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Black Girl Magic?: Negotiating Emotions and Success in College Bridge Programs

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Black Girl Magic?: Negotiating Emotions and Success in College Bridge Programs

by

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

Using ethnographic observations and in-depth interviews, this project explores the extent to which race, class, and gender shape the socialization that Black women receive about their emotions and attitudes in a college bridge program. It unpacks the ways that dominant emotion cultures can inform the emotional socialization practices of a college bridge program in ways that resist and reproduce larger cultural narratives about Black women. To operationalize this emotional socialization, I introduce a concept called emotional respectability, which suggests that emotional reactions and demeanors must always align with the larger emotion cultures and goals of institutions such as family and education. The data presented in this project suggests that through vehicles of family, emotional respectability, and discipline, the program provides academic preparation alongside a more invisible curriculum related to emotional socialization which encourages the resistance and reproduction of larger cultural narratives about Black women, especially with regard to emotion.

INTRODUCTION: DO YOU BELIEVE IN MAGIC?

"Our Black (girl) magic isn't voodoo that we do. Black girl magic speaks of resilience, resistance, and recognition. We are magic because of the purposeful and poignant ways we survive and succeed despite the odds rarely being in our favor. We are magic because we are at once individual and plural, Black girl and Black woman, me and us. We are magic because we are overcomers and overachievers. We are magic because, despite misogynoir[1] and mythic lies about who we are, we see ourselves in each other, like mirrors, and we like what we see." –
Crunk Feminist Collective, 2017

Black[2] Girl Magic, popularized by CaShawn Thompson in 2013, is a movement dedicated to celebrating the beauty and complexities of Black girlhood (Cooper et al. 2017). In many ways, it is a sweeping term that highlights the ways in which Black girls and women achieve extraordinary success and happiness in the face of adversity. Thus, this project has evolved from my personal and political experiences as an aspiring sociologist, and, as a Black woman navigating the academy. As such, this project explores how the intersections of race, gender, class, education, and emotion, uniquely affects young Black women in institutional spaces—specifically, college bridge programs hosted in a university setting. College bridge programs are particularly interesting sites for this type of research because they exist at an

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[1] Misogynoir is a term coined by scholar activist Moya Bailey in 2010 to address the specific ways that racism and misogyny intersect to oppress Black women. For more information, please see: Moya Bailey's *More on the origins of misogynoir,* 2014.

[2] Throughout this paper, I use *Black* as a signifier of race, and not nationality or ethnicity. With regard to the United States racial formation, Black is often used interchangeably with African-American, which can be understood as signifying race and ethnicity, especially in relation to other Black ethnicities in the United States, such as Black Jamaicans. See Aisha Durham's *Home with Hip-Hop Feminism: Performances in Communication and Culture* (Peter Liang, 2013) for more information. I use Black not to conflate the experience of the many different cultures and ethnicities encompassed by the term or the African diaspora, but to not assume the nationality or ethnicity of participants when they are not explicitly mentioned.

important time for the students they serve—immediately following high school, but, not quite in college. Researchers have previously studied the academic preparation that college bridge programs provide, but there is much to be learned about the emotional socialization that takes place, as well.

College bridge programs, created within the federal "Upward Bound" education reformation program nearly fifty years ago, are designed to assist low-income, first-generation, and/or racial minority students gain access and adjust to college (Kallison and Stader 2012). The existence of college bridge programs is viewed as a marker of a concrete effort to attain objective and tangible progress and success for disadvantaged students, especially when they are hosted at historically white institutions (Bonilla-Silva 2014). Providing students with social capital in the form of educational support and individual attention, college bridge programs are expected to ease the adjustment period and culture shock, which many researchers have found that students from working class families and students of color tend to experience (Garcia 1991, Adler, Kless, and Adler 1992). Successful completion of the bridge program provides the gateway to students gaining admission to college and it is predictive of success in a student's entire college experience (Strayhorn 2011). I argue that college bridge programs provide academic preparation—including study skills and course preparation—alongside a more invisible curriculum related to emotional socialization. Thus, in this project, I address the following research questions: (1) To what extent does race, class, and gender shape the socialization that Black women receive about their emotions and attitudes in college bridge programs? (2) In what ways is the display of the acceptable forms of emotional and behavioral discipline rewarded in the program, both formally and informally?

Black Girlhood: And this is for colored girls who have considered suicide when the rainbow is

Enuf (Shange 1997)

The literature on Black girlhood is an interdisciplinary literature that exists outside of

sociology, with fundamental works residing in various disciplines such as literature (*Toni*

Morrison's The Bluest Eye and Zora Neale Hurston's Their Eyes Were Watching God and

Ntozake Shange's For Colored Girls Who Considered Suicide When the Rainbow is Enuf, and

communications and education *(Bettina Love's Hip Hop's Li'l Sistas Speak, Aisha Durham's*

Home with Hip-Hop Feminism, and Ruth Nicole Brown's Black Girlhood Celebration: A Hip

Hop Feminist Pedagogy). Throughout this project, it is my expressed intention to highlight the

unique experiences of Black women in this program. Historically, Black women have been

rendered invisible in conversations about race and gender, and consequently, are absent in

conversations about state sanctioned violence against Black bodies (Harris-Perry 2011, Smith

2016, Crunk Feminist Collective 2017). Literature on Black girlhood has expertly mapped an

important space for both lived experience and the academy with regard to Black girls' unique

experiences (Brown 2014, Lindsay-Dennis 2015). This is especially true of Ruth Nicole Brown's

book *Hear Our Truths: The Creative Potential of Black Girlhood* (Brown 2014). In this work,

Brown uses the art and performance of Black girls in a community based youth program she

developed for Black girls known as *Saving Our lives Hear Our Truth* (SOLHOT) to privilege

lived experiences and reimagine what it means to be a Black girl. Brown states that "Black

girlhood makes possible the affirmation of Black girls' lives and, if necessary, their liberation"

(Brown 2014:1). This affirming statement is fundamental in understanding the importance of

recognizing the structural invisibility of Black girls and women, and, by drawing on art and

performance, Brown puts forth a visionary Black girlhood, one which she intends to highlight social inequality and systemic violence, but, also opportunities for social change.

It is in the tradition of these aforementioned works that this project emerges to capture emotional socialization, as well as the ways that Black girls resist, reproduce, and re-imagine the expectations placed on them. In the first chapter of this thesis, I review the literature in which I ground my modest project, focusing mainly on the intersections of race, emotion, and education. From this literature develops my theoretical framework, where I introduce the ways I use embodied, emotional, and affective capital as the theoretical framework organizing my data, while bridging them to intersectionality. In my second Chapter, "Methodology," I elaborate on my qualitative methodology, detailing my use of both ethnographic and semi-structured interviews. In this chapter, I briefly introduce the concept "emotional respectability" which I define as racialized feeling rules that uniquely impact Black girls and women when navigating institutional spaces. This concept will inform a large portion of my analysis in chapter four, thus, I spend more time developing it there. I conclude chapter two with an interrogation of my positionality with regard to data collection and interpretation, and what this means for my findings.

In chapters three, four, and five, I present my empirical findings with three major themes having emerged from my data collection: family, emotion, and discipline. In chapter three, entitled "All in the Family," I highlight how the bridge program is framed and experienced as a family, which increases students' investment in the narratives of the program while fostering a sense of meaning and belonging. I ultimately argue that the family sets the foundation for emotional socialization in the program, and as such, is an effective way to acclimate students into the values of the institution. In chapter four, titled "Emotional Rollercoaster," I present data

that further develops the concept of "emotional respectability" and its relationship to mainstream stereotypes that exist for Black women, as well as its implications for Black women's emotional agency in the program. In this chapter, I also highlight the ways in which counselors and peer counselors confirm and disconfirm facets of emotional respectability, and why these disconnects are important. In the final analysis chapter, "Disciplining the Family," I delve into my ethnographic observation data to talk about the ways that the program administration used discipline to further acclimate students to the institution over the course of the summer. Because this is done under the umbrella of family, I highlight the ways in which this tempers the way the messages may be received, while also noting that this discipline is done alongside a general anxiety about the reputation of the program, which must be protected in order to secure funding and university support. In the conclusion, I revisit my major findings and theoretical contributions, as well as the importance and practicality of programs such as this.

CHAPTER ONE: LITERATURE REVIEW

Race, Emotion, and Education

In this research, I draw on three major bodies of literature related to the complicated relationship between race, emotion, and discipline in education. My interest in pursuing emotional socialization of Black girls in college bridge programs must be contextualized as part of a broader academic debate involving Black girls being disproportionately disciplined in schools, and, as social justice scholar Monique Morris would articulate it, being effectively "pushed out" (Morris 2015). While scholars have previously examined this with special attention to physical discipline, I am interested in the ways that this physical discipline and surveillance can be extended to emotional discipline and surveillance, and, by unpacking the structural basis of emotion socialization, I can make clearer connections between Black girls' experiences in schools and how structural emotion discourse can impact their experiences.

Emotionology in Color

Before unpacking the micro-level interactions that my data is overwhelmingly comprised of, it is important to situate this project within a larger, structural context of emotion. Understanding *emotionology*, or, "the attitudes or standards that a society, or a definable group within a society, maintains toward basic emotions and their appropriate expression and ways that institutions reflect and encourage these attitudes in human conduct" is fundamental to

understanding how emotion is not merely an innate, natural, phenomena, but something we institutionalize, much like education, the work force, and family (Stearns and Stearns 1985:813). Scholars argue that emotion is not just a private, personal, phenomena, but is conditioned through our social and cultural world (Bericat 2016). With this in mind, it is important to understand that emotion standards are informed by current social historical moments, and are useful in revealing what we value and privilege as a culture (Stearns and Stearns 1985). Thus, if we accept that emotion can inform our values and overall social structure, this provides a compelling reason to link emotional socialization to domination. Many scholars have found that education, as an institution, often reflect white, middle class values, and as an extension, I contend that the *emotionology*—or, attitudes and standards of emotion—of education reflects those same values (Giroux 1997, Rodriguez 2000, Law, Phillips and Turney 2004). What *emotion cultures*[3] might look like for students of color and Black girls, in particular, deserves further study especially because of their potential to promote inequality. As it relates to this particular study, the pressures of preparing students to acclimate to institutional norms (both academic and emotional) likely means that *emotion cultures* are more pronounced for low income students of color in bridge programs.

Emotion Work and Feeling Rules in Color

Since emotion is often subject to management informed by social rules, I am interested in the ways that the *feeling rules* of academic institutions inform micro-level emotion management practices in a college bridge program. *Feeling rules*, which can also be described as the social

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[3] Emotion culture refers to cultural belief about emotions, including feeling rules and expression. For more information, see Gordon (1988, 1990) and Kemper (1990).

guidelines that direct our feelings, are informed by both power and social location (Hochschild 1979). Usually latent, they are only understood through what we *know* about feeling—thus, *feeling rules* become apparent when feeling rules are broken, such as laughing at a funeral. As Cox (2016) notes, there has been significantly less research produced on feeling rule violations in ways that highlight the enforcement of *feeling rules* than there has been on work that focuses on understanding *feeling rules*. However, by more closely examining violations of *feeling rules*, researchers might more effectively identify the social enforcers of these rules, as well as determine which responses reflect compliance and noncompliance of *feeling rules*, in order to interrogate power dynamics (Cox 2016).

Following *feeling rules* has unique consequences for marginalized groups, as students of color and working class students can anticipate performing additional labor with regard to *emotion work* in college settings (Granfield 1991, McCabe 2009). *Emotion work*, coined by Arlie Hochschild (1979), can be described as the management of ones feelings and reactions to maintain a relationship. Thus, the avoidance of feeling rule violations in institutional spaces demand additional emotion work, which disproportionately impacts people who may have not have been previously socialized in the rules of the dominant emotion culture. This is evident in the empirical article "Impossible Burdens: White Institutions, Emotional Labor, and Micro-Resistance, which highlight the ways that people of color negotiate and navigate the racialized narratives implied in workplaces and education (Evans and Moore 2015). In this study, respondents suggested that they often felt responsible for being offended by their white peers' racially charged comments and had to learn ways to offer counter narratives without severe consequences. Because education and employment institutions are often the pathways to class mobility, and success in these areas require behaviors that are consistent with the dominant

emotion culture, people of color often need to develop expert negotiation and navigation to perform very particular, racialized forms of emotional labor[4] (Evans and Moore 2015).

