

The Role of Racial Socialization and Ethnocentrism in the Racial Identity Development
of Second-Generation Black West Indian Americans

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ABSTRACT

The Role of Racial Socialization and Ethnocentrism in the Racial Identity Development of Second-Generation Black West Indian Americans

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Scholars suggest Black West Indian Americans' ethnocentric attitudes toward Black Americans have notable effects on the racial socialization and identity of American-born West Indian children. This study explored the associations between racial socialization, ethnocentric attitudes, and racial identity for second-generation West Indian Americans in the United States. This unique study adds to the limited racial socialization-racial identity literature for this growing ethnic population. It is also the first study of its kind to explore whether ethnocentric attitudes mediate the relationship between racial socialization experiences and racial identity attitudes. Furthermore, this study adds to the movement towards better analytic practices of measuring racial identity attitudes through the use of strength of endorsement profile analysis.

Participants in this study included 151 youth and young adults, who completed a survey including a Socio-Demographic Sheet, the Teenager Experiences of Racial Socialization Scale (Stevenson, Cameron, Herrero-Taylor & Davis, 2002), the Image Scale-modified (Smith, 1990), and the Black Racial Identity Attitude Scale-long form (Parham & Helms, 1996).

A canonical correlation analysis established two unique shared variates between racial socialization and racial identity status attitudes. The first variate indicated racial pride themed socializations and a preparation for racial bias themed socialization were positively related to Internalization and Immersion-Emersion status attitudes and inversely related to Pre-encounter status attitudes. The second variate indicated that mistrust themed socialization was positively related to Immersion/Emersion, Encounter and Pre-encounter status attitudes.

Regression analyses found significant relationships between pride-themed racial socialization and ethnocentric attitudes and between ethnocentric attitudes and Pre-encounter status attitudes for this population. However, there was no significant evidence that ethnocentric attitudes mediated the racial pride-themed socialization and Pre-encounter status attitude relation.

MANOVAs with sample-generated racial identity attitude profile groups were also significant. Participants in three dominant profile groups, Pre-encounter, Immersion/Emersion, and Internalization, along with a “Flat” or Undifferentiated profile group, significantly differed in their reports of preparation for racial bias and racial pride socialization.

This study’s findings suggest that racial identity development for this population is multifaceted. Furthermore, it seems that second-generation West Indian Americans can maintain ethnocentric biased attitudes about Black Americans yet be aware of and connected to the political implications of being Black in America. Implications for theory, research, and practice are discussed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS	i
LISTS OF TABLES	vi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	viii
DEDICATION	xi
Chapter I INTRODUCTION	1
Chapter II LITERATURE REVIEW	11
US Race Construction and Racial Identity	12
Racial Identity	15
Racial Identity Theory: An Overview	16
Black Racial Identity	17
Socialization	21
Racial Socialization	22
Empirical Socialization Research	25
Racial bias Socialization	25
Mistrust Socialization	27
Egalitarian Socialization	29
Cultural Socialization	29
Pride Instillation as Cultural Socialization	30
Racial Socialization and Black Racial Identity	32
Ethnocentrism	39

	Problem Statement	43
	Research Hypotheses	44
Chapter III	METHOD	45
	Participants	45
	Instruments	46
	Measures of Racial Identity	46
	Percentile Scores	47
	Strength of Endorsement Profile	48
	Computing Profiles	48
	Undifferentiated “Flat” Profiles	51
	Internalization Dominant Profiles	52
	Pre-Encounter Dominant Profiles	53
	Immersion-Emersion Dominant Profiles	53
	Pre-Encounter/Internalization Blend Profiles	54
	Immersion-Emersion/Internalization Blend Profiles	54
	Pre-Encounter/Internalization Blend Profiles	55
	Encounter/Immersion-Emersion/Internalization Blend Profiles	55
	Measures of Socialization	57
	Measure of Ethnocentrism	60
	Socio-Demographic Sheet	62
	Procedure	63
Chapter IV	RESULTS	66
	Preliminary Analyses	66

	Assessing Demographic Effects	66
	Analysis of TERS, Ethnocentric Attitude Scores and	
	RIAS-B	68
	Racial identity correlations	69
	Racial socialization correlations	69
	Racial socialization and identity correlations	70
	Ethnocentrism, racial socialization and racial identity	
	Correlations	71
	Main Analyses	71
	Relationship between Racial Socialization and Racial Identity	71
	Research hypothesis 1	71
	Expected findings 1a	72
	Expected findings 1b	72
	Expected findings 1c	72
	Research hypothesis 2	77
	Research hypothesis 3	78
	Expected findings 3a	79
	Expected finding 4a	79
	Research hypothesis 5	80
Chapter V	DISCUSSION	82
	Racial Identity and Racial Socialization (Hypothesis 1)	84
	Racial/Cultural Affinity and Knowledge with Racial	
	Centrality and Tolerance	85
	Mistrust and Racial Negotiation	88

Racial Identity Profiles and Racial Socialization (Hypothesis 2)	92
Profile Socialization and Ethnocentric Attitudes (Hypothesis 3)	95
Ethnocentric and Pre-Encounter Attitudes (Hypothesis 4)	99
Racial Pride Socialization and Ethnocentric and Pre-Encounter Attitudes (Hypothesis 5)	101
Limitations	103
Sample Size	103
Construct Validity	105
Correlational Design	106
Reliance on Self-Report Data	106
Future Directions	107
Research	107
Education	108
Clinical Practice	109
Conclusion	110
REFERENCES	113
TABLES	124
FIGURES	135
APPENDIX A - INFORMED CONSENT	137
APPENDIX B - PARTICIPANT’S RIGHTS	138
APPENDIX C - ASSENT FORM FOR MINORS (8-17 YEARS OLD)	139
APPENDIX D - PARENT/GUARDIAN CONSENT FOR MINORS (8-17 YEARS OLD).....	140
APPENDIX E - ABBREVIATED DESCRIPTION AND CONSENT ONLINE	

VERSION	141
APPENDIX F - SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC SHEET	143
APPENDIX G - SOCIALIZATION EXPERIENCE SCALE	144
APPENDIX H - IMAGE SCALE	147
APPENDIX I – SOCIAL ATTITUDES SCALE	153

