

Abstract

Title of thesis: **RACIAL SOCIALIZATION AS A PREDICTOR OF
ADOLESCENT RACIAL IDENTITY: IS GENDER A
MODERATOR?**

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The current study examined the role of gender in the relationship between racial socialization and racial identity among 133 African American adolescents (44% boys, 56% girls). Two dimensions of racial socialization, cultural socialization and preparation for coping with racial bias were evaluated alongside two dimensions of racial identity (centrality and private regard). Results revealed that messages focused on cultural pride and alertness to discrimination were both linked to private regard. Surprisingly, none of the messages predicted racial centrality. Against expectations, gender did not moderate relationships between racial socialization and racial identity. Considerations for the development and use of gendered racial socialization measures are provided.

RACIAL SOCIALIZATION AS A PREDICTOR OF
ADOLESCENT RACIAL IDENTITY:
IS GENDER A MODERATOR?

by

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	ii
Table of Contents.....	iii
List of Tables.....	iv
Chapter 1: Literature Review.....	1
Introduction.....	1
Theoretical Framework.....	1
Socio-demographic factors as predictors of Racial Discrimination.....	7
Gender Socialization in Families.....	13
Gender Socialization and African American Families.....	15
Gender differences in Racial Socialization.....	18
Gender differences in Racial Identity.....	28
Gender differences in Racial Socialization and Racial Identity Relationship.....	30
Present Study.....	34
Research Questions and Hypotheses.....	35
Chapter 2: Method.....	37
Sample.....	37
Procedure.....	38
Measures.....	40
Demographic Background Information.....	40
Assessment of Racial Socialization.....	41
Assessment of Adolescent Racial Identity.....	42
Chapter 3: Results.....	44
Descriptive Statistics and Correlations.....	44
Plans of Analysis.....	45
Tests of Hypotheses.....	46
Chapter 4: Discussion.....	50
Limitations.....	59
Conclusions.....	59
Appendices.....	61
Appendix A: Tables.....	61
Appendix B: Parent's Questionnaires.....	65
Appendix C: Adolescent's Questionnaires.....	75
Appendix D: Recruitment Flyers.....	82
Appendix E: Phone Script.....	84
References.....	91

Lists of Tables

Table 1 Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations Among Demographic, Racial Socialization and Racial Identity Variable..... 61

Table 2 Results of Hierarchical Regressions of Racial Identity on Racial Socialization Messages, Gender and Socio-demographic control..... 63

Chapter 1

Introduction

African American adolescents find themselves living in a world within another world---- growing up as minorities in a predominately white society (Boykin & Toms, 1985). Therefore, it is important for African American adolescents to learn how to navigate within both their own culture and the more dominant culture (Hersch, 1993; Stevenson, 1995). During this stage of life, adolescents begin to develop a deeper understanding of the role their race may have in how they are viewed by mainstream society. This heightened awareness often appears as a result of experiencing racial discrimination, which is associated with a number of deleterious psychological and educational outcomes for African American adolescents (Neblett, Philip, Cogburn, & Sellers, 2006; Neblett, White Ford, Philip, Nguyen & Sellers, 2008; Sellers, Copeland-Linder, Martin, & Lewis, 2006). In addition the experience of racial discrimination, whether covert or overt, has been associated with fewer positive psychological outcomes such as psychological wellbeing (Sellers et al., 2006).

Theoretical framework

The present study is grounded in the symbolic interactionism perspective, which highlights the notion that humans become social beings through the process of interacting and communicating with others (LaRossa & Reitzes, 1994). This perspective provides a framework in understanding the interactions one has with racial discrimination and how messages about race that adolescents receive from their parents might serve as a resource that protects them from the destructive influence of racial bias and discrimination (Neblett et al., 2006). The process by which youth learn these race-related messages is

Running head: Racial socialization as predictor of racial identity: Is gender a moderator? 2

referred to as *racial socialization*. There are several theories that provide definitions of racial socialization as a construct (Brown & Krishnakumar, 2007; Hughes & Chen, 1999; Stevenson, 1994), although common themes cut across them. Overall it is defined as messages that parents teach their children about their race and culture, how to function as an individual of that race and cope with possible discrimination (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Demo and Hughes, 1990; Hill, 2001; Hughes & Chen, 1999; Stevenson, 1994, Thornton, Chatters, Taylor, & Allen, 1990).

Hughes and Chen (1999) defined racial socialization as any parental practices that deliver attitudes, values, and information about being a member of a race to children. It is posited that these ideas or beliefs about race can be communicated verbally and/or nonverbally and that these can occur bi-directionally. It is believed that these messages can be delivered from parents who explicitly make an effort to discuss ideas about race. These messages can also occur through inadvertent behaviors that happen spontaneously during everyday events in families' lives (Hughes & Chen, 1999; Hughes et al., 2006; Stevenson, 1995). Lastly, racial socialization messages may be proactive, occurring because of parents' preconceived values, agendas, beliefs or they may occur in reaction to a discrete event in the parent's or child's lives (Hughes & Chen, 1999). It is important to note that families vary in the extent to which racial issues are discussed as well as varying in their beliefs about race (Hughes & Chen, 1999). For example, race may be discussed differently in a family who buys into the belief of acculturation versus a family who does not.

Hughes and colleagues (2006) articulated four themes that have emerged within racial and ethnic socialization literatures: *cultural socialization, preparation for bias,*

moderator?

promotion of mistrust, and *egalitarianism*. Cultural socialization is a term used to refer to parental practices that teach children about their racial or ethnic heritage and history; that promote children's cultural, racial, and ethnic pride; and that promote cultural customs and traditions either deliberately or implicitly (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Hughes & Chen, 1999; Hughes et al., 2006; Thornton et al., 1990). Preparation for bias messages consist of efforts that parents make to promote their children's awareness of discrimination and prepare them to cope (Hughes & Chen, 1999; Hughes et al., 2006). Promotion of mistrust messages are defined as practices that emphasize the need for cautions or warnings to children about other racial groups; wariness about interracial interactions; or cautions about barriers to success (Hughes & Chen, 1999; Hughes et al., 2006). It is distinct from preparation for bias messages in that it does not incorporate strategies for coping with discrimination. Hughes and Chen propose that egalitarianism manifests in two distinct forms: one in which parents encourage their children to value individual qualities over racial group membership and exposing their children to the history, traditions, and experience of different groups in addition to their own; and the other in which parents avoid discussing about race with their children (Hughes & Chen, 1999; Hughes et al., 2006).

Symbolic interactionism also helps us understand the concept of role taking in African American families. Role taking allows children to learn about themselves and about how to behave from observing the responses of those around them (LaRossa & Reitzes, 1994). With stereotypes around race and gender in the U.S. often placing African American youth, particularly males, in negative light, adolescents are likely to pick up on these nuanced images and behave accordingly. Research indicates that harsh treatment is

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especially prevalent in the school setting, where African American boys may be given harsher disciplinary practices, experience more negative criticism by teachers, and experience negative peer interactions due to their race (Chavous, Rivas-Drake, Smalls, Griffin & Cogburn, 2008; Swanson, Cunningham, & Spencer, 2003). The socialization literature suggests that parents provide messages about racial barriers and alertness to discrimination because they recognize the societal views of African American males (Bowman & Howard, 1985, Stevenson et al., 2002). It is possible that socialization experienced by boys may result in their heightened awareness of cues related to racial bias and discrimination (Boyd-Franklin, Franklin, & Toussaint 2001; Green, Way, Pahl, 2006).

Looking through the symbolic interactionism lens, one can understand the value that is placed on racial socialization messages in African American families and how these messages are likely to shape one's definition of self and one's identity. These messages, verbal or nonverbal, explicit or inadvertent, are conveyed to African American youth, teaching them the importance of their heritage and informing them about how the world might see them. Meanings emerge from these experiences and become interpreted, influencing how one feels about being a member of the African American group, in the context of mainstream society. Earlier research has indicated that in spite of the presence of racial discrimination, racial socialization has been found to lead to positive psychological adjustment and self-esteem outcomes (Harris-Britt, Valrie, Kurtz-Costes, & Rowley, 2007; Hughes, Rodriguez, Smith, Johnson, Stevenson, & Spicer, 2006) and the development of positive racial identities (Neblett, et al., 2008). This is important because a positive racial identity has also been noted to serve as a buffer of racial bias

moderator?

and is linked to academic motivation and psychological adjustment (Bennett, 2006; Chavous, Hilkene-Bernat, Schmeelk-Cone, Caldwell, Kohn-Wood, & Zimmerman, 2003; Sellers et al., 2006).

African American racial identity has been conceptualized in a variety of ways. Phinney (1990) proposed that the process of developing an ethnic and racial identity requires the knowledge of the group's history and tradition, feelings of belongingness, active participation in practices that reflect group membership and the development and influence of positive (or negative) views of one's group. In this study, the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI, Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley & Chavous, 1998) is used. The MMRI is a theory that emerged within the past decade that allows for racial identity to be understood in a more nuanced way. It defines racial identity to be the part of an individual's self-concept that is related to being a member of a racial group. The significance individuals place on race when they define themselves and their interpretation of what it means to be Black are both essential in how this model views racial identity.

The MMRI suggests that racial identity is comprised of four dimensions: *salience*, *centrality*, *regard*, and *ideology*. *Salience* is the extent to which one's race is relevant to their self-concept at a particular moment. The *centrality* of identity is the extent to which race is a core part of an individual's self-concept. *Regard* pertains to feelings of positivity and negativity, which the person associates with the group and is comprised of a private and public component. *Private regard* refers to the extent to which individuals feel positively or negatively about their membership in their group and towards African

moderator?

Americans in general. On the other hand, *public regard* refers to the extent to which individuals feel that others view African Americans in a positive or negative manner.

The *ideology* dimension is a composite of beliefs and attitudes with respect to the way one feels that members of the race should act. Four ideologies are proposed: a *humanist* philosophy that emphasizes commonalities amongst all humans; an *assimilationist* philosophy that emphasizes the similarities between African Americans and the rest of American society; a *oppressed minority* philosophy that emphasizes the similarities between African Americans and other oppressed minorities; and a *nationalist* philosophy that emphasizes the uniqueness of being Black (Neblett, Smalls, Ford, Nguyen, & Sellers, 2009b; Sellers et al., 1998).

While the literature that devotes attention to understanding racial socialization and racial identity as potential buffers against racial discrimination is growing, an area that is receiving little attention in this literature is the role of gender. It is possible that the gender of the child influences the frequency and type of the message sent by the parent (Neblett et al., 2009b). It is no surprise, with the glaring amount of negative imagery of African American males in our society, that parents are discussing messages about racial barriers or discrimination with their sons (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Thomas & Speight, 1999; Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust 2009a; Hughes et al., 2006; McHale, Crouter, Kim, Burton, Davis, Dotterer & Swanson, 2006; Stevenson, Cameron, Herrero-Taylor, & Taylor, 2002). As the cultural mainstream may view African American male adolescents as a threat, messages that prepare them to cope with discrimination may be very necessary.

It should be noted that while girls are also given messages about racial barriers, they are also given a surplus of messages about cultural pride in comparison to boys (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Brown, Linver, Evans, 2010; Hughes et al., 2009a; Hughes et al., 2006; Thomas & Speight, 1999). This finding may not be surprising as, in many cultures, including African American families, women tend to be seen as the ones to pass down traditions and uphold the values of the family (Hill, 2001; Hughes et al., 2009a). As such, mothers may find themselves passing down messages with different levels of frequency in comparison with the frequency of messages given to sons.

It is possible that the receipt of messages only about discrimination may have some negative mental and emotional implications (Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Neblett et al., 2008), as well as negative effects on behavior and identity outcomes (Hughes et al., 2009a) on adolescents. It will be important to study the role of gender on the relationship between racial socialization and racial identity, as the impact may vary by gender. For instance, it would be useful in understanding the potential impact that a high frequency of preparation for bias messages has on African American males and their racial identity. It is also possible that parents are giving their sons and daughters the same amount of messages, and that the adolescents are simply attuned to a specific type (Brown et al., 2010; Hughes et al., 2009a). Again, it will be important to better understand the role gender has on the process of racial socialization, and explore its impact on racial identity in African American adolescents.

Socio-demographic factors as predictors of racial socialization

Socio-demographic factors such as age, region and gender have been highlighted as influential in shaping the types of racial socialization messages parents convey to their

moderator?

children (Bowman & Howard, 1985, Hughes & Chen, 1999, Thornton et al., 1990). In particular, the education level of the parent is associated with delivering more messages about racial socialization (Neblett et al., 2008; Thornton et al., 1990; White-Johnson, Ford & Sellers, 2010). The composition of the neighborhood has also appeared to be a major factor that influences the frequency of socialization messages. For instance, residence in neighborhoods with a more diverse and integrated racial composition have been associated with reporting more racial socialization messages about coping with racial obstacles (Caughy, Nettles, O'Campo, & Lohrfink, 2005; Stevenson, McNeil, Herrero-Taylor, & Davis, 2005, Thornton et al., 1990; White-Johnson et al., 2010), in comparison to predominately Black neighborhoods (Stevenson et al., 2002; Thornton et al., 1990) or predominately White neighborhoods (Caughy et al. 2005).

Thornton and colleagues' (1990) classic study examined whether socio-demographic and environmental factors have an influence on the socialization process. This sample was collected according to a multistage, area probability procedure designed to ensure that every black household had the same probability of being selected for the study. Based on the 1970 Census distribution of the black population, 76 primary areas were selected for interviewing. After the process of stratifying sites and randomly selecting clusters (geographical areas), participants were randomly selected for an interview. This sample included 2,107 respondents' ages 18 to 65 and older, with about a third (31.5%) identifying between ages 35-53 years old. Nearly two-thirds of the sample identified as female. About 42% identified as married. Almost half (44%) of the sample had less than a high school diploma.

Age, gender, marital status and neighborhood composition were factors that were found to influence the probability of race being a component in how Black parents socialize their children. It was also found that mothers who were older and possessed higher levels of education were more likely to impart racial socialization messages to their children. In addition, marital status was associated to the socialization practices of both mothers and fathers; specifically, parents who had never married were less likely to socialize their children about race when compared to those parents who were married. The racial composition of the neighborhood also was found to influence parent's socialization practices, as mothers who lived in predominately Black neighborhoods, were less likely to socialize their children in terms of race than mothers who lived in neighborhoods that equally consisted of Black and White residents.