This is further evidenced in Adia Harvey-Wingfield's (2010) work, "Are Some Emotions Marked White Only? Racialized Feeling Rules in Professional Workplaces" in which African-American respondents often felt that their emotional expression was severely limited by their race in ways that their white counterparts' emotions and emotional expressions were not. Overwhelmingly, respondents would make concerted efforts to be pleasant, such as engaging in uncomfortable small talk with their superiors and peers, while also severely minimizing emotions of frustration or irritation. As one respondent particularly notes, she has witnessed her white co-workers express anger in ways that have been perceived as "task master" or "workaholic" while she fears consequences of being written up or fired if she mirrors these same emotional expressions (Harvey-Wingfield 2010). Emotional cultures for these workers are even further pronounced because they are often the first and only Black person in their position, and as such, experience *tokenism,* which she argues "…keeps Black professionals isolated, stereotyped, and highly visible" (Harvey-Wingfield 2010:252).

As an extension to the additional emotion work that students of color can anticipate performing in the course of standard interactions in academic institutions, students of color can also expect to deal with what scholars have called "microaggressions." Microaggressions are understood to be indirect, subtle, and often unintentional forms of discrimination towards marginalized peoples (Pierce 1970). Although sociologists have spent considerably less time on the intersections of race and emotion as sites for domination and inequality, there has been a

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[4] Emotional labor is not to be confused with emotion work. Hochschild distinguishes emotion work and emotional labor in a number of ways, the most pronounced being that emotional labor is associated with the workforce, and is considered an expectation of a paid job, while emotion work is unpaid and is useful in maintaining harmonious relationships. Women are expected to perform more of both. For more information, see Hochschild 1979.

growing amount of work that focuses on microaggressions and the coping strategies people find

necessary to navigate them (Lewis et al. 2013, Smith et al. 2011, Sue et al. 2008, and Solorzano

et al. 2000). Researchers have found that microaggressions impact students of color in unique

ways in college settings, often resulting in emotional fatigue, depression, and poor academic

performance (Blume et al. 2012, Minikel-Lacocque 2012, Hwang and Goto 2008). This has been

especially true at predominantly white institutions (PWIs), which is why college bridge

programs, and other organizations that center minority group belonging can be so beneficial to

marginalized students (Mayberry, Chennevila, and Curry 2012). In many ways, bridge programs

and those similar to bridge programs, simultaneously prepares students to handle these

emotionally taxing interactions, while also functioning as a safe haven *from* these interactions.

Because emotionology is tied so closely to cultural norms, it is important to explore the

racialized and gendered expectations that exist about Black girls and women because they

provide the context for the unique ways that feeling rules and emotion work may impact them.

Their positionality shapes the unique emotion cultures to which they need to respond. I explore

this through a lens of respectability because "discourses of strength and respectability dominate

the socialization process of Black women and girls" (Johnson 2013:890). Black girls and women

are expected to be strong, which suggests qualities such as resilience and independence, but also

respectable, which suggests qualities such as meekness and domesticity (Higginbotham 1993,

Hill 2002, Johnson 2013). Particularly with respectability, Black women are expected to adopt

habits of White femininity, such as "piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity" (Moore

2011:10). Notions of respectability come as a response to what Patricia Hill Collins (1999)

identifies as "controlling images", or, hegemonic representations purported by the elite and mass

media that "manipulate ideas about Black womanhood" (Collins 2009:76).These controlling

images include stereotypical portrayals of Black women such as the desexualized, selfless Mammy, "the emasculating," angry, and overbearing Matriarch, and the sexually insatiable and lewd Jezebel. Situated in historical and cultural context of Black women in the United States, these tropes are used to justify and naturalize our continued oppression. (Collins 2009). While these dominant discourses frame the ways in which Black femininity is constructed and perceived (Collins 2004), it also has implications for limiting the emotional displays of Black girls and women in work, education, and, with family responsibilities (Harvey-Wingfield 2007, Evans-Winters and Esposito 2010, Beauboeuf-Lafontant 2009). For the purposes of this project, I focus largely on the ways in which these controlling images impact Black girls' experience in education, especially with regard to discipline, as followed in the next section (Collins 1999).

Disciplining Black Girls: More than Just the Body

While there has been a justifiable amount of research dedicated to experiences of discipline and punishment Black boys face in school (Ferguson 2000, Dance 2002, Graham and Robinson 2004), there has been less research highlighting the experiences of Black girls (Morris 2015, Morris and Brea 2017). Within the past decade, there has been an escalation in the discipline of adolescent girls in public schools (Rahimi and Liston 2009). Some researchers (Wun 2014) have attributed this escalation to a larger trend of increased police presence and advanced surveillance equipment on school grounds. More recently, there has there been an emerging literature that focuses on the unique experience of adolescent Black girls in classrooms (Blake et al 2010; Murphy, Acosta and Kennedy-Lewis 2013; Wun 2014; Wun 2016). Much of this work has come as a reaction to the increased, disproportionate rates of in-school,

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exclusionary, and physical discipline Black girls face (M. Morris 2012; Morris 2015; Tonnesen 2013).[5]

A careful examination of this research reveals that Black adolescent girls are being disproportionately punished in schools, as compared to their non-Black female counterparts. Research has found that overwhelmingly, Black female students are overrepresented in all discipline sanctions, more likely than their non-Black counterparts to receive exclusionary discipline practices, and most likely to be cited for "defiance, improper dress, and fighting with a student" (Blake et al. 2010:97-99). These rates exist within a larger trend of a racialized "moral panic" about youth violence, which has specific consequences for Black students situated within a history of villainizing Blackness (Farmer 2010; Alexander 2012). By focusing on how racialized and gendered stereotypes impacts teacher-student interactions, the policing of Black women's bodies moves from being only about traditional disciplinary infractions, and more towards its connection to the policing of Black girls bodies *and* attitudes, extending physical control to emotional control. It is here where I situate my own project in this larger cultural context of villainizing and controlling Blackness.

Style over Substance: Teacher Perceptions of Black Girls

This connection between bodies and attitudes is made evident in Edward Morris's (2007) work in which he found that negative perceptions about the 'natural' inclinations of Black girls also shape teacher perceptions of achievement. At an overwhelmingly lower-class, Black and

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[5] On October 26, 2015 in Colombia, South Carolina, a video from a local high school goes viral. Ben Fields, one of two school police resource officers for Spring Valley High School, is recorded snatching an African-American teenage girl from her chair, and violently slamming her to the ground. In the video, the student is sitting in her seat, arms folded, ignoring threatening commands from the officer to leave the classroom. After this assault, Ben Fields' history of targeting Black students surfaced, and the Black Parents Association in South Carolina, ACLU, and NAACP demanded his immediate termination, and a federal investigation. (For more information, visit http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/video-appears-show-cop-body-slamming-student-sc-classroom).

Latinx middle school, Morris was able to observe that Black girls were readily engaged in class and were high academic achievers, but, overwhelmingly, teachers perceived the girls' engagement to be disruptive and challenging of authority. Morris found that overall, the teacher's greatest concern was not the academic achievement of the young girls, but their demeanor. This resulted in certain teacher's being more likely to discipline the girls and discourage them from speaking in class, which would undoubtedly hinder their academic performance (E. Morris 2007). Teachers and administrators would frequently use the term "ladies," which carried racialized and classed connotations, to scold the young girls, which sent the message that their behavior, asking questions and participating, defied traditional ideas about womanhood, all of which were connected to the girls' emotional displays and demeanors.

Similarly, through an ethnography of a high school in California, Connie Wun (2014) examined school discipline policies, informal punitive practices, and the "…implications these mechanisms may have on the physical and emotional world of Black girls," (Wun 2014:1). Wun found that Black girls faced racialized and gendered forms of discipline and punishment, through both formal and informal disciplinary infractions, that had not only exclusionary consequences such as out of school suspension, but also laid the foundation for emotional discipline (Wun 2014). Additionally, Wun (2016) highlighted the experiences of Black girls in high school and argued that Black girls are similar to "captive objects" within school walls, in which Black girls are under constant surveillance (Wun 2016:173-174). This suggests that their emotions, in addition to their bodies, are under continuous scrutiny from authority figures.

Researchers have also provided evidence that suggest that teachers and administrators encourage Black female adolescent students to stifle their attitudes and perform a particular type of racialized femininity, even at the expense of their academic performance (Froyum 2009).

Many researchers (Froyum 2009; Murphy et al. 2013; Wun 2014) have tied this emphasis to the controlling images highlighted earlier, in which Black women are framed as irrationally angry and contrary (Collins 2002; Harris-Perry 2011).

Theoretical Framework

In order to fully theorize the experiences of black pre-college women, I rely on an intersectionality approach. Intersectionality, as articulated by Kimbrle Crenshaw, explores "…the various ways in which race and gender intersect in shaping structural, political, and representational aspects of violence against women of color" (Crenshaw 1989:3). Intersectionality is important in this project for capturing the unique social location of Black women in this program as Black, female, and low-income, and what this means for the emotional socialization they might experience. If we accept that women are subject to more emotional surveillance in institutions (Pierce 1999, Erickson and Ritter 2001) and that education reflect white and middle-class values (Castagno 2014), the young Black women in the program must be socialized in ways that attend to their distinct positionality, which intersectionality can account for.

Pairing intersectionality with cultural capital, I attend to the ways that cultural capital, in its embodied state, influences the formal and informal surveillance of intersecting identities of race, gender, and class in college bridge programs, often through the policing of emotion. In this way, following the advice of Patricia Hill Collins and Sima Blige (2016), I use intersectionality as a "form of critical inquiry and praxis" rather than as inquiry *or* praxis (47). Bridge programs are unique sites for intersectional qualitative work, particularly as praxis, as much of the research

conducted on bridge programs are quantitative and conducted with grant approvals in mind, thus, reflecting simplified results of "good" and "not good" but, I argue, through an intersectional approach, that bridge programs are much more complicated than these traditional dualistic models. Additionally, bridge programs function as a bond between the macro and micro of the institution—simultaneously focusing on formal acclimation such as university coursework, as well as informal acclimation such as appropriate ways of interacting and behaving.

I operationalize intersectionality through the concept "cultural capital," which refers to knowledges and predispositions informed by class, and contribute to social reproduction (Bourdieu 1973). While knowledge is typically thought of as information, Bourdieu also proposes the ways in which embodied practices, such as dress and demeanor, can serve as cultural capital. Often referred to as a labor of assimilation, embodied capital suggests that the successful inculcation of the mannerisms, demeanor, language, and style of that of dominant groups often lends itself to social mobility and success (Bourdieu [1979] 1986). I complicate Bourdieu's notion of embodied capital with intersectionality by adding elements of race and emotion and highlighting the specific experiences of racialized bodies in obtaining embodied capital, especially with regard to emotional displays. Thus, because of their particular social location as Black and woman, I contend that embodied capital exceeds the physical body for Black women, and relies on appropriate emotional demeanor, as well.

Situated within Bourdieu's concept of embodied capital is the concept of emotional capital, which suggests that successful emotional socialization that happens in professional and bureaucratic spaces, such as schools, requires that students reflect on prior emotional socialization (Cahill 1999:112). For example, speaking directly to emotional capital and ideas about traditional femininity, Carissa Froyum (2009) found that the Black female administrators

in an after-school program for low-income African-American girls taught the students four specific types of emotional capital: stifling their attitude, being emotionally accountable for their peers, sympathizing with adult authority figures, and emotional distancing from cultural "dysfunction" as a way to appease their white peers and teachers to circumvent racist interactions. Thus, emotional capital as a concept is understood to be "emotion-based knowledge, management skills, and capacities to feel that links self-processes and resources to group membership and social location" (Cottingham 2016).

Emotional capital highlights the "direct relationship between macro-structures and micro-resources," and are dependent upon social location and situation, marking it a critical site for the examination of power dynamics (Cottingham 2016). I argue that the bridge program familiarizes students with the dominant emotion cultures in which education operates, equips the students with particular forms of emotional capital, so that when students have completed the program, they will be able to successfully navigate the values of the institution. Again, this emotional socialization gains importance because the educational institutions are overwhelmingly white and middle class and mastering these strategies is viewed as critical to social mobility (Castagno 2014). Emotional capital, then, is an informal resource that the bridge program administrators teach students, and, when utilized properly by students, can be rewarded formally and informally.

While individuals who possess emotional capital may be better able to access and navigate institutions because of their emotionally acceptable behaviors, they also receive intangible benefits that derive from their willingness to accommodate feeling rules. Affective capital is useful in conceptualizing the affective rewards that individuals and students may receive from demonstrating appropriate understandings of cultural and emotional capital.

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Affective capital, which largely takes the form of positive affirmations and praise in this program, can be used in creative ways to simultaneously resist and reproduce dominant hierarchies of inequality (Hordge-Freeman 2015). Affective capital (demonstrated through verbal praise, body language, and positive evaluations) is differentially distributed based on an individuals' willingness to behave, or react, in ways that reflect the rules of the pervasive emotion cultures. Hordge-Freeman (2015) argues that affective capital "accumulates over one's life" with implications for outcomes and life chances, in ways that can shape further motivation, self-esteem, and relationships (230).

CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY

Bridge Program, Sample, and Methods

In order to explore the ways that black women's intersectional identity shape their emotional socialization, I collected data with a college bridge program that I refer to using the pseudonym "Exceed" hereafter. Exceed is located at a public institution in the southeast that I have nicknamed the "University of Coral" for the purposes of confidentiality. Exceed is a program that lasts a total of two academic years, starting with a six-week summer program which students must successfully complete before being formally admitted into the university. The six week program begins shortly after the students have graduated high school, and lasts until the beginning of fall semester. Each year, the program hosts approximately 150 students with similar demographics: overwhelmingly Black, and overwhelmingly female. The second largest racial category in the demographic is Latinx, and the program hosts very few white and Asian students.

There are two considerable aspects of the six-week summer program: getting the students acclimated to university academics as well as transmitting cultural, social, and, as I argue, emotional capital. To prepare students for university coursework, all students are required to take the same three courses—a course in humanities, Africana studies, and one entitled "Academic Foundations" which is taught in three sessions by each of the three counselors in the program. This rigorous course load is expected to prepare students for the fall semester, and is often framed by counselors as a "head start," an immeasurable benefit unique to the program.

Alongside the formal, academic preparation includes the transmission of various forms of capital, such as cultural, social, and emotional. This aspect of the program happens largely through individual meetings students are required to have with their counselors, mandatory weekly seminars, and spending considerable amounts of time with their peer counselors, who are students who have been successful in the program in previous years, and are now paid to mentor incoming students throughout the summer. Because of the multitude of ways the program acclimated students to the university, I found it necessary to employ multiple qualitative methods. Thus, during the course of this project, I conducted both in-depth interviews and ethnographic observations, which I write about more in the following two sections.

Ethnographic Observations

For my observations, I attended five of the six hour-long mandatory weekly workshops over the six-week summer period. The workshops took place in a mid-size auditorium on campus, large enough to comfortably seat around 150 people. Each week, I sat in the very last row of the auditorium, where I was able to witness the seating arrangements that students formed, as well as engage in small conversations with the peer counselors and adult counselors who also sat in the back. These workshops were designed to equip students with valuable knowledge about navigating the university, such as information about financial aid, student organizations, managing relationships, and learning to register for courses. As I quickly learned, however, these workshops were also an ideal place for the program administration to deliver collective messages to all the students, and these messages were frequently about behavioral issues. Thus, through the observations of workshops, I was able to get a glimpse into what values

the program propels, and how success of these values were measured, reproduced, and monitored.

In-depth Interviews

In addition to the observation data, I conducted seven semi-structured interviews with peer coaches, adult counselors, and students in the program. Because this target population was so small, there was a serious concern about maintaining the confidentiality of my participants, especially considering all participants were employees of the program, and, I only interviewed one male participant. Because of this concern, I have made an effort to minimize as much identifying information as possible. For example, to protect the confidentiality of my male participant, I refer to him using feminine pronouns "she" and "her". Thus, for all intents and purposes, all participants involved in this study are women. Additionally, I neglect age and proper education salutations, as they can also provide cues to identify my participants, and as such, no one will be referred to as "Dr." or "Mrs." Finally, I severely minimize my use of direct quotes, and when I do, they are sometimes short, and contain no identifying information other than their association with the program (counselor, peer counselor, student). As such, I neglect using pseudonyms entirely—unless they are unavoidably featured inside a direct quote—and refer to respondents using their program affiliation, such as "students responded this way…" or, "counselors were in agreement…"

After receiving expressed permission from the director of Exceed, each of the counselors and peer counselors agreed to interview with me. Intrigued by its title, they were all eager to take part in the study, with the understanding that I would share the final product with them for the

betterment of the program. The director did have one condition: that I would not reach out to students until the fall semester began and they were all formally admitted into the university. She anticipated that students would be overwhelmed with coursework and meetings with their counselors, and, as their advocate, she wanted to make sure that their only summer obligations meant helping them be admitted to the university. I happily obliged. The seven participants interviewed were all Black Americans: six African-American and one Jamaican. They range in education from high school diploma to PhD, and ages 19-40. The students interviewed are all under the age of 22, while the counselors are all over 28, and hold at least a Master's degree. The interviews each lasted about an hour, and were largely informal, although open-ended questions were scripted beforehand. The questions I asked each participant were similar, mostly asking them to elaborate on their experiences in the program: aspects or practices of the program they found useful, challenging, and unique to the program, and, the relationships built as a result of the program. Detailed questions can be found in the appendices. Through these interviews, I was able to understand how much success in the program and preparation for college is about academic achievement versus cultural and emotional socialization. The multi-method approach was useful—not only to capture the complexity of the program, but to also consider the institutional and individual contexts, which helped me recognize the nuance in my data (Demo et al. 2014).

Analytical Approach

Using intersectionality as part of my theoretical framework, I pursued grounded theory as my analytical approach (Birks and Mills 2011). Thus, as I collected data, I continuously created conceptual ideas and used emerging themes in future data to continuously refine my ideas (Charmaz 2013). This analytical approach offered the reflexivity necessary to conceptualize the complexity of identities, meaning-making, and performances throughout my research. The theoretical framework of cultural capital helped situate my research within a larger conversation of Black women, education, and capital, and allowed my theory and data to interact. (Charmaz 2002, Demo et al. 2014). Interviews were all in English, and each interview was transcribed by me within twenty-four hours, as was each observation. With a total of fifty-five pages of single spaced interview transcripts and eight pages of single spaced ethnographic observation notes, I decided to do a close reading of my data, line by line, to identify themes (Denzin and Lincoln 2011).

Emergent themes included family, discipline, and a concept I introduce called "emotional respectability." Emotional respectability can be defined as a decisively raced, classed, and gendered demonstration of feeling rules and respectability politics simultaneously. Emotional respectability is demonstrated when the low-income, pre-college black women in the program are composed and subtle, a direct response to cultural controlling images of Black women that exist (Collins 1990). Emotional respectability is an achievement, and impacts the Black pre-college women in the program in very particular ways, suggesting that not only do their bodies need controlling, but their emotional reactions, as well. I conceptualize emotional respectability in more depth in chapter four.

With seven interviews, it is certainly not my intent to suggest a universal knowing or generalizability, but, rather, to suggest a conversation for discussing (Charmaz 2002). Notwithstanding, the iterative approach allowed me to re-evaluate my conceptual ideas continuously, as I collected data, so not to limit the expressions or identities of the participants, and encourage constant reflexivity from myself (Neuman 2006).

Positionality

My positionality as a 23 year old African-American woman informed every aspect of my data collection. Going in to this project as a first year Master's student, I naively believed that my race and gender would only be helpful, and, that I would be an insider immediately. Beginning with gaining access to the program in the spring of 2016, despite my racial "insider status" (Merton 1972). I was quickly marked an outsider because I had not been in the program as an undergraduate student, nor had I been through similar programs, complicating what I thought I already knew about positionality, and highlighting my limited understanding of intersectionality, and the ways in which my standpoint for Black women relies not only on our race and gender, but also "class, region, age, and sexual orientation" and, in my case particularly, class and group membership (Crenshaw 1989, Collins 1986). The director of the program, an African-American woman herself, was incredibly pleasant, but, justifiably protective of the narrative of the program to an outside researcher. In our initial meeting, she asked if I had been a student in Exceed or a similar program, and, when I shared that I had not, she seemed perplexed and asked why my interest was in this program specifically. Afraid that she would deny my request, I quickly told her that my best friend had come in through the program, and that she had remarkable things to say about it. I felt that tapping in to my best friend's "insider status" had not

convinced the director, and, to establish my own credibility, I shared that I, too, was a low-income, first generation student. I told the director that I had been accepted into a similar program at a neighboring university, but, decided to go to school elsewhere (Lofland et al. 2006). Still understandably skeptical, the director asked to see the paper I had clenched in my hand, in which I had outlined the major details of my project proposal, attached to a "contract" I had initially drawn up for the director to sign. She was pleased that I was centering Black women because she also perceived the gap in the literature, and said that she would sign the paperwork with the addendum that I would share the final project with her for the betterment of the program. I happily agreed, and she introduced me" to the counselors as a graduate student studying "Black Girl Magic" that same day.

That following summer when I began my observations, the counselors and director were all excited to see me. I sat in the back of the auditorium with the peer counselors, where I often had short conversations before the seminar started about graduate school and my research. One of the peer counselors who would be applying for law school in a few years was thinking of a concentration in sociology, and she and I spoke frequently about what classes she should take. When I was not a part of the conversation, the peer counselors would speak with each other about the students in their residence halls. During the first few sessions, peer counselors would often whisper explanations to me about things the counselors said on stage that they thought I would be unfamiliar with, an example being about courses students were required to take, or meetings they were required to have with counselors.

The adult counselors, who often stood on stage or at the bottom of the auditorium, would frequently chat with me in the back of the auditorium before seminars began, asking how the research was going, and reminding me that they would be happy to interview with me once the

fall semester began. I continue to admire their dedication to the students over the summer. As a graduate student pursuing a Master's degree, I occupied a unique social position with the counselors I can only articulate as "almost colleague." In our short conversations, they often shared with me the research they did for their Master's theses, the hassles of transcribing, and often gave me words of encouragement and solidarity and reminded me that there is a finish line. We bonded over the stresses of graduate school, which they have all experienced. In the few minutes before one seminar began over summer, one of the counselors told me how important it was to see young Black women in graduate school doing this kind of research. Knowing that I was also a teaching assistant, they would joke with me about "college students," and the ways they ask for last minute extensions or miss deadlines, symbolically separating me from undergraduate students. These interactions allowed me to develop a sense of approachability with the counselors, in which I was beginning to be perceived as "nonthreatening and safe" (Mayorga-Gallo and Hordge-Freeman 2016). As I had promised the director that I would not pursue interviews with the students until after they had successfully completed the six-week program and were formally admitted to the university, my interaction with students was limited during the sessions. I spoke to a group of students only briefly at the end of the first session, as they wondered who I was and why I sat in the back with the peer counselors. Explaining to them that I was a graduate student in sociology conducting research for my thesis, many of them expressed interest in taking sociology courses "once they were in" and would like to talk to me more about it another time. Students paid very little attention to me after that, unless I was helping to hand out paperwork or they thought they might have missed an announcement that I had heard if they walked in late.

My positionality proved to be most fluid with my interviews. Participants interviewed occupied different positions in the program: counselor, peer counselor, and student. Thus, my positionality changed with whom I was interviewing. I interviewed the counselors first at the very beginning of the fall semester, and, since I had been speaking with them all summer and shadowed the seminars, I had established some "insider" status as someone who was familiar with the six-week structure of the program even though I had not been a student in the program. Through my observations which was evidence of my commitment, I was able to establish credibility with the counselors, meaning that I was perceived as being "a worthwhile investment of time" for the counselors (Mayorga-Gallo and Hordge-Freeman 2016).

Counselors would make reference to the seminars, and say things like "You know what I mean?" or ask me if I recall certain incidents in certain seminars. Additionally, counselors would often talk about the stressors of their jobs, and what it's like to work with such a vulnerable population, in ways that felt intimate and personal, as though I were a colleague. Because the counselors perceived me in such a way, I began to think about the ways in which the students or peer counselors, whom I would interview later in the semester, might perceive me, which caused me to think even more critically about my positionality. When interviewing the counselors, I was dressed business casual, and carried only a purse with my notebook and tape recorder. Because I did not want my positionality as a graduate student to create a sense of hierarchy when I interviewed the peer counselors and students, I carried my book bag and wore a university sweatshirt, negotiating my positionality in a way that I had hoped would make them more comfortable, and I would be viewed as a friend and easy to talk to, tapping in to approachability (Mayorga-Gallo and Hordge-Freeman 2016). The peer counselors I interviewed were both

seemingly comfortable, and, since they were already familiar with me from the summer, in some ways, the interview served as an extension of our conversations in the seminars.

However, the students I interviewed were not from the summer in which I observed, and instead were recommended to me by the peer counselors in the program. We had never met each other and when we did meet, they would refer to me as "ma'am" or "Ms. Olivia" which I quickly told them was unnecessary. While preparing for the interview, I would jokingly tell the students how stressed I was about homework or a paper, and they would joke back that they, too, had homework and papers. During the interview, I would always make sure to share with them my status as a first-generation student and some of the struggles I experienced during my undergraduate studies as a Black woman and first-generation student, making the students more open to talking about those experiences.

