

“YOU ARE SO ARTICULATE”: THE PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT OF CODESWITCHING
AMONG BLACK OR AFRICAN AMERICAN GRADUATE STUDENTS AT
PREDOMINANTLY WHITE INSTITUTIONS

A Doctoral Dissertation (Defense)
presented to
the Graduate Department of Clinical Psychology
University of Indianapolis

In partial fulfillment
Of the requirements for the degree
Doctor of Psychology

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DECEMBER 1, 2023

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ABSTRACT

This study explored the psychological well-being of Black or African American graduate students at Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs) and the impact of codeswitching from Ebonics to Standard English. Previous literature has shown that Black or African American students, may face challenges at a PWI such as frequent racial tensions and discrimination. The use of codeswitching has also been shown to have negative consequences for Black speakers. Thus, the current study focused primarily on the impact that the use of codeswitching has on individuals who identify as Black or African American graduate students. Through the Consensual Qualitative Research (CQR) method data was collected and analyzed in order to gain insight into this phenomenon. As a part of this study, 12 Black or African Americans who previously obtained an undergraduate degree from a Historically Black College or University (HBCU) and graduated or who were currently attending a PWI at the time of the study were recruited. The results indicated that participants codeswitched at their PWI to avoid challenges such as being misunderstood, not being taken seriously, and being stereotyped. The results supported the notion that codeswitching is a vital tool for Black graduate students to navigate in Predominantly White environments. In terms of psychological implications, the results indicated that psychological stressors such as anxiety, changes to participants' personality (none that align with any specific DSM-5 diagnoses), exhaustion, and masking were present as a result of codeswitching or the use of Ebonics at their PWI. But, in terms of specific mental health comparisons from HBCU to PWI related to codeswitching, there were no significant results. Lastly, the results also suggested that PWIs should create more diversity-related resources, emphasis on graduate student resources through increased funding, and more awareness of codeswitching through discussions, trainings, etc.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to give a special thanks to all those that have supported me throughout this long, hectic, journey. Graduate school including writing this dissertation has not been easy by any means and I truly appreciate my friends, family, and academic support systems.

To my father, Anthony Allen I would like to share a special thank you. Thank you for the countless phone calls, always being there to listen to me complain about “this paper”, and for being my unofficial-official editor.

To my mother, Zera Hoosier I would like to express my sincere gratitude for your endless support and for periodically asking me, “Did you finish that paper yet?” Your reminders and your “get things done” mentality are what have pushed me to be who I am today.

To my sister, Candace Scott I would like to thank you for serving as my forever role model. You have shown me what to and what not to do and I appreciate the life lessons you have given whether I asked for them or not.

To my closest friends, Elesha White, Jermaine Grandison, and Dajah Harris, I may not say it all the time but I thank you from the bottom of my heart. Your friendship, random Facetime calls, and pull-ups are what have helped me get through these 5 years.

To my advisor, Dr. Poulakis I don’t even know where to begin. You have provided unconditional support since the day I interviewed for the PsyD program, and I thank you. I truly appreciate everything you have done from not just checking in on my academics but checking in on me mentally.

To my committee members Drs. Charla Davis and Kathryn Boucher, I appreciate you both for putting up with me on this long journey. Dr. Davis, thank you for being more than just a committee member but a friend. Dr. Boucher, thank you for pushing me to think outside the box.

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CHAPTER ONE: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

For centuries, individuals have been enrolling in college and furthering their education. For instance, Harvard University is one of the oldest institutions with it being established in the 1600s (Davis, 2019; The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, 2023). While universities such as Harvard have been around for a long time, students from specific backgrounds were not always accepted for enrollment for a multitude of reasons. In particular, Black students have long faced problems in higher education associated with racial climate, Jim Crow laws, economic differences, linguistic discrimination, etc. (Adedoyin, 2022; Hankerson, 2023; Karkouti, 2016). Despite some of these problems, over the years Black and African Americans have still been able to find avenues to enroll and excel in higher education. In the current study, the term Black and African American are used interchangeably.

Recently, the undergraduate enrollment rates for African American students have been fluctuating. The Postsecondary National Policy Institute compiled data from the U.S. Department of Education and the National Center for Education Statistics and found that from 2000 to 2010 African American undergraduate enrollment rates increased by 73% (from 1.5 million to 2.7 million) (PNPI, 2020). However, from 2010 to 2018, African American undergraduate enrollment rates decreased by 21% (2.1 million) (PNPI, 2020). From 2018 to 2020, there was an overall decrease in college enrollment regardless of race/ethnicity (Adedoyin, 2022). However, Black individuals continued to see a decrease in enrollment up until 2023 (Marcus, 2023). There

are many different reasons for this decrease. However, some have speculated that it was in part due to the 2019 pandemic, financial concerns, and program adaptability (B. Miller, 2020). In more recent years, it has been found that undergraduate college enrollment rates for Black individuals have decreased because of racial trauma in and out of school systems (Edwin & Daniels, 2022). These factors and rates may continue to fluctuate as things change in the world.

In addition to undergraduate enrollment rates, from 2000 to 2018, post-baccalaureate enrollment increased by 41% (Hussar et al., 2020). For African American students, from 2000-2018, post-baccalaureate enrollment increased by 101 % (Hussar et al., 2020). But another fluctuation occurred from 2019 to 2020 as Black/African American graduate student enrollment only increased by 8.1% (Zhou & Gao, 2021). It appears that the rate at which African Americans are enrolling in graduate school is increasing. However, these rates reflect a slow rate of change compared to others (Zhou & Gao, 2021).

While the enrollment rates have been changing, the number of African Americans choosing to attend Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs) has also changed (Payne & Suddler, 2014). A PWI is defined as a higher education institution where White people make up 50% or more of the student population (Lomotey, 2010; Setty-Charity, 2022). Dating back to the '70s, Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) conferred 35 % of undergraduate degrees and 21% of master's degrees for Black students (Provasnik & Shafer, 2004). But again, these rates fluctuated over the years. For instance, data from the early 2000s stated that many Black students attended PWIs both for undergraduate and graduate school (Aud et al., 2011; M.D. Williams, 2014). By 2008, only 10% of Black graduate students attended HBCUs to pursue their education (Aud et al., 2011). Historically, the data has shown that the number of Black students attending and receiving master's and doctoral degrees from HBCUs has decreased (Provasnik &

Shafer, 2004; U.S. Department of Education et al., 2022). More recent data has shown that from 2020-2021, HBCUs only accounted for 5% of conferred master's degrees for Black students (U.S. Department of Education et al., 2022).

Furthermore, with a fluctuation in enrollment rates, the experiences of each student are also important. Attendance at a PWI has many different consequences or outcomes for Black or African American students in comparison to White students. In particular, a large number of Black college students come from predominantly Black residential environments and attending a predominantly White environment such as a college can bring about some challenges associated with culture shock (Woldoff et al., 2011). Some of these challenges include but are not limited to, discomfort in adjusting to unfamiliar White environments, segregation, lack of belonging, and a weakened sense of racial identity (Hernandez, 2010; Sinanan, 2012; Woldoff et al., 2011). In particular, a study on Black college students at a rural PWI revealed that Black students who are not socially adjusted to a PWI environment are at an increased risk for disadvantages (Woldoff et al., 2011). This study also included several participant responses that displayed the severity and reality of these challenges such as "Blacks have to prove themselves academically first before Whites even respect them a little bit here" (Woldoff et al., 2011). Those responses are similar to those within the current study.

The adjustment to a PWI has also been studied when it comes to exploring race-related stressors, racial identity, and the overall mental health of African American students. However, much of this research has focused on the adjustment of specifically undergraduate students and their experiences with Black authenticity (Cox, 2020; Eakins & Eakins, 2017; Neville et al., 2004; Payne & Suddler, 2014; Woldoff et al., 2011). In a recent study, researchers found that African American students attending PWIs experience ostracism and lack a sense of belonging

(Eakins & Eakins, 2017). However, African American students, have found ways to navigate through such experiences.

One experience that has been explored to a certain extent, is African American students' experiences with codeswitching between English and Ebonics and the use of codeswitching as a means to navigate through a PWI (Payne & Suddler, 2014). While codeswitching appears as positive way to navigate, it can also come with negative consequences. Some of these negative consequences include but are not limited to decreased social performance and impacts on one's racial-ethnic identity in lieu of performing well in a White value system (PWI) (Payne & Suddler, 2014). Moreover, there are attitudes and perceptions of codeswitching that can impact one's cultural identity. In terms of attitudes and perceptions, it has been found that there are mixed attitudes from Black students towards codeswitching and primarily negative perceptions of codeswitching from White individuals (Bukowski, 2019; Dewaele & Wei, 2014; Durkee & Williams, 2015; Koch et al., 2001; V.A. Young, 2009).

Limited research brings to light the individual preferences on the use of codeswitching, attitudes towards codeswitching, and perceptions of codeswitching (Bukowski, 2019; Dewaele & Wei, 2014; Doss & Gross, 1994; Durkee & Williams, 2015; Koch et al., 2001; V.A. Young, 2009). In particular, Doss & Gross looked at the perceptions of Standard English speakers, Black English speakers, and those that codeswitched (1994). In their study, Standard English was not explicitly defined only described as characteristics of White Standard English. However, they did reference Burling (1973) in their work who referred to it as the language of White, Educated, Middle class citizens. Codeswitching speakers were individuals that initially spoke in Standard English and then changed to Black English or the language of African Americans characterized by incorrect grammar, "Black vocabulary", and pronunciations that varied from Standard

English (Doss & Gross, 1994). From the results, it was found that African Americans from PWIs preferred Standard English speakers over codeswitching speakers and Black English speakers. More specifically, participants rated Standard English speakers as more likeable or having qualities such as being kind, pleasant, open-minded, intelligent, and socially skilled. It was suspected that participants were assigning specific qualities because language served as an indication of cultural identity. Thus, further suggesting that there are negative stereotypes associated with Black English and the belief that certain languages or behaviors can negatively impact one's social mobility (Doss & Gross, 1994). These types of stereotypes and assumptions can lead to negative perceptions of oneself, their own cultural identity, and further influencing the use of codeswitching or Standard English among African Americans, particularly college students.

Furthermore, previous research has had a tendency to disregard Black or African American graduate student experiences. It is a fact that research has treated Black students, especially in higher education as a homogenous group and often assumes that all Black students share similar experiences (Adams, 2005; Harper & Nichols, 2008; Steele, 1999; Stewart, 2009). Hence why this study took a qualitative approach to expanding on the individual experiences and implications of codeswitching, the role in which a PWI plays, and examined the psychological well-being of Black or African American graduate students.

History of Ebonics and Controversies

In discussing the use of codeswitching among African Americans, it is important to examine the language or dialect that is commonly used, known as Ebonics. On January 26th, 1973, Dr. Robert L. Williams created the term *Ebonics* (Baugh, 2005). It was on this day that the well-renowned African American psychologist coined this term in order to bring light to the

pejorative descriptions of the commonly used language of African Americans, Ebonics. As a result of Dr. William's frustrations with White scholars referring to the African American language as deficient language and slovenly speech, he invited scholars to come together for a discussion on the cognitive and language development of Black children (Yancy, 2011). Those scholarly discussions, brought about the creation of Ebonics through the combining of the words *ebony* and *phonetics*. *Ebony* referring to a deep, lustrous Black, or Black color while *phonics* or *phonetics* refers to the science of speech sounds ("Ebony," n.d.; Ladefoged, 2023; Merriam-Webster, n.d.). Thus, equating to the meaning of black pronunciation, vocabulary, syntax, and structure (R.L. Williams, 1997).

The language frequented by African Americans often referred to as Ebonics is also known as African American Vernacular English (AAVE), African American English (AAE), or Black English (BE). For the purposes of this study and to maintain consistency, the term Ebonics was used. Aside from alternative names, the origin of this language is a heavily researched topic (Baugh, 2000; J. Collins, 1999; E.A. Smith, 1978; Sung & Allen-Handy, 2019; Wiley, 2005). Linguists differ in their opinions of where exactly Ebonics originated from. However, there are four hypotheses about the origin that frequently come about in research. These hypotheses are the Creole or Creolist hypothesis, Anglicist hypothesis, Neo-Anglicist hypothesis, and the Substrate hypothesis (Baugh, 2000; McLucas, 2005; Mufwene 2015; Sebba, 1997; Veenendaal et al., 2014; Winford, 2015). The different types of hypotheses show a division in the opinions of linguists as some attribute Ebonics to English origins as a result of African slave interactions, African origins such as the West African language, or even Caribbean or Creole origins (Rickford, 2005; Sebba, 1997).

Specifically, the Creole or Creolist hypothesis dates back to 1964 when authors, Beryl Bailey and Bill Stewart expressed that Ebonics stems from a widespread full Creole through the American South (Rickford, 2015). However, the idea that Ebonics descended strictly from Creole has been debunked by modern Creolists (Rickford, 1998; Veenendaal et al., 2014). The refined hypothesis suggests that Ebonics evolved from a Creole-based variety of English (Veenendaal et al., 2014). In particular, during colonization, when Africans from a variety of different countries were transported to North America and became slaves, in order to communicate among their different languages, they developed a pidgin language. This pidgin language was a mixture of West African vocabulary from their original languages and English. (McLucas, 2005). Eventually, as African slaves worked on different plantations, the language further developed into the Creole language that some say was rooted in Gullah (Creole spoken in coastal South Carolina) and evolved towards American English (Mufwene, 2015; Veenendaal et al., 2014).

Unlike the Creole or Creolist hypothesis, the Anglicist hypothesis states that Ebonics stems from British dialects (Sebba, 1997). In other words, this hypothesis focuses on Ebonics originating strictly from the English language and excludes any African influence (McLucas, 2005). Similarly, the Neo-Anglicist hypothesis also strays from the notation that Ebonics originated from any type of African influence. However, this hypothesis, in particular, focuses on Ebonics stemming from the English language changing over time. Those who believe in the Neo-Anglicist hypothesis claim that Ebonics is a result of White-American speech, which developed from South White Vernacular English (Veenendaal et al., 2014).

Lastly, the substrate hypothesis is in a way a combination of multiple hypotheses. The substrate hypothesis posits that Ebonics is a result of the influence from earlier regional contexts

in the U.S. and through the heritage of the original language contact situation (Veenendaal et al., 2014; Wolfram, 2004). More specifically, this language contact situation refers to the language contact between English-like Creole and early settler dialects (Veenendaal et al., 2014). While the substrate hypothesis is a newer theory, researchers have found it to be a better account for the Ebonic language origin given the available data (Kendall et al., 2018; Veenendaal et al., 2014). However, it is important to note that even with current and past data, there are still some limitations. It has even been stated that the origins of the Ebonics language may never be fully understood (Kendall et al., 2018).

The Ebonics Debate

Years after the term Ebonics was originally coined and hypotheses were formulated, controversy sparked as the topic became focused on literary, cultural, social, and political issues. In particular, the Ebonics debate is commonly referred to as the controversy over the use of Ebonics in school systems (McLaren, 2009). On December 18th, 1996, the Oakland, CA school board made the decision to accept Ebonics as a language and include it as a part of the curriculum to teach Standard English (R.L. Williams, 1997). This decision sparked a controversial debate, as those opposed rejected Ebonics as they were under the assumption that it would allow for substandard speech in the classrooms, further condone slang, and reward failure (R.L. Williams, 1997). Even the African American mayor of Oakland, at the time stated, that there was a commitment to education to include language and math and that a substandard English wouldn't be tolerated (Woo & Curtius, 1996). However, according to Dr. Williams, the actual goal of the Oakland, CA school board decision was to provide African American children with the opportunity to achieve a quality education by incorporating Ebonics. The incorporation of Ebonics into the school system was not to replace the use of Standard English but to allow

African American children the ability to navigate through the school system without being penalized for speaking their own language (R.L. Williams, 1997).

Along with the rejection of Ebonics in academic settings, controversy is still present when it comes to acknowledging what Ebonics genuinely is and the history of the language. In fact, Ebonics is not equivalent to slang, Urban hip-hop vernacular, or colloquialisms (Thompson, 2000). Slang is defined as unconventional or nonstandard words or phrases often used in a certain way among social interactions (Maurer, 2023). Many have even stigmatized slang over the years (Coleman, 2012). The combination of words forming the term, Urban hip-hop vernacular refers to language or dialect characterized by the cultural movement associated with rap (Light & Tate, 2023). While colloquial from the word colloquialism refers to informal words or expressions from a specific region or demographic (Nordquist, 2020). All of these words obviously have different meanings. But, using these definitions interchangeably with that of Ebonics is to disregard the origins, the purpose, and the importance of Ebonics to Black or African American speakers. In actuality, Ebonics, the language commonly used by African Americans is deeply rooted in African culture and the practices, and themes of the Black church (McLaren, 2009).

Codeswitching

There is also history and research behind the topic of codeswitching. Codeswitching in simple terms is defined as switching linguistic codes, otherwise known as languages or dialects (Morrison, 2023). It is more specifically defined as shifting between different communication styles based on different cultures or who you are communicating with (Deggans, 2013). It is also important to note that codeswitching or cultural codeswitching can refer to the adjustment of an individual's style such as their physical appearance, the way in which they dress, and their

overall expressions of themselves (McCluney et al., 2021; Washington-Harmon, 2020). For example, studies have shown that African Americans will codeswitch by lowering their voice, avoiding wearing not “too Black” hairstyles such as their natural hair, and refraining from wearing baggy clothes (Elkins & Hanke, 2018; Guiffida, 2003; R. Jones, 2020; Santiago et al., 2021). Instead, they attempt to present as more professional by changing themselves and their appearance to make others feel more comfortable (Santiago et al., 2021). However, for the purposes of this research study, the term codeswitching and relevant literature specifically focused on codeswitching in relation to language and dialect only. See Appendix A for examples of codeswitching (not from participants within this study).

In the same way that linguists differ in their views of who, where, and when Ebonics was created, the origins of codeswitching itself are also up for debate. In 1954, Einar Haugen, a sociolinguist claimed to have coined the term, *code-switching* as a language alternation (I. Harris, 2019). However, language alternation had been recognized since at least the beginning of the 20th century (Hall & Nilep, 2015; I. Harris, 2019). Regardless of the precise definition of codeswitching and its exact origin, there are over 7,000 spoken languages in the world, and the topic of codeswitching has become more prevalent (Michaels, 2019).

Beginning in the 1970s, the phenomenon of codeswitching became popular, specifically surrounding the topic of codeswitching among African American students (grade school) and the idea of teaching Standard English (I. Harris, 2019; Morrison, 2023). In the past decade, the topic of codeswitching has also become more prevalent in the media. From the high-profile show, “*Big Mouth*”, the Sundance premiered film “*Sorry to Bother You*”, to a variety of empirical articles, people are discussing the phenomenon (Benson, 2001; T. Miller, 2020; Phillips, 2018). However, previous research provides for a very broad scope of codeswitching mainly pertaining to specific

topics on bilingualism, multilingualism, or primarily among languages or dialects other than Ebonics (Dewaele & Wei, 2014; Martinez, 2014; McClure & Mir, 1995).

A lot of this research expands on the topic of codeswitching from Spanish to English, French to English, and Mandarin Chinese to English (Quin Yow et al., 2017). In particular, there has been extensive research on Spanish-English codeswitching, the awareness of the topic, and the awareness of Spanish-English codeswitching especially in grade school classrooms (Martinez, 2013; Martinez, 2014; Nichols & Colon, 2008). Essentially, researchers have found that Spanish-English speakers in grade school have a general awareness of their switching habits (Martinez, 2013; Nichols & Colon, 2008). But, with encouragement and dialog from teachers, there can be an increased sense of awareness without the loss of culture among students (Martinez, 2013). Although even with self-awareness, others still may have negative attitudes and perceptions. For instance, one of the controversies among switching from Spanish to English is that bilingualism is viewed positively but codeswitching is not (Balam & De Prada Perez, 2017; Mata, 2022). However, some have argued that bilingualism and codeswitching are one and the same or that codeswitching does not exist without having bilingual speakers (Heredia & Altarriba, 2001; Martinez, 2010). The controversy still remains.

However, taking into consideration that bilingual means to speak two languages fluently, Ebonics is often left out of the bilingualism versus codeswitching debate (Hamers & Blanc, 2000). Because to be included, Ebonics would have to be viewed as an official language. But, even with the term Ebonics being coined nearly 50 years ago, it is still not recognized as an official language everywhere (O'Neil, 1997; R.L. Williams, 1997; Zang, 2020). Thus, potentially creating niche studies that don't fully encompass codeswitching among Ebonics. In fact, much of the current research on the topic of codeswitching from Ebonics to Standard English is either

heavily focused on a specific age group, or a particular environment, or the research is simply outdated (McLaren, 2009; R.L. Williams, 1997).

