Racial Socialization: Racial Concordant Determinants of and

Predictive Relations to Racial Identity

Cheri Weeks

Dissertation submitted to the faculty of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University in

partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Psychology

Thomas Ollendick, Chair

George Clum

Jack Finney

Michael Hughes

Russell T. Jones

May 14, 2004

Blacksburg, VA

Keywords: Racial socialization, African American, racial identity development, environment

Racial Socialization: Racial Concordant Determinants of and

Predictive Relations to Racial Identity

Cheri Weeks

Abstract

This investigation examined the role that racial concordance, defined as the percentage of African Americans in one's environment, plays in the relation between racial socialization and racial identity. African American (n=-160) students evaluated their perception of parental socialization, racial concordance, and racial identity. As hypothesized, racial socialization significantly predicted racial identity. As well, racially concordant environments moderated the relation between racial socialization and racial identity. Minority and cultural socialization were the best predictors of racial identity. Conclusions emphasize the importance of proactive racial socialization and supportive environments. Future research and mental health implications are also exam

Acknowledgments and Dedications

I would like to acknowledge and thank the people in my life, without them this would have been near impossible. I would like to thank Dr. Thomas H. Ollendick, who continued to carry the torch through to the completion of my doctorate he never judged, just supported and gently nudged me through. Though I haven't always acknowledged his commitment to my academic pursuit, it did not go unnoticed.

I would like to dedicate this project to my parents, Thomas and Earnestine Weeks. My parents have sacrificed time, money and material things, to ensure that I received an education that they could only dream of; they gave me *one* job, to do my best and to finish what I started. I hope that I have made them proud. They made sure that I was proud of who I was and understood the sacrifices that had been made before theirs to secure a future for myself and my children. To my late uncle Herman Weeks, I never forgot reading him textbooks when his eyes were too tired to study. Watching him obtain his MBA helped me to acknowledge the possibility of a higher education for myself. Finally, to my children Claire, Lilith and Jefferson Weeks-Young; always remember that anything worth having will require hard work and sacrifice. The reward of knowing that you have obtained that which you set out to do, against all odds, will carry you through. I love each of you and hope that you see this small accomplishment as a springboard to accomplishing your own dreams.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Racial Socialization: Racial Concordant Determinants of and

Predictive Relations to Racial Identity

Introduction

The purpose of this investigation was to explore the role that racial concordance

(Broman, Neighbors, &Jackson, 1989) plays in the relationship between racial socialization and

racial identity. More specifically, I sought to determine whether racial concordance moderated

the relationship between racial socialization and identity. For purposes of this research, the racial

concordance variables were defined as those variables that comprise the individual's ecosystem

(i.e., racial concordance of the neighborhood, school, places of worship, friends, and

extracurricular activities). To that end, I begin this discourse with a brief overview of Cross'

(1978) theory of racial identity followed by a description of Boykin and Toms' (1985) theory of

racial socialization. Finally, I present empirical studies detailing the relationship between racial

socialization, racial identity development, and racial concordance.

Racial Identity Development

Racial identity theory falls into two camps, the mainstream camp and the underground

camp. Mainstream theories of racial identity development generally have three commonalities:

(a) a focus on the cognitive, behavioral, and affective components of racial identity; (b) a belief

that most individuals have internalized a negative view of self based on the negative values

placed on ethnicity by society; and (c) the postulation that individuals must internalize a positive

view of their blackness to achieve optimal identity. Much of the original development in these

theories can be attributed to Gordon Allport (1954) who maintained that African Americans, as a

result of historical prejudices and biases in society, would respond in one of two ways:1) by

becoming self-deprecating and internalizing those biases or 2) devaluing to dominant society in

order to function. Due to widespread empirical investigation and theoretical acceptance, mainstream approaches have generally received the most attention in the psychological literature. In addition, mainstream theories have been applied to adolescence and adapted for children as young as 4 years of age (Clark & Clark, 1939; Garner, 1983; Marshall, 1995; Peck et al., 2014; Phinney, Cantu & Kurtz, 1996; Seaton, Sellers, & Scottham, 2006).

The more recent writings on racial identity development appear to be moving toward a comingling of the two camps. Many theorists now stress the importance of the negative influence of African American belonging as well as the qualitative meanings and cultural influence of the African American experience for an individual's identity.

At the time of this study, the mainstream theory of racial identity development, specifically the Cross model, had a more specific focus on the racial identity development of African American adults and adolescents and had received greater valid research support in the literature. Indeed, new research on the relationship of racial identity to racial socialization does not point to a separation in the literature but to changes and improvements in the original Cross theory.

Cross (1978, 1995) described a five phase theory of identity development, termed Nigrescence. The first phase, Preencounter, is one in which the individual holds low salience attitudes regarding ethnicity. These individuals may see themselves as race neutral. African Americans with these attitudes may associate their blackness with social discrimination and are interested in African American issues in order to unite with those who would destroy or bury the social stigmas associated with all things African American. African Americans holding these attitudes have been found to be self-depreciating and exhibit poor self-concepts (Parham &

Helms, 1985). This poor self-concept may result from an external frame of reference, giving

African Americans the idea that "White is right" and "Black is wrong."

The second phase, Encounter, is precipitated by an intense personal or social event that

results in a new way of viewing the African American experience. This phase is marked by

confusion about one's previous identity and is frequently described as a reaction to an intense

social or personal event or encounter. This phase is marked by confusion and anxiety and propels

the individual toward exploring a new identity. Cross (1978) described this phase as a time when

the person begins a "frantic and obsessive search for black identity."

The Immersion/Emersion phase, which is the third phase, continues a person's search for

a new identity. In this phase, the person labors to get rid of vestiges of the Pre-Encounter

identity. Individuals in this phase may change the way they talk, dress and even the friendships

they develop in order to discover what they believe is their "ethnic essence." Cross (1978)

described persons in this phase as exhibiting dichotomous thinking, holding unrealistic

expectations about the efficacy of their new found blackness, and have a tendency to reject Euro-

Americans and Euro American culture.

Upon emerging from the destabilization of the third phase, the African American can

step back and critically evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of a newfound identity. It is at this

time the person enters the Internalization phase. The person begins to feel more comfortable with

his or her new-found blackness and rids him or herself of the hostility of the Immersion-

Emersion phase. The person in this phase of Nigrescence may begin to form relationships with

the majority group and there is no longer a need for the racist posturing or "uniqueness" found

in the previous phase. Rather the person moves toward a new perspective, while still using

African Americans as the primary reference group (Cross, 1978). Cross (1978) described this

phase as a time when "tension and emotionality is replaced by a calm, secure demeanor." The person is now able to incorporate a newfound and emerging identity into his or her own value system. While this phase signifies the resolution between the old self and the new self, the person has not yet "become" the new identity (Cross, 1978, 1995). As the person "practices" these new world-views, and becomes more comfortable with this new identity, Cross (1978) theorized that the individual internalizes this new-found blackness. Internalization is marked by a lack of anxiety about race as the person becomes more comfortable with the new identity. However, Cross (1978, 1995) theorized that people in this phase have not yet committed to the new role of blackness.

The fifth attitudinal phase, in which a person has fully committed to his or her new identity, is called Internalization Commitment. What separates the fourth from the fifth phase is commitment to a personal sense of Blackness. Cross (1978) theorized that this phase is marked by the distinction between the person who discontinues involvement in the movement (internalization), and the person who continues social involvement. This person has developed personal identity and seeks to incorporate this identity into behavior that is important to the goals of the group. Thus, the distinction between the internalized individual and the internally committed individual is the position that lasting identity change occurs when a person has achieved dual identity with individual and collective components.