A study that explores the relationship between discrimination experiences, racial socialization and psychological adjustment also revealed socio-demographic findings within four cluster groups it identified (Neblett et al., 2008). Latent class analysis (LCA), implemented by the Latent Gold program was used to determine these racial socialization clusters. Of the six models that emerged, a four-cluster model that had a smaller Bayesian information criterion (BIC), a larger reduction in likelihood ratio chi square (L2) and acceptable bivariate residuals (BVRs) seemed to be the most appropriate model and was adopted as the final cluster solution (Neblett et al., 2008). Raw and standardized means of each racial socialization variable were used to describe and label the clusters: *Moderate Positive, High Positive, Low Frequency, Moderate Negative*.

The largest cluster was labeled *Moderate Positive*. This cluster consisted of scores near the sample mean on all of the racial socialization subscales (racial pride, racial

barriers, egalitarian, self-worth, negative, and socialization behaviors) measured by the Racial Socialization Questionnaire-Teen (RSQ-t). Relative high scores on racial pride and self-worth subscales, moderate scores on the racial barrier, egalitarian and socialization behavior subscales and low scores on the negative subscale also characterized this cluster. *High Positive*, the second largest cluster, was characterized by high scores relative to the rest of the sample on all of the racial socialization subscales except negative messages. The *Low Frequency* cluster consisted of low scores on all of the subscales with the exception of self-worth and negative messages subscale. Finally, *Moderate Negative* was characterized by high scores relative to the rest of the sample on the negative message subscale, scores near the mean on the racial barrier, egalitarian, and socialization behavior subscales, as well as low scores on the racial pride and self-worth subscales.

The largest clusters (*High Positive and Moderate Positive*) emphasized positive messages about racial pride as well as messages about barriers and discrimination. Adolescents in these clusters also reported receiving egalitarian messages. The major difference between the *High positive* and *Moderate Positive* groups was the frequency of messages. About one-fifth of the adolescents in this sample fell in the *Low Frequency* cluster, reporting the reception of the fewest messages and the least amount of engagement in racial socialization activities. This group reported receiving more self-worth messages than any other type of message. The *Moderate Negative* cluster consisted of adolescents who reported receiving more negative messages in comparison to the other adolescents, as well as reported fewer positive messages such as self-worth and racial pride than other groups except those in the *Low Frequency* cluster.

Although there were no age or gender differences that emerged within the racial socialization clusters in this study, the primary caregiver's educational attainment appeared to influence the frequency of socialization messages about race (Neblett et al., 2008). Children in the *High Positive* cluster group were found to have primary caregivers with higher levels of educational attainment compared to children in the *Moderate Negative group*. It is suggested that caregivers who have attained higher levels of education may perceive more prejudice and discrimination due to their daily-lived experiences. This may be a result of the increased exposure to interracial interactions while completing higher education. Neblett and colleagues (2008) proposed that the children of these caregivers are more likely to have social interactions with children of other racial backgrounds, and as a result caregivers are more likely to discuss issues of race to prepare their children for these interactions.

Using similar analytic methods, White-Johnson and colleagues (2010) conducted a study that explored the relation between mothers' profiles of racial socialization messages and child and parent demographic factors, racial discrimination, and parental racial identity attitudes. The sample consisted of 212 African American mothers residing in a Midwestern city. Latent class analysis (LCA), implemented by the Latent Gold program was used to determine racial socialization clusters: *multifaceted, low race salience, and unengaged*. Of the six models that emerged, a three-cluster model that had the lowest Bayesian information criterion (BIC), a substantial reduction in likelihood ratio chi square (L2) and a non-significant bootstrap *p* value seemed to be the most appropriate model and was adopted as the final cluster solution (White-Johnson et al.,

2010). Standardized means of each racial socialization variable was used to describe and label these clusters.

The largest cluster, *multifaceted*, was characterized by scores above the sample mean on all of the racial socialization subscales (racial pride, racial barriers, egalitarian, self-worth, negative, and socialization behaviors) measured by the Racial Socialization Questionnaire-Parent (RSQ-P). *Low race salience* included mothers who have scores above the sample mean on the egalitarian and self-worth subscales and scores below the mean on the racial pride, racial barriers, and behavioral socialization subscales. The smallest cluster, *unengaged*, consisted of low scores on all of the subscales with the exception of the negative messages subscale.

The *multifaceted* profile reported most socialization messages overall; mothers tended to have more education overall and emphasized a positive outlook on African American history and culture and sent messages that identified obstacles their children may face as African Americans. The authors speculated that African Americans with higher levels of educational attainment are more likely to live in predominately White settings, which might provide a reason as to why these mothers mention more messages about racial pride or obstacles than mothers who do not live in such settings.

As stated before, gender has been noted as playing a role in the process of children receiving racial socialization messages from their parents in early research (Bowman & Howard, 1985, Hughes & Chen, 1999, Thornton et al., 1990). Gender differences among African American youth have also emerged within both the racial socialization (Brown, Linver, Evans, & DeGennaro, 2009; Brown et al., 2010; Thomas & King, 2007) and racial identity (Buckley & Carter, 2005; Chavous et al., 2008)

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literatures. While findings on gender have emerged within both the racial socialization literature and the racial identity literature, there are few empirical studies that explicitly focus on gender.

There are even fewer studies that specifically explore the role of adolescent gender on the relationship between racial socialization and racial identity (Hughes et al., 2009a). Examining the degree to which parents make distinctions in how they socialize girls and boys sheds light on the origins of the behavioral differences that are suggested to exist between females and males (Bronstein, 2006; Lytton & Romney, 1991).

Furthermore, a better comprehension of the gender socialization literature will allow for better understanding of how gender could influence racial socialization and racial identity processes.

Gender socialization in families

This section will first review the evidence with respect to gender socialization in families with particular attention to theory and research dealing with gender in African American families. There is a vast amount of literature that focuses on the distinctions parents make between their sons and daughters in regards to the type of clothing they dress their children in, the toys they allow their children to play with and the household chores they expect their children to be responsible for (Bronstein, 2006; Block, 1983; Coltrane, 1998; Fagot, 1978; 1995; Huston, 1983; Leaper & Friedman, 2007; Lytton & Romney, 1991). Starting from birth, parents serve as a major influence in a child's life; which in turn provides ample opportunities for parents to affect gender roles in both overt and subtle ways (Bronstein, 2006; Coltrane, 1998; Witt, 1997). This process of gender socialization can include a verbal transmission of cultural norms such as scolding a little

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boy when he cries, or encouraging activities that are seen as gender appropriate such as having daughters help in the kitchen or watch after younger children (Block, 1983; Coltrane, 1998; Fagot, 1978; Leaper & Friedman, 2007).

During the critical time when the child is developing, he or she learns what it means to be male or female from his or her environment (Bronstein, 2006; Coltrane, 1998; LaRossa & Reitzes, 1994; Leaper & Friedman, 2007). One of the most influential ideas about how children learn gender is based on the following notion: people think boys and girls are supposed to be different, and thus, they treat them differently, put them into different learning environments, and offer them different opportunities for development (Block, 1983; Coltrane, 1998; Fagot, 1995). This differential treatment promotes certain behaviors and self-images that perpetuate the cultural stereotypes about gender (Block, 1983; Coltrane, 1998; Raley & Bianchi, 2006). It is proposed that this differential treatment leads boys and girls to develop different wants, needs, skills, desires, and temperaments, thus becoming different kinds of people (Coltrane, 1998).

Gender scholars suggest that parents provide different psychological and social environments based on gender in which boys and girls develop in and respond (Coltrane, 1998; Fagot, 1995; Lytton & Romney, 1991). Gender scholars also assert that parents interact with their children in different ways based on the gender of the child (Block, 1983; Raley & Bianchi, 2006). For example, boys are often discouraged from playing dress-up or with dolls. It has also been found that parents are less likely to engage in physical play with girls than they are with boys (Coltrane, 1998; Fagot, 1978; Lytton & Romney, 1991).

The notion of *gender prescriptions*, the idea that boys and girls should engage in certain behaviors and *gender proscriptions*, the notion that there are certain behaviors that boys and girls should not display, have become a normative part of our culture (Coltrane, 1998). Consequently, many parents are likely to incorporate these concepts in how they raise their children, modeling specific gender schemas, and reinforcing traditional gender roles to their children (Coltrane, 1998). Bem (1983) described this schema as a way of sorting attributes and behaviors on the basis of definitions of what it means to be masculine or feminine. Accordingly, whether consciously or unconsciously, parents are likely to find themselves transmitting said schemas in a way that reinforce notions that boys and girls should be approached differently, communicated with differently, and to behave differently from one another (Block, 1983; Coltrane, 1998; Fagot, 1978; Raley & Bianchi, 2006).

Gender socialization and African American families

While researchers have devoted some amount of attention to examining ethnicity and gender in adult roles in families (Kane, 2000; Smith-Bynum, in press), the gender socialization with respect to parenting has received limited attention. Scholars focused on the impact of gender in African American families have argued that socioeconomic inequalities and historical context around race have both greatly influenced gender role expectations within this family context (Boyd-Franklin, 2003; Collins, 1998; Hill, 2001; 2002; Staples & Johnson, 1993).

Hill (2001) asserted that gender roles within African Americans families are a product of the economic and racial constraints that forced both African American men and women to be responsible for economic and domestic work. It is posited that African

American women were able to escape narrow gender roles that restricted White American women; as a result their daughters were taught to be strong and self-sufficient. Hill (2001) also suggested that the structural forces that broadened the roles of African American women may have undermined the privilege and power of men and limited their capacity to fulfill the traditional breadwinner role. The practice of negotiating gender roles in this way varies from White American families, where primary breadwinner responsibilities are assigned to men and domestic/childrearing responsibilities to women. These dynamics have led many African American parents to cultivate attributes traditionally thought of as masculine in the African American females in the family: strength, self-reliance, and independence (Hill, 2001).

Early thinking about the socialization of children in African American families supported the view of gender neutrality (Lewis, 1975; Peters, 1988; Scott, 1993). It was believed that parents had similar expectations for their daughters and sons and that the child's gender did not influence these expectations (Hill, 2001). According to Lewis (1975) African American children are instilled with traits of independence, assertiveness, and willfulness. Similarly, Scott (1993) posited that girls are socialized to be as authoritative, individualistic and confident as boys are. Peter (1988) has argued that age and competency, rather than gender, are more likely to be the basis for delegating responsibilities to children in African American families.

Whereas gender neutrality was suggested as childrearing norm within African American families, Lewis (1975) acknowledged that childrearing was influenced by the perception of the opportunities parents felt their son or daughter would have. It was posited that parents understand that their sons are likely to face many obstacles as African

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American men in a predominately White American society. This recognition of the limitations that may be placed on African American men, due to the realities of discrimination, may lead parents to be more tolerant and indulgent with their sons when parenting them (Hill, 2001). In addition, scholars in this area have posited that parents believe that their daughters will not face as many limits as their sons and develop higher expectations for their daughters as they view them as having a better chance to succeed in the mainstream society (Hill, 2001; Staple & Johnson, 1993).

The literature on gender socialization in African American families is largely theoretical and has evolved separately from the racial socialization literature, which emerged later in the 1980s (e.g., Peters, 1985; Spencer, 1983) and 1990s (Thornton et al., 1990; Stevenson, 1994). However, gender socialization has great relevance to the literature on racial socialization because of the impact of societal racism on men and women in African American families (Hill, 2001; 2002; Hill & Sprague, 1999).

There is also some empirical evidence that supports the notion that there are differing expectations for African American boys and girls (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Hughes et al., 2006; Stevenson et al., 2002). Bowman and Howard (1985) conducted a study that examined race-related socialization, motivation and academic achievement in Black youth of three-generation families. Differential patterns emerged by gender from the 377 youth: adolescent females were more likely to hear messages about racial pride, whereas adolescent males were cautioned about racial barriers and discrimination (Bowman & Howard, 1985). In addition, in a review paper on parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices, Hughes et al. (2006) suggested that racial socialization messages would differ between boys and girls as parents might anticipate each to have different

moderator?

experiences within similar contexts such as school or the neighborhood. It appears that gender is also influential in the socialization of African American children, although it takes shape in a different manner than in White American families.

Gender differences in racial socialization

Messages about gender appear to be highly integrated in the socialization of African American children (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Hughes et al., 2006; Thomas & Speight, 1999). As gender continues to surface as a factor that would help us make sense of the types of ethnic- racial socialization messages that parents give their children, it is important to take note of any differences. Scholars have proposed a variety of definitions of the ethnic-racial socialization construct (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Brown & Krishnakumar, 2007; Lesane-Brown, Brown, Caldwell, & Sellers, 2005; Hughes & Chen, 1999; Hughes et al., 2006; Stevenson, 1994; Stevenson et al., 2002).

Cultural socialization and preparation for bias remain as central and fundamental aspects noted in both theoretical and empirical work. This section will review any gender differences that have emerged in these particular facets of ethnic-racial socialization. Cultural socialization has been defined as messages that teach children about their racial or ethnic history, promotes cultural pride, customs and traditions (Hughes et al., 2006; Thornton et al., 1990). In the existing literature, some studies have found no significant gender differences in the report of parents' cultural socialization messages (Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002; Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Hughes, Witherspoon, Rivas-Drake & West-Bey, 2009b; White-Johnson et al., 2010) while in other studies gender differences have emerged.

Some factors that distinguish these studies from those that found gender differences have do with distinctions in each study's methodology. For example, some studies relied on a single report from the adolescent (Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Hughes et al., 2009b) or single report from the mother (White-Johnson et al., 2010). The age of the children who participated in Caughy et al. (2002) could is likely a factor to why this study did not find any gender differences, as studies that did find gender differences used samples with adolescents (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Taylor et al., 1990; Thomas & Speight, 1999; Neblett et al., 2009b).

Several studies have been conducted on cultural socialization (Brown, 2008; McHale et al., 2006; Thornton et al., 1990), which several yielded gender differences (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Brown et al., 2010; Caughy et al., 2006; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Thomas & Speight, 1999; Stevenson et al., 2002; Stevenson et al., 2005). Thomas and Speight (1999) sought to examine racial socialization messages used by African American parents, specific messages according to the gender of the child, and the relationship between the parent's racial socialization and racial identity attitudes. This sample consisted of 104 parents, ranging from age 17-74 ($m = 42$) who completed a 17-item measure of attitudes about the importance of ethnic-racial socialization and specific socialization messages. Parents reported that they discussed racial pride, importance of achievement, overcoming racism, self-pride, moral values, negative societal messages and the importance of family with both boys and girls. Although boys and girls were given an equal percentage of messages on self-pride, it was found that girls received more messages on the importance of achievement and racial pride than boys.