My positionality did not stop in the field, however. Over the summer, as I was sitting in the back and taking field notes throughout the seminar, I often struggled with what I should be paying attention to and writing down. I frequently reminded myself that I was not there as a "program evaluator," but, as a researcher interested in emotion cultures. As a novice researcher studying such an abstract concept, I was insecure in my ability to effectively do that, and, I frequently struggled because my interpretations of the things that were said in the seminars and interviews were not always positive. In the seminars particularly, I experienced what scholars have called "the researcher gaze" (Anderson, Stewart and Aziz 2015) and it caused a tremendous amount of discomfort and reflection (Hordge-Freeman 2015: Appendix A). It was never my intent to villainize the program or the people who make it work, and, my interpretations confirmed for me why the director was initially skeptical about giving me, an outsider, permission to take part. Because the administration had been so warm and welcoming, it felt like

betrayal to analyze their good intentions and tease out unanticipated consequences. Additionally, students are overwhelmingly happy with the program and they graduate at rates significantly higher than that of the university, so, I often questioned the validity of my analysis. To mentally prepare myself to get through data analysis, I had to settle myself with three things: first and foremost, I am an advocate for the students, and particularly, the Black women in the program. Second, the administrators of the program are not "bad people" doing "bad things." To suggest that would severely limit the scope of their humanity, their experience with this program, and the ways in which racial domination can seep into spaces that are even considered "safe" which was not my intent (Castagno 2014). Finally, the director of the program requested that the results of my research be shared with her for the betterment of the program, meaning that she is open to change. When analysis became unbearably uncomfortable, I reminded myself of these three things to keep me going.

CHAPTER THREE: ALL IN THE FAMILY

"And I don't know how it happens in Exceed that literally every year it's like a family, but it does. I don't know if maybe it's because we're stuck together for six weeks, and we have to live around each other, we go to the same classes, the same seminars, we see each other everywhere that it gets ingrained in us. That could very well be a big impact, but it continues after that. So when we change our schedules and we're in our majors, we're three years in the game, and some of us are graduating and going to grad school or whatever it may be... It's still like family cuz you can like call on them for whatever you need." Peer Counselor

When students arrive to campus in the summer, they are often unsure of what to expect. While the administration values the educational aspect of the program, they also emphasize the importance of creating an affective and welcoming experience of belonging as a major priority. To do so, Exceed administration cultivates a culture of family, in which students are welcomed in the very beginning of summer. The administration of the program identifies this as one of the most important goals for the program, considering the similarities in class and racial dynamics of the program. Because the students are all low-income and overwhelmingly Black (which mirrors the program administration), positioning themselves as family quickly lends them a sense of familiarity with the students, and in this way, they are able to position themselves as a caring and legitimate authority figure. This positioning is directly related to socialization because once the administration is viewed as legitimate authority figures, this facilitates the students' internalization of their socialization messages. In this chapter, I illustrate the social and cultural significance of family for the students in the program with regard to affective and emotional

capital. I also unpack the ways in which the Exceed family fosters a sense of belonging and cultivates long-lasting friendships, sometimes alongside the reproduction of hegemonic narratives about gender and race.

Exceed Family: Bridging and Belonging

> *"One of the reasons that we try to get them to see that we're here to help you more than just academics. As a family we talk to you about more than just what are you doing in school, we talk about other things too, and so that's one way that I think we try to manage that. We're your family away from home, were not trying to replace your family, but your family doesn't know this place like we know it. So, when you're having problems around here, come talk to us".* Counselor

As a bridge program, one of its major goals is to help first-generation students adjust to the climate of a university. In this quote, one of the counselors of the program emphasizes that by positioning themselves as family, they are not trying to replace the student's' family at home, but rather, create a new family, one more familiar with the setup of this institution, on campus. This respondent emphasizes that the student's family will likely be unfamiliar with navigating higher education, and this concern about providing useful information that students may not otherwise know is understandable given previous research that suggests that first-generation students have a difficult time navigating the university and can sometimes lack practical familial support (Longwell et al. 2016, Rondini 2016). Some of my student participants confirmed this during interviews, as well. For example, when asked what type of struggles she had as a first generation student, this student listed some very practical challenges:

> *"Being a first generation student, I didn't have anyone tell me, you know, because my parents didn't go to college. So nobody told me "Oh you have to do this, you have to do*

that." So, just kinda finding my way on my own. Cuz I know that students who aren't first generation and whose parents have been to college, they can kind of easily navigate through Spectrum (university online system) and try to deal with financial aid and immunizations and all kinda stuff like that. But, you know, having to do that on my own was a challenge." Student

She later goes on to say that the counselors were very helpful with getting acclimated to university processes, which are skills that first-generation students who do not enter through Exceed may have to learn on their own. This student also talks about the ways in which some offices where she should go for help such as the Office of Financial Aid or the Office of the Registrar, are uncomfortable for her because they are overwhelmingly managed by white people. My participant was not alone in her concerns, as research has found that first generation students and students of color are less likely to reach out to professors and university offices in times of need, making the role of the counselors in the program even more pertinent (Rondini 2016). With that in mind, and with the explicit goals of the program to graduate first-generation students in a timely manner, it becomes increasingly clear why getting students invested in the program and trusting of the counselors is fundamentally important.

Student participants, including peer counselors, were all incredibly grateful for the family cultivated by Exceed administration, and connect it to other experiences they have had on campus outside of the program. For example:

"It just felt so homey, honestly. You know, where I'm from, it's a lot of black people. So being around that, it had that homey feel to it. And I think that's another reason why it was such a big change from summer to fall…The dorm I stayed in (during fall), it was an 8 person suite and I was the only black person in my suite. So it was so different honestly…Even though I had the heads up, going into the fall and being the only black

person in my hall, it was just so different because you always get those questions about
your hairrrrrr (participant emphasis) and how do you do thisssss (participant emphasis)
why do you do thattttt (participant emphasis), like, different things like that." Student

This student suggests that the summer environment provided by Exceed was one that resembled home, given that the students all have similar racial and class backgrounds, which is much different than the demographic of the university at large. Describing her transition from summer housing, in which she lived with other Exceed students who were mostly Black or Latinx, to being the only Black woman in her entire suite, her experience mirrors that of other students of color at large universities (Harwood et al. 2012). While she suggests that she has a "heads up" about these experiences her first summer in the program, she never states explicitly from where or whom. However, she later details a microaggression shortly after this quote about one of her white roommate's bastardizing use of African-American Vernacular (AAVE), which she chose to ignore. She goes on to say that had she been in "her younger mind" she would have reacted a different way than she did. My participant links this experience with her white roommate to her experiences in the program, suggesting evidence of the emotional capital the program equips students with, in this case, ignoring white roommate's microaggressions, and in this way, we can see the ways that the family cultivated by Exceed offers a safe haven from the microaggressions and isolation students of color may experience on campuses that are historically white (McCabe 2009).

In addition to fostering a sense of belonging, the culture of family in Exceed also lays the foundation for the genuine care and concern the counselors and students have for each other. Participants describe this in a few ways, and often, counselors and students warmly refer to each other as sister, mother, uncle, and aunts. One respondent aptly captures this idea of family:

"I always consider the director "Mama Smith." I consider Ms. Sullivan that aunt that you always wanna go to her house…I consider the counselors like uncles and aunts, you know, of the program. These are the children, the program…so you get the family atmosphere…from day one. So it's kinda hard not to say any other word because that's what it feels like."

By making literal familial references to one another, the family feel of Exceed can often mirror that of the student's family at home. This mirroring is important because as most of my participants agree, the mentorship they provide is not limited to academics, so, it encourages a level of trust not typical of that to a traditional academic counselor. In fact, most of the guidance and mentorship mentioned in interviews were not about academics, at all, and were more about relationships—romantic and platonic—as well as housing, jobs and internships, and student leadership.

I think a lot of our focus is not even related to school, it's just them in general which is why we use the term 'counselor' versus just an 'academic advisor' because we're not really here just to provide them you know prescriptive advice, we're here to support them as a whole. So whatever issues they have going on within themselves they can share that. Counselor

Anytime I have a problem I go to them till this day, anything, whether it be school or personal whether it's like just a small problem…I'll go to Ms. Jackson, I call her Mama Jackson sometimes like "Mama Jackson, let me tell you what my boyfriend just said!" And it's just so open. They make you feel so comfortable…They've been really helpful honestly. Student

As evidenced in the previous quotes, the level of comfort between students and counselors is often extended beyond that of a traditional academic advisor role, suggesting a level of care and concern that is unique to the program. This type of care also comes with what Hordge-Freeman (2015) refers to as affective capital, or, displays of affection and affirmation:

"It's amazing how many times I've said "Oh my gosh, you are so awesome, you did WHAT!?" And they look at me like, (participant makes confused face mimicking the face the students make when she says this) and I'm like "You've never been told you've been awesome, you don't know that about yourself?"" Counselor

This quote follows a conversation that this counselor and I had during her interview about encouraging her students, particularly her Black female students, to apply for jobs, internships, and leadership positions. This respondent states that she makes a concerted effort to shower the young Black women in the program with these sorts of affirmations in an attempt to counteract narratives about Black women. For example, during our interview, she states:

And that's, I think, what I try and do… I know the messages they're being bombarded with...you're not good enough, you're not smart enough, you're not lovable, you're not worthy. And so a lot of what I think I try to do is just be very affirming and very real and authentic with them…they're very good at telling me what their weaknesses are, and I have to help them see what their strengths are. Counselor

This sentiment was echoed by another counselor:

"We have students who are in major leadership roles and they just come and kinda take over and to see that transformation for me is amazing…there's a lot of times when I see something in a student and they don't see it in themselves and to watch them get there and then believe in themselves—it's just no greater joy. It is not just about their academic success but just to see them on a personal level grow and develop so much is amazing I love it.

All counselors, including peer counselors, expressed that they found joy in witnessing student's personal growth and development as students, people, and leaders, and this further supports the ways in which the family narrative cultivated a site for belonging, meaning, and care. Though we might assume that affective capital to only be provided to the students, these quotes suggest that the counselors also derive great fulfillment for their relationships with the students. Counselors

shared with me how students who have graduated from the program often come back to visit and

ask about the new students, suggesting that this bond is not short-lived, nor is it encouraged to

be. These long-lasting relationships between students and counselors, and students and other

students I found to be particularly moving, and I discuss it further in the next section on

friendship.

Friends and SisterFriends: Sister, I've got My Eye on You

Student participants, excited to talk about "Black Girl Magic," spoke explicitly and

enthusiastically about beautiful relationships they developed with other Black women in the

program. While this was different from the men, who the peer counselors felt needed more

nurturing and mothering, I found the "sister-friend" relationships built through the program quite

compelling:

> *When I came in, I came here with somebody who I went to high school with. We weren't*
> *really friends in high school but once we found out we were both in the program I was*
> *like, she's African-American as well…And we're like, familiar face? Let's be roommates.*
> *From then on we got here and we did decide to mix and mingle with like the other Black*
> *students in the program but we instantly clicked with two other people who were*
> *suitemates. And one of them works for Exceed now and one is my current roommate. And*
> *it's like, we all used to just talk about our goals…That was the main thing. It wasn't even*
> *'Look at the football players!' Like, Octavia wants to go to pharmacy school, Klarissa*
> *wants to be a marital counselor, I want to be an attorney, Claudia wants to be a physical*
> *therapist, like, we all used to just talk about that. And with our other friend, who's*
> *currently in the college of nursing. We all instantly clicked because of our mindsets.*
> *That's not to say anyone else's mindset in the program was off, but instantly, we were all*
> *just in that same little corner. And we clicked. And these are all just Black women. We*
> *used to go to class together, go to the library together, get our books together. Then,*

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maybe like the second or third week, we started branching out with like the other cliques that had already formed. And they're also of course Black women and that's how we hung out and also expressed our goals. Peer Counselor

The peer counselors beamed when reflecting on friendships they had made in the program with other Black women. From support systems, to study buddies, to roommates, the young women each had a story to tell about the lifelong friendships they have developed that they believe have nurtured them into better students, leaders, and people. This is indicative of the ways that Black feminist scholars have found that black women—despite cultural stereotypes that suggest otherwise—lean on each other for love, support, and growth (hooks 2002). In the quote above, this peer counselor made special mention to how she learned how to have fun, in addition to having ambitious career goals. Counselors in the program make concerted efforts to remind the young women of balance with their academics and personal life, and this is evidenced in the beautiful and lasting friendships that the women have developed. As one student respondent states:

> *I formed bonds with my co-workers, I've even met other friends through the program and we still talk about stuff. Some of us are in the same major, some of us help each other with homework. We're all involved and help each other out... We even call each other sisters sometimes.* Student

This respondent, who works in the Exceed office, states that her co-workers, all of which are Black women, have developed sister-like bonds, as well. She later goes on to say how she shares a major or a class with all of her co-workers, and they are all involved in prominent organizations such as the National Council for Negro Women, Divine Nine Sororities, or Black Student Union, all of which my respondents frequently mentioned throughout data collection. These organizations are instrumental in fostering inclusive environments for Black students as

well as addressing race and gender based inequalities on campus and in the local surrounding area. For example, another respondent reflects on her first summer in the program:

> *There was a big group of us who were close and we would go out over summer, but, it was really like me and three other girls who were like super super close. If you saw one of us, you saw the other three, all the time…We did everything together: homework, girl talk, different things like that. And then, after summer ended, I guess, you know, life happens, everybody got a little busy but until this day, if we see each other, it's like we never left.* Peer Counselor

Despite losing touch, this respondent states that the friendships she built in the first summer were very important for her. In fact, her current best friend was her roommate during the summer they entered the program. When I asked her if she thought the program was influential in these friendships, she responded yes, and attributes these long-lasting friendships to the culture of family the counselors encourage, as well as living together and taking the same courses for six-weeks.

