Given the concentration of African Americans in the South of the United States, one might expect that geography and region are important factors in shaping Black attitudes and self-perceptions about racial resilience. Wilcox (1996) finds that Black women who reside in the South are less likely to have a higher racial consciousness as compared to Black women living in urban areas. Experiences of concentrated poverty especially in the rural south (Wright Austin 2006) is influential towards political efficacy expressed by Black residents in the region. In addition, experiences of empowerment were influential towards activism of Black service members in the post-war south (Parker 2009b). For these reasons, African Americans in the South are expected to have a differential perception of racial resilience as compared to non-Southerners.

Variation in Individual Resilience by Race, Class, Generation and Region

In a similar way that difference by race, class and gender exist regarding Black political attitudes and identity formation, similar contours are expected as influenced by the literature on the factors associated with individual resilience drawn from the psychology literatures

Earlier accounts of individual resilience using psychological scales as a measure to quantify resilience, focused on the average effects among less diverse, but nationally representative or convenience (i.e., students) samples which lacked sufficient cases to detect differences across demographics. Accounts of individual resilience viewed it as a personality trait, thus individual differences are presumed to be rooted by person type emphasizing person-to-person differences rather than those marked by demographics characteristics (Bonanno and Diminich 2013). Broadly, in order to streamline the thinking around the role of resilience as a response to adversity of various

kind, it is generally agreed that the differences in individual resilience are reflective of “different processes” as resilience is a normative experience (Roisman 2005b). Only a small minority of scholars who study resilience classify it as an “innate” trait embedded in all individuals regardless of the diversity in experiences (Kelley 2005).

First, individual resilience has distinctions by sex (Raghavan and Sandanapitchai 2019; Fallon et al. 2020; Hirano 2020). Given that men and women utilize different coping strategies to adversity, the response as resilience is also differentiated (Ong et al. 2006). One primary way to characterize this gap is through the ideological orientation to dealing with adversity, where men are more individualistic, and women are more collectivist, in dealing with challenges relying on their support systems (Sneed et al. 2006). In addition, women's socialization to life hardship differs from men. Thus, when resilience is an outcome measure, men and women score different, with distinct effects occurring at different points in the life course (i.e., childhood, emerging adulthood, and as elders).

Second, scholars have examined differences in resilience by age (Gooding et al. 2012; M. Cohen, Baziliansky, and Beny 2014; Hayman, Kerse, and Consedine 2017; Netuveli et al. 2008). Key findings from this research indicates that aging is correlated with increased resilience given that an abundance of life experiences and recovering to those experiences are relevant for adaptation to adversity. However, studies of resilience also examine children’s capacity to be resilient, especially in publicly funded schools. A similar concept to resilience, grit, also focuses on inner-city school-aged children in under-resourced schools (Duckworth 2016). However, it is worth mentioning here, as I have elsewhere, that age is an imperfect proxy measure for generational experiences. While there are few studies that compare generational differences in individual resilience, it is reasonable to expect that the awareness of collective adversity have

differential influence varies across age. For instance, historians have characterized resilience post-Great Depression in America of adults as they are distinct from children and older Americans (Boyd 2017; Stull 2013; Ray 2011; Mihm 2019).

Lastly, differences in resilience are expected to emerge across regions. Many of the studies that examine differences across geography and urban rural context use region as a proxy for cultural differences across the globe— or within the United States to examine differences by race as they intersect with region (Boyd 2017; Brody et al. 2013; Hill, Maslow, and Chung 2016). Boyd finds that resilience differs between African Americans who relocated to the North and Midwest during the waves of the Great Migration, compared to those that remain in the southern Black metropolis (Boyd 2017). Thus, conditions present in the different geographic and residential environments can influence an individual's levels of resilience.

Racial Resilience Contours by Class, Gender, Generation, and Region

In this section, I state the testable expectations regarding the profile of who I expect will be more likely to have greater racial resilience. First, given that racial resilience is principally concerned about persevering through hardships and adversity, I expect that Black Americans with lower incomes, relative to their higher income counterparts will have a greater perception of the racial resilience. Second, given the extent to which adverse experiences are precursor to racial resilience, I expect gender to shape how Black women and Black men have varying levels of racial resilience. While Black men are at the forefront of receiving attention from movements for racial justice, such as the #BlackLivesMatter movement, the broader movement itself is the vision of Black women organizers, as well as its female leadership in cities. Thus, Black women's

orientation towards triumph in social movements positions them to have a stronger racial resilience as compared to Black men.

Third, given the extent that racial resilience is predicated on the awareness of African American subjugation in the United States, I expect that older Black Americans, relative to their younger counterparts, will have greater perceptions of racial resilience. Experiences of socialization vary by generational cohort, older African American have witnessed more subjugation and triumph as compared to those that are younger, on average.

Finally, given African American's residential concentration in the South, I expect that Black Southerners have greater perceptions of racial resilience compared to other regions. With the overwhelming religious culture of the South – and the role of African Americans in maintaining that higher level of religiosity, distinct from other regions, I expect that residence in a southern state is positively associated with racial resilience. Another influence of southern residence may be drawn from religious socialization of Black Americans connection to the region of the South through historically Black churches. I expect that the socialization of the historical Black church, and the community resources embed in the church is associated with higher levels of racial resilience.

Intersectionality and African American Racial Resilience and Identity

At the risk of undermining my expectations on the independent effects of class, gender, generation, and region on racial resilience, for African Americans, each of these individual characteristics are interconnected in ways that are important to recognize and theorize (Davis 1981). For many African Americans, the salience of each demographic is not expressed in isolation. However, empirically distinguishing the impacts of gender from generation and class

from region is complicated. Even more, Black women living in the deep south may have few commonalities in their association to Black identity than Black women living in the west. This forces the researcher to make choices around which interactions are explored in the data, and which theoretically are linked to racialized experiences. Simien (2005) argues that to ‘ignore the simultaneous effects of race and gender is to obscure the complexity of multiple group identity, cross pressures, and the hierarchy on interests within Black community’ (pg. 546). I examine the intra-group demographics differences *within* African Americans, I do so to recognize the complexity of Black attitudes and culture, which are overlooked for the sake of parsimony.

Data

To examine the demographic correlates of racial resilience, using data from each pilot study, I examine the prevalence of racial resilience. I examine the pilots together and independently.¹⁴ Overall, there are mixed findings around the demographics such as generation, class status, and gender are associated with varying levels of racial resilience.

In Table 4.1, I examine demographic distributions in each pilot. I present the relative frequencies for all demographics that were included consistently across the 5 studies. The composition of the pilot studies resemble convenience studies more so than probability-based sample. It is important to understand the stark differences in sample composition before making any inferences about how they do or do not relate to racial resilience. Table 4.1 shows that each pilot has distinct characteristics, which hinders the ability to make broad inferences about racial resilience without specific attention to the underlying qualities of the sample.

¹⁴ I exclude Pilot 4 since it was an experiment on wording of the racial resilience items. Also, income percentages for pilot 1 are insufficient as question was not asked directly to respondents.

A few demographic characteristics of respondents in the pilots are worth mentioning. I placed age, education, and income into quartiles. For age, the smallest portion of respondents across all pilots are drawn from the oldest category, generally representing individuals over the age of 50. Pilots 2, 3, and 5 have a large proportion of individuals with a bachelors or an advanced degree. With respect to income, proportions across quartiles are relatively balanced except for the first pilot, where only 6% of individuals report having a college degree.

For other demographic characteristics, most survey respondents are female. Except for the first pilot, the ratio of women to men is more closely reflective of what one might find in a representative study. When examining regions, all the respondents from the first pilot reside in the South. With exception of the second pilot, most of all respondents reside in one of the 10 Southern states. With regards to education, most respondents were from a more educated background, holding an undergraduate degree or more. However, a constant picture of the African American population in the US is the discrepancy between income and education. With exception of Pilots 1 and 6, it is the case that most of the respondents are well educated, however, the income quartiles show that they are not higher earners. Consistent with the profile of most online convenience opt-in studies, most of the samples are not homeowners. The employment status of individuals who participated in the studies wanes overtime. In Pilots 1 and 2, the majority of the sample were employed, however at the time of the third pilot, the majority were unemployed. This may reflect of the shifting demographics in online panels as a result of the endurance of the COVID-19 global pandemic impacting the nation's unemployment rate. Given that education, income, homeownership, and employment gauge the role of socioeconomic status for African Americans, I include a subjective social class status to better understand individual's assessment of their own positioning within the socio-economic hierarchy. From the breakdown of the subjective social

class measure over the five pilots, it is evident that the bulk of respondents view themselves as working class or middle class. However, it is the case that a non-trivial number of individuals report that they identify with the lower class. Lastly, I hypothesized that racial resilience may hold greater traction among individuals who are more religious as compared to those who are more secular. I include an imperfect measure of this, through using church attendance as a proxy for socialization within the Black faith tradition. I find that across the five pilots, most of the respondents do not attend church services frequently, and some individuals do not attend church at all.

The demographics of the respondents in Table 4.1 highlight the uniqueness of the composition of the pilot studies. Further, self-reported demographic data often raises concerns. When sourcing individuals into the studies, I drew from a sample of African Americans which reflected the population at large. In addition, weighting individual demographics to their targets within the African American population might severely skew the data, that the inferences drawn from these data are distorted. Overall, I present the demographics of the pilot studies to best understand how the results on racial resilience throughout the dissertation may reflect the unique populations sampled instead of a probability-based sample.

Table 4.1 Demographics of Pilot Studies						
	Pilot 1	Pilot 2	Pilot 3	Pilot 5	Pilot 6	Overall
	<i>n</i> = 319	n = 136	n = 175	n = 448	n = 458	N = 1436
Age						
Quartile 1	13.5	22.6	36	30	24.8	34.7
Quartile 2	32.6	48.4	36	30.7	38.6	31.483
Quartile 3	26	25	20.6	26.4	24.8	12.1
Quartile 4	27.9	4	7.4	12.9	11.8	13.6
Gender						
Male	25.1	41.9	41.7	38.6	38.5	36.2
Female	74.9	58.1	58.3	61.4	61.5	63.8
Region						
South	100	41.1	61.7	56.9	54.8	65.2
Non-South	0	58.9	38.3	43.1	45.2	34.8
Education						
Quartile 1	9.1	8.8	13.1	4.5	13.1	7.5
Quartile 2	19.1	8.1	22	15.8	45	21.8
Quartile 3	47	32.4	23	39.3	31	30.8
Quartile 4	24.8	50.7	41.1	40.4	10.9	39.9
Income						
Quartile 1	5	20.6	32.8	28.6	27.9	24.7
Quartile 2	35.6	28.3	24	32.4	28.5	30.5
Quartile 3	52.8	26.1	24.8	15.8	21	24.6
Quartile 4	6.7	25	18.4	23.2	22.6	20.2
Homeowner						
No	53.9	56.2	57.1	62	61.7	59
Yes	46.1	43.8	42.9	38	38.3	41
Employed						
No	36.1	47.1	62.9	62	59.2	54.4
Yes	63.9	52.9	37.1	38	40.8	45.6
Subjective Social Class						
Lower	16	11.3	16.6	17.9	19.3	17.1
Working	34.5	48.4	43.4	48.2	48	44.5
Middle	47.3	38.7	38.9	32.1	31.3	36.7
Upper	2.2	1.6	1.1	1.8	1.4	1.7
Church Attendance						
Never	53.9	87	88.6	84.8	75.1	76.1
More than once a month	46.1	13	11.4	15.2	24.9	23.9

Table 4.1 Select Demographics Across Pilot Studies

Note: Age, Education, and Income are quartiles for consistency and comparison. Cell values are percentages. Overall column values may not sum to 1 due to rounding.

Source Pilot 1, Pilot 2, Pilot 3, Pilot 5, Pilot 6

Understanding the skewness of data collected through online opt-in panels, I conducted multiple studies of the racial resilience measure. In addition to differences that may exist due to the events surrounding the time of data collection, I also revised the racial resilience scale throughout the data collection process. In Figure 4.1, I examine differences in mean levels of resilience across each version of the scale. In Pilots 1-3, I utilized the Scale Version 1, and Pilots 5-6, I utilized Scale Version 2. Evidenced by the distributions of the scales, it is apparent that many African Americans are higher in racial resilience, hovering around the 0.80 mark. Indeed, the mean value of racial resilience within the first three pilots is 0.77 (sd = 0.19), while for the pilots 5 and 6, it is 0.74 (sd = 0.19). The higher mean value of racial resilience contributes to its imbalanced spread, with most cases clustered around the mean, and towards the highest end of the racial resilience distribution. For this exercise of understanding the demographic underpinnings of racial resilience, I rely on the average score on the racial resilience scale, across versions.

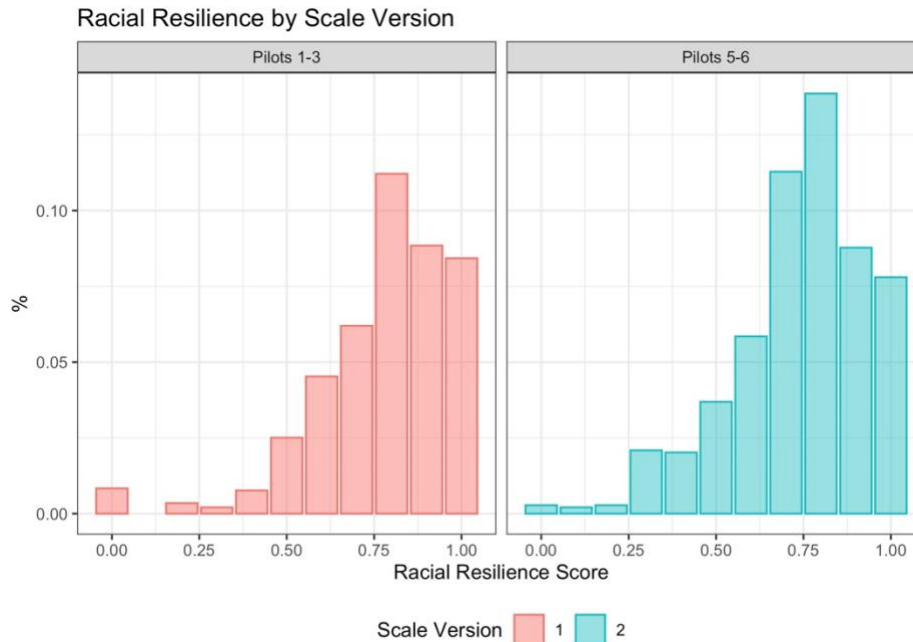


Figure 4.1 Racial Resilience by Scale Version

Evidenced by the characteristics of the sample and the similarity in the distributions of the racial resilience measure across the two scales, it is now plausible to examine what factors are associated with racial resilience. To do this, I examine racial resilience as an outcome measure using the key demographic variables as predictors of racial resilience. In Table 4.2, I examine the broader trends about the association between racial resilience and demographic factors across all the studies in a pooled model. Later in the chapter, I examine differences within each pilot to capture nuance which may be overlooked within pooled analyses. Recall, I am primarily interested in the role of class, generation, and gender. As a proxy for generational status, the coefficient for age is not distinguishable from zero. This reflects that older individuals are no more racially resilient than younger individuals. However, this also might be a relic that experiences, and events of generations are not always marked by age differences.

Next, in Table 4.2, shows that the coefficients on the socioeconomic status measures have a consistent, but minor, influence. Education has a consistent influence on racial resilience. Individuals who hold some college, or a college degree are more associated with higher levels of racial resilience than those who only have a high school diploma.¹⁵ Other measures of class, such as subjective social class identification, homeowner status, and employment status are not associated with racial resilience. But education may operate as a catch all for these markers of socio-economic status absent of a measure of income. In this regard, individual socio-economic status is less associated with racial resilience.

Lastly, across the pilots, women have higher averages of racial resilience as compared to men. This finding persists across the pilots given its relative significance in magnitude and its significance. Thus, women have higher levels of racial resilience, and gender identification is associated with racial resilience. When pooling the pilot studies, there is a slight impact of gender identification. This analysis shows that African American women are more associated with higher values of racial resilience compared to Black men, with about a 7% percent difference between women and men. In addition, greater education is associated with higher resilience. From the pooled analysis presented in Table 4.2, I move from the theoretical expectations of possible cleavages between the association of racial resilience and demographic characteristics of African Americans.

¹⁵ Missing from pilot 1 was a consistent measure of income reported by the respondents. In the model of pilot 1 respondents only, I utilize that measure. However, in the pooled analyses, the income measures were not concisely measured, thus I removed the income measure in order to have parsimony across the models for comparability.

Table 4.2: Demographic Influences on Racial Resilience Scale (Pooled)	
	Racial Resilience
	RR (0-1)
Age	0.018 (0.016)
Female	0.069*** (0.011)
Subjective Social Class	0.028 (0.022)
Education	0.034*** (0.007)
Homeowner	-0.010 (0.011)
Employed	0.011 (0.010)
Church Attendance	0.018 (0.012)
South	-0.018* (0.011)
Constant	0.717*** (0.017)
Observations	1,000
R ²	0.069
Adjusted R ²	0.061
Residual Std. Error	0.158 (df = 991)
F Statistic	9.139*** (df = 8; 991)
<i>Note:</i> * p < 0.05 ** p < 0.01 *** p < 0.001	

Table 4.2 Demographic Influences on Racial Resilience Scale (Pooled)
Source: Pilots 1-6

Lastly, I explored the role of region. Similar to Southern residence, there is not an impact of church attendance for racial resilience, which suggest a weak relationship between religiosity and racial resilience. In fact, the effect of Southern residence is negative, substantively small, and only marginally significant. This suggests that resilience may be more equally distributed across the United States, and not concentrated in the Southern region, nor a distinct characteristic of Black Southerners.