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	Demographic Data (N=151)	124
Table 2	Means and Standard Deviations of BRIAS Scores in Main Study (N=151)	126
Table 3	Summary of Racial Identity Profile Standard Error of Difference Point Values	123
Table 4	Summary of RIAS-B 8 Profile Types (n=133)	127
Table 5	Scales Descriptive Data (N=151)	128
Table 6	Mean Scores for Demographic Variables: Four MANOVAs Preliminary Analyses	129
Table 7	Intercorrelations of Predictors and Correlation Variables (N=151)	130
Table 8	Canonical Solutions for Racial Socialization Predicting Racial Identity Attitudes for Functions 1 and 2 (N=151)	131
Table 9	Hypothesis 2a: Post Hoc Games-Howell Comparison Test for Racial Identity Profile Types and Preparation for Racial Bias Socialization (CCA)	132
Table 10	Hypothesis 2b: Post Hoc Games-Howell Comparison Test for Racial Identity Profile Types and Preparation for Racial Bias Socialization (CPR)	132
Table 11	Hypothesis 2c: Post Hoc Games-Howell Comparison Test for Racial Identity Profile Types and Preparation for Racial Bias Socialization (CLA)	133
Table 12	Hypothesis 3: Linear Regression Analyses Predicting Ethnocentric Attitudes from Pride Socialization	133
Table 13	Hypothesis 4: Linear Regression Analyses Predicting Pre-Encounter From Ethnocentric Attitudes	134
Table 14	Hierarchical Regression Analyses Showing Amount of Unique Variance Ethnocentric Attitudes Adds to Pride-Based Socialization (CPR) and Pre-Encounter Relationship	134

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1	“Cultural Affinity and Racial Knowledge with Tolerance” (Canonical Solution Function 1)	135
Figure 2	“Mistrust with Racial Negotiation” (Canonical Solution Function 2)	136

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DEDICATION

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Social psychology theorists contend that individuals develop a *personal identity* or a mental model of themselves through interactions and relationships with others (Erikson, 1963). As a result, the contention that individual, dynamic relationships affect one's self-image has governed the tenants of counseling theory for many decades. Whether it was reflective of parent-child dyads or family systems dynamics, clinicians were remiss to conclude that a client's personality, identity or, even, "neurosis" occurred in a vacuum independent of others' influence.

As counseling theories developed and sociocultural patterns became evident, psychologists like Adler (1927) and Erikson (1950) were challenged to move beyond questioning merely the influence of individual interactions to questioning society's influence on identity development. Erikson's (1950, 1959) theory of psychosocial development, for example, provided a basis for self-understanding as influenced by interpersonal interactions (e.g., mother-child relationship) and intimate groups (e.g., family) within a larger and significantly relevant socio-cultural context. Thus, Erikson's work expanded psychoanalytic theory to encompass the complex relationships between the individual and the surrounding culture (Helms, 1996; Mitchell & Black, 1995) when developing his identity theories.

Although many cultures offer sufficient illustrations of Erikson's individual-cultural environment interaction with personal identity, much identity research has focused on the United States. Furthermore, while there are several identities the U.S. culture influences (e.g., gender, class, and race), race seems to have taken precedence. Perhaps identity research is most reflective of race in the United States because the United States provides a unique organic

platform for exploring distinct racial-cultural information pertinent to the personal identity development of many of its residents. Or perhaps it reflects, as many immigrants simplistically feel, the American obsession with race (Rogers, 2001; Waters, 1994; 2001). Identity research is likely to follow this cultural trend. Whatever the reason, race is undeniably a salient topic in the United States and influences much dialogue on personal and group identity development. It becomes particularly important to explore the impact racial reference group identity has on an individual in the United States because race has been associated with powerful social and psychological meaning (Carter, 1995) and has contributed to rash judgments about people.

The role race played in identity development in the United States began as early as 1939 with Clark and Clark's exploration of the impact racism on Black Americans. In this era, "*Race* identity" development referred to preference for the individual's own racial reference group based on skin color, and initially, applied to Blacks in America as an oppressed group (Carter & Goodwin, 1994). Later "*racial* identity" for Black Americans was conceptualized as a psychological construct that was intended "...to explain the various ways in which Blacks can identify or not identify with other Blacks and adopt or abandon identities resulting from racial victimization" (Helms, 1990, p.5).

Current racial identity models applied to *all* racial groups refer to a "sense of group or collective identity based on the individual's *perception* that he/she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group" (Helms, 1990, p. 3). However, the implications that "sense of group or collective identity" has for Blacks, given the history and nature of race relations in the United States, is integral for understanding the American conceptualization of a healthy racial identity (Helms, 1990). American racial categories have been used culturally to promote the idea of the inferiority of People of Color and the superiority of Whites through

forms of privilege (e.g., access) and racism (e.g., racial discrimination and harassment) from its inception. Thus, healthy “group” or “collective” racial identity for Blacks as defined by American standards entails not only racial group pride but, also, self-awareness as a racially oppressed group in relation to Whites.

However, for People of Color migrating into the U.S. racial system, exploring racial identity within the United States’ cultural context can be complicated. This complexity is due to cultural difference(s) from the Immigrants of Color’s previous country’s racial climate (Alleyne, 2002; Bashi-Bobb, 2001; Benson, 2006; Rogers, 2001; Waters, 1999). Unfortunately, this level of complexity in American racial identity research is rarely considered, especially in relation to Black immigrants. While it is possible for Black immigrants to understand the global implications of colorism and Blackness throughout the world (Alleyne, 2002; Hocoy, 1999), attaching the same psychological meaning from the United States’ racial politics may prove challenging (Alleyne, 2002; Bashi-Bobb, 2001; Hocoy, 1999).

For example, as race became the dominant factor culturally marking American social identity, other variations of group identification such as ethnicity or social class sometimes used to classify immigrants was lost. In fact, these ethnically diverse Black immigrants (i.e., varied national origin and culture) felt an increased loss as they folded into the established Black American community (Bashi-Bobb, 2001; Bryce-Laporte, 1972). Yet for many Whites living in the United States, group identity based on ethnicity or ethnic heritage was still salient with less emphasis on race for identification purposes (Helms, 1990; McDermott & Samson, 2005).

Though the same identification option available for Whites has not always been true of other Peoples of Color (i.e., Asians and Latino/Latinas); inherent in racial identity models for these groups is recognition of a marginal racial status within the Black-White racial dichotomy.

With this recognition comes a complementary acknowledgement of an acculturative process towards the U.S. racial climate in relation to the Black-White dichotomy. This acknowledgement in racial identity models never occurred for Black ethnics (e.g., Nigerians and Jamaicans) from culturally divergent racial climates characterized by absences of a White majority and substantial numbers of Whites in power. Therefore, these Blacks too acculturate to a different U.S. racial climate (Kasinitz, 1992; Waters, 1991; 1994).