For instance, in studies that have observed the use of codeswitching from Ebonics to Standard English, in academia, the focus has been on grade school students and teachers (Godley & Minnici, 2008; Wilson, 2020). One qualitative study, in particular, examined teachers' speech patterns and interactions with students to identify the thought processes behind the choice of codeswitching and its effectiveness in the classroom (Wilson, 2020). In this study, 12 African American teachers were asked about their codeswitching and communications with their students in schools in which the neighborhoods consisted of primarily low to low-middle-income, Black, and Hispanic families (Wilson, 2020). The findings of this study revealed that codeswitching was consistently used among African American teachers for specific teaching tasks and for rapport building. Codeswitching was also found to have created a safe classroom environment and created an environment with a shared understanding (Wilson, 2020). Thus, these findings, provide positive aspects of codeswitching in the classroom setting.

Other studies that have focused on the switching from Ebonics to Standard English in grade schools have provided insight into African American students' and teachers' beliefs on codeswitching (Godley & Escher, 2012). More specifically, Godley & Escher explored the perspectives of African American adolescent students in English classrooms and found that most African American students were aware of their own codeswitching habits (2012). In fact, of the 51 students in their study, only 18 said that using both Standard English and AAVE was appropriate in class (Godley & Escher, 2012). Other themes that arose from this study were negative attributes of AAVE (i.e., slang, illiterate, ignorant) and a need for improvement in classrooms (Godley & Escher, 2012).

Similarly, in Baker-Bell's study, a group of Black or African American 9th graders were asked to read language samples and provide reflections on the speakers/language used in said samples (2019). As a result, the students' reflections on Language A (Black Language sample) revealed words and images such as, "disrespectful", "sloppy", and "bad kids". Meanwhile, the student's reflections on Language B (White Mainstream English sample) revealed words and images such as, "proper", "white", "smart", and "good" (Baker-Bell, 2019). Similar themes arose in other literature related to codeswitching and the use of Ebonics in grade school. These themes were additional negative connotations of Ebonics and the need to acknowledge the significance of Ebonics for African American students (Bohn, 2003; Murphy, 1998; Parmegiani, 2006; Todd, 1997). Thus, establishing that the topic of codeswitching is much more than just an argument over semantics.

In addition to the specific topic of codeswitching in grade school, research has also explored codeswitching and the use of Ebonics in academic settings, such as colleges to a certain extent. One study, in particular, examined African American undergraduate students' attitudes toward Ebonics and codeswitching (Koch et al., 2001). This study involved 102 African American undergraduate students attending a public university in the Southeastern U.S. Notably, participants weren't explicitly identified as PWI students. However, they did attend a university where African Americans only made up 10% of the student population. In the study, they were asked to listen to an audio recording of a male code switcher and later asked to rate the speaker. The results of this study found that when the male speaker spoke using Standard English and the appropriate use of codeswitching the college students gave positive ratings, associated the speaker with a higher socio-intellectual status, and were more inclined to get to know the actual speaker unlike that of the male speaker who spoke using Ebonics and inappropriate

codeswitching (Koch et al., 2001). Thus, this study expanded on the existing research on perceptions of codeswitching among African Americans. More importantly, it brought to light the impact of perceptions on an individual. For example, perceptions in terms of psychology, play a large role in how one makes decisions about others, views themselves, and their environment (Cherry, 2023). Psychology has also stated that perceptions can explain how people navigate social environments and can shape behavior, relationships, and identity (Carlson & Barranti, 2016; Cook, 1979). Given that some have provided different or negative perceptions to Black people that codeswitch, it should continue to be explored in the context of an individual's identity and how they navigate in unfamiliar environments.

As previously stated, attending a PWI can be an unfamiliar or uncomfortable environment for Black students. Therefore, it is also important to explore the combined topic of language experiences and PWI experiences to see if there are any overlaps or unique experiences. Holliday & Squires did just that in their exploration of the language experiences of Black undergraduate students (2020). In their study, they interviewed 30 Black undergraduates attending PWIs and asked them directly about codeswitching, their linguistic background, language use in/out of the classroom, and how they navigate at their PWI. The results revealed overall themes of linguistic hyperawareness, avoidance of using AAVE in academic settings, and having to “mask” as a means to navigate scrutiny faced at PWIs (Holliday & Squires, 2020). Other studies examining African American college students and the overall use of codeswitching have found similar themes (Durkee & Williams, 2015; Cox, 2020).

Durkee & Williams's overall study looked at links to racial identity including “acting White” (2015). “Acting White” as it has previously been studied often refers to African Americans engaging in behaviors perceived to be similar to White culture such as speaking

Standard English, performing well in school, or associating with others from different racial/ethnic backgrounds (Durkee & Williams, 2015; Webb & Linn, 2016; Wildhagen, 2011). As such, to avoid “acting White” Black students codeswitch or go back and forth between Standard English and Black English (Durkee & Williams, 2015). Codeswitching within their study was primarily discussed in order to emphasize that Black youth and emerging adults engage in a wide variety of behaviors such as “talking proper” to protect their racial/ethnic identity (Durkee & Williams, 2015). Similarly, the use of codeswitching has also been found to be a sign of inauthenticity (Cox, 2020). In fact, much of the codeswitching research focuses on racial identity and authenticity which is discussed in later sections.

There are also studies that have looked at codeswitching in academia but on a broader or different level. For instance, a qualitative study similar to that of CQR methodology, on African American’s codeswitching, provided awareness of how interactions and perceptions of language, as educators, can influence students and colleagues of other cultures and races (Bukowski, 2019). In this study, African American male participants with high school, bachelor’s, or master’s level education were interviewed to examine the establishment and reinforcement of perceptions based on social and academic experiences (Bukowski, 2019). The results found that different upbringings based on socioeconomic background, race, and power can directly impact the perceptions of codeswitching and the use of Ebonics among adult African American males (Bukowski, 2019).

On a different level, the perceptions of codeswitching from African American male faculty members have also been explored (Hibbler, 2020). More specifically, Hibler explored how codeswitching can be utilized as a means for job promotions. This was done through interviews and focus groups involving 16 African American participants. The results of the study

found that a majority of the participants felt that codeswitching improved the trajectory for their career path. In particular, participants reported using codeswitching or speaking in Standard English (accepted language) to be seen as qualified, obtain higher positions, and other advancement opportunities as opposed to changing their vernacular choices and using African American Vernacular (Hibbler, 2020). Again, this emphasizes negative attitudes and perceptions related to the use of Ebonics.

As previously mentioned, there are studies on codeswitching among different populations. However, a lot of the research extends only to undergraduate-level students or specifically focuses on one gender. Although, that is not to say that research on codeswitching at the graduate level does not exist. It could in part be due to the perception that graduate students have things figured out and there is an increased need for attention on undergraduate college students, especially when it comes to mental health (Forrester, 2021; Kaler & Stebleton, 2019; Pontius & Harper, 2006). Additionally, graduate students in general, particularly Black graduate students tend to be overlooked in research. Unfortunately, racial minorities such as African Americans in graduate school are underrepresented in research for various reasons (Holloman et al., 2021; Platt & Hilton, 2017). Some of these reasons being the fluctuation in higher education rates, especially for master's and doctoral programs for Black and African Americans. That being said, much of the research on Black graduate students or Black issues, in general, is conducted by Black doctoral students. It has been said that this is due to being trained to focus on gaps in research, desires to help communities, or feeling compelled to research race (Platt & Hilton, 2017). Thus, why some of the limited studies that do focus on codeswitching and those cited within the current study are often conducted by Black individuals and/or Black doctoral students.

Again, codeswitching in relation to the use of Ebonics among Black or African Americans at the graduate level has been researched, but the academic/empirical studies are limited (Henfield et al., 2011; Laufer, 2012; Ross et al., 2016; A.D. Smith, 2022; Spencer et al., 2022). Most of the academic/empirical studies available discuss codeswitching in this area but as a secondary topic or it is briefly mentioned within the literature. For instance, A.D. Smith published an interesting article that examined the use of podcasting as a means to avoid the social norms tied to speech and the need to sound collegiate within PWIs (2022). What was interesting was that the author was a Black, female, doctoral student who provided her own experiences as well as scholarly work within her research. In fact, she noted that for her, codeswitching is the process of co-existing in multiple spaces and languages without having professors question her intellect (A.D. Smith, 2022). Aside from her personal experiences, the study overall noted that Black doctoral students can use platforms such as podcasting to confront internalized anti-Blackness, insecurities surrounding the use of their voice, or identities tied to sounding “ghetto” (A.D. Smith, 2022). But the main focus of the article was on the use of podcasts with limited insights into codeswitching among Black graduate students.

In another article, focusing on Black graduate students at the graduate level, it was noted that some found solidarity in codeswitching (Ross et al., 2016). Essentially this article was written to provide recommendations for doctoral education programs in terms of how they can assist their Black graduate students. The authors found themes of low self-esteem, poor self-efficacy, and barriers among Black education doctoral students at PWIs. As a recommendation, the authors found that providing Black students with opportunities to strongly identify with their cultural heritage such as using Ebonics would allow for a decrease in such barriers and problems

(Ross et al., 2016). But, it's important to note that while this study unlike others focused on Black graduate students, it only mentioned codeswitching once.

Similarly, Henfield et al. explored the perceptions of 11 African American counselor education doctoral students at PWIs (2011). Participants were asked what types of issues they experienced in their programs and how they addressed these said issues. Some of the participants noted that in classroom settings they felt challenged or that they would have to over-explain when they spoke. One participant, in particular, stated he switches between his doctoral PWI self and the person who is in touch with his friends and community (Henfield et al., 2011). As a result of the data from the interviews, it was found that from the participants' experiences of barriers and race-related issues, the main way of addressing such issues was assertiveness. Assertiveness in this case meant Black students had to be self-confident, speak up for themselves when professors didn't or wouldn't, and have to prove that they were capable (Henfield et al., 2011; Pfafman, 2020). Again, while this study touched on codeswitching among Black graduate students, the main focus was elsewhere. However, it still emphasizes that the use of Ebonics in PWI graduate programs comes with challenges for Black or African American speakers. Thus, further suggesting that the use Ebonics in PWIs may bring on race-related problems which has already been linked to enrollment rates and psychological challenges.

One study even included Black student participants from both post-grad and undergrad programs (Laufer, 2012). This qualitative study used interviews to specifically examine Black students' silence in PWIs and perceived stereotypes (Laufer, 2012). Similar to the current study, a thematic coding approach was taken to analyze the data. Among the findings, the majority of the participants perceived that their race, gender, or social class were the reasons why they did not speak out in class. One male doctoral participant, in particular, stated that as a Black man, his

friends and professionals of color would critique him for using AAVE and for using “highfalutin words” (Laufer, 2012). Thus meaning that, whether or not Black students codeswitched or not there were still negative consequences. Once again, while this article provided good insights into the experiences of Black graduate students, the use of codeswitching was not the overall theme. The overall theme was the culture of higher education. The limited research available is still essential in that it illuminates the fact that codeswitching has been a longstanding topic of discussion with many different implications. But clearly, with limitations comes room for growth in terms of further areas to be explored.

Perceptions, Reasons, and Implications of Codeswitching

For years, codeswitching has been explored and discussed in novels, social media, and academic journals. However, some of the most important research speaks to the specific implications, perceptions, and reasons for codeswitching. Dating back almost 100 years ago, the famous novel, *Cane* was published in 1923 (Avery, 2023). The 1920s novel painted a picture of the Harlem Renaissance period, demonstrating the complexities of the challenges African Americans faced to include cultural transformations, identity crises, and modern-day codeswitching (Avery, 2023; Dahn, 2012; L. Williams, 2020). In particular, *Cane* showed readers that Black Americans were frequently changing their modes of communication in order to avoid danger (L. Williams, 2020). Thus, further reflecting that codeswitching has long been impacting Black or African American individuals and needs to be studied.

Moving forward, by 1994 there had only been one study to empirically assess African Americans’ views on African Americans who use codeswitching (Doss & Gross, 1994; Koch et al., 2001). Later in 2001, Koch et al. attempted to rectify the limitations of the 1994 study by using speech samples to examine participants' perceptions (2001). As previously mentioned, they

found that participants rated Standard English speakers more favorably than Black English speakers or those who inappropriately codeswitched. Inappropriate codeswitching was defined as someone who violated social norms when they codeswitched. However, researchers at the time of the study stated that future research needed to further examine under what situations African Americans use Black English [Ebonics] and codeswitching, and in what circumstances are those dictated by social norms (Koch et al., 2001). Hence, a gap in research that the current study set out to further examine.

Now, refraining from the use of Ebonics and participating in codeswitching is commonly used to be perceived as competent and having a strong character (Billings, 2005; Payne et al., 2000). It may appear as a simple or trivial task to switch from Ebonics to what is known as Standard English. However, the strategy of codeswitching is in fact a linguistic tool, which African Americans use to navigate in a society where they are the racial minority (Greene & Walker, 2004). There is nothing simple about it. Furthermore, the linguistic tool is frequently used by African Americans such that it is almost unconsciously done (Greene & Walker, 2004). In fact, the Pew Research Center found that overall, Black and Hispanic adults and a small number of Whites say they often or at times have the need to change how they talk around others from different races and ethnicities (Dunn, 2019). However, along with examining the perceptions of codeswitching, it is important to examine the reasons for codeswitching and any implications that may follow. Research provides for a multitude of reasons as to why Black or African Americans codeswitch but, as always further exploration can be very beneficial (Boulton, 2016; Foster & Newman, 1989; Matthews, 2006; McCluney et al., 2021; Schau et al., 2007; Warner, 2007).

Some of the research on the reasons for codeswitching has focused on workplace codeswitching (McCluney et al., 2021). In fact, it has been found that the three main reasons for codeswitching in the workplace are to increase perceptions of professionalism, avoid negative stereotypes associated with Black racial identity (incompetence or laziness), and to express shared interests with members of dominant groups in order to raise chances of promotions (Carton & Rosette, 2012; Gulati & Carbado, 2004; Kang et al., 2016; McCluney et al., 2021; Melaku, 2019).

Researchers also examined the positive and negative outcomes of codeswitching as well as the psychological well-being of those codeswitching, primarily in the workplace. McCluney et al.'s study in particular examined the perceptions of codeswitching and evaluations of professionalism. This was done by having White and Black participants listen to an audio recording or an email from a fictitious Black co-worker in a professional field (2021). Among the results, it was found that downplaying one's racial group can create hostility, increase stereotype threat, and contribute to burnout (McCluney et al., 2021).

Another study that interviewed Black people employed in high positions (i.e., directors), found that overall codeswitching was used as a survival technique in the workplace and that assimilation was exhausting (Santiago et al., 2021). Among other themes of psychological well-being within this study were reports of anxiety, poor sleep habits, feelings of helplessness, impact on interpersonal relationships, and self-doubt. Some participants even reported other implications not specifically related to mental health. For instance, one participant stated that an implication of not assimilating was the "risk of losing income" (Santiago et al., 2021).

While the aforementioned literature focused on workplace codeswitching and assimilation, that is not to say that research on the reasons for codeswitching in other settings

such as the classroom or among other specific populations does not exist. In fact, well-executed codeswitching has been found to increase the social status of Black adolescents in academic settings and among peers (Hemmings, 2006). It is important to note that while social status may not seem like a psychological impact, it is. In fact, psychologist, Abraham Maslow posited that a lack of social connection or lack of belongingness can cause personal suffrage and deter psychological growth (Martino et al., 2015). Thus, further questioning whether the lack of well-executed codeswitching may lead to a lack of belonging and negatively impact an individual's psychological growth.

Additionally, research suggests that youth who identify as Black selectively codeswitch in order to avoid being accused of acting White (Durkee & Williams, 2015; Hemmings, 2006). There are some similarities in the way and reasons why Black youth codeswitch and in the way that Black college students and adults codeswitch. In studies that have examined codeswitching among college students, some of the common reasons for codeswitching discussed were to build social mobility, to construct, and maintain solidarity (Matthews, 2006; Warner, 2007). Thus, providing further evidence that Black people and Black college students codeswitch for a reason and there is meaning behind it.

Taking a further look at reasonings, 65 students from diversity-related events were recruited from Miami university (Matthews, 2006). In the study, there were multiple methods to explore participants reasons and understandings of codeswitching and Ebonics. For instance, the participants were given a questionnaire with ranking and open-ended questions about their familiarity and usage of Ebonics, asked to submit an audiotaped recording of a speech from their communication course, and completed an interview. As a result of all of the data, the majority of the participants reported having knowledge of Ebonics but only 37% said it was a valid form of

communication. In terms of reasons, 60% of students stated they only used Ebonics with people they are familiar with but 97 % of the students denied using Ebonics with professors (Matthews, 2006). Overall, there was a general theme among participants that codeswitching was a necessity in order to survive in mainstream society. Hence why the current study attempted to expand on the exploration of the settings in which and reasons why Black students codeswitch.

When exploring specific reasons and implications of codeswitching it is also important to look at theories such as social learning theory, identity negotiation theory, and functions of Blackness theory (Cross et al., 2002; Cross & Strauss, 1998; Hibbler, 2020; Payne & Suddler, 2014; Ting-Toomey, 2015; Ting-Toomey, 2017). Social learning theory created by Albert Bandura emphasized the idea that learning comes from observing and imitating others' behaviors (Evans & Kelly, 2020; McLeod, 2016). Some have even argued that social learning theory is tied to how people learn a language, language patterns, and motivations to use certain language in certain situations (Bandura, 1989; Whitehurst, 1978). Essentially over time as children hear and see words being used, they begin to repeat them and imitate their observations (Bandura, 1989; Skinner, 1957). Thus, similar to the way in which others have argued that Ebonics has been learned.

Albert Bandura's social learning theory was further examined in the context of codeswitching in a qualitative study that was primarily used to gain an understanding of how codeswitching uses the structure of language to obtain access to advancement opportunities (Hibbler, 2020). This study, although it focused only on African American male faculty, was guided by Bandura's research. The researcher used interviews, questionnaires, and focus groups and found that exposure to codeswitching at an early age taught participants how and when to codeswitch in their later years. One participant even noted that codeswitching was set in stone by

their parental figures (Hibbler, 2020). Furthermore, given the sample, it posited the idea that African American males choose their language based on their environment (i.e., working at a PWI) and that early contact with codeswitching can impact the way it is perceived. Thus, in line with social learning theory. Notably within this study, participants also expressed assimilation as a means to overcome negative experiences experienced at their PWI place of employment (Hibbler, 2020).

Assimilation also plays a large role in the Identity Negotiation Theory (INT). Under INT, it is assumed that all humans despite cultural background yearn for positive identity affirmation in multiple communication-related settings (Swann & Bosson, 2008; Ting-Toomey, 2017). More specifically, *identity* in terms of the Identity Negotiation Theory refers to an individual's multifaceted identities including but not limited to culture, ethnicity, SES, sexual orientation, family roles, and personal image (s) (Ting-Toomey, 2015). So, to codeswitch is to often change or suppress your identity and shy away from the negative stereotypes associated with the Black racial identity (McCluney et al., 2021). Again, this is in line with assimilation. Thus, codeswitching refers to the strategy of identity negotiation wherein individuals strive due to an inherent craving for positive identity affirmation in specific communication settings (Ting-Toomey, 2017). In fact, studies have linked codeswitching (in general) to bicultural identity and the negotiation of identities (Toomey et al., 2013; Wentker & Schneider, 2022; Yim & Clement, 2021). Much of the research tying codeswitching in terms of the use of Ebonics and identity negotiation theory primarily consists of student dissertations or theses (S.H. Harris, 2013; Hull, 2020; S. Jones, 2018; Lounsbery, 2014).

Among the general codeswitching and INT research (published), a qualitative study was performed to explore bicultural identity and communication strategies among Asian-Caucasian

individuals (Toomey et al., 2013). In this study, 12 biracial (Asian-Caucasian) college students were interviewed and asked about their everyday communication patterns, how they felt about their bicultural identity, any conflicts, and resolutions. The results revealed a general theme of conflictual cultural values and participants' urge to keep up with mainstream communications. While many of the participants engaged in codeswitching, they also reported that codeswitching was not an easy process and came with frustrations (Toomey et al., 2013). A summary of the data suggested that codeswitching was tied to identity construction problems, cultural clashes, and feelings of being misunderstood (Toomey et al., 2013). Further establishing that codeswitching can impact one's identity and can lead to further problems. But, given the other data it is also important to explore this area among Black graduate students, another marginalized group that also experiences identity concerns.

In terms of identity concerns, it is important to also examine identity construction. But again, the previous research is often among other areas or with participants of ethnicities and races other than Black or African American. For instance, Wentker & Schneider looked at identity construction and codeswitching but in other areas (2022). In fact, they gathered comments and reactions from a Youtube video on common phrases used by Latina mothers to explore how English-Spanish codeswitching is used, how it strengthens identity, and how certain phrases provide for group identity or the need to negotiate. In summary, it was found that codeswitching can reinforce in-group solidarity and is used as an inclusivity tool (Wentker & Schneider, 2022).