Taken together, the regression coefficients in Table 4.2 offer a look into the demographics that are more or less associated with racial resilience. To best understand these differences, I examine the aforementioned factors from each individual pilot study. Beginning in Pilot 3, gender is positively associated with higher levels of racial resilience. Only in Pilot 2, does subjective social class have a distinguishing effect on racial resilience. Residence in the South either has a negligible or negative relationship with racial resilience. In Table 4.3, I show the demographic shifts in the association between gender, region of residence, and class status for each pilot study. In addition, education has an inconsistent relationship with racial resilience, across both versions of the scale. It is the case that church attendance is weakly associated with racial resilience. Taken together, it is evident that the influence of each demographic characteristic wanes across studies. However, as demonstrated in the pooled analysis, there are slight differences across gender and levels of education. These influences persist over the repeated testing of the racial resilience scale in its initial and final version. However, some patterns are worth mentioning for the magnitude of their coefficients over the different pilots.

There are several circumstances which may contribute to these findings. First, the evaluation and development of the original racial resilience measure occurred in pilots 1-3, and the final version emerged in pilots 5-6. This inconsistency of the factors influence suggests that either

racial resilience is an attribute that operates more like a norm, and thus lacks strict differentiation by demographic characteristics, or the demographics that were included are not particularly related to the concept. First, there are important temporal shifts between the two pilots. Pilot 3 was conducted in Spring 2020 while pilot 5 was fielded right before the presidential election in November 2020. Second, in some ways the influence of measures across both measures are not comparable because they are different measures. Lastly, the sample sizes are different. Alternatively, these shifts may reflect the composition of the samples which are not nationally representative.

To better understanding what influences Black Americans to possess higher levels of racial resilience, I examine possible ideological correlates of racial resilience. Between Pilot 3 and Pilot 5, there are important differences in the influence of select ideological characteristics which are worth mentioning. In Table 4.4, I examine the role of internal and the external efficacy, political interest, ideology, partisanship, and several measures of identity – included linked fate, identity centrality, commonality with other African Americans, and the importance of identity. First, between Pilot 3 and Pilot 5, the influence of high internal and external efficacy flips in its relationship to racial resilience. In pilot 5, conducted during the 2020 presidential pre-election period, external efficacy has indistinguishable effect from zero. However, in pilot 3 there is a positive influence of external efficacy. This may reflect the shifts in external efficacy over time, or it may reflect lower levels of efficacy within the sample. Evident from pilot 3 having a greater political interest is not associated with higher racial resilience. Thus, political interest and political efficacy may have countervailing influence on the perceptions of racial resilience.

Table 4.3: Demographic Influences on Racial Resilience Scale (Across Pilots)

	Correlates for Scale V1			Correlates for Scale V2	
	Pilot 1: African Americans Only	Pilot 2: African Americans Only	Pilot 3: African Americans Only	Pilot 5: African Americans	Pilot 6: African Americans
Racial Resilience Score (0-1)					
Age	0.119*** (0.030)	-0.162 (0.107)	0.066 (0.067)	0.001 (0.001)	0.057* (0.030)
Female	-0.018 (0.023)	-0.008 (0.045)	0.097*** (0.026)	0.107*** (0.024)	0.074*** (0.019)
Subjective Social Class	-0.028 (0.040)	0.478*** (0.151)	-0.124** (0.049)	-0.003 (0.018)	-0.014 (0.043)
Education	-0.005 (0.026)	-0.537*** (0.165)	-0.011 (0.014)	0.096* (0.049)	0.132*** (0.044)
Income	---	0.055 (0.125)	0.069 (0.045)	0.009 (0.014)	-0.008 (0.026)
Homeowner	---	0.058 (0.067)	0.051** (0.025)	0.039 (0.024)	-0.011 (0.019)
Employed	---	0.016 (0.076)	0.065** (0.026)	0.027 (0.029)	-0.033* (0.019)
Church Attendance	0.014 (0.023)	0.007 (0.050)	0.013 (0.025)	0.045 (0.029)	0.022 (0.019)
South	---	-0.013 (0.054)	0.018 (0.023)	-0.071*** (0.024)	-0.057*** (0.018)
Constant	0.761*** (0.027)	1.163*** (0.120)	0.767*** (0.036)	0.541*** (0.057)	0.669*** (0.032)
Observations	190	31	125	341	267
R ²	0.082	0.524	0.291	0.147	0.188
Adjusted R ²	0.057	0.320	0.235	0.124	0.160
Residual Std. Error	0.150 (df = 184)	0.067 (df = 21)	0.106 (df = 115)	0.209 (df = 331)	0.139 (df = 257)
F Statistic	3.288*** (df = 5; 184)	2.571** (df = 9; 21)	5.236*** (df = 9; 115)	6.342*** (df = 9; 331)	6.612*** (df = 9; 257)

Note:

* ** *** p<0.01

Table 4.3 Demographic Influences on Racial Resilience Scale (Across Pilots)

Table 4.4 Ideological Influences on Racial Resilience Scale (Across Pilots)		
	Ideological Correlates of Racial Resilience Scale V1 Pilot 3 African Americans	Ideological Correlates of Racial Resilience Scale V2 Pilot 5 African Americans
	Racial Resilience Score (0-1)	
Internal Efficacy	0.066 (0.067)	-0.019 (0.035)
External Efficacy	0.097*** (0.026)	-0.064 (0.049)
Political Interest	-0.124** (0.049)	--- ---
Democrat	-0.011 (0.014)	0.062** (0.025)
Liberal	0.069 (0.045)	0.061** (0.025)
Linked Fate	0.051** (0.025)	0.230*** (0.045)
Identity Centrality	0.065** (0.026)	--- ---
Commonality	0.013 (0.025)	--- ---
Identity Importance	0.018 (0.023)	--- ---
Constant	0.767*** (0.036)	0.479*** (0.043)
Observations	125	344
R ²	0.291	0.179
Adjusted R ²	0.235	0.167
Residual Std. Error	0.106 (df = 115)	0.203 (df = 338)
F Statistic	5.236*** (df = 9; 115)	14.707*** (df = 5; 338)
<i>Note:</i>		* p < 0.05 ** p < 0.01 *** p < 0.001

Table 4.4 Ideological Influences on Racial Resilience Scale (Across Pilots)

Source: Pilot 3 and Pilot 5

Looking to established and measures of stable political pre-dispositions relevant to politics signals how ideology and partisan identification have a modest association with racial resilience. Many studies have documented African American's affiliation with the Democratic party, and the extent to which these coefficients are surprisingly large, but indicative that racial resilience is not isolated to one political preference over another. The coefficients in pilot 3 are small and insignificant. In pilot 5, there is a minor influence of identifying as a democrat or a liberal. Taken together, these coefficients suggest that while racial resilience may be concentrated among Black democrats or liberals as compared to the few Black republicans or Black conservatives, the ideological preferences and partisan identity of Black Americans does not determine their perception of racial resilience.

Lastly, identity measures are included to understand the association with racial resilience with. In pilot 3, several measures of identity are included, but in pilot 5 only the linked fate measure is included. The coefficients reveal that the strength of Black identity varies with racial resilience. This relationship is significant in both pilot 3 and pilot 5. I find that having a stronger and more central Black identity is important associated with higher levels of racial resilience. In both pilots, African American's perceptions of linked fate is associated with their racial resilience. Perceptions of racial resilience are associated with strong racial identification and consciousness, and this persists over different measures of identity. It is important that the coefficients for the identity measures are not substantively large. This indicates the distinctiveness of racial resilience from existing measures of identity given the modest association.

Beyond the demographic measures, the ideological variables reveal the association between resilience and politically relevant characteristics. Across Pilot 3 and Pilot 5, there are less consistent results on the influence of efficacy, political interest, partisan identity, group identity and racial

resilience. While this may reflect the different measures included across the pilots, it also showcases how resilience is distinct from existing measures.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined the demographic and ideological contours associated increased racial resilience. I started by examining gender, generation, region, and class status, and I find mixed associations with racial resilience in the pooled analysis. Across different studies and the preliminary and final scale version, education and age have varied, but positive effects, on racial resilience. The findings of pooled analysis indicate that Black women have higher levels of racial compared to the male counterparts. However, the effect of demographic characteristics waned across the pilots. In most of the pilots, there is a positive influence of gender. But, there are less consistent effects of the socioeconomic status measures, generation, and region. Other demographic characteristics also influence racial resilience but not systematically. In Chapter 5, I expand from the contours of racial resilience to the behavioral consequences of racial resilience. The evidence in this chapter demonstrates that no singular demographic characteristic of African Americans determines their levels of racial resilience.

Chapter 5 The Influence of Racial Resilience on Political Behavior

When speaking about the dismissal of Black voters among pollsters and pundits, Black Voters Matter co-founder Latosha Brown remarked, “I would say that we [African Americans] have long participated at extraordinary levels and have to overcome extraordinary hurdles to do so.”¹⁶ Brown, like many other Black Southern organizers, recognizes how the vestiges of enslavement and Jim Crow politics influence current-day electoral politics and individual voter behavior. These hurdles reflect the white racial politics of the South, which have kept many Black Americans in subjugated economic positions, and less efficacious at the ballot box given the local rules around voting and registration. This leads to the question of the connection between racial resilience and political behavior.

The presence of resilience for African Americans is influential in shaping their responses to adversity experienced in life (Seery, Holman, and Silver 2010; Bonanno and Diminich 2013). As the previous chapter demonstrated, a host of experiences within engagement in certain institutions can lead to having a higher perception of racial resilience. Given that having a greater perception of racial resilience is connected to historical and socio-political institutions and structures, we should expect that racial resilience is equally connected to engagement among a host of political behaviors.

The bulk of research related to African American political behavior addresses collective identity and lower socio-economic status (Verba et al. 1993a; Leighley and Vedlitz 1999). Very few accounts of political behavior are directly tied to the experience of collective adversity (see Rosenstone 1982; Schlozman and Verba 1979), and an emerging set of findings exist on the role

¹⁶ <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/nbcblk/how-black-voters-key-cities-helped-deliver-election-joe-biden-n1246980>

of Black collective emotions (Phoenix and Chan 2019; Phoenix 2020; Burge 2020). However, despite the intuitive connection between the responses to adversity framework and political participation, to date, there has been no study connecting the role of resilience to adversity. This chapter addresses how racial resilience is associated with political behavior.

In Chapter 2, I argue that African Americans' differential response to adversity, with perseverance instead of defeat, is fundamentally influencing their engagement in the political process. In electoral politics, African Americans are also met with adversity. Considering the persistent barriers and obstacles that racial and ethnic minorities, specifically African Americans have experienced it is important to have a psychological framework of racial resilience. This framework of racial resilience differs from existing frameworks. Racial resilience demonstrates how African Americans continue to engage in the political process where there has been limited social and racial progress. I also argue that the development of racial resilience is reflected in an awareness of economic subjugation that has uniquely been a factor of African Americans' lived experiences. That is, African Americans have been uniquely disenfranchised politically, targeted socially, and economically subjugated, where the politics of resilience has kept them connected to participation.

This chapter builds on prior chapters and examines the link between African Americans' perception of racial resilience and their political participation. Relying on data from three original surveys, I investigate how racial resilience is connected to African Americans' political participation in the pre-and post-2020 Presidential election. The findings demonstrate an association between racial resilience and political engagement. I find that the perception of racial resilience remains an independent predictor of willingness to engage in politics even after accounting for the role of psychological resources and motivation, socioeconomic and

demographic characteristics. Under some conditions, the relationship weakens. Variation in the relationship exists for, but not all, political acts. Racial resilience is most associated with acts that require an extraordinary effort, as compared to those that do not. This is bolstered by additional evidence. These findings support for the need to further examine the behavioral consequences of racial resilience.

The chapter is organized as follows. First, I briefly revisit existing theories of political participation and behavior among Americans. Then, I examine the theories tailored towards African Americans. It is both intellectually and empirically important to note that a dedicated field of African American political scientists have analyzed the distinctiveness of Black people's engagement in the political system. Second, I take the insights from these literatures to outline how racial resilience is a stimulant to political engagement. Third, I state my expectations regarding the relationship between racial resilience and participation. Next, I detail the data collection process, and independent and dependent measures, before analyzing the results. Finally, the chapter concludes by discussing the implications of racial resilience for Black Americans more broadly.

Revisiting Theories of Political Participation among African Americans

For decades, since the advent of modern survey techniques, political behavior scholars have examined which socio-cultural, partisan, and context factors influence voting in elections (Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee 1948; Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet 1968). Using interviews and surveys, early survey researchers set the foundation for understanding the political attitudes and interest connected to voting. A dominant finding emerges that political socialization over the life course influences attitudes towards politics.

The most prevalent theory to understand non-electoral and electoral political behavior is the Civic Voluntarism Model (CVM) (Verba and Nie 1987; Verba et al. 1993b). The CVM defines and characterizes how resources, including time, money, and skills, are relevant to differences in civic and political participation. The accumulation of greater resources exerts influence on who gets engaged in many aspects of politics, including voting. Several types of resources, including psychological motivations, are influential to political involvement. Individuals with fewer resources participate less in politics, given their lack of motivation to get involved. Higher-income and more educated individuals are more engaged in politics by having a greater political interest, and being more embedded in political networks (Verba and Nie 1974). Further, acquiring greater political knowledge, engaging in community organizations, and greater involvement in church are political resources that increase the likelihood of political engagement (Rosenstone, Hansen, and Reeves 2003; Wolfinger and Rosenstone 1980; Brady, Verba, and Schlozman 1995). From the CVM of participation, it is expected that resources are stimulants to political engagement, and those with an abundance of resources are more participatory than those without.

Scholars of race, ethnicity, and politics have also examined the political behaviors of minorities and marginalized groups in the United States and rely on novel theories to the predicament of each group under study. Over time, new psychological resources have become salient for the political behavior of racial and ethnic minorities. Group identity and connectivity, religiosity, neighborhood context are contextual factors that influence how Black Americans, or Latinos, and Asian Americans are engaged in politics (Uhlener, Cain, and Kiewiet 1989; Tate 1994; J. E. Leighley and Vedlitz 1999; Junn and Masuoka 2008). In addition, the influence of socio-economic status has varied impact among Black and Whites. African Americans' with the

experience of poverty does not preclude them from participating in politics, which is the case for White Americans experiencing a similar socio-economic condition (Alex-Assensoh 1997; Alex-Assensoh and Assensoh 2001).

For African Americans, psychological resources - such as racial group consciousness - link individuals' awareness about their position in society to political engagement in efforts to advance their status (Shingles 1981; Tate 1994; Chong and Rogers 2005). Group consciousness is associated with political acts which influence government policies, both in (campaigning) and out (protesting) of the political system (R. Shingles 1981; Lien 1994). However, measures of group consciousness have varied over time and have differential results depending on which measures are used (White et al. 2021). Studies have consistently demonstrated that group consciousness, however measured, is a reliable measure of African Americans' willingness to engage (Chong and Rogers 2005; Wright Austin, Middleton, and Yon 2012).

Walton (1972) argues that there are multiple interconnected layers of social context for African American voters that are important to include when analyzing Black political behavior. Not only are individual characteristics important, so, too, is the political context. When examining macro-level trends in Black political behavior, social and economic factors that decrease material resources are important to the substance and frequency of their political participation Harris, Sinclair-Chapman, and McKenzie (2006). However, for African Americans, negative events, including those ripe with adversity, can be associated with increased political participation (S. A. Peterson and Gabbidon 2007; Huyser et al. 2018). General theories of African American's engagement in the political system use their subjugated status as a motivation toward their increased political engagement (R. Shingles 1981; Miller et al. 1981).

African American's advocacy outside of the political system impacts their status within the political system.

Notably, alienation may withdraw African Americans from heightened political engagement. Jackson (1973) demonstrates that Black Americans generally hold a skeptical view towards current power, and this may decrease their motivation to engage. However, forces such as optimism can shift this mistrust and alienation. Similarly, Shingles (1979) finds that lower status and greater deprivation among African Americans leads to their alienation in society and their withdraw from politics. Alienation due to lower socioeconomic status, mistrust, and inefficacy may drive African Americans away from politics.

When considering the factors that influence participation, both among Americans generally and African Americans specifically, it is important to note that both political predispositions and non-political factors influence motivation, efficacy, and socialization to engage in politics. However, it is less known how racial resilience is influential alongside these concepts or how racial resilience aids in the expression of these concepts. As a novel concept, racial resilience fills a void left by political behavior research that neglects the role of triumph, perseverance, and optimism – all necessary components to engage in politics. Racial resilience offers a framework that accounts for Black triumph to complement the existing research on Black economic subjugation, while also specifying which political acts require extra effort to engage.

Connecting Resilience to Adversity to Participation

I argue that the greater perceptions of racial resilience are associated with a resistance to defeat, and an individual perseverance for individuals, and leads to engagement in costlier political behaviors such as waiting in line to vote, or participating in a protest demonstration.

There are a few ways that I seek to connect the politics of resilience, through increased racial resilience of African Americans, to specific non-electoral political behaviors. First, non-electoral participation has been used historically by impoverished and other disenfranchised groups, such as African Americans, to bring awareness and change to issues faced (Morris 1984). Most theories of political participation by political scientists look squarely to participation acts involving the political system, which presents a gap in how non-electoral acts are understood.

According to the Civic Voluntarism Model (CVM), individuals participate in acts which are easier to complete and require the accumulation of fewer resources (Verba et al. 1993a; Brady, Verba, and Schlozman 1995). Given that resources are unevenly distributed among African Americans, and have been for generations, we should not expect large effects of financial resources for Black Americans. In concert with the CVM of participation, while I expect that resources matter for Black participation overall, I expect that the perception of racial resilience is more associated with engagement, as compared to time, skills, and financial resources. As a psychological resource that stimulates motivation for political engagement, racial resilience is expected to have a more significant influence beyond the non-psychological resources.

In addition, I expect that since racial resilience is distinct from both psychological resources such as an individual resilience and linked fate, that the role of resilience is more significant than these resources under certain conditions. This relationship is expected to persist only in acts that require extra effort, and not acts that are traditionally considered to be easier form of political participation with lower costs of entry. It is worthwhile to distinguish resilience as a psychological and intrinsic motivation, unlike individual resilience – which does not have explicit political implications – and linked fate – which is a cognitive heuristic.