Similarly, another respondent speaks about the sense of belonging that the program fosters:

> *"My pod was predominantly black, so when everyone came out, it was just like a connection. Like we understood. I think it was more like a cultural recognition…We started off that way and we started being friends that way…It started off as something just fun and frilly and whatnot and developed into a relationship that I definitely plan to keep for the rest of my life."*

This respondent is speaking specifically about her best friend, whom she met her first night on campus, and will soon be off-campus roommates together. What I find most moving about these respective stories is how many ways these young Black women lean on each other for love, support, and motivation, in ways that they did not express happened with other students. This

demonstrates the ways in which Exceed can foster an environment that nurtures minority

students before entering a university that might not be as kind to them. The peer counselors often

had the most telling things to say about the relationships built within this culture of family in

Exceed because not only could they reflect on their own personal experiences during their first

summers, as peer counselors, they have also been able to witness the dynamic of multiple

incoming classes as well, which I explore in the following section. Important to note is that these

sister-friend relationships offer affective benefits that come along with connection and

belonging, but the long-lasting nature of them likely translate into social networks post-

graduation. Research suggests that social networks developed in college can also have an

important role in future job placements and opportunities (McCabe 2016).

Familial Gender Dynamics Between Students: I am my Brother's Keeper

> *For the most part, growing up in Exceed, like being a student and then being a peer*
> *coach… you watch the family develop. So my year when I came in, we used to hang out*
> *with the boys. They were like 'Are you OK? What's going on? Nobody is gonna come up*
> *to you.' Like, they grew that protectiveness over us and I still have that till this day with*
> *all the guys. I don't think, there's no negative impact but of course, boys are gonna be*
> *boys, like, they get around the girls and act all stupid sometimes. But there's also that*
> *family bond that gets built too.* Peer Counselor

While undeniable bonds develop between the young Black women in the program, throughout

my interviews, it became abundantly clear that the young men in the program did not go

unnoticed and student participants often emphasized the important roles that the men in the

program performed for the family. For example, the peer counselors frequently mentioned that

the young men in the program, though lower in numbers than the women, were the "protectors"

for the women. They would accompany the women when they visited clubs and bars downtown,

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as well as around campus. The peer counselors did not problematize this, and seemingly found this a natural part of the development of the family, indicative of traditional understandings of families in which men are expected to be protectors, and women, the protected (Collins 1998). The peer counselors also agreed that they felt it necessary to spend time with the young men on things like behavior and the development of their potential as evidenced through this quote from:

> *"And, my big thing this year was getting to know the boys because I remember before we even—I think this was before we got the jobs, University of Coral came out with this study that the male graduation rate was very low, and that stuck with me and I was like, I need to make an impact on these boys' life, and I feel like she (another peer counselor) and I were hard on the boys. The girls? It was like we could talk to them, whatever, but the boys, when it was something stupid with them or something crazy, I was like, you're not gonna walk out of here not a changed person, not growing, not developing in some way, shape, or form. But that's because we had that, to them, it was like we were moms. The girls, it was like we were big sisters. To them, it was like we were moms. Like we were connected to them in that way. I wanted to make sure they used me…Use me! I wanted, my main thing was to connect to them and be a resource to them, I told them: 'Use me! Knock on my door.'"* Peer Counselor

I found this quote particularly interesting because both peer counselors exclusively agree that they are moms to the men, and sisters to the women. These explicit mentions of gender division suggest that while the men in the program are seen as in need of more coaching and nurturing in order to be successful, the women, however, are expected to need less nurturing, which is why they are likened to sisters and not daughters. The peer counselor, a young woman and student herself, felt responsible for the success of the boys in the program, and, with her heart of gold and beaming smile, I did not have the courage to ask her why she felt compelled to take on so much responsibility for the behaviors and success of her male counterparts. When speaking with

another young woman who is a student in the program, she understood her relationship to be different with the men in the program. She states:

> *Yeah those are like our brothers, you know? I mean, some of them came in and got in relationships, but, if they broke up, it was awkward, you know…But the guys, they're like our brothers. And a lot of them are like more successful than like guys I see who came in just regularly through the school. Like one of the guys… these two guys started their own organization, he's running for student government president, and then he's running for BSU president, another guy is in a modeling troupe, like the guys in Exceed are so well rounded and stuff. I love them.* Student

While the peer counselors feel responsible for the behaviors and success of the young men in the program, the student respondent praises them for it, but, refers to the men as her "brother" not "son," in the same way that the peer counselors had. This suggests that the respondent's position as peer counselors influence the ways in which they perceive their responsibility to students. However, it does little to explain the gendered notion of responsibility is applied differentially such that men are considered "sons" and women are considered "sisters."

Interviews with peer counselors do provide some insight into the way that gender shaped men and women's interaction with peer counselors and mentors over the summer. For example, one peer counselor reveals:

> *"I don't know if they were intimidated by us…whereas the girls were like "Hey Shareen, Hey Lynette, how you doing," the guys were kinda like "Hey Ms. Shareen, Ms. Lynette." Granted, yes, I love the respect, but at the same time a big thing that I feel like hinders relationships when it comes to like upperclassmen or lowerclassmen in any position is making them feel like they're beneath us. And that's one thing I feel like we definitely didn't do..."* Peer Counselor

This was troubling for the peer counselors because they both expressed an interest in giving the male students in the program unique attention in an attempt to increase their retention rate. Because of this perceived status difference, the peer counselors felt that it hindered their ability to do so.

Concluding Thoughts

In this chapter, I identify the prominence of the family ideology in the Exceed program and examine the way that this family ideology is developed and functions to foster a sense of belonging, lend the administrators legitimacy in terms of care and authority, and encourage the students to be thoroughly invested in the narratives and goals of the program. The family ideology promoted in the program operates as a macro and micro structure. It informs multiple aspects of the program including influencing formal presentations, university courses, and events, all the way down to more micro aspects, such as living space and friendships, making it a nuanced facet of the program. This ideology, which resembles female headed gendered dynamics of Black families at large (Johnson 2013) promotes an affective environment which fosters an immediate sense of belonging, as evidenced through quotes presented in this chapter. The genuine affect and care from students and counselors illustrates that this ideology is also important in developing meaningful, lost lasting friendships and relationships in which students maintain even after completing the program. Simultaneously, I presented the ways in which the family ideology can reproduce dominant gender roles (where black women are framed to be in need of protection from/by men), and produce gendered challenges to relationship building. While men are referenced in the interviews, regrettably, I was unable to recruit any male participants to further explore (from a male students' point of view) how they experienced the

Exceed program or to examine why these perceived barriers existed between them and the peer counselors. With the importance of family established, I move on to the practices and implications of emotional socialization, which are made more pronounced because socialization is done within an umbrella of family.

CHAPTER FOUR: EMOTIONAL ROLLERCOASTER: DO YOU FEEL ME?

And so it's this double edged sword that I see—so many of us struggling and hurting and in pain and just trying to be superwoman and keep it all together…and I have learned on some level, I have to give permission for them (to feel)... Counselor

Throughout my interviews, participants spoke frequently about emotion, especially with regard to themselves, their peers, and the pressures of the dominant emotion cultures that uniquely impact them as Black women. In this chapter, I unpack the emotional sentiments that participants spoke with me about, and highlight the complicated ways that they inform the way the counselors communicate with students. To do this, I introduce a concept called "emotional respectability" which I define as the expectation that one's emotional responses or actions should be displayed in a way that aligns with whiteness and middle class-ness, and does not disrupt the emotional gatekeepers or the institution. I provide evidence that administrators engage in socializing the students into the politics of "emotional respectability" in order to further the student's acquisition of emotional capital, as well as mold ideal emotional displays as it relates to the goals of the program and the institution. I illustrate that emotional respectability is less about limiting emotions, and more about controlling them, especially with regard to race, class, and gender.

Emotional Respectability

Emotional respectability extends Evelyn Higginbotham's notion of the "politics of respectability", which described the work of the Women's Convention in Black churches during

the early 20th century (Higginbotham 1993, Harris 2003). Specifically, the politics of respectability is described as a "...reform of individual behavior as a goal in itself and as strategy or reform" (Higginbotham 1993, Harris 2003). Thus, as a form of resistance, Black women in these churches engaged in "respectable" behavior and encouraged other Black people to be "respectable" as an attempt to convince white people that Black people were equals and should be respected. I problematize the idea of respectable by putting it quotation marks because as mentioned earlier, notions of respectability with regard to race typically require an adoption of white, middle-class values and habits.

Given the history of respectability, by qualifying this term by deploying emotional respectability, I bridge Higginbotham's (1993) notion of respectability and Hochschild's (1979) notion of "feeling rules" in order to capture racialized and gendered emotional norms. If everyone is subject to normative ways and ideas in which we are expected to feel (Hocschild 1979, see also Loseke and Kuesenbach 2011), "emotional respectability" provides a conceptual tool to articulate the racial and gendered aspect of feeling rules. In this way, feeling rules, which, save for a few studies (Kang 2003, Wingfield 2010, Evans 2015) have been largely understood as "raceless," are complicated. Positioning emotional respectability as a *racialized* form of feeling rules allows for a more nuanced, intersectional understanding of what is taking place inside this program, which does not exist inside a cultural vacuum, but rather, responds to an emotion culture rooted in the logic of white supremacy. I argue that the discourses associated with emotional respectability are also highly gendered because both women and men participants receive different messages and the gender of the agents of socialization, in particular, and the counselors of the program, shape these messages. Similar to the politics of respectability, there is also a strong class component to emotional socialization in this context, as emotional

respectability is about molding ideal demeanors that are appropriate for higher education (which

is shaped by middle class ideals). Therefore, students are expected to express their emotional

demeanors in a way that reflects the values of the middle-class and predominately white

institution. By conceptualizing emotional respectability in a way that captures race, class, and

gender, this chapter offers a useful intersectional analysis of the ways that emotion cultures can

be socialized, negotiated, and/or resisted by marginalized groups.

Emotional Respectability in Action

> *"Just trying to work on that and just making sure they work on their image and their*
> *brand. Like what type of person do you want people to see you as, do you want to be the*
> *angry Black woman in the office? Probably not, so, what can we do to kind of help you*
> *work on that if you have anger issues or you know you walk around looking like you mad*
> *at the world all day, not saying you gotta smile all the time but you look approachable,*
> *you know?"* Counselor

This respondent's worry and use of emotional respectability is indicative of a larger cultural

narrative: that Black women are perceived as irrationally angry and volatile, most closely

resembling the stereotype of "Sapphire", a controlling image that implies is "…that Black

women's anger, their justifiable response to societal injustice, is dangerous or funny" (Gilkes

1983, Collins 1999, West 2008). In this way, Black women are pathologized as irrationally

hostile and badgering. Their anger is dismissed as either trivial or threatening, with no in-

between. The counselors cultivate emotional respectability, or, appropriate emotional responses

based on gendered and racialized norms, in order to align a student's emotional demeanor with

that of the feeling rules of the institution. Thus, emotional respectability is about the *perception*

and *display* of emotion, rather than the emotion itself. In this example, black women do not have

to change their emotions, as much as they need to engage in impression management so that others perceive them as approachable.