While this was an interesting view of codeswitching and its link to identity negotiations, it is important to note that this study used written forms of codeswitching. However, another study provided further insights into group solidarity, identity, and codeswitching (Yim &

Clement, 2021). In this particular study, 67 Cantonese-English bilinguals in Canada answered questionnaires and it was found that those who identified more with their Asian cultural identity had more positive attitudes toward codeswitching. On the other hand, it was revealed that participants with a strong Canadian identity found codeswitching more difficult and described it as less comfortable and more effortful (Yim & Clement, 2021). This further suggests that codeswitching is tied to identity as well as culture, but it can result in both negative and positive outcomes. The present study aimed to see if these suggestions and results apply to African Americans.

Additionally, other theories have been used to better understand codeswitching and the reasons for codeswitching. In a 2014 study that focused on the functions of Black Identity at a PWI, three theories, in particular, were used as the theoretical framework (Payne & Suddler). These three theories were the Standpoint theory, the Black feminist theory, and the functions of Blackness theory (Payne & Suddler, 2014). The Standpoint and Black feminist theory are important as they provide a gender-based conceptualization and posit that previous research has ignored marginalized women and argues that knowledge stems from social position (Borland, 2020; P.H. Collins, 2002; Harding, 1986; Payne & Suddler, 2014). However, the functions of Blackness theory, which was used as the primary conceptualization for the study, is also important in understanding the use of codeswitching. The functions of Blackness theory by Cross and Strauss (1998) and Cross et al. (2002) argued that there are five everyday functional expressions or negotiations of Blackness, with one of them being codeswitching (as cited in Payne & Suddler, 2014). In particular, the fourth function, codeswitching proposes that Black Americans codeswitch in order to fit in within new or different environments or persons in positions of power (Payne & Suddler, 2014). Overall, based on previous research, there are a

multitude of reasons for codeswitching such as suppressing one's identity to attempt to fit into different environments (Durkee & Williams, 2015; McCluney et al., 2021; Payne & Suddler, 2014). However, in combination with previous studies on general reasons for codeswitching and the limited research on codeswitching at the graduate level, it is evident that more refined research is necessary.

Furthermore, it has been stated that for African Americans to navigate through a White world and still be a person who can be relatable in “the hood”, many find themselves taking on values of both worlds (Thompson, 2000). To elaborate, codeswitching allows African Americans to navigate through society by paying close grammatical attention, selectively adjusting their style of speech, and downplaying their racial identity (Deggans, 2013; McCluney et al., 2021). Therefore, this not-so-trivial linguistic tool goes beyond simply changing one's tone, but it plays a large role in an individual's identity. In addition to some of the reasons for codeswitching, those who choose to do it or not do it, still face implications and challenges. Some say that neglecting one's linguistic system is one of the most challenging things especially for Black college students (Lewis, 1998). For instance, it has been found that African American's student's language should be recognized, and when it isn't accepted students can lose motivation to learn (Lewis, 1998).

Overall, research has found that codeswitching while at a PWI negatively impacts the academic and social performance of some Black students and faculty (Allison, 2008; Feagin, 1992; Ferguson, 2001; Payne & Suddler, 2014; Stanley, 2006). In particular, a study of eight African American professors at a PWI found that among the participant's majority of them codeswitched in order to be seen as professional, credible, and approachable (Allison, 2008). Some participants even reported altering their personality to have successful interactions with

White people meanwhile some argued against identity negotiation or codeswitching in order to be their true selves (Allison, 2008). Other studies have revealed negative comments and poor academic achievements from White professors or students based on the use of Ebonics (Feagin, 1992, Ferguson, 2001, Payne & Suddler, 2014; Stanley, 2006).

Additionally, because of the potential reasons for codeswitching pertaining to identity, inclusion, avoiding stereotypes, etc., it can cause harm to an individual's mental and emotional health as people may feel inclined to conform, modify, or limit their usual speech (Adikwu, 2020; Payne & Suddler, 2014). Thus, it is vital to explore the potential reasons and implications for codeswitching in more areas.

Black Students' Experiences

Codeswitching is just one of the many things that comes with Black individuals choosing to attend college or graduate school. For years, in the history of the United States, African Americans have experienced hardship in being treated as equals. From the beginning of the Jim Crow era in the late 1800s to the start of the Black Lives Matter Movement in 2013 as a result of the acquittal in the death of Trayvon Martin, the Black community has faced countless acts of racial discrimination at the hands of a system built on segregation (Little, 2015; Winter & Vallano, 2016). In particular, obtaining an education at any level has been a continuous obstacle in the Black community from the fight for desegregation of schools, dating back to the 1700s and into the late 1800s when learning to read and write was considered extremely dangerous due to the harsh punishments at the hands of slave owners (Cornelius, 1983; Evans, 2015; Rasmussen, 2010).

In fact, the historical background behind African Americans receiving higher education consists of many obstacles and barriers (Bracey, 2017). In the 1800s the first Black academic

institutions, known today as Historically Black Colleges or Universities (HBCUs) were established (Bracey, 2017). The term, HBCU was defined by Congress in 1965, as “any historically black college or university that was established prior to 1964, whose principal mission was, and is, the education of Black Americans, and that is accredited by a nationally recognized accrediting agency or association determined by the Secretary [of Education] to be a reliable authority as to the quality of training offered or is, according to such an agency or association, making reasonable progress toward accreditation” (Higher Education Act, 2022).

At times HBCUs were the only option for an African American to achieve higher education. Up until most of the 20th century, about 90% of African Americans were receiving an education from HBCUs (Kim & Conrad, 2006). This may be in part due to the benefits HBCUs are known for such as providing Black students with an inviting, accepting, and supportive environment as well as promoting personal and psychological development (Bracey, 2017; Cooper, 2017). Additionally, supporters of HBCUs have expressed that these institutions provide for continued educational growth for underrepresented students (Bettez & Suggs, 2012).

Along with the opportunities for Black or African American individuals to achieve higher education, by attending an HBCU there is also an opportunity to alleviate stressors associated with attending Predominantly White Institutions and further develop (Van Camp et al., 2009; M.D. Williams, 2014). These alleviating stressors were found when M.D. Williams, a doctoral student examined the experiences of Black doctoral students at PWIs (2014). In her quantitative study, 140 Black/African American doctoral students were given 4 measures: The institutional Integration Scale, The Depression Anxiety Stress Scale, The College Academic Self-Efficacy Scale, and the Scale of Perceived Social Self-Efficacy Scale. Notably, from the sample, 33 individuals obtained their undergraduate degrees from an HBCU. Results from the participant's

responses revealed, a significant negative correlation between peer interactions and mental health (depression, anxiety, and stress). There was also a notable difference among the results from those who attended HBCUs vs. PWIs for undergrad. In fact, among the results, it was also found that those who went to HBCUs for undergrad later experienced increased anxiety when they entered graduate school at a PWI (M.D. Williams, 2014).

It is important to note that the experiences that African American students encounter at an HBCU are different than at a PWI. In fact, on top of typical college student stressors, Black students attending PWIs can face even more (Cooper, 2017). A study examining the stressors of both African American students from PWIs and HBCUs provided supporting evidence of this. In this study, 101 participants from PWIs and 102 from HBCUs were provided with questionnaires inquiring about their stress and coping skills as well as a demographic questionnaire (Greer & Chwalisz, 2007). The results revealed that there were no overall differences among perceived stress from either group (HBCU students and PWI students). But there was a difference in the responses among minority status stressors. More specifically, the results indicated that African American students attending PWIs experienced more difficulties on campus related to their race which impacted their academic performance. In terms of coping strategies, the results showed that participants from PWIs used avoidance as a primary coping strategy while those from HBCUs tended to use approach coping strategies (Greer & Chwalisz, 2007). Approach coping was referred to as problem-focused coping strategies or seeking social support (Dubow & Rubinlicht, 2011; Greer & Chwalisz, 2007). Thus, further suggesting that Black students attending higher education at PWIs are having less than positive psychological experiences. So much so that, research has also indicated that Black students often have negative experiences

related to racism and experience racial microaggressions from not just peers but also staff at PWIs (Cox, 2020; Griffith et al., 2019).

In addition to the previously mentioned disadvantages associated with Black students attending PWIs, the issue of authenticity also comes into play again. In fact, through interviews and qualitative surveys, it has been found that Black PWI students are viewed as less authentically Black by Black HBCU students (Cox, 2020). Although, this previous research has brought light to the significant experiences of Black students at PWIs, once again graduate students were not highlighted in these studies. Therefore, this area of literature in combination with codeswitching's impact at predominantly White institutions at the graduate level needs to be investigated.

More specifically, because the undergraduate and graduate student experiences can be different, research needs to be done. For many, graduate school can come with more challenging coursework, a change in social environment, increased financial stress, etc. (Cottrell & Hayden 2007; Gardner & Barnes, 2007; Kowarski, 2022). For Black individuals in particular, graduate school and even the idea of attending graduate school can come with its own set of challenges (Alexander & Bodenhorn, 2015; Johnson-Bailey et al., 2009; Leong, 2020; Moses, 1989). As history has shown, there is a theme of Black people experiencing problems in higher education. In looking at graduate school, Johnson-Bailey and colleagues mailed out self-report questionnaires to further examine Black graduate student experiences at PWIs (2009). It is important to note that the participants in this study were alumni of a PWI in the South. The results showed countless acts of discrimination from White students and faculty/staff. The discrimination from the White students was in part attributed to a lack of diversity exposure. Some of the discrimination reported was associated with negative comments regarding

Affirmation Action, assumptions of poor writing skills, and racial slurs. Overall, this study suggested that the social experiences of Black graduate students were different than those of undergraduates and those attending HBCUs for graduate school (Johnson-Bailey et al., 2009). In fact, some of the excerpts from Johnson-Bailey and colleagues' study were quite disheartening but also emphasized the importance of this phenomenon.

Another study with a similar participant sample found that Black graduate students at a southern PWI coped with their personal/emotional adjustment to graduate school with family and friendship support (Alexander & Bodenhorn, 2015). Notably, the 11 participants in this study attended an HBCU for their undergraduate studies. Reports of their adjustment from an HBCU to a PWI revealed psychological distress, lack of support from graduate supervisors, and racial microaggressions (Alexander & Bodenhorn, 2015). The aforementioned factors provide evidence that for Black graduate students at PWIs their negative experiences can be exacerbated. Additionally, to get through their graduate programs Black students are often codeswitching and increasing their psychological distress but don't always have effective coping skills or supportive resources within their PWIs.

Justification

Furthermore, through a combination of research on U.S. Educational history, the history of Ebonics, experiences of those within the Black community, Black students' experiences, and other relevant research, institutions can become cognizant of potential issues and cultivate policies to reflect this phenomenon. In particular, previous studies have further demonstrated that codeswitching among Black or African American individuals in specific environments can have positive and negative outcomes. Thus, for reasons such as codeswitching being characterized as a skill set for survival and making African Americans feel included at school, it is a topic that

should not continue to be ignored in research (Washington-Harmon, 2020). Thus far, the majority of the research on codeswitching in terms of the use of language/vocal appearance, among Black or African American individuals has primarily focused on specific age groups such as school-aged children, particular environments such as the workplace, or in higher education such as the pursuit of an undergraduate degree.

As evidenced by previous research, codeswitching from what is known as Standard English to Ebonics can result in psychological damage for those who feel inclined to conform or adjust their speech in order to achieve (Adikwu, 2020). Additionally, because the common reasons for codeswitching in other populations are related to racial identity, inclusion, and the avoidance of stereotypes, it is important to evaluate if these same or other reasons apply to those attending graduate school (Adikwu, 2020; McCluney et al., 2021). These are all areas which can also impact one's mental health which is why codeswitching should not just be looked at as a simple tool or an area that doesn't need to be researched. In fact, mental health is vital for humans in order to think, have emotions, and participate in daily activities (World Health Organization, 2018). That being said, codeswitching can be seen as a stress put on people from marginalized identities and it should be on the professional radar (Washington-Harmon, 2020).

This is why the current study attempted to provide an in-depth look on the psychological impact of codeswitching from Ebonics to Standard English among Black or African American graduate students, at predominantly White institutions. In particular, this current study expanded on Koch et al.'s, study on the *Attitudes toward Black English and Codeswitching* by exploring Black students' perceptions and feelings towards the act of codeswitching (2001). However, unlike the previous study, this current study took a particular interest in Black graduate students who previously attended HBCUs.

In order to add to the research on African American or Black student experiences at predominantly white institutions (PWIs), this study also expanded on Cox's (2020) study, *On Shaky Ground: Black Authenticity at Predominately White Institutions*, as previously mentioned in the literature review. In short, this study explored not just the attitudes towards codeswitching like the previous study but also brought awareness to the psychological impact of codeswitching among Black or African American graduate students at PWIs. Furthermore, this study added to the infrequent but constantly growing research on underrepresented populations such as Black or African American graduate students. In order to bring awareness and support for African American communities psychologists, this study is justified in that higher education institutions, and their faculty/staff need to be aware of codeswitching itself and the implications it may have on African American or Black student's mental health.

Along with expanding on studies from the past, this study emulated some of the missions and purposes of specific divisions of the American Psychological Association. In particular, this study's overall purpose is directly related to the purpose statement of The Society for the Psychological Study of Culture, Ethnicity, and Race, a Division of the American Psychological Association, which is to, is to encourage research on ethnic minority issues while concurrently applying psychological knowledge to address these issues (American Psychological Association, n.d.; Society for the Psychological Study of Culture, Ethnicity and Race, n.d.). However, more specifically this study explored the particular issues that African Americans face when altering their "vocal appearance", in particular white environments such as Predominantly White Institutions. Additionally, it addressed specific topics of African American graduate students partaking in codeswitching and the impact of codeswitching in university settings, wherein previous research has been lacking.

Furthermore, it is important that these topics are acknowledged, explored, and introduced to all societies, in all aspects of psychology. After all, psychology is about describing and understanding behavior (Coon & Mitterer, 2013). Therefore, it is important that not only psychologists but also institutions are aware of the possible psychological turmoil that can be associated with the use of codeswitching and the impact of predominantly white institutions in these situations (Neville et al., 2004).

Overview and Research Questions

This study used a demographic questionnaire and a semi-structured interview to explore the psychological implications of codeswitching among Black or African American graduate students. Additionally, because the Consensual Qualitative Research (CQR) method used does not focus on the formation of hypotheses, hypothesis testing was not used to evaluate the data (Hill, 2012). Instead, in adhering to the CQR methodology, research questions were used to provide an inductive approach to the data analysis (Hill, 2012). Therefore, the following research questions were proposed:

- 1) What are the reasons why Black or African American graduate students codeswitch in academic and/or campus settings?
- 2) How does codeswitching at a PWI impact Black or African American graduate students' mental health in comparison to their past HBCU experience?
- 3) What are the potential challenges Black or African American graduate students experience when codeswitching or refraining from codeswitching at a PWI?
- 4) In what ways can PWIs become more aware of potential implications surrounding codeswitching among Black or African American graduate students in academic settings?

CHAPTER TWO: METHODS

Introduction

The present study utilized Hill's (2012) Consensual Qualitative Research (CQR) methodology. The methodology uses open-ended interviews and relatively small samples, to draw conclusions from the data (Hill, 2012). The method also tends to be used to study personal experiences, attitudes, and beliefs that are not always easy to observe (Hill & Knox, 2021). Therefore, because this study was aimed at exploring the lived experiences of Black or African American graduate students at PWIs, the CQR method was used. In particular, the realities of the participants' experiences add a great deal of importance that numbers cannot justify in the research (Cleland, 2017). More information on the Consensual Qualitative Research method can be found in the Data Analysis section.

Participants

For this study, a sample of 12 participants was recruited. While CQR methodology suggests a sample of 12 to 15 participants, a lower number of 12 participants was used to avoid having to modify research questions as that could create an overload of data (Hill, 2012). Also, due to recruitment difficulties data collection concluded after the 12th participant.

Criteria

The participants recruited were adults (18+) of Black or African American descent not including international students. The study of Black international students is still important. However, research has shown that Black international students often have different experiences, cultures, and languages than that of Black or African Americans (Gaun, 2018; Kent, 2007; Mwangi, 2016). Thus, they were excluded from this particular study. The participants were also required to be currently enrolled in or previously graduated from a PWI graduate degree program

at the time of recruitment. Notably, the proposed study stated that only participants who were currently enrolled in a PWI graduate program were eligible. However, data collection became very difficult with such inclusion criteria. Thus, after IRB approval it was removed to allow for more successful recruitment. Also, participants were not excluded from the study based on their graduate field of study. However, eligible participants must have attended a Historically Black College or University (HBCU) for their undergraduate degree program. This requirement was in place so that the adjustment experiences among Black or African American students could be better examined by looking at any changes from HBCUs to PWIs. For the purpose of this study, a PWI was defined as a higher education institution where White people make up 50% or more of the student population (Lomotey, 2010; Setty-Charity, 2022).

At the beginning of recruitment, it was required that eligible participants must have graduated from their undergraduate degree program within 5 years of the recruitment date. This time frame was suggested in order to avoid the possibility of having too wide of a range of results (Hill, 2012). However, this proved as a hardship during the recruitment process as many individuals did not meet the 5-year time span requirement and it became difficult to find participants. Thus, after careful consideration, it was removed from the inclusion criteria. Based on the low number of 12 participants and the participant sample, this did not appear to change the range of results.

Lastly, for CQR studies, participants must be knowledgeable of the phenomenon at hand (Hill, 2012). Therefore, the participants must have had a general knowledge of the meaning of codeswitching in order to participate. The recruitment flyer (See Appendix B) which provided the definition of codeswitching was used as a screening measure for participants' general

knowledge of the meaning of codeswitching. The co-investigator also screened for this general knowledge by verbally asking prior to starting the interview process.

Recruitment

Participants were recruited via flyers and internet postings. The primary method of recruitment was social media platforms such as Facebook and Instagram. Recruitment through specific organizations/research platforms geared toward Black students were also used. Some of these organizations/research platforms were, The Association of Black Psychologists (ABPsi), its subchapters, University Black Student Unions, Black Graduate Student Associations, and African American Student Services. As a part of the recruitment process, it was advertised that compensation would be provided in the amount of \$10 per participant, in the form of an Amazon gift card.

Measures

This study included a demographic questionnaire and a semi-structured interview. The demographic questionnaire allowed for the gathering of background information on each participant. The semi-structured interview allowed for the gathering of specific information related to the phenomenon from each participant.

Demographic Questionnaire

The demographic questionnaire was used to describe the participants and better analyze the data collected (Allen, 2017). The demographic questionnaire was administered verbally by the co-investigator prior to the semi-structured interview. The responses to the demographic questionnaire were typed and stored on an encrypted flash drive. Responses to the demographic questionnaire were not audio-recorded.

In this questionnaire, the following participant information was gathered: age, race/ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, name of undergraduate university, undergraduate degree field of study/degree program, years attended, years since the undergraduate degree was obtained, name of the current university, the current field of study/degree program, year in their graduate program, full-time vs part-time status, and type of degree program. See Appendix C, for a list of HBCUs. Also, as this study did touch on topics related to the Black community and obstacles to obtaining higher education, the participants were also asked about their parent's/guardians' level of education and if they are/were first-generation college students. First generation students are defined as students whose parents did not obtain a bachelor's degree (PNPI, 2021). See Appendix D for the demographic questionnaire.

Semi-structured Interview Questions

The semi-structured interview for this study included a total of twenty-one questions split into five sections with interviews lasting anywhere from 15 minutes to 120 minutes. The five sections asked questions related to the following: rapport building, reasons for codeswitching, codeswitching in academic settings, psychological well-being, and diversity/awareness. The first section is important as rapport with participants is one of the main goals of the interview protocol established by Hill (2012). Also, researchers have argued that rapport within conversational or standardized interviews encourages openness to answer questions (Bell et al., 2016). Secondly, participants were asked about their reasons for codeswitching to examine whether or not there were similarities or differences in their reasons as compared to the previous data on other populations (Boulton, 2016; Foster & Newman, 1989; Matthews, 2006; McCluney et al., 2021; Schau et al., 2007; Warner, 2007). The third and fourth sections were created in order to expand on the underlying proposed research question of potential challenges and impacts of the

phenomenon. Because an individual's psychological well-being is crucial to their daily functioning and because codeswitching has been previously found to impact one's mental health, this was a vital area to explore (Washington-Harmon, 2020; World Health Organization, 2018). Lastly, the fifth section was created to conclude the semi-structured interview with questions encouraging diversity awareness among research as well as in real-world settings.

While these questions are pertinent to the study, all of these questions are not directly based on the literature. One of the luxuries of CQR is that personal experiences can be used as an important source for developing interview questions (Hill, 2012). Therefore, the questions developed for this study were a combination of the personal experiences of the co-investigator and the current literature. See Appendix E for semi-structured interview questions.