Helms (1986) amended Cross's model suggesting that each phase be viewed as a distinct "world view," or cognitive templates that people use to organize information about themselves, others, and institutions. Helms also suggested that a person's world view resulted from their cognitive maturation level interacting with societal forces. More recently, Helms (1989) emphasized that it is useful to think of each phase as bimodal, with two potentially

distinguishable expressions. In response to Helms' work, Cross and his colleagues modified the nigrescence theory to reflect a series of racial identity subtypes (Vandiver, Cross, Worrell, & Fhagen-Smith, 2002; Vandiver, Fhagen-Smith, Cokley, Cross, & Worrell, 2001; Worrell, Cross, & Vandiver, 2001). The theory now encompasses eight subtypes. The Pre-Encounter phase has been expanded to include three identities, Assimilation, Miseducation and Self-Hatred. Assimilation describes a person who has made an effort to fully conform to the dominant culture, with the primary attitude of being American and race being secondary or even tertiary to identity. Miseducation is characterized by the negative stereotypes a person holds about other Blacks. Miseducation is not considered to be related to low self-esteem. Self-hatred is characterized by holding negative attitudes about being black. The Encounter Phase still describes a phase when a person is examining their Racial Group Orientation (RGO), however, it is theorized that an event must be strong enough to elicit a behavior change, propelling a person from just questioning their RGO, into the next phase of racial identity development. Immersion –Emersion is theorized to have two identities; Intense Black Involvement and Anti-White, the two are distinct in that in order to have Intense Black Involvement, a person does not have to be Anti-White. The Internalization Phase is comprised of three identities, Black Nationalist, Biculturalist, and Multiculturalist Inclusive. The Biculturalist Identity operationalizes the assumption that all individuals including Blacks have identities other than their ethnic identity that are salient to them. It should be noted that theoretical modification of the Cross model and NRID theory progressed faster than the current empirical investigation.

Since its introduction in 1971 Nigrescense theory has undergone many metamorphoses. The aforementioned current presentation of the theory has further operationalized the Cross Racial Identity Theory. African American racial identity researchers have provided further

support to its validity as a measurable construct. For the purposes of this study the researcher chose to enlist the mainstream theory of racial identity development, specifically the Cross Racial Identity theory, however it should be noted that the research was carried out prior to the current manifestation of the construct.

In contrast to the mainstream theories, the underground theory has received considerably less attention in the literature. The basic tenet of underground approaches with regard to identity development is that African Americans can develop healthy identity without ever having internalized a negative view of self, as suggested by the mainstream camp. Two underground theorists, Baldwin (1980) and Myers (1988), theorized that African Americans possess the qualities of healthy psyches and that spiritual processes at work in an individual's life are needed to access these qualities. More recent theories that reflect the underground theory of racial identity development were extended to include multiracial individuals as well. One notable addition to the underground literature is the Harris Model of Racial Identity Development. Harris (2006) theorized that racial identity is present in different ways in every individual. She classified racial identity into several categories. Genetic identity refers to what a person is biologically. Imposed racial identity refers to how a person's racial identity is defined by others. Another form of racial identity is cognitive, or what a person knows or thinks they are. Feeling racial identity is what people feel like on the inside. The final category is visual racial identity. Harris described visual racial identity as a time when a person looks in a mirror to "see" who they really are. She theorized that many people of mixed racial identity feel disconnected from the individual they see in the mirror and the person they feel like on the inside. Harris describes racial identity as a fluid organic process that is impacted by the environment.

Due to the nature an abundance of research, for the purposes of this investigation the mainstream theory of racial identity development was chosen.

 Racial Socialization

Broadly defined, racial socialization is race-related communication (Hughes & Johnson, 2001). More specifically, racial socialization is the transmission of messages from adults to children that promotes understanding and awareness of race, racism, and cross-race relationships (Hughes et al., 2006). One purpose of racial socialization is to prepare a child for the potential social implications of their race. Boykin and Toms (1985) provided a conceptual framework that delineated three broad categories of ethnic socialization: (a) mainstream experience, (b) cultural experience, and (c) minority experience. Socialization in the *mainstream experience* involves socializing children to the broader categories of success and academic achievement with the intent of helping them to succeed in mainstream society. These parents emphasize hard work, self-development, and individual achievement. These categories need not be mutually exclusive; in fact, several investigations have shown that some parents use a mixture of socialization strategies.

Parents who emphasize *cultural experience* believe their child should have full knowledge of, and be proud of, their cultural history. These parents transmit cultural knowledge about religious practices, holidays, and prominent cultural figures. They typically emphasize the positive side of their ethnicity and typically do not broach the negative aspects of ethnicity.

The third category of racial socialization refers to socializing children about the potentially negative societal implications of race. Parents who emphasize the *minority experience* focus on barriers their children will face due to their minority status. These parents emphasize race not to convey a sense of ethnic pride but rather to prepare and warn their children about

potential hazards. Parents discuss cultural factors and illustrate the point that being African American involves specific and potentially damaging pitfalls. Parents who use this form of socialization exclusively may also emphasize hard work and achievement by highlighting the obstacles their children may face and need to overcome on the path to success.

Based on observational and self-report data collected from 214 African American parents, Caughy, Nettles, and Lima (2011) identified four categories of racial socialization: silence about race, emphasis on cultural socialization, emphasis on cultural socialization and coping strategies, or a balanced approach**.** Parents who practice silence about race, rarely if ever emphasizes race in their discussions with their children. Parents who practice cultural socialization focus on the cultural aspects of race and identity, while coping strategies focuses on dealing with racial stressors. They determined that the types of racial socialization used by parents varied due to gender and the ecological factors in which parents were raising their children. Parents of males were more likely to remain silent about race and parents of females were more likely to provide cultural socialization messages; however, messages varied with the social climate. Specifically, if parents were raising their children in an environment perceived to have a negative social climate, parents were more like y to use both cultural and preparation from bias racial socialization. Neighborhoods perceived to have higher levels of neighborhood cohesion were related to a greater emphasis on cultural racial socialization messages.

Socialization strategies that prepare African American children for the eventual racism and discrimination they will likely experience are significant to their development. Indeed, intrafamilial activities to promote racial identity in African American children and adolescents (i.e., racial socialization) correlate with their emotional adjustment, self-esteem, academic adjustment, coping abilities, and identity development (Bowman & Howard, 1985, Johnson,

1981; Liu & Lau, 2013; Marshall, 1995; Neblett, Banks, Cooper, & Smalls-Glover, 2013; Peck et al., 2014; Peters, 1985; Richardson, 1981; Thornton et al. 1990; Witty, 1994). Neblett, Smalls, Ford, Nguyen, and Sellers (2009) suggested that racial socialization is a precursor to ethnic identity development. Specifically, the investigation showed that the positive messages parents relayed about being African American as well as the cultural activities in which the adolescents participated in were important factors "in the significance and meaning" that adolescents placed on being Black.

Cross (1978, 1994) and Boykin and Toms (1985) theorized that racial socialization practices rather than ecosystemic variables are the primary determinants of racial identity. These theorists used the term *reference group orientation* to describe a sense of identification with a group of like individuals. They asserted that racial identity reflects a reference group orientation that is not determined by other reference groups such as social class and gender.

On the other hand, some scholars endorse a belief in the culture of poverty theory, theorizing a relationship between racial identification and ecosystemic variables. Specifically, these theorists believe that one's racial identification is largely determined by membership in reference groups determined by social class. Lewis (1966) developed the culture of poverty theory hypothesizing that it was social class standing rather than reaction to other socialization forces than determine racial identity. Lewis described the characteristics most closely associated with weak racial identity in African Americans (i.e., low self-esteem, anxiety, and depression) as characteristics of all individuals with low social standing regardless of race. Wilson (1978) also endorsed a culture of poverty belief stating that, in American culture, socioeconomic status rather than reactions to racial discrimination and oppression are now more salient to the development of racial identity than in preindustrial years.

While each theoretical camp has empirical support regarding what determines racial identity development, neither has presented conclusive evidence that racial identity is determined solely by racial socialization, socioeconomic, or racial concordance variables. The following section presents empirical evidence for the utility of both models as determinants of racial identity development and explores the possibility that racial concordance variables may moderate racial identity development and that the model may work both ways.

Empirical Support

Given the three categories of racial socialization (mainstream, cultural and minority experience), one can intuitively see how each could inform and influence racial identity development. Indeed there is empirical evidence to suggest that this is the case. Studies explored the relationship between racial identity and racial socialization. Indeed, the relation between the two constructs has been documented in a handful of studies with both adults and children. Researchers investigated the type of messages parents convey to their children, lending support to the Boykin and Toms' (1985) racial socialization model.

In one of the first studies, Demo and Hughes (1990) investigated the relation between racial socialization and racial identity using data from the National Survey of Black Americans (NSBA). Their investigation revealed that individuals whose parents prepared them to be cognizant of race, a style they labeled assertive/integrative and which is comparable to minority experience socialization, felt greater attachment to their racial group.