Although race-based social group identities in the United States are more likely to be acknowledged, embedded in race is ethnicity, an agent that suggests culture. Consequently, cultural differences in racial attitudes for Black ethnics may influence racial identity (Hocoy 1999; Joseph & Hunter, 2011). Thus, in assessing racial identity attitudes of Black ethnics, cultural markers such as ethnic background and previous racial climate, values and attitudes should be considered.

Because ethnic background and related cultural influence of the initial socializing environment of a person can influence racial attitudes, it is important to explore how racial information gets communicated. In the case of U.S. immigrants, exploration of how racial information gets communicated and experienced (i.e., role of racial socialization) can be one way of exploring possible differences of how racial identity develops for themselves and their children.

Theorists (Helms, 2007; Stevenson, 1995; Thomas & Speight, 1999; Thompson & Carter, 1997a, 1997b) contended that racial identity development is a function of contextual learning from an internalization of one's racial-cultural environment (i.e., socialization). Thus, to evolve racial identity status attitudes (i.e., attitudes about one's own racial group and towards other racial groups) one experiences racial socialization (Stevenson, 1995; Thompson & Carter, 1997a,

1997b). Racial socialization refers to specific messages and practices that are relevant to and provide information concerning the nature of race status as it relates to: (a) personal and group identity, (b) interracial and inter-personal relationships, and (c) one's position in the social hierarchy (Thornton, Chatter, Taylor & Allen, 1990). Hughes et al., (2006) contended that there are four types of racial socialization messages that capture the aforementioned race status relationships: (a) preparation for racial bias (i.e., training for racial prejudice and/or racism), (b) cultural socialization (i.e., cultural learning about one's heritage), (c) promotion of cultural mistrust (i.e., distrust of Whites), and (d) egalitarianism (i.e., ignorance of race, belief in social equality, endorsement of the mainstream culture). Racial socialization may come from many sources such as the home and communities (e.g., schools and neighborhoods) (Boyd-Franklin, 1989) and these socializing agents do so within a context influenced by larger ecological factors in society such as media and other institutions (Hughes, 1997; Thompson & Carter, 1997a).

It is notable that, like racial identity models, models of racial socialization were developed in the United States. This assumes that cultural learning, preparation of racial bias and cultural mistrust (as they relate to Whites) are grounded in American cultural styles and beliefs and may ignore messages that have other cultural sources as might be true for Black immigrants.

Helms (2007) noted that every racial group experiences racial socialization. Racial socialization styles and messages, however, vary among racial groups: Whites (Hamm, 2001), Blacks (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Sanders Thompson, 1994; Stevenson 1995); Asians (Phinney & Chavira, 1995), Latinos/Latinas (Hughes, 2003; Phinney & Chavira, 1995), and ethnics within racial groups, namely Black immigrants and Black Americans (Biafora, Taylor, Warheit, Zimmerman & Vega, 1993; Anglin & Whaley, 2006); Puerto Ricans and Dominicans (Hughes, 2003). Nonetheless, there is a dearth of information

pertaining to understanding the racial socialization experiences of ethnically diverse racial groups in America. To date, only four studies (Anglin & Whaley, 2006; Biafora, Taylor et al., 1993; Biafora, Warheit et al., 1993; Hughes, 2003) have explored cultural variation in racial socialization messages between specific ethnic groups of racial minority populations in North America. Of the four, three have been between Black Americans, Black immigrants and their second-generation children (Anglin & Whaley, 2006; Biafora, Taylor et al., 1993, Biafora, Warheit et al., 1993).

Yet, the American-based construct of racial socialization may not have direct implications for ethnically diverse Blacks living in the United States because they may not ascribe to how race is constructed and understood there. Still, as with racial identity theory, the American culture context is used to develop racial socialization theory. This may not apply to Non-American born Blacks. Empirical research (Anglin & Whaley, 2006; Biafora, Taylor et al., 1993, Biafora, Warheit et al., 1993) found significant differences in racial socialization messages of Black Americans (i.e., North American born Blacks) and Blacks from other cultural backgrounds (e.g., West Indies and Haiti), where both socialization message type and amount differed. For instance, in all three studies persons of West Indian descent recalled having had significantly fewer messages regarding mistrust for Whites and preparation for racial bias. Further, in these studies participants reported having cultural socialization in equal amounts as their Black American peers.

Of further interest is what this difference in message type and amount may reflect. Researchers have stressed factors such as context (e.g., country), where one has lived in and/or presently has connections as influencing message frequency and type. Prior understanding of racial systems from a previous country/culture influence differences found with immigrant

populations in racial socialization and, in some cases, their children (Benson, 2006; Biafora, Taylor et al., 1993; Waters, 1990). Therefore, the variations in racial socialization styles and messages among ethnic Blacks may reflect an interaction between each cultural group's own construction and subsequent understanding of race from a previously culturally different racial context (e.g., Jamaican) and the present racial context (e.g., American). Sometimes an ethnic group's construction and understanding of race and race relations may be congruent with their current racial context; other times it may conflict. Racially socializing children to mistrust Whites is an example of incongruence between the race construction-socialization. Black ethnic immigrants (e.g., West Indians and Africans), though living in America, may not socialize their children to mistrust Whites (Biafora, Taylor et al., 1993; Phelps, Taylor & Gerard, 2001) or may not teach them about racial bias expected from Whites (Biafora, Taylor et al., 1993) based on a previous culturally different context (Benson, 2006; Rogers, 2001; Waters, 1991). Both are cultural messages found within the Black American population resulting from generational immersion within the U.S. racial climate (Rogers, 2004; Stevenson, 1995).

What remains unclear regarding racial socialization in the United States is the content of the cultural socialization messages various ethnically diverse samples provide for their children considering their distinct cultural influence outside of the United States. Exploring the cultural messages received by children of ethnically diverse Black immigrants is important for understanding the types of racial socialization experiences children of Black immigrants in America have and, subsequently, their influence on racial identity attitudes. It is possible that cultural socialization messages relayed to children of immigrants include biased information about different ethnic backgrounds (i.e., African, American, and West Indian) in addition to focusing on own ethnic pride. It is also possible that cultural socialization practices for Black

immigrants *only* include ethnic messages based on their respective culture and exclude specific American cultural socialization messages described by racial socialization theorists.