Brown et al. (2010) sought to understand the role of gender in regards to the racial and ethnic socialization of African American youth. This study follows the model of Brown and Krishnakumar's (2007) conceptualization that racial and ethnic socialization are two distinct multidimensional processes. Here, *racial socialization* is defined as explicit and implicit messages regarding racial barriers, discrimination, cross-racial relationships and how to cope with racism. *Ethnic socialization* is defined as the explicit and implicit messages about what it means to a member of a particular ethnic group, and emphasizes African American history, heritage, importance of cultural embeddedness, and promotion of ethnic pride. The Adolescent Racial and Ethnic Socialization Scale (ARESS) measured these socialization messages. Of the 218 African American adolescents, Brown et al. (2010) found that female adolescents reported higher levels of ethnic socialization messages of history, pride, cultural values and heritage when compared to their male counterparts. It is suggested that this may be due to a belief that daughters have more opportunities for success than sons.

Other gender differences have been noted in previous research. In their study on racial socialization experiences and depression symptoms of 160 African American adolescents, Davis and Stevenson (2006), found that high doses of cultural pride reinforcement appear to be associated with lower levels of lethargy, particularly for boys. In addition, a relationship was detected between high levels of cultural pride reinforcement and lower scores in low self-esteem among youth who perceived their neighborhoods to consist of positive resources (high resource neighborhood). In a study by Caughy and colleagues (2006) racial socialization messages focused on racial pride were associated with lower internalizing problems, but only for preschool aged boys who

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lived in neighborhoods characterized by high levels of collective efficacy and social cohesion.

Stevenson et al. (2005) particularly explored the influence of the neighborhood on racial socialization in a study that explored the influence of perceived neighborhood diversity and racism experience on the racial socialization of 161 African American youth. The Teenager Racial Socialization Scale measured Adolescent reports of the frequency to which their parents used racial socialization strategies, and two items measured the adolescent's personal experience of racism and the experience of racism by family members. Cultural diversity within the neighborhood was assessed by one question and neighborhood danger and resources were determined by two items from the Neighborhood Social Capital Scale (NSC- 11-item scale measures the degree that a person perceives his or her neighbors to be aware and supportive of his or her activities and relationships).

In highly diverse neighborhoods, girls who reported no racism experiences also reported receiving more cultural pride socialization than boys. In the same type of neighborhood, boys who reported previous racism experience also reported receiving more cultural pride reinforcement from their family than girls who reported previous racism experience. The authors interpret this to mean that families may view cross-cultural interactions and exposure to diverse neighbors as problematic for the girls' racial identity affiliation, and therefore, feel inclined to inform girls of the uniqueness of being African American. Overall Stevenson et al (2005) conclude that ethnic identity and pride is more salient for girls when discrimination is not experienced is not a factor and more salient for boys after having a previous experience with racism.

Preparation for bias consists of parents' efforts to teach their child to be aware of the barriers they may come up against as a person of color (Hughes et al 2009a). Again, few studies to date have explicitly sought to uncover (or examine) gender differences in receipt of certain messages. Although this is so, a particular pattern has surfaced within the literature. While in some studies, messages about discrimination were given to both males and females (Brown et al., 2010; Hughes et al., 2009a; Thomas & Speight, 1999), much of the literature consists of boys reporting receiving more messages about racial barriers than girls (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Hughes et al., 2009a; Hughes et al., 2006; McHale et al., 2006; Stevenson et al., 2002; Thomas & Speight, 1999). As parents identify African American males as at more risk for societal harassment, it makes sense for black males to be more exposed to such symbols that would prepare them for these types of interactions, in comparison to their female counterparts (Stevenson et al., 2002). It is also possible that boys may be particularly attuned to preparation for bias messages because of the obstacles they find themselves up against (Brown et al., 2010; Hill, 2001).

In a study exploring the relationship between discrimination experiences, racial socialization and psychological adjustment, Neblett et al. (2008) identified four profiles to grant insight into the various messages about race that parents convey to their children. Neblett et al. (2008) found no gender differences in their cluster memberships: *High Positive, Moderate Positive, Low Frequency* and *Moderate Negative*. As stated before, gender differences did not emerge during the use of cluster profiles. However, Neblett et al., (2008) did find that boys reported receiving more racial barrier messages than girls, when they used an approach similar to that of Bowman and Howard (1985) to examine

moderator?

any gender differences. It is thought that these gender differences surfaced when each type of message was isolated from the other socialization messages.

Conversely, Brown et al., (2010) found that girls reported receiving more racial socialization messages, which included messages about barriers and discrimination, than boys. Brown et al., (2010) conceptualized racial socialization as parental strategies that convey explicit and implicit messages regarding intergroup protocol and relationships (Brown & Krishnakumar, 2007 as cited in Brown et al., 2010). These messages include being aware of racial barriers, how to cope with racism and race-related discrimination and the promotion of cross-racial relationships. This finding is inconsistent with previous literature demonstrating that boys were more likely to receive messages in the areas of racial bias (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Thomas & Speight, 1999; Hughes et al., 2009a; Hughes et al., 2006; McHale et al., 2006; Stevenson et al., 2002). Brown et al. (2010) suggests this difference may be a result of adolescent perception versus parent perception of messages, and the fact that their sample was older than the McHale sample.

As the neighborhood was found to influence cultural socialization messages, it has also been found to have an effect on preparation for bias messages. One of the aims of Caughy et al.'s (2006) study was to examine whether racial socialization practices varied by neighborhood context. Racial socialization practices were measured using the Parent Experience Racial Socialization scale (PERS), which consists of 40 items asking parents how often they communicate preparation for bias, racial pride, and promotion of mistrust messages to their children. Parental messages that emphasized racism and mistrust were found positively associated with negative neighborhood social climate. The neighborhood negative climate was measured by the physical/social disorder; fear of

moderator?

retaliation; and fear of victimization subscales of the Neighborhood Environment for Children Rating Scales (NECRS).

In addition, racial socialization messages associated with promotion of mistrust were less common among African American parents living in primarily European American neighborhoods than those living in primarily African American neighborhoods. It also appears the positive association between promotion of racial mistrust and internalizing problems, such as anxiety and depression, is exacerbated by neighborhoods with low levels of social capital. Lastly, neighborhood negative social climate moderated the relationship between parental messages of preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust and externalizing problem behavior, such that these racial socialization messages were associated with higher rates of aggressive behavior in neighborhoods with a low negative social climate but unrelated in neighborhoods with a highly negative social climate (Caughy et al., 2006).

The neighborhood was found to also have an influence on preparation for bias messages in Stevenson et al. (2005) study examining the influence of perceived neighborhood diversity and racism experience on the racial socialization of African American youth. In high culturally diverse neighborhoods, boys with personal experiences of racism were found to report higher levels of messages about coping with antagonism when compared to their male counterparts who had no history of personal racism, or to girls, regardless of past racism history. It is suggested that parents may feel that their sons are more likely to be in danger or stigmatized in these types of neighborhoods, so parents supply their sons with strategies to cope with any potential insults. Moreover, parents and African American male adolescents who have experience

moderator?

with past racism are less likely to question the reality that discrimination, prejudice, or bias may take place: thus they take the steps to prepare themselves and to cope accordingly.

It is important to examine the literature that showcases genders role on racial socialization and cognitive and behavioral outcomes in African American youth because of its association with positive academic, psychological adjustment, and self-esteem outcomes (Harris et al., 2007; Hughes et al. 2006; Neblett et al., 2008). This section will first review the extent to which gender differences emerge when cultural socialization messages are associated with cognitive, behavioral and academic outcomes in African American adolescents. It will also explore the role of gender when preparation for bias socialization is associated with school engagement, cognitive and behavioral outcomes in African American youth.

Caughy et al. (2006) looked at a variety of racial socialization practices and their effect on cognitive and behavioral functioning in young school-age African American children. Consistent with previous literature, a home rich in culture rich home was found to be associated with greater cognitive competence as measured by the Kaufman Brief Intelligence Test (K-BIT; Caughy et al., 2002). In addition, an association between racial socializations messages about racial pride and positive cognitive outcomes were found for girls. Surprisingly, racial pride and Africentric Home Environment Inventory, which measures the racial socialization context of the home environment, were associated with higher behavior problems for girls and not for boys.

Brown, Linver, and Evans (2009) conducted a study that looked at the role of gender within the context of racial and ethnic socialization and academic achievement

moderator?

among African American adolescents. The subscales of racial socialization (racial barrier awareness, coping with racism and race-related discrimination, and the promotion of cross-racial relationships) used in this study were not significantly related to academic grades. However, the ethnic socialization variables, African American cultural values and African American heritage, were linked to adolescent grades. It is suggested that the relation between ethnic socialization and academic grades depended on the gender of the adolescent. Specifically, this study found that receiving messages about African American cultural values (i.e. importance of family loyalty) from a maternal caregiver was linked to higher grades for male adolescents. It was also found, that receiving messages regarding African American heritage (i.e. importance of supporting African American cultural events) from a paternal caregiver was related to higher grades for male adolescents.

Previous literature suggests that the reception of only messages about bias and discrimination may have some negative mental and emotional implications, (Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Neblett et al., 2008) as well as negative behavioral and identity outcomes (Hughes et al., 2009a) on adolescents, regardless of gender. Brown et al.'s (2009) finding that higher levels of ethnic socialization were associated with lower academic grades for African American females, is evidence that an excess of messages about pride could also be detrimental to the wellbeing of adolescents. Brown et al.'s (2009) results are consistent with Neblett et al. (2006) in that an excess of socialization messages could result in a hypersensitivity to issues about race, which may lead to an increase in anxiety and other negative outcomes, particularly for girls.

Neblett, Chavous, Nguyen and Sellers (2009a) aimed to identify youth-reported patterns of racial socialization practices among African American male adolescents through cluster groups. The sample consisted of 144 self-identified African American males in grades 7 through 11. Latent class analysis (LCA), implemented by the Latent Gold program was used to determine racial socialization clusters: *Positive Socialization*, *Self-Worth*, *Moderate Negative* and *Low Frequency*. Of the six models that emerged, a four-cluster model seemed to be the most appropriate model and was adopted as the final cluster solution (Neblett et al., 2009a). Standardized means of each racial socialization variable was used to describe and label these clusters.

The *Positive Socialization* cluster was characterized by scores one standard deviation above the mean on all of the racial socialization subscales except for negative messages. In regards to raw means, this cluster had relative scores on racial pride, self-worth, and racial barrier subscales, moderate scores on the egalitarian and socialization behavior subscales, and low scores on the negative subscale. *Moderate Negative*, was characterized by scores close to the sample mean for all subscales with the exception of self-worth and negative messages. Individuals in this cluster reported a higher relative proportion of negative messages and lower relative frequency of self-worth messages. The third largest cluster, *Self-Worth*, was characterized by scores near the sample mean on most of the racial socialization subscales, had higher relative self-worth messages and fewer racial socialization behaviors. Finally, the *Low Frequency* group was characterized by scores approximately one to two standard deviations below the mean for all subscales with the exception of negative messages.

While the largest cluster *Positive Socialization* reported high levels of socialization, the second largest group, *Moderate Negative*, reported receiving relatively more messages focusing on the negative aspects of being African American and fewer messages on self-worth. The *Positive Socialization* cluster was found to be more persistent in difficult school tasks than boys in the *Moderate Negative* and *Low Frequency* cluster groups. This suggests that boys who do not recall socialization that emphasizes self-affirming messages may feel more discouraged with the pressure of mastering a challenging academic task (Neblett et al., 2009a).

Caughy et al. (2006) found that parental racial socialization messages were associated with scores on the Kaufman Brief Intelligence Test (K-BIT) and the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT), which measured child cognitive competence. Racial socialization messages that included promotion of mistrust were associated with higher K-BIT and PPVT scores for girls, while preparation for bias were associated with lower K-BIT scores, and promotion of racial pride was associated with lower PPVT scores for girls. It was also found that preparation for bias was associated with higher behavior problems for girls, and promotion of mistrust was associated with higher externalizing problems for boys. These behavioral outcomes are inconsistent with previous research (Caughy et al., 2002) that found parental socialization messages related to racism/discrimination to be unrelated to child behavior problems.

Gender differences in racial identity

To my knowledge, there are few empirical studies that note gender differences emerging within the racial identity literature. Mandara, Gaylord-Harden, Richards, and Ragsdale (2009) conducted a study that assessed the unique effects of racial identity and

moderator?

self-esteem on 259 African American adolescents' depressive and anxiety symptoms during their transition from the 7th to the 8th grade. Racial-ethnic identity was measured by a modified version of the five-item affirmation and belonging subscale of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (Phinney, 1992). Self-report forms assessed self-esteem were given to the youth. Adolescents were asked to carry watches for 1 week that were programmed to signal for them to write their self-report at random times.

Depressive symptoms were measured by the 27-item Children's Depression Inventory, an instrument which youth rated their symptoms on a scale from 1 (Sad once in a while) to 3 (Sad all the time). The trait subscale of the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory for Children was used to assess anxiety symptoms.

Mandara et al. (2009) found that both racial identity and self-esteem were strongly correlated with each other for males, but not for females. It is suggested that during this stage of development, race may be more salient for African American males than it is for females. However, for both males and females, an increase in racial identity was associated with a decrease in the prevalence of depressive symptoms, even when controlling for self-esteem. Overall these findings support the notion that developing positive feelings about one's racial group (similar to MMRI's concept of private regard) is related to a decrease in mental health problems.

Chavous et al. (2008) examined relationships among racial identity, school-based racial discrimination experiences, and academic engagement outcomes for 410 African adolescent boys and girls in Grades 8 and 11. Racial identity was measured with a shortened version of the Racial Centrality subscale of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI). School discrimination experiences were assessed using a School

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Discrimination Scale, comprised of a peer discrimination subscale and a classroom discrimination scale. Academic engagement outcomes were measured in three ways: school importance, academic self-concept and school performance.

For boys, racial centrality functioned in a compensatory manner, relating positively to school importance values and academic self-concept, regardless of levels of discrimination reported. Additionally, those with higher racial centrality were at less risk for negative impact of classroom discrimination on GPA and school importance outcomes. Racial centrality did not seem to have an impact on the effects of peer discrimination for boys on any of the academic outcomes. Chavous et al. (2008) suggest that while a strong identity may aid African American boys in maintaining their academic values in a classroom where they are likely to experience negative expectations or treated unfairly, Black identity does not appear to function in the same way in racially hostile peer environments.