More recently, Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, and Foust (2009) examined the relationship between adolescents' racial socialization and adolescents' ethnic-racial identity with a sample of 170 sixth graders and their mothers. Their findings indicated that boys and girls were differentially attuned to messages about race. Cultural messages were more salient to girls and appeared to contribute to their feelings of belonging. Mothers who reported preparation for bias were more predictive of boys' reports of the same type of socialization but not girls.

Stevenson (1995) differentiated between *proactive* racial socialization beliefs and *protective* racial socialization beliefs. Proactive socialization includes messages about religion, caring for extended family, cultural pride, and racism awareness and its potential detrimental effects. Though not stated by the author, proactive socialization can be compared favorably to

cultural message socialization; protective socialization can be viewed as comparable to minority experience socialization in the Boykin and Toms' (1985) model of racial socialization. Stevenson's investigation included 287 African American adolescents 14 - 15 years of age. The results demonstrated that adolescents whose parents emphasized proactive racial messages were more likely to score higher on the Internalization scale of Helm's (1981) Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS). The relationship between protective socialization messages and Preencounter attitudes was inversely significant ($r = -.38$, $p < .001$), with a positive but not significant relationship between protective messages and Internalization attitudes ($r = .10$).

Marshall (1995) also conducted an investigation that assessed the types of socialization messages parents convey to their children. She investigated the relationship between parental reports about racial socialization and child racial identity and academic achievement. A sample of middle-income African American children between 9 and 10 years of age attending predominantly White elementary schools completed the RIAS (Helms, 1981) and an investigator constructed measure of socialization. Marshall found that a majority of the parents reported conveying humanistic socialization messages. Humanistic messages included information about treating others fairly and working hard to succeed; these messages were equated to mainstream messages. Those parents who racially socialized their children to the minority experience had children who were farther along in their identity development. More specifically, children whose parents socialized them to the minority experience endorsed identity attitudes consistent with Cross' (1991) Encounter phase of identity development. Therefore, Marshall concluded that children whose parents socialized them from the minority experience were more likely to question the majority worldview. Moreover, parental socialization toward the minority experience may have accelerated identity development. Though Marshall's findings may not

support the hypothesis that minority socialization messages predict internalization, one should note that her sample included young children and socialization in childhood may not be predictive of racial identity.

In a recent qualitative study, Howard, Rose, and Barbarin (2013) examined how 15 parents of African American boys (ages 3-8) socialized their sons with regard to race and racial identity. Their investigation revealed that parental goals of gender socialization messages contrasted with parental goals of racial socialization. Specifically, parents gave their male children gender socialization messages designed *to toughen them up* and distrust the intentions of others, while providing contrasting racial socialization messages designed to foster cultural closeness and community reliance. They theorize that socialization messages that are in direct conflict with another message may cause social emotional distress as male children attempt to make sense of what it means to be a man, and an African American.

DeBerry et al. (1996) conducted a longitudinal investigation of the relationship between racial socialization and racial identification in 88 African American transracial adoptees. Using data from the Minnesota Transracial Adoption Project, DeBerry and colleagues interviewed participants twice over a 12-year period. The interviews involved a series of questions to parent and children about socialization practices and racial identity. DeBerry et al.'s findings showed that racial socialization was a significant predictor of Afrocentric reference group orientation, defined as feelings of closeness toward African Americans. Cross (1991) equated Afrocentric reference group orientation to an internalized sense of identity. DeBerry et al. concluded that the results reflected an evolving resolution of racial identity.

Thomas and Speight (1999) investigated the relation between racial identity and racial socialization strategies used by parents. Results of the investigation revealed that the

socialization received by parents predicted the socialization strategy subsequently employed by them. Specifically, Internalization attitudes predicted minority message and cultural pride socialization practices.

Fhagen-Smith (2003) investigated the relation between parental racial socialization and children's (ages 9-13) racial identity development. Results of the investigation revealed that children whose parents taught them about differences in people based on race were more likely to be aware of racism in their environment. There was also a trend that showed that children whose parents practiced proactive socialization were more likely to prefer markers of African American culture. Finally, parental socialization practices were significantly related to the racial socialization behaviors employed.

Seaton, Yip, Morgan-Lopez, and Sellers (2012) examined perceptions of racial discrimination and racial socialization on racial identity development among 566 African American adolescents over a 3 year period. They found that higher levels of racial socialization were correlated to higher levels of achieved identity. Additionally, their findings suggested that consistent racial socialization was correlated with a decreased need to explore racial identity and more normative racial identity development.

In yet another study, Peck et al. (2014) investigated racial identity development and racial socialization in a sample of youth and their parents. The findings demonstrated that youth reports of cultural pride racial socialization were more related to racial identity development than preparation for bias messages. As well, socialization, specifically cultural pride messages related favorably to racial identity development.

Stevenson and Arrington (2009) found that racial socialization mediated the relationship between racism exposure and racial identity components and ideologies. Findings showed that

exposure to racism were correlated to the variances of racial identities presented in the sample. However, racial socialization mediated the influence exposure to racism had on identity development. Expression of racial identity development was dependent upon demographic contextual issues including the racial makeup of their neighborhoods and schools. Students living in predominately Black neighborhood had a more salient view of their race.

Chen (1997) investigated child and parent predictors of African American parent-child communications. Using structured interviews with African American parents of children 4-14 years old, Chen explored three components of racial socialization: cultural socialization, preparation for bias (minority experience), and promotion of mistrust (promoting mistrust of the majority group). Her investigation revealed that cultural socialization was endorsed more frequently than minority experience socialization. Minority experience socialization was endorsed more frequently than promotion of mistrust, however. There was also a significant relationship between age and socialization with promotion of mistrust and preparing for bias increasing with age. Children aged 9-14 years old were provided increased socialization messages in those areas. The type of parent socialization messages used were also significantly related to the messages they received as children. The parents reported conveying similar messages to their own children.

Other researchers have examined the relationship between racial socialization and mental health. Liu and Lau (2013) investigated the relationships between perceived racial socialization and depressive symptoms among a sample of ethnically diverse young adults. Their investigation revealed that young adults who reported increased familial cultural socialization reported fewer depressive symptoms; conversely, young adults who reported great socialization around promotion of mistrust and preparation for bias. Promotion of mistrust and preparation for bias

were also related to lower family cohesion while increased cultural racial socialization was related to increased levels of family cohesion.

Neblett et al. (2013) investigated the manner in which racial identity moderated the relationship between racial socialization and depressive symptoms among 211 young African Americans. Their findings indicated that a combination of racial socialization messages and the cultural activities that parents engage their children in contribute to their racial identity. In their study racial identity moderated the relationship between racial socialization and psychological adjustment. Parent's messages about race contributed to their psychological health and racial identity development.

White-Johnson, Ford, and Sellers (2010) examined racial socialization among 212 African American mothers with regard to racial socialization messages and parent demographic factors. Their investigation reveled three patterns of racial socialization; multifaceted, low race salience, or unengaged. Mothers that utilized a multifaceted approach or a combination of cultural and mainstream messages tended to be more educated, had parents who engaged them around race as children and had experience racial discrimination in their pasts. These mothers tended to see race as central to their identity. Mothers that engaged in low race salience and unengaged socialization, no emphasis on race and no engagement around race at all, respectively, tended to have lower education, lower levels of racial socialization as children and had few life experiences involving racial discrimination.

Ogbu (2004) argued that the development of children must be considered within the relevant cultural and historical contexts in which they develop. This cultural ecological theory is in contrast to theories that have pointed to cultural deficiencies while attempting to explain the outcomes of minority youth. Brofenbrenner (1979, 1994) developed the ecological systems

model. Bronfenbrenner suggested that development cannot be explained without taking into account the interaction between individuals and their microsystems, mesosystems, exosystems, and macrosystems across time. Together, these theories suggest that child development outcomes can be explained by examining the relationship between the individual, his or her cultural experience, and the environment. Therefore, although the aforementioned studies reveal a relationship between racial socialization and racial identity development, the strength of the relationship is not what would be expected if racial socialization were the sole determinant of racial identity. In the quest to understand racial identity better, other researchers demonstrated the relations among racial socialization, racial identity, and racial concordance variables.

A recent publication by Butler-Sweet (2011) revealed that social class standing played an important role in the socialization strategy parents chose for their children and the motive behind the messages. For example, middle class status influenced parents' efforts to remain connected to the Black community. Middle class parents also emphasized college, not because it was a middle class thing to do, but because it was viewed as a way to avoid racist society (Butler-Sweet, 2011). However, White-Johnson (2010) found a lack of statistically significant income differences in African American parents' racial socialization of their children.