Black immigrants may teach their U.S.-born children in-group cultural pride and that their ethnic group is central and superior to others as a part of racial socialization. Sumner (1906) coined the term *ethnocentrism* to best capture this notion. Ethnocentrism is a cultural variant of a universal socio-psychological phenomenon: each ethnic society perceives and interprets other ethnic societies within their own frame of reference and judges others as less (Levine & Campbell, 1972). Currently, the central argument explored with ethnocentrism is whether or not Sumner's proposition of in-group love and centrality imply out-group disdain and hostility (Forbes, 1997). Several studies have found this was not necessarily the case (Brewer & Campbell 1976; Campbell & Levine, 1972; Ngey, Shreve, Jensen, & Uddin, 2002). Further exploration of ethnocentrism and the arguments concerning Sumner's original "if- then" definition may also have some significance in understanding how racial identity attitudes, an indication of substantial "group" identity in the United States, are developed for children who may have received messages about their own heritage. These messages could include their parents' ethnic group centrality and possible out-group bias or disdain as it relates to other ethnic groups within their racial group (Kasinitz, 1992; Rogers, 2001; Waters, 1994, Woldemikael, 1989). Furthermore, it is likely that the children of Black immigrants could internalize these ethnocentric attitudes (Waters, 1994, 2001).

The relationship between ethnocentrism and racial identity is unclear and has not been empirically researched. This is especially the case with respect to inter-ethnic (intra-racial) relationships in minority populations. However, because ethnocentric learning may be present in racial-cultural socialization messages (Jackson & Cothran, 2003; Waters, 2001; Woldemikael,

1989) as indicated in research for Black immigrants and their children (Biafora, Taylor et al., 1993; Rogers, 2004; Waters, 2001), the ethnocentrism-racial identity relationship may be useful for understanding the nature of racial socialization- racial identity relationship.

Persons of West Indian descent (i.e., originating from the English speaking Caribbean) provide an adequate ethnic population to empirically test this relationship. Black West Indians comprise the largest and fastest growing Black ethnics in America (Hall & Carter, 2006). Yet, continued assertions of their cultural identities, mostly through ethnic group identification, have been perceived ambiguously by other Blacks to indicate sense of cultural pride and concurrently maintain a level of distance from and bias towards other Blacks (e.g., African Americans and Africans) (Bashi-Bobb, 2001; Jackson & Cothran, 2003; Rogers, 2004), as well as the host culture (e.g., American) (Bashi-Bobb, 2001; Foner, 2001). Using second-generation West Indian Americans, this study will explore the implications parental racial socialization, specifically, what content of cultural socialization messages, which may be ethnocentric, has on children's own ethnocentric attitudes about ethnic group belonging (in-group), bias towards ethnic out-groups within their race and their own racial identity.

To summarize, racial group identities in the United States are influenced by American culture. Black immigrants' acculturation towards the American racial climate has implications for their adaptation to racial group identities. Consequently, cultural differences in racial attitudes for Black ethnics may influence racial identity and how they socialize their American-born/raised children. Ethnocentric messages may be a part of the racial-cultural socialization West Indian parents impart to their second-generation children. These messages may, in turn, influence racial identity formation for second- generation West Indian Americans.

This study investigated how members of an understudied yet fast growing population in the United States, that is, second-generation West Indian Americans, develop racial identity from Black socializing agents born outside of the North American context. It is the first of its kind to highlight the impact of a West Indian-based ethnocentric bias in the process of developing an American-based Black racial identity. The implications of understanding how identity develops for this population are important for cultural learning. Specifically, as social justice work continues to develop among many social disciplines, understanding of fast growing, yet underrepresented groups like second-generation Americans, in the United States become important to validate their experience.

Chapter II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Both racial socialization and racial identity theory share common assumptions based on North American constructs of race, with little recognition that race might be constructed differently in other countries and that racial socialization systems may vary (Alleyne, 2002; Washington, 2004). Lack of attention to possible racial construction differences effects how these constructs are studied and the types of conclusions drawn about ethnic group members within a particular race. For Black ethnics, in particular, racial socialization and racial identity development may not mean the same since ethnocentric learning might be a part of racial/cultural socialization used by some Black immigrants. The presence of ethnocentrism may affect racial identity attitudes in that the emphasis in socialization may not be on race as it is experienced and understood by American-born Blacks raised in a White-dominated society. Black immigrants from societies where Blacks are culturally and politically dominant may understand and experience Black and White racism differently (Alleyne, 2002; Rogers, 2004; Waters, 1991).

The following literature review is divided into several areas of theory and research important to formulation and investigation of the current study. Theoretical and empirical research literature of racial identity, racial socialization, and ethnocentrism are reviewed so that further exploration of racial identity theory and factors (i.e., racial socialization and degree of ethnocentrism) suggested to influence racial group identity for ethnically diverse people will be addressed. Thus, the initial overview of racial construction in the United States to provides

background of how racial socialization and, thereafter, racial identity is influenced by both racial/socio-cultural factors of the individual's environment. Next, the review introduces conceptual models of racial socialization which includes consideration of various thematic messages that influence racial identity status attitudes. Racial socialization messages are culturally based. Thus, it is possible to find the presence of ethnocentrism in the case of Non-American Black ethnics. The review concludes with a discussion of the role of ethnocentrism in racial socialization and racial identity development using persons of West Indian descent to illustrate.

U.S. Race Construction and Racial Identity

Racial classification in North American society was based on presumed genetic differences between human groups (e.g., skin color, hair texture, and eye color) with little or no acknowledgement of the connection to social institutions and cultural patterns that established and maintained race as a human demarcation associated with social participation (Helms, 1996). Race was socially constructed and was/is connected mainly to skin color and defined individual social worth. Thus, mechanisms used to establish notions of worth based on race were family and institutional socialization patterns. Socialization processes then taught American cultural patterns, beliefs, values, and practices of racial stratification and worth.

To maintain racial categorization in North America and other societies, it was/is necessary to teach biased notions that skin color influenced different qualities. These qualities include, among other things, morality and temperament (Thompson & Carter, 1997a). These ideas and actions persist in American society to date.

Helms (1996) stated that the U.S. standard of racial group belongingness does not have a “known valid inclusion criteria” other than social customs or legally defined standards (p. 147). As in the past, current subjective criteria become definers for who is in and who is out in regards to access to societal resources. For instance, even when there were societal rules in place such as the stringent “one-drop rule” (i.e., Black race was defined as one drop of “Black” blood) at the turn of the 19th century in the United States, there were conflicting exceptions. Therefore, new rules were applied based on differing jurisdictions. For instance, Catterall’s (1926-1937) 5 volume publications on investigation of judicial cases concerning American slavery (as cited in Davis, 1991) illustrate these exceptions:

South Carolina’s refusal to apply a one-drop rule to free mulattoes, at least until the 1850’s, became explicit in the courts. In the case of a mulatto with an invisible but known one-sixteenth black ancestry, a Judge Harper declared the person to be white on the basis that acceptance by whites is more relevant than the portions of white and black “blood.” As late as 1935 the same judge made a similar ruling in the case of a person who apparently had some visible negroid traits, rejecting the criterion of racial visibility and embracing the test of reputation and acceptance in the white community. He commented that a slave cannot be white but that a free mulatto can, thus rejecting the one drop rule (Catterall, 1926- 37, 2:269).