Procedures

The interviews were conducted via a virtual platform called Zoom given the status of the global pandemic (at the time of investigation) and to avoid geographical restrictions (Zoom Video Communications, Inc., 2022). The co-investigator facilitated and conducted all data collection. This was done in order to provide for more consistent interviews. It is important to note that with only one interviewer, there is the limitation of having only the interviewer's bias. However, the inclusion of multiple interviewers also poses the limitation of having a wider range of biases (Hill, 2012). Thus, after careful consideration, it was determined that only the co-investigator would perform the interviews. Notably, the co-investigator was a Black doctoral student who was attending a predominantly white institution at the time of the investigation.

Those eligible and interested in participating in the study were asked to respond to the flyer by contacting the investigators via email. The co-investigator then emailed the potential participants a copy of the informed consent and instructions for scheduling an interview.

Interview scheduling was done via email scheduling and doodle poll. See Appendix F for the email.

Following that, the co-investigator sent the informed consent document (again) to participants via email at least 48 hours prior to the scheduling of their interview. Participants were not asked to provide a wet or electronic signature to indicate their consent. This method was approved by the university's IRB. Instead, at the beginning of the virtual interview before providing any measures the participants were asked if they had read the informed consent document and to provide verbal consent. The co-investigator then completed the informed consent form. As a part of the informed consent, the participants were made aware that they were free to withdraw consent at any point during the interview, and monetary compensation would still be granted. See Appendix G for the informed consent form.

Once informed consent was provided, the participants were screened by having the co-investigator confirm each criterion with the participant prior to completing any measures. If it was found that the participant did not meet the criteria, they would be politely declined from the study and would not receive compensation. Luckily, this did not occur with any of the participants. After these procedures, both the demographic questionnaire and semi-structured interview were completed. The demographic questionnaire was completed first.

There were no specific interventions involved with this study. However, a debriefing form was still emailed to participants following the completion of the semi-structured interview. The debriefing form included a thank you note for their participation, a general overview of the study, and contact information. Additionally, because the semi-structured interview may have prompted feelings of discomfort or embarrassment, mental health resources were also included in the debriefing form. See Appendix H for the debriefing form.

Participants' data were collected during the scheduled virtual interview. All interviews were audio-recorded via Zoom, manually transcribed, and stored on an encrypted flash drive. Any data obtained from this study remained confidential. Although confidentiality in this study is protected there are specific instances where confidentiality may be broken. The co-investigator was required by Indiana state law to file a report with the appropriate agencies if the information provided indicated child abuse, elderly abuse, harm to the participant, or harm to others. The co-investigator also had a duty to warn an intended victim, notify the police, or seek hospital-based treatment for participants in such instances. None of these incidents explicitly occurred throughout data collection. Although some participants did reveal mental health concerns for which the co-investigator provided mental health resources.

The co-investigator was the only individual with whom participants had direct contact and were personally identifiable to. Participants were not asked to provide their names on the informed consent form, on any questionnaires, or at any point during the audio-recorded interview. They were requested not to provide any identifying information when answering questions. However, some identifying information was shared during the interview, which the co-investigator removed when the audio recording was transcribed. The de-identified transcribed interviews were accessed by the investigators and the research team. The research team then analyzed the data using the CQR method.

Consensual Qualitative Research (CQR)

The data collected was analyzed using the CQR method which emphasizes the use of a research team. For each transcript, the research team collaboratively came to a consensus in order to form conclusions regarding the meaning of the presented data (Hill, 2012). More information about the research team and how it was formed can be found in the following

chapter. Following the formation of the research team, the co-investigator created a domain list. The domain list is a list of meaningful and unique topic areas based on the literature and the transcribed interviews (Hill, 2012). To elaborate, these unique topic areas are areas that represent what the participant said along with what the study was focused on, in this case, codeswitching (Hill, 2012). Later, the research team gathered and discussed in detail each domain. From that discussion, team members came to a consensus on whether or not changes needed to be made to the original domain list. After a thorough discussion, it was found that changes to the original domain list needed to be made.

Following the review of the domain list from the research team, the list was then sent to the auditors for another review. The auditors are individuals who review the original research team's work for order, and clarity, expand on original findings, and provide preliminary feedback (Hill, 2012). In this study, the auditors were two doctoral students with previous CQR experience. Once the auditors returned the domain list with feedback, the research team deliberated until a consensus was reached on the finalized domain list. Next, the research team went back and assigned pieces/sentences from the interview data into individual domains (Hill, 2012).

Again, the analyzed data gets sent to the auditors, the research team deliberates and accepts or rejects the auditor's feedback, and core ideas are later constructed. Core ideas are simply summaries of what the participants said but in less words (Hill, 2012). The consensus version of the core ideas is later audited, evaluated, and finalized. Lastly, all of the data was taken through a cross-analysis where common themes were identified (Hill, 2012). During this stage, the core ideas were placed into categories or subcategories based on frequency. Categories are common themes that are similar across multiple participants' responses within a domain.

While subcategories can be more narrow or specific themes within a category. They are often used to better understand the data but are not required within CQR. The frequency was calculated based on the number of participants who have core ideas within each category or subcategory (Hill, 2012). For example, if the category applies to all the participants or all but one, then it is classified as, “general”. If the category applies to half or more of the participants, then it is classified as, “typical”. If the category applies to at least two participants but not more than half, then it is classified as, “variant” (Hill, 2012). The classification of, “rare” is primarily used in larger samples, but indicates cases of categories applying to one or two participants (Hill, 2012). As with the other stages, the categories were then submitted to the auditors for review. Following the cross-analysis, findings that directly spoke to the research questions, novel findings, findings that contained practical implications, and findings that challenged existing data were reported (Hill, 2012).

CHAPTER THREE: RESULTS

Sample Characteristics

The co-investigator interviewed 12 Black or African American individuals (see Appendix I for a list of the participant characteristics). It is important to note that when asked, “What is your race/ethnicity?”, eight participants self-identified as Black, two as African American, and two as Black/African American. All of the participants were over the age of 18, but their ages varied from 22 to 41 ($M=28.42$). They also varied among genders in that there were eight female participants and four male participants. Participants were also asked about their sexual orientation, with the majority identifying as being Straight/Heterosexual. More specifically, ten participants self-identified as being Straight/Heterosexual, one as Gay, and one as Queer.

Multiple questions were asked to gain a full picture of their educational backgrounds. First, they were asked the name of the HBCU in which they attended for their undergraduate studies. However, the co-investigator later decided to redact the names of participants' HBCUs to protect their anonymity. Instead, only the region of the participants' HBCUs was reported and used in the individual transcripts read by the CQR team. For instance, eight participants attended HBCUs in the Southeastern region of the United States, three of the participants attended HBCUs in the Mid-Atlantic region, and one attended an HBCU in the Southwestern region. It is important to note that four participants from HBCUs in the Southeastern region of the U.S. attended the same HBCU.

Participants undergraduate degrees of study also varied. Most of the participants ($N=6$) majored in social sciences (e.g., anthropology, psychology, sociology, and diversity studies) during undergrad. Others majored in business ($N=3$), science ($N=2$), and math ($N=1$). The mean number of years passed since a participant graduated from their undergraduate program was 6.3.

Participants were also asked questions about their graduate studies. While all the participants were either currently attending or graduated from a PWI, they did not all attend the same university or college. Again, to protect the participants' anonymity, the names of their graduate universities/programs were redacted, and only the regions were reported. The locations of their graduate programs included those from the Midwest ($N=3$), Southeast ($N=2$), Southwest ($N=2$), Western ($N=2$), Mid-Atlantic ($N=1$), Mountain Plains ($N=1$), and the Northeast ($N=1$). Most of the participants ($N=8$) were enrolled in or had completed a doctoral program. The other participants ($N=4$) were enrolled in or had completed a master's program. Some but not all participants had completed a master's degree and were also currently enrolled in/had completed a doctoral program ($N=4$). However, this information was not explicitly asked within the demographic questionnaire. For those that had already graduated, the mean number of years since a participant had graduated from their graduate program was 7.4. In terms of their graduate field of study, most of the participants ($N=7$) majored in social sciences (i.e., psychology, sociology, diversity studies). The remaining participants majored in either science (i.e., biology, chemistry, nursing) ($N=4$) or other ($N=1$) (i.e., higher education, student affairs). All of those interviewed were enrolled in their graduate programs full-time.

Lastly, a question about participants' first-generation status was asked. More than half of the participants were first-generation students ($N=7$). Among the participants who were not first-generation students, the highest degrees their parents earned were master's degrees ($N=3$) and doctorate degrees ($N=2$). For relevance and to preserve additional confidentiality, the names of the participant's parent's colleges and universities were not reported. However, it is important to note that only one of the participant's parents/guardians attended an HBCU.

Research Team

In addition to the co-investigator there were also members of the research team that assisted with analyzing the data. The CQR approach does not specifically state who can or cannot be a part of the research team. However, past research teams have consisted of a mixture of master's level students, psychology doctoral students, and professors (Hill, 2012). Also, research teams that consist of individuals with different diversity factors can increase the integrity of the team (Hattery et al., 2022; Hill, 2012).

Thus, the co-investigator sought out research team members of similar and different backgrounds. The research team consisted of twenty individuals (not including the principal and co-investigator). There was a mixture of seven undergraduate students, two master's students, ten doctoral students, and one professor. 8 out of the 20 research members had previous CQR research experience. A crash course on CQR analysis was provided to educate all of the team members prior to data being analyzed. In terms of racial diversity, the team consisted of four South Asians, seven Black/African Americans, and nine Caucasian Americans. The majority of the team members were female (14 out of 20). Prior to analyzing any data, the research team met as a group to openly discuss biases, differences, and similarities that may impact analysis. Together, several team members discussed how being a minority, speaking more than one language, only having attended a PWI, or how White privilege may play a role in their biases and how they interpreted the data. After this discussion, the research team was placed in groups. Groups consisted of about 2-3 members with at least one member in each group having previous CQR experience. Following data analysis, members of the research team were also compensated with a \$10 Amazon gift card for their time and assistance in analyzing the data.

Qualitative Data

Domains

From the analysis, there was a total of eight domains within this study. As previously stated, domains are broad themes that represent what the participants said (Hill, 2012). Among the domains were: 1) Motivations for codeswitching 2) Ebonics and Standard English 3) Differences among PWI's and HBCUs 4) The impact of codeswitching 5) Other types of codeswitching 6) Coping strategies 7) Higher Education Interventions 8) Other. The 8th domain, of "Other" included responses that were irrelevant to the current study and tangential responses. Thus, they were excluded and are not reported within the results which is consistent with the CQR method (Hill, 2012). See Appendix J for the domain list. Categories and subcategories were then defined from the core ideas within the domains. Again, categories and subcategories are common themes across the participant's responses that are formed through careful conceptualization and organization (Hill, 2012). A list of the categories, subcategories, and frequencies can be found in Appendix K.

Overview of Findings

Below is a list of each relevant domain, category, subcategory, and relevant responses from the data. The relevant responses below are either direct quotes from participants' interviews or their core ideas. For example, if in the results the description shows "*P reported XYZ...*", this is referring to a core idea or a summary of the participant's response. Additionally, the direct quotes may also appear to have grammatical errors, this is intentional. The quotes were not edited for grammar and spelling as it would take away from one of the main points of this study, to explore codeswitching or the adjustment of dialects grammar, etc.

Domain 1: Motivations for Codeswitching

Participants answered questions about their reasons and motivations for codeswitching in this domain. Three *General* categories appeared from the data, revealing that most of the responses or motivations for codeswitching were: *Based on Setting*, *For Advantages*, and *Based on the Racial Makeup of Those Around*. From those that said their motivations/reasons for codeswitching were *Based on Setting*, five Subcategories emerged from the data: *Academic/Classroom Settings (General)*, *Being at a PWI (Typical)*, *Comfortable Settings (Typical)*, *Social Settings (Variant)*, and *Professional Settings (Variant)*.

Participant D4 emphasized codeswitching in the classroom as they responded by saying, they are motivated to do it “every academic setting” which for them included lab and class. In addition to the classroom being a motivating factor, being at PWI also influenced motivations and reasons for codeswitching. For example, Participant F6’s core idea stated, “P believes that in non-PWI settings, codeswitching is not a necessity. P didn’t have to codeswitch at HBCU or at work and could show their authentic self because they were around people that looked like P.” Another participant, K11 specifically stated, “I was hyper aware uhm and like literally I could be giving a presentation....But as soon as like the VPSA or someone like that stepped in the room...completely different [participant name]. Like words got proper, stopped using the slang terms, and the terms we use in Greek life, and you know started talking about theory and you know I had to switch it up.”

Others clarified that while they were motivated to codeswitch in academic settings, particularly PWI’s, there was also another factor among the “academic/classroom setting” that influenced their motivations. This other factor was interacting with faculty/staff in academic settings. Participants noted that they chose to or were motivated to codeswitch when interacting

with faculty/staff in their graduate programs (PWIs) as it would often result in repercussions if they did not. For instance, participant J10 reported, “Uhm but for, definitely [codeswitching] for faculty. If I catch myself, I be like, ‘so...what I meant was’, you know and I would catch myself kind of backtracking.” Notably, not every participant identified the race of their faculty/staff in their graduate programs. However, the majority of responses indicated that there were a small number of faculty, staff, and students of color in participants' PWIs. These factors and results are also discussed in later sections.

For the typical subcategory of comfortable settings, participant A1 stated, “...I think it’s like a comfort thing and just recognizing that there are some things that are particular for the social environment that I’m in...” Notably, this subcategory included 7 responses stating that participants were motivated to codeswitch based on being in a comfortable setting.

From those that said their motivations for codeswitching were *For Advantages*, five subcategories emerged from the data: *To be Understood (Typical)*, *To Avoid Stereotypes (Typical)*, *To Achieve (Typical)*, *To be Taken Seriously (Variant)*, and for *Mental Health (Variant)*. Codeswitching for advantages was also a significant motivating factor, as was evidenced by more than 11 responses in this category. Hence why it was labeled as a general category. One of these advantages and typical subcategory was to be understood. Participants emphasized their reasons for codeswitching in order to be understood both verbally as well as empathically. For instance, participant D4 stated, “I just feel like I wouldn't be understood. Uhm I don't think I work with people who are racist or think differently about people. I just feel like it'd be... it'd be much more translating going on, you know what I mean.” Meanwhile, Participant K11’s response revealed that, “Uhm to be heard and valued I needed to be able to speak that language and at sometimes I needed to be able to translate.”

Others were motivated to codeswitch in order to avoid stereotypes associated with being Black or African American. Notably, this was a typical subcategory. For example, H8 stated that she codeswitched “because I get looked at crazy when I forget. Yes, because there’s been a couple of times in class when I forget to codeswitch and people are like [made confused look] or they like assume that like I’m the home girl...and it’s like no.... So yeah that’s why I codeswitch.” Along with choosing to codeswitch to avoid negative stereotypes, participants also expressed being motivated to codeswitch as they believed it would result in success or achievements. Yet, another typical subcategory. For example, Participant A1 thinks that “codeswitching is a strategy used by people who have to follow a particular way of doing things in order to get what they want in life and professional success.” Similarly, participant K11 specifically stated, “I think it was like I had to do it [codeswitch] in order to survive, achieve, all of those things. And uhm, I don’t know, yeah.”

While it was a variant subcategory, it is still important to note that a small number of responses (2-6) provided evidence that participants' motivation for codeswitching was related to mental health advantages and to be taken seriously. Participant E5 expressed this by stating, “...different environments are for different things, and it sucks that it has to be that way. But in order for my sane sanity and well-being, it just has to operate like that.”

From those who said their motivations for codeswitching were *Based on the Racial Makeup of Those Around* there were no subcategories. It is important to note that this is still a general category even without subcategories. Within this category, participant F6 thinks that “society has told them to codeswitch in White settings.” More specifically participant F6 stated that, “...I mean I codeswitch everywhere that I’m the only one. The only time that I don’t codeswitch is when I’m like out with my friends or you know at home around people who look

like me.” It was not uncommon for the participants to report being the only or one of very few Black individuals in their PWI graduate program.

Six *typical* categories also emerged from the data within this domain, revealing additional motivations for codeswitching from 7-10 responses such as: *Role models using Codeswitching*, *Undergrad Influences*, *Out of Necessity*, *Naturally*, *Ingrained*, and *No Motivation*. Among these categories, participants reported that the reason they codeswitch is because it has been taught either through undergraduate experiences, watching others around them codeswitch, or that it comes naturally. Notably, within the *role models using codeswitching* category, participant C3 stated, “...my first experience with like even seeing codeswitching was my mom when should talk at home versus how she had to talk on the phone for work. Or when I would go to work with her and she would sound like a completely different person. And then she kind of taught me that you have to speak a certain way to certain people in order to get things done.” Participant K11 also provided many examples of motivations for codeswitching within these typical categories. For example, participant K11 provided many excerpts of watching and listening to their mother codeswitch which motivated them to do the same. Additionally, within the *undergrad influences* category, participant K11 expressed, “our program coordinators [at HBCU], were very hard on us and without saying codeswitching now I realized that they were telling us, we had to codeswitch in order to be successful.” Participant K11 also felt that “codeswitching has become ingrained and is like a superpower.” Among the responses within the *naturally* typical category were, “...so, yeah I think it’s just a natural way of conducting communication” from participant A1 and “so yeah, so for the most part during undergrad I didn't have to codeswitch as much. And now it just came naturally, where I do it all the time. Like, I said before, you know in any academic setting” from participant F6.

Others felt they were not motivated to codeswitch but that it was something they did out of necessity. For example, participant J10's core idea even expressed that, "P feels that once you have the credentials you can do what you want and not have to codeswitch anymore." More specifically, participant I9 stated, "...I don't think that I really just had to...uhm do any codeswitching for that." Notably, participant I9's response was coded as *no motivation*.

Lastly from this domain, three *Variant* categories emerged from the data. These categories revealed less prevalent motivations for codeswitching such as the *Use of codeswitching over time/habit*, participants feeling motivated *Regardless of the Racial Makeup of Those Around*, or simply *No reason*. Notably, participant I9 said that "with age, they have learned more about how to incorporate codeswitching in their academics and identity." While previous responses revealed that participants codeswitched based on the racial makeup of those around, there was still a small number of responses (2-6) that stated the opposite. For instance, Participant L12 reported, "codeswitching in academic settings even with Black clients." Meanwhile, some participants provided vague responses to questions within this domain and did not have a particular reason in mind. Hence, participant J10's response of "I codeswitch because drumroll [redacted name]... I can!"

It is important to note that the general categories within this domain speak primarily to motivations for codeswitching. Meanwhile, many of the typical categories within this domain speak primarily to reasons for codeswitching. Although, for some this may be viewed as interchangeable but, for research purposes this allowed for more succinct coding.

Domain 2: Ebonics and Standard English

In this domain, participants answered questions about their personal definitions of Ebonics, Standard English, and Codeswitching. Three *General* categories appeared from the data

which revealed that the majority of the responses were: *Neutral descriptions of Ebonics*, *Positive descriptions of Ebonics*, and that *Ebonics is tied to African American Culture*. From those that provided *Neutral descriptions of Ebonics*, two subcategories emerged: *Dialect (Typical)* and *Language (Variant)*. Thus, a significant number of participants (more than 10) described Ebonics as either a dialect or language. In fact, Participant E5 clarified that “AAVE has functions and rules, like other languages”. Similarly, Participant H8 stated that “defining Ebonics is difficult but, it is a dialect among Black people that most Black people no matter where they are from understand. P stated Ebonics is just how Black people talk.”

From those that provided *Positive descriptions of Ebonics*, three subcategories emerged: *Comfort (Variant)*, *Not Slang (Variant)*, and *Unique (Variant)*. Notably, there were about 15 responses (some participants provided more than one response) that reflected positive connotations or descriptions of Ebonics, which is significant. Participants such as participant J10 emphasized this as they stated, “I feel like it’s special, unique...” Others referred to Ebonics as beautiful, comforting, or unique. For example, Participant E5 emphasized that it was comforting by describing Ebonics as a “different formatting of English which P finds comforting. P says they are most comfortable with it around their family, neighborhood, or other Black people and misses it in White spaces”.

From those that stated *Ebonics is tied to African American Culture*, two subcategories emerged: *Slavery (General)* and *Generational/Family (Typical)*. This means that the majority of the responses connected *Slavery* to Ebonics. When asked for clarification, participant G7 expressed, “ I think that the Ebonics that we know now it certainly has evolved from the “broken English” of slaves and it has now incorporated our culture, and you know things like that...” Additionally, participant B2’s core idea of, “P stated that Black people were taken from the

shores of Africa, had their own language, and were then taught a different language which resulted in the creation of a new language with comfortable accents and dialects”, added to the above statement. Others such as participant J10 reiterated that Ebonics is taught over time and through generations as they stated, “it’s taught from infancy, right. It’s taught from the first time you can speak, you know.”