Smith et al. (2008) found that African American adoptees in mono racial families growing up in all White environments had parents that used a "class selective" approach to socializing with other African Americans in order to remain connected to the Black community. Specifically, parents kept children connected to the community by enrolling them in elite organizations such as Jack and Jill where they could form relationships with children from other middle to upper class African American families. They also found that transracial adoptees had more difficulty accepting their own racial identity when their adoptive parents used socialization

practices that minimized racial difference rather than facilitated their comfort with their own ethnic differences.

Broman, Neighbors, and Jackson (1988) were among the first to explore the relationship between ecosystemic variables and racial identity. Using the NSBA data set, Broman and colleagues found education, age, urbanicity, and region significantly predicted racial identity. More specifically, their investigation revealed that older and less educated African Americans living in urban centers were more likely to endorse feeling of closeness toward African Americans, which is comparable to the Internalization phase of racial identity development. In addition, African Americans living in the Northeast and who had attended college also endorsed greater feelings of closeness toward African Americans.

Thorton, Chatter, Taylor, and Allen (1990) also conducted an investigation using the NSBA that revealed ecosystemic variables were related to African American parents' tendency to utilize racial socialization as a strategy. Variables that correlated with parents' propensity to engage in racial socialization included education past high school, marriage, and older age. Interestingly, geographical location also correlated with racial socialization, with parents living in the Northeast being more likely to engage in minority racial socialization. Those living in predominately African American neighborhoods were less likely to socialize toward the minority experience than those living in predominately White or more integrated neighborhoods. It appeared that the more ethnically diverse the neighborhood, the more likely parents were to engage in minority experience racial socialization. This could be attributed to racial stressors of either living in or attaining residence in an ethnically diverse neighborhood.

Richardson (1981) conducted a study of the effects of racial concordance on the racial socialization practices of mothers with their adolescent daughters. Of the 62 African American

mothers interviewed, a majority were reared in predominantly African American settings. The data from Richardson's study revealed that all of the mothers felt it was important to racially socialize their daughters. Specifically, environmental experiences, higher education, and racial makeup of the mother's environment were significantly related to minority socialization strategies.

Broman, Neighbors, and Jackson (1989) reported a relationship between racial context and racial identity in adults. Using data from the NSBA, they investigated the relation between the two variables across four different environments: former school, neighborhood, current workplace, and place of worship. Broman et al. found that attending school and living in all African American neighborhoods during childhood and adolescence significantly increased feelings of closeness toward other African Americans. Perhaps racial concordance was more significant during adolescence. For studies using the NSBA data, feeling of closeness toward African Americans is equivalent to an internalized sense of racial identity. Additionally, environments comprised of majority African American population (racial concordant) in places of worship also contributed to an internalized sense of racial identity. Finally, analyses revealed that those individuals who reported a mixed racial context in former school, neighborhood, and present workplace also reported increased feelings of closeness to other African Americans over those in all White environments. Racial concordance may make the socialization messages received more salient because an individual may have the ability to see the messages in context and being practiced in these environments, thus increasing the internalization of these messages.

Martin (2001) conducted two studies that examined the African American church as a racial socialization agent. Study 1 explored parents' perceptions of their church and its relation to their choice of racial socialization practice. Study 2 examined the extent to which adolescents'

perceptions of their church and their parents' racial socialization practices influenced their racial identity. The findings from Study 1 revealed that parental perception of the church's spiritual and faith-based progressiveness had a direct effect on racial socialization practices. Results of the second study revealed that adolescents who viewed their church as progressive were more likely to have positive racial identity attitudes as compared to adolescents who viewed their church as privatistic.

In summary, it appears that racial identity is varied and complex, far more complex than determined by racial socialization factors alone. Based on extant research, it appears that racial identity would best be determined by the complex interplay between racial socialization *and* levels of racial concordance in an individual's ecosystem. To that end, the results of the previous studies of ecosystemic variables should be considered. It is well documented that during the developmental phase adolescents spend more time away from their caregivers. In addition, the opinions and influences of outside forces have a greater influence on adolescents' attitudes and behaviors. Previous empirical studies have shown that a greater percentages of African Americans (high racial concordance) in the environment was related to increased feelings of racial closeness to other African Americans. Additionally, high racial concordance environments are related to parents' use of racial socialization strategies known to increase racial identity development as well. Perhaps racial identity is not solely dependent upon the racial socialization strategy utilized by parents but is moderated by the level of racial concordance in the environment that *implicitly* or *explicitly* supports the racial socialization strategies parents or caregivers use. As such, I anticipated that racial concordance of an individual's environment would moderate the relationship between racial socialization and racial identity. This premise was the basis for my hypotheses.

Hypotheses

I hypothesized that socialization messages regarding the many facets and complexity of race (minority messages and cultural socialization) would be predictive of racial identity (high internalization attitudes). However, it was anticipated that the relationship between racial socialization and racial identity would be moderated by the racial concordance in an individual's environment. Racial concordance was defined as the percent of African American presence in the following five different situations or environments: school, church, neighborhood, network of friends, and extracurricular activities.

Method

Participants

One hundred-sixty African American (53% male and 47% female) undergraduate and

graduate students from Virginia Tech agreed to participate. Participants were freshman through

graduate students whose ages ranged from 18-43 years. Individuals were eligible to participate if

they identified themselves as African American, were age 18 or over, and were reared in the

United States.

Measures

Racial Concordance Questionnaire (RCQ) The Racial Concordance Questionnaire

(RCQ; see Appendix B), developed by the researcher, was used to investigate the racial

concordance in the environment in which the participants spent most of their time growing up

including work, school, church, neighborhood, and network of friends. In each of the five

environments, respondents were asked to indicate the percentage of African Americans present.

Four levels of racial concordance for each context were possible: 0-25%, 26-50%, 51-75% and

76-100%. The responses were coded 0, 1, 2 and 3 respectively, yielding a total ecosystemic

index of 0-15 across the five environments.

Racial Socialization Questionnaire The racial socialization questionnaire was used to

assess what type of racial socialization the respondent received. The questions that made up this

measure were taken from a pair of open ended questions included in the NSBA (see Appendix

C): "What are the most important things your parent taught you about: (a) what it means to be

Black, and (b) getting along with Whites?" Bowman and Howard's (1985) theory was the basis

for classifying participant responses into socialization categories. For example, a response such

as "my father alerted me to the fact that there were racial barriers" was classified as minority

socialization. Participants were encouraged to provide five messages. For this investigation, the summarized qualitative text was coded as cultural, minority, mainstream, or no racial socialization messages. Racial socialization messages were coded in terms of presence or absence of each socialization message, with presence (yes) coded as 2 and absence (no) coded as 0. Two raters, coding all responses, achieved 86% interrater agreement. Points of disagreement were resolved by discussion so that 100%. consensus was reached.   Each message was coded into mainstream, cultural and minority message categories.

 Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS - L) The Racial Identity Attitude Scale (Helms & Parham, 1981; see Appendix D) was designed to assess the types of attitudes of the first four phases in Cross' (1978) model of Nigrescence. The long form, which was used in this investigation, consists of 50 items in which participants respond using a five point Likert Scale (1-5 point scale). Total scores are the sums of the item values for four factors (Helms, 1990). The higher the individual subscale score, the more attitudes a person is hypothesized to possess from that particular factor (Helms,1990). Internal consistency coefficients for the Preencounter, Encounter, Immersion/Emersion and Internalization were estimated to be .89, .52. .84, and .85 respectively, in the earlier study by Weeks and Ollendick (1998). The internal consistency coefficients for the current investigation for Preencounter, Encounter, Immersion/Emersion and Internalization were .87, .52, .85, and .84 respectively.

Procedure

 Participants were invited to participate in the investigation through various student organization list serves (i.e., Black Student Association, National Society of Black Engineers, and the Black Graduate Student Association). An open letter invited participants to an investigation site located on a secure Virginia Tech server. The first page of the site provided a

brief overview of the study and instructions for how to download the consent form to the researcher. Participants were then instructed to enter the site that housed the questionnaires. Completion of the computerized questionnaires took approximately 30-40 minutes. Once completed, questionnaires were encrypted and submitted via secure server to the database. Participants could leave the site and return later to complete the questionnaires if they so desired.