This example illustrated Helms’s (1996) contention that the term *sociorace* should replace *race* because the only criteria in North America typically used to assign persons to racial groups are socially defined and arbitrary.

In other nations, race construction may have also been socially defined, however, the implications for each regarding access to resources and boundaries varied (Bryce- Laporte, 1972). In fact, several scholars contended that the construction of race has been inconsistent around the world (Alleyne, 2002; Bryce-Laporte, 1972; Washington, 2004). For instance, Washington (2004) proposed two “fundamental principles” (p. 23) of arbitrary race categorization found in nations; *monothetic* and *polythetic*. Monothetic systems of race are

primarily defined by one socially-based factor using physical markers (i.e., skin tone and hair) for the purpose of maintaining racial exclusivity and purity. Thus, this system maintains and adheres to strict social boundaries (e.g., marriage and schooling) for its citizens regarding resources and relationships. Typically in monothetic systems, the resources are not equally shared among those deemed of lesser and higher standing. The defining stance of this type of system is a degree of “overt conflict characterized by continuous racial struggles over resources and violent discriminatory practices that are often reinforced by the state” (Washington, 2004, p. 52). South Africa and the U.S. system of race previously reviewed are examples of a monothetic racial system.

Polythetic systems are based on various defining criteria, such as ancestry, phenotype and social class that take on varied weight when socioracial categories are constructed. That is, each factor is considered equally important in defining racial categories. These systems, according to Washington (2004), are more permeable and applied such that resources (e.g., opportunity for social mobility, education, and work) are distributed liberally among its citizens. For instance, Brazil, India, and Haiti are examples of polythetic racial systems.

Variance in race constructions has foundational implications for understanding how one is racially socialized, how one develops racial identity ego status attitudes and subsequently how racial socialization influences one’s racial identity status development because they all happen in relation to the racial climate. In particular, the application of the United States’ racial system used for People of Color ignored ethnic (e.g., national origin) variation and assumed that all racially similar Black people were also culturally similar, that is, sharing similar values, racial meaning, and socialization practices. Thus, ignoring ethnic cultures which may have different racial construction and climates (e.g., West Indies, French and Spanish speaking Caribbean, and

Africa), models of racial identity also has explicitly excluded ethnic variation as a viable contributor to the psychological orientation towards one's race.

Racial Identity

Identity is defined abstractly as “an individual’s sense of uniqueness, of knowing who one is, and who one is not” (Harris 1995, p. 1). According to Erikson (1959), the concept of identity is complex, shaped by individual characteristics, family dynamics, historical factors, and social and political contexts. It follows that there can be an individual sense of uniqueness and thus, connectedness one has towards his/her socially defined group. This is commonly thought of as a criterion for group identity such as racial and/or ethnic identity (Cross, 1971). Although racial and ethnic identities are often reported together as constituting “group” identity, ethnic and racial identity should not be confused for one another.

Scholars have found that social and counseling psychology research commonly confused or even conflated ethnic and racial identity constructs (Carter & Pieterse, 2005; Helms, 1990, 1996; Helms & Talleyrand, 1997; Juby & Concepcion, 2005). As Helms (1996) argued, one distinction between the two constructs is that racial identity results in an inner sense of interconnectedness resulting from historical circumstances of racial domination or subordination, whereas ethnic identity is group interconnectedness resulting from common cultural socialization experiences.

According to Helms (1990, 1996), one reason for confusing the terms is confusion in the definitions of *race* and *ethnicity*. *Race* can generally be recognized by both in-racial group and out-racial group members based on physical features. *Ethnicity*, however, rarely can be recognized by out-group members (i.e., other ethnic groups and racial groups). In fact, where it is

recognized (e.g., clothing and dialect), these markings are *not*, as Helms (1996) contended, permanent. Race is distinct from ethnicity in many ways. However, the most notable distinction is that race, as socially constructed in the United States, defines a group member's position in a societal hierarchy where ethnicity does not (Carter, 1995; Helms, 1990, 1995; Katsinitz, 1992). Juby and Concepcion (2005) contended that confusing race and ethnicity obscures the reality of racism in the lives of People of Color, shifting attention away from race and making it about cultural factors (e.g., values, customs), which is a central component of ethnicity.

Both race and ethnicity differ vastly and have important implications for identity development. Though race and ethnicity are both important, race carries the most weight in North America. Yet to develop a racial identity ego status one is socialized by his/her family/community to evolve some orientation to a racial group. Missing from the current understanding of racial socialization and racial identity models is the role of ethnic learning which may include ethnocentric bias. Racial identity models imply this cultural stance of America's racial construction; however, do not explicitly consider ethnic group influences in racial identity development. To this end, a discussion on racial identity theory follows.

Racial Identity Theory: An Overview

The general principles of racial identity theory deal with the psychological consequences of individuals being socialized in a society in which a person is either White and socially privileged or not White and disadvantaged due to his/her racial classification. Racial identity focuses on examining the individual's internalized reactions to being treated as though he or she belongs to a "real" racial group (Helms, 1990). It is not enough to then identify (e.g., with a label) racially. That is, endorse a racial group membership. Scholars posit that identifying as a

particular race gives little explanation to how one may process or orient to his/her racial group (Carter & Goodwin, 1994) and only reflects “race” identity (Carter & Pieterse, 2005).

One’s racial identity ego status is composed of corresponding attitudes, thoughts, feelings, and behaviors towards oneself as a member of his/her racial group. For People of Color (i.e., Blacks, Native Americans, and Asians), it also includes attitudes, thoughts, feelings, and behaviors towards members of the White and dominant racial group. Racial identity is an aspect of personal identity (Carter & Goodwin, 1994). Integration of a racial identity into overall personal identity can take place through various influences (e.g., family, community, society, and culture) and the manner in which others validate, deny, or ignore race (Carter, 1995; Carter & Goodwin, 1994; Sanders Thompson, 1994; Stevenson, 1995). All people have race and models exist to describe racial identity for Whites, Blacks, and other People of Color.

Black Racial Identity Theory

William E. Cross’s (1971) frequently cited “stage” model, *Nigrescence*, is the process of developing a positive Black identity (Carter 1995; Cross, 1971; Helm, 1990). His theory included five stages, Preencounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, Internalization and Internalization/Commitment, that were characterized by a self-concept issue concerning race, cultural preferences and parallel attitudes about Blacks and Whites as a race reference group (Helms, 1990). Cross’s five stages and phases are beyond the scope of this review and therefore, not reviewed. See Cross (1971) for more detail.