Five *typical* categories also emerged from the data within this domain such as *Negative Descriptions of Ebonics*, *Neutral Descriptions of Standard English*, *Negative Descriptions of Standard English*, *Neutral Descriptions of Codeswitching*, and *Examples*. This means that about 7-10 participants answered with such responses. From the *Negative Description of Ebonics*, one subcategory emerged which was *Unprofessional (Variant)*. All but one response within this category referred to negative descriptions or perceptions of Ebonics as described by others, not the participants. This means that when asked about their definition of Ebonics, about 7-10 participants were often providing other’s perceptions or White people’s descriptions of Ebonics. For example, when asked “How would you define Ebonics or African American Vernacular English?” participant F6 responded, “It’s really more so a thing that you know White people or people with a Eurocentric background would see as slang or as ghetto and things like that.” Although, participant L12 provided further insight as they “believe that that they have been socialized to think that Ebonics is not a professional language and that ‘the Queen’s English’ or ‘proper English’ is more professional.”

From the *Neutral descriptions of Standard English* category, one subcategory emerged which was that it was *Related to School (Typical)*. Essentially, participants were equating Standard English with school, academia, and “textbook grammar”. The following is a notable

exchange with participant H8, to emphasize the differences in descriptions of Ebonics and Standard English:

I: Okay. And so, how would you define standard English then?

P: Uhm...school taught English.

I: Okay. Was that one easier to define than Ebonics?

P: Yeah. I was gonna say White people English. Then I was like that's not quite it either. It's school taught English.

There were no subcategories for *Negative descriptions of Standard English*. However, there was a notable response such as: "Standard English is what is forced on those who aren't from the U.S. and what is expected of others not from here to use just to be accepted" and "English isn't as standardized as we what want to believe it is" from Participant J10.

From the *Neutral descriptions of Codeswitching*, two subcategories emerged: *Informal vs. Formal (Variant)* and *Linguistic Change (Variant)*. Within this category participants defined codeswitching as a switch between informal and formal languages or linguistic changes. For example, participant C3 stated, "codeswitching to me means that I'm switching back and forth between talking in AAVE or talking in English" and Participant B2 stated, "reminds me of like formal versus informal in language in general." Also, many *Examples* (another typical category within this domain) of codeswitching and Ebonics were provided within these responses such as "what up doe vs hi how's your day going", "hey girl & what's poppin", "that's how it be", "it be's like that", and "yo". It is important to note that participants were not explicitly asked to provide examples.

Lastly, there were three *Variant* categories within this domain. These categories were: *Positive Descriptions of Standard English*, *Negative Descriptions of Codeswitching*, and

Negative Perceptions of Dialects. From the *Positive Descriptions of Standard English*, there was one subcategory description of *Proper (Variant)*. There were no subcategories for the *Negative Descriptions of Codeswitching* and *Negative Perceptions of Dialects*. These categories and subcategories are variant meaning that they were less significant results because they only reflected responses from 2-6 participants. Therefore, it is still important to emphasize that less participants were able to provide positive descriptions of Standard English, Negative Descriptions of Codeswitching, and Negative perceptions of dialects.

Domain 3: Differences among PWIs and HBCUs

In this domain, participants were asked an array of questions about their PWI experiences, HBCU experiences, professor interactions, etc. Six *General* categories appeared from the data, which revealed that the majority of the differences were among: *Demographics*, *Racial identity/Culture*, *Professor Interactions*, *Social*, *Support/Resources Available*, and *Discrimination/Inequities*. This meaning that more than 10 participants found at least 6 differences from their HBCU to PWI experience.

From those that stated there were differences in *demographics*, two subcategories emerged: a *Low number of Black people at PWI (General)* and a *High number of Black people at HBCU (Variant)*. Essentially, more than 10 participants observed demographic differences when comparing their HBCU and PWI experiences. This difference being the number of Black and White students and faculty/staff members. Many of the responses/core ideas were similar to that of participant H8 which was, "...so, like in my program there's a PsyD and there's a Ph.D. But in that cohort for us when we came in, in 2019 between PsyD there's only three Black people, Ph.D. there's only 3 Black people. So out of the whole cohort, I think there's like 50 of us when we started...6 black people" and "so, it's kind of like in my master's program, in my cohort I was the

only black person.” The majority of the participants reported being the only or one of few Black people in their PWI graduate program. Participants also emphasized a low number of Black professors in addition to students at their PWIs. In fact, at least five noted not having any Black professors in their graduate program at all.

From those that noted *Racial Identity/Culture* differences, three subcategories emerged: *Reinforced at PWI (General)*, *Reinforced at HBCU (Typical)*, and *Worse at PWI (Variant)*. It is important to note that the majority of the participants felt that their *racial identity/culture* was reinforced while attending a PWI. One participant (B2) even expressed that since attending a PWI he feels he has an opportunity to do pro-Black things. More specifically, participant B2 stated, “...and for me, like Black history month... yeah like it's definitely something to be celebrated. But always being like not just a [HBCU] but like even when I was a kid I've always went to all Black schools. So you know, it's a thing, but it's not like a big deal because we're all Black you know. This is like a regular thing. And I was joking with this person, and I was saying, like, “Man you know this is like my opportunity, like being around White like mostly White people or not even just White people like Asians, you know Native Americans whatever all different type of ethnicities and ethnic backgrounds like this is my opportunity to like really do some Black... some pro-Black thing.” Similarly, when asked about how their racial identity has been impacted since attending a PWI, Participant C3 reported, “...I've become more proud, I guess, to be Black. And I really found a sense of meaning in what I do.”

Meanwhile, a smaller number (7-10), felt that their racial identity/culture was reinforced at their HBCUs. It is important to note that this was a typical subcategory. For instance, participant G7's core idea revealed that “they could be themselves at all times during undergrad because they were surrounded by Black culture....and their grad school classmates don't

completely know P.” Participant L12 specifically stated, “...I guess like [HBCU] sort of had me so boosted on my racial identity. Like it’s so central for me, I just love Black people and Black people love me. And then I got into an environment where it’s like I don’t really see Black people.”

Some (2-6) also described their *racial identity/culture* as being *worse at their PWI*. For instance, Participant I9’s core idea revealed, “their racial identity isn’t of the same value at their PWI.” In comparison to participant’s HBCU’s, for some, their PWI negatively impacted their racial identity/culture. Participant E5 also spoke of her adjustment: “and then going into a predominately white space where you're like Oh, I have to relearn all the survival tactics I learned in high school in order to survive here. And so it was a very, it was just a mind-like bending experience and then you only have the course of a summer to do it. So you're like okay I have to read up on how I have to interact with a majority white population again. So it was weird, it's really weird.”

From those that noted differences among *Professor Interactions*, three subcategories emerged: *Not good at PWI (General)*, *Good at PWI (Typical)*, and *The Same (Variant)*. Essentially, participants described an array of positive, negative, and neutral interactions with their professors at their PWIs in comparison to their HBCUs. But a significant number of participants (more than 10) reported that their interactions with their professors were not good at their PWI. Notably, while the questions asked were vague questions about interactions with White faculty/staff, more often than not participants incorporated the use of codeswitching in their responses. For instance, participant K11 described not having to worry about codeswitching at the HBCU level. Participant K11 specifically stated, “...on campus we were just students, kids on campus. And you know we talked, our professors engaged with us, they understood us, they

knew what we were saying. Uhm you know they corrected us with love uhm and it was just a different ethic of care. So, I, even if I got corrected, I still felt like I was being myself....Whereas, you know, in my grad experience it felt punitive, if there was a need for correction.” Similarly, participant I9’s core idea noted, “in comparison to their PWI, professors were more friendly and entertaining at their HBCU. At PWI, P says that they didn’t feel their concerns were listened to by a professor.” Others like participant L12 made comments such as, “...interactions with White professors are okay but can cause anxiety or feel condescending” to describe their interactions with their White professors.

It is important to note that not all participants expressed “not good” interactions with their professors. While the number is smaller, responses from about 7-10 participants indicated that they had good interactions with professors at their PWIs. However, some of these responses did not explicitly state the race/ethnicity of their professors at their PWIs. Participants within this subcategory reported that there were a “few” White professors that were supportive or that their interactions were “decent”. For example, participant J10 expressed, “...the White faculty, you know some of them, have been my greatest supporters and friends.” Others (about 2-6) noted that their professor interactions were the same regardless of being at an HBCU or PWI or with White or Black faculty/staff.

From those that noted differences in *Support/Resources Available*, *Discrimination/Inequities*, and in *Social* aspects there were no subcategories. In short, a significant number of participants noted a difference in the support and resources that were available when comparing their HBCU to PWI experience. The significant difference was that their PWIs didn’t have as many support systems and resources available for students. Notably, participant L12 stated they have been, “...trying to find spaces and support at PWI that resemble

the love felt at HBCU.” It is also important to note that participants (including L12) noted that these differences may be in part due to being in a graduate program rather than a result of being at a PWI. This was evidenced by the following statement, “P reports difficulty in relating to social experiences due to being a grad student but does acknowledge lack of organizations at PWI that were available at HBCU. P was more involved on campus at P’s HBCU.” But that was not the case for all participants.

Another significant category within this domain was the differences among discrimination/inequities faced in PWIs compared to HBCUs. Many participants (more than 10) reported experiences such as being left out of opportunities that White students were being offered, and being treated differently or negatively, which was not their experience at their HBCUs. One response of importance was, “P said students at the PWI would often react as if Black students were zoo animals, some type of specimen, or ghetto” from participant K11. Another core idea from participant H8, noted “P feels that times at their PWI were rough because they were dealing with racial inequities which made her miss her HBCU because they didn’t have those issues. At P’s PWI people didn’t have the same experience as her and made comments such as ‘I sympathize but that’s not my people whose bodies [Black people being killed] is on social media’”.

Three *Typical* categories also emerged from the data which revealed additional differences such as *Academic*, *Size/Location*, and *General Differences*. Among these typical categories participants discussed *academic* differences such as more race-related discussions in the curriculum at HBCUs compared to PWIs, the *size/location* of the schools impacting experiences, and simply that there are *general differences*. In terms of differences among

size/location, participant J10 stated, “P believes the composition of students and the amount of students was a difference among the HBCU vs PWI experience.”

One *Rare* category emerged from the data which was that there were *no differences*. This means that one participant out of twelve stated that their experiences were “basically the same” at both their HBCU and their PWI.

It is important to note that the general categories within this domain speak primarily to the differences associated with the racial makeup of the different school settings (HBCU vs PWI). Among the typical categories are differences primarily related to overall institutional differences such as academic courses offered, the size/location of institutions, and general differences regardless of HBCU vs PWI status.

Domain 4: The Impact of Codeswitching

In this domain, participants were asked an array of questions about their experiences with codeswitching including but not limited to reactions from others, discriminatory responses, and personal feelings. Five *General* categories appeared from the data which revealed that the majority of the participants stated there were *Challenges*, *Negative Experiences*, *Positive Experiences*, an *Impact on identity/authenticity*, and a change in their *codeswitching habits* as a result of *The Impact of Codeswitching*.

From those that reported *Challenges*, there were three subcategories: *Internal/Personal (General)*, *External/Dealing with others (General)*, and *With the act of Codeswitching (Typical)*. As this study primarily focused on the impact of codeswitching it is extremely important to emphasize the data and responses within this domain and its categories and subcategories. A significant number of participants (more than 10) reported *Internal/Personal* challenges associated with codeswitching such as masking, feelings of exhaustion, and having to dim

themselves down so as to not threaten others. Among the *internal/personal* general subcategory, participant K11 expressed, "...I'm kinda like selling my soul to the devil. Like, and so it's like, that dual like uhm...what does Dubois call it? A dual consciousness, where it's like I'm aware of this, but it's like when, when I want something, when I need something, it's just a reaction that just turns on....But it's also like one of those uhh, I would say I almost at sometimes, at some points weaponize it to get what I want." Participant G7 also stated "...it can be stressful. That a lot of times there are so many internal processes going on for students of color that you, you know you don't see before they even walk in a room."

Meanwhile more than 10 participants within this category also reported *External* challenges or challenges of *Dealing with others*. Essentially, participants were describing challenges maintaining relationships (with peers and faculty/staff) as a result of having to codeswitch all of the time or refrain from codeswitching (when around peers) or having to overexplain themselves to people who didn't understand Ebonics. A notable response from participant J10 stated: "honestly, even if I do codeswitch or I don't codeswitch it's insulting for you to feel like you have the right to say anything to me about any of that." Participant C3 provided another perspective of this challenge by saying, "...so it [codeswitching] kind of like hinders my relationships at home if I can't codeswitch. But then the same thing here [PWI] if I start talking like I do at home."

Lastly, within this category, a smaller number of participants (2-6) reported challenges *with the act of codeswitching* itself. The responses revealed problems such as having to remember when/where to codeswitch, having to switch back and forth, and having to find the "right" words. Notably, participant C3 stated, "It's almost hard now for me to even codeswitch

like back to AAVE sometimes like it takes me a minute because I have to stay in regular English so long.”

From those who reported *Negative Experiences*, there were 2 subcategories: *Perceived (General)* and *Actual (General)*. Of the reported *Perceived Negative Experiences*, the participants stated that they would be perceived differently or negatively if they didn’t codeswitch in their PWI grad program. Many of these negative perceptions were associated with participants having low intelligence, being seen as ghetto, and otherwise stereotyped. Notably, in response to not codeswitching participant G7 expressed that, “I think they [White professors/students] might perceive me as less professional and maybe even less educated, even though, like we know, on paper, we all have the same level of education. But I think that may be the perception. There may also be a perception of wondering if I got where I am because of some type of like affirmative action or some type of concessions like that. Because I think people do make a lot of judgments about people, based on how they speak.

Of the reported *Actual Negative Experiences* many of the participants stated inappropriate or negative responses/reactions from students/faculty at their PWI when they did not codeswitch or when they used AAVE. For some this resulted in them talking less, others simply didn’t care. Notably, participant J10 “described a look or expression of confusion from faculty at their PWI when P [J10] doesn’t codeswitch.” More specifically J10 stated, “it’s a face, it’s never words, who you know, where they’ll feel uhm bold enough to say it to me. But, it’s a look of like what just happened, I’m so lost, I’m so confused.” Similarly, Participant H8’s core idea stated, “P hasn’t experienced discrimination based on use of Ebonics from PWI faculty but often gets side-eyed from students.”

From those who reported *Positive Experiences*, there were two subcategories: *Actual (General)* and *Perceived (Variant)*. Among the responses stating *Actual Positive Experiences*, the participants stated they have not experienced any discrimination because of their lack of codeswitching or use of AAVE at their PWI. Although, among half of the responses noted that participants had not experienced discrimination “yet” or that they don’t experience discrimination because they codeswitch well. Notably participant E5 stated, “I’ve always been codeswitching in class and with professors. So I haven’t had that moment, I guess not like a slip up a moment of like genuineness when I am speaking that [Ebonics], and be discriminated against. No.” In terms of the few participants (two), that reported *Perceived Positive Experiences*, participants did not think they would experience any discrimination if they didn’t codeswitch or if they used AAVE.

For those that reported an *Impact on Identity/Authenticity*, there were no subcategories. The responses revealed that participants (more than 10) felt inauthentic or that they were changing themselves when they had to codeswitch at their PWI. Although, it is important to note that some participants reported that their racial identity was not impacted but that their authenticity was impacted. Notably, participant E5’s core idea stated, “P feels they are changing themselves when they codeswitch and it sucks because she can’t be her genuine self. P feels fine most of the time because AAVE isn’t her identity.” Meanwhile, Participant K11’s core idea stated, “P feels that he was being inauthentic when he was codeswitching at his PWI but not that he was changing himself because it was conscious.” Similarly, participant G7 said, “what I felt like is, I was only presenting one part of myself. And that’s why I feel like the people... my Grad school cohort, my friends from Grad school, they don’t really know the full me. So yeah I don’t feel like I was changing, who I was but definitely not being my full self.”

For the category *Codeswitching Habits* there were no subcategories. The responses revealed that codeswitching is in fact a habit for participants but one that participants aren't always aware of. Others noted that their codeswitching habits changed or increased throughout their time in graduate school. Notably, Participant J10's stated, "...I think it [codeswitching] was definitely more frequent in my, in my Grad program. 'cause you almost didn't want to come off as a fraud, right. You got to deal with that imposter syndrome, you have, you know." Additionally, Participant K11 described their codeswitching habits a little differently such as "if you think about all of that work that you have to do to codeswitch and fit in and then think about the fact that you do it so much that it becomes habit like, you talk about like inherited trauma and like just things that we don't see that and you know, it's really crazy!"

Two *typical* categories appeared from the data which revealed that 7-10 participants responded with *Neutral Experiences* or that there were *No challenges/Impact* based on their use of codeswitching. From those who reported *Neutral Experiences*, there were no subcategories. Many of the responses simply stated that there were differences in the way other White faculty/students responded to participant's codeswitching but there was no description of whether this was negative or positive. From the responses that stated, *No Challenges/Impact*, there were no subcategories. Participants that stated no challenges/impact reported responses such as "it's not a big deal", "I wouldn't care if other White students or professors perceived P differently", "it hasn't impacted me", or "P doesn't have many challenges when codeswitching in the classroom because P has done it since childhood and it's natural".

Lastly, one *Variant* category of *Change noticed by others* came from this domain. There were no subcategories. But the responses revealed that for a small number of participants (2-6), their Black friends often noticed or pointed out when they codeswitched which wasn't always a

positive experience. Notably, Participant C3's core idea stated, "P stated not personally noticing that they changed themselves when codeswitching until a friend saw them speak AAVE versus English." Meanwhile, Participant K11 specifically stated, "...if you start codeswitching at home they're gon be like, 'why are talking like that', 'what's wrong with you' 'like 'cause you went to college you think...' I have experienced this..."

Domain 5: Other Types of Codeswitching

In the current study, participants were not explicitly asked about other forms of codeswitching outside of language. Thus, these results will not be discussed in detail. However, responses associated with other forms of codeswitching still came up. One *General* category appeared from the data which revealed that the majority of the participants also spoke of *General Appearance* when it came to other forms of codeswitching. Within this category, three subcategories also emerged: *Clothing (Typical)*, *Hair (Variant)*, and *Clothing and Hair*. Two *Variant* categories also appeared from the data which revealed additional forms of codeswitching such as *Non-Verbals* and *Writing*.

Domain 6: Coping Strategies

In this category, participants were asked questions about their mental health in graduate school, coping with race-related stressors experienced at their PWI, and their coping strategies as it pertained to dealing with the repercussions of codeswitching. Although, some participants only responded with their overall coping strategies. One *general* category appeared from the data which revealed that the majority of the participants utilized *Support Systems* as a means of coping. From this category, five subcategories emerged: *POC Specific Support (General)*, *Family (Typical)*, *Financial Support (Variant)*, *Religious/spiritual (Variant)*, and *Academic (Variant)*. Notable responses revealed that participants turned to other people of color, family

members, prayer, and academic advisors for support. For example, participant J10 mentioned, “I think that is what really is what really sustained me was, I would say faith, friends, definitely, my family” as it pertained to managing mental health in graduate school” and participant K11’s core idea revealed, “P stated P wanted to get far away from P’s PWI and be around people of color in order to heal because it was traumatizing.” Similarly, participant B2 responded that they coped with race-related stressors at PWIs by, “hanging around Black people.”

Few responses (2-6) also revealed that *Financial support* helped alleviate stressors associated with graduate school and made them feel safe. Financial support was not specifically mentioned as a means to cope with the repercussions of codeswitching.

Seven *typical* categories also emerged within this domain. These categories revealed additional forms of coping from 7-10 participants such as *Lack of Adequate Coping*, *Self Care*, *Therapy*, *Socializing*, *Lessons Learned*, *Emotion Regulation*, and *Finding Safe Spaces*. From the responses showing a *lack of adequate coping*, there was one subcategory of *Drugs/Alcohol (Variant)*. Notably, two participants reported using alcohol or marijuana to cope with race-related stress experienced at their PWI. There were also other notable responses such as “P coped with race-related stressors at their PWI by finding people he could trust, safe spaces where he could breathe, or where he didn’t have to codeswitch” from participant K11 and from J10, “P stated that being able to learn how to talk and express how you feel helped P cope with race-related stress at PWI. P stated that in Black culture people are trained to keep everything in.”

Domain 7: Higher Education Interventions

In this category, participants were asked questions about how their PWI grad program could improve, if there were any diversity-related educational resources already available, and if Ebonics should be accepted in higher education. Four *general* categories appeared from the data

which revealed that there is a *need for more awareness of codeswitching*, a *Lack of diversity-related resources at the PWI/Need for improvement*, a *Need for overall institutional change*, and that participants feel that *AAVE should be accepted*. A significant number of participant responses indicated that there needs to be more awareness of codeswitching in PWIs. In fact, 11 participants noted in some way shape, or form that codeswitching is not currently discussed or at least not in-depth at their PWIs and that there is a lack of understanding of codeswitching as well as its impacts among users. For instance, participant E5 stated, “I think it would be important for them [PWI faculty/students] to know or understand that just because someone speaks it [Ebonics] doesn’t mean that they’re unintelligent. And just because you would say that you would feel comfortable with someone speaking it doesn't mean that they would be comfortable speaking it around you. So don't expect for them to speak it around you...”