Participants who failed to mail a completed consent form were sent three reminder emails in order to maximize the number of responses used in the final analysis (see Appendix A for Template of Reminder Email). Participants who did not provide five responses to the racial socialization measure were also sent reminder emails. Finally, participants with incomplete RIAS –B's were also sent email prompts to redo the measure. The data for those individuals who did not respond to these additional prompts were excluded from the final analyses. One hundred-sixty individuals completed the questionnaire.

Results

Demographic Data

Eleven percent of the sample reported living in two-parent household for most of their childhood. A grandparent or other relative raised 6% and 10% of respondents were raised in single parent households. Much of the demographic data is missing; many respondents chose not to answer this part of the survey. Eighteen percent of participants reported their caregivers as having had some college education, 1% were college graduates, 3% had a graduate degree, 9% had AA or trade school degrees, and 7% were high school graduates. Many of the participants skipped or failed to complete this part of the demographic questionnaire as well. There was only one statistically significant correlation between racial concordance and caretaker education. Caretaker education was significantly and positively correlated to racial concordant variables (r = .189, $p < .01$) indicating that as caretaker education increased, the percentage of African Americans present in the environment also increased. There were no other significant correlations between education or household make-up and the measures of racial socialization and identity. Results of all correlations can be seen in Table 1.

Correlations

Pearson correlation coefficients were computed to determine the relations among internalized identity and measures of socialization and racial concordance across the five environments. An examination of the computer output showed that the variables were highly correlated. In order to compensate for this multicollinearity, each variable was centered. Centering is accomplished by subtracting the sample mean from individual scores thus creating a revised sample mean of zero (Holmbeck, 1997).

Pearson correlation coefficients were computed between the new centered variables to determine the extent of correlation between them. There were several significant correlations, consistent with previous investigations (Weeks & Ollendick, 1998; see Table 1).

Insert Table 1 Here

Most notable of these relations are the correlations between Preencounter and the measures of racial concordance and socialization. Preencounter attitudes were significantly and negatively correlated to the measures of racial concordance ($r = -.58$, $p < .01$) and racial socialization ($r = -.66$, $p < .01$). That is, as racial concordance decreased, Preencounter attitudes increased. The same type of relationship was demonstrated between racial socialization and Preencounter attitudes. That is, as minority and cultural messages decreased Preencounter attitudes increased.

Consistent with other investigations, Internalization was significantly and negatively correlated with measures of Preencounter. That is as Internalization attitudes increased Preencounter attitudes decreased. Internalization attitudes were also significantly and positively correlated with indicators of socialization and context. That is, as preventive socialization increased, the levels of Internalization also increased. Internalization scores were significantly related to the measure of socialization ($r = .71$, $p < .01$); that is, those participants who reported that their caregivers used mostly minority and cultural socialization had increased Internalization attitudes. Furthermore, Internalization was significantly correlated to the measure of racial concordance ($r = .65$, $p < .01$); that is as the African American presence increased across the environment, Internalization scores increased. Finally, the measure of racial concordance was significantly correlated to the measure of socialization ($r = .59$, $p < .01$); that is, as the African American presence increased in the environment, so too did the level of socialization utilized by the caregivers.

Regression Analyses

Hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted on each phase of racial identity development to determine whether racial concordance variables moderated the relationship between racial socialization and the four racial identity variables. Four regression equations were conducted, resulting in two significant sets of findings. Results of these regressions can be found in Table 2.

Insert Table 2 here

In the first regression analysis, Preencounter was the criterion and socialization and racial concordance were the predictor variables. In the first step, Socialization was entered into the regression, the multiple correlation coefficient was .66 indicating that 43% of the variance was accounted for by socialization alone, $F (1, 158) = 119.045, p < .01$. In step 2, ecosystem was entered into the regression equation and found to be additionally significant. The multiple correlation coefficient was .70 indicating that 49% of the variance in Preencounter was accounted for by socialization and racial concordance variables, $F (2, 157) = 74.213, p < .01$. In the third step, the interaction term (socialization x racial concordance) was entered into the regression and also found to be significant. The multiple correlation coefficient was.72, indicating that 52% of the variance in Preencounter was accounted for with the addition of the interaction term $F (3, 156) = 56.996, p <.01$.

In order to determine the nature of the interaction simple regression lines were plotted by conducting a median split on high and low values of the moderator as described in Holmbeck (1997). Results of the plots of the slope lines between the estimated marginal means of preenocunter attitudes and socialization can be seen in Figure 1.

Insert Figure 1 here

As the figure shows, racial concordance moderated the relationship between racial socialization and Preencounter attitudes. Those individuals with low reported socialization and low racial concordance reposted more Preencounter attitudes than those individuals with low socialization and high racial concordance. Those individuals with high socialization and high racial concordance reported fewer Preencounter identity attitudes than those with high socialization and low racial concordance.

In the second regression analysis, Encounter was the criterion variable and socialization and racial concordance were the predictor variables. In the first step, socialization was entered into the regression; the multiple correlation coefficient was .15 with 2% of the variance accounted for by socialization alone, $F(1, 158) = 3.376$, $p > .05$. There was no main effect for socialization. In step 2, racial concordance was entered into the regression equation. The multiple correlation coefficient was .15, again 2% of the variance was accounted for by these two variables, $F(2, 157) = 1.725$, $p > .05$. There was no main effect for racial concordance. In the third step, the interaction term was entered into the equation. The multiple correlation coefficient was .18 accounting for only 3% of the variance, $F(3, 156) = 1.669$, $p > .05$, indicating no significant interaction effect.

A third regression analysis was conducted, Immersion/Emersion was the criterion variable, and racial concordance and socialization were the predictors. In the first step socialization was entered into the regression equation, the multiple correlation coefficient was .22 with 5 % of the variance accounted for by socialization $F(1, 158) = 7.89$, $p < .01$), which indicates that socialization was a significant predictor of Immersion/Emersion attitudes. However, the model lost significance with the addition of the other variables. In the second step racial concordance was entered into the equation, the multiple correlation coefficient was .24

indicating that 6% of the variance was accounted for by the addition of racial concordance. However, the model was not statistically significant, $F(2, 157) = 4.889$, $p > .05$. In the third step the interaction term was entered into the equation, the multiple correlation coefficient was .24 indicating that 6% of the variance was accounted for at this step. The model was not statistically significant, $F (3, 156) = 3.296$, $p > .05$.

A fourth hierarchical multiple regression analysis was conducted to determine whether ecosystemic niches moderated the relation between racial socialization and racial identity.

Internalization was the criterion variable while socialization and Racial Concordance were the predictor variables in the analysis. Results are presented in Table 2. In the first step, socialization was entered. The multiple correlation coefficient was .71 indicating that 51% of the variance in Internalization was accounted for by socialization alone, $F (1, 158) = 164.781$, $p < .01$. In the second step, socialization and racial concordance were entered into the regression equation. As shown in Table 2, the multiple correlation coefficient was .76 indicating that 59% of the variance was accounted for by these two variables, $F(2, 157) = 113.672$, $p < .01$). Both were significant predictors.

In the third step, the interaction between socialization and racial concordance was entered into the equation, and was significant. The multiple correlation coefficient for the interaction term was .78 indicating that 62% of the variance was accounted for with the addition of the interaction term, $F (3, 156) = 84.908$, $p < .05$. In order to determine the nature of the interaction, participants were again split into high and low groups on the moderator, results and plots of the slope lines between estimated marginal means of internalized identity and socialization can be seen in Figure 2.

Insert Figure 2 here

As Figure 2 shows, ecosystem moderated the relation between racial socialization and racial identity. Those individuals with low reported socialization and low racial concordance had lower reported Internalization than those individuals with low socialization and high racial concordance. Those individuals with high socialization and high racial concordance reported greater Internalized identity than those with high socialization and low racial concordance.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to determine if racial concordance in an individual's ecosystem moderated the relationship between racial socialization and racial identity. The results of this study provide initial support for the importance of racial socialization and racial concordance as predictors of racial identity. In addition, support is provided for racial concordance as a moderator of the relationship between racial socialization and racial identity.