In addition to the embodied ways that emotion needs to be managed (via facial expressions), students are also sanctioned for expressing certain emotions depending on the context. Anger must be deemed *righteous* in order to be deemed valid. In the program, righteous anger might look like telling your peers who are not adhering to program goals that they are shameful or embarrassing, which students were often encouraged to do. The following quote from a counselor represents the type of anger displays that are not acceptable and that violate the tacit rules of emotional respectability:

> *"With Black women that's one of the things that needs to calm down more. Not saying you should never not speak up for yourself, but I see a lot of Black women, they popping off about everything."*

Also employing emotional respectability, this counselor emphasizes that she is not saying that Black women should not speak up for themselves, but, context is important. In this way, Black women are allowed to be angry, but only as it benefits the understood goals of the program, and the institution at large. This is similar to Audre Lorde's (1981) argument that "Black women are expected to use our anger only in the service of other people's salvation or learning" (Lorde 1981). The counselor's use of absolute language such as "everything" with regard to how she observes the frequency of Black women's anger mirrors that of the controlling image of Sapphire, and further substantiates this argument, implying that *some things,* but not *everything* should be responded to with "popping off."

In some cases, counselors privilege humility and submission for Black women in the program as an important part of dealing with and circumventing racism for Black women.

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Humility operates as form of emotional capital—an emotional orientation that the counselor believes will benefit the Black women in navigating the university. Humility is a central part of a respectable composure, and in this case, emotional respectability because humanity is the difference between being viewed as *"a queen or as a peasant."* The gendered part of emotional respectability is evident because it is women—thus, the "queen" demarcation—who are overwhelmingly subjected to this type of control. On the other hand, the men are subjected to other forms of non-emotional surveillance, which I discuss in the next chapter. The class implications here also deserve analysis. By juxtaposing "queen" and "peasant," the counselor is highlighting an understanding that the Black women in this program should be distancing themselves from emotional demeanors that might mark them as working class, or, "ghetto." Thus, a queen, composed and compliant, is the ideal, and, by making this about individual attitudes rather than societal perceptions, the counselor suggests that it is the responsibility of the women to *determine* how they are perceived by others, based on their emotional reactions.

While there was a justifiable amount of time spent talking about the systemic ways that racism shapes the lives of the Black men in the program, when speaking about the women, sometimes counselors gave examples that centered the women as *individuals,* rather than as social actors in an anti-Black social world. For example, during our interview, one counselor noted that students often have an "I don't feel like it" mentality: *And especially with young women, doesn't matter what culture, that mentality is very detrimental because you're hurting yourself because of your attitude.*

This focus on attitudes, which are understood as something that can be controlled by the individual, minimizes the necessity of a discussion about the systemic and institutionalized ways that Black women are marginalized on campus. In the above quote, the counselor states it is a

mentality, suggesting that there is nothing systemic happening, and that any mistreatment is likely the result of an attitude that should have been changed. I want to highlight that this conversation started off as gender neutral, and trailed into the use of feminine pronouns, thus again suggesting that emotional respectability is a surveillance method specific to the Black women of the program.

While emotional respectability was a formidable portion of data analysis, certainly not all counselors felt the same way about emotional expression. Some counselors had very different opinions about what is and is not appropriate in terms of emotional expression, particularly for the Black women in the program.

> *"You know sometimes we're very hard on our kids because we know society will be if we are not... I tell them, you're 18, just be 18 for a minute! Don't go home this weekend to take care of your brother or sister or work another job, just stay on campus and be a college student." Counselor*

This counselor makes a clear connection between the historical significance of the way Black children are often denied the freedom of childhood, in a way that white children are not. Her mentioning of her students often being caretakers is important, because research suggests that Black girls are often more likely to be caretakers at younger ages than their white counterparts (Mui 1992). This respondent tells me that she often encourages the girls in the program to "just be," as she recognizes that oftentimes, Black girls are denied the full spectrum of emotional beings. For instance:

> *We [Black women] are oftentimes not made to feel like it's ok to be vulnerable, [to] let someone else take care of us, that's hard. I have 18 year olds who are used to living life like they're 30 or 40 years old. Even the girls at the front desk, I will say to them, this weekend, I want you to go out and act like a 20 year old. Just go and it doesn't mean get*

in trouble or be crazy but just go and blow off some steam and have fun! I mean, literally just having to give permission to just be, so, it's amazing when I look at other groups who are just so carefree… Counselor

Her articulation of problems that Black women face indicates a level of care and empathy that exemplifies that her issue takes place not in the individual student, but in our collective understanding about what Black girls and women *should* be, and how they *should* behave. Her worries rest with the cultural rhetoric and emotional culture that exists for Black women, not with the individual attitudes and emotional reactions. Counselors sometimes tied this to structural inequalities and happenings, as evidenced here:

> *"One of the things that strikes me is that a lot of the young Black women that I work with come here to the university having already experienced a trauma of some kind and in some cases multiple traumas. So, from the time they get here, I am already seeing layers of pain in some cases. It's not just the fact that we hold pain, it's also the fact that we're told not express pain."* Counselor

This respondent recognizes the trope of the "strong Black woman" which many Black women internalize from a young age. This is tied to Sapphire, and while it is useful in combatting stereotypes about us being lazy and incompetent, (Harris-Perry 2011) it still operates as a form of emotional gatekeeping, denying Black women full emotional agency. This respondent later goes on to say that she has learned that she has to give Black women *permission* to feel, and encourage them to "be human." In this way, counselors resisted the emotional gatekeeping that impacts Black women and puts forth her "permission to feel" as emotional capital. As one counselor notes quoted here:

"And a tear will fall and immediately she will start apologizing "I'm so sorry, I'm so sorry, I'm so sorry" and I have learned on some level I have to in a way give permission for them, and it's like "it's ok, you're a human being and you've been through a lot and you should be hurting and I'm glad to see you cry" and it's like as soon as I say that, oftentimes, it's like years of this has pent up and just unfolds." Counselor

Resisting mainstream narratives that encourage Black women to stifle their emotions, this participant privileges their right to full emotional expression, a form of emotional capital that she suggests is well deserved by simultaneously highlighting the young women's humanity and struggles they may have endured before or during college, further justifying their emotional expression.

While emotional capital is typically thought of as a resource to help acclimate one to dominant emotional cultures or promote emotional respectability, these conflicting responses have evidenced that it can also be useful in engaging in emotional strategies that promote authenticity. This is further evidenced by the peer counselor's response to emotional respectability in the next section.

Students' Responses to Emotional Respectability

It is important to recognize that while a narrative of emotional respectability is cultivated by some of the program administration, the students are not readily accepting of this, and I highlight a few pockets of resistance in this section. I asked the peer counselors specifically about self-presentation, and what advice they offer their students, and both counselors offered very resistant narratives. For example:

The thing with being a Black woman is there's no right way. So, like, how do you tell someone how to present themselves? I had a student who was incredibly loud. And I don't want her to quiet down because that's her. Like, that's how you express yourself, and she wants to be heard, so she's going to be heard, so go get heard! I'm not gonna tell you, 'Oh, you know, as Black women, we're seen as angry, or loud, or really aggressive, you need to calm that down because you're gonna be perceived wrong in the world and you're not gonna get anywhere.' Like, no! Be who you wanna be unapologetically [and] show them that you're about business and what you can do and what you bring to the table, and, work hard and get what you want out of life. Peer Counselor

Here, this participant is in direct opposition with some members of the administration of the program and as a result, is rejecting emotional respectability all together. She addresses the controlling image of the Sapphire and the "angry Black woman" explicitly and even if she knows that some of her Black female students may be impacted by that, she is more concerned with her students being able to express themselves fully. This is a form of emotional capital that is similar to that of some of the counselor's, which encourages students not to stifle or restrain their emotional reactions, but rather, invite them, especially in spaces such as their residence hall and the Exceed office.

This narrative of resistance was echoed with other participants. For example, one respondent shares some of these ideas that suggests she also takes a different approach to emotional management that value authenticity over respectability:

Yeah, I do have a professional voice and I have a more lax voice, I'll give it that, I've recently noticed that, but I don't change who I am. Even though in student government my voice may be a bit more professional, they still know who I am. They know where I

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come from, they know what I tolerate. You don't have to change who you are and quite frankly, if somebody's not gonna accept you for who you are, you probably shouldn't be there. Same thing I always tell like the girls, I'm in a Greek lettered organization, and, they're always like, 'Oh but they're known for this, and I'm not like this.' Well, that's not for you then. You not gone change who you are for anyone. I tell anyone that about anything.

This respondent, an accomplished student leader, rejects notions of emotional respectability, but still acknowledges the "code switching" she performs (and is expected to perform) in mixed spaces (Anderson 1999). While she is clear in saying that you should not be involved in organizations that will not accept you for who you are, she acknowledges that her voice changes based on her social context. However, these respondents were in opposition with overall politics of emotional respectability culture put forth by the program administration and they do not expect their students, namely, their Black women, to adhere to it. They value the uniqueness of their Black female students, and even state that it is why the friendships and bonds that happen are so strong. In a compelling declaration, one peer counselors states why she finds her role as a peer counselor so important:

And I think for us, Black women, that's what makes us so unique. Like, natural hair isn't even consistent. Skin color is not consistent. The way you shine through the things you do. It's not consistent [and] it will never be the same. We all don't have the same…no. Everything is gonna be different. And teaching people how to embrace that. Teaching young Black women how to embrace that. That's the goal. That's what we do. Through our everyday lives, that's what we do. Peer Counselor

Concluding Thoughts

In this chapter, I have presented the concept of emotional respectability, and evidence of the complex ways in which the adult counselors and peer counselors interpret and manage the emotions and emotional reactions of students. Because emotional respectability is not about limiting emotions, but rather, controlling them, this is a pivotal site for emotional examination, especially with regard to Black girls and women. While there is little emphasis on the physical disciplining of Black girls in the program, I find that emotional respectability can operate as a site of similar surveillance, in which not only do the girls need to learn to physically embody whiteness and middle class-ness, but their attitudes and emotions, something that is typically understood as private or personal, are also susceptible to this institutional control. This is demonstrated when counselors suggest that the Black women in the program practice humility and respectable composure. But, while I suggest that emotional respectability is an extension of surveillance and discipline, I have also provided ways that the young Black women have access to different and conflicting messages on emotional respectability in the program. The students – in particular, the Black female peer counselors—respond to this emotion culture of respectability, with strong evidence for resistance. They, along with some of the counselors, purport authenticity and uniqueness as forms of emotional capital, and peer counselors find that it can be empowering not only for female relationships cultivated in the program, but also themselves. One peer counselor even mentioned the first on-campus interview she attended with her natural hair, and the confidence she received from her authenticity:

> "*I had never before worn my natural hair, I always had it straightened, I always put on tons of makeup to look as basically like a white girl as possible, and I went in there with*

no makeup and my natural hair and a business suit and just spoke. And I got the job. And

that gave me the confidence to be able to move forward and continue with that pattern.

These responses from peer counselors suggest that it can be empowering to engage in emotional strategies that emphasize (and privilege) authenticity. Furthermore, these particular messages suggests that the Black women in the program are offered the space necessary to make decisions to best fit who they are, providing agency in the form of emotional capital.

Much like families, members in the program can have different approaches to socialization practices and as such, family members are sometimes left to reconcile conflicting messages. Counselor responses were not always consistent with other counselors, and similarly, peer counselors often were in conflict with certain values counselors put forth. In future studies, it would be interesting to explore the ways that the students and counselors reconcile these inconsistent messages with each other.