Helms (1984) changed the Nigrescence theory to reflect *ego statuses* rather than the *stages* suggested by Cross so that *statuses* infer malleable attitudes a Black individual may have towards his or her racial group. Statuses as opposed to stages suggest fluidity in identity

development. Furthermore, Parham and Helms (1981) developed the Black Racial Identity Attitude Scale (BRIAS) which used four of the five original attitudes (i.e., Preencounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion and Internalization).

Preencounter status attitudes are characterized by a “dependency on White society for self-definition and approval” (Carter, 1995; p.141) which may include active or passive investment in White society and culture and/or denigration of Blacks and Black culture. Encounter status attitudes reflect marked confusion about the contradiction of racelessness (absence or unimportance of sociorace in defining social hierarchy), discovery of mistreatment from Whites and an increased desire to align with a Black identity (Helms, 1990). Immersion-Emersion status attitudes reflect a pro-Black stance and desire to adapt a Black cultural worldview with rejection of White culture and/or Whiteness. There is a psychological and physical withdrawal from the White world. Only a Black world is perceived to be “authentic” (Helms, 1990). Finally, Internalization status attitudes reflect a sense of inner pride and acceptance of Black identity and cultural preferences about being a member of one’s own Black racial group without the need to idealize the Black culture and race and/or denigrate Whites. Thus, attitudes favor renegotiation of merit-worthy relationships with Whites while rejecting racism and other forms of oppression.

Racial identity status attitudes theory and research has significantly improved understanding the role race played in development of identity for many Blacks living in America. In fact, though racial identity’s concept was developed in America and reflects Black American experiences, some scholars have looked at Black racial identity development among Black ethnics born outside of the United States and their U.S.-born and raised children and have found notable patterns with racial identity status attitudes between all comparison groups

(Forsyth, Hall, & Carter, 2008; Hall & Carter, 2006; Phelps, Taylor, & Gerard, 2001). For instance, in their exploration of 160 diverse Black students (24 West Indians, 26 Africans and 110 Black Americans), Phelps et al., (2001) found that Black Americans scored significantly higher on Encounter and Immersion-Emersion status attitudes than West Indians participants. Thus, Black Americans had greater awareness of racism and racial discrimination from White Americans and, respectively, a greater desire to align themselves with other Blacks adopting a Black worldview than did Black West Indian participants. Black Americans also endorsed more Internalization status attitudes than both West Indians and Africans, indicating that both West Indians and Africans had significantly less inner pride and security about being Black and negotiating White relationships without scorn.

Forsyth et al. (2008), whose sample consisted of 214 people (125 West Indian descended first and second-generation and 89 Black Americans), found a similar pattern of higher rates of Encounter and Immersion-Emersion status attitudes among Black Americans than among the Black West Indian sample. However, unlike Phelps et al.'s (2001) study, those of West Indian descent endorsed higher Internalization status attitudes than Black Americans.

The inconsistency between these studies requires a consideration of the group characteristics of each. The difference between sample sizes of non-Americans in the samples is clear. Forsyth et al.'s (2008) West Indian descended sample is almost three times ($n = 125$) the size of Phelps et al.'s (2001) total immigrant/non-American (e.g., West Indian and African) population ($n = 50$), and four times those identified as West Indian ($n = 24$). Despite the notable effect sizes reported in Phelps et al.'s study that range from moderate (Immersion-Emersion = .06; Encounter = .08) to high (Internalization = .20), which indicate the likelihood of significant

differences between sample populations, the reversal of Internalization status attitude is notable and should be further explored.

Perhaps one influence on the different findings has to do with demographic characteristics of the samples, such as generational status. What is not known for Forsyth et al.'s (2008) and Phelps et al.'s (2001) studies is the percentage of first vs. second - generation African and/or West Indian descended persons and whether significant differences existed between generations. Distinctions between generations of the West Indian American sample may be important because generational differences have been discovered to relate to racial identity attitudes for West Indian Americans (Hall & Carter, 2006). For example, Hall and Carter (2006) found differences between first ($n = 58$) and second ($n = 22$) generation West Indian descendents with respect to Internalization status attitude. Second-generations of West Indian descent reported higher Internalization status attitudes than their first-generation counterparts. The authors noted it is possible that length of stay and immersion in the U.S. culture may be a factor. In particular, being born in the United States and socialized within its "race conscious environment," Hall and Carter noted, "one can develop a higher psychological racial group orientation" (p. 168).

Also needing further exploration is the level of consistency between the two studies at which the rate of both Encounter and Immersion-Emersion status attitude endorsement are represented among Black Americans and Black immigrants (e.g., higher Encounter and Immersion-Emersion status attitudes for Black Americans than Black immigrants). However, both the inconsistent and the consistent findings across studies may indicate a meaningful trend of the effect of diversity in socialization experiences for diverse Blacks in America.

It is notable that the criteria for assessing these attitudinal statuses for all studies reviewed were, again, based on an American cultural pattern. Thus, one's understanding of the *self* in relation to his/her racial group was determined by the American racial context, which includes American racism. For instance, the level of consistency with which the Black Americans endorse higher Encounter and Immersion-Emersion attitudes is an illustration of generational engagement in the American culture, something that is not readily afforded for non-American Blacks. Likewise, the indication that second-generation West Indians report higher Internalization attitudes may imply that immersion in the American culture, especially without direct prior cultural (country/ context) influence, can influence racial identity attitudes. For immigrants who have not been socialized in the American system of race, external validity of the results may be most compromised and results should be interpreted with caution.

Racial identity theorists contended that if race or *sociorace* occurs within a social context (Cross, 1991; Helms, 1996; Thompson & Carter, 1997b), racial identity is a psychological process that evolves within a socio-cultural context (Carter; 1995; Carter & Thompson, 1997a, 1997b; Helms, 1996). Ecological factors (i.e. home, community and institutions) help orient an individual to the roles that must be taken and may, in turn, shape various aspects of identity. Therefore, socialization through these ecological factors is a component of racial identity status development.

Socialization

Socialization is the transmittance of values, beliefs, and ideas around lifestyles derived from cultural knowledge of adult tasks/roles and the competencies needed for adequate (normative) functioning within society (Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chon & Buriel, 1990).