For girls, having a higher centrality and a lower centrality seemed to protect their academic self-concept from the impact of classroom discrimination. However, while there was no relation between classroom discrimination and self-concept among girls of higher racial centrality, experiencing more classroom discrimination was associated to heightened academic self-concepts among girls lower in racial centrality. Chavous et al. (2008) suggest that this may be because girls with lower racial centrality, who do not view race as central to their self identity, may view the discrimination being targeted towards their racial group, not themselves as individuals.

Gender differences in racial socialization and racial identity relationship

There is a growing literature that connects racial socialization messages from parents to adolescent's racial identity. It suggests that messages from parents about pride and culture are also likely to lead to an identity where race is central and embraced (Neblett et al., 2009b). It is important to examine how racial socialization directly or indirectly affects racial identity in African American youth because it appears to serve as a buffer to discrimination (Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2009; Scott, 2003), and it is associated with positive relation to one's academic motivation and school engagement (Bennett, 2006; Chavous et al., 2003; Hughes et al., 2009b). This section will review the literature on racial identity and the evidence regarding what factors predict different aspects of racial identity. It will also look at racial socialization as a predictor of racial identity as well.

Several studies have been conducted on the relationship between racial socialization and racial (and ethnic) identity (Bennett, 2006, 2007; Demo & Hughes, 1990; Rivas-Drake et al., 2009; Scott, 2003). A few of these studies yielded gender differences (Hughes et al., 2009a; Neblett et al., 2009b; Stevenson, 1995). Stevenson (1995) explored the relationship between racial socialization attitudes and racial identity stages of the Nigrescence model, an early conceptualization of racial identity. Slight but interesting gender differences emerged, with girls who believed in persistent reinforcement of cultural heritage were more likely to have immersion attitudes. Immersion attitudes are the third stage of the Nigrescence model and operationalized by the Racial Identity Attitude Scale. It is described as being extremely pro-Black and actively engrossed in Black culture externally but not fully internally committed to all values and traditions associated with being Black (Sellers et al., 1998).

For boys, a racial socialization perspective integrated with proactive and protective aspects was predictive of immersion attitudes (Stevenson, 1995). Proactive racial socialization is defined as beliefs that promote an appreciation of cultural empowerment in African American adolescents, whereas protective racial socialization is described as messages that promote an awareness of societal oppression in Black youth (Stevenson et al., 2002). In addition, greater internalization attitudes that reflect an inner satisfaction about being Black was related to greater cultural pride reinforcement for boys (Stevenson, 1995).

In a study by Neblett et al. (2009b), cluster profiles were used to examine the relationship between racial socialization and racial identity among 358 African American adolescents. Latent class analysis (LCA), implemented by the Latent Gold program was used to determine these racial socialization clusters. Of the five models that emerged, a three-cluster model that had the lowest Bayesian information criterion (BIC), a substantial reduction in likelihood ratio chi square (L2) and a non-significant bootstrap p-value (Neblett et al., 2009b). Raw and standardized means of each racial socialization variable were used to describe and label the clusters: *High Positive*, *Moderate Positive*, and *Low Frequency*.

The first cluster, *High Positive*, was characterized by high means relative to the rest of the sample on racial pride, behavioral socialization, and self-worth messages. This group was also high on egalitarian and racial barrier messages and low on scores for negative messages. The second cluster, *Moderate Positive*, had relative high scores for egalitarian, racial pride, and self worth messages, moderate scores on racial barrier and socialization behavior subscales, and low scores on the negative subscale. Finally, *Low*

Frequency, was characterized by low scores on most of the racial socialization variables with a notable exception of negative messages.

Gender was noted as a contextual factor to be considered in the relationship between parental racial socialization and adolescent racial identity. Girls were found to be more likely to be in the *High Positive* group. Adolescents in this cluster (1) endorsed racial identity as being highly central to their self-concept, (2) were more likely to emphasize the uniqueness of being African American, and (3) less likely to emphasize similarities between African Americans and other Americans. Boys were more likely to be in the *Low Frequency* cluster group. Adolescents in this cluster tended to report racial identity being less a part of their core identity and viewed being African American as no more distinct than being American. These findings suggest that mothers may be providing messages to their daughters in ways that they are not doing for their sons. From a symbolic interactionist standpoint, boys and girls may be interacting with the messages their mother's are imparting on them in different manners. Messages that symbolize the uniqueness of being African American appear to not be as meaningful to the adolescent males in this study as it is for the females. Furthermore, these African American males do not view racial identity as central to their overall self-concept in the same way as their female counterparts.

Hughes et al. (2009a) had a similar finding in a study examining the role of mothers' and adolescents' perceptions of ethnic-racial socialization in shaping ethnic-racial identity in adolescents. It was found that adolescents who reported their mother communicating with them about ethnic heritage, history and pride also reported more favorable view of their ethnic group (similar to MMRI concept of private regard). This

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suggests that there is an association between these cultural socialization messages and ethnic affirmation and belonging, a racial identity proposed by Phinney (1992). This relationship between racial socialization and racial identity was found to be less pronounced among boys than girls. Again, from the symbolic interactionist perspective, it appears that the African American females in this study may absorb messages about pride, and history, leading them to embrace their membership and feel good about belonging to this group of people, in a way that is different from the process for the males in this study.

The present study

Racial discrimination remains to be an issue that African American adolescents encounter. It is critical for parents to convey racial socialization messages as they have been found to serve as a buffer against deleterious effects of racial discrimination (Davis & Stevenson, 2006; Neblett et al., 2006; Stevenson et al., 2005). In addition, there is empirical research that supports the notion that messages about pride and culture and messages that alert adolescents that they may encounter racial discrimination lead to positive academic, psychological adjustment, and self-esteem outcomes (Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Hughes et al., 2006; Neblett et al., 2008). As cultural socialization and preparation for bias have been especially central in theoretical and empirical literature (Bowman & Howard 1985; Hughes et al., 2009a), only these aspects of racial socialization will be examined in the present study.

It is also important to examine how racial socialization directly or indirectly affects racial identity in African American youth because both racial socialization and racial identity also appear to serve as a buffer to discrimination (Rivas-Drake, Hughes, &

moderator?

Way, 2009; Scott, 2003). Additionally, the relationship between racial socialization and racial identity is positively associated with one's academic motivation and school engagement (Bennett, 2006; Chavous et al., 2003; Hughes et al., 2009b). Only the racial identity aspects centrality and private regard will be focused on in this study, as they have been consistently noted in previous literature where gender differences emerged (Chavous et al., 2008; Neblett et al., 2009b; Stevenson, 1995).

As previously noted, one area receiving very little attention in the racial socialization and racial identity literatures is the role of gender in how and which messages about race get delivered (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Brown et al. 2010; Hughes et al. 2009; McHale et al., 2006). It is possible that the various experiences of the parent influence the frequency or even the type of message that they share their sons and daughters (Hughes et al., 2009; Neblett et al., 2008). It is also possible that the gender of the child influences the frequency and type of the message delivered from the parent (Neblett et al., 2009b). In the current literature, boys are disproportionately reporting more messages about barriers, and girls are reporting more messages about pride (Hughes et al., 2006, 2009).

Research Questions and Hypotheses

This research study will explore three questions.

Research Question 1: The first research question explores whether there are gender differences in the frequency of different types of socialization message being reported.

Hypothesis 1: It is proposed that girls will report receiving more cultural socialization messages than boys (Hypothesis 1a). It is also proposed that boys will report receiving more messages about preparation for bias (Hypothesis 1b).

Running head: Racial socialization as predictor of racial identity: Is gender a moderator? 36

Research Question 2: The second research question examines the relationship between racial socialization messages and adolescent racial identity.

Hypothesis 2a states that messages focused on cultural pride reinforcement, cultural legacy appreciation, cultural coping with antagonism, and cultural alertness to discrimination are expected to predict higher scores on racial centrality.

Hypothesis 2b states that messages focused on cultural pride reinforcement and cultural legacy appreciation will predict higher private regard scores and cultural coping with antagonism and cultural alertness to discrimination will predict lower private regard scores.

Research Question 3: The third question examines the influence of gender has on the relationship between specific racial socialization messages and specific racial identity variables.

Hypothesis 3: It is proposed that gender will moderate the relationship between specific racial socialization messages and specific aspects of racial identity after controlling for certain variables (e.g., household income). Namely, the relationship between the cultural pride messages (cultural pride reinforcement, cultural legacy appreciation) and racial identity messages (racial centrality, private regard) will be stronger in girls than for boys.

Chapter 2

Method

Sample

This sample consists of 133 female caregiver- adolescent dyads. Twenty- three families were recruited from Indianapolis, Indiana and 110 were recruited from Washington D.C. metropolitan area. Data from Indianapolis were collected in 2005-2006. Data were collected from Washington D. C. between 2010 and 2011. Female caregivers, and their adolescent child, between ages 14 and 17, both needed to self-identify as African American, in order to participate. The families consisted of single or two parent homes, but only female caregivers (mothers, aunts, or grandmothers) and adolescents were able to participate in the study. Efforts have been made to recruit equal numbers of girls and boys.

The majority of the female caregivers identified their racial/ethnic group to be African American (96%). Three percent of the female caregivers identified themselves as Afro-Caribbean and 1% of the female caregivers identified themselves as Multi-racial. The age range of the female caregivers is from age 29 to age 64 with a median age of 44. Eighty percent of female caregivers were employed at time of study. Thirty-one percent of female caregivers had never married; 23% were divorced, and 38% of were currently married. The education of the female caregivers ranged from grade school to a doctoral program with the median level being having obtained an associate degree. The total income in the household per year ranged from below \$5,000 to \$100,000 or higher with the median income of \$60,000 to \$69,999. A total of 34% of the sample had incomes between less than \$5,000 and \$39,000, the middle third of the sample had incomes

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between 40,000 to \$89,000, and the upper third of the sample had incomes that were between \$90,000 to \$100,000 and higher. The majority of the adolescents identified their racial/ethnic group to be African American (91%). Five percent of the adolescents identified themselves as multi-racial, 3% identified themselves as Afro-Caribbean and 1% identified themselves as Black South American. The age range of the adolescents is from age 14 to age 17 with a median age of 15. Forty-four percent of the adolescents in the sample identified as male, with 56% of the adolescents identifying as female.

Preliminary analyses indicated no differences between families residing in Indianapolis and Washington, D.C. on any of the demographic variables or the study variables in question.

Procedures

Trained undergraduate research assistants collected the data in both study locations. Ninety-five percent of the research assistants were African American. High numbers of African American interviewers were used to enhance trust and rapport with the participating families given the sensitive nature of the data being collected. Research assistants completed 25 hours of training in data collection as well as training in human subjects protections prior to conducting the interviews in the families' homes.

Recruitment methods differed slightly between the two locations. Indianapolis families completed the study between 2005 and 2006. These families were primarily recruited through referrals via community liaisons that held trusted positions within the local African American community in Indianapolis (Murray & Brody, 2004). A limited number of participants were also recruited through advertisement in the *Indianapolis Recorder*, a local African American-owned newspaper.

Families that participated in Washington D.C., were recruited between 2010 and 2011, primarily through advertisements in a variety of free, widely available print outlets (See Appendix D). These newspapers and publications are available in public transit stations, lobbies in grocery stores, drug stores, and community centers, doctors' offices and other locations on a regular basis. These advertisements also included a Facebook logo that directed potential participants to an information page about the project hosted on Facebook telling them about the project and how to contact project staff to learn more. Efforts were made to recruit participants via relationships with community liaisons but these efforts were much less successful than in Indianapolis.

All interested caregivers contacted the research staff through telephone or email. All participating caregivers were screened by telephone (See Appendix E). Research staff also explained study procedures including data collection activities, informed consent, risks, confidentiality, and compensation during the telephone calls. Those who passed the screening and wished to partake in the study set up an appointment for the in-home interview. Follow-up telephone calls and emails were conducted to confirm appointment time and address any further concerns about participating in the study.

Research assistants began each session by obtaining informed consent from female caregivers and assent from adolescents. This took place in separate rooms of the families' home to preserve the adolescent's right to refuse participation given the sensitive nature of some study questions (e.g., substance use, stealing, truancy, atypical sexual behavior). The female caregiver and adolescent completed a packet of paper and pencil questionnaires assessing racial socialization, racial identity, racial discrimination experiences, psychological functioning (e.g., parental depressive symptoms, child

moderator?

psychopathology, adolescent self esteem), and parent-child relationship quality. To ensure confidentiality, the female caregiver and adolescent completed questionnaires in separate rooms.

Research assistants also completed a videotaped observational task assessing parent-adolescent communication about racial socialization. The racial socialization task consisted of female caregiver and adolescent listening to two discriminatory scenarios and then communicating ways to deal with the discriminatory scenarios. The order in which the female caregiver and the adolescent were presented with questionnaires and scenarios was counterbalanced in order to avoid order effects. Scenarios were also presented in a counterbalanced manner. The data collected during the observational task are not the focus of the present study. The study procedures lasted about two hours. Each family was compensated with \$50 for their participation.

Measures

Demographic background information. Both mothers and adolescents completed an information sheet that collected background information on them and their family. Mothers provided information on educational background, income, current employment, marital/cohabitation history, household size, and neighborhood racial composition of their childhood. (See Appendices B and C)

Mother's education was measured by a single self-report item asking mothers to indicate their highest level of education completed at the time of the study. Potential responses ranged from '1' for *grade school* to '12' for *doctoral degree*. Participants could also indicate if they were unsure about their level of educational attainment. These scores were recoded as missing prior to any analyses.

A single item completed by mothers assessing total household income measured annual household income. Responses ranged from '1' for *below \$5,000* to '12' for *\$100,000 or higher*.

Assessment of Racial Socialization. In this study, self-report of racial socialization was assessed in multiple ways. Hughes and Chen's (1999) racial socialization dimensions, cultural socialization and preparation for bias, were operationalized by the Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale (TERS; Stevenson, Cameron, Herrero-Taylor, & Davis, 2002). The TERS is a 40-item scale that contains five factors: (1) Cultural Pride Reinforcement, (2) Cultural Legacy of Appreciation, (3) Cultural Coping with Antagonism, (4) Cultural Alertness to Discrimination, and (5) Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream. The measure was developed on a sample of 260 African American adolescents from inner-city communities participating in a summer job program in a major city on the East Coast. Limited evidence of construct validity is strong as evidenced by a principal components factor analysis in support of the aforementioned factors. Internal consistency for the scale and each subscale was strong. Chronbach's alphas ranged from .71 to .91 for the full scale.