The implications of racial resilience for political behavior are that Black Americans with a greater perception of racial resilience are expected to engage in higher stress, and higher risk political acts given their orientation towards triumph in politics because of their resistance to defeat. On the other hand, African Americans with a weaker perception of racial resilience are expected to lack this individual perseverance as it pertains to politics and are apathetic towards participation in costlier political acts. I operationalize political behavior as it reflects scenarios under which racial resilience may be more or less advantageous to possess.

First, the participation outcomes to vary by cost, stress, and risk, in the responses to adversity framework, I expand participation outcomes to consider a range of political acts where African Americans must exhibit extra effort to engage. Varying the extent to which a political act involves different costs or risks is not novel in American politics research. However, the empirical assessment of the willingness to engage in these acts is novel. Take for instance, while the act of voting itself is not costly, it becomes costly when one must wait in line to vote. Two examples characterize obstacles that American voters face in casting a ballot. Wait times to vote vary across zip-code (Pettigrew 2020; Chen et al. 2019), and generally there is a lower quality of precinct locations in majority-minority neighborhoods (Barreto, Cohen-Marks, and Woods 2009; E. B. McGowen 2010). In addition, these experiences of longer wait times and lower quality precincts are artifacts of voter suppression, which in turn, reduce one's willingness to engage in future electoral participation (Pettigrew 2020). Hillygus, Holbein, and Snell (2016) examined the role of grit as a determinant of waiting longer in line to vote and find that grit is a psychological resource that aids cities in overcome the inconveniences associated with voting. In resisting voter suppression, there is an expected response of individual perseverance to wait in

line to vote as a costlier, and more stressful political act. I expected that racial resilience is associated with costlier political acts than those that are not higher in costs.

Second, social movement participating in protest demonstrations requires an implicit and intrinsic willingness to resist, despite knowing that demonstrations may include with violence, opposition, and the possibility of arrests (Wiltfang and McAdam 1991). In these ways, attending a protest demonstration is higher risk form of activism which is different from other forms of political participation. This is especially relevant given the timing of the data collection. Unrest during the Summer of 2020 over the police killing of George Floyd shed light on the violence associated with African American non-violent and peaceful protest.¹⁷ However, historically the participation of African Americans in protest is higher risk activism.

Attending a community meeting is a higher-cost, but lower risk act, while facing personal issues while voting in-person is a lower-cost but higher stress political act.

This characterization of participation as higher stress, and higher risks reflects the experiences African Americans encounter as expressing their political voice within and outside political institutions. On the other hand, individuals with a lower perception of racial resilience may experience defeat and apathy, and thus we should not observe that individuals lower in racial resilience to partake in these acts. Thus, I expect that individual variation on how the perception of racial resilience influences the willingness to engage in political acts, by both frequency and substance.

Given these expectations, there are a set of hypotheses that I test within the chapter. My expectations are as follows: 1) African Americans with lower perceptions of racial resilience are

¹⁷ This is relevant as Pilot 5 was fielded in August-September 2020 and it can be reasonably assumed that in some cities there were ongoing protests from the summer in response to the murder of George Floyd. However, I did not specifically name any individual in the question wording, and left open to any type of protest, rally, or demonstration.

more likely to report engagement in lower-cost political acts such as voting in presidential elections; 2) African Americans with greater perceptions of racial resilience are more likely to report a willingness to engage in higher cost political acts- including waiting in line to vote and attending a protest demonstration, and 3) for higher cost political acts, racial resilience is independent from the effects of psychological resilience and linked fate. These expectations map onto the responses to adversity framework, and define the empirical and behavioral implications of racial resilience.

Data and Measurement

I rely on several sources of data to substantiate the relationship between racial resilience and political behavior. These include data from two pilot studies, and an original national survey of African American registered and non-registered voters. I first present a summary of the results from the pilots, before demonstrating how these findings replicate among a larger, and more diverse sample. The sample of Black registered and non-registered voters allows for the evaluation of the differences between this group that are often excluded from survey research on political behaviors and attitudes.

Evidence from Pilot 5 and Pilot 6

To measure the behavioral consequences of racial resilience, I analyze several sources of original data. First, I conducted an online study of African Americans via Prolific online opt-in panel from August 31 - September 4, 2020. I will refer to this study as the Pilot 5 (n= 346).

Second, I conducted an additional pilot online study of African Americans via the Prolific online opt-in panel from February 22 – March 4, 2021. I will refer to this study as Pilot 6 (n=271). For pilots 5 and 6, the selection criteria included: American citizenship, and voting-eligibility, and current residence within the United States. African Americans who completed the

initial screener, passed the attention checks, and had high response integrity from a data quality perspective. Demographics and selected characteristics of both pilot samples are in Appendix C.

Respondents are characterized as ‘lower resilience’ and ‘higher resilience’ reflecting their agreement with the racial resilience items. Respondents who are considered to have lower perceptions of racial resilience fall below the median while values above the median exhibit higher perceptions of racial resilience. Distributions of placement on the racial resilience scale is shown in Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1 and Figure 5.2: Distribution of Placement on the Racial Resilience Scale

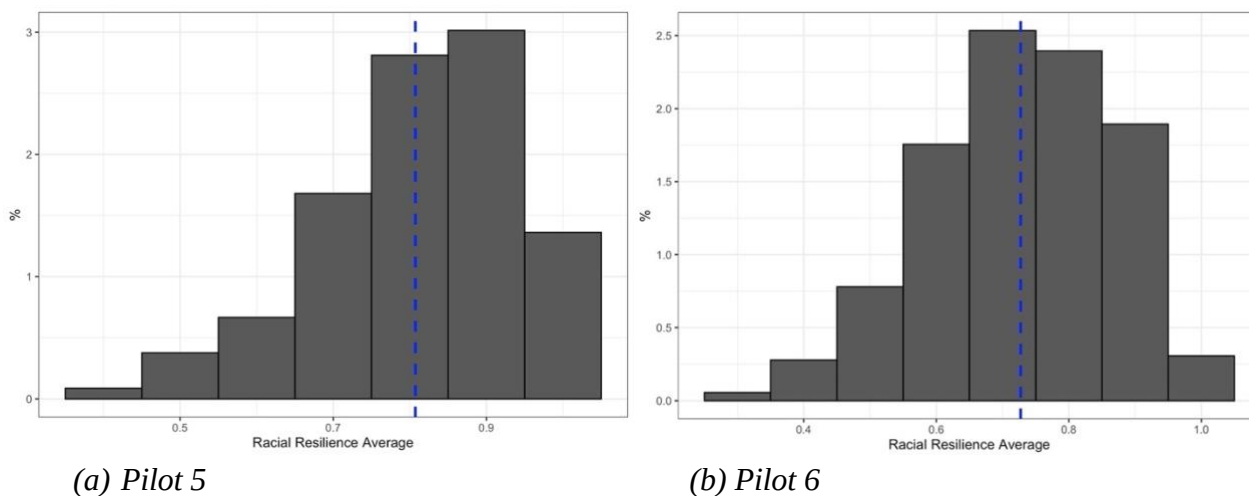


Figure 5.1 and Figure 5.1 Distribution of Placement on the Racial Resilience Scale

Participation Vignettes: Assessing Stress and Risks

Respondents were asked to report their likelihood of engagement in multiple participation outcomes through short vignettes. Given the current climate where participation with in-person acts may be extremely limited, vignettes were included to ensure that a respondent’s propensity

to engage reflected real-world experiences. Prior studies have demonstrated that including additional wording within the survey item may assist with reducing inter-person incomparability (King et al. 2004; Hopkins and King 2010). In addition to increasing inter-person comparability, vignettes make possible the opportunity to vary the presence of stress and risks induced by participating in politics, more so than the standing participation items included on national election studies, such as the ANES. The full wording of these items and their distributions are in Appendix B.

In addition to the main independent and dependent variables, I include measures of psychological resilience (Smith et al. 2008). Given that the inclusion of the psychological resilience is important to untangle the effects of individual resilience to a group-based resilience, I include it in the models. I include the linked fate measure (Dawson 1994), to discern if greater solidarity among Black Americans is driving their political behavior. In Study 1, I include other measures, such as political interest and internal efficacy, which can serve as a proxy to understand the role of motivation to participate in politics as derived from the CVM (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995). In addition, I include measures of political predispositions, including ideology and partisan identity, because these predispositions are important to participation and politics more broadly. Lastly, I include demographic measures of education, income, south, female, and age as these demographics characteristics exert influence on standard participation items (Smets and van Ham 2013). All variables are scaled to fall between 0 and 1, where 0 represents the lowest value, and 1 represents the highest value. The distribution of these variables is in Appendix C.

Results

First, I examine the effects of racial resilience on higher cost and lower cost political acts including waiting in line to vote, attending a protest demonstration, facing issues while voting and attending a community meeting. Each column in Table 5.1 represents the output from an OLS regression using racial resilience as the key explanatory variable and the outcome measures on a five-point Likert scale ranging from “Very Unlikely” to “Very Likely”. Evidenced by the first row of Table 5.1, racial resilience is a significant predictor of African American’s willingness to waiting in line to vote and attend a protest demonstration of varied risks, but it is not a significant factor in predicting voting while facing personal issues or attending a community meeting.

I find that racial resilience is strongly associated with participating in higher costs activities when the effect sizes are compared to other coefficients in the model. For instance, across each model, there is a minor, and indistinguishable effect from zero of psychological resilience. In Chapter 3, I demonstrated that there was a weak correlational relationship between perceptions of racial resilience and individual resilience. Here, too, I find that individual resilience is not moving and motivating Black Americans towards participation in political acts. However, there is a minor effect of psychological resilience alongside racial resilience for attending a community meeting. Attending the community meeting is a lower-cost, and lower-risk political act, and thus it does not require effort beyond having the time to participate, which may explain how both racial resilience and individual resilience has a similar effect on the willingness to participate.

Further, racial resilience lacks influence over voting while experiencing personal issues that will make it more difficult to vote. In column 3 of Table 5.1, the influence of linked fate is much greater in magnitude, and statistically significant, as compared to the role of racial

resilience. Recall that I expect that African Americans with lower racial resilience are more driven towards lower cost political acts, as these acts lack much effort, and subsequently less racial resilience. Even more, this reflects their resignation and apathy towards political engagement. Compared to the effect size of racial resilience on waiting in line to vote ($\beta = 0.23$, $p = 0.01$), facing personal issues while voting ($\beta = 0.03$, $p > 0.05$) is not associated with one's level of racial resilience.

I examine the same outcome measures from Pilot 5 in Pilot 6. Between the pre-election and post-election period of 2020, there are comparable effects of racial resilience with the willingness to engage in costly political behaviors. However, in addition, racial resilience is also influencing the willingness to attend a community meeting. Each column in Table 5.2 represents the output from an OLS regression using racial resilience as the key explanatory variable and the outcome measures on a five-point Likert scale ranging from "Very Unlikely" to "Very Likely".

Evidenced by the first row of Table 5.1, racial resilience is a significant predictor of African Americans' willingness to wait in line to vote, attend a protest demonstration of varied risks, attending a community meeting but not a significant factor in predicting voting while facing personal issues. In many ways, this confirms the findings in Pilot 5, which occurred during a different time, and with a different set of African American respondents. Thus, we can be confident that the effects of racial resilience are persistent over time, and that the effects of racial resilience are generalizable outside of the initial set of results. While these results are like the results presented in Table 5.1, there are some notable differences between the results of the pilot studies that are worth mentioning. First, as it pertains to the lower-cost participation of attending a community meeting, there is more pronounced impact of racial resilience, which crosses the threshold of statistical significance ($p = .001$) and is larger in magnitude.

Table 5.1: Racial Resilience and Political Participation (Pilot 5)

	Higher Cost		Lower Cost	
	Wait in Line	Attend Protest Demonstration	Facing Issues While voting	Attend Community Meetings
Racial Resilience Score	0.231*** (0.078)	0.347*** (0.096)	0.033 (0.094)	0.187** (0.088)
Psychological Resilience	0.122* (0.064)	0.036 (0.078)	0.029 (0.077)	0.153** (0.072)
Linked Fate	0.080 (0.059)	0.091 (0.072)	0.185*** (0.071)	-0.017 (0.066)
Liberal	0.120*** (0.035)	0.083* (0.043)	0.109** (0.042)	-0.028 (0.039)
Democrat	0.071** (0.035)	-0.020 (0.044)	0.171*** (0.043)	0.038 (0.040)
Female	-0.003 (0.033)	-0.074* (0.041)	0.052 (0.040)	-0.040 (0.038)
Education	0.181*** (0.064)	-0.024 (0.079)	0.246*** (0.077)	0.092 (0.072)
Income	0.011 (0.015)	0.025 (0.018)	-0.005 (0.018)	0.011 (0.017)
Age	0.082* (0.043)	-0.148*** (0.053)	0.142*** (0.052)	0.120** (0.049)
Constant	0.190** (0.075)	0.212** (0.092)	0.056 (0.091)	0.185** (0.085)
Observations	340	339	340	340
R ²	0.238	0.114	0.254	0.084
F Statistic	11.482*** (df = 9; 330)	4.696*** (df = 9; 329)	12.460*** (df = 9; 330)	3.380*** (df = 9; 330)

Note: Entries are OLS coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. All variables range from 0-1.

* ** *** p<0.01

Table 5.1 Racial Resilience and Political Participation (Pilot 5)

Source: Pilot 5

Regarding other psychological resources, there are negligible effects of individual resilience and linked fate. In fact, the impact of individual levels of resilience remains quite small in magnitude compared to racial resilience. Second, the role of education, as a proxy for increased civic skills, stands out as consistently positive, large in magnitude, and statistically significant ($p = .001$) influence on participation. However, the effect of higher income remains a negative factor across the models. These results shed further evidence in support of the unique contribution of how racial resilience operates in a manner to increase willingness to engage in political acts above the expectation of other resources, including the resources that are psychological and financial.

Evidence from the relationship between racial resilience and participation shed light on the integral components of racial resilience that link to individual perseverance to want to engage in politics, even if that engagement occurs on the periphery of electoral politics. Examining non-electoral forms of participation in Pilot 5 and Pilot 6, it is worthwhile noting the consistent effects of the novel measure of racial resilience. Racial resilience is a significant predictor of willingness to engage in riskier and more stressful political acts across both sets of results. As compared to other psychological resources, in both studies racial resilience is distinct, and has a positive influence on the outcomes of interest. In most of the models, in both studies, racial resilience countervails the influence of linked fate or levels of individual resilience.

Second, racial resilience remained statistically significant after controlling for resources that are known to influence political engagement. The output of the CVM leads one to expect that having access to relevant resources such as greater education, income, and political interest are predominant factors in shaping motivation to engage in convention acts. I also find that the relationship between racial resilience and voting in elections is also positive, however the effect

size is insignificant. This table is in Appendix C. Most associated with voting in election is the resource of great education, which is a reliable proxy for increased civic skills.

However, there are several limitations with the preliminary from the two pilot studies, which can be resolved with a larger sample size of African Americans. The limited sample may inhibit the ability to detect an effect of racial resilience where there are fewer cases. Second, Pilot 5 and Pilot 6 were also the first and second iteration of the second version of the racial resilience scale. In Chapter 3, I demonstrated that the changes made between Pilots 1-3 and Pilot 5 improved the overall consistency, and reliability of the racial resilience measure. Thus, an independent assessment of racial resilience may shape the results in after fine-tuning the item wording. Further, the results for the voting adjacent outcomes (both waiting in line and facing issues while voting) may mask differences between the resilience of registered and non-registered voters. In Pilot 5 and in Pilot 6, registration status was not surveyed. Knowing that registration presents a hurdle for some Americans, it is worth investigating if the foray into electoral political is one area that the racial resilient African Americans have already overcome. To address these concerns about the relationship between racial resilience and non-electoral behavior, I conducted an additional study with a larger and more representative sample of the Black population, including confirmed non-registered voters.

Table 5.2: Racial Resilience and Political Participation (Pilot 6)

	Higher Cost Wait in Line	Higher Cost Attend Protest Demonstration	Lower Cost Facing Issues While Voting	Lower Cost Attend Community Meetings
Racial Resilience	0.374*** (0.101)	0.317*** (0.103)	0.070 (0.128)	0.356*** (0.121)
Psychological Resilience	0.142* (0.075)	0.129* (0.076)	-0.374*** (0.096)	-0.010 (0.090)
Linked Fate	-0.113 (0.072)	0.098 (0.073)	0.110 (0.092)	0.163* (0.086)
Education	0.197*** (0.072)	0.187** (0.073)	0.115 (0.091)	0.262*** (0.086)
Income	-0.077 (0.050)	-0.248*** (0.051)	0.127** (0.063)	-0.060 (0.060)
Liberal	-0.030 (0.045)	-0.026 (0.046)	-0.235*** (0.057)	-0.059 (0.054)
Democrat	0.110** (0.052)	0.102* (0.053)	0.144** (0.067)	-0.067 (0.063)
South	-0.007 (0.037)	0.052 (0.038)	0.076 (0.048)	0.040 (0.045)
Female	-0.058 (0.036)	-0.056 (0.037)	-0.001 (0.046)	0.027 (0.044)
Constant	0.437*** (0.085)	-0.179** (0.087)	0.664*** (0.108)	-0.104 (0.102)
Observations	269	269	269	269
R ²	0.156	0.211	0.135	0.120
Residual Std. Error (df = 259)	0.268	0.273	0.342	0.321
F Statistic (df = 9; 259)	5.303***	7.692***	4.493***	3.941***

Note: Entries are OLS coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. All variables range from 0-1.

* p < 0.1
** p < 0.05
*** p < 0.01

Table 5.2 Racial Resilience and Political Participation (Pilot 6)

Evidence from Representative Study 1

I explore racial resilience and its connection to participation among a larger, nationally representative sample of African Americans, including both registered and non-registered voters. This study was conducted from April 22 – May 12, 2021. In this chapter, I will refer to this data as Study 1. Overall, this is a much larger sample ($N=1249$) including registered voters ($n= 945$) and non-registered voters ($n= 304$). More information about this sample is in Table C.11 of the appendix for this chapter.