As I have already established, the family framework that allows Exceed to function as a legitimate authority, and as such, violations of emotional rules as determined through emotional gatekeeping can have serious consequences. Sanctions for violations may include being removed from the program, and by extension, the program family, and consequently, the university. In this next chapter, I explore the nuances of discipline in the program more thoroughly.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCIPLINING THE FAMILY

"So yeah, we definitely had boundaries and whatnot, but, when they came in it was real. You're not gonna be late, you're not gonna talk during presentations, you're not gonna do this or that, you're gonna make sure you do what you're supposed to do to be here, but after all that's done, we're cool" Peer Counselor

Discipline was a fundamental part of my observations of Exceed, and, in this chapter, I explore the ways that discipline manifested in the program, and the implications of it. Tied to ideas about the program's reputation, family, and affect, discipline was a complex theme weaved throughout the program, resulting in different consequences for the male and female students. During the summer, I attended five mandatory seminars, which were an opportunity to get all the students in the program together once a week to teach them about various campus resources. Students I spoke with found these weekly seminars to be quite helpful, and during the summer, they often covered important, practical topics about campus resources such as visiting the career center, making a counseling appointment, managing money, and registering for classes. These mandatory seminars were weekly during the six-week summer session, and monthly during the student's first year on campus. During the fall and spring semesters, seminars were more likely to cover topics about diversity such as disability etiquette, resume writing, inter-partner violence, and getting involved on campus. Explaining the importance of these sessions, one student states:

"The seminars are to teach us life skills. One of my favorite ones we had was about disability etiquette and how some people don't realize that… you know you could be doing certain things to people with disabilities and you don't even notice it. So I really enjoyed that seminar that was one of my favorite seminars. Student

Similarly, one respondent shared how the value of the sessions might not be evident until it is actually needed:

> *"Oh! I learned this once but I don't remember exactly, let me hit up Ms. Sullivan or Ms. Harrison or someone, let me get some information on that cuz that's gonna help me…"But like after you're done and you have all that knowledge in your head because you went to the seminar and maybe you weren't paying full attention but heard a lil' somethin' somethin' and that comes to fruition to actually help you, I think that's a huge benefit."*

Students found these seminars very useful, and as such, I want to highlight the very practical, measurable benefit of having structured seminars to cover such a wide variety of topics to students who may be unfamiliar with them, equipping them with more social and cultural capital to better navigate the university and, ultimately, gain access to more social mobility. Speaking to the benefits of the program, one respondent asserts:

> *"So yeah they (counselors and seminars) help with a lot of stuff. Relationships, resumes and interviews and cover letters…"*

Alongside the practical transference of social and cultural capital came a transference of emotional surveillance and capital, as well. As exhibited in the introductory quote from the beginning of the chapter, in each session, the counselors or peer counselors took time from the hour long seminars to guide students with regard to things like behavior and attendance. As one peer counselor notes:

> *"You (the interviewer) were there in seminar like you saw?! We didn't play. Like, 'Why aren't the first three rows filled up?' 'You on your phone? Oh, who we texting? Oh, what*

y'all talking about? I wanna know.' Because when we came in, that's how we were taught. Not even that [it's] how we were taught, a lot of it is instilled...." Peer Counselor

In addition to serving as an extension to discipline faced in the institution, this peer counselor hints at it being an extension of discipline that happens in families. She also states that this is how she was taught, as well as the other peer counselor, who came in the program in different years, was taught to behave. Having established family as a legitimate authority in the student's lives, the program administration is in a position where they are given legitimacy to discipline students. Thus, under the umbrella of family, it becomes a discipline of love.

While there are important lessons that can be taught through this discipline of love, there are also ways that discipline may reinforce stereotypes or reproduce dominant narratives about race and gender. For instance, during the first seminar of the summer, one of the counselors spends a generous amount of time raising her voice at the students with regard to their behavior over the first weekend. From my field notes:

> Counselor begins with "*I love y'all*" very softly, then yells very loudly "*But I have a big problem! Y'all haven't been here a week and I'm already getting bad reports for behavior! I'm hearing about boyfriends coming in rooms at 2AM, people smelling weed on the floor, and one of y'all have already had a run in with the police who treated you roughly!*" She is yelling very loudly and the auditorium echoes.

With practical concerns about police brutality, illegal marijuana use, and visitor policy violations, the counselors are understandably concerned with the overall wellbeing of the students as well as the reputation of the program. "*Our reputation is everything!*" she yells, and then likens the students misbehaving to spitting in the face of the program administration, in particular the counselors and director. The counselor then goes on to remind the students that

they are family, but if they do not protect the reputation of the program, she will make certain that the students causing trouble will be dismissed from Exceed.

Throughout this interaction, we see the use of discipline *through* love and family, and as an extension, affective capital. To be more specific, by prefacing the yelling with a soft "I love you," students are expected to understand this interaction as love, and not a misuse of power. This use of affective capital—positive emotions connected to a sense of being valued—alongside harsh discipline is best exemplified when the counselor reminds the students how hard they have worked to be here, and how their families back home are rooting for them, while still yelling: *"I love y'all—y'all are my family, but I'll get you out of this program before I let you make it look bad!"* This is followed up by reminding students that there is a waitlist for the program, and that the counselors and director sometimes work twelve hour days to make sure the students are well taken care of—continuing the use of affective capital (they chose these students as opposed to other students, they work long hours, presumably out of love, care, and concern) as an *effective* strategy of gaining student compliance.

Because it was only the first session of the summer, I was surprised to see that the students did not seem alarmed at this interaction in the same ways that I did, which might suggest a sort of familiarity with the level of her voice, either through the program or from other lived experiences. Sitting in the back of the auditorium, I wrote frantically while trying to maintain a composed disposition, fearful that my face would betray me. During her interview, the counselor reminds me of that session, priding herself on the interaction. *"Sometimes, they need me to snap on them, so I do."*

Discipline to Protect Reputation

Reputation is important to the program, and the counselors often remind students of that during the sessions, while also suggesting that the students in the program tell someone if they see a student misbehaving or "making the program look bad." Nearly every session, students were reminded that they could be removed from the program for misbehaving, and that the housing department and the university did not want the students present. This was often done with reminders of Exceed being a family, and, as such, the counselors remind the students that Exceed is the gate through which they are allowed to enter the university, which would not have them otherwise. In this way, the administration sets forth gratitude as a form of emotional capital, in which students are expected to exhibit gratefulness through good behavior, demonstrating their investment in protecting the reputation of the program. Consequently, student behavior is not a reflection of themselves, or "college kids being college kids," it is now a reflection of the entire program, and should be handled as such. For example, in a session about healthy relationships, a counselor begins the session with this:

> *"Behavior has been quiet, but I also haven't checked my messages today" she tells*
> *students. She then goes on to say that the program has sent a very strong message to*
> *housing to tell the student's Resident Assistants to start writing them up, which will*
> *report them to the Office of Student Rights and Responsibilities. This is in direct response*
> *to last week's session, when another counselor told students that the university's housing*
> *department was ready to kick them out. "You don't want to be the problem child," she*
> *finishes, before introducing today's session.*

This type of language was typical for the sessions, and because they were mandatory, the sessions were the opportune spot to get strong warnings conveyed to all the students simultaneously.

It's not my intent to suggest that fears of a foiled reputation may result in a loss of funding or university support are irrational—the program is funded by a federal grant, contingent upon its success, and is merely hosted by the university, offered no funding or resources outside of an office space. In the past few years, its sister program has lost funding and its university office, and as such, anxiety levels are high about protecting Exceed. When asking counselors what they found most troubling with their jobs, one counselor had the following response:

> *"I have been told by many people on campus that our programs, meaning the grant programs in general, are not respected. And I think a lot of it just out of ignorance not knowing what we do. I often tell people I can do a lot of other advisors job on campus and not a lot of them would be able to do mine... I think part of it just comes from a larger context in the United States where anything that has a lot of black and brown bodies associated with it is devalued. We see that on a national level in a variety of ways and I think it trickles down into our daily work as well."* Counselor

So, in order to secure federal funding and their space on campus, there are very specific and practical goals they must reach, thus, rules and emotional cultures—de jure and de facto— that they must respond to and abide by. This quote also reveals why program counselors may be especially invested in the reputation of the program: to circumvent pervasive stereotypes that exist about Black and Brown people in the United States. Counselors often reminded students that the university is "waiting to dismantle" the program, suggesting a hyper-surveillance of student behavior and success, thus, in addition to acclimating students to dominant emotional cultures, much of the socialization that the students experience may also be to counter negative stereotypes about Black and Latinx students being unmotivated or unable to learn (The Education Trust 2017).

Peer Counselors and Discipline

Discipline and surveillance were also the responsibility of the peer counselors in the program. With their unique positionality as peer and mentor, the peer counselors add an extra level of surveillance because they live with the students, and work closely with the adult counselors in the program. Peer counselors have formal and informal conversations with adult counselors about their respective residence halls, and thus, the formal administration of the program is able to extend their surveillance beyond sessions and classes, but also in student's intimate living space. From my field notes, I recall a particular session in which the peer counselors stand on stage together to lecture the students about their weekend behavior, after the adult counselors have left:

> *This is post Fourth of July weekend, and peer counselors are upset with student behavior. One peer counselor explains that she is at home for the weekend, getting texts after midnight from her colleagues about the behavior of her students well after midnight. She explains that she should not have to worry about students after that time of night. Some students begin to chuckle, and another peer counselor asks "What's funny?" She explains that nothing that happened over the weekend was funny and that it's a shame that it's only the student's third week and they are getting in so much trouble already. The peer counselors explain that people were drinking, smoking weed, being drunk and disorderly and that it is unacceptable. Peer counselors threaten to tell the counselors and administrative staff names next time this happens. One peer counselor specifically says: "They want names, and next time, I'm going to give them names. I don't care." Peer Counselors agree in saying that they will not protect unruly students from getting kicked out of the program. They explain that the students should not let anyone make this program look bad, and that students should shame those who try to. One peer counselor reminds them that the students in this program are family.*

Through encouraging students to surveil other students, the peer counselors encourage the narrative that unruly students will not be protected or tolerated. The peer counselor's quick response to a chuckle in the audience also confirms that narrative. This session, similar to the first session mentioned earlier in the chapter, demonstrates the ways that affective capital, in the form of concern and family, can be used to convince students to surveil one another, and protect the reputation of the program. These two sessions are also similar in that they both respond to concrete concerns about serious university policy violations, such as underage drinking. By addressing this concern, peer counselors, who have all been through the program, are realistically responding to a violation that can have serious consequences for students, such as being expelled from the program, and, as a result, the university. This concern is further tied to the hyper-surveillance that the program receives from the university as a grant program comprised of low-income racial minority students, as students are not allowed to make mistakes other eighteen year olds who have not entered the university through the program may make, and must exhibit nearly exceptional behavior. Additionally, because the peer counselors occupy such a unique position, bridging the students to the program administrators, I found that the peer counselor's assertion that "They want names, and next time, we're going to give them names" was an interesting way to pronounce their position as peer and authority. This seminar was particularly tense, indicative of how serious feeling rule violations are taken.

Concluding Thoughts

In this section, I have offered an analysis of the ways that discipline is incorporated into the program through the mandatory weekly seminars students must attend, and less so in other environments. I argued that these mandatory seminars operated simultaneously as sites of useful

information to help students acclimate to the university climate, as a space for group discipline, and reminders about the importance about peer surveillance. Thus, these weekly, hour-long sessions became the space in which administrators were able to communicate useful information while also putting forth standards about acceptable behavior based on the institutional norms in which the students must learn navigate. Because the summer program is only six-weeks, this discipline appeared more pronounced as counselors had to speedily acclimate students to white, middle-class norms, alongside addressing serious concerns about students using marijuana or drinking in residence halls. While this behavior might be typical of students who have not entered the university through Exceed, because of the hyper-surveillance the program experiences from the university, investment in program reputation was persistently reiterated, in ways that suggested the students were responsible not only for monitoring their own actions, but the actions of their peers, as well. As such, institutional norms are more pronounced for the students in Exceed, with their race and class being markers of hypervisibility that the program administration must curtail.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

In this project, I explored the ways that dominant emotion cultures can inform the emotional socialization practices of a college bridge program. Because of Black women's unique positionality, these emotion cultures, which are informed by cultural narratives that exist in the social world, impact them in very specific ways, marking not only their physical bodies for discipline and surveillance, but also their emotions. Bridge programs are interesting sites for this type of research because the success of the bridge program is dependent upon the success of the students, and as such, for the students in the bridge program who are low-income and overwhelmingly racial minorities, success is about far more than academic success, and is often about acquiring various forms of social, cultural, and in my work, emotional capital.

From my data emerged three themes: family, emotion, and discipline. In chapter three, "All in the Family" I highlighted the importance of family ideology for Exceed, and the affective benefits this ideology fostered, such as a sense of belonging and meaning as well as long-lasting friendships, accountability, and success. The culture of family was cultivated in three distinct ways: through living with each other and taking the same courses, having similar racial and class backgrounds, and affectionately referring to each other with familial labels, such as "Mama," "sister," or "brother." Participants shared with me how this experience meant cultivating lifelong relationships between other Black women in a way that would have been difficult to do at the university otherwise. This family also operated as a safe-haven from the isolation and

microaggressions that students of color have been known to experience (Smith et al. 2011, Minikel-Lacocque 2012, Wilkins 2012).

In chapter four, "Emotional Rollercoaster" I present the ways in which the young Black women in the program are subject to unique emotional surveillance and guidance. This is especially evidenced through emotional capital, which was transferred in numerous ways in the program—through individual meetings with students and counselors, during the mandatory seminars, and, as mentioned in my interview with the peer counselors, in the residential halls in which the students live in during the summer. Although emotional capital was transferred in ways that uphold the dominant emotional cultures, I also provided evidence that emotional capital was also used as a strategy to navigate the larger cultures of the institution, not necessarily uphold it. For instance, while humility was one form of emotional capital privileged in the program, so was authenticity, or while some administrators encouraged the Black women in the program to restrain their emotions, others encouraged them to express them freely. While humility and restraint are consistent with what other scholars have found with Black girls and emotional capital (Froyum 2009), future studies might address the way emotional capital can operate as coping strategies rather than culture reproducers, as is the case in this project.