Among the significant number of responses that stated there is either a lack of diversity-related resources or a need for improvement at participants' PWIs, it is important to note the non-verbal responses as well. In almost all of the interviews when asked if participants PWIs have diversity-related resources in place, participant's responses consisted of laughter. The laughter was often followed by a response of “no” or a description of a lack of emphasis on diversity-related resources in their PWI. For example, participant H8 responded, “I don’t mean to laugh...No! Whew girl but they try. Uhm absolutely not. They have a DEI program they're starting, I think that, like a student on the board and like something else, but like no...” Others reported that the diversity-related resources that are in place are only geared toward undergraduates.

As a recommendation, all participants stated that there needs to be a change at the institutional level. This change would include, recognizing that Black people are not

homogenous, ensuring that institutions across the board are supportive, changing recruitment procedures, including Black history in all areas of higher education, etc. As a specific recommendation, K11 stated, "...PWIs need to come to terms with the fact that when you recruit students, you recruit their authentic selves and this needs to be welcomed." Additionally, Participant I9 "feels that higher ed needs to be changed to be more accommodating, especially for first-generation students."

In terms of the significant responses that indicated that AAVE should be accepted in PWIs, all but one participant agreed. Among those who stated AAVE should be accepted, they believed Black students should be allowed to express themselves without consequences. Additionally, participants such as Participant B2, "believes that AAVE should be accepted at P's school because it isn't derogatory. P believes that not accepting AAVE should be frowned upon because it is the use of someone's comfortable way of speaking." While many were for AAVE being accepted, participants were still aware that this may not be the case as evidenced by participant G7's response, "...but I think that, realistically, we still have to codeswitch because it's not going to be accepted in certain arenas, no matter what."

Two *typical* categories also emerged from this domain: *Need for faculty change/specific training* and that there were *diversity-related resources currently in place at the PWI*. 7-10 participants recommend that there be a change among faculty or specific training at their PWI. In terms of a faculty change, participants noted that they would like to see a heterogeneous staff or hear more from diverse voices. More specifically, participant J10 's core idea expressed that, "P thinks that the HBCU to PWI experience is a specific shift that should be talked about and if not it's a disservice to those students experiences. P thinks that codeswitching, diverse voices, and language, should be essential and integrated into the curriculum." In terms of having more

specific training, the participants in this category stated that faculty/staff need to have diversity-specific training to understand that Black students' experiences are different than White students and that they can experience challenges associated with racial identity and language. In particular, participant K11 "thinks there should be training for faculty on differences including language or anything outside of the White world." It is also important to note that only seven responses revealed that there were diversity-related resources already in place at participants PWIs, two of which were reiterations from the same participant.

Three *variant* categories also emerged from this domain revealing that, there is a *need for better funding of diversity-related resources, codeswitching should be accepted*, and *Codeswitching shouldn't be accepted*. Notably, 2-6 participants suggested that there be increased funding for diversity-related resources because graduate programs are currently not doing so or are having students put in extended efforts to get things done or funded. On the other hand, participant D4, "believes that increased funding and research opportunities for Black students at HBCUs would help increase diversity at PWIs".

Also, within this category, a small number of participants (three) stated that codeswitching should be accepted in PWIs. However, some also argued that codeswitching shouldn't be accepted for reasons such as people of color shouldn't be required to do such in academic, public, and corporate settings. For example, participant L12 stated, "codeswitching shouldn't be an obligation or requirement. But for a lot of Black students, it feels like it is. Because we're worried about how you'll perceive us. So a remedy to this is being willing to accept us for who we are not trying to force us to present in this way that's consistent with what is a pristine proper person based on White supremacists ideologies. Just be willing to accept us. Create that space, and then we won't feel like we have to codeswitch."

Lastly, there was one *Rare* category within this domain that suggested that *AAVE* *shouldn't be accepted* due to reasons of cultural appropriation. In particular, participant D4 stated, "I do not want it accepted in my school. 'Cause I don't White people walking around using AAVE. It looks ridiculous and I'm a big proponent of Anti...uhmm cultural appropriation. So you know if we got ridiculed at a point and time for speaking how we speak and so now that like we are starting to become more accepted in White settings.... I wouldn't care for them to start picking up on our language. Because they don't understand the history behind it, they don't have the cultural ties to it. So, no I don't. Selfishly, I would not want AAVE to be accepted at my PWI."

CHAPTER FOUR: DISCUSSION

Overview

The purpose of this study was to gain a better understanding of what it means to codeswitch (from Ebonics to Standard English), any possible implications to an individual's identity, any possible psychological implications, and how PWI's can be more cognizant of this phenomenon. In particular, the author examined the experiences of Black or African American individuals who attended an HBCU for their undergraduate studies and graduated or were currently attending a PWI for their graduate studies. Previous research provided evidence that Black students have long faced differences and difficulties in terms of their experiences and mental health when attending or choosing to enroll in higher education at a PWI (Eakins & Eakins, 2017; Karkouti, 2016; Payne & Suddler, 2014; Woldoff et al., 2011). Some of these differences and difficulties were in part associated with having to shift linguistic codes depending on the speaker's environment, otherwise known as codeswitching (Deggans, 2013; Morrison, 2023). This is in part why many Black individuals have chosen to attend HBCUs (Bracey, 2017; Cooper, 2017). However, for those wanting to further their education via graduate school, HBCUs are not always an option for various reasons (i.e., financial concerns and program availability) (B. Miller, 2020; Rogers, 2008; Upton & Tanenbaum, 2014). Hence why some of those same students that attended an HBCU for undergrad went onto a PWI for graduate school.

The combination of the implications of codeswitching and the experiences of Black students in higher education sparked interest among researchers. Research has also provided evidence that when exploring the experiences of students in higher education, graduate students are often left out. When graduate students have been included in research, it has been found that

they often receive fewer resources than undergraduates (Forrester, 2021; Kaler & Stebleton, 2019). But, for Black graduate students in particular, they are often both underrepresented and overlooked (Holloman et al., 2021; Stone et al., 2018). Thus, instead of simply looking at Black undergraduates, this study added an additional layer or demographic factor to explore—Black graduate students at PWIs. Therefore, Consensual Qualitative Research (CQR) methods were used for this study to capture the richness of participants' experiences, attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions (Hill, 2012). The interviews provided relevant and informative information for interpretation. In terms of the interpretation and discussion of the results, when the terms, *generally*, *typically*, and *variably* are used it is in reference to CQR terminology.

Overall, participants varied in terms of their reasons or motivations for codeswitching. However, *general* categories indicated that participants were motivated based on the setting they were in, if they saw it as being advantageous, or based on the racial make-up of those around them. More specifically, participants seemed to be motivated to codeswitch if they were in academic/classroom settings, around White people or another race (other than their own), or to put themselves in more favorable positions. As the participants were all graduate students or post-graduates, codeswitching in academic/classroom settings referred to participating in research labs, communicating with committee members, giving presentations, attending meetings, practicum, student events, and within classes. Participants were also all from PWIs, which is notable, as they found being around White people or another race a significant motivating factor to codeswitch as well. In terms of the favorable positions that participants noted being a *general* reason for codeswitching, this entailed many things. The data indicated that most but not all participants (*typical* category) codeswitched so that they could be successful, understood, and to avoid stereotypes.

Thus, these results are similar to previous literature findings that state that Black individuals tend to codeswitch to avoid stereotypes and to experience inclusion or increase social mobility (Adikwu, 2020; Matthews, 2006; Payne & Suddler, 2014; Warner, 2007). The specific findings shed light on the factors that influenced codeswitching among Black graduate students, with a focus on their experiences within predominantly White spaces, particularly academic settings. These findings provide valuable insights into the reasons behind codeswitching behaviors, specifically within the context of Black individuals in higher education. Furthermore, academic settings such as graduate school are already known to be challenging but for Black students, these challenges can increase due to discrimination, personal/emotional adjustments, etc. (Alexander & Bodenhorn, 2015; Johnson-Bailey et al., 2009; Leong, 2020; Moses, 1989). Thus, as indicated by the current data Black graduate students being surrounded by White people or in White settings codeswitch to decrease their potential challenges such as not being understood (verbally and empathically), being stereotyped as uneducated or unprofessional, and to present as professional or different to succeed in such settings.

An important piece that the results also add to the literature is that a number of Black graduate students were also motivated to codeswitch at their PWI based on their undergraduate experience, having codeswitching modeled for them, and felt that it was now ingrained in them (*Typical* categories). Participants expressed that they did not feel inclined to codeswitch at their HBCUs. However, they also expressed that their HBCU professors, undergraduate internships, and experiences within The Divine Nine sororities and fraternities taught them to codeswitch in White settings in order to be successful. Notably, The Divine Nine refers to nine National Pan-Hellenic Council (NPHC) organizations that were founded for the betterment of Black men and women during a time of racial isolation on PWI campuses (NAACP, 2023; NPHC, 2023).

Thus, suggesting that HBCUs play a role in influencing one's frequency to codeswitch at the PWI graduate level. Furthermore, these results support both the social learning theory and identity negotiation theory (INT) (Evans & Kelly, 2020; Hibbler, 2020; McLeod, 2016; Ting-Toomey, 2015). In particular, social learning theory posits that language and motivations to use certain languages are learned from observations and imitating others' behaviors (Bandura, 1989; Evans & Kelly, 2020; McLeod, 2016; Whitehurst, 1978). Meanwhile, INT posits that codeswitching is done as a means to seek positive identity affirmation or change one's identity to avoid negative stereotypes (Ting-Toomey, 2015; Ting-Toomey, 2017). Therefore, from the data, it is indicated that codeswitching for Black graduate students attending PWIs is learned from HBCU experiences, observing role models (including family), and is used to suppress facets of Black identity.

In terms of the participants' understanding behind codeswitching and the language they use, the data indicated that Ebonics is tied to African American Culture by ways of slavery or through different generations (*general* category). Overall, participants noted that as a result of Africans being forced into slavery, having to learn a new language while also being reprimanded for reading and writing in English resulted in another branch of English or the formation of Ebonics. This suggests that Ebonics does, in fact, have significant historical ties to Black people, which can be argued as a reason not to devalue it or its speakers. Although this debate has been had time and time again, these results are here to emphasize that this topic should not be taken lightly as it affects many (R.L. Williams, 1997).

Participants even provided positive or neutral descriptions of Ebonics and emphasized that it is a dialect/language and not a form of slang (*general* category). The emphasis on Ebonics not being a form of slang contradicts some previous studies that suggested that individuals

(including Black people) had negative attributions or definitions of Ebonics (Baker-Bell, 2019; Godley & Escher, 2012; Koch et al., 2001). Notably, among the current data, there was a smaller number of participants that provided negative descriptions of Ebonics (*Typical*) and an even smaller number that provided positive descriptions of Standard English (*Variant*). In fact, participants used words such as unprofessional to negatively describe Ebonics. But that was the participants' definition of Ebonics as described by others (i.e., how non-Ebonics speakers or White people would define Ebonics). Participants also provided examples of Ebonics during the interview process which can be found in Appendix L. In terms of definitions of Standard English, participants primarily referred to it as “grade-school-taught English” or proper English. This consistent with previous literature that has suggested that Standard English is considered more appropriate, especially in class settings (Durkee & Williams, 2015; Godley & Escher, 2012).

In looking at differences among academic settings, participants noted many differences between their HBCU and PWI experiences. These differences were among demographics, their own racial identity, professor interactions, discrimination/inequities experienced, social aspects, and the amount of support/resources available (all *general* categories). The data indicated that, in comparison to HBCUs, PWIs had a low number of Black people including staff, faculty, and students, which is not new to the literature. However, the data also indicated that PWIs actually reinforced participants' sense of culture and racial identity. More specifically, being at a PWI provided participants with more opportunities to display their Blackness or be aware of their racial identity. Based on the responses, this was in part due to participants wanting to bring more attention to their race as this wasn't necessary at their HBCU, show faculty/students at their PWI that they aren't another stereotype, or because they had an increased awareness of racial issues

due to their new predominantly White environment. This adds to the literature as it has previously been emphasized that PWIs provide primarily negative experiences for Black students and negatively impact their racial identity (Hernandez, 2010; Sinanan, 2012; Woldoff et al., 2011). However, this was not the case for all participants in terms of their identity and authenticity when it came specifically to codeswitching at their PWI (discussed in later sections).

The differences among professor interactions at participants' PWIs compared to their HBCUs is a notable difference. The majority of the responses revealed that participants did not have good interpersonal relationships or interactions with their professors at their PWI. Specifically, many of them expressed negative interactions, such as White professors at PWIs disregarding participants' accomplishments, viewing them as aggressive, and setting unrealistic expectations in comparison to their White student counterparts. This is consistent with literature that has found that White professors tend to make negative comments or give out poor academic evaluations to Black students based on their use of Ebonics (Feagin, 1992; Ferguson, 2001; Payne & Suddler, 2014; Stanley, 2006). For this study in particular, it resulted in students experiencing anxiety, feeling as if they were being punished, and not feeling the same type of "love" experienced by professors at their former HBCU. Although it is important to note that two participants expressed negative interactions also from the few Black professors at their PWI.

Additionally, there was also a significant difference among discrimination and inequities experienced at HBCUs in comparison to PWIs. The data revealed that participants experienced more discrimination from students, faculty, and staff at their PWI in comparison to their HBCU. Although it is important to note that not all participants reported discrimination or inequities based on the use of codeswitching. Some reported other instances, such as being mistaken for other Black people, not being afforded the same opportunities as White students, experiencing

harsher disciplinary action, and hearing negative or discriminatory comments about their race. One participant suggested that the reason White students at their PWI were discriminatory or looked at Black students as if they were specimens, was because they were never afforded the opportunity to be around Black people before. This is similar to Johnson-Bailey et al.'s study results that showed multiple instances of discrimination from White students, faculty, and staff at a PWI which was in part attributed to the lack of diversity exposure (2009).

In terms of social differences and differences among support/resources, HBCUs appeared to provide more than PWIs. Specifically, participants noted that HBCUs expected students to maintain leadership roles, encouraged them to find social support, and to be involved in the community. Thus, with these expectations, the HBCUs provided social outlets and support for their students. According to participants, this was not the case at PWIs as the majority of the social supports and resources were geared toward undergraduate students. This is consistent with the limited research available on graduate students and mental health (Kaler & Stebleton, 2019). In fact, the literature has found that the needs of graduate students have been overlooked and resources (i.e., mental health resources, economic resources, etc.) are heavily focused on undergraduate students or non-marginalized groups (Kaler & Stebleton, 2019; Pontius & Harper, 2006). Participants also explained that the lack of resources and social outlets could have been due to the COVID-19 pandemic. The COVID-19 pandemic has been found to increase social isolation, decrease in-person interactions, and altered the availability and safety of university extracurricular activities (Finnerty et al., 2021; Son et al., 2020).

The responses to the codeswitching-related questions are particularly relevant to this study. As previously noted, codeswitching has been studied in limited environments many of which yielded negative responses from participants (Bohn, 2003; Godley & Escher, 2012; Koch

et al., 2001; Murphy, 1998; Parmegiani, 2006; Todd, 1997). Participants from the current study highlighted their many challenges as a result of codeswitching (*general* category). From the results, some of the most challenging were the internal and external impacts of codeswitching (*general* subcategories). Many of the participants revealed psychological stressors such as anxiety, changes to their personality (none that align with any specific DSM-5 diagnoses), feelings of exhaustion, and masking. In terms of anxiety-related symptoms, participants reported feeling worried about how White faculty/staff or students would perceive them for their codeswitching skills or having to know when and where to codeswitch. As previously mentioned, perceptions can guide one's behavior, personality, and identity (Carlson & Barranti, 2016; Cook, 1979). While participants did not report being diagnosed with a personality disorder as a result of codeswitching, there were reports of notable changes to their personalities. In fact, participants reported a challenge of withholding their true personality when codeswitching at their PWI.

Two participants specifically reported that codeswitching at their PWI brought on a challenge of having to put on a mask all of the time. It was stated that masking made them feel uncomfortable but made others (White people) feel comfortable. Thus, adding on to Holliday & Squires' study which also noted that Black students were masking and codeswitching as a means to navigate scrutiny faced at their PWIs (2020). But, unlike their study, the current study revealed results from graduate students, not undergraduate students.

Participants also reported feeling exhausted, tired, or drained as a result of the complexities of codeswitching constantly. One participant even associated codeswitching with trauma and self-harm. Notably, previous studies have not explicitly associated codeswitching with trauma or any trauma-stressor-related disorders. Additionally, the current results are

somewhat inconsistent with other studies that have explored codeswitching in various environments (i.e., workplace, grade school). Other studies have revealed psychological symptoms or problems such as poor sleep habits, feelings of helplessness, self-doubt, and hostility (McCluney et al., 2021; Santiago et al., 2021). All of those psychological symptoms or problems were not mentioned in the results of the current study. Although, there are still some similarities between the psychological well-being responses of this study and others such as the reports of conflict in interpersonal relationships, burnout, and increased anxiety. Additionally, Santiago et al.'s, study specifically discussed that assimilation by means of codeswitching in the workplace is exhausting, similar to reports within the current study (2021).

The results also emphasized external challenges or challenges when it came to dealing with others (*general* subcategory). These challenges included difficulties communicating with others who may not understand Ebonics at PWIs, difficulties maintaining relationships on campus, having to frequently explain Ebonics, and fighting negative assumptions about Ebonics speakers. Thus, in line with another study, where participants described an issue of their doctoral program as having to over-explain when they spoke (Henfield et al., 2011).

Furthermore, codeswitching, or the lack thereof also indicated both positive and negative responses from other people/listeners (*general* categories). The data showed that as a result of codeswitching at PWIs, participants faced negative experiences (*general* subcategory). These negative experiences included uncomfortable tensions in academic settings, being side-eyed, or not being accepted due to their use of Ebonics. The data also showed that even if participants did not report lived negative experiences, they reported perceived negative experiences (*general* subcategory) if they did not codeswitch. Many perceived that White students or faculty/staff would look at them as less than, uneducated, or that their PWI had low standards if they didn't

codeswitch. Hence, the reason why some participants chose to codeswitch or refrain from the use of Ebonics at their PWI. Those who stated positive experiences (*general* category) they simply expressed that they haven't experienced any discrimination based on their lack of codeswitching at their PWI, yet or that they codeswitched well enough not to experience discrimination.

Another *general* category revealed that codeswitching did in fact impact participants' identity and authenticity while at their PWI. Many felt that they weren't being true to themselves, or they were inauthentic when codeswitching at their PWI. The participants' change in self and inauthenticity was also noticed by others/peers as reported by participants, which for some brought on a further sense of inauthenticity. These results add to previous research on authenticity experienced at PWIs (Cox, 2020; Neville et al., 2004; Payne & Suddler, 2014; Woldoff et al., 2011). It has previously been found that Black students who attend PWIs are often viewed as less authentically Black by Black students who attended HBCUs (Cox, 2020). However, the current results suggested that participants (Black PWI students) viewed themselves as inauthentic when others (Black family members, HBCU alumni/colleagues, Black friends) noticed their codeswitching. It was not solely due to the fact that they were in attendance at a PWI.

In terms of other forms of codeswitching, the results revealed that participants also described changing their general appearance (*general* category). The data showed that there was also a small number of participants who described changing their writing as a form of codeswitching (*variant* category). This suggests that because of the small number of participants that described writing as a form of codeswitching that there may not be a significant difference in this form of codeswitching at HBCUs vs PWIs as compared to verbal codeswitching.

Additionally, the results revealed that participants coped with such challenges in various ways (i.e., self-care, therapy, socializing, emotion regulation, finding safe spaces, etc.). As this study included a particular demographic group (HBCU & PWI students), the results enhanced previous studies that have looked at coping strategies among Black PWI students versus Black HBCU students (Dubow & Rubinlicht, 2011; Greer & Chwalisz, 2007). In previous research, it was found that PWI students primarily used avoidance as a coping strategy while HBCU students primarily use problem-focused coping strategies or sought social support (Dubow & Rubinlicht, 2011; Greer & Chwalisz, 2007). The present study found that the primary coping skill reported was the utilization of support systems (*general* category) particularly with people of color (*general* subcategory). Thus, suggesting that participants were further influenced by their HBCU undergraduate experiences even in a new setting such as a PWI for their graduate studies. The use of avoidance as a coping strategy which was previously found to be used among Black PWI students, was not substantiated within the current study. Although, a smaller number of participants did report a lack of adequate coping strategies (*Typical* category) such as the use of drugs/alcohol (*Variant* subcategory) as a means of coping with race-related stressors and codeswitching.