The distribution of the individual placement on the racial resilience scale is shown in Figure 5.3. Noted by the irregular shape of the distribution, most individuals fall above the possible mid-range of racial resilience, and very few are low in racial resilience. The racial resilience scale is rescaled from raw values so that values are between 0 and 1. Values closer to 1 indicate higher perceptions of racial resilience. In fact, both the median and mean value are around 0.71 which indicates that overall, there is a greater perception of racial resilience among African American voters and non-voters. In addition, most African Americans are clustered in the center, and towards the right end of the distribution, with the plurality having a moderate level of racial resilience. Given the skewness of placement on the racial resilience scale, I remove placements that fall below 0.43, and throughout, I will refer to those above this value and below 0.71 as lower in racial resilience, those higher than the mean and median value are regarded as higher racial resilience.

Figure 5.3 Distribution of Racial Resilience in Study 1

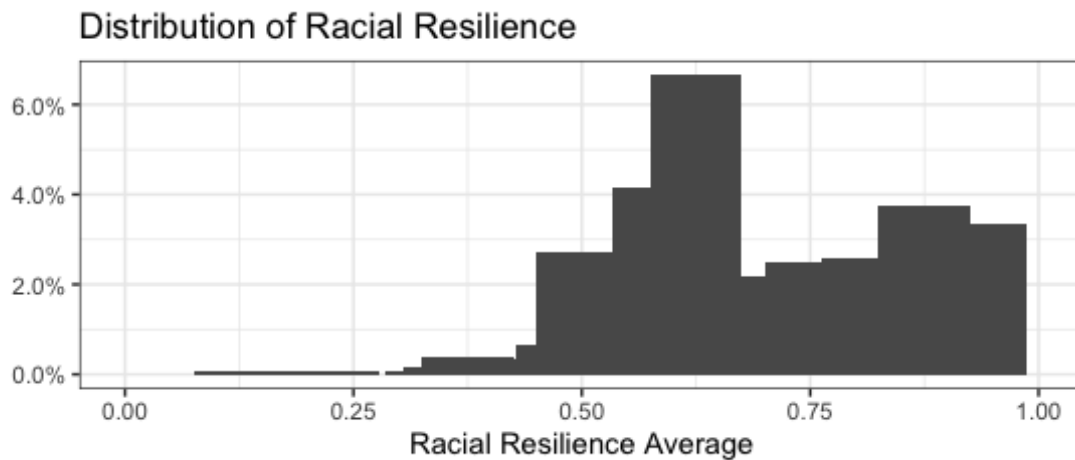


Figure 5.2 Distribution of Racial Resilience in Study 1

Source: Study 1

First, in mapping the relationship of racial resilience to non-electoral political engagement, I repeated outcome measures from pilot 5. I included several additional dependent variables similar the dependent variables which were tested in in the pilot studies. The question wordings and distributions of these items are in Appendix C. The outcome measures, too, map onto the responses to adversity framework and vary the role of risks and stressors associated with participation. The response set for each item varies on a 4-point scale from “Very Unlikely” to “Very Likely”. Further, I examine the relationship between racial resilience and standard measures of participation, as well as standard measures of future political participation.

First, I examine the effects of racial resilience on four measures of higher cost non-electoral political participation outcomes (Table 5.3). Since all these variables range between 1-4, I rely on OLS which is easily interpretable that the effects of a one-unit change in x, on the values of a unit change in y. These outcomes include 1) attending a racial justice townhall 2) attending a protest with risks, 3) attending a community meeting, and 4) attending a voter suppression rally. While I argue that participation in these acts is associated with higher costs,

they vary in the extent that they involve stress and risks. Foremost, attending a protest demonstration involves risks, and, so too, does attending a racial justice townhall, but acts such as attending a community meeting, or participating in a voter suppression march do not involve such risks. In addition, I examine the willingness to wait in line to vote (Table 5.3).

Second, I examine the effects of racial resilience on lower cost acts (Table 5.4). These acts reflect non-electoral participation and electoral participation. These acts include 1) boycotting a restaurant displaying racist memorabilia and 2) posting about #BlackLivesMatter on social media. These acts are both lower cost, lower stress, and lower risk, as they do not involve much effort to participate. Lastly, I examine electoral-adjacent outcomes (Table 5.3). These outcomes include 1) facing personal issues while attempting to vote, and 2) self-reported participation in the 2020 election.

By examining lower and higher cost participation, I can determine if there are differences in racial resilience for higher cost political acts. Thus, I look across different types of participation acts which vary in the extent that the act requires effort to complete. I find that there is some evidence to support the differential influence of racial resilience, however in some instances the findings are contrary to the expectations outlined in the responses to adversity framework.

In Table 5.3, I examine the relationship between racial resilience and higher cost participation. Each column represents a separate OLS regression where the column header was the outcome variable of interest. In addition to the main predictor of racial resilience, I included other psychological resources such as psychological resilience and linked fate. In addition, there are motivational resources including political interest and internal efficacy. The models also include variables to account for political predispositions, and demographic measures as proxies

for higher civic resources, and demographics that are known to be associated with political participation. Overall, the results in Table 5.3 demonstrate that there is a consistent relationship between racial resilience and higher cost participation for measures pre-tested in Pilot 5 and 6, but also measures that are novel to Study 1.

Racial resilience has a consistent and positive effect on higher cost participation, but this effect varies in magnitude. Each beta coefficient in the first row of Table 5.3 supports that racial resilience either has a positive, or near indistinguishable impact on higher cost political engagement. Across all four outcomes, having a greater perception of racial resilience is associated with participating in that act. In Study 1, the magnitude of the coefficients for models that were ran in Pilot 5 and Pilot 6 are slightly reduced in magnitude. However, this may be a result of the added measures of motivation and additional resources, or the increased precision in identifying an effect of racial resilience due to the larger sample size. While the effect size of racial resilience is reduced in magnitude, the direction of the coefficient is the same, and is pointed in the expected direction.¹⁸

First, racial resilience is positively and strongly associated with attending the racial justice town hall ($p = 0.01$). In addition, racial resilience is positively associated with attending a voter suppression rally and attending a community meeting. However, this relationship is weaker compared the influence on attendance at the racial injustice town hall meeting ($p = 0.05$) Lastly, the willingness to attend a protest with risks is only marginally significant ($p = 0.10$), which demonstrates a weaker relationship with racial resilience. The similar constant value across all four models indicates that overall, there is more support to engage in these acts, and there may be

¹⁸ I suspect that the inability to detect a positive and statistically significant effect of racial resilience is due to the skewness of the measure (see Figure 2), however, when rescaling the outliers and rescaling, I am able to reduce this skewness.

a ceiling effect in additional motivational benefits of racial resilience. However, compared to more established measures in political behavior research, the effect sizes of racial resilience are quite large.

Second, when examining the effects of racial resilience along psychological resources, there is some evidence that the positive, but muted effects of racial resilience, vary from other resources. Across each higher cost participation outcome, there is a negative, and statistically significant decrease with increases in individual resilience. Coefficients for psychological resilience demonstrate that this variable has negative political consequences. The lack of a positive and similar coefficient size of psychological resilience confirms the expectations that racial resilience is distinct from individual resilience, particularly in how both measures diverge in influencing higher cost engagement. In these models, racial resilience and individual resilience have countervailing effects. I explained this intuition of differences in Chapter 2.

Third, compared to the impact of linked fate on the willingness to engage in higher risk behaviors there is an indistinguishable effect from zero across all the models except for attending the risky protest demonstration (Column 2). Thus, while the impact of racial resilience may be less than in previous models, other findings uphold the value of the distinctiveness of the measure of racial resilience to engaging in higher cost behaviors.

Next, the motivational measures of political interest and internal efficacy have a consistently positive and substantively important influence on the willingness to engage in higher costs acts. Despite the strong association between the political interest, there remains an added influence of racial resilience. In addition, possessing a higher level of internal efficacy is important for all the higher cost outcomes, except for attending a voter suppressing rally.

In the higher cost participation models in Table 5.3, it is worth mentioning the influence of other measures. First, across all four models, there is a significant influence of having a higher income on willingness to engage in these acts. The effects of income are positive and significant, which indicates that higher income is a valuable resource relevant for engaging in higher cost political acts. Second, except for attending a protest demonstration with risks, identifying as a democrat, or being liberal is consistently associated with a greater willingness to participate. Interestingly, there is not a finding around possessing higher levels of education. In addition, there is a consistent and minor influence of holding conservative views. However, it is known that African Americans overwhelmingly identify as democrats, and as liberals, so we may expect that compared to Republicans and Conservatives or moderates, there is less influence of these dispositions. Further, it is worth mentioning that age is consistently negative, and larger than the influence of racial resilience in most instances. This result can be interpreted as evidence that younger African Americans are more engaged in these higher cost behaviors relative to their elder counterparts. Lastly, as a robustness check and to ensure that the results obtained in the multivariate analysis were also observable under less complex models, I also ran simple bivariate analysis. These bi-variate results are in Appendix C.

Table 5.3: Racial Resilience and Higher Cost Participation

	Attend Townhall	Protest with Risks	Attend Meeting	Attend Voter Suppression Rally
Racial Resilience	0.201*** (0.066)	0.121* (0.067)	0.155** (0.063)	0.167** (0.067)
Psychological Resilience	-0.113** (0.045)	-0.299*** (0.046)	-0.031 (0.043)	-0.180*** (0.046)
Linked Fate	-0.018 (0.027)	0.062** (0.027)	-0.009 (0.025)	0.027 (0.027)
Political Interest	0.311*** (0.033)	0.292*** (0.033)	0.318*** (0.031)	0.286*** (0.033)
Internal Efficacy	0.084*** (0.028)	0.081*** (0.028)	0.120*** (0.027)	0.022 (0.028)
Education	0.005 (0.011)	-0.018* (0.011)	0.004 (0.010)	-0.004 (0.011)
Income	0.085*** (0.025)	0.119*** (0.025)	0.076*** (0.023)	0.088*** (0.025)
Conservative	0.085*** (0.023)	0.113*** (0.023)	0.106*** (0.022)	0.155*** (0.023)
Liberal	0.072*** (0.023)	0.031 (0.023)	0.047** (0.022)	0.089*** (0.023)
Democrat	0.058*** (0.019)	0.013 (0.020)	0.042** (0.018)	0.069*** (0.020)
South	-0.007 (0.018)	0.022 (0.018)	0.010 (0.017)	-0.001 (0.018)
Female	-0.001 (0.018)	-0.013 (0.018)	0.016 (0.017)	-0.018 (0.018)
Age	-0.164*** (0.026)	-0.384*** (0.027)	-0.161*** (0.025)	-0.201*** (0.026)
Constant	0.236*** (0.055)	0.390*** (0.056)	0.232*** (0.053)	0.284*** (0.056)
Observations	1,244	1,243	1,243	1,243
R ²	0.196	0.344	0.211	0.228

Residual Std. Error	0.304 (df = 1230)	0.309 (df = 1229)	0.290 (df = 1229)	0.308 (df = 1229)
F Statistic	23.071*** (df = 13; 1230)	49.684*** (df = 13; 1229)	25.245*** (df = 13; 1229)	27.990*** (df = 13; 1229)

Note: Entries are OLS coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. All variables range from 0-1.

* p < 0.05
 ** p < 0.01
 *** p < 0.001

Table 5.3 Racial Resilience and Higher Cost Participation

Source: Study 1

Table 5.4 examines the relationship between racial resilience and lower-cost participation. The beta coefficients ($B = 0.145$, $p = 0.05$, $B = 0.170$, $p = 0.05$) in the first row of Table 5.4 supports that racial resilience positively influences the willingness to participate in a boycott of a local restaurant and posting on social media. These results provide mixed evidence towards the expectation that racial resilience is least associated with lower-cost forms of engagement. Recall that in the responses to adversity framework, I expect participation in lower-cost forms of engagement are more prevalent among those lower in racial resilience, than those higher in racial resilience. The racial resilience coefficients reveal that Black Americans who have greater perceptions of racial resilience, too, engage in lower-cost acts of political engagement, and this effect is distinct from other sources of motivations.

Next, I examine the magnitude of the relationships in the models as compared to the main predictor variable. First, I look to the effect of racial resilience as compared to the effects of linked fate and psychological resilience. There is, again, a negative and statistically significant influence on willingness to engage for the role of psychological resilience. Further, the magnitude of the coefficients is quite large which indicates that psychological resilience is less associated with lower-cost political engagement. However, linked fate is statistically significant and positively associated with boycotting the restaurant. Even so, the effect size of linked fate is doubled in magnitude compared to racial resilience. These coefficients present clear evidence that the role of linked fate is beneficial for lower-cost acts more so than for higher-cost acts. However, this confirms my expectation that racial resilience is less associated with engagement in lower-cost acts.

Next, I examine other forms of psychological motivation and political predispositions that are relevant to engage in non-electoral political engagement. The political interest and

internal efficacy coefficients signal that these forms of motivation matter, again, for willingness to participate politically. Particularly, I find that political interest is important for engaging in lower-cost behaviors. First, political interest is significant in both models, and the magnitude of the effect size is large compared to racial resilience and linked fate. In addition, there is a positive association between having greater internal efficacy and willingness to boycott and post. However, there is an inconsistent association with the political predisposition measures of ideology and partisanship between the two models. While ideology and partisanship are less relevant for willingness to boycott the restaurant, there is a positive, but only a minor association with identifying as a liberal and a democrat.

For lower cost acts, individual resources such as income, education, and residence in the South has varying but minimal influence on lower-cost acts. However, it is interesting that education and income have a countervailing influence on the decision to boycott the restaurant and making the social media post, respectively. From the evidence in Table 5.4, lower racial resilience is associated with lower-cost political engagement, but also individuals higher in racial resilience may participate in lower-cost acts in a greater frequency, as well.

Table 5.4: Racial Resilience and Lower Cost Participation

	Boycott Restaurant	#BLM Social Media Post
Racial Resilience	0.145** (0.073)	0.170** (0.071)
Psychological Resilience	-0.186*** (0.050)	-0.272*** (0.048)
Linked Fate	0.222*** (0.029)	0.073** (0.029)
Political Interest	0.223*** (0.036)	0.288*** (0.035)
Internal Efficacy	0.110*** (0.031)	0.076** (0.030)
Education	0.053*** (0.012)	-0.014 (0.012)
Income	0.027 (0.027)	0.084*** (0.027)
Conservative	-0.058** (0.025)	0.009 (0.024)
Liberal	0.029 (0.025)	0.065*** (0.025)
Democrat	0.030 (0.022)	0.091*** (0.021)
South	0.034* (0.020)	0.033* (0.019)
Female	0.029 (0.020)	-0.030 (0.019)
Age	0.082*** (0.029)	-0.292*** (0.028)
Constant	0.048 (0.061)	0.401*** (0.059)
Observations	1,242	1,243
R ²	0.181	0.233
Residual Std. Error	0.338 (df = 1228)	0.327 (df = 1229)

F Statistic	20.857*** (df = 13; 1228)	28.701*** (df = 13; 1229)
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*Note: Entries are OLS coefficients with standard errors in parentheses.
All variables range from 0-1.*

* ** *** p<0.01

Table 5.4 Racial Resilience and Lower Cost Participation

Source: Study 1

Finally, I examine the relationship between racial resilience and voting, including 1) waiting in line to vote; 2) facing personal issues while attempting to vote; 3) self-reported voter turnout in 2020; 4) self-reported voter turnout in the 2018 midterm election and 5) general participation in local elections. I subset to only include in the model respondents who are registered and were eligible in prior elections. In Table 5.6, I report the results from this analysis. Recall that according to the responses to adversity framework, there should be a positive influence of racial resilience on the act of waiting in line to vote. However, there should be less of an effect of racial resilience on voting in the face of personal issues. But overall, since voting is a lower-cost act, we might expect a weaker association between voting in the 2018 election, the 2020 election, or other local elections and levels of racial resilience. However, given the findings in Table 5.4, our expectation might need revision to account for the participation of more racially resilient African Americans in lower-cost acts of political engagement.

The first row of Table 5.6 indicates the main effects of racial resilience across all five models represented in the table. First, there a non-existent effect of racial resilience on waiting in line to vote, as compared to attempting to vote in the face of issues. In Pilot 5 and Pilot 6, this coefficient was positive and statistically significant. However, here, it is indistinguishable from zero. However, racial resilience behaves as expected in the second model. For voting, while experiencing personal issues, there is a substantively large and negative effect of racial resilience. Next, when examining the standard measures of voting in an election, there is an inconsistent influence of racial resilience. Racial resilience is significantly and positively associated with voting in the 2020 election, but for earlier elections, the effect of racial resilience is indistinguishable from zero. The coefficients for these items lack significance ($p > .10$). It is

important to look at the size of other coefficients within the model to interpret the magnitude of the mixed effects of racial resilience and electoral-adjacent behaviors.

I start by examining racial resilience compared to other psychological resources, including linked fate and individual resilience, and motivational factors such as political interest and internal efficacy pertaining to the first two models. Consistent with the studies in this chapter, psychological resilience is negative, and in many cases, it is statistically significant. On the other hand, the effects of linked fate are indistinguishable from zero and have less importance in explaining voting-adjacent behaviors. Both political interest and internal efficacy are substantively important and statistically significant for the willingness to wait in line in order to vote and vote despite the experience of personal issues. These findings support that for electoral-adjacent participation there is less of an influence of racial resilience. Furthermore, for lower-cost acts of participation that pertain to voting, even when it is tempered by greater stress, there has less of an influence of racial resilience.

Next, I look to the standard items of participation, the remaining three columns in Table 5. Only for voting in the 2020 presidential election is there a positive influence of racial resilience. Recall that these rows are logistic regression odds rather than coefficients that are directly interpretable. Despite this, there is a consistent lack of influence of psychological resilience and linked fate. Increases in linked fate and psychological resilience are broadly associated with a decrease in voting in elections. However, again, both political interest and internal efficacy are associated with increases in the likelihood of voting, with the converted probabilities ranging from 7% to 10% differences moving from the lowest category to the highest category, respectively.