Racial identity theorists have shown that the type of racial socialization employed by caregivers predicts racial identity attitudes. Results of this investigation support previous findings revealing that lower levels of racial socialization (i.e.; mainstream messages) result in higher levels of Preencounter attitudes, while higher levels of racial socialization (i.e., minority and cultural messages) result in healthier racial identity; that is increases in Internalization attitudes (Fhagen-Smith, 2003; Thomas & Speight, 1999).

Other researchers have shown a relationship between racially concordant environments and racial identity (Broman, Neighbors, & Jackson, 1989; Martin, 2001). Results of this investigation also support this previous research, revealing that racially concordant environments are a significant predictor of racial identity. Indeed, results show that low numbers of African Americans in the environment resulted in lower levels of Internalized identity and increased levels of Preencounter attitudes.

While researchers revealed relationships between racial identity and socialization and between racial identity and racially concordant environments, few researchers examined all three constructs simultaneously, and none examined racial concordance as a moderator. This investigation revealed that ecosystem moderates the relationship between racial socialization and racial identity. We have shown in a previous investigation, that racial identity development can

be viewed as a social construct (Weeks & Ollendick, 1998). This investigation provides further evidence of this notion in that it reveals that racial identity is not only influenced through the types of social interaction required for racial socialization, but that is also influenced through racial concordance of the social *environment*. Indeed, the racial concordance questionnaire gathered evidence about some of the social environments African Americans experience daily. These findings are consistent with the theory that the process of identity development is precipitated by social phenomena, whether on an interpersonal, personal, or societal level.

Consistent with the first hypothesis, racial socialization was significantly related to Internalization attitudes. That is those individuals who reported mostly cultural and minority socialization messages also reported greater levels of Internalized racial identity. Conversely, those individuals who reported lower levels of socialization; i.e., more Mainstream messages, also reported more Preencounter attitudes.

The second hypothesis was also supported, that is, racial concordance played a significant role in moderating the relationship between racial socialization and racial identity. Indeed, those individuals with low socialization and low racial concordance had lower levels of reported Internalization attitudes than those with low socialization and high racial concordance. The converse was true for Preencounter attitudes. That is, individuals with low socialization and low racial concordance had higher reported Preencounter attitudes than those individuals with low socialization and high racial concordance.

It appears that racial concordance may provide a supportive environment for individuals to process the racial socialization conveyed by their caregivers. Once the information is processed a supportive environment may provide a place for an individual to develop a healthy racial identity by providing role models and a non-judgmental place to practice new identity

skills. Socialization alone is a significant predictor of racial identity. However, the impact of racial concordance provides evidence that an environment with a representative presence of African Americans increases the likelihood that an individual will develop a healthy racial identity. An environment low in socialization, coupled with low racial concordance, may be perceived as isolating and perhaps hostile. These perceptions may make it difficult for individuals to make a decision to develop or change their identity.

Investigation Limitations

As with any empirical investigation, this study has limitations. The nature of any self-report survey is that individuals may represent themselves favorably, thus reporting information about them that may not be entirely true. Clearly, how individuals report themselves may differ from how they actually are; therefore future research should use several measures of identity development including those based on behavioral observation and significant-other reports. Participants were asked to retrospectively recall the racial socialization they received; this information may or may not have been recalled or perceived accurately. Therefore, future research should include information from both parent/caregiver and participant in order to obtain the most reliable self-report data; observational data should also be obtained. Moreover, although the sample reflected socioeconomic diversity, data were collected from participants in a largely White, southeastern university. Therefore, the generalizability of the findings may be limited.

Furthermore, the nature of the investigation, Internet research, did not allow for face-to--face interaction, clarification, or follow-up with participants. As noted, there were no significant correlations between household make-up and parental education and identity or socialization. Unfortunately, this may be due to the fact that only about half of the sample answered the

demographic questionnaire. The inability to take online informed consent and to follow-up with participants other than via email resulted in a loss of data. In the first week that the website was launched, 700 potential participants logged on and viewed the site. Over 300 people began or completed the survey; however, the lack of online consent resulted in significant loss of data.

One last point to consider is that the measure of racial concordance is a gross measure of an obviously complex variable. Care must be taken to identify each type of socialization, implicit, explicit, face-to-face or modeled, that is transmitted in each of the environments measured. Researchers must also consider factors that were not a focus of this study such as the media and other forms of entertainment which provide considerable racial socialization for youth of color.

Future Direction and Implications

There have been increased advances in Internet research since this study was conducted. Better programs have been written, they can be conducted in real time form locations across the globe, and live help can be used to question inconsistencies as they occur. Recruitment for Internet investigations can now be conducted in a number of different modalities, such as television, radio, text message, email, and social networking sites such as My Space, Twitter, and Facebook.

In addition to the need to address limitations of the study, future research directions are critical to understanding the complex relationship between racial socialization, racial identity, and racial concordance. Future research should address the consensus between participants' perceived racial socialization and the content of the messages provided by caregivers. Future investigations should also address the perceived racial socialization messages present in the environment. For example, is the presence of African Americans in the environment enough to

support the development of a healthy identity? Or, is there something that is explicitly or implicitly transmitted in the environment that significantly increases the chance of a healthy identity? Moreover, just what is it about "more" African Americans in a person's environment that results in these effects? The mere presence of more African Americans cannot be viewed as the functional principle involved. What psychological processes characterize such environments and lead to these effects? Essentially, researchers need to know more about the mechanisms through which this transmission occurs. Finally, future Internet studies should allow participants to provide online consent to participate in survey research, thus increasing the amount of potential data.

The implications of this investigation may also be extended into our communities and therapeutic practices. On a community level, efforts can be made through churches, community agencies, schools, and neighborhood groups to provide consistently supportive environments for African Americans to develop healthy racial identities. Schools can offer curricula that consistently and equally affirm the abilities and contributions of African Americans to society as a whole. The numbers of people in roles of leadership and responsibility could be increased through additional recruitment and retention efforts.

Clinicians in training should be taught to understand the relations between racial identity and various adjustment and social disorders. To foster healthy identity development, clinicians and other helpers can create therapeutically affirming environments in their offices by building rapport and being knowledgeable about African American culture and history. This knowledge and acceptance can translate to the work environment by using pictures and offering reading material reflective of African American culture. Additionally, clinicians can work with parents to teach them about racial identity developments, African American parenting practices, and the

need for proactive racial socialization. Indeed, this researcher created a program that addressed the racial identity of children and emphasized the racial socialization responsibilities of parents, assisting them in developing consistently affirming, supportive environments (Weeks, 2001 unpublished manuscript). More recently, this researcher was involved in two research studies that used racial socialization to increase the self-efficacy of African American participants through racial socialization to increase safe sex practices. Responsible and successful implementation of these types of programs may empower individuals to change their own communities as well as the environments they create for themselves and their children.

References

Asante, M. K. (1980). *Afrocentricity: The theory of social change.* Buffalo, NY: Amulefi.

Baldwin, J. A. (*1980*). The psychology of oppression. In M. K. Asante & A. S. Vandi (Eds.), *Contemporary black thought* (pp. 95-110).

Baron, R. M., & Kenny, D. A. (1986). The moderator-mediator variable distinction I n social psychological research: Conceptual, strategic, and statistical considerations. *Journal of Personality and social Psychology, 51,* 1173-1182.

Bowman, P .J., & Howard, C. (1985). Race-related socialization, motivation, and academic achievement: A study of black youth in three-generation families. *Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry, 24,* 2134-2141.

Boykin, A.W., & Toms, F. (1985). Black child socialization: A conceptual framework. In H. McAdoo & J. McAdoo (Eds.), *Black children: Social educational and parental environments* (pp. 33-51). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Broman, C. L., Neighbors H. W., & Jackson, J. S. (1988). Racial group identification among Black adults. *Social Forces, 67,* 146 –158.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1994). Ecological models of human development. In *International Encyclopedia of Education*, vol. 3 (2nd ed.). Oxford: Elsevier.

Butler-Sweet, C. (2011). A healthy Black identity: Transracial adoption, middle-class families and racial socialization. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 42*, 193-211.

Caughy, M., Nettles, S., & Lima, J. (2011). Profiles of racial socialization among African American parents: Correlates, context, and outcome. *Journal of Child & Family Studies*, *20*(4), 491-502. doi:10.1007/s10826-010-9416-1

Chen, L. (1997). When and what parents tell children about race: An examination of race related socialization among African American families. *Applied Developmental Science, 1*(4), 200-214.