Cultural socialization was operationalized by using two subscales from the TERS: Cultural Pride Reinforcement and Cultural Legacy Appreciation. *Cultural Pride Reinforcement* items assessed the messages that promote African American pride, and passing on knowledge of African American culture from parent to children (e.g., "Be proud of who you are"). *Cultural Legacy Appreciation* factor included items about cultural heritage issues such as enslavement (e.g., "We are connected to a history that

moderator?

goes back to African royalty”). Cultural Pride Reinforcement has 9 items (alpha = .66).

Cultural Legacy Appreciation has 5 items (alpha = .86)

Preparation for Bias was operationalized by the *Cultural Coping with Antagonism* and *Cultural Alertness to Discrimination* subscales from the TERS. *Cultural Coping with Antagonism* items assessed the role of spirituality and religion in coping with racial hostilities (e.g., “Black children should be taught early that God can protect them from racial hatred”). Items in the *Cultural Alertness to Discrimination* subscale assessed messages that parents send that teach adolescents to be conscious about the racial barriers existing in society. In addition, *Cultural Alertness to Discrimination* assessed messages about race relation challenges between Blacks and Whites (e.g., “Whites make it hard for people to get ahead in this world”). Cultural Coping with Antagonism has 13 items (alpha = .86). Cultural Alertness to Discrimination has 6 items (alpha = .83)

A factor analysis was completed on the validity sample. The results indicated support for the full scale factor as well as the 5 subscales. The TERS demonstrates evidence of convergent validity with adolescent’s responses to an item assessing the frequency of family communication about racial issues. In the validity sample, the Chronbach’s alpha was .91 for the full scale and ranged from .71 to .85 for the factors.

Assessment of Adolescent Racial Identity. An abbreviated, adapted version of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity-Revised (MIBI-R; Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997; Sellers et al., 1998) was used to assess racial identity in the adolescent participants (See Appendix C). The MIBI-R consists of 62 items measuring three stable dimensions of racial identity: Centrality, Regard (Private and

moderator?

Public subscales) and Ideology (Assimilationist, Humanist, Oppressed Minority, and Nationalist subscales).

This study used a shortened version of the MIBI-R, modified version of the MIBI-R to containing 30 items (seven Centrality items, seven Nationalism items, eight Assimilation items, six Private Regard items) to reduce the response burden on the adolescents. Participants were asked to respond to all items using a 7-point scale ranging from '1' for *Strongly Disagree* to '7' to for *Strongly Agree*. The original and adapted versions of the MIBI-R have been used successfully with adult and adolescent samples and shows adequate reliability and validity (Chavous et al., 2003; Caldwell, Zimmerman, Hilken-Bernat, Sellers, & Notaro, 2002; Sellers et al., 1997; Thomas, Caldwell, Faison, & Jackson, 2009).

Centrality assessed the extent to which an individual normatively defines him or herself in regard to race. It was assessed by a modified version of the Centrality subscale (e.g., "I have a strong sense of belonging to other Black people). Centrality has 7 items (alpha = .72). *Private Regard* assessed positive feelings toward one's racial group (e.g., "I feel good about black people"). Private Regard has has 6 items (alpha = .63).

Chapter 3

Results

The results are organized into three sections. First, a review of the univariate statistics and correlational findings of the study variables are provided. Next, analyses are presented that explore whether there are gender differences in the frequency of racial socialization messages. Third, results of the formal hypotheses are presented, including tests of potential moderating relationships involving the combined impact of gender and racial socialization messages on adolescent racial identity.

Descriptive statistics and correlations.

Univariate statistics are presented in table 1. This section also includes a review regarding the assumptions of multiple regression. The frequency distributions for each variable were examined to test the assumptions of multiple regression. All variables used in the formal analyses met the assumptions of multiple regression with the exception of centrality and private regard. The distributions for centrality and private regard were not normal. While an assumption of normality is asked of multiple regression, these non normal distributions are not a problem. The range of the racial identity dimensions within the MIBI is 1-7, with 4 as neutral. It is rare for African American people to score on the low end of this measure, as most view being African American as central to their overall self-concept and often feel good about being African American. Someone who identifies on the low end, is likely to have low self-esteem and other factors contributing to not feeling good about their identity as an African American.

The next step in the descriptive analyses involved completion of correlations among all major study variables. These results are shown in Table 1. Cultural Pride

moderator?

Reinforcement messages were positively correlated with Cultural Legacy of Appreciation ($r = .54$), Cultural Coping with Antagonism ($r = .63$), and Cultural Alertness to Discrimination ($r = .34$). Cultural Legacy of Appreciation messages were positively correlated with Cultural Coping with Antagonism ($r = .54$), and Cultural Alertness to Discrimination ($r = .46$). Cultural Coping with Antagonism messages were positively correlated with Cultural Alertness to Discrimination ($r = .33$).

A review of the correlational data indicates that each of the racial socialization messages was positively correlated with racial centrality. Cultural Pride Reinforcement ($r = .29$), Cultural Legacy of Appreciation ($r = .25$), Cultural Coping with Antagonism ($r = .34$), and Cultural Alertness to Discrimination ($r = .23$) were each correlated with centrality. This means that great number of about race involving any content area, the more being African American was an important part of their identity. However, in terms of private regard, only Cultural Pride Reinforcement messages were significantly correlated with private regard ($r = .28$). This means that the more cultural pride messages adolescents recalled, the more they felt positively about being African American. Interestingly, the data collection site was found to be negatively correlated with centrality at the trend level ($r = -.14$, $p = .11$). Adolescents who resided in Indianapolis were more likely to report higher centrality scores when compared with adolescents residing in metropolitan Washington DC. These results can be seen in Table 1.

Plans of Analysis

A set of one-way ANOVAs was completed to test for gender differences in adolescents' recollection of racial socialization messages (e.g., cultural pride reinforcement; cultural legacy of appreciations, cultural coping with antagonism cultural

moderator?

alertness to discrimination. Two hierarchical multiple regressions were completed 1) to test the relationship between racial socialization messages with both centrality (Model 1) and private regard (Model 2) as the outcome variables; and 2) to test gender as a moderator of the relationship between socialization messages with both centrality (Model 1) and private regard (Model 2) as the outcome variables.

All predictor variables used in hierarchical multiples regressions were centered at zero to reduce mathematically caused multicollinearity (Aiken & West, 1991), . Gender, a dichotomous variable, was weight-effect coded to adjust for the number of cases for the dependent variables. The weight-effect codes for gender were .44 for females and -.56 for males. Variance Inflation Factors (VIF) were examined as a check of multicollinearity, and each were within an acceptable range. These procedures are in line with techniques promoted by Aiken and West (1991), used to interpret statistically significant interactions.

Tests of Hypotheses

The first research question involved an examination of gender differences in the frequency of racial socialization messages. Hypothesis 1a stated that girls would report receiving more cultural pride and cultural legacy appreciation messages than boys. Hypothesis 1b stated that boys would report receiving more messages about cultural coping with antagonism and cultural alertness to discrimination than girls.

A set of one-way ANOVAs was completed to test for gender differences in recollection of racial socialization messages (e.g., cultural pride reinforcement; cultural legacy of appreciations; cultural coping with antagonism; cultural alertness to discrimination). Results indicated only one gender difference was detected among the

moderator?

racial socialization messages assessed. Consistent with hypothesis 1a, girls recalled more messages about cultural legacy of appreciation, $F(1,131) = 8.98, p < .01$. No other differences were detected. In summary, hypothesis 1a was partially supported. There was no support for hypothesis 1b as there were no significant gender differences found in the frequency of coping with antagonism and cultural alertness to discrimination being reported by girls and boys.

Next, analyses were completed to examine the relationship between racial socialization messages and adolescent racial identity as well as to examine the influence of gender on the relationship between racial socialization messages and adolescent racial identity. Hypothesis 2a stated that messages focused on cultural pride reinforcement, cultural legacy appreciation, cultural coping with antagonism, and cultural alertness to discrimination are expected to predict higher scores on racial centrality. Hypothesis 2b stated that messages focused on cultural pride reinforcement and cultural legacy appreciation will predict higher private regard scores whereas cultural coping with antagonism and cultural alertness to discrimination are expected to predict lower private regard scores.

Two hierarchical multiple regressions were completed with both centrality (Model 1) and private regard (Model 2) as the outcome variables. At step 1 of each hierarchical regression model, control variables were entered. This included site, gender, and household income. At step 2, the racial socialization variables cultural legacy appreciation, cultural pride reinforcement, cultural coping with antagonism and cultural alertness to discrimination were entered to formally test the hypotheses. At step 3, gender

moderator?

as a moderator of the racial socialization was tested with the inclusion of interaction terms between gender and the racial socialization variables.

In Model 1, study site was a significant predictor of racial centrality in this sample ($Beta = -.22, p \leq .01$). Adolescents who resided in Indianapolis were more likely to report higher centrality scores when compared with adolescents residing in metropolitan Washington DC. Gender was not a significant predictor of racial centrality ($Beta = .06, p = .50$). In terms of the racial socialization messages entered at step 2, cultural coping with antagonism predicted racial centrality at the trend level ($Beta = .20, p \leq .10$). None of the other racial socialization messages were found to be statistically significant predictors of centrality. In summary, there was no support for hypothesis 2a as messages focused on cultural pride reinforcement, cultural legacy appreciation, cultural coping with antagonism, and cultural alertness to discrimination did not appear to be associated with racial centrality.

Hypothesis 3a stated that gender will moderate the relationship between the racial socialization messages (cultural pride reinforcement, cultural legacy appreciation, cultural coping with antagonism and cultural alertness to discrimination) and racial centrality. Hypothesis 3b stated that gender will moderate the relationship between these racial socialization messages and private regard. Namely, the relationship between the cultural pride messages and the racial identity messages will be more positive in girls than they are for boys and the preparation for bias messages will be more positive in boys than they are for girls. In line with hypothesis 3a, the four interaction terms were entered into each regression model: gender X cultural pride reinforcement, gender X cultural legacy appreciation, gender X cultural coping with antagonism, and gender X cultural

moderator?

alertness to discrimination. None of the interaction terms were statistically significant.

The full model explains, 17% of the variance in racial centrality, $F(11, 130) = 2.27 p \leq$

.01. The results of Model 1 can be seen in Table 2.

In Model 2, there were no significant finding among the model control variables, including gender (Beta = .12, $p = .20$). In terms of the racial socialization messages, results revealed two significant predictors of private regard. It was found that adolescents who recalled more cultural pride messages also reported higher private regard (Beta = .37, $p \leq .01$). In contrast, adolescents who recalled fewer messages about being alert to discrimination reported greater private regard (Beta = -.23, $p \leq .01$). No other racial socialization messages were found to be statistically significant. Thus, these findings partially supported Hypothesis 2b.

In line with hypothesis 3b, the four interaction terms were entered into Model 2: gender X cultural pride reinforcement, gender X cultural legacy appreciation, gender X cultural coping with antagonism, and gender X cultural alertness to discrimination.

Against predictions, none of the interaction terms were statistically significant. The full model explains, 17% of the variance in private regard, $F(11, 129) = 2.13 p \leq .01$. The results of Model 2 can be seen in Table 2.

Chapter 4

Discussion

The present study sought to explore the relationship between gender and racial socialization messages, the racial socialization and racial identity relationship and the role gender played in the relationship between specific messages and specific aspects of racial identity. Overall, the results indicated that there was not a strong relationship between gender and racial socialization messages as measured in the current study. Additionally, results indicated that some racial socialization messages predict private regard, but there were no relationships between racial socialization messages and racial centrality. Lastly, the results indicate that gender did not alter the relationship between the racial socialization messages and either racial identity variable measured in this study.

It was hypothesized that girls would report receiving more cultural pride and cultural legacy of appreciation messages than boys and that boys would report receiving more messages about cultural coping with antagonism and cultural alertness to discrimination than girls. Surprisingly, only one gender difference emerged, with girls recalling more messages about cultural legacy of appreciation than boys. This particular finding is consistent with some previous literature that has shown that girls report hearing more messages about cultural or racial pride, history and achievement than their male counterparts (Brown et al., 2010; Thomas & Speight, 1999). It is possible that girls report hearing more messages about their heritage and honoring the legacy of African American people, as women are often deemed bearers of history and expected to pass down traditions (Hill, 2001; Hughes et al., 2009a).

Against expectations, there were no other significant gender differences found among the racial socialization messages measured in this study. As noted earlier, the findings with respect to gender differences involving the receipt of racial socialization is heterogeneous. Some studies have detected gender differences while other studies have not. For instance, gender differences did not emerge among racial socialization profiles (White-Johnson et al., 2010), in the relationship between discrimination and self-esteem (Harris-Britt et al., 2007), nor in academic and behavioral outcomes (Hughes et al., 2009b).

Both Harris-Britt et al. (2007) and Hughes et al. (2009b) used a racial socialization measure that assessed racial pride and preparation for bias aspects of racial socialization. Interestingly, this measure has been used in many other studies where gender differences emerged (Hughes & Chen, 1997, 1999; Hughes et al. 2006; Hughes et al. 2009a). Additionally, Bowman and Howard, (1985) found a great emphasis on racial pride and the transmission of culture in the socialization of girls and a greater emphasis on the caution of racial barriers in the socialization of boys. Similarly, Brown et al. (2010) found that female adolescents reported higher levels of ethnic socialization messages of history, pride, cultural values and heritage when compared to their male counterparts. Thomas and Speight (1999) also detected gender differences, finding that although boys and girls were given an equal percentage of messages on self-pride, it was found that girls reported more messages on the importance of achievement and racial pride than boys. Thus, the results in this study add to the mixed set of results regarding gender differences as measured by existing self-report measures of racial socialization may not matter. Given the mixed findings in this area, this conclusion is likely

moderator?

premature. This issue will be attended to later in consideration of the results about gender as a moderator in research on racial socialization more generally.

The second research question focused on whether messages about cultural pride and preparation for bias would predict scores on racial centrality and private regard in specific ways. Results revealed that adolescents' recollection of the frequency of racial socialization messages only impacted their private regard. Cultural socialization as measured by cultural pride reinforcement was positively associated with private regard. The results indicate that more messages adolescents reported receiving about being proud of their cultural heritage were associated with feeling good about being African American. These findings are consistent with previous literature that indicated that adolescents who reported hearing messages about ethnic pride, history, and heritage also reported more favorable views of their ethnic-racial group (Hughes et al., 2009a; Neblett et al., 2009b).