However, consistent across all the models is the lack of influence of psychological resilience, and the tempered effects of racial resilience. From the variation in the direction and magnitude of the racial resilience coefficient, it is less apparent that racial resilience has succinct influence on these electorally adjacent and standard electoral participation acts. Indeed, Also, there is a varied influence of financial and civic resources, in addition to psychological motivations across electoral acts. The more significant contributions of these factors lessen the extent that racial resilience differentiated those willing to participate or not. Only in one model, did I find that individuals with a greater perception of racial resilience varied from those who have a lower perception of resilience. However, these effect sizes move in opposite directions. It is important to note that most of the coefficients are indistinguishable from zero. Most notable about these findings is the significance of racial resilience in explaining a range of participation-related outcomes, even across different typologies of political participation and engagement.

Lastly, I examine the differences in participation by racial resilience by examining the rates of participation in Study 1. By doing this, I examine how racial resilience may influence the participation in standard acts, as compared to the anchored vignettes that I have presented through the chapter. These descriptive differences are in Figure 5.4. The left panel of Figure 5.4 reports the percentage of African Americans who participated either online or in-person over the last 12 months. The right panel of Figure 5.4 reports the likelihood of engagement in the next 12 months. The response set for these items included “Very Likely” to “Very Unlikely, on a 4-point scale.

Table 5. 5: Racial Resilience and Voting (Study 1)

	Wait in Line	Facing Personal Issues While Vote	Voted in 2020	Voted in 2018	Vote Local Elections
	OLS		Logit		
Racial Resilience	0.001 (0.074)	-0.194** (0.086)	1.699** (0.732)	-0.026 (0.820)	0.463 (0.621)
Psychological Resilience	-0.078* (0.047)	-0.160*** (0.055)	-0.349 (0.471)	-1.278** (0.530)	-1.082*** (0.396)
Linked Fate	0.054* (0.029)	0.032 (0.033)	0.077 (0.266)	-0.524 (0.324)	-0.487** (0.241)
Political Interest	0.237*** (0.037)	0.412*** (0.043)	1.588*** (0.347)	2.267*** (0.390)	2.240*** (0.318)
Internal Efficacy	0.098*** (0.029)	0.145*** (0.034)	0.332 (0.288)	0.404 (0.322)	1.110*** (0.235)
Education	0.026** (0.011)	-0.003 (0.013)	0.247** (0.111)	0.136 (0.129)	-0.176* (0.095)
Income	-0.025 (0.027)	0.064** (0.031)	1.073*** (0.261)	0.488 (0.298)	0.450** (0.220)
Conservative	0.090*** (0.024)	0.026 (0.028)	-0.272 (0.226)	0.491* (0.261)	0.750*** (0.197)
Liberal	0.119*** (0.021)	0.048* (0.024)	0.792*** (0.187)	0.935*** (0.231)	0.641*** (0.176)
Democrat	0.042* (0.024)	-0.072** (0.028)	0.313 (0.254)	0.123 (0.260)	0.151 (0.192)
South	0.008 (0.019)	-0.033 (0.022)	0.419** (0.186)	-0.330 (0.210)	0.128 (0.153)
Female	0.025 (0.019)	0.017 (0.022)	0.413** (0.186)	0.127 (0.209)	-0.237 (0.153)
Age	0.217*** (0.028)	0.143*** (0.032)	1.658*** (0.318)	1.646*** (0.327)	0.833*** (0.229)
Constant	0.245*** (0.061)	0.411*** (0.071)	-3.689*** (0.645)	-1.445** (0.695)	-2.315*** (0.529)
Observations	938	940	941	733	893
R ²	0.233	0.184			

Log Likelihood			-292.677	-252.337	-415.168
Akaike Inf. Crit.			613.354	532.673	858.337
Residual Std. Error	0.278 (df = 924)	0.325 (df = 926)			
F Statistic	21.535*** (df = 13; 924)	16.105*** (df = 13; 926)			

Note: Entries are OLS coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. All variables range from 0-1.

* ** *** p<0.01

Table 5.5 Racial Resilience and Voting (Study 1)

Source: Study 1

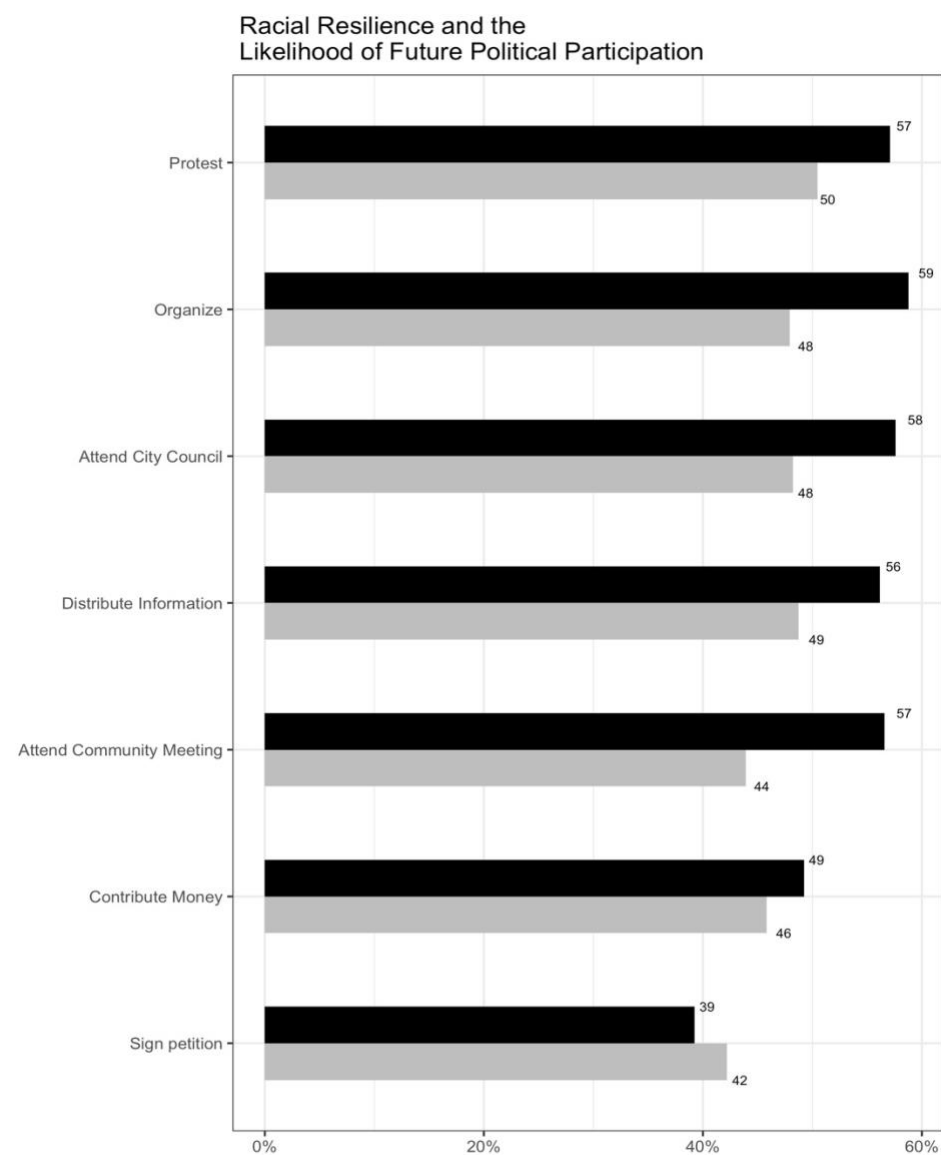
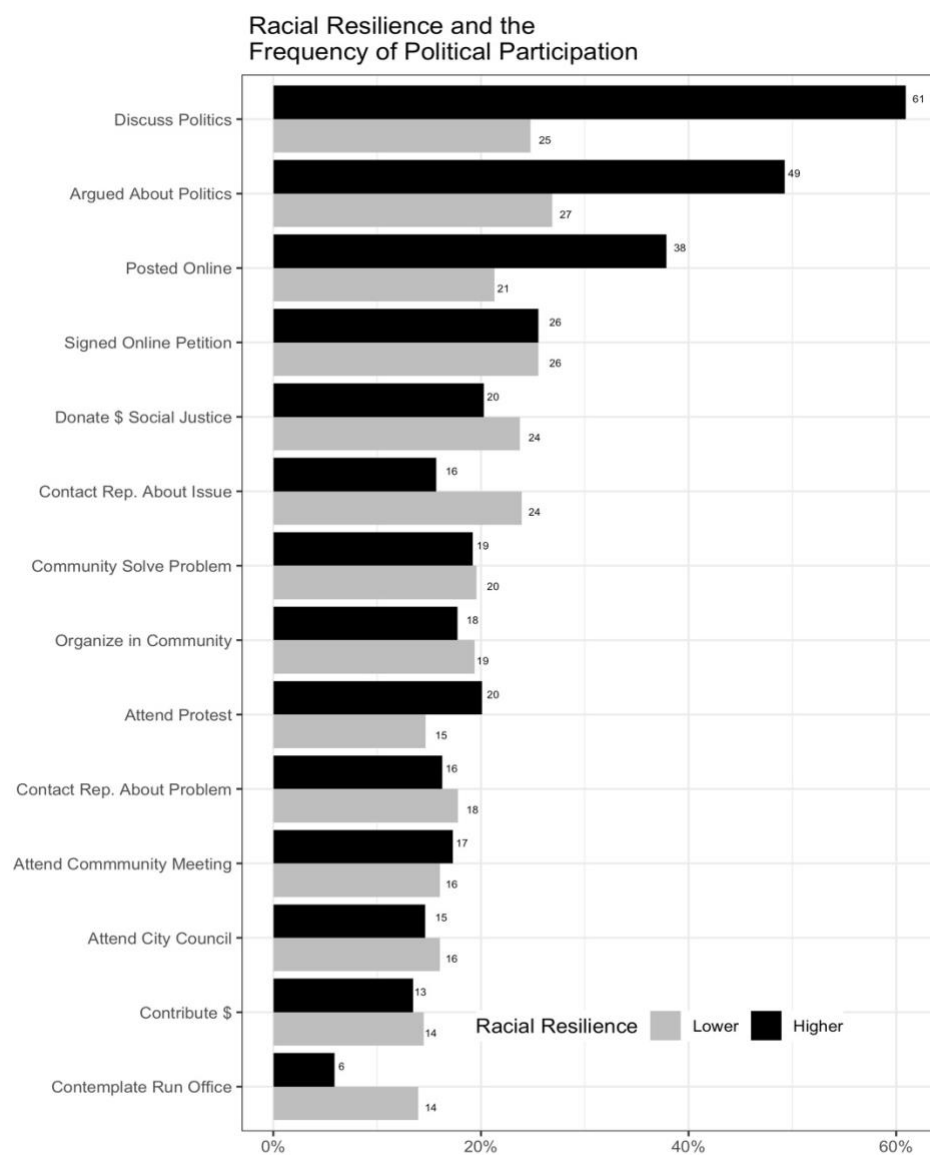


Figure 5.4 Racial Resilience and Participation Source: Study 1

In Figure 5.4, it is apparent that for traditional acts of political engagement, there are fewer stark differences by levels of racial resilience. Except for discussing politics, arguing about politics, and posting about politics online, African Americans with a greater perception of racial resilience participate about the same compared to those with less racial resilience. For most of the acts in Figure 5.4, there are not significant difference by levels of racial resilience. However, in some instances, there is greater participation in traditional participation acts from less racially resilient African Americans. There are more people who are less racially resilient that report contacting a representative about an issue (34%) compared to the racially resilient (16%). For instance, more African Americans with less racial resilience report contemplating running for office (14%) compared to those with higher racial resilience (6%).

When it comes to the likelihood of future participation there is more similarity across the racial resilience scale. First, individuals are more likely to report engagement in future behaviors. For each participation act in the right panel of Figure 5.4, apart from signing a petition, individuals with a greater perception of racial resilience report a greater willingness to engage. This enthusiasm for participation among the racially resilient is distinct from those with lower racial resilience, who are less likely to be enthusiastic about future participation.

These descriptive results show mixed support for the behavioral consequences of racial resilience. When it comes to past participation, Figure 5.4 provides evidence that the racially resilient are similar to the less racially resilient in terms of their past participation in the past 12 months. However, the racially resilient are more enthusiastic about future participation.

Conclusion

This chapter examined how racial resilience influences the non-electoral political behavior of African Americans. Using the implications of the framework presented in Chapter 2, and the operationalization of this framework through the novel racial resilience items presented in Chapter 3, this chapter set out to investigate how the variations in racial resilience bear out behavioral consequences. By doing this, I examine how racial resilience is associated with the political engagement of African Americans.

The findings in this chapter make a novel contribution to the study of Black politics. First, I have demonstrated that a unique and novel measure for African Americans has influence onto their willingness to engage in several different types of behaviors, varied by the costs and efforts associated with engagement. Many accounts of Black political behavior include the linked fate measure. Indeed, the linked fate measure, and the Black utility heuristic have several important and explanatory implications for Black political decision-making. However, the findings in this chapter demonstrate that linked fate has declined influence, when included in a multivariate model. Further, there is consistent explanatory power of the racial resilience measure for political behavior across several models that often counteracts the impact of linked fate.

In addition, the findings in the chapter make a novel contribution to the field of psychology. Not until now has there been a measure of psychological resilience, at the individual level, included on a survey of political attitudes and behaviors. Across three studies, there are several consistent findings that psychological resilience is not associated with political behavior. In many ways, I found a negative relationship. This contributes to prior scholarship that links psychological resilience to positive coping behaviors, including positive well-being after the

experience of hardship. In this chapter, I have demonstrated that racial resilience is a significant influence to Black political action. Relying on the CVM alone to discuss Black political behavior, there may overlook an important consideration Black Americans make when participating in politics. Understanding how Black people engage racial resilience when choosing to engage in politics is important to the study of political behavior.

The goals of this chapter were to demonstrate the relationship between racial resilience, and political engagement. Through a series of analyses, including two pilot studies, and a national survey of African Americans, I contribute to the study of Black politics, and the factors that influence Black political engagement. I do this by specifying the conditions that the novel measure of novel measure of racial resilience. I find that racial resilience is strongly associated with costly political behavior particularly, and in several instances, this increased behavior extends to acts that are associated with higher stress and higher risks. However, I also find support that racial resilience is associated with lower-cost behaviors. Descriptively, I found little difference between the frequency of political engagement among the racially resilient compared to the less-racially resilient. Future work should interrogate further how there are mediating and moderating factors that condition how racially resilience has specific implications for political engagement of Black Americans.

To this end, the analysis in this chapter is the first to examine how, and if, an individual measure of resilience has political behavior consequences. Despite the contributions of other psychological resources, racial resilience consistently and significantly influences engagement in higher risk political acts. Importantly, racial resilience's contribution is distinct from existing measures of psychological resources, financial resources, and differences across demographic measures, indicating that racial resilience is a unique attribute among African Americans.

However, the results in this chapter lay out the most direct influence of racial resilience: it can move African Americans into political action.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

Overview

In developmental, social and personality psychology, resilience is an attribute associated with the ability to “bounce back” from hardships (Bonanno and Diminich 2013). However, there has been no account of how resilience crosses over to influence the study of political behavior and attitudes. This dissertation takes an interdisciplinary perspective to address these shortcomings grounded in political science research methods, to investigate the role of racial resilience and its influence on African Americans’ political culture, attitudes, and behaviors.

Past accounts of Black political behavior explored the role of linked fate and common fate (Dawson 1994, Tate 1994), and these concepts are associated with increased political engagement in conventional activities (Tate 1991; Wilson 2012; Huyser et al. 2018; Carter and King-Meadows 2019; Shaw, Foster, and Combs 2019). In addition, the Civic Voluntarism Model (CVM) (Brady, Verba, and Schlozman 1995; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995) outlines the financial and civic resources that are important to American political participation, broadly, and these factors are associated with more frequent political participation (Leighley 1995; Leighley 1996; Leighley and Vedlitz 1999). Both the role of group solidarity and resources are important factors require revision and update in their linkage to political behavior.

With a focus on the plight history of African Americans in the United States, I argued that the perception of racial resilience is associated with the increased participation of African Americans in politics today. I provided a framework that connected the experience of group-based adversity to collective triumph to individual perseverance among Black Americans in politics. I posit that the awareness of economic subjugation and the orientation towards triumph are important for African American’s racial resilience. I reviewed the literature on Black political behavior which demonstrated how Black Americans’ interactions with cultural institutions were

important for the socialization of resilience messages. I also argued that the lived experiences of African Americans, and their individual encounters with adversity were influential for the development of racial resilience.

In this chapter, I will overview the central findings of each chapter while addressing the implications of these findings. Then, I will discuss the limitations of this research. After I will outline the main contributions and implications of this dissertation research. Before concluding, I will propose different avenues and areas of inquiry which can expand the theoretical arguments and empirical findings of this work.

Recap of Main Findings

In Chapter 2, I presented the “responses to adversity” framework that explains the expectations of the relationships between hardship and adversity, racial resilience, and political engagement. This chapter begins by sketching the histories and experiences that detail how racial resilience has shaped the experiences of racial and ethnic minorities in the United States. Next, I dedicate considerable attention to the African American community's fight for political inclusion and highlight the varied ways African Americans have demonstrated resilience in the political realm. Parallel to the fight for inclusion and economic subjugation experienced by African Americans is their orientation towards triumph. The result of African Americans’ persistent challenge to the American system in the quest for equality and equity is their ability to remain optimistic when engaging in politics. Then, I distinguish resilience in politics from resilience as characterized by public health scholars and psychologists. This chapter organized the central theory of the dissertation, its hypotheses, and its empirical implications. Finally, I took the propositions outlined by the theory of *responses to adversity* in chapter 2, and I develop a set of items to measure levels of resilience.

Chapter 3 detailed the preliminary qualitative and quantitative research that led to the development of the original racial resilience scale. In this chapter, I also described the process of validating the scale, including discussions of its psychometric properties, including reliability and convergent validity from the pilot studies. The repeated testing is done to lead up to the penultimate iteration of the question-wording. I included vetted measures of resilience from social, developmental, and personality psychology research (Block and Kremen 1996; Bonanno 2004; Maddi 2006), as well as the Brief Resilience Scale (Smith et al. 2008), a shortened version of the Connor Davidson Resilience Scale (Connor and Davidson 2003), to form original items on the racial resilience scale. Through constructing, testing, and validating the racial resilience scale across two versions of items, I clarified how the components of racial resilience operated. From this chapter, I find that racial resilience is an identifiable measure. I relied on results from the pilot studies to demonstrate empirically the postulates put forth in Chapter 2 about the measurement of racial resilience to develop a measure for use throughout the dissertation.