Clark, K. P., & Clark, M. P. (1939). Development of consciousness of self and the emergence of racial identification in Negro preschool children. *Journal of Social Psychology, 10*, 591-599.

Cross, W. E. (1978). The Cross and Thomas models of psychological nigrescence. *Journal of Black Psychology, 5*, 13-19.

Cross, W. (1991). *Shades of black: Diversity in African American identity*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Cross, W. E. (1995). In search of blackness and afrocentricity. In H. W. Harris, H. C. Blue, & E. E. H. Griffith (Eds.), *Racial and ethnic identity: Psychological development and creative expression* (pp. 3-72). New York, NY: Routledge.

DeBerry, K. M., Scarr, S., & Weinberg, R. (1990). Family racial socialization and ecological competence: Longitudinal assessments of African American transracial adoptees. *Child Development, 67*, 2375-2399.

Demo, D., & Hughes, M. (1990). Socialization and racial identity among Black Americans. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 53*, 364-374.

Greene, B. A. (1990). What has gone before: The legacy of racism and sexism in the lives of Black mothers and daughters. *Women & Therapy, 9*, 207-230.

Helms, J. E. (1986). Expanding racial identity theory to cover counseling process. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 33*(1), 62-64.

Helms, J. (1990). *Black and White racial identity: Theory Research and Practice*. New York: Greenwood Press.

Holmbeck, G. N. (1997). Toward terminological, conceptual, and statistical clarity in the study of moderatos: examples from the child-clinical and pediatric psychology literatures. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 65*(4), 599-610.

Howard, L. C., Rose, J. C., & Barbarin, O. A. (2013). Raising African American boys: An exploration of gender and racial socialization practices. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *83*(2-3), 218-230. doi:10.1111/ajop.12031

Hughes, D., & Chen (1997). When and what parents tell children about race: An examination of race-related socialization among African American families. *Applied Developmental Science, 1*, 200-214.

Hughes, D., Hagelskamp, C., Way, N., & Foust, M. D. (2009). The role of mothers' and adolescents' perceptions of ethnic-racial socialization in shaping ethnic-racial identity among early adolescent boys and girls. *Journal of Youth & Adolescence*, *38*(5), 605-626. doi:10.1007/s10964-009-9399-7

Lewis, O. (1966). The culture of poverty. *Scientific American, 215*, 19-25.

Liu, L. L., & Lau, A. S. (2013). Teaching about race/ethnicity and racism matters: An examination of how perceived ethnic racial socialization processes are associated with depression symptoms. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *19*(4), 383-394. doi:10.1037/a0033447

Marshall, R. (1990). Ethnic socialization of African American children: Implication s for parenting, identity development, and academic achievement. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 24*, 377-396.

Myers, L. J. (1988). Understanding an Afrocentric world view*:* Introduction to an optimal psychology. *Journal of Black Studies 28*(3), 386-397.

Neblett, E. R., Banks, K., Cooper, S. M., & Smalls-Glover, C. (2013). Racial identity mediates the association between ethnic-racial socialization and depressive symptoms. *Cultural Diversity And Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *19*(2), 200-207. doi:10.1037/a0032205

Parham, T.A. & Helms, J.E. (1981). The influence of Black Students Racial Identity attitudes on preference for counselor's race. *Journal of Counseling Psychology,* 28, 250-257.

Parham, T. A., & Helms, J. E. (1985). Relation of racial identity attitudes to self-actualization and affective states of black students. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 32*, 431-440.

Peck, S. C., Brodish, A. B., Malanchuk, O., Banerjee, M., & Eccles, J. S. (2014). Racial/ethnic socialization and identity development in Black families: The role of parent and youth reports. *Developmental Psychology*, *50*(7), 1897-1909. doi:10.1037/a0036800

Peters, M. F. (1985). Racial socialization of young black children. In H. P. McAdoo & J. L. McAdoo (Eds.), *Black children: Social, educational and parental environments*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Phinney, J., Cantu, C. L., & Kurtz, D. A. (1997). Ethnic and American identity as predictors of self-esteem among African American, Latino, and White adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 26*, 165-185.

Nito, S. (2006, October, 18). *A new look at racial identity development* [Web log post]. Retrieved from http://readingwritingliving.wordpress.com/2006/10/18/a-new-look-at-racial-identity-development/

Ogbu, J. U. (2004). Collective identity and the burden of "acting White" in Black history, community, and education. *Urban Review*, *36*(1), 1-35.

Richardson, B. (1981). Racism and child –rearing: A study of black mothers (Doctoral dissertation, Claremont Graduate School). *Dissertation Abstracts International, 42*, 125A.

Seaton, E. K., Sellers, R. M., & Scottham, K. (2006). The status model of racial identity development in African American adolescents: Evidence of structure, trajectories, and well-being. *Child Development*, *77*(5), 1416-1426. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8624.2006.00944.x

Seaton, E. K., Yip, T., Morgan-Lopez, A., & Sellers, R. M. (2012). Racial discrimination and racial socialization as predictors of African American adolescents' racial identity development using Latent Transition Analysis. *Developmental Psychology, 48*(2), 448-458. doi:10.1037/a0025328

Smith, S., McRoy, R., Freundlich, M., & Kroll, J. (2008). *Finding families for African American children: the role of race & law in adoption from foster care.(Policy Brief 1-58).* Retrieved from http://www.adoptioninstitute.org/research/2008_05_mepa.php

Spencer, M. (1983). Children's cultural values and parental child-rearing strategies. *Developmental Review, 3*, 351-370.

Stevenson, H. C. (1995). Relationship of adolescent perceptions of racial socialization to racial identity. *Journal of Black Psychology, 21*(1), 49-70.

Stevenson, H. C., & Arrington, E. G. (2009). Racial/ethnic socialization mediates perceived racism and the racial identity of African American adolescents. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *15*(2), 125-136. doi:10.1037/a0015500

Thomas, A. J., & Speight, S. L. (1999). Racial identity and racial socialization attitudes of African American parents. *Journal of Black Psychology, 25*(2), 152-170.

Thorton, M., Chatters, L., Taylor, R., & Allen, W. (1990). Sociodemographic and environmental correlates of racial socialization by black parents. *Child Development, 61*, 401-409.

Vandiver, B. J., Cross Jr., W. E., Worrell, F. C., & Fhagen-Smith, P. E. (2002). Validating the Cross Racial Identity Scale. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *49*(1), 71.

Vandiver, B. J., Fhagen-Smith, P. E., Cokley, K. O., Cross, W. E., Jr., & Worrell, F. C. (2001). Cross's Nigrescence model: From theory to scale to theory. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling & Development*, *29*(3), 174.

Weeks, C., & Ollendick, T. H. (1998). *Racial identity attitudes as predictors of the cognitive correlates of social anxiety in African Americans*. Unpublished Master's Thesis, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, Virginia.

Weeks, C. (2001). *Honorable African American positive parenting (HAPPY): Your cultural responsibility to your child*. Unpublished manuscript, Pacific Clinics, Pasadena, California.

White-Johnson, R. L., Ford, K. R., & Sellers, R. M. (2010). Parental racial socialization profiles: Association with demographic factors, racial discrimination, childhood socialization, and

racial identity. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology, 16*(2), 237-247. doi:10.1037/u001611

Wilson, W. J. (1978). *The declining significance of race: Blacks and changing American institutions*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press

Witty, J. P. (1994, February). Ethnic socialization: The case of African American Adolescent males. In E. Smith E. (chair), *The significance of ethnic identity and socialization for African American youth: Findings from pre- to late adolescence.*

Worrell, F. C., Cross, W. K., Jr., & Vandiver, B. J. (2001). Nigrescence theory: Current status and challenges for the future. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling & Development*, *29*(3), 201.

Appendix A

Reminder Email Template

Dear: Participant ID #

Thank you for taking the time to complete the Identity Study questionnaire packets.

However, we are currently assessing the records for completeness and see that you may have

overlooked the_____ form. If you have already sent/completed this form please

disregard this email. If you have not completed this/these forms, please logon and do so as soon

as possible in order for us to add your information to the database.

Thank you,

Cheri Weeks, M.S.

Appendix B

ECOSYSTEMIC QUESTIONNAIRE

Please answer the following questions as they pertained to you as a child. Where there is a scale

provided please use it to answer the question.

1. Were you in school?   Yes   No

    If yes: what was the percentage of African Americans in your school?