Socialization process includes messages and expectations received from parents, institutions and society, and messages can range from subtle to overt (Green, 1992). Contexts in which socialization may apply for an individual vary and are most typically discussed in social science from the narrow to the broad. That is, within the family to within racial groups and even ethnic groups (i.e., national origin). An individual can, likewise, operate under various socialization systems which includes, for example, gender and religious systems simultaneously (Boyd-Franklin, 1989; Hughes, 2003). While it is interesting and important to explore how multiple socialization systems inform an individual's identity, racial socialization has been shown to have a relationship with racial identity (Stevenson, 1995; Stevenson et al., 2002; Thompson & Carter, 1997) and may best aid in understanding racial identity development and cultural learning.

Racial Socialization

Thornton, Chatter, Taylor, and Allen (1990) defined racial socialization as specific messages and practices that are relevant to and provide information concerning the nature of sociorace as it relates to: (a) personal and group identity, (b) interracial and inter-personal relationships, and (c) position in the social hierarchy. However, Hughes and Chen (1997) defined racial socialization as the teaching of group disadvantage, the systems of social stratification, the presence of negative societal images in American society, cultural socialization, and the promotion of racial mistrust. Still, Greene (1992) contended that racial socialization is a complex process in which African American parents teach their children the roles, expectations, cognitive skills, and strategies necessary to survive within two cultural contexts (i.e., mainstream and African American). Racial socialization also teaches African American children to correctly label racism while acknowledging that certain experiences may be filled with feelings of

rejection, perplexity and disparity. Stevenson (1995) defined racial socialization as “a concept that describes the process of communicating messages and behaviors to children to bolster their sense of identity given the probability that their life experience may include racially hostile encounters” (p. 51). Stevenson et al. (2002) later added that racial socialization is a “set of communication, interactions and behaviors between parents and children on how African Americans ought to decide about their cultural heritage” (p. 85) as well as a response to the racialized context of U.S. society. However, implicit in these definitions is the fact that the context of cultural learning is grounded in a “monothetic” American racial system with corresponding cultural patterns.

Within the current literature, sample definitions show variation on what constitutes racial socialization within the current literature with regards to description and purpose. Yet, there is a plethora of definitions for this construct that all overlook the influence of American culture in racial socialization derivation despite the fact that they have also been applied to ethnic groups from various countries besides America. What have remained more consistent in terms of racial socialization have been the general messages received about race as it pertains to personal development and interracial interactions in the American society. In their review of the literature on racial socialization, Hughes et al., (2006) asserted that though there are some variations in how authors’ label the types of practices that constitute racial socialization, there are four main themes that emerge most often in the empirical research. They are: *preparation for racial bias, promotion of mistrust for Whites, egalitarianism, and cultural socialization.*

Preparation for racial bias arises out of parents’ efforts to promote their children’s awareness of racial discrimination and prepare them to cope with it (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Hughes & Chen, 1999).

Promotion of mistrust for Whites refers to the practice that emphasizes distrust in interracial interactions with Whites (Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Hughes et al., 2006). Teachings of mistrust differs from preparation of bias messages in that it does not provide advice for actively coping with, managing or resisting discrimination (Hughes & Chen, 1997). Thus, it promotes some level of psychological avoidance as a means of passively coping with likely discriminatory behavior from Whites. Mistrust, however, like preparation of bias, is an adaptive form of socialization that develops as a result of being directly and indirectly exposed to prejudicial and discriminatory practices on the part of the dominant White society (Grier & Cobbs, 1968). Often considered a “healthy cultural paranoia” (Grier & Cobbs, 1968), mistrust socialization for minorities in the United States is a protective factor where positive psychological defense mechanisms are needed for reactions to varying degrees of White racism.

Parents who socialize their children under *egalitarian* beliefs refrain from discussions about race and emphasize valuing *the self* as an individual entity. The promotion of color-blind perspectives, emphasis on hard work, virtue, and self-acceptance denote this theme as well (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Marshall, 1995).

Finally, *cultural socialization* is inherently linked to the ethnic culture of the racial group. It specifically refers to parental practices that teach children about their *ethnic* heritage and history as well as promote cultural and ethnic pride explicitly (i.e., traditions and customs) or implicitly (i.e., values) (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Thornton, Chatters, Taylor, & Allen, 1990). Using current racial socialization models for Blacks for illustration, examples of explicit cultural socialization practices may include talking about historical moments (e.g., protests) or movements (e.g., Black Panther Party), cultural figures (e.g., Angela Davis, Medgar Evers and Rosa Parks), exposing children to culturally relevant books (e.g., American slavery), artifacts

(e.g., African American historical museums), music (e.g., American Jazz, Soul and Rhythm and Blues), eating ethnic foods (e.g., BBQ meats and collard greens), celebrating cultural holidays (Martin Luther King Day and Juneteenth) (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Sanders Thompson, 1994; Stevenson, 1995; Thornton et al., 1990). Unfortunately, cultural socialization is the aspect of racial socialization that seems to capture the most confusion for racial socialization for Blacks. It often confuses explicit aspects of what, in actuality, reflects ethnic culture of America and labels it racial, thus applicable to all Blacks' experiences when this may not be a practical solution for exploring cultural socialization for varied Black ethnics who live in America.

It should be noted, however, that none of these examples explore the likelihood of implicitly taught forms of cultural socialization. That is, the studies do not explore culturally derived values which may reflect ethnocentric beliefs of the parent's ethnic group (Kasinitz, 1992; Waters, 1994; 2001). This, in addition to the cultural difference of explicit messages are important to consider when exploring socialization messages among diverse samples because ethnocentric beliefs may have implication for cultural variance found in socialization messages.

Empirical Racial Socialization Research

Racial bias socialization

Studies of racial socialization among African American, Latino, Asian, and some Black immigrant families have included measures of racial bias from Whites in America (Biafora, Warheit et al, 1993; Hughes, 2003; Hughes et al., 2006; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). Preparation for bias messages is assumed to be a necessary part of racial socialization for People of Color living in America due to the prevalence of White racism towards these minority groups. Despite

this assumption in some studies, preparation for racial bias socialization seems to not always occur.. For instance, in Marshall's (1995) study of a sample of 58 Black American mother and child participants, only 14% of parents reported giving and 3% of the children reported receiving messages of preparation for confronting the biased U.S. system of racial stratification. The same pattern was found with Bowman and Howard's (1985) study a decade earlier. Of the 377 African American youth surveyed, only 12% reported that they received messages about racial bias. Within the presumed all Black American sample, there were little effort on parents' behalf to warn their children of potential mistreatment from White society. However, Sanders Thompson (1994) found that in an African American adult sample of 18-35 year olds, 48-58% reported having preparation for bias messages given to them during adolescence, making this study an exception.