In Chapter 4, I examine the demographic contours of racial resilience. I examined the existing cleavages in Black political identity and attitudes. The overview of this literature aided in understanding how gender, generational status, and socio-economic status are influential to Black attitude development. By reviewing this literature, I expected that these factor also influenced Black Americans to have greater perceptions of racial resilience. I also engaged what, if any, ideological differences exist among African Americans at varying levels of racial resilience. Further, I explored which differences were associated with greater individual resilience. From this inquiry, gender was revealed to have a consistent influence on possessing higher racial resilience for African American women. Across other pilots, I failed to find an effect of a demographic measure. The findings cast light on the intra-racial differences among African Americans and the

intersectionality between race and other characteristics. With the exception gender, this chapter revealed that there was not a consistent influence of a demographic or ideological characteristic that predicted higher racial resilience.

In Chapter 5, I explored the behavioral consequences of racial resilience. Chapter 5 engaged the unique factors that shape resilience among African Americans and the varied effects that the trait of resilience has on electoral and non-electoral forms of political behavior. One finding is that African Americans who exhibit greater racial resilience are willing to engage in more stressful political acts where there is an increased risk associated with participation. Relying on original survey data, I demonstrated that African Americans with a greater perception of racial resilience were more engaged in higher and lower cost political behaviors. In addition, there was an influence of racial resilience in characterizing who were more likely to engage in politically resilient acts that are higher in costs, and higher in risks and stress.

Limitations

I presented a novel framework to understand African American political behavior. Through using a series of pilot studies, and a more extensive representative study, I have provided evidence to validate a measure of racial resilience. Subsequently, I examined its demographic contours and behavioral consequences. These efforts reflect my careful attention to an iterative research design and process to develop a novel measure. The dissertation presents strong evidence of how racial resilience is associated with lower cost, and higher cost political engagement. However, there are several limitations that should be addressed.

While this project finds a link between racial resilience and political participation, under varying conditions, it is important to consider how the political, and social climate may have influenced the study. Foremost, the data collection for this project began in September 2019,

which was the beginning on-ramp for the 2020 Presidential Election. President Donald Trump regularly abused his social media platforms to eschew racist, sexist, and xenophobic messages, which would often dominate the news cycle for days after. Overall, voters may be more attentive to politics during political campaigns, but research finds mixed effects of this interest.

However, the campaign activity pales in comparison to the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic which has shattered the normalcy of life for many Americans. Many race scholars have referred to the Covid-19 pandemic as one of many pandemics, including racial, health, and economic inequalities. In fact, evidence from my data collection supports how the lingering effects of the Covid-19 pandemic impacted respondents. In Study 1, in the past 12 months over 17% of study respondents had their work hours reduced, 23% of study participants either closed a business/ or self-employment, 19% had to work from home and 18% lost their primary source of income. In fact, evidence from my data collection supports how the onset of the Coronavirus impacted African Americans' behavior. Of the 220 African Americans who reported attending a march or demonstration, about 97 (7% of the full sample) of those respondents identified "Covid-19 Protections" as the type of protest. It is plausible that this may have impacted the types of respondents participating in online studies, and reduced the perceptions of racial resilience, as so many African Americans were faced with a crushing health crisis.

During the Covid-19 pandemic, Minneapolis police officer Derek Chauvin placed his knee on the neck of George Floyd for over 8 minutes leading to his death.¹⁹ This murder, recorded by teenager named Darnella Frazier sparked outrage on such a large scale that there were worldwide protests calling for the elimination of police brutality against Black Americans.

¹⁹ Hill, Evan, Ainara Tiefenthäler, Christiaan Triebert, Drew Jordan, Haley Willis, and Robin Stein. 2020. "How George Floyd Was Killed in Police Custody." *The New York Times*, June 1, 2020, sec. U.S. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/31/us/george-floyd-investigation.html>.

The data collection for the remaining pilots occurred during this period of reckoning around race, which may have led respondents in the studies to be more in tune to narratives of racial resilience. It is plausible that perceptions of racial resilience were strongly affected by this heightened racial and political climate, compared to other years, or during other prolific social movements.

Beyond recognizing the data collection's temporal context, this project begins the examination of the role racial resilience in American politics. Thus, there are several remaining questions to be answered. First, how might political elites influence the perception of racial resilience among African Americans? Several quotes from African American are addressed throughout the manuscript, however, there has yet to be an empirical investigation of how these messages are relevant to the formation of racial resilience among African Americans. Second, how might racial resilience influence political decision-making at the local level? In this dissertation, the role of region is limited. African Americans are concentrated in Southern states but have yet to wield political power in these states. Variation in the Black population's size likely influences the formation of racial resilience, and political participation. To this end, while there was not a consistent or substantial relationship between racial resilience and residence in the South, it is likely that region, state, county, city and neighborhood residence are influential in my framework. Existing research on the role of political empowerment (Spence and McClerking 2010) demonstrates how this context matters for Black political efficacy and participation. Clarifying the role of Black political elites, and the role of region may assist with some of the inconsistencies in the effects of racial resilience.

When developing the measure of racial resilience, I followed best practices in the social and personality psychology literatures. To measure racial resilience, in pilots 1-4 , I used a 6-

item measure (version 1), and then in pilots 5 – 6 (version 2), this measure was updated to include 8-items. While the items between the versions of the scale are similar, in many ways they are different. In Chapter 3, I detailed the intuition behind the shift in question-wording and the addition of other items, yet this change presents a limitation to look across the studies over time. However, throughout the dissertation, I analyze the racial resilience measure as a unified construct. As a result, there are likely unobserved differences across the two versions of the scale, minimizing their comparability. However, in Chapter 4 there were not significant differences among the demographics associated with greater racial resilience, and the distributions across the scale versions were quite similar.

In defining the components of the racial resilience measure, I characterized two components: awareness of economic subjugation, and orientation towards triumph. However, throughout the dissertation, I analyze the racial resilience measure as a unified construct. There are likely unique influences of the two components, which are not empirically dressed or explored in the dissertation. The economic subjugation component is similar to the measure of group consciousness (Miller et al. 1981; Gurin, Miller, and Gurin 1980; Jackman and Jackman 1973). Mainly, the economic subjugation component is somewhat of a blend of two group consciousness components: system blame and polar power. However, the orientation towards triumph component of racial resilience does not draw from a group consciousness. Thus, there are plausible differences if the components were analyzed separately. In addition, there are likely additional components of racial resilience which have yet to be included.

In study 1, the placement on the racial resilience measure was more right-skewed than in Pilots 5 and 6. This right-skewness is due to an imbalance in the scale items. Overall, in 3 of the 8 items of the scale, over 85% of respondents agreed with the items. Other items had more

consistent variation. However, the high agreement on these items removed variation among the average of the scale. The average is the primary means that individuals are categorized as lower or higher in racial resilience. Revising the wording and valence of these items might allow for more variation and balance in valence across the scale.

Finally, one limitation to be addressed in future research is the causality in the relationship between racial resilience and political engagement. For individual resilience, there is a clear path that adverse events are associated with resilience development (Seery, Holman, and Silver 2010; Seery et al. 2013). However, as it pertains to racial resilience the relationship is not causally identified. Empirically, it is difficult to discern whether racial resilience leads to higher-cost political engagement, or if by participation in higher-cost political engagement, African Americans become more racially resilient. While I have addressed this theoretically in the *responses to adversity framework*, additional evidence is needed to reduce this directional concern. Future research must address causality.

Future Directions of Racial Resilience

When considering the limitations, contributions, and implications of this dissertation, there are many fruitful pathways for extension. Accordingly, I will address two areas for engagement. First, there are attitudinal consequences of racial resilience, and second is the extension of the measure of racial resilience, and the responses to adversity framework to non-Black Americans.

While the primary role of racial resilience is to explain Black political participation, there are implications of racial resilience that extend beyond political engagement. When exploring the attitudinal implications of racial resilience, I found that increased racial resilience was associated with greater support for Black-centered policies that address Black-white inequality.

For instance, these pro-Black policies include 1) abolishing the death penalty, 2) reforming the criminal justice system, 3) raising the minimum wage to \$15 an hour, 4) securing voting rights, increasing K-12 educational spending, and 5) paying reparations for slavery.

In my preliminary research on racial resilience and political attitudes, the relationship between racial resilience and support for Black centered policies withstands the inclusion of ideological and partisan identity variables. In addition, I found that racial resilience is associated with a decrease in support for deporting undocumented immigrants and decreasing welfare spending. Finally, greater perceptions of racial resilience are associated with increased support for legalizing marijuana and increasing tax cuts for the rich. Future research should interrogate the attitudinal implications of racial resilience, and the non-political outcomes where racial resilience may exert influence. My findings indicate that racial resilience influences multiple areas of politics, and thus a more detailed framework of racial resilience may account for these attitudinal outcomes.

In this dissertation, I have sought to create a novel measure of racial resilience relevant to the study of African American politics. However, racial resilience may extend to non-Black racial and ethnic groups, minority social groups, and internationally in non-Democratic contexts. Future directions of racial resilience should account for Asians, Latinos, and other minority groups. However, as the responses of adversity framework is tailored to the experience of African Americans – particularly those descendants of enslaved Africans – much of the history and context that leads to the development and measure of racial resilience must be revised. As resilience is universal to the human experience, there might be a continuity of racial resilience shared among people of color who have experienced marginalization in the United States. Future

research must seriously engage the history, and context of any group to advance the measurement of racial resilience and its implications.

Contributions and Implications

Perhaps the contributions and implications of this study are best captured in the remarks of Carol Blount, an ordinary Black woman from Detroit, Michigan. In advance of the November 2020 election, Carol says this about voting, “my people, my heritage, were not born with this right, and they had to fight, I owe them my vote. They fought hard and shed blood and died so I could be here in 2020 to vote.”²⁰ The resilience to adversity -- and its relevance to politics -- that Carol alludes to in her quote is just what I sought to measure in this dissertation. This project makes an original and important contribution to several literatures in political science, including race and ethnic politics, political psychology, and class and inequality. However, primarily this work contributes and advances Black politics scholarship by joining Black political scientists who meaningfully incorporate the historical context of political behavior in the study of Black Americans.

This dissertation is the first attempt to offer a framework and measurement of racial resilience, while also exploring the types of political behaviors where racial resilience influences. The dissertation finds evidence that racial resilience is associated with resistance and perseverance, leading to greater participation among African Americans in various political acts. On the other hand, African Americans who perceive less racial resilience are more entuned with the outlook of resignation, and apathetic towards political engagement. Exploring this influence of racial resilience due to the responses to adversity framework, I established that Black political

²⁰ Gardner, Amy. 2020. “‘My People Fought for the Right to Vote’: With a Surge of Emotion, Black Americans Rush to the Polls.” *Washington Post*, October 18, 2020. https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/black-voters-2020-election/2020/10/18/bdc06ad0-0f3b-11eb-8074-0e943a91bf08_story.html.

behavior associated with perceptions of racial resilience. This leads to an empirical observation that greater perceptions of racial resilience are associated with increased political engagement.

The conceptualization of racial resilience extends our overall understanding of Black political behavior when African Americans face similar racial, social, and economic disparities compared to the 1960s (for overview, see Austin 2020). The protests, riots, and worldwide uprising during the 2020 summer, in the wake of the police killing of George Floyd, are only a testament to what African Americans endure within American society. The movement that called attention to police brutality towards Black Americans shined a light towards the spirit of Black-led protest movements. While the protest-to-politics link (Tate 1994) characterized the 1980s and 1990s, social movements for racial equality have characterized the political behavior in the 2010s to now. While Black elected officials made important strides and the number of Black elected officials has risen nationwide, it is important to center and understand the racial resilience of the Black voters who elect these candidates. This is an important area of consideration as it pertains to Black voters and non-voters.

At the time of submission, the United States continues to grapple with the novel Coronavirus, known as Covid-19, which has negatively impacted many Black families. African Americans, along with Native Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans have been most impacted by the virus, including losses in wages, decreased job security, short and long term-health burdens, among other adversities, which have exasperated existing racial disparities in these areas. I have worked to delineate an argument that rejects labels that refer to Black people or pathologize the strength of Black people. Any normative implications from this study should directly connect to resilience in politics, and not elsewhere.

The dissertation contends that African Americans' racially resilient response to collective adversity is fundamental to the substance and frequency of their political participation. This broadens our understanding of how and why individuals become engaged in the political process, particularly as it pertains to the study of class and inequality. Racial resilience offers a framework of how the awareness of hardships can, counter-intuitively, strengthen and lead to greater political engagement. This has implications for the study of individuals from groups who have experienced collective racial marginalization. While individual differences exist and are worth exploring, the racial group's history, context, and macro-economic conditions must be considered when examining inequality.

Lastly, for American political behavior, the dissertation finding's highlight how novel outcomes of political participation are advantageous. Many acts of political engagement, particularly from under-represented groups in politics, remain undercounted and under-analyzed in politics, particularly in survey research. Given that America is diversifying rapidly and racial and ethnic minorities account for most of the nation's population growth ²¹, it is more important to update the measures of political participation to reflect how each group chooses to express their political voice in American politics.

²¹ Frey, William H. 2020. "The Nation Is Diversifying Even Faster than Predicted, According to New Census Data." *Brookings* (blog). July 1, 2020. <https://www.brookings.edu/research/new-census-data-shows-the-nation-is-diversifying-even-faster-than-predicted/>.

Appendix A

Items Adapted from Psychology Concepts in Existing Research

A.1 Items Adapted from the Connor Davidson Resilience Scale (Connor & Davidson 2003)

The CD-RISC was designed to assess the personal characteristics that embody resilience. The Connor-Davidson Resilience Scale (CD-RISC) is inarguably one of the best-known instruments in the field of resilience assessment.

1. I am able to adapt when changes occur.
2. I have at least one close and secure relationship that helps me when I am stressed.
3. When there are no clear solutions to my problems, sometimes fate or God can help.
4. Past successes give me confidence in dealing with new challenges and difficulties.
5. I try to see the humorous side of things when I am faced with problems
6. Having to cope with stress can make me stronger.
7. I tend to bounce back after illness, injury, or other hardships
8. Good or bad, I believe that most things happen for a reason.
9. I give my best effort no matter what the outcome may be.
10. I believe I can achieve my goals, even if there are obstacles
11. Even when things look hopeless, I don't give up
12. During times of stress/crisis, I know where to turn for help.
13. I have at least one close and secure relationship that helps me when I am stressed.
14. Under pressure, I stay focused and think clearly.
15. I prefer to take the lead in solving problems rather than letting others make all the decisions
16. I am not easily discouraged by failure
17. I think of myself as a strong person when dealing with life's challenges and difficulties
18. I can make unpopular or difficult decisions that affect other people, if it is necessary.
19. I am able to handle unpleasant or painful feelings like sadness, fear, and anger
20. In dealing with life's problems, sometimes you have to act on a hunch without knowing why
21. I have a strong sense of purpose in life.
22. I feel in control of my life
23. I like challenges.
24. I work to attain my goals no matter what roadblocks encounter along the way
25. I take pride in my achievements.

Item Response: Not True at All (1), Rarely True (2), Not At All True (3), Often True (4), True All the Time (5)

A.2 Items Adapted from the Brief Resilience Scale (Smith et. al 2008)

Assesses resilience at its most basic meaning, bouncing back and recovering from stress

1. I tend to bounce back quickly after hard times
2. I have a hard time making it through stressful events. (R = reverse coded item)
3. It does not take me long to recover from a stressful event.
4. It is hard for me to snap back when something bad happens. (R = reverse coded items)
5. I usually come through difficult times with little trouble.
6. I tend to take a long time to get over set-backs in my life. (R= reverse coded items)

Item Response: (5) Strongly Disagree (4) Disagree (3) Neutral (2) Agree (1) Strongly Agree

A.3 Modified Brief Resilience Scale Items

1. African Americans have a hard time making it through stressful events. (R= reverse coded items)
2. African Americans tend to take a long time to get over set-backs in their life. (R= reverse coded items)
3. African Americans tend to bounce back quickly after hard times.
4. It does not take a long time for African Americans to recover from a stressful event.
5. It is hard for African American to snap back when something bad happens.(R= reverse coded items)
6. African Americans usually come through difficult times with little trouble.