Additionally, preparation for bias messages regarding being alert to discrimination were negatively associated with private regard. The results indicate that more messages about what one might have to encounter (racial bias, discrimination, barriers to success) were more likely to lead one to feel less positively about being African American. These findings are consistent with previous literature that suggests some risk in delivering preparation for bias messages salient for adolescents, and particularly boys (Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Neblett et al., 2009b, Stevenson et al., 2002). In Harris-Britt et al.'s (2007) study the negative relationship between perceived discrimination and self-esteem reappeared at high levels of preparation for bias. Harris-Britt et al. (2007) suggested that this result might mean that messages that signal to the

moderator?

youth that they will be consistently facing prejudice because of their race may be maladaptive. It was concluded that an overemphasis on bias might lead adolescents to feel helpless and consequently result in lower self-esteem. Stevenson et al. (2002) suggested that parents providing too much dialogue about racism and discrimination may leave youth overly saturated and thus less receptive to other types of racial socialization that their parents may want to share with them about surviving racial intolerance in American society. These results suggest that parents should be cautious in delivering such messages if they wish to promote positive feelings about being African American.

Against predictions and previous research in this area, none of the racial socialization messages were associated with racial centrality. This is a surprising set of findings as previous literature suggested that hearing messages about pride, racial barriers as well as other socialization content that convey the message that race is significant and lead African American adolescents to see their race as central to their overall identity (Hughes et al., 2009a; Neblett et al., 2009b). It is important to note the difference in racial socialization and racial identity measures used among the current study and those used in Hughes et al. (2009a) and Neblett et al.'s (2009b) research. Both researchers used measures other than the TERS to assess racial socialization. Neblett and colleagues (2009) used the Racial Socialization Questionnaire-Teen (Lesane-Brown et al., 2006). We used a modified version of select portions of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity-Revised (Sellers et al., 1997). These methodological differences may be responsible for the differing results.

In contrast, to this study, Hughes et al.'s (2009a) study assessed ethnic-racial identity and used a multi-ethnic sample as opposed to an exclusively African American

Running head: Racial socialization as predictor of racial identity: Is gender a moderator? 54
sample.

Additionally, the type of youth in this sample may have influenced the non-emergence of the racial socialization and racial identity relationship. Hughes et al. (2009a) examined this relationship among a diverse ethnic group of middle school youth and Neblett et al.'s (2009b) sample consisted of self-identified African American youth ranging from ages 11-17, while this sample included self-identified African American youth ages 14-17. It is possible that the age and developmental level of the child may be influencing the type and frequency of messages being reported. The age and developmental level of the child might also be influencing how one might interact with these messages and how they interpret the messages that are conveyed to them. Future research will need to explore this further, as thus far there are mixed findings of whether these messages are more salient for one age group versus another (Caughy et al., 2006; Hughes et al., 2009a; Neblett et al., 2009b).

The third prediction in this study hypothesized that gender would moderate the relationship between the racial socialization messages and both racial centrality and private regard. Against predictions, none of the interaction terms were statistically significant in this study. These findings were surprising, as previous literature has noted gender differences in types of racial socialization messages reported (Brown et al., 2010; Caughy et al., 2006; Neblett et al., 2009a; Stevenson et al., 2005) and gender differences in how one identifies themselves racially (Chavous et al., 2008; Mandara et al., 2009). Additionally gender differences have emerged within the growing racial socialization and racial identity literature (Hughes et al., 2009a; Neblett et al., 2009b).

Therefore, despite the study's results regarding gender, it may be premature to suggest that gender does not matter in the delivery of such messages or in the impact of the messages on racial identity. There is evidence that African American males and females have to navigate the world in varied ways due to race-based gendered stereotypes that contribute to differential experiences of discrimination (Boyd-Franklin et al., 2001; Chavous et al., 2004; Hill, 2001; Stevenson et al., 2002). Stereotypes that entail assumptions that African American boys are violent and delinquent, likely lead African American boys to experience explicit forms of discrimination (e.g., being followed in a store, or being stopped by the police) in comparison to their female counterparts (Green et al., 2006). The stereotype that African American females are hypersexual, has led some to believe that African American women can not be victims of sexual harassment (Shelton & Chavous, 1999), while another stereotype that African American women are too aggressive has led to the belief that they are at fault if they were to be abused (Squires, Kohn-Wood, Chavous, & Carter, 2006). Furthermore, African American males and females seem to live in differing gendered racial spaces and thus, parents are likely to have different conversations with their children depending on the gender of the child (Hill, 2001; Hughes et al., 2006, Lewis, 1975).

As noted earlier, symbolic interactionism provides a framework in understanding how the interactions one has with specific racial socialization messages are likely to shape one's definition of self and one's identity. Role-taking allows children to learn about themselves and about how to behave from observing the responses of those around them (LaRossa & Reitzes, 1994). Without messages about being proud of who you are and knowing about one's legacy, African American girls may give into the stereotypes

moderator?

that they are only useful sexually. Messages about pride and heritage may serve as a buffer that protects girls and helps them develop a strong self-esteem and self-concept. On the other hand, a combination of how society is likely to perceive young African American men and boys, and the high frequency of messages about being wary of discrimination and barriers, are likely risk factors that may lead African American boys to see themselves as a “menace” to society. Again, a high frequency of these messages that inform African American youth, and particularly boys, about racial bias may be more harmful rather than protective (Harris-Britt et al., 2007).

To access meaningful gendered messages about race will likely mean that researchers need to move beyond the gender-neutral self-report measures of racial socialization currently in wide use. To my knowledge, there is only one published study examining gendered racial socialization (Thomas & King, 2007). Thomas and King (2007) examined specific racial socialization messages given to African American daughters by mothers and the relationship between gendered racial socialization and communication. Gendered racial socialization was assessed by asking the mothers a single, open-ended question about the specific messages they teach their daughters about race and gender and by asking the daughters a single, open-ended question about the specific messages they hear from their mothers about being an African American woman/girl. While this study, represents a start, many avenues remain ripe for investigation in this area.

The field would benefit qualitative studies or studies mixed methods designs are needed to better understand how gender is imbued in message about race to African American children and adolescents. Focus groups and in-depth interviews would be a

moderator?

good methods to use to gain a sense of what the messages are and how they may differ from current measurement and thinking in this area. Also, self-report measures focused squarely on gendered racial socialization messages are needed before we can accurately assess the role of gender in racial identity and other developmental outcomes (Chavous et al., 2008; Thomas & King, 2007). To date, there appear to be no studies on assessing gender and race that focuses on boys or fathers. Studies designed to unpack the messages given to children about race that take into account their gender from the perspective of children, and mothers, and fathers are critical to answering this question.

A unique aspect of this study is the wide range of socioeconomic backgrounds including a substantial subsample of families with incomes of \$100,00 and above. The median income of the sample was between \$60,000 and \$69,000, surpassing both the national average and average of the District of Columbia (US Census, 2012). Much of the literature detecting gender differences in racial socialization and racial identity involved adolescents' from mostly low to lower-middle class backgrounds (Caughy et al., 2006; Hughes et al., 2009; Mandara et al., 2009; Stevenson et al., 2005, Thomas & Speight, 1999). Conversely, Chavous et al., (2008) found gender differences in their study on gender and racial identity, which included a sample that represented a range of income and family educational levels. Unlike the current study, the maximum sample income in Chavous et al., (2008) was \$75,000. Neblett et al., (2009) also found gender differences in their study on the relationship between racial socialization messages and racial identity, which included a sample with household income fairly comparable to the income distribution in the current study.

It is not clear whether or how the range of income may have altered the potential

moderator?

emergence of gender differences in this study, it is important to note that parents of differing incomes and education levels parent differently in addressing some aspects of racial socialization (Hughes & Johnson, 2001). This is one of the first studies to examine these processes in a wealthier, upwardly mobile sample of African American families. Given that previous research has indicated that African American adolescents who come from more affluent families are likely to have some very different experiences than those adolescents who come from families who are not as financially privileged (Neblett et al., 2008). It is important for future research to continue to investigate these processes in similar samples in other parts of the country and to replicate the results.

One unexpected significant result of this study involved site location where the adolescents participated in the study. Adolescents who resided in Indianapolis were more likely to report higher centrality scores when compared with adolescents residing in metropolitan Washington D.C. It is unclear to why this difference occurred. It is possible that the regional location makes being African American less salient for African American adolescents living in a diverse area such as Washington D.C. African Americans who reside in an area where there are many others like them, may have the flexibility of identifying themselves in more than one way. To the contrary, African Americans who represent the minority in an area mostly populated by White Americans, are not able to do this as readily.

The adolescents who lived in Indianapolis may not have the chance to identify themselves in multiple ways due to the fact that the color of their skin immediately places them into a specific category. Even so, integrating their race into their overall self-concept, may help African American adolescents develop and maintain a sense of

moderator?

community between other African Americans in the area. This is merely speculation, so it will be important for this to be explored further. This study did not address variability in the ethnic subgroups of each sites subsample directly because the Indianapolis sample was small. Nevertheless, researchers should continue to attend to these subtle differences as they highlight variability how adolescents in different parts of the U.S. construe their racial identities in potentially different ways (Demo & Hughes, 1990).

Limitations

As with all studies, this study is not without limitations. First, a limitation of this study is the generalizability of the findings beyond the current sample. This sample was limited to adolescents who live in metropolitan areas. These results may look different for adolescents who reside in a different type of demographic area. A second consideration is, while the adolescent's perspective is certainly valuable, the use of both parent and youth reports might provide a more in depth understanding about the extent to which adolescents experience racial socialization. Multiple informants on these constructs might grant deeper insight to whether the experiences of the adolescent elicit specific types and frequencies of racial socialization messages from the parent as well as provide better understanding of how parent messages might shape adolescent racial identity. Lastly, the time lag between the data collection between the two sites is less than ideal. Fortunately, it appears to have had minimal impact on the findings.

Conclusion

Much is still unknown about the role of gender in the relationship between racial socialization messages and racial identity. To date, few studies explicitly examine the role of gender in African American families in regards to racial socialization or racial

moderator?

identity (Brown et al., 2010; Chavous et al., 2008; Thomas & King, 2007). This is among the first studies to explicitly examine gender in regards to racial socialization and racial identity. Additionally, this is among the first studies to explore the gender socialization literature in great depth in order to understand its relevancy to racial socialization processes in identity development in African American adolescents.

Explicit examination of gender may help parents decide how to tailor their messages based on whether they are raising a son or daughter. For instance, future studies need to investigate whether parents may need to supply more messages about cultural pride and legacy appreciation to their sons to balance out the preparation for bias messages that are necessary due to the racial discrimination their sons are exposed to as African American males in mainstream society. Investigators also need to insure that the full economic spectrum of African American families is represented in their research designs to ensure that the patterns of findings apply across the board. A continued focus race, gender and parenting is long overdue, and needed to understand the complete array of life experiences among African American families.

Table 1

Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations Among Demographic, Racial Socialization and Racial Identity Variables (N = 133)

Variable Name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Site	1.0								
2. Income	.13	1.0							
3. Gender	-.008	-.09	1.0						
4. CPR	.10	.06	-.02	1.0					
5. CLA	-.02	-.09	.25**	.54**	1.0				
6. CCA	.05	-.02	.05	.63**	.54**	1.0			
7. CAD	.08	.05	.03	.34**	.46**	.33**	1.0		
8. Centrality	.14+	.004	.06	.29**	.25**	.34**	.23**	1.0	
9. Private Regard	.05	.11	.04	.28**	.02	.09	-.10	.27**	1.0
<i>M</i>	1.82	7.58	1.56	23.36	11.20	26.60	11.78	4.59	6.13
<i>SD</i>	.38	3.67	.50	3.12	2.63	6.12	3.32	1.12	.75

Note. Site: 1 = Indianapolis and 2 = Washington, DC. Gender: 1 = boys and 2 = girls. Household income: 1 = *less than \$5,000* to 12 = *\$100,000 or greater*. All racial socialization messages subscale items ranged from 1 for *Never* to 3 for *Lots of Times*.

Scores for racial centrality and private regard range from 1 for *Strongly Disagree* to 7 for *Strongly Agree*. Indianapolis sample $n = 24$. Washington DC sample $n = 110$. : CPR= Cultural Pride Reinforcement. CLA= Cultural Legacy of Appreciation. CCA= Cultural Coping with Antagonism. CAD= Cultural Alertness to Discrimination.

+ $p \leq .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 2

Results of Hierarchical Regressions of Racial Identity on Racial Socialization Messages, Gender and Socio-demographic controls

	Model 1			Model 2		
	Centrality			Private Regard		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
Step 1						
Site	-.63**	.25	-.22	-.16	.16	-.09
Gender	.13	.20	.06	.16	.13	.12
Household Income	.01	.03	.04	.02	.02	.08
Step 2						
Cultural Pride Reinforcement (CPR)	.03	.04	.08	.09**	.03	.37
Cultural Legacy Appreciation (CLA)	.01	.05	.02	-.01	.03	-.05
Cultural Coping with Antagonism (CCA)	.04+	.02	.20	-.008	.013	-.07
Cultural Alertness to Discrimination (CAD)	.04	.03	.12	-.05*	.02	-.23

Step 3						
Gender X CPR	.03	.08	.04	.002	.06	.004
Gender X CLA	.07	.10	.08	.11	.07	.19
Gender X CCA	.03	.04	.07	-.03	.03	-.14
Gender X CAD	-.01	.07	-.02	.01	.04	.03
Full Model R ²	.17			.17		

Note. B-weights and β -weights for full models are shown. Model 1 $F(11, 130) = 2.27 p \leq .01$ Model 2 $F(11, 129) =$

2.13 $p \leq .01$ Site: Indianapolis = -.83 and Washington, DC = .17 Gender: male = -.56 and female = .44

+ $p \leq .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

PARENT DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

Background Information: This questionnaire will ask you about several different aspects of your background.