Additionally, in chapter four, I introduced the concept "emotional respectability" to help conceptualize the ways in which Black women's emotions are monitored in institutional spaces. Emotional respectability demands that our emotional displays—whatever they may be—must be aligned with the feeling rules of the institution. Emotional respectability emerged in two distinctive ways for the Black women in the program: by encouraging contextualized anger and encouraging the social distancing of oneself from lower-class, or "peasant" like emotional demeanors through the demarcation of "respectable composure". Thus, anger is allowed, but

only as it serves the institution. Reflecting the diversity of the socialization approaches, evidence of encouraging and resisting emotional respectability by the counselors and peer counselors was also presented in chapter four, in which some counselors and peer counselors rejected emotional respectability, meaning that Black women in the program have the option to make choices about their emotional demeanors to best represent who they are.

The weekly mandatory seminars where I conducted my participant observation became the site in which I was able to recognize the standards and institutional expectation that the program administrators put forth. In chapter five, "Disciplining the Family," I explore the ways this happened. Concerned about the reputation of the program at large, and, ultimately, being able to secure a federal grant to fund more students for future academic years, counselors and peer counselors frequently reminded students that misbehaving would not be tolerated and that the university was not supportive of the program. Thus, these seminars, coupled with useful information about navigating the university, were simultaneously opportune spaces for the counselors to communicate messages about appropriate and inappropriate behavior to the students at once. Through this, we often saw the use of affective capital in the form of expressing love and highlighting the family narrative in order to soften tough lessons about the consequences of students behaving. This tactic was effective in encouraging students to heed the advice of the counselors, and frame yelling and belittling as a labor of love rather than an occasional misuse of power.

Literature suggests that college bridge programs can be immeasurably important to first-generation, working class, and minority students (McElroy and Armesto 1998, Lombardi et al. 2012) Thus, it is not my intent to denounce the necessity of Exceed, or, college bridge programs in general. Their success should be celebrated, especially because structural inequality in education still exists at alarming rates (Ladson-Billings 2006). In this project, it was my intention to critically analyze the messages about emotional socialization that the Black women in the program received through various methods about socialization. With that said, I do wish to call to attention the nuanced ways in which the program prepares the students for life in the university, such as the mandatory seminars. The seminars that I observed were a wealth of information about university resources that even I was unfamiliar with. This type of information, especially when students have it at the beginning of the academic career could be immensely beneficial for students who may otherwise be reluctant to seek it out. Additionally, the courses that the students take over the six-week summer period are university level and can formally prepare students for what they can expect from courses in the fall. By taking three courses in six-weeks, the students become accustomed to a rigorous schedule, and my respondents frequently suggested that students bond over completing homework assignments and studying for exams in their shared residence hall. And, finally, the unique care and concern that the counselors have for students is also fundamental to the student's successes, as my student participants would readily agree. Alongside writing letters of recommendation, counselors were helpful in reviewing and editing resumes, cover letters, and even approving or disapproving of outfits to wear for interviews. This type of care and concern, significantly different than that of a traditional university academic advisor, encouraged students to apply for ambitious student leader positons

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and internships. Each of my student participants (peer counselors included) were involved in multiple student organizations and had held prestigious internships at the state capitol or local hospitals. In addition to being involved with student government, the students I spoke with held board positions in many race and gender based organizations such as the National Council for Negro Women, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Black Student Union, and, even president of a Divine Nine Sorority, all organizations which address racial inequalities on campus. Therefore, while it is important to note that the program administration might employ socialization and coping strategies that focus on the individual students at times, the leadership roles that the students are encouraged to take on as a result of the affective capital and additional support they receive from the program administration may certainly address structural change.

Given our unique social location, emotional performance matters in unique ways for Black women, and the program administration, Black women themselves, are familiar with this. This performance is especially necessary in institutional settings, where we are rarely seen as complex beings allowed access to emotional displays in the ways that white women may be. Because they are familiar with the feeling rules of the institution, the program administration has decided that this is what is *necessary* in order for students to be successful in a white, middle class space, and gain access to social mobility that has been historically and structurally denied on the basis of race, class, and gender. It is easier to mold the students to fit the institution than it is to change the historically white and middle class institution, and my critiques of this program have to be tempered by that reality. So, through vehicles such as family, the administration does what it can to prepare students, while encouraging them to obtain competitive leadership positions in which students themselves may be able to address the structural questions of

inequality. My hope is that one day, institutions such as education may be amenable to shifting away from privileging individual solutions to inequality, and imagine solutions that challenge the institution at large, rather than encourage marginalized students to fit a mold that was not created with them in mind. (hooks 1994, Brown 2014, Castagno 2014, Morris 2015).

Future Research & Limitations

This project, while useful, is not without significant limitations, the most apparent being sample size. This is a small program, and as data collection and analysis progressed, confidentiality of participants became an increasingly pressing issue given that there are only three counselors on staff for the program. Had I done a comparative study with multiple programs, this could have helped alleviate a number of those concerns by increasing the number of formal administration members in my sample. This confidentiality crisis was not limited to the counselors. As the fall and spring semesters progressed, it became increasingly more difficult to arrange to meet with students, especially when I could offer no compensation beyond lunch or coffee, resulting in only two student participants, both of which work for the program as desk attendants. This project would have greatly benefitted from the perspective of more students, those who work for the program and those who do not. Although their input is invaluable, it does not come without a certain bias, and, this means that along with the counselors and peer counselors, every interviewee was employed by the program, and I often wonder what this means for my data. Thus, it would be ideal to have a thorough mix of student participants: those who are currently in the program, those who work for the program, and those who have graduated from the program. This, I believe, can better represent student interpretations of Exceed, and should be considered for future studies.

Additionally, I initially began this project with intentions to only interview Black women, however, I believe that interviewing the Black men in the program would add additional complexity to this research. While my research is responding to a gap in the literature on Black girls and women in education, once I began my data collection process, it became clear to me that including men in this research would not have meant I would have had to de-center Black women. This project could have been profusely more complex with the inclusion of the young Black men in the program, with regard to their relationship to the counselors, the young women in the program, and each other. This became abundantly clear when the theme of family emerged during my data collection process. Unfortunately, I was unable to interview any men except for one, who, as a consequence of being the only man, has been presented as a woman in this project to maintain integrity and confidentiality. Without their important perspective, I was unable to make strong comparisons between the experiences of the women and men, and often had to assign my own interpretations of their intentions to statements of the participants. I hope I have done them justice. For future studies, researchers might consider interviewing men and women for a more nuanced perspective.

Another limitation to this project was my access to the full scope of the program. While I was able to attend the seminars and conduct interviews, I was unable to observe other critical components of the six-week program, such as activities and conversations that took place inside the residence hall, as well as in the Academic Service course sponsored by Exceed that all students are required to take and that the counselors teach. I believe that my observations of the seminars were useful, but offered partial understandings of the program. In future research, I would especially want to observe the program sponsored course, as its dual affiliation with the program and the university might be a compelling site for socialization practices.

Black Girl Magic? Taking a Seat at the Table

Throughout this project, it was my expressed intention to highlight the unique experiences of the Black women and emotional socialization in this bridge program. By using "Black Girl Magic," in the title of the project, I hoped to draw attention to the ways in which Black girls and women are expected to be extraordinary in order to successfully navigate the emotional cultures that are set forth by institutions such as education, family, and the workplace. Black girl magic is simultaneously a celebration and a labor, thus, magic is not, in its most traditional sense, a noun, so much as it is a verb. Magic is what Black girls and women *do,* and, are expected to do, a consequence of constricting narratives about Black womanhood and our demarcation as "other" (Collins 2009). This magic ain't cheap—although consumed by all, it is paid for by the demands of emotional and physical labor from Black girls and women. Our bodies and our feelings matter, and as such, when exploring domination, bodies and emotions should be considered essential sites for which domination manifests. As Jesse Williams stated at the 2016 BET Awards: *Just because we're magic, doesn't mean we're not real.*

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      Afterlife of Slavery." *Educational Policy* 30(1):171-196.

Appendix A: Interview questions for counselors:

- Tell me a little bit about yourself.

- What do you find most rewarding about your work?

- What do you find most challenging about your work?

- What are some of the characteristics of successful students in this program?

- Beyond academic guidance, you think that students in this project also need other type of guidance on issues that are non-academic related? Anything related to self-presentation? Self-preservation?

- How do you define a successful student?

- What types of things do students need the most help with?

- Do first-generation students or students of color have unique needs beyond academic needs to help them acclimate to college?

- What do you challenge your students the most on?

- Tell me a story about a time when a student really needed your help or guidance.

Appendix B: Interview questions for peer coaches:

- What do you find most rewarding about your work?

- What do you find most challenging about your work?

- As a peer coach, what are your main goals? How do you achieve/plan to achieve those goals?

- What do you find is the most important to teach the incoming students?

- What are some ways that you teach it?

- What were some of the challenges you personally had as a first year student?

- What are the most rewarding parts of the program for you personally?

- What are the most challenging parts of the program for you personally?

- What are your relationships like with your peers in the program?

- How do you think your peers would define success?

- Beyond academic guidance, you think that students in this project also need other type of guidance on issues that are non-academic related? Self-presentation? Self-Preservation?

- Do first-generation students or students of color have unique needs beyond academic needs to help them acclimate to college?

- Tell me about a time when your peers helped you be successful in the program?

- Tell me a story about a time when you might have needed more help or guidance from your peers and the program

Appendix C: Interview questions for program students:

- What is your race and ethnicity?

- What is your age?

- What is your gender?

- What did you personally find most rewarding about the program?

- What do you personally find most challenging about the program?

- What were some of the challenges you personally had as a first year student?

- What are your relationships like with your peers in the program?

- What are your relationships like with your peer coaches in the program?

- What are your relationships like with the counselors in the program?

- What was it like to share a living area with other students in the program?

- How do you define success?

- How do you think your peers would define success?

- What types of guidance do you think you need outside of academic guidance?

- Do first-generation students or students of color have unique needs beyond academic needs to help them acclimate to college?

- Tell me about a time when your peers helped you be successful in the program.

- Tell me a story about a time when you might have needed more help or guidance from your peers and the program.

Appendix D: Research Integrity and Compliance Letter

RESEARCH INTEGRITY AND COMPLIANCE
Institutional Review Boards, FWA No. 00001669
12901 Bruce B. Downs Blvd., MDC035 ● Tampa, FL 33612-4799
(813) 974-5638 ● FAX (813) 974-7091

7/12/2016

Olivia Johnson

Sociology

4202 E Fowler Ave Tampa, FL
33620

RE: **Expedited Approval for Initial Review**
IRB#: Pro00026753
Title: Black Girl Magic? Negotiating Emotions and Success in College Bridge Programs

Study Approval Period: 7/12/2016 to 7/12/2017

Dear Ms. Johnson:

On 7/12/2016, the Institutional Review Board (IRB) reviewed and **APPROVED** the above application
and all documents contained within, including those outlined below.

Approved Item(s):
Protocol Document(s):
StudyProtocol IRB#26753.pdf

Consent/Assent Document(s)*:
IRB consent form IRB # 26753 V1 6.13.2016.docx.pdf

*Please use only the official IRB stamped informed consent/assent document(s) found under the "Attachments" tab. Please note, these consent/assent document(s) are only valid during the approval period indicated at the top of the form(s).

It was the determination of the IRB that your study qualified for expedited review which includes activities that (1) present no more than minimal risk to human subjects, and (2) involve only procedures listed in one or more of the categories outlined below. The IRB may review research through the expedited review procedure authorized by 45CFR46.110 and 21 CFR 56.110. The research proposed in this study is categorized under the following expedited review category:

(6) Collection of data from voice, video, digital, or image recordings made for research purposes.

(7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

The observation portion of your study qualifies for a waiver of the requirements for the informed consent process as outlined in the federal regulations at 45CFR46.116 (d) which states that an IRB may approve a consent procedure which does not include, or which alters, some or all of the elements of informed consent, or waive the requirements to obtain informed consent provided the IRB finds and documents that (1) the research involves no more than minimal risk to the subjects; (2) the waiver or alteration will not adversely affect the rights and welfare of the subjects; (3) the research could not practicably be carried out without the waiver or alteration; and (4) whenever appropriate, the subjects will be provided with additional pertinent information after participation.

As the principal investigator of this study, it is your responsibility to conduct this study in accordance with IRB policies and procedures and as approved by the IRB. Any changes to the approved research must be submitted to the IRB for review and approval via an amendment. Additionally, all unanticipated problems must be reported to the USF IRB within five (5) calendar days.

We appreciate your dedication to the ethical conduct of human subject research at the University of South Florida and your continued commitment to human research protections. If you have any questions regarding this matter, please call 813-974-5638.

Sincerely,

Kristen Salomon, Ph.D., Vice Chairperson