Item Response: (5) Strongly Disagree (4) Disagree (3) Neutral (2) Agree (1) Strongly Agree

Appendix B

Original Racial Resilience Items Across Scale Version

B.1 Pilot 1

1. I believe that African Americans as a group have experienced generations of economic hardship
 - a. Agree Strongly (5), Agree Somewhat (4) Neither Agree Nor Disagree (3), Disagree Somewhat (2) Disagree Strongly (1)
2. Even though African Americans always have to work with very little, they always find ways to get it done
 - a. Agree Strongly (5), Agree Somewhat (4) Neither Agree Nor Disagree (3), Disagree Somewhat (2) Disagree Strongly (1)
3. No one has said to me "If There's a Will, There's a Way" when I am discouraged
 - a. True (1) False (2)

4. Even when I am struggling, there is something I can do to better my situation with whatever resources that I have
 - a. Agree Strongly (5), Agree Somewhat (4) Neither Agree Nor Disagree (3), Disagree Somewhat (2) Disagree Strongly (1)
5. I try hard to do the best that I can, even when I want to give-up
 - a. Agree Strongly (5), Agree Somewhat (4) Neither Agree Nor Disagree (3), Disagree Somewhat (2) Disagree Strongly (1)
6. I believe that people can "Make a Way Out of No Way".
 - a. Agree Strongly (5), Agree Somewhat (4) Neither Agree Nor Disagree (3), Disagree Somewhat (2) Disagree Strongly (1)

B.2 Pilot 2

Racial Resilience Scale V1

1. I believe that [RACE] people have experienced generations of hardship"
 - a. Agree Strongly (5), Agree Somewhat (4) Neither Agree Nor Disagree (3), Disagree Somewhat (2) Disagree Strongly (1)
2. "Even though [RACE] s generally have to work with very little, they always find ways to get it done."
 - a. Agree Strongly (5), Agree Somewhat (4) Neither Agree Nor Disagree (3), Disagree Somewhat (2) Disagree Strongly (1)
3. Even if I am struggling, there is something I will do to better the situation
 - a. Definitely (5), Probably (4), Possibly (3) Probably Not (2) Definitely Not (1)
4. No one has said to me "If There's Will, There's a Way" as encouragement
 - a. Definitely true (5), Probably true (4), Neither true nor false (3) Probably false (2) Definitely false (1)
5. I try hard to do the best that I can, even when I want to give-up
 - a. Agree Strongly (5), Agree Somewhat (4) Neither Agree Nor Disagree (3), Disagree Somewhat (2) Disagree Strongly (1)
6. "I believe that people can ""Make a Way Out of No Way""."
 - a. Agree Strongly (5), Agree Somewhat (4) Neither Agree Nor Disagree (3), Disagree Somewhat (2) Disagree Strongly (1)

B.3 Pilot 3

Racial Resilience Scale V1

1. I believe that [RACE] people have experienced generations of hardship.
 - a. Agree Strongly (5), Agree Somewhat (4) Neither Agree Nor Disagree (3), Disagree Somewhat (2) Disagree Strongly (1)
2. Q16 Even though [RACE]s generally have to work with very little, they always find ways to get it done.
 - a. Agree Strongly (5), Agree Somewhat (4) Neither Agree Nor Disagree (3), Disagree Somewhat (2) Disagree Strongly (1)
3. Even if I am struggling, there is something I will do to better the situation
 - a. Definitely (5), Probably (4), Possibly (3) Probably Not (2) Definitely Not (1)
4. No one has said to me "If There's a Will, There's a Way" as encouragement
 - a. Definitely true (5), Probably true (4), Neither true nor false (3) Probably false (2) Definitely false (1)
5. I try hard to do the best that I can, even when I want to give-up.
 - a. Agree Strongly (5), Agree Somewhat (4) Neither Agree Nor Disagree (3), Disagree Somewhat(2) Disagree Strongly (1)
6. I believe that people can "Make a Way Out of No Way".
 - a. Agree Strongly (5), Agree Somewhat (4) Neither Agree Nor Disagree (3), Disagree Somewhat(2) Disagree Strongly (1)

B.3 Pilot 4

1. [Black Americans / I] have experienced generations of hardship
 - a. Agree Strongly (5), Agree Somewhat (4) Neither Agree Nor Disagree (3), Disagree Somewhat(2) Disagree Strongly (1)
2. [Black Americans / I] have to work with very little, but [Black Americans / I] always finds ways to get it done
 - a. Agree Strongly (5), Agree Somewhat (4) Neither Agree Nor Disagree (3), Disagree Somewhat(2) Disagree Strongly (1)
3. Even if [I / African Americans] are struggling, there is something [I / they] will do to better the situation.
 - a. Agree Strongly (5), Agree Somewhat (4) Neither Agree Nor Disagree (3), Disagree Somewhat(2) Disagree Strongly (1)
4. [I / African Americans] can make a way out of no way
 - a. Agree Strongly (5), Agree Somewhat (4) Neither Agree Nor Disagree (3), Disagree Somewhat(2) Disagree Strongly (1)
5. [I / African Americans] try hard to do the best that [I / they] can, even when [I / they] want to give up
 - a. Agree Strongly (5), Agree Somewhat (4) Neither Agree Nor Disagree (3), Disagree Somewhat(2) Disagree Strongly (1)
6. No one has said to me "If there's a will there's a way as a form of encouragement"
 - a. Definitely False (1), Probably False (2), Neither True nor false (3) Probably True (2) Definitely True (1)

B.3 Pilot 5

1. When it comes to Black people in America, they have experienced generations of economic hardship.
2. Even though African Americans must work with very little, but they always find ways to get it done.
3. When African Americans are struggling, there is something they will do to better their situation.
4. When someone tells a Black person they can't do something, they work hard prove them wrong.
5. Black Americans are better at managing stress as compared to White Americans.
6. Other minorities would not have been able to endure the 400 years of being treated as "less than" that African Americans have experienced.
7. Even when Black people get knocked down, they get up and try again.
8. What makes African Americans great is their ability to turn nothing into something, to do more with less, and to start from bottom and rise up.
9. African Americans have never overcome the discrimination they experienced in the past. . (R = reverse coded items)
10. African Americans don't remain motivated during hard times. . (R = reverse coded items)
11. If only Black people would stopped complaining about how hard they've had it, they'd be able to accomplish something in life.
12. Unlike other minorities, African Americans give up too easily when facing a hard task. . (R = reverse coded items)
13. Black Americans don't value education or hard work to get ahead like other minorities. . (R = reverse coded items)
14. Other minorities have endured more hardship than African Americans, but other minorities have overcome them while African Americans haven't. . (R = reverse coded items)
15. African Americans can't afford to lose their cool when dealing with discrimination.
16. Compared to other minorities, African Americans are stuck in the past, and are too focused on the struggles of the past generation. . (R = reverse coded items)
17. Generally speaking, African Americans are resilient to the hard times they've experienced.
18. For people, past and present, having faith in God is what makes more resilient than others.
19. There is pride in African American resilience.
20. You can always depend on African Americans doing more with less.
21. Black people have to organize and create their own resources before White Americans take notice.
22. American needs to better recognize what Black people have contributed to it.
23. No matter where they are, when Black people rely on one another, they become stronger and more resilient.
24. Black people are a resilient group of people, more resilient than other minorities.
25. This country would not be what it is today without the contributions of Black Americans.
26. Black people always can create something for themselves, when others depend on hand-outs.

27. Black people are unique in their ability to remain hopeful when the environment surrounding them is so dark.

Response Set: Strongly Agree (1), Agree (2) Somewhat Agree (3) Neither Agree or Disagree (4) Somewhat Disagree (5) Disagree (6) Strongly Disagree (7)

B.3 Pilot 6

1. Black people have experienced generations of hardship in the United States.
2. Even when Black people get knocked down, they get up and try again.
3. Even though African Americans must work with very little, they always find ways to get it done.
4. Generally speaking, African Americans are resilient to the hard times they've experienced.
5. Unlike other minorities, African Americans give up too easily when facing a hard task. (R = reverse coded items)
6. If only Black people stop complaining about how hard they've had it, they'd be able to accomplish something in life. (R = reverse coded items)
7. Black people are a resilient group of people, more resilient than other minorities.
8. Black people always can create something for themselves, when others depend on hand-outs. (R = reverse coded items)

Response Set: Strongly Agree (1), Agree (2) Somewhat Agree (3) Neither Agree or Disagree (4) Somewhat Disagree (5) Disagree (6) Strongly Disagree (7)

B.3 Study 1

1. Black people have experienced generations of hardship in the United States.
2. Even when Black people get knocked down, they get up and try again.
3. Even though African Americans must work with very little, they always find ways to get it done.
4. Generally speaking, African Americans are resilient to the hard times that they have experienced.
5. Unlike other minorities, African Americans give up too easily when facing a hard task.
6. If only Black people could stop complaining about how hard they have had it, they would be able to accomplish something in life.
7. Black Americans are a resilient group of people, more resilient than other minorities.
8. Black people always can create something for themselves, when others depend on handouts.

Appendix C

Racial Resilience Measures Summary Statistics

C.1 Distribution of Racial Resilience in Pilot 1 Among Blacks and Whites

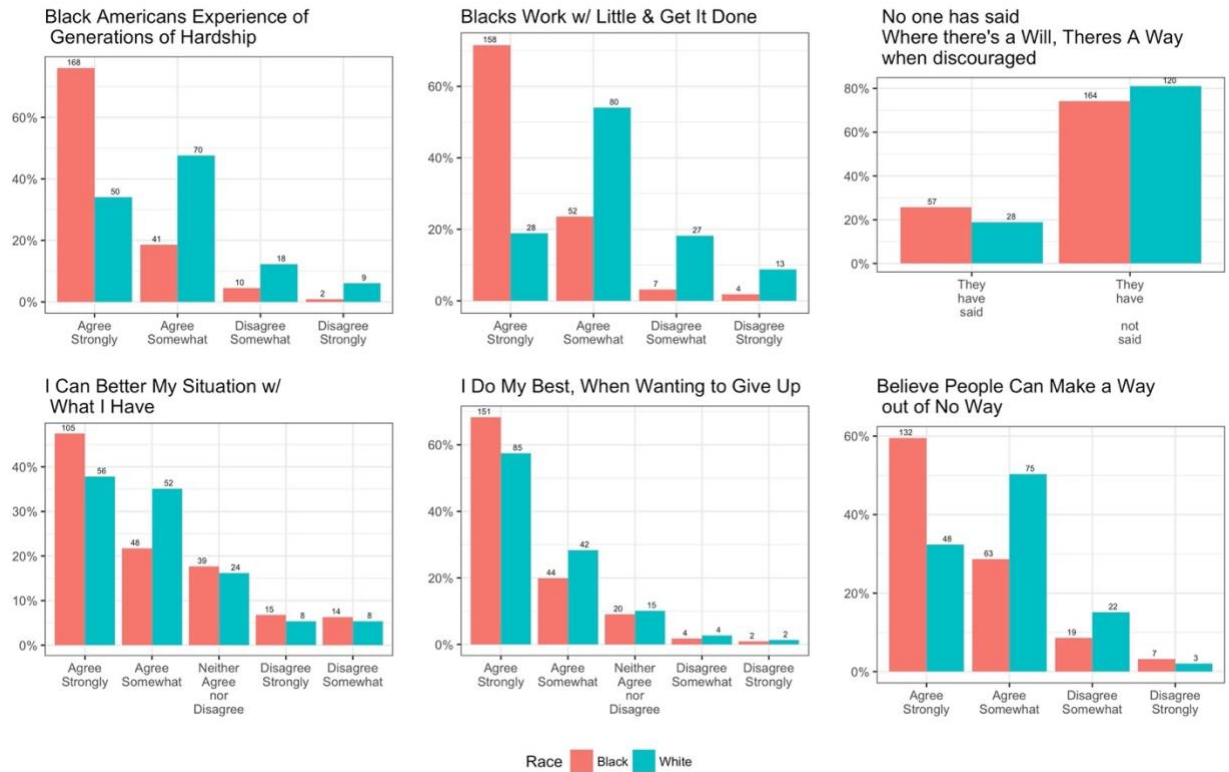
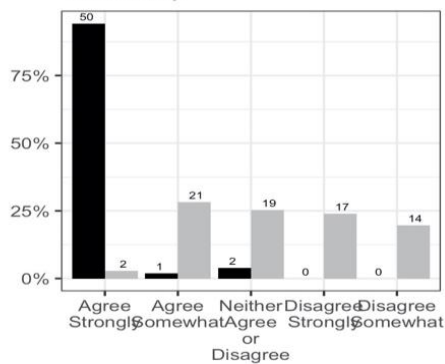


Figure C.1: Pilot 1, Racial Resilience Scale.

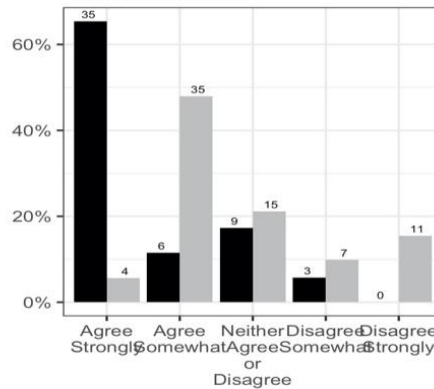
Differences in response among Black and White Respondents. Fielded in September 2019. Lucid

C.2 Distribution of Racial Resilience in Pilot 1 Among Blacks and Whites (Pilot 2)

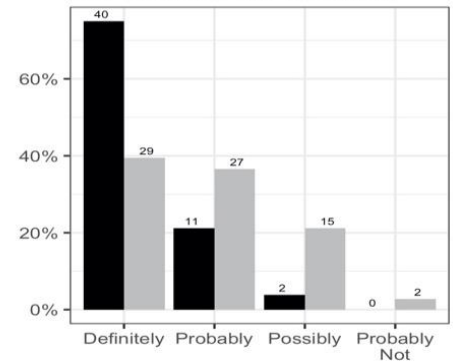
[Black/White] Americans
Experience Generations of
Hardship



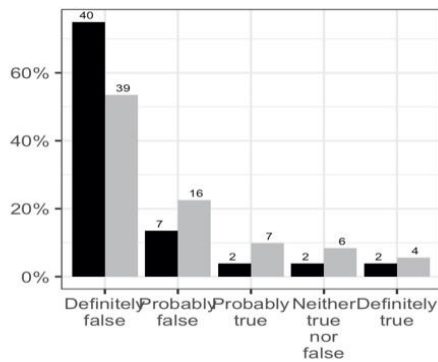
[Blacks/ Whites] Work w/ Litt
& Get It Done



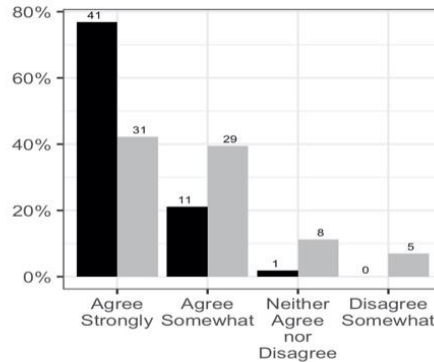
Even if I am struggling,
there is something I will
do to better the situation



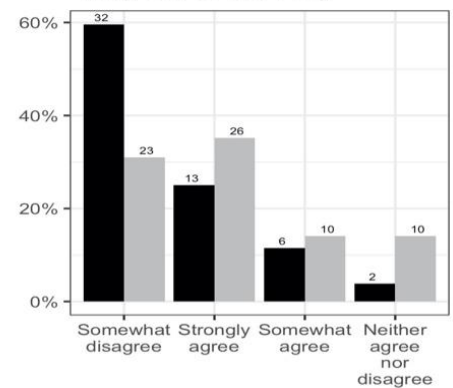
No one has said to me
'If There's a Will, There's a Way'
as encouragement



I try hard to do
the best that I can,
even when I want to give-up



Believe People Can Make a
Way out of No Way



Race Black White

Figure C2 Pilot 2, Racial Resilience Scale. Differences in response among Black and White Respondents. Fielded in February 2020. Prolific

C.3 Distribution of Racial Resilience in Pilot 1 Among Blacks and Whites (Pilot 2)

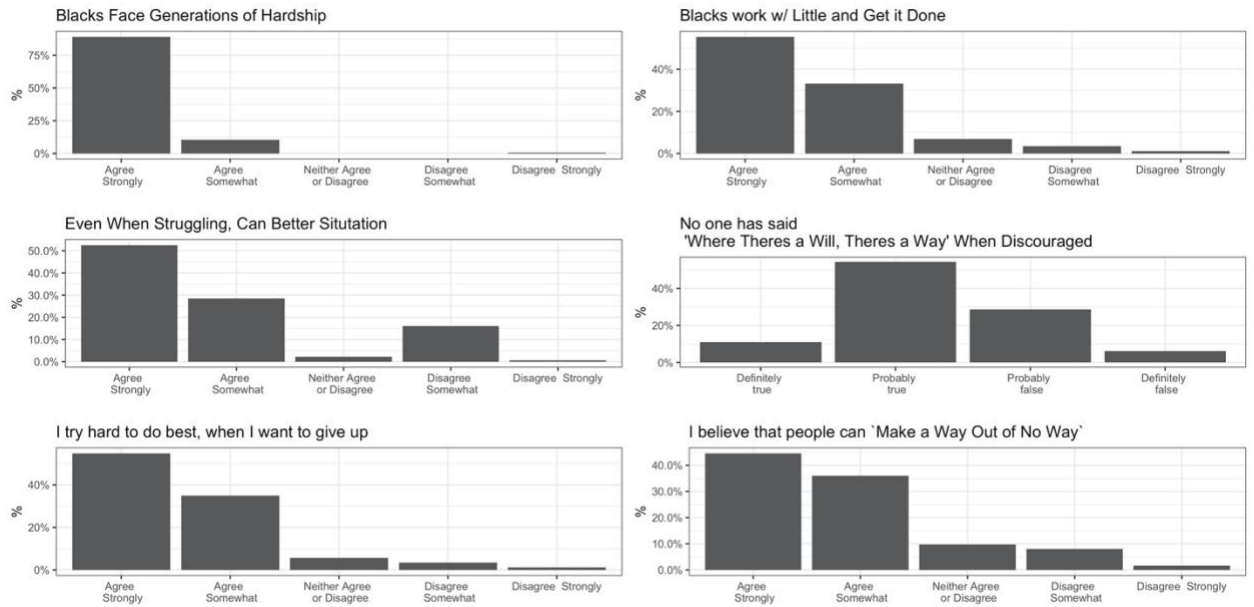


Figure C. 3 Pilot 3, Racial Resilience Scale. Black Respondents Only. Fielded in April 2020. Lucid + Convenience Study

C4. Table C.1 Question Wording of Resilience Scales in the Pilot 4 Resilience Testing

Table C.1: Question Wording of Resilience Scales in the Pilot 4 Resilience Testing			
		Slaughter Racial Resilience Scale	
Brief Resilience Scale		Individual	Racial
	Individual	12	14
	Racial	15	11