    76- 100% _____   51-75% _____

    26 - 50 %   0 - 25%

2. Did you attend a church? Yes   No

    If yes: what was the percentage of African Americans in the church you attended?

    75- 100% _____   50-75% _____

    25 - 50 %   0 - 25%

3. What was the percentage of African Americans in your neighborhood?

    75 - 100% _____   50-75% _____

    25 - 50 %   0 - 25%

4. What percentage of your friends were African American?

    75- 100% _____   50-75% _____

    25 - 50 %   0 - 25%
    26 - 50 %   0 - 25%

5. Did you participate in after-school activities?   Yes   No

    If yes, what percentage of the individuals who participated were African American?

    76- 100% _____   51-75% _____

    26 - 50 %   0 - 25%

Appendix C

Racial Socialization Questionnaire

Please answer the following questions in complete sentences, for each part of the question please try to provide at least 5 examples of the specific messages provided by your parents.

What are the most important things your parent taught you about;

(a) What it means to be Black ?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

(b) Getting along with Whites?"

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Appendix D

Racial Identity Attitude Scale

This questionnaire is designed to measure people's social and political attitudes. There are no right and wrong answers. The scale is as follows:

1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Uncertain, 4 = Agree, 5 = Strongly agree

1. I believe that being Black is a positive experience.

2. I know through experience what being Black in America means.

3. I feel unable to involve myself in white experiences and am increasing my involvement in

    Black experiences.

4. I believe that large numbers of Blacks are untrustworthy.

5. I feel an overwhelming attachment to Black people.

6. I involve myself in causes that will help all oppressed people.

7. I feel comfortable wherever I am.

8. I believe that white people look and express themselves better than Blacks.

9. I feel very uncomfortable around Black people.

10. I feel good about being Black, but do not limit myself to Black activities.

11. I often find myself referring to White people as honkies, devils, pigs, etc.

12. I believe that to be Black is not necessarily good.

13. I believe that certain aspects of the Black experience apply to me.

14. I frequently confront the system and the man.

15. I constantly involve myself in Black political and social activities (BSU, BGSA, sororities, NAACP, etc.).

16. I involve myself in social action and political groups, even if there are no other Blacks involved.

17. I believe that Black people should learn to think and experience life in ways which are

similar to White people.

18. I believe that the world should be interpreted from a Black perspective.

19. I have changed my style of life to fit my beliefs about Black people.

20. I feel excitement and joy in Black surroundings.

21. I believe that Black people came from a strange, dark, and uncivilized continent.

22. People, regardless of their race, have strengths and limitations.

23. I find myself reading a lot of Black literature and thinking about being Black.

24. I feel guilty and/or anxious about some of the things I believe about Black people.

25. I believe that a Black person's most effective weapon for solving problems is to become part
of the White person's world.

26. I speak my mind regardless of the consequences (e.g., being kicked out of school, being
imprisoned, or being exposed to danger.)

27. I believe that everything Black is good, and consequently I limit myself to Black activities.

28. I am determined to find my Black identity.

29. I believe that White people are intellectually superior to Blacks.

30. I believe that because I am Black, I have many strengths.

31. I feel that Black people do not have as much to be proud of as White people do.

32. Most Blacks I know are failures.33.I believe that White people should feel guilty about the way
they have treated Blacks
in the past.

34. White people can't be trusted.

35. In today's society if Black people don't achieve, they have only themselves to blame.

36. The most important thing about me is that I am Black.

37. Being Black just feels natural to me.

38. Other Black people have trouble accepting me because my life experiences have

been so different from their experiences.

39. Black people who have any White people's blood should feel ashamed of it.

40. Sometimes I wish I belonged to the White race.

41. The people I respect most are White.

42. A person's race really is not important to me.

43. I feel anxious when White people compare me to other people of my race.

44. I can't feel comfortable with either Black people or White people.

45. A person's race has little to do with whether or not he/she is a good person.

46. When I am with Black people, I pretend to enjoy the things they enjoy.

47. When a stranger who is Black does something embarrassing in public, I get

embarrassed.

48. I believe that a Black person can be close friends with a White person.

49. I am satisfied with myself.

50. I have a positive attitude with myself because I am Black.

Table 1
Pearson R Correlations

	Pre-Encounter	Encounter	Imm/Em	Intern.	Fami. Const.	Care. Ed.	Ecosy.	Social.
Pre-Encounter	1.000							
Encounter	.264**	1.000						
Immersion/Emersion	-.584***	-.125	1.000					
Internalization	.722**	-.265**	.716**	1.000				
Family Constellation	-.139	.057	.084	.191	1.000			
Caretaker Education	-.039	.072	.014	.085	.159	1.000		
Ecosystem	.579**	-.066	.519**	.652**	.020	.189*	1.000	
Socialization	-.656	-.145*	.504**	.714**	-.057	.126	.592	1.000
M	46.04	17.31	26.06	43.74	2.21	2.70	7.34	11.22
SD	15.44	5.81	8.31	13.37	.77	1.17	3.22	4.31

Note: $p < .01$**, $p < .05$

Ecosystem = racial concordance

Table 2

Results of Regressions

Dependent Variable: Preenecounter

Variable	B	SEB	β
Step 1			
Socialization	-2.350	.215	-.656**
Step 2			
Socialization	-1.725	.255	-4.81**
Ecosystem	-1.411	.340	-.294**
Step 3			
Socialization	-1.725	.255	-.481**
Ecosystem	-1.533	.331	-.320**
Socialization x Ecosystem	-.228	.066	-.194**

Note. $\underline{R^2}$= .43 for Step 1; $\underline{R^2}$=.49 for Step 2; $\underline{R^2}$= .52 for Step 3 (ps <.01**)

Socialization = overall socialization score, Ecosystem= racial concordance score

Table 2 Continued

Dependent Variable: Encounter

Variable	B	SEB	β
Step 1			
Socialization	-.195	.106	-.145
Step 2			
Socialization	-.219	.132	-.162
Ecosystem	5.414E-02	.177	.030
Step 3			
Socialization	-.217	.132	-.160
Ecosystem	3.055E-02	.178	-.017
Socialization x Ecosystem	-4.374E-02	.035	-.099

Note. R^2 = .02 for Step 1; R^2 =.02 for Step 2; R^2 = .03 for Step 3

Table 2 Continued

Dependent Variable: Immersion/Emersion

Variable	B	SEB	β
Step 1			
Socialization	.891	.318	.217*
Step 2			
Socialization	.569	.394	.139
Ecosystem	.726	.526	.133
Step 3			
Socialization	-.566	.395	.138
Ecosystem	.749	.531	.137
Socialization x Ecosystem	4.228E-02	.105	.031

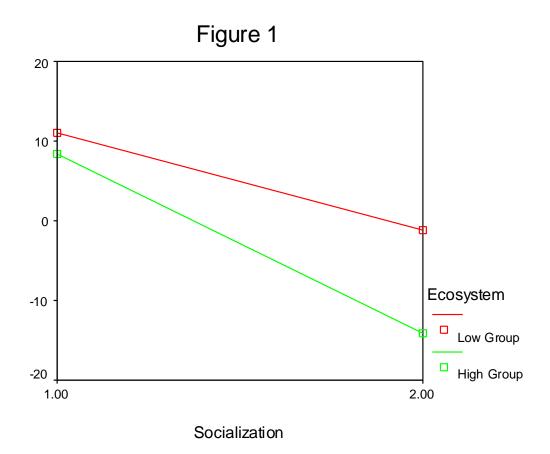Note. R^2=.05 for Step 1 (P <.05); R^2=.06 for Step 2; R^2 =.06 for Step 3

Table 2 Continued

Dependent Variable: Internalization

Variable	B	SEB	β
Step 1			
Socialization	2.219	.173	.714**
Step 2			
Socialization	1.570	.197	.505**
Ecosystem	1.466	.263	.353**
Step 3			
Socialization	1.558	.190	.502**
Ecosystem	1.560	.256	.376**
Socialization x Ecosystem	.174	.051	.171*

Note. R^2 = .51 for Step 1; R^2=.59 for Step 2; R^2= .62 for Step 3(ps <.01**, p < .05*)

Plots of the Slope Lines between
Estimated Marginal Means of Preencounter Attitudes and Socialization

Figure 1

Plots of Slope Lines between
Estimated Marginal Means of Internalized Identity and Socialization

Figure 2

Socialization