As previously mentioned, another big proponent of research is to bring awareness to the issue and provide recommendations for improvements. This study, in particular, aimed also to provide recommendations to higher education institutions on how to better care for their Black graduate students who have previously been forgotten about. The results suggested that awareness of codeswitching, acceptance of Ebonics, improvement of diversity-related resources, and an overall institutional change were the main recommendations for change (all *general* categories). In particular, participants would like White students, staff/faculty, and the entire

PWI to take the time to learn about codeswitching. The results indicated that most White individuals at participants' PWIs seldom heard Ebonics being used in academic settings because participants were codeswitching so often. Additionally, participants suggested that there not just be an awareness of what codeswitching is but also the challenges it poses for Black students when they are inclined/forced not to speak the language they are most comfortable in. These results add to the literature as there are countless studies on codeswitching from Spanish to English in academia but less on codeswitching from Ebonics to Standard English in academia. The results and recommendations from the Spanish to English studies are still congruent with the present study. Essentially, researchers have found that when teachers encourage and normalize codeswitching, it can increase students' critical language awareness and identity (Martinez, 2013). Thus, they have to know about it [codeswitching] in order to encourage and normalize it. A few participants within the current study even discussed Spanish to English codeswitching when suggesting that Ebonics should be accepted in PWIs. However, the acceptance of Ebonics in schools has been a long-standing debate (McLaren, 2009; R.L. Williams, 1997; Woo & Curtius, 1996). It wasn't even agreed upon by all participants in the current study. Among those who agreed that Ebonics should be accepted in their PWI provided various reasons to support their argument, as did those from the historic Ebonics debate in Oakland, CA (R.L. Williams, 1997). For instance, within the current study it was suggested that acceptance of Ebonics would allow for a better atmosphere for Black students and, let Black students express themselves freely and authentically. It was also stated that Ebonics is a normal form of language and that it is not derogatory or ghetto. Thus, very much in line with Dr. Williams's argument within the Ebonics debate. In fact, he suggested that acceptance would allow African American students to achieve a quality education and the ability to navigate through the school system without being

penalized for speaking their own language (R.L. Williams, 1997). The results of the current study are very different from the opposing responses within the historic Ebonics debate which suggested that acceptance would allow for substandard speech in classrooms, condone slang, and reward failure (R.L. Williams, 1997; Woo & Curtius, 1996). Although, one participant within the current study explicitly stated that Ebonics should not be accepted for fear of cultural appropriation by White counterparts (*rare* category). While this response was rare, it is still very important as it highlights the reality of what could potentially happen if Ebonics becomes accepted by all in PWI settings. Acceptance may not be ideal, thus suggesting there is a strong reason to gate-keep Ebonics.

Notably, the results also showed that while a few participant's PWIs have diversity-related resources in place, most do not, or the resources are very limited. Thus, further perpetuating instances of discrimination, decreased cultural competency, and creating a less than safe environment for Black graduate students. This is also in line with the results of a similar study that found that countless acts of discrimination were in part due to the lack of diversity exposure at a PWI in the South (Johnson-Bailey et al., 2009). Participants in the current study would actually like to see increased funding for diversity-related resources (*variant* category) and for Black graduate students in particular, as much of the current funding goes toward other areas such as undergraduates. This result further emphasizes that much of the current funding and resources are geared towards undergraduates or non-minority students—again leaving them out of the discussion (Kaler & Stebleton, 2019; Pontius & Harper, 2006).

Limitations

Like any research study, there are also certain limitations that should be acknowledged and considered. Some of this study's limitations are in data collection and with the proponents of

the CQR methodology. For instance, in the current study data collection concluded at 12 participants to avoid an overload of data. However, even with 12 participants, there was still an overload of data as shown by lengthy interview times and multiple categories and subcategories. Further discretion should have been taken during the recruitment and interview process to either minimize the participant sample to 10 or to have a stricter interview time length (<120 minutes). Although limiting the participant sample to less than 12 would have differed from the CQR methodology.

In addition to a large sample, the current study also consisted of quite a large research team. Typically, CQR research teams consist of about 4-12 members (Hill, 2012). This study's research team had 20 members with varying levels of experience and from an array of backgrounds. While the diversity of the research team can be seen as a strength, having such a large number of people can also be a weakness. The weakness being that a larger research team can mean a wider range of biases that could have impacted data analysis. Additionally, given that this study involved team members reading transcripts of two Black people (interviewer & interviewee) speaking informally and at times using Ebonics, another limitation was posed. At times during the analysis process, terms/transcribed conversations were not always well understood by non-Black research team members. Thus, the meanings of certain responses could have been lost in the core ideas stage. While this may be considered a minor limitation of the study, it is important to note that both auditors, who were of African American descent, demonstrated meticulous attention to detail during the auditing process. The co-investigator was also readily available during analysis to answer questions from the team members about meanings of phrases.

Additionally, there was only one interviewer throughout the interview process. Thus, there was a risk of interview bias. However, a semi-structured interview was used to decrease potential bias. Semi-structured or structured interviews are often used in an attempt to limit bias (Shah, 2019; J. Young et al., 2018). But one cannot completely eliminate all bias within research.

Lastly, multiple keywords (i.e., codeswitching, code-switching, Black, African American, authenticity, etc.) were used to compile the literature review for this study. Throughout the literature review, gaps in the research were noted. However, it is important to acknowledge that extensive access to literature databases served as a limitation in this study as well.

Implications and Future Research

Given what is known from the data and results within this study, many things should be different moving forward. Even with the previously mentioned limitations, this study provided qualitative evidence that Black graduate students do in fact face many challenges, including psychological challenges as a result of codeswitching at their PWIs. The overall themes related to psychological well-being were: anxiety, changes to personality (none that align with any specific DSM-5 diagnoses), exhaustion, and masking. But these impacts and challenges are going unnoticed by White staff, faculty, and students. This is in part due to Black graduate students codeswitching or refraining from using Ebonics so often at their PWIs to avoid negative consequences. When White staff, faculty, and students are noticing glimpses of codeswitching from Black graduate students they are at times responding with negative reactions such as side-eyeing, or potentially perceiving them as less than, uneducated, or that their PWI has low standards. Previous research has already suggested codeswitching in general for Black people poses its own challenges. However, this study illuminated these challenges in a different light and environment. These results indicated a need for academics and White faculty, students, and

staff at the graduate level to acknowledge that there is nothing simple about having to switch back and forth between a language you are most comfortable with to one that is either uncomfortable, unfamiliar, or comes with negative consequences.

In terms of future interventions for said problems, the participants provided an array of their own ideas. These recommendations and interventions should be carefully reviewed and considered for implementation in current higher education institutions, particularly at PWIs. In order to increase awareness of codeswitching, participants suggested that PWI faculty, staff, and students learn what codeswitching is, acknowledge the fact that codeswitching is a skill, and to not expect African Americans to codeswitch or use Ebonics. In short, there needs to be more discussions about codeswitching and its implications among those at PWIs the same way diversity is so called emphasized. One participant even noted that it should be talked about the same way people are now discussing imposter syndrome. This could be done through regularly scheduled and required seminars and interactive workshops at PWI's. However, these should be provided as proactive measures rather than reactive measures. An established fact is that graduate students of color, including Black graduate students, commonly encounter racism and discrimination within their academic programs (Brunsma et al., 2016). Despite this common knowledge and the increase of hate crimes motivated by race, PWIs and individual departments have often waited until after a traumatic event has occurred to acknowledge the problem, take action or have lacked intentional actions (Brunsma et al., 2016; Garibay et al., 2019; National Center for Education Statistics, 2023; Schwartz, 2019). For instance, in 2020, the murder of an unarmed Black man, George Floyd sparked performative action from White people and institutions (Hess, 2022). This is similar to how other racially charged incidents across the U.S. have resulted in mandatory diversity trainings in hopes of change (Dobbin & Kalev, 2018). All

of that being said, seminars and workshops created to promote the awareness of codeswitching need to be considered as proactive measures. As previous incidents have shown, discussing serious matters such as the psychological impact of codeswitching should not be a one-time discussion. Nor should such awareness only be considered after a Black graduate student, reports being discriminated against or worse for the use of their language, Ebonics. Further research should also explore how these interventions can best be implemented and the efficacy of them.

Furthermore, as codeswitching and being at PWI for participants brought up feelings of inauthenticity this is another area for exploration. Future research may want to take a further look at how Black graduate students cope with these challenges in the long term. Also, further exploration of whether said coping strategies, as mentioned within this study such as support systems of color are actually effective or if they simply serve as an avoidance mechanism. Taking it a step further but also looking back, it would be important to examine individual upbringing, attachment styles, beginning teachings of Ebonics, and the roles played in adult codeswitching. Future studies could take a more quantitative or mixed method approach by also including validated coping strategies scales, adult attachment style questionnaires, and additional mental health screeners. This would allow for further evaluation of the psychological impacts of codeswitching and more valid results.

The participants also shared their experiences of facing challenges and notable differences during their transition from an HBCU to a PWI. Interestingly, it was observed that HBCUs, particularly at the undergraduate level, seemed to offer more resources for their students compared to PWIs at the graduate level. It would be valuable for future research to delve into this transition further, exploring areas such as adjustment disorders, student engagement, academic challenges, and more. It would also be valuable for future studies to include a group of

participants from undergraduate program's at PWIs and HBCUs as well as a group of participants from graduate program's at PWIs and HBCUs. This would allow for a closer look at the transition from multiple stages. Essentially, this could provide a clearer picture of the undergraduate to graduate transition while also exploring different codeswitching experiences.

Additionally, as previously discussed, for many participants, they were the only or one of few Black students in their program, cohort, or class. Notably, majority of the participants within the current study were in social science related fields. It would be important to examine whether or not these results also pertained to Black students in other fields such as STEM. This would be a vital area to explore as the STEM field is a primarily White dominated field (Fry et al., 2021). Participants also noted a low number of Black faculty within their PWIs which further impacted their codeswitching habits. Thus, it would be important for PWIs to take a further look into their recruitment and retention rates and question why Black students or faculty do not feel inclined or comfortable to attend or remain at their institutions. Because as indicated from this study and in previous studies, a lack of diversity contributes to increased racial tensions and negatively impacts one's identity and authenticity. These negative impacts are another layer for those in research and academia to consider when it comes to addressing challenges related to diversity.

Lastly, the results also indicated that many PWI's had a lack of diversity-related resources including funding. Thus, making the implementations of these potential interventions difficult. As a solution, PWIs should consider increasing funding and resources related to the inclusion of Black graduate students, awareness of the implications of codeswitching, and acceptance of Ebonics but with sensitivity as to avoid cultural appropriation. This could entail reallocating university funding from others such as university athletics as it is already a billion-dollar industry (Zimbalist, 2023). This could also include increasing scholarships for Black

graduate students, which could in turn lead to an increase of Black graduate student enrollment, which could further cultivate a sense of belonging and make Black students feel more comfortable using Ebonics. Although, with a proposed increase in Black graduate students an increase in Black faculty at PWIs may also be beneficial and provide both entities with a sense of support and belonging. Participants even suggested a change in the faculty and an overall institutional change at their PWIs such as creating a more heterogenous staff, having more staff of color, and practicing inclusion of the whole student.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

To reiterate, the current study has provided vital results about the psychological implications of codeswitching at predominantly White institutions. In short, there were 4 overall research questions instead of specific hypotheses for which the data set out to answer: 1) What are the reasons why Black or African American graduate students codeswitch in academic and/or campus settings? 2) How does codeswitching at a PWI impact Black or African American graduate students' mental health in comparison to their HBCU experience? 3) What are the potential challenges Black or African American graduate students experience when codeswitching or refraining from codeswitching at a PWI? 4) In what ways can PWIs become more aware of potential implications surrounding codeswitching among Black or African American graduate students in academic settings?

The data provided a multitude of answers to the first question. In short, Black or African American graduate students codeswitch or refrain from speaking Ebonics in academic settings if there are no Black people around or to seek advantages (i.e., to be understood, to avoid stereotypes, to achieve, or to be taken seriously). These results suggest that codeswitching for Black graduate students is done as a means to avoid challenges in White classroom settings. This also suggests that codeswitching is an important and vital tool for Black graduate students to navigate in predominantly White environments.

The results also answered the second research question in that, codeswitching was found to be utilized more in PWIs in comparison to HBCUs. Further, the results indicated that Black students had significant negative experiences including mental health challenges while attending a PWI graduate school less than reported at their HBCU undergrad. But, in terms of a specific mental health comparison related to codeswitching, there were no significant results. This means

that, while Black graduate students at PWIs codeswitched more than they did at their undergraduate HBCUs the responses did not yield specific results in terms of their mental health comparisons in relation to codeswitching, specifically. Essentially, based on participant responses it was difficult to decipher a specific comparison as many of the responses were generalized or vague in this area. However, the 3rd research question did pose important information about Black graduate students' codeswitching experiences at their PWIs. In summary, the results suggested that Black graduate students experienced a great deal of psychological stressors as a result of codeswitching or the use of Ebonics at their PWIs. This further provides evidence that codeswitching for Black graduate students at PWIs poses problems of discrimination and acceptance. Therefore, this is not a topic to be discussed lightly, or disregarded in research.

The last research question was answered in the form of recommendations for future change. For instance, the results suggested there be increased funding for diversity-related resources at PWIs, more emphasis on graduate student resources, more awareness of codeswitching through discussions, trainings, etc., and change in staff to be less homogeneous. The overall message that participants wanted to share was that they wanted PWIs including the staff/faculty and students to have a better understanding of why Black graduate students codeswitch and that it is not a simple task to complete even though it may appear as so.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Examples of Codeswitching (in general)

Examples of codeswitching between African American Vernacular (Ebonics) and Standard English are listed below (Redd & Webb, 2005 as cited in Gresham, 2014):

She seen him yesterday vs. She saw him yesterday.

He be here tomorrow vs. He will be here tomorrow.

We gon win vs. We are going to win.

He finna go vs. He's about to go.

He be steady talkin vs. He keeps talking on and on.

He bin finish vs. He has already finished.

They is some crazy folk, you was right. Vs. They are some crazy folks, you were right.

Additional examples of the method of codeswitching are listed below (R.L. Williams, 1997):

1. Standard English: Mark the toy that is behind the sofa.

2. Ebonics: Mark the toy that is in back of the couch.

1. Standard English: Point to the squirrel that is beginning to climb the tree.

2. Ebonics: Point to the squirrel that is fixing to climb the tree.

Appendix B

Recruitment Flyer



Recruitment is for research purposes
This research project has been approved
by the University of Indianapolis Institutional Review Board (IRB)
Approval Date: 11/18/2021
Approval Number: 01529

SEEKING VOLUNTEERS FOR DISSERTATION RESEARCH

We are seeking 12 to 15 Black or African American graduate students or former graduate students who are or have attended a predominantly White institution (PWI) to help with research on the psychological impact of codeswitching. The overall purpose of this study is to observe individual graduate student experiences when codeswitching at PWI to include the examination of race-related stressors, perceptions, identity, and mental well-being. Additionally, this study seeks to bring awareness and support for Black/African American communities, psychologists, and higher education institutions, by providing research on potential implications codeswitching may have on Black/African American students' mental health. Participants will complete a demographic questionnaire form and an audio-recorded virtual interview.

You are eligible to participate in this study if you meet the following criteria (please read carefully):

- Identify as Black or African American
- Non-international student
- Current graduate student or have completed a graduate degree program at a Predominately White Institution (PWI)
 - A PWI is defined as: A higher learning institution where the student enrollment includes 50 % or more of White or Caucasian students
- Earned an undergraduate degree from a Historically Black College or University (HBCU)
 - An HBCU is defined as: Any historically Black college or university that was established prior to 1964, whose principal mission was, and is, the education of Black Americans, and that is accredited by a nationally recognized accrediting agency or association determined by the Secretary of Education to be a reliable authority as to the quality of training offered or is, according to such an agency or association.
- Have general knowledge of codeswitching
 - Codeswitching for the purposes of this study is defined as: the switching from the linguistic system of one language [Standard English] or dialect to that of another [Ebonics, African American Vernacular, African American English]
- Engage in codeswitching
- Speak English
- Must be 18 years of age or older
- Willing to be audio-recorded for the interview

The entire study will take approximately **1 hour** of your time (in one visit). You will receive compensation for completing the study, in the form of a **\$10.00 gift card**.

Please email the principal investigator (Dr. Mixalis Poulakis) at poulakism@uindy.edu or the co-investigator (Sidney Allen, M.A.) at smallen@uindy.edu if you are interested in participating or have any questions. The study will take place on a virtual platform.

Appendix C

List of HBCUs (The hundred-seven, 2018).

Alabama A&M University

Alabama State University

Albany State University

Alcorn State University

Allen University

American Baptist College

University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff

Arkansas Baptist College

Barber-Scotia College (Not currently accredited)

Benedict College

Bennett College

Bethune-Cookman University

Birmingham-Easonian Baptist Bible College (Not recognized by the U.S. Department of Education as an HBCU)

Bishop State Community College

Bluefield State College

Bowie State University

Carver College (Not recognized by the U.S. Department of Education as an HBCU)

Central State University

Charles Drew University of Medicine and Science (Not recognized by the U.S. Department of Education as an HBCU)

Cheyney University of Pennsylvania

Claflin University

Clark Atlanta University

Clinton College

Coahoma Community College

Concordia College, Alabama (closed 2018)

Coppin State University

Delaware State University

Denmark Technical College

Dillard University

University of the District of Columbia

Edward Waters College

Elizabeth City State University

Fayetteville State University

Fisk University

Florida A&M University

Florida Memorial University

Fort Valley State University

Gadsden State Community College (Valley Street campus)

Grambling State University

Hampton University

Harris-Stowe State University

Hinds Community College at Utica

Hood Theological (Not recognized by the U.S. Department of Education as an HBCU)

Howard University

Huston-Tillotson University

Interdenominational Theological Center

J. F. Drake State Technical College

Jackson State University

Jarvis Christian College

Johnson C. Smith University

Johnson C Smith Theological Seminary (Not recognized by the U.S. Department of Education as an HBCU)

Kentucky State University

Knoxville College (Not currently accredited)

Lane College

Langston University

Lawson State Community College

LeMoyne-Owen College

Lewis College of Business (closed 2013)

The Lincoln University

Lincoln University

Livingstone College

University of Maryland Eastern Shore

Meharry Medical College

Miles College

Miles School of Law (Not recognized by the U.S. Department of Education as an HBCU)

Mississippi Valley State University

Morehouse College

Morehouse School of Medicine

Morgan State University

Morris Brown College (Not currently accredited)

Morris College

Norfolk State University

North Carolina A&T State University

North Carolina Central University

Oakwood University

Paine College

Paul Quinn College

Payne Theological (Not recognized by the U.S. Department of Education as an HBCU)

Philander Smith College

Prairie View A&M University

Rust College

Saint Paul's College (closed 2013)

Savannah State University

Selma University

Shaw University

Shelton State Community College- C A Fredd Campus

Shorter College

Simmons College of Kentucky

South Carolina State University

Southern University at New Orleans

Southern University at Shreveport

Southern University and A&M College

Southwestern Christian College

Spelman College

St. Augustine's University

St. Philip's College

Stillman College

Talladega College

Tennessee State University

Texas College

Texas Southern University

Tougaloo College

H. Council Trenholm State Community College

Tuskegee University

University of the Virgin Islands

Virginia State University

Virginia Union University

Virginia University of Lynchburg

Voorhees College

West Virginia State University

Wilberforce University

Wiley College

Winston-Salem State University

Xavier University of Louisiana

Appendix D

Demographic Questionnaire

1. What is your current age?
2. What is your race/ethnicity?
3. What gender identity do you most identify with?
4. What is your sexual orientation?
5. What is the name of the HBCU you attended for your undergraduate degree program?
6. What was your field of study in undergrad? (please select the best fit)
 - a) Aviation (e.g., aviation technology, aeronautical science, and air traffic management)
 - b) Art (e.g., visual arts, graphic design, drama/theatre, music, and art history)
 - c) Business (e.g., accounting, entrepreneurship, marketing, finance, and economics)
 - d) Science (e.g., biology, chemistry, nursing, and astronomy)
 - e) Social Science (e.g., anthropology, psychology, sociology, and diversity studies)
 - f) Political Science (e.g., public administration, international relations, and law)
 - g) Communication (e.g., mass communications, journalism, and sports communication)
 - h) Math (e.g., applied mathematics, statistics, and data analytics)
 - i) Engineering (e.g., mechanical engineering, chemical engineering, and civil engineering)
 - j) Other (please list only if your field of study does not fit best within any of the above categories)
7. How many years ago did you graduate from your undergraduate and/or graduate degree program?
8. What is the name of the PWI you are currently enrolled in for your graduate degree or graduated from?
9. Are you currently enrolled or were you enrolled as a full-time or part-time student?
10. Is or was your graduate degree program a master's or doctoral-level degree program?