1) Age: _____ 2) Sex: Male Female

3) Racial/Ethnic Group (check one):

- BLACK/AFRICAN AMERICAN
 BLACK CENTRAL AMERICAN, FROM WHICH COUNTRY _____
 AFRO-CARIBBEAN, FROM WHICH COUNTRY _____
 AFRICAN, FROM WHICH COUNTRY _____
 BLACK OR SOUTH AMERICAN, FROM WHICH COUNTRY _____
 BIRACIAL OR MULTIRACIAL (list) _____
 OTHER RACIAL/ETHNIC BACKGROUND (LIST) _____

4) Your highest level of education completed:

- ___ GRADE SCHOOL
 ___ JUNIOR HIGH
 ___ SOME HIGH SCHOOL
 ___ HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE OR EQUIVALENT (E.G., GED)
 ___ DIPLOMA OR CERTIFICATE FROM VOCATIONAL, TECHNICAL, TRADE OR BUSINESS SCHOOL
 ___ SOME COLLEGE
 ___ ASSOCIATE DEGREE IN COLLEGE—OCCUPATIONAL/VOCATIONAL PROGRAM
 ___ RECEIVED BACHELOR'S DEGREE
 ___ SOME GRADUATE SCHOOL
 ___ MASTER'S DEGREE
 ___ PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL DEGREE (M.D., D.D.S., D.V.M., L.L.B., J.D.)
 ___ DOCTORAL DEGREE (PH.D., ED.D.)
 ___ DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE

5) Are you currently employed? YES NO

Current Occupation: _____

6) Current Marital Status:

- MARRIED
 DIVORCED
 SEPARATED
 WIDOWED
 NEVER MARRIED (go to question #8)

7) Number of previous marriages, including current marriage:

- 1
 2
 3

- 4
 5 or more

If you are married and living with your spouse, go to question #9.

8) Are you living with a romantic partner to whom you are not married?

- YES NO

9) Total number of people in household: ____

10) Total number of adults in household: ____

11) Total number of children in your household: ____

Ages of children (please write below):

____ ____ ____
 ____ ____ ____
 ____ ____ ____

12) Age of teenager participating in this study: ____

13) Sex of teenager participating in this study:

- MALE FEMALE

14) Grade of teenager participating in this study: ____

15) Your relationship to the teenager participating in this study:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> BIOLOGICAL
MOTHER | <input type="checkbox"/> GRANDMOTHER |
| <input type="checkbox"/> BIOLOGICAL
FATHER | <input type="checkbox"/> GRANDFATHER |
| <input type="checkbox"/> STEP-MOTHER | <input type="checkbox"/> AUNT |
| <input type="checkbox"/> STEP-FATHER | <input type="checkbox"/> UNCLE |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> OTHER _____
(INDICATE) |

16) What is the total income of your household per year?

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| __ below \$5,000 | __ \$50,000 to 59,999 |
| __ \$5,000 to 9,999 | __ \$60,000 to 69,999 |
| __ \$10,000 to 19,999 | __ \$70,000 to 79,999 |
| __ \$20,000 to 29,999 | __ \$80,000 to 89,999 |
| __ \$30,000 to 39,999 | __ \$90,000 to 99,999 |
| __ \$40,000 to 49,999 | __ \$100,000 or higher |

17) Were you born and raised in the Baltimore/Washington DC area?

- YES (If yes, **skip** questions #18 & 19)
 NO (If no, go to question #18)

18) In what country were you born?

USA

OTHER _____ (list here)

Your age when you came to the USA _____ (Go to question #20)

19) What city & state were you born in? _____

20) In what country have you spent the most of your life? USA

other _____ (list here)

21) How many years have you lived in the Baltimore/Washington DC area? (check the total)

__ 1 __ 3 __ 5 __ 7 __ 9
 __ 2 __ 4 __ 6 __ 8 __ 10 or more

22) The town in which you currently live would best be described as:

URBAN

SUBURBAN

RURAL

23) The town in which you spent the longest period of your youth would best be described as:

URBAN

SUBURBAN

RURAL

24) In your opinion, how many African Americans lived in the neighborhood where you spent most of your childhood?

__ less than 20% African-American

__ from 20% to 40% African-American

__ from 41% to 60% African-American

__ from 61% to 80% African-American

__ from 81% to 100% African-American

DOES NOT APPLY TO ME

25) In your opinion, how many whites lived in the neighborhood where you spent most of your childhood?

__ less than 20% whites

__ from 20% to 40% whites

__ from 41% to 60% whites

__ from 61% to 80% whites

__ from 81% to 100% whites

DOES NOT APPLY TO ME

Teenage Experience of Racial Socialization-Parents

Do you say any of the following statements to your teenager now or when he/she was younger? Circle the number on the line depending on how often you remember communicating any of these messages:

1= never 2= a few times 3= lots of times

Circle only one number per item. Thank you.

	Never	A Few Times	Lots of Times
1. American society is fair toward Black people.	1	2	3
2. Black children will feel better about themselves if they go to a school with mostly White children.	1	2	3
3. Families who go to a church or mosque will be close and stay together.	1	2	3
4. Black slavery is important never to forget.	1	2	3
5. Relatives can help Black parents raise their children.	1	2	3
6. Religion is an important part of a person's life.	1	2	3
7. Racism and discrimination are the hardest things a Black child has to face.	1	2	3
8. Having large families can help many Black families survive life struggles.	1	2	3
9. You should be proud to be Black.	1	2	3
10. All races are equal.	1	2	3
11. If you work hard then you can overcome barriers in life.	1	2	3
12. A belief in God can help a person deal with tough life struggles.	1	2	3
13. Black children will learn more if they go to a mostly White school.	1	2	3
14. Knowing your African heritage is important for your survival.	1	2	3
15. Racism is real, and you have to understand it or it will hurt you.	1	2	3

		Never	A Few Times	Lots of Times
16.	Black people are connected to a history that goes back to African royalty.	1	2	3
17.	Too much talk about racism will keep you from reaching your goals in life.	1	2	3
18.	Schools should be required to teach all children about Black history.	1	2	3
19.	Depending on religion and God will help you live a good life.	1	2	3
20.	Families who talk openly about religion or God will help each other to grow.	1	2	3
21.	Teachers can help Black children grow by showing signs of Black culture in the classroom.	1	2	3
22.	Only people who are blood-related to you should be called your "family."	1	2	3
23.	Getting a good education is still the best way for you to get ahead.	1	2	3
24.	"Don't forget who your people are because you may need them someday."	1	2	3
25.	Spiritual battles that people fight are more important than the physical battles.	1	2	3
26.	You should know about Black history so that you will be a better person.	1	2	3
27.	"Train up a child in the way he should go, and he will not turn away from it."	1	2	3
28.	You have to work twice as hard as Whites in order to get ahead in this world.	1	2	3
29.	Whites make it hard for people to get ahead in this world.	1	2	3
30.	Be proud of who you are.	1	2	3

		Never	A Few Times	Lots of Times
31.	Going to a Black school will help Black children feel better about themselves.	1	2	3
32.	Black people need to learn how to live in a White world and a Black world.	1	2	3
33.	Never be ashamed of your color.	1	2	3
34.	Whites have more opportunities than Blacks.	1	2	3
35.	A Black child or teenager will be harassed just because s/he is Black.	1	2	3
36.	More job opportunities would be open to African Americans if people were not racist.	1	2	3
37.	Black children should be taught early that God can protect them from racial hatred.	1	2	3
38.	Blacks don't always have the same opportunities as Whites.	1	2	3
39.	Black children don't have to know about Africa in order to survive life in America.	1	2	3
40.	Racism is not as bad today as it used to be before the 1960's.	1	2	3

Circle your answer to the next three questions:

How important do you think it is to talk with your teenager about racial issues?

Not at All Important	Somewhat Important	Important	Very Important
1	2	3	4

How much do you and your teenager talk about racial issues?

Never or Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Regularly
1	2	3	4

Racism is alive and well today.

strongly disagree			neutral			strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity-Revised

Below are some statements concerning beliefs, opinions, and attitudes of Black people. Read each statement carefully and indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree.

		strongly disagree		neutral			strongly agree	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Overall, being Black has very little to do with how I feel about myself.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	It is important for Black people to surround their children with Black art, music, and literature.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	Black people should not marry interracially.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	I feel good about Black people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	Overall, Blacks are considered good by others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	In general, others think that Black people are unworthy.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	In general, being Black is an important part of my self-image.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	I am happy that I am Black.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9.	I feel that Blacks have made major accomplishments and advancements.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10.	My destiny is tied to the destiny of other Black people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11.	I believe that because I am Black, I have many strengths.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12.	Blacks who espouse separatism are as racist as White people who also espouse separatism.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13.	Blacks would be better off if they adopted Afrocentric values.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14.	Black students are better off going to schools that are controlled and organized by Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15.	Being Black is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16.	Black people must organize themselves into a separate Black political force.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17.	In general, others respect Black people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18.	Whenever possible, Blacks should buy from other Black businesses.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19.	Most people consider Blacks, on the average, to be more ineffective than other racial groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20.	A sign of progress is that Blacks are in the	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

	strongly disagree		neutral			strongly agree		
	Mainstream of America more than ever before.							
21.	I have a strong sense of belonging to Black people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22.	The same forces which have led to the oppression of Blacks have also led to the oppression of other groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23.	A thorough knowledge of Black history is very important for Blacks today.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24.	Blacks and Whites can never live in true harmony because of racial differences.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25.	Black values should not be inconsistent with human values.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26.	I often regret that I am Black.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27.	White people can never be trusted where Blacks are concerned.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28.	Blacks contribute less to society than others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29.	Blacks should have the choice to marry interracially.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30.	Blacks and Whites have more communalities than differences.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31.	Black people should not consider race when buying art or selecting a book to read.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32.	Blacks would be better off if they were more concerned with the problems facing all people than just focusing on Black issues.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
33.	Being an individual is more important than identifying oneself as Black.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
34.	We are all children of a higher being, therefore, we should love people of all races.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
35.	Blacks should judge Whites as individuals and not as members of the White race.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
36.	I have a strong attachment to other Black people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
37.	The struggle for Black liberation in America should be closely related to the struggle of other oppressed groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
38.	People regardless of their race have strengths and limitations.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
39.	Overall, I often feel that Blacks are not worthwhile.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
40.	Blacks should learn about the oppression of other groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
41.	Because America is predominantly white, it is important that Blacks go to White schools so that they can gain experience interacting with Whites.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

		strongly disagree		neutral			strongly agree	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
42.	Black people should treat other oppressed people as allies.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
43.	Blacks should strive to be full members of the American political system.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
44.	Blacks should try to work within the system to achieve their political and economic goals.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
45.	Blacks should strive to integrate all institutions which are segregated.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
46.	The racism Blacks have experienced is similar to that of other minority groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
47.	Blacks should feel free to interact socially with White people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
48.	Blacks should view themselves as being Americans first and foremost.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
49.	There are other people who experience racial injustice and indignities similar to Black Americans.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
50.	The plight of Blacks in America will improve only when Blacks are in important positions within the system.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
51.	Blacks will be more successful in achieving their goals if they form coalitions with other oppressed groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
52.	Being Black is an important reflection of who I am.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
53.	Blacks should try to become friends with people from other oppressed groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
54.	The dominant society devalues anything not White male oriented.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
55.	The same forces which have led to the oppression of Blacks have also led to the oppression of other groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
56.	Being Black is not a major factor in my social relationships.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
57.	I feel that Blacks have achieved few important accomplishments.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
58.	Blacks are not respected by the broader society.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
59.	In general, other groups view Blacks in a positive manner.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
60.	I am proud to be Black.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
61.	I feel that the Black community has made valuable contributions to this society.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
62.	Society views Black people as an asset.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

TEEN DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

Background Information: This questionnaire will ask you several questions about your background.

1) Age: _____ 2) Sex: Male Female

3) Racial/Ethnic Group (check one):

- BLACK/AFRICAN AMERICAN
 BLACK CENTRAL AMERICAN, FROM WHICH COUNTRY _____
 AFRO-CARIBBEAN, FROM WHICH COUNTRY _____
 AFRICAN, FROM WHICH COUNTRY _____
 BLACK OR SOUTH AMERICAN, FROM WHICH COUNTRY _____
 BIRACIAL OR MULTIRACIAL (list) _____
 OTHER RACIAL/ETHNIC BACKGROUND (LIST) _____

4) What grade in school are you in?: _____

4b) What is your grade point average?: _____

DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE

5) Do you have a part-time job? YES NO (skip to item #6)

5b) How many hours a week do you work?: _____

6) How many close friends do you have?

- 0 3
 1 4
 2 5 or more

7a) How many of your close friends are Black? _____

7b) How many of your close friends are White? _____

7c) How many of your close friends of other racial backgrounds? (e.g., Hispanic, Asian) _____

8) Are there things you like to do for fun?

YES NO

9) List three things you like to do for fun?

a) _____ b) _____ c) _____

10) The following contains a list of statements about people who live with you. Check "yes" if the statement is true for you and "no" if the statement is not true for you.

I LIVE WITH MY MOTHER	<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> NO
I LIVE WITH MY FATHER:	<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> NO
I LIVE WITH MY GRANDMOTHER	<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> NO
I LIVE WITH MY GRANDFATHER:	<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> NO
I LIVE WITH MY AUNT:	<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> NO
I LIVE WITH MY UNCLE:	<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> NO

11) How many brothers do you have? _____

12) How many brothers live with you?: _____

13) How many sisters do you have?: _____

14) How many sisters live with you? _____

15) How many cousins live with you? _____

16) Were you born and raised in the Baltimore/Washington DC area?