C.5 Distribution of Racial Resilience in Pilot 4 Among Blacks and Whites

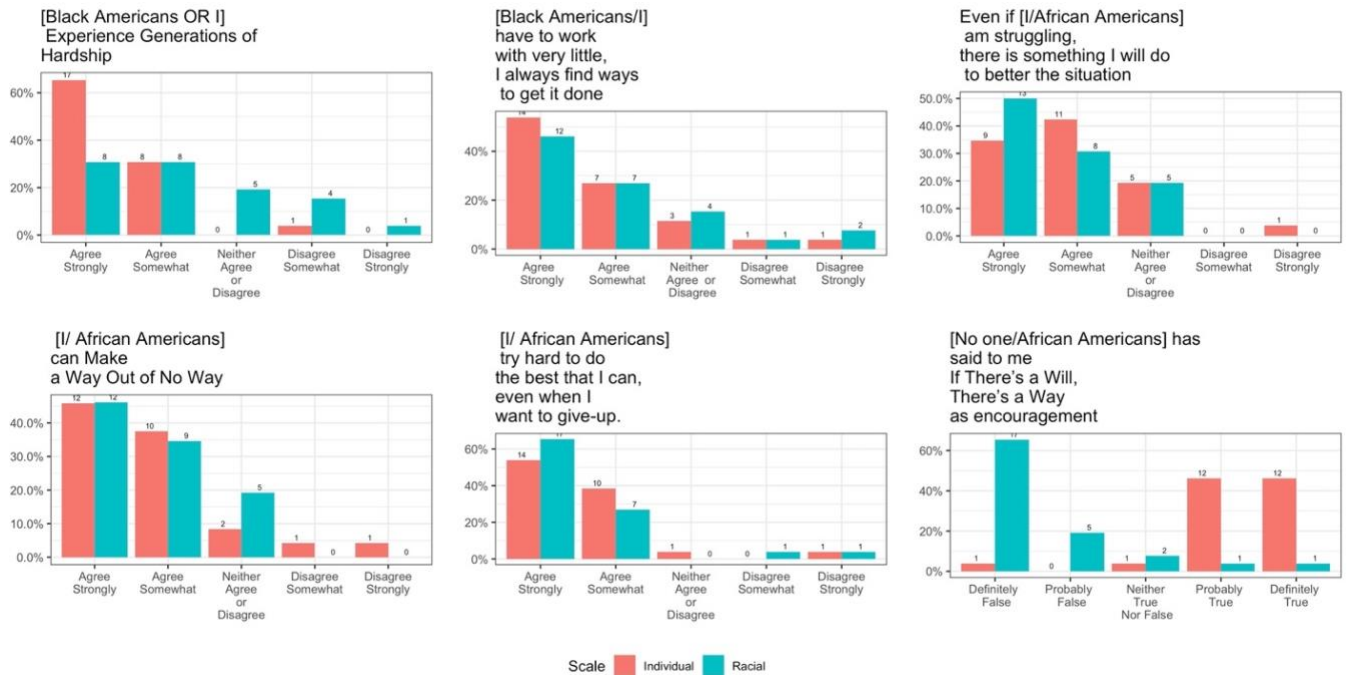


Figure C2 : Distribution of Racial Resilience Scale

Pilot 4, Racial Resilience Scale. Black Respondents Only. Manipulation of Reference Group or Individual in Item Wording. Fielded in April 2020. Lucid

C.6 Distribution of Racial Resilience in Pilot 4 Among Blacks and Whites

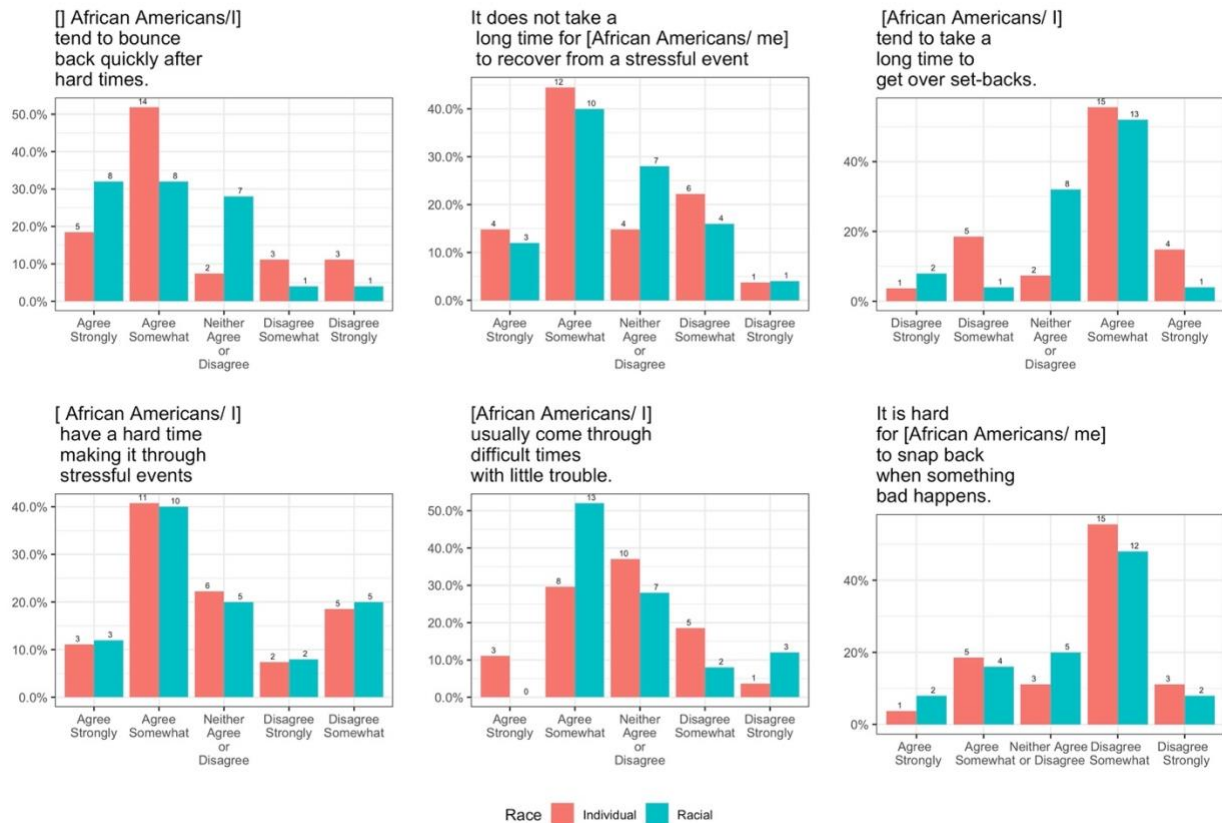


Figure C. 6: Distribution of Brief Resilience Scale

Pilot 4, Brief Resilience Scale. Black Respondents Only. Manipulation of Reference Group or Individual in Item Wording. Fielded in April 2020.

C.7 Distribution of Wording of Participation Vignette Measures

Appendix Table C.4 : Wording of Participation Vignette Measures				
Behavioral Outcome		Question Wording	Mean & SD (Pilot 5)	Mean & SD (Pilot 6)
1	Voted in 2016	In talking to people about elections, we often find that a lot of people were not able to votebecause they weren’t registered, they were sick, or they just didn’t have time. In November 2016, Republican Candidate Donald Trump, ran against Democratic Candidate,Hillary Clinton. Do you recall voting in that nationwide presidential election?	0.59	
2	Likely to Vote in 2020	Current President Donald Trump and Vice President Mike Pence will face a Democratic Challenger, Former Vice President Joe Biden, and Senator Kamala Harris, in November 2020. About how likely are you to vote in the 2020 general election, happening on November 3rd?	0.81	
3	Waiting in Line to Vote	Even if there is a very long line is at a polling station, I will wait in line to vote.	0.78	
4	Facing personal issues while Attempting to Vote in Person	Imagine that on the day of the presidential election, November 3, 2020, you have important personal matters to attend to, such as unexpected care of a sick familymember and it will not be easy for you to vote in person as you initially expected. There isn’t another way to vote unless you do so in-person.How likely would you be to vote anyway?	0.64	
5	Attending Community Meetings	Imagine that there is a community town hall meeting for a cause you are very interested in. Many news outlets, elected officials, community activists, and local celebrities will attend to advocate for social change. But, unexpectedly on thatday, you face transportation troubles, and it will not be easy to get to the meeting. Howlikely would you be to attend the community meeting?	0.51	

	6. Attending Protest Demonstrations	Even if there are many risks – such as violence, arrests, and exposure to infectious diseases – at a protest, demonstration, or rally, if it is for a cause that I care about, I am willing to attend to make my voice heard. How likely would you be to attend the protest demonstration?	0.54	
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Table C.4 Distribution of Wording of Participation Vignette Measures

C.8 Distribution of Wording of Participation Vignette Measures

Table C.5: Racial Resilience and Voting

	Pilot 5		Pilot 6	
	Vote in 2016	Logit Likely to Vote in 2020	Vote in 2020	Logit Vote in 2018
Racial Resilience Score	0.215 (0.135)	0.121 (0.084)	2.787*** (0.873)	0.478 (0.749)
Psychological Resilience	0.010 (0.108)	0.067 (0.068)	-1.178* (0.694)	-0.305 (0.570)
Linked Fate	-0.102 (0.096)	0.062 (0.063)	2.259*** (0.527)	1.505*** (0.503)
Liberal	0.017 (0.057)	0.095** (0.037)	-0.263 (0.487)	-0.394 (0.375)
Democrat	0.269*** (0.059)	0.143*** (0.038)	5.880 (22.474)	1.627*** (0.583)
Female	0.003 (0.056)	-0.021 (0.036)	-4.578 (19.086)	-0.206 (0.388)
Education	0.465*** (0.111)	0.245*** (0.068)	0.918 (0.714)	0.918 (0.630)
Income	-0.014 (0.026)	0.011 (0.016)	0.308 (0.505)	0.507 (0.418)
Age	0.140** (0.069)	0.049 (0.046)	0.047 (0.562)	1.834*** (0.516)

Constant	0.064 (0.130)	0.299*** (0.080)	-2.091** (29.131)	-2.818*** (0.928)
Observations	289	340	269	269
Log Likelihood	-155.572	-61.100	-89.059	-139.699
Akaike Inf. Crit.	331.144	142.201	200.118	301.397

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table C.5 *Source:* Pilot 5 (2020), Pilot 6 (2021)

Note: Cell entries are logistic odds regression coefficients with the standard errors in parentheses. All variables are coded from 0-1. The column headings display the dependent variables, which is retrospective voting (2016) and prospective voting (2020), retrospective voting in 2018, retrospective voting in 2020. Below the headings, the results for each regression are presented. Registration status for Prolific is not verified.

C.9 Distribution of Wording of Participation Vignette Measures

Table C.6: Wording of Participation Vignette Measures		
Behavioral Outcome	Question Wording	Mean & SD (Study 1)
1 Voted in 2020	Now thinking about the most recent election, because of Covid-19, many Americans did not vote in person on election day, some skipped voting this year, some voted via mail-in ballots, or voted in-person during the early voting period. What about you? How did you vote in the 2020 election?	.78 (.43)
2 Waiting in Line to Vote	Imagine that on the day of an important and competitive election, you arrive at your polling place right before closure and there is a long line of others waiting to vote. How likely are you to wait in a long line to vote?	.73 (.32)
3 Facing personal issues while attempting to Vote in Person	Imagine that on the day of an important and competitive election, you had an important personal matter to attend to such as the unexpected care of a sick family member. This caretaking role would make it incredibly difficult to vote. You did not participate in early voting, and in order to vote, you would have to do so in person. How likely are you to try to vote in-person anyway?	.70 (.33)
4 Attending Community Meetings	Imagine that tomorrow, there is a meeting of concerned residents for an issue affecting members of your neighborhood or town. At the meeting, people will organize to improve the conditions of your neighborhood after months of decline. The local representatives, including the mayor, are planning to attend and listen. But, right before the meeting, you learn that an opposition group is planning to protest outside the meeting. How likely are you to attend a community organizing meeting anyway?	.69 (.33)
5 Post on Social Media	Imagine that local organizers in your community propose that everyone post a Black square on social media on the same day, around the same time, to show support for the #BlackLivesMatter movement. About how likely are you to post on social media?	.68 (.36)
6 Attend Rally	Imagine that one Sunday, a local candidate in your community encouraged all members of your community to participate in a demonstration to raise attention for voter suppression. About how likely are you to participate in the march?	.58 (.38)
7 Boycott Restaurant	Imagine that one day a popular local restaurant in your town placed a sticker of a confederate flag prominently in its storefront window. Local organizations, such as the chapter of the NAACP, have asked that the restaurant owner take down the sign but the owner refuses. How likely are you to boycott this restaurant?	.64 (.58)

8	Townhall	Imagine that tomorrow, there is a town hall focusing on eliminating racial inequality in your city. Many news outlets, elected officials, community activists, and local celebrities are confirmed to attend. You have RSVP'ed to attend, but right before the meeting was set to begin, a group of protestors assembled outside the meeting. How likely are you to attend the community town hall anyway?	.66 (.34)
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Table C.6

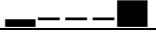
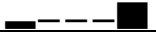
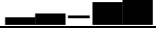
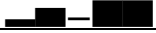
C.9 Demographics of Study 1

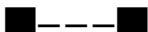
Table C.7: Demographics of Study 1			
Age		Income	
Mean	38	Less than \$10k	21%
>30	5%	\$10k – \$30k	24%
31-43	22%	\$30k – \$ 60k	19%
44-60	17%	\$60k +	36%
61 +	11 %		
Gender		Region	
Female	51%	South	52%
		Midwest	15%
		North	13%
		West	10%
Education		Partisan ID	
Less than HS	0.05	Democrat	
High School Degree	0.32	Independent	
Some College	0.34	Republican	
College Degree/ College Degree +	0.29	No Preference / Other	
		Ideology	
		Liberal	27%
		Conservative	31%
		Moderate	25%
		Haven't Thought About It	15%

Table C.7: Demographics of Study 1

C.10 Demographics of Study 1

Table C.8: Select Descriptives of Variables included in Regression in Study 1

	Variable Name	N Missing	Complete Rate	Mean	SD	p1	p25	p50	p75	p100	Histogram
1	Registered	0	1	0.757	0.429	0	1	1	1	1	
2	Vote in 2020	305	0.756	0.783	0.413	0	1	1	1	1	
3	Vote Local	305	0.756	0.571	0.495	0	0	1	1	1	
4	Wait Vote	308	0.753	0.732	0.324	0	0.75	0.75	1	1	
5	Issues Vote	306	0.755	0.705	0.336	0	0.25	0.75	1	1	
6	Social Media Post	2	0.998	0.679	0.36	0	0.25	0.75	1	1	
7	Townhall	1	0.999	0.662	0.346	0	0.25	0.75	1	1	
8	Meeting	2	0.998	0.69	0.334	0	0.25	0.75	1	1	
9	Vote Suppression Rally	2	0.998	0.627	0.358	0	0.25	0.75	1	1	
10	Racial Resilience Average	0	1	0.735	0.16	0.12	0.6	0.73	0.88	1	
11	Racial Resilience Average (Removing outliers)	0	1	0.738	0.154	0.5	0.6	0.73	0.88	1	
12	Brief Resilience Scale	0	1	0.422	0.215	0	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.8	
13	Political Interest	2	0.998	0.664	0.301	0	0.5	0.75	1	1	
14	Internal Efficacy	2	0.998	0.564	0.324	0	0.25	0.5	0.75	1	
15	Linked Fate	0	1	0.589	0.368	0	0.33	0.67	1	1	
16	Education	0	1	2.87	0.885	1	2	3	4	4	
17	Age (Numeric)	1	0.999	35.7	16.4	19	21	31	46	97	
18	Age (Categorical)	0	1	0.298	0.351	0	0	0.33	0.67	1	
19	Income	0	1	0.566	0.386	0	0.33	0.67	1	1	
20	Liberal	0	1	0.276	0.447	0	0	0	1	1	
21	Democrat	0	1	0.581	0.494	0	0	1	1	1	
22	Conservative	0	1	0.312	0.464	0	0	0	1	1	

23	Reside in South	0	1	0.517	0.5	0	0	1	1	1	
24	Female	0	1	0.511	0.5	0	0	1	1	1	

C.10 Bivariate Relationship of Racial Resilience and Participation

Table C.9: Bivariate Relationship of Racial Resilience and Participation

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>							
	Attend Townhall	Attend Rally	Attend Meeting	Vote Suppression Rally	#BLM Social Media Post	Boycott	Wait in Line to Vote	Voting and Personal Issues
Racial Resilience	0.098* (0.059)	-0.298*** (0.066)	0.064 (0.057)	-0.020 (0.061)	-0.012 (0.065)	0.446*** (0.064)	0.326*** (0.064)	-0.056 (0.073)
Constant	0.594*** (0.045)	0.782*** (0.050)	0.645*** (0.044)	0.640*** (0.047)	0.679*** (0.050)	0.322*** (0.049)	0.510*** (0.049)	0.724*** (0.057)
Observations	1,248	1,247	1,247	1,247	1,247	1,246	941	943
R ²	0.002	0.016	0.001	0.0001	0.00003	0.038	0.027	0.001
Residual Std. Error	0.338 (df = 1246)	0.377 (df = 1245)	0.325 (df = 1245)	0.349 (df = 1245)	0.372 (df = 1245)	0.364 (df = 1244)	0.311 (df = 939)	0.357 (df = 941)
F Statistic	2.748* (df = 1; 1246)	20.319*** (df = 1; 1245)	1.269 (df = 1; 1245)	0.109 (df = 1; 1245)	0.036 (df = 1; 1245)	48.892*** (df = 1; 1244)	26.273*** (df = 1; 939)	0.583 (df = 1; 941)

Note:

* ** *** p<0.01

Table C9 Bivariate Relationship of Racial Resilience and Participation

C.12 Bivariate Relationship of Racial Resilience and Electoral Participation

Table C.10: Bivariate Relationship of Racial Resilience and Electoral Participation

	Voted 2018	Voted 2020	Vote in Local Elections
Racial Resilience	0.216** (0.095)	0.564*** (0.081)	0.267** (0.111)
Constant	0.643*** (0.075)	0.370*** (0.063)	0.374*** (0.087)
Observations	735	944	828
Log Likelihood	-608.108	-769.166	-873.182
Akaike Inf. Crit.	1,220.217	1,542.332	1,750.364

Note:

* p < 0.1
** p < 0.05
*** p < 0.01

Table C.10: Bivariate Relationship of Racial Resilience and Electoral Participation

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