11. If you are currently enrolled in a graduate program, what year are you in your program?

12. What is or was your field of study in your graduate program?

- a) Aviation (e.g., aviation technology, aeronautical science, and air traffic management)
- b) Art (e.g., visual arts, graphic design, drama/theatre, music, and art history)
- c) Business (e.g., accounting, entrepreneurship, marketing, finance, and economics)
- d) Science (e.g., biology, chemistry, nursing, and astronomy)
- e) Social Science (e.g., anthropology, psychology, sociology, and diversity studies)
- f) Political Science (e.g., public administration, international relations, and law)
- g) Communication (e.g., mass communications, journalism, and sports communication)
- h) Math (e.g., applied mathematics, statistics, and data analytics)
- i) Engineering (e.g., mechanical engineering, chemical engineering, and civil engineering)
- j) Other (please list only if your field of study does not fit best within any of the above categories)

13. Are you a 1st generation college student? (please answer yes or no)

- A 1st generation college student is a student whose parents or guardians have not obtained a bachelor's degree
- a) If not, what universities did your parents/guardians attend?
- b) If not, what is the highest degree your parents/guardians have earned?

Appendix E

Semi-structured Interview Questions

Rapport Building Questions

1. How would you compare your experience at your HBCU to your experiences while attending a PWI?
 - a) Academics? Campus social life?
2. How do you or did you manage your mental health while in graduate school?

Reasons for Codeswitching Questions

3. How would you define Ebonics or African American Vernacular English (AAVE)?
4. How would you define Standard English?
5. How would you define codeswitching?
6. Why do you codeswitch?
7. Has codeswitching become a necessity for you? If so, why?

Codeswitching in Academic Settings Questions

8. How are/were your interactions with your White professors compared to your Black professors, if you have/had any in your graduate program?
9. In what academic settings do you/did you partake in codeswitching?
10. What are some/were some challenges you face(d) when codeswitching in the classroom setting?
11. How did your codeswitching habits change from undergrad to graduate school?

Psychological Questions

12. Do you think that you codeswitch unconsciously (or codeswitch without realizing it)?

13. Do you feel that you were changing who you were when you were codeswitching at your PWI?
14. How has your racial identity been impacted since attending a PWI?
15. Have you experienced any discrimination based on your use of Ebonics or lack of codeswitching in the classroom or in interactions with faculty at your PWI?
16. How do you feel that other students or professors of European/White origin will perceive you if you don't codeswitch?
17. How do you/did you cope with any race-related stress experienced at your PWI?

Diversity/Awareness Questions

18. What kind of historical ties do you think Ebonics have to African American culture, if any?
19. What's something you would like to share with the faculty or students at your current or past PWI, about codeswitching that you think is important for them to know/understand?
20. Do you think Ebonics, AAVE, AAE, or Black English should be accepted in your school?
21. Do you feel that your graduate program has placed an emphasis on diversity-related educational resources?

Appendix F

Email

Hello,

Thank you for your interest in this study. Please read the Informed Consent document attached to this email. If you are still interested and would like to participate please click this LINK (hyperlink to doodlepoll) to schedule your interview.

Best,

Sidney Allen, M.A.

Appendix G

Informed Consent



Minimal Risk UIndy Study # 01529

Study Version: 1

Study Version Date: 11/18/2021

Informed Consent Form (ICF) Version: 1

ICF Version Date: 11/18/2021

Informed Consent

University of Indianapolis

University of Indianapolis

KEY INFORMATION FOR POTENTIAL RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

We are attempting to gather data on Black or African American graduate student experiences of codeswitching at Predominately White Institutions (PWIs) and any potential psychological implications. In particular, this study looks at individuals who previously attended historically Black colleges or universities (HBCUs) and will examine their experiences surrounding codeswitching, racial identity, discrimination, and overall mental health. Additionally, this study seeks to bring awareness and support for Black/African American communities, psychologists, higher education institutions, by providing research on potential implications codeswitching may have on Black/African American students' mental health. We are looking for participants who identify as Black or African American, non-international graduate students or alumni, who engage in codeswitching, speak English, and are at least 18 years of age. Please see the recruitment flyer for additional eligibility requirements. Participants will be completing a demographic questionnaire and a semi-structured interview. The demographic questionnaire consists of 11 questions. While the semi-structured interview consists of 21 questions. The semi-structured interview will be audio-recorded using a digital audio recording device. The administration of the demographic questionnaire and the semi-structured interview will take approximately 1 to 2 hours.

There is minimal risk involved with this study. In particular, feelings of discomfort or embarrassment may be elicited due to questions pertaining to psychological well-being, racial identity, and discrimination. However, mental health resources will be provided to participants once the interview concludes or following early termination of participation. There are no direct benefits to participants. Although, in appreciation, participants will receive a payment in the form of a \$10.00 gift card following the completion of the study. Participation in this study is completely voluntary, and there is no obligation to participate. If you would still like to participate, please read the information below before continuing

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH STUDY

"You Are So Articulate": The Psychological Impact Of Codeswitching Among Black Or African American Graduate Students At Predominantly White Institutions

Study Principal Investigator (PI): Mixalis Poulakis, Psy.D.

UIndy Email: poulakism@uindy.edu

UIndy Telephone: (317) 788-6141 or 800-232-8634 x6141

Study Co-Investigator: Sidney Allen, M.A.

UIndy Email: smallen@uindy.edu

Mixalis Poulakis, Psy.D. and Sidney Allen, M.A. from the College of Applied and Behavioral Sciences (formerly School of Psychological Sciences) at the University of Indianapolis (UIndy) are conducting a research study.

Your participation in this research study is voluntary.

Why is this study being done?

The study was designed to explore the psychological well-being of Black or African American graduate students at Predominately White Institutions (PWIs) and the impact of codeswitching. The primary focus will be on what it means to codeswitch, any possible implications to an individual's identity, any possible psychological implications, and how PWIs can be more cognizant of this phenomenon. The results of this study will bring awareness and support for Black/African American communities, psychologists, and higher education institutions, by providing research on potential implications codeswitching may have on Black/African American students' mental health.

What will happen if I take part in this research study?

If you volunteer to participate in this study, the researcher will ask you to do the following:

- You will need to meet all criteria as specified in the recruitment flyer
- You will need to read this informed consent form (ICF) in its entirety and ask any questions you have about the study.
- You will be required to give your voluntary, informed consent verbally to participate in this study and the co-investigator will sign the ICF in person or electronically to document that consent was received.
- You will need to provide your availability via the online Doodle poll link sent out by the co-investigator in order to schedule your virtual interview. The interview will take place on a

virtual platform such as zoom. This will be agreed upon mutually with you and the co-investigator.

- You will complete a 13-item demographic questionnaire which will be administered verbally during your scheduled interview but, responses will not be audio recorded. The questionnaire will ask you about your educational background as well as general background information (i.e. age, gender, etc.).
- You will be interviewed about your reasons for codeswitching, your mental health, your experiences at your HBCU/PWI, and your thoughts on diversity awareness. This interview will be conducted by the co-investigator. The administration of the interview will take approximately 1 to 2 hours depending on the length of responses. This virtual interview will be audio recorded.

How long will I be in the research study?

Participation will take a total of about 1-2 hours to be completed in one sitting.

Are there any potential risks or discomforts that I can expect from this study?

The risks and discomforts of this research study are minimal. Although, due to the nature of some of the interview questions feelings of discomfort or embarrassment may be elicited. In particular, you will be asked personal questions pertaining to your racial identity, discrimination, and psychological well-being. The intention of this study is not to make you feel uncomfortable. However, if questions arise, that make you feel uncomfortable, you have the right to end your participation at any time. Additionally, mental health resources will be provided to you once the interview concludes or following the early termination of your participation.

Are there any potential benefits if I participate?

You will not directly benefit from your participation in the research.

The results of the research may aid in the research on ethnic minority issues by applying psychological knowledge to address current issues.

Will I be paid for participating?

- You will receive a \$10.00 gift card for your participation. The gift card will be distributed electronically via email.

Will information about me and my participation be kept confidential?

The results of this study may be published in a scholarly book or journal, presented at professional conferences or used for teaching purposes. However, only aggregate data will be used. Personal identifiers will not be used in any publication, presentation or teaching materials.

Any data obtained from this study will remain confidential. The co-investigator is the only individual with whom you will have direct contact and be personally identifiable to. You will not be asked to provide your name on the informed consent form, any questionnaires, or at any point during the audio-recorded interview. You will be requested not to provide any identifying information when answering questions. However, if you do state any identifying information during the interview, the co-investigator will remove any identifiable information when the audio recording is being transcribed. Also, during the interview, you will be reminded not to provide any identifiable information.

All documents obtained to include the audio-recorded interview responses will be labeled with an unidentifiable code and stored on an encrypted flash drive. The co-investigator and primary investigator will be the only individuals with access to the encrypted flash drive. Other researchers on the research team will only have access to the de-identified transcripts of the interview during the data analysis phases. Everyone on the research team is obligated to maintain confidentiality. Although, your confidentiality in this study is protected there are specific instances where confidentiality may be broken. The investigators are required by Indiana state law to file a report with the appropriate agencies if information is provided indicating child abuse, elderly abuse, harm to yourself, or harm to others. The investigators also have a duty to warn an intended victim, notify the police, or seek hospital-based treatment for you in such instances.

Additionally, because all documents and materials obtained will be labeled with an unidentifiable code, none of your personal information will be connected to any of the data. All communication through email or phone will be destroyed after all interviews have been completed. All copies of the audio recordings will be destroyed following the dissertation defense. All other documents to include demographic information, consent forms, and transcribed interviews will be destroyed after three years as recommended by the University of Indianapolis Institutional Review Board.

Will the data from my study be used in the future for other studies?

It is possible that de-identified data from this study could be used for future research or shared with other researchers for use in studies, without additional informed consent. De-identified means that any codes and personal information that could identify you will be removed before the data is shared.

Will my data be shared in any other way?

Your interview will be transcribed and shared with the research team during the data analysis phase. However, the research team will only have access to the de-identified transcription. No personal information will be transcribed or shared with the research team. The research team typically consists of graduate and undergraduate students who are obligated to maintain confidentiality of the de-identified transcripts.

What are my rights if I take part in this study?

- You can choose whether or not you want to be in this study, and you may withdraw your consent and discontinue participation at any time.
- Whatever decision you make, there will be no penalty to you, and no loss of benefits to which you were otherwise entitled.
- You may refuse to answer any question/s that you do not want to answer and still remain in the study.
- You have the right to listen to the audio recording and request immediate disposal of the file and withdrawal of your participation.

Who can I contact if I have questions about this study?

- **The Research Team:**

If you have any questions, comments or concerns about the research, you can talk to one of the researchers. Please contact:

Principal Investigator: Mixalis Poulakis, Psy.D.

School/Department/Division: College of Applied Behavioral Sciences

Telephone: (317) 788-6141

Email: poulakism@uindy.edu

Co-Investigator: Sidney Allen, M.A.

School/Department/Division: College of Applied Behavioral Sciences

Email: smallen@uindy.edu

- **The Director of the Human Research Protections Program (HRPP):**

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, or you have concerns or suggestions and you want to talk to someone other than the researchers, you may contact the Director of the Human Research Protections Program, by either emailing hrpp@uindy.edu or calling 1 (317) 781-5774 or 1 (800) 232-8634 ext. 5774.

How do I indicate my informed consent to participate in this study?

If you consent to participate in this study, then you affirm that you satisfy inclusion criteria and your consent is voluntary. You do not need to sign this, or any other document to indicate your consent.

To indicate your voluntary consent and proceed with the questionnaire and interview, please respond when the co-investigator asks for verbal consent at the beginning of the interview.

You will be given a copy of this information to keep for your records.

SIGNATURE OF PERSON OBTAINING CONSENT

Name of Person Obtaining Consent

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent

Date

Appendix H

Debriefing Form



Minimal Risk UIndy Study # 01529

Study Version:1

Study Version Date:1

Informed Consent Form (ICF) Version:1

ICF Version Date:11/18/2021

Principal Investigator: Dr. Mixalis Poulakis, Psy.D

School/Department/Division: College of Applied Behavioral Sciences

Telephone: (317) 788-6141

Email: poulakism@uindy.edu

Co-Investigator: Sidney Allen, M.A.

School/Department/Division: College of Applied Behavioral Sciences

Email: smallen@uindy.edu

DEBRIEFING FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

Study Title: "You Are So Articulate": The Psychological Impact Of Codeswitching Among Black Or African American Graduate Students At Predominantly White Institutions

Thank you for participating in this study. The overall purpose of this study is to explore the psychological well-being of Black or African American graduate students at Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs) and the impact of codeswitching. Over the years, the number of Black or African American students attending graduate school at HBCUs has decreased. Thus, many have enrolled in graduate school at PWIs which has come with its own challenges. This study will observe the experiences of Black or African American graduate students attending/have attended PWIs and any challenges they may face surrounding codeswitching, racial discrimination, identity, and overall mental health.

The investigators invited adults of Black or African American descent, currently attending/have attended a PWI for graduate school, obtained an undergraduate degree from an HBCU, have a general knowledge of codeswitching, engage in codeswitching (from Ebonics to Standard English), speak English, and are willing to be audio-recorded for the semi-structured interview. Also, in this study, you were asked to provide demographic information verbally.

The results of this study will be used to encourage research on ethnic minority issues while concurrently applying psychological knowledge to address these issues. The responses you

provided will also be useful in providing insight on any impacts of codeswitching among Black or African Americans to universities and mental health providers.

Also, as the semi-structured interview may prompt feelings of discomfort or embarrassment, a list of mental health resources is provided below. Thank you again for your participation in this study! If you have any further questions, please contact the principal investigator or co-investigator. Additionally, if you have questions or concerns about your rights and welfare as a research participant, please contact the Director of Human Research Protections Program at 317-781-5774 or 1-800-232-8634 or via email at hrpp@uindy.edu

Mental Health Resources

University of Indianapolis Student Counseling Center (for Uindy Students only)

- 317-788-5015

Marion County Crisis Hotline (for Indiana residents)

- 317-251-7575

Indiana Minority Health Coalition (for Indiana residents)

- 317-926-4011

Suicide Prevention Life Line

- 1-800-273-TALK (8255)

National Organization for People of Color Against Suicide

- <http://nopcas.org/>

IM ALIVE (online crisis network)

- www.IMALIVE.org

National Alliance for the Mentally Ill (NAMI)

- 1-800-950-NAMI (6264)
- INFO@nami.org

Appendix I

Participant Demographics

1	Age	# of participants
	22	2
	23	1
	24	1
	25	2
	26	1
	30	1
	33	1
	35	2
	41	1
		<i>M=28.42</i>
2	Race/Ethnicity	
	Black	8
	African American	2
	Black/African American	2
3	Gender	
	Female	8
	Male	4
4	Sexual Orientation	
	Straight/Heterosexual	10
	Gay/Homosexual	1
	Queer	1
5	Region of HBCU	
	Southeast	8
	Mid-Atlantic	3
	Southwest	1
6	Undergraduate Field of Study	
	Social Science	6
	Business	3
	Science	2
	Math	1
7	Region of PWI	
	Midwest	3
	Southeast	2
	Southwest	2

	Western	2
	Mountain Plains	1
	Mid-Atlantic	1
	Northeast	1
8	Graduate Field of Study	
	Social Science	7
	Science	4
	Other	1
9	Enrollment Status	
	Full-time	12
	Part-time	0
10	Years since obtaining an undergraduate degree	
	1	2
	2	1
	2.5	1
	3	2
	4	1
	5	1
	9	1
	13	1
	14	1
	18	1
		<i>M= 6.3</i>
11	Years since obtaining a graduate degree (if already graduated)	
	2	1
	7	1
	8	2
	12	1
		<i>M=7.4</i>
12	First generation Status	
	First generation	7
	Non First generation	5
13	Parent/guardian's higher education institution	
	PWI	4
	HBCU	1

Appendix J

Domain List

Domain #	Domain Name	Definition
1	Motivations for codeswitching	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Motivations for codeswitching (not negative impacts of codeswitching) - Settings to codeswitch in - Reasons why participants codeswitch - “Specifying conditions for codeswitching” (relationships, people, etc.)
2	Ebonics and Standard English	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Historical ties - Participants quoting specific phrases - Participants explaining Ebonics - Examples of Ebonics - Definition of Ebonics - Definition of Standard English
3	Differences among PWI's and HBCU's	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Differences among PWI's and HBCU's (not related to codeswitching) - Number of Students of Color - Interactions with professors of POC vs non POC - Differences among campus social life - Resources - Examples of school experiences (including curriculum) - Changes from undergrad to grad school
4	The impact of codeswitching	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Specific examples and comments on thoughts, feelings and related to the domain - Impacts on racial identity - Discrimination based on non-codeswitching/use of Ebonics - Negative comments from students - Negative comments from professors - negative or positive impacts of codeswitching - Results/outcomes of codeswitching - Others reactions or perceptions if P codeswitches (based on actual experiences)
5	Other types of codeswitching	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Codeswitching of appearance - Discussions of clothing - Changes of mannerisms
6	Coping strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Coping strategies related to codeswitching - Coping strategies not related to codeswitching (general ways of maintaining mental health, dealing with differences from pwi vs hbcu, surviving PWI, etc.) - Reports of not coping
7	Higher Education Interventions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Recommendations for higher education - Diversity-related resources - Aspirational ideals - Things institutions should not do - Things institutions should change - Acceptance or non-acceptance of Ebonics
8	Other	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - irrelevant stuff

Appendix K

Frequency Analysis

Domain, Category, and <i>Subcategory</i>	Frequency
1 Motivations for Codeswitching	
Based on Setting	General
Academic/Classroom Settings	General
Comfortable Settings	Typical
Being at a PWI	Typical
Social Settings	Variant
Professional Settings	Variant
For Advantages	General
To be understood	Typical
To Avoid Stereotypes	Typical
To Achieve	Typical
To be taken Seriously	Variant
Mental Health	Variant
Based on Racial Makeup of Those Around	General
Role models using Codeswitching	Typical
Undergrad Influences	Typical
Out of Necessity	Typical
Naturally	Typical
Ingrained	Typical
No Motivation	Typical
Regardless of Racial Makeup of those around	Variant
Use of Codeswitching overtime/habit	Variant
No Reason	Variant
2 Ebonics and Standard English	
Neutral Description of Ebonics	General
Dialect	Typical
Language	Variant
Positive Description of Ebonics	General
Comfort	Variant
Not Slang	Variant
Unique	Variant
Ebonics is tied to African American Culture	General
Slavery	General
Generational/Family	Typical
Negative Description of Ebonics	Typical
Unprofessional	Variant
Neutral Description of Standard English	Typical
Related to School	Typical

Negative Description of Standard English	Typical
Neutral Description of Codeswitching	Typical
Informal vs Formal	Variant
Linguistic Change	Variant
Examples	Typical
Positive Description of Standard English	Variant
Proper	Variant
Negative Description of Codeswitching	Variant
Negative Perceptions of Dialects	Variant
3 Differences among PWIs and HBCUs	
Demographics	General
Low number of Black people at PWI	General
High number of Black people at HBCU	Variant
Racial identity/culture	General
Reinforced at PWI	General
Reinforced at HBCU	Typical
Worse at PWI	Variant
Professor Interactions	General
Not good at PWI	General
Good at PWI	Typical
The same	Variant
Social	General
Support/Resources Available	General
Discrimination/Inequities	General
Academic	Typical
Size/Location	Typical
General Differences	Typical
No differences	Rare
4 The Impact of Codeswitching	
Challenges	General
Internal/Personal	General
External/Dealing with others	General
With the act of codeswitching	Typical
Negative Experiences	General
Perceived	General
Actual	General
Positive Experiences	General
Actual	General
Perceived	Variant
Impact on Identity/Authenticity	General
Codeswitching Habits	General
Neutral Experiences	Typical
No Challenges/Impact	Typical
Change noticed by others	Variant
5 Other Types of Codeswitching	
General Appearance	General

	Clothing	Typical
	Hair	Variant
	Clothing & Hair	Variant
	Non Verbals	Variant
	Writing	Variant
6	Coping Strategies	
	Support Systems	General
	POC Specific Support	General
	Family	Typical
	Financial Support	Variant
	Religious/Spiritual	Variant
	Academic	Variant
	Lack of Adequate Coping	Typical
	Drugs/Alcohol	Variant
	Self-Care	Typical
	Therapy	Typical
	Socializing	Typical
	Lessons Learned	Typical
	Emotion Regulation	Typical
	Finding Safe Spaces	Typical
7	Higher Education Interventions	
	Need for more awareness of Codeswitching	General
	AAVE Should be accepted	General
	Lack of Diversity-Related Resources at PWI/Need for Improvement	General
	Need for Overall institutional change	General
	Need for faculty change/specific training	Typical
	Diversity Related Resources currently in place at PWI	Typical
	Need for Better Funding of Diversity Related Resources	Variant
	Codeswitching Should be Accepted	Variant
	Codeswitching Shouldn't be Accepted	Variant
	AAVE Shouldn't be Accepted	Rare

Appendix L

Examples of Ebonics & codeswitching (compiled from participant responses)

“Hey girl”

“what’s poppin”

“what’s good”

“That’s how it be”

“It be’s like that”

“yo”

“Oh I’m just chillin” vs “I’m either relaxing or I am taking a break”

“What up doe” vs “hi, how’s your day going”