YES (If yes, **skip** questions #17 & 18)

NO (If no, go to question #17)

17) In what country were you born? USA OTHER _____ (list here)

18) What city were you born in? _____

19) In what country have you spent the most of your life? USA other _____ (list here)

20) How many years have you lived in the Baltimore/Washington DC area? (check the total)

1 3 5 7 9
 2 4 6 8 10 or more

24) In your opinion, your neighborhood is:

mostly African-American
 about half- African-American and half-White
 mostly White

DOES NOT APPLY TO ME

Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization

Do your parents or any of your caregivers say to you any of the following statements now or when you were younger? Circle the number on the line depending on how often you remember hearing any of these messages:

1= never 2= a few times 3= lots of times

Circle only one number per option. Thank you.

	never	a few times	lots of times
1. American society is fair toward Black people.	1	2	3
2. Black children will feel better about themselves if they go to a school with mostly White children.	1	2	3
3. Families who go to a church or mosque will be close and stay together.	1	2	3
4. Black slavery is important never to forget.	1	2	3
5. Relatives can help Black parents raise their children.	1	2	3
6. Religion is an important part of a person's life.	1	2	3
7. Racism and discrimination are the hardest things a Black child has to face.	1	2	3
8. Having large families can help many Black families survive life struggles.	1	2	3
9. You should be proud to be Black.	1	2	3
10. All races are equal.	1	2	3
11. If you work hard then you can overcome barriers in life.	1	2	3
12. A belief in God can help a person deal with tough life struggles.	1	2	3
13. Black children will learn more if they go to a mostly White school.	1	2	3
14. Knowing your African heritage is important for your survival.	1	2	3
15. Racism is real, and you have to understand it or it will hurt you.	1	2	3
16. You are connected to a history that goes back to African royalty.	1	2	3
17. Too much talk about racism will keep you from reaching your goals in life.	1	2	3
18. Schools should be required to teach all children about Black	1	2	3

	never	a few times	lots of times
history.			
19. Depending on religion and God will help you live a good life.	1	2	3
20. Families who talk openly about religion or God will help each other to grow.	1	2	3
21. Teachers can help Black children grow by showing signs of Black culture in the classroom.	1	2	3
22. Only people who are blood-related to you should be called your "family."	1	2	3
23. Getting a good education is still the best way for you to get ahead.	1	2	3
24. "Don't forget who your people are because you may need them someday."	1	2	3
25. Spiritual battles that people fight are more important than the physical battles.	1	2	3
26. You should know about Black history so that you will be a better person.	1	2	3
27. "Train up a child in the way he should go, and he will not turn away from it."	1	2	3
28. You have to work twice as hard as Whites in order to get ahead in this world.	1	2	3
29. Whites make it hard for people to get ahead in this world.	1	2	3
30. Be proud of who you are.	1	2	3
31. Going to a Black school will help Black children feel better about themselves.	1	2	3
32. You need to learn how to live in a White world and a Black world.	1	2	3
33. Never be ashamed of your color.	1	2	3
34. Whites have more opportunities than Blacks.	1	2	3
35. A Black child or teenager will be harassed just because s/he is Black.	1	2	3
36. More job opportunities would be open to African Americans if people were not racist.	1	2	3

		never	a few times	lots of times
37.	Black children should be taught early that God can protect them from racial hatred.	1	2	3
38.	Blacks don't always have the same opportunities as Whites.	1	2	3
39.	Black children don't have to know about Africa in order to survive life in America.	1	2	3
40.	Racism is not as bad today as it used to be before the 1960's.	1	2	3

Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity-brief

Below are some statements concerning beliefs, opinions, and attitudes of Black people. Read each statement carefully and indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree.

		strongly disagree			neutral		strongly agree	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Overall, being Black has very little to do with how I feel about myself.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	It is important for Black people to surround their children with Black art, music, and literature.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	Black people should not marry interracially.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	I feel good about Black people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	Blacks would be better off if they adopted Afrocentric values.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	Black students are better off going to schools that are run by Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	In general, being Black is an important part of my self image.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	I am happy that I am Black.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9.	Blacks should organize their own political group to improve the lives of Black people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10.	Whenever possible, Blacks should buy from other Black businesses.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11.	Being Black is not important to my sense of what kind of person I am.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12.	A sign of progress is that Blacks are in the Mainstream of America more than ever before.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13.	I feel that Blacks have made major accomplishments and advancements.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14.	A thorough knowledge of Black history is very important for Blacks today.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15.	White people can never be trusted where Blacks are concerned.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16.	I have a strong sense of belonging to Black people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17.	I often regret that I am Black.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18.	It is important that Blacks go to White schools so that they can gain experience interacting with Whites.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

		strongly disagree		neutral			strongly agree	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19.	I believe that because I am Black, I have many strengths.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20.	I have a strong attachment to other Black people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21.	Blacks should vote in elections and run for office to “improve the lives of Black people.”	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22.	Being Black is an important reflection of who I am.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23.	Blacks contribute less to society than others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24.	Blacks should try to work with Whites to achieve their political and economic goals.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25.	Blacks should work hard to integrate schools and workplaces that are segregated.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26.	Blacks should feel free to interact with White students or coworkers.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27.	Blacks should view themselves as being Americans before anything else.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28.	Overall, I often feel that Blacks are not worthwhile.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29.	The situation of Blacks in America will improve only when Blacks are in important positions of power.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30.	Being Black is an important part of my friendships.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

**ARE YOU A BLACK PARENT OF A TEENAGER
BETWEEN THE AGES OF 14 AND 17?**

Mia Smith Bynum, Ph.D., an African American psychologist,
is doing a study on parenting in Black families.

EARN \$50 | If you would like more information,
please call (301) 405-1406
bpp2012terps@gmail.com

 Department of Family Science
University of Maryland School of Public Health Bldg.
College Park, MD 20742

1719277

Similar flyer used to recruit sample in Indianapolis



BLACK PARENTING PROJECT 2012

**Seeking Black Mothers & Teens
for a Research Study**



Topics covered:

- Parenting
- Racial Issues
- Child Adjustment
- Self-Esteem
- Stress & Coping
- Racial Identity

Eligibility:

Any Black mothers or female legal guardians &
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(Married mothers, Single mothers, Aunties, or Grandmothers
that are legal guardians welcome!)

Payment provided.

For more information, contact us:
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Flyer used to recruit Washington D. C. area sample

Revised 4/26/2011

Black Parenting Project 2012 Phone Script

**Department of Family Science
University of Maryland**

Make note of the conversational informal tone of the script. The key here is to hit each point, but do it in an easygoing manner that puts the caller at ease and empowers her to make an informed decision about whether to go forward.

Introduction

Hello. May I speak to Mrs./Ms. _____?

My name is _____ and I am a Research Assistant for the Black Parenting Project 2012 at the University of Maryland. I received your message stating that you were interested in learning more about this project. (Alternative: I received word from [Name of site Director/ Community Liaison] that you were interested in learning more about this project). Is this a good time for me to speak with about the study? This should take about 20 minutes of your time.

Recruitment

Before we get started, may I ask you a couple questions?

How did you hear about the Black Parenting Project 2012?

[Make sure to mark this in the designated area on the Call Back Form]

Also, have you ever participated in the Black Parenting Project before or a study sponsored by George Washington University referred to as the Family Communications Study?

[If they have, this precludes them from participating in the study. Politely thank them for their interest]

About the Study

The purpose of the Black Parenting Project 2012 is to learn more about how African American mothers and their teenage children deal with various everyday issues that many black families face. In particular, we want to learn more about parenting, parent-teen relationships, and about how parents talk to their children about racial issues. In addition, we want to learn how black mothers and teens deal with various racial issues. Our hope is to use this information to develop programs that will help other African American families who may be dealing with similar issues.

The Black Parenting Project 2012 is sponsored by Dr. Mia Smith Bynum. Dr. Bynum is an African American psychologist and a professor at the University of Maryland. She has many years of experience working with black children and their families.

[Ms. (Parent last name)], we are looking for families that meet some specific criteria for the study.

- Mothers or primary female caregiver (any age)
- Teenagers between ages of 14 and 17; If more than one child fits the age criterion, we want the oldest child in the home that falls in that age group (only one child can participate)
- Both the mother and the child must identify their racial group as African American.

For example some kids may actually be biracial or “mixed,” or some of the families may have one or more members from Africa or the Caribbean.

We’ve found that it depends on the person how strongly they identify with being Black American versus being biracial or West Indian and we don’t like to assume that all Black folks are the same.

For our study, the mother and child must identify with the Black racial group or being Black American in some way or some of the questions we will ask them won’t make sense, or they may be offended by them.

Do you know what I mean?

if they have a strong biracial or multiracial identity (e.g., I’m not black or white, I’m both).

(Note to caller: Make this conversational, the mother will know what you are talking about)

- Families have about 2 hours of time to complete the study.
- You can earn \$50 by completing the study.

Confirm eligibility:

Do you have a child that falls into this age group that you think would be interested in doing the study? If you don't mind, may I ask the month and year your child was born?

[Get the child’s name and use it where appropriate during the call. See below.]

What will happen:

If you and your child decide to participate in this project, you will be interviewed in your home by two trained staff members. They are students at

the University and work closely with Dr. Bynum. They have received extensive training on how to conduct these interviews and in working with African American families.

· The interview consists of two main parts:

- (1) Completing questionnaires;
- (2) Discussing two short stories with your child while we videotape

First, you and your child will each be asked to complete some questionnaires. These questionnaires ask you to give your opinions about a variety of topics ranging from parenting, discrimination, and what it means to be black. We will also ask you and your teenager questions about psychological health (e.g., self-esteem, depression, behavior problems). We will also ask you some basic information about your background like your job, and things like that.

In addition to completing the questionnaires, you and your child will also be asked to listen to two (2) stories about black teenagers. After listening to these stories, you and your child will be asked to discuss these stories with one another for 5 minutes each. In order to gain a better understanding of how parents and teens communicate, this conversation will be videotaped. The videotape will not be viewed by anyone except for Dr. Bynum and her research team, unless you give us written permission to do otherwise.

Educating the potential participant about informed consent

Okay, so that is a summary of all of the research activities involved in the study.

Do you have any questions about any of this?

If you were to agree to schedule an interview, on that day we would come to your home and begin the interview with a process we call Informed consent. Have you ever heard that term before?

[Let the mother explain what she does or doesn't know.]

It means different things depending on what the study activity is, but in general, it involves giving your verbal and written permission for you and your child to be in our study.

When we do research, we have a responsibility to the public and the families we interview to let them know exactly what it is they are consenting to or agreeing to do. We have to let them know about any risks they may face by being in the study so they can decide not to do it up front, rather than be surprised later. As you may know, some research studies can ask people about things that make them uncomfortable or that some may view as an

invasion of privacy.

Because we want to maximize your ability to exercise your rights and reduce the chance that there are any surprises on the day of the study, I want to go over with you some specifics in the informed consent process and give you a “heads-up” on things that some parents or kids may not like. This way you can say “no” now and we won’t take up anymore of your time. Or you can listen to the full explanation on the day of the interview and say “no” then if you like. Or you may decide that the things we ask about are okay, and the things we ask your child about are okay, and that we can go forward with all of the study activities. This is what we mean by informed consent.

In order to get good, honest, accurate responses, one of the things we would like to do is interview you and your child separately during our time together. While conducting the interview in your home, we would like to do the interview with you and your child privately, in different rooms—for example, one could be in the living room and the other could be in the kitchen. You pick the spaces. The main thing we are interested in is that both you and [Name of child] have enough privacy to answer honestly and as openly as you feel comfortable doing. This is one of the ways we help everyone feel comfortable, especially the teenagers in our study. It also means that [Name of the child] should feel free to answer (or decline to answer) any and all of the questions. When you consent, or agree to be in the study, it also means that you agree not to look at each other’s responses or pressure each other to say what answers you gave after the fact.

Another part of the informed consent process involves [child’s name] consenting to be in the study. Everything we are explaining to you, we will also explain to [child’s name] on the day of the interview. [_____] has the right to decline to be in the study, same as you do. We just want to make it clear that [_____] doesn’t have to do anything he/she doesn’t want to, even if you agree that they can be in the study. And you or [_____] can withdraw from the study at any time. That’s the informed consent process in a nutshell. Does that make sense? Do you have any questions?

Risks

The next thing I want to review with you are what we call “study risks.” Our study has some risks. For instance, you or [child’s name] may get tired while doing the study. Some questions may make you feel uncomfortable or embarrassed. You or your child may not like being videotaped. These are pretty common things that happen in a study like ours.

Another risk has to do with some questions we will ask kids and parents

about sensitive topics.

Let me tell you about the kind of questions we will be asking and why. As you know, kids today grow up fast. They see a lot and live through a lot. We are trying to understand how that affects them. One of the questionnaires will ask you and your teenager whether she or he struggles with different kinds of emotional and behavioral problems. We know very little about the nature and extent of mental health problems in African American kids and we are trying to understand them better so that we can develop effective culturally-based treatments tailored to their needs.

We'll give you each a questionnaire called the Child Behavior Checklist to get at these issues. Some of its questions will ask about things like how well [*child's name*] gets along with other kids, how they deal with anger, or if they have problems with moodiness, for example. We also ask about your child's history of illegal drug use, sexual behavior, and other illegal activities (e.g., teen shoplifting, vandalism, skipping school). Another area we ask parents and teens about is teen sexual behavior. Surprising as it may be to some, teenagers are sexual beings. We ask parents about three types of sexual behavior that may, and the emphasis is on "*may*," indicate other underlying problems with sexual development. They are: (1) whether the child wants to be the opposite sex; (2) whether children play with their privates (genitals) too much in the parent's opinion, or (3) whether they do so in public.

As you can see, the question topics are pretty sensitive. The topics may make you or child feel nervous or uncomfortable or embarrassed. For some parents, these types of questions can be a deal breaker as far as being in the study goes. They may say "No, I can't agree to that," and decide not to be in the study. The last thing we want to do is to create a problem where there wasn't one by coming in and doing the study, so we like to explain everything up front.

How do you feel about the risks? Do you have any questions?

[Answer parent questions regarding why we seek the information, how the information will be used and confidentiality of the responses.]

[*Check in with the mother for her understanding of all of the issues*] Does that make sense? Do you have any questions about anything I've just said?

Breaking confidentiality

In general, all of the information we collect is confidential. We will give your family an ID number if you enroll and that is the number to be used on

all of the information we collect. Also, only Dr. Bynum and her research team will view the information we collect. There are a few circumstances where we have to break confidentiality by law and that is when someone tells us about child abuse or abuse of an elderly person during the course of the interview. We do not ask about these things directly in our interview but if it were to come out, by law, we have to report the incident to the authorities.

Do you have any questions about that or any other things I have talked about?

As I mentioned, the entire interview takes approximately two hours to complete and will be conducted at your home.

For participating in this study, your family will receive a total of \$50, \$30 for you, the mother, and \$20 for [_____]. Does that sound okay?

Conclusion

Do you have any questions about the study? Would you like to schedule an interview?

Enroll or decline

At the end of the call, record whether they decline or enroll. If the parent was unsure about whether they had participated before, follow up with them about this. If they decline to participate, record this so that we can adjust our recruitment method later if we need to. We don't need to ask them why specifically. By the time you go through the script, you'll know if it is "didn't meet study criteria" "the study content" "informed consent concerns" "study risks" or something else.

Indication of Child Eligibility

Also, Ms. _____, since we have scheduled the interview for (child's name) to participate, we will be unable to interview another child on the scheduled day if you decide to have another one of your children participate instead. If you wish to change the participating child before the interview please call the lab number and inform us. In most cases, we will be able to accommodate this as long as we are informed prior to the interview.

Interview Reminders

As you may expect, research with such an involved interview process takes significant resources to conduct. In order to ensure that we have a successful interview I am going to ask for your phone number and e-mail address so we

can communicate with you to remind you about and confirm the interview when we get closer to the interview date. We will send you an e-mail about a week before your interview and we will call the day before to confirm. We appreciate your communication with us leading up to the interview!

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