The few studies that compared ethnic groups (i.e., Japanese Americans, Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, West Indians, and Haitians to Black Americans) consistently revealed variance in racial bias socialization. Members of these ethnic groups reported either receiving less of this messages or imparting this message to children less frequently than their African American peers (Biafora, Taylor et al., 1993; Hughes, 2003; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). For instance, Phinney and Chavira (1995) found that of the 60 parents interviewed about racial socialization, Japanese-Americans ($n = 18$) reported imparting significantly less preparation for racial bias messages to their children than Black American parents. Thus, racial bias socialization was rarely practiced. This is the case even when the ethnic group had histories of marginalization and oppression (Phinney & Chavira, 1995). The extent to which preparation for bias emerges as a racial socialization theme for African Americans can be accounted for by intergenerationally transmitted childrearing strategies resulting from historically overt and antagonistic racial

oppression by Whites salient to the African American community (Ward, 1991). Therefore, if parents from the above immigrant samples were not originally from the States and have non-American cultural patterns, they may not behave the same way. That is, they may be less inclined to socialize their children to be prepared for racial bias from Whites in America (Biafora, Taylor et al., 1993; Bryce-Laporte, 1972; Hughes, 2003).

Mistrust Socialization

Another aspect of racial socialization that may vary for non-American ethnic group members is the level of mistrust towards Whites, the most frequently represented type of racial socialization for Black Americans (Hughes, 2003; Hughes et al., 2006). However, mistrust of Whites for immigrant ethnic groups such as Puerto Ricans, Dominicans (Hughes, 2003), and West Indians (Biafora, Taylor et al., 1993, Phelps et al., 1999) residing in North America are rarely reported as racial socialization theme (Biafora, Taylor et al., 1993; Hughes, 2003). Lowered rates of mistrust socialization suggest aspects of the experience of being socialized outside of the U.S. environment. Racial socialization in other countries likely lack continuous encounters with the quality of White racism experienced in the U.S. culture (Alleyne, 2002; Benson, 2006; Forsyth et al., 2008). White racism in the United States is conducive to Black Americans' negative perceptions of Whites. Consequently, White racism in the United States affects reliance on mistrust messages from Black American's relayed to children socialized.

Biafora, Taylor, et al. (1993) explored cultural mistrust with an ethnically diverse group of Black adolescent boys in Miami, Florida middle schools. Specifically, Biafora Taylor et al.'s (1993) study included first and second-generation Haitian and West Indians Americans, and Black Americans that varied in socialization messages pertaining to cultural mistrust. Both

foreign born and second-generation Haitian American boys expressed more mistrust of Whites than Black American boys who, in turn, expressed more mistrust of Whites than foreign born and second-generation West Indian American students. It is notable that there was a significant difference between foreign-born Haitian students who endorsed the highest levels of cultural mistrust out of the five groups compared ($M = 8.09, SD = 3.38$) to U.S.-born West Indian students ($M = 6.00, SD = 2.65$), $p = .01$, who endorsed the lowest level of mistrust.

The speculation for increased mistrust for Haitians above and beyond both African Americans and West Indians are thought to be related to the U.S. government's social and political policies perceived to be discriminatory towards the Haitians (Biafora, Taylor et al., 1993). Where some immigrants (i.e., Cubans) were granted political asylum, Haitians are usually interdicted at sea, incarcerated and returned to Haiti against their wishes. Therefore, much like Black Americans, Haitians are likely to experience higher levels of American discriminatory practices from White Americans which can inform their higher level of mistrust for Whites.

Conversely, according to Biafora, Taylor et al. (1993), West Indians "are able to avoid the negative social definitions and stereotypes assigned to other Blacks" (p. 279). This suggests that there is, phenomenally, some social favor of this ethnic group by Whites that may encourage their trustful feelings towards them. This theme of social favor West Indians perceived from Whites was also discovered in several studies (e.g., Bashi Bobb, 2001, Foner, 1985, 2001; Kasinitz, 1992; Vickerman, 1999; Water, 1991; 1996). Kasinitz's (1992) found West Indians in America often reported being favored by Whites in business settings and relationships. Because of these experiences, positive messages about these favored interactions were often passed on to their American-born children (Waters, 1994, 1996). This factor likely affected socialization decisions like mistrusting Whites.

Egalitarian socialization

Researchers found egalitarianism socialization themes varied most in studies between and within racial groups. In a sample of 60 parents, Phinney and Chavira (1995) found that Black Americans ($n = 16$) and Mexicans ($n = 26$) reported imparting higher amounts of egalitarian messages than Japanese American parents ($n = 18$), $p < .01$. Within Black Americans, Bowman and Howard (1985) found egalitarian messages endorsed by 12% of teens surveyed and Sanders Thompson (1994) found this theme for 5% of participants aged 18-35. The higher possibility of variance found within Blacks with respect to egalitarian socialization may result from high variance that exists with this socialization form between ethnic groups.

Cultural socialization

Finally, cultural socialization accounts for the most utilized form of racial socialization when explored with Asians, Latino and Black and groups (Hughes et al., 2006). The messages about accepted customs, norms and values of the culture or society was expected to be related to ethnic group. Yet, the expected teachings of specific ethnic group values or beliefs, apart from group pride teachings, was not often explicit as a focus of cultural socialization (focus of measurement). For example, Hughes (2003) reported that the items for assessing cultural socialization in her ethnically diverse group of parents (Dominicans, Puerto Ricans and Black Americans), “focused on behaviors, rather than on attitudes and values, due to the likelihood that parents’ reports about behaviors better reflect what they actually do” (p. 22). In the diverse sample of this study, learning about the specific ethnic group attitudes can supply more

information on outcomes such as racial identity. Attitudes and values upheld by the ethnic group may contribute to identity development (Phinney & Chivara, 1995; Stevenson et al., 2002).

As a result of this trend, assessment and reports of cultural socialization (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Sanders Thompson, 1994; Thornton et al., 1990) highlighted the more generic and objective forms of culture associated with a particular ethnic group, such as whether or not customs are taught or encouraged, speaking the native language/dialect is encouraged, or certain foods are eaten. These behavioral forms of assessing cultural socialization lacked more in-depth aspects of cultural socialization, such as central cultural values and beliefs which may or may not be biased towards other ethnic and even racial groups. When the widespread use of more generic behavioral forms of culture globally assess the cultural component of racial socialization, studies are not acknowledging the importance values and attitudes may have on the socialization process. Thus, the assessment remains one-dimensional and fails to capture the multidimensionality of the cultural socialization construct and its potential impact in shaping identity.

Pride instillation as cultural socialization. Though difficult to pinpoint specific values and beliefs of each ethnic group, some theorists (Hughes et al., 2006; Sumner, 1906) have explored pride as a main value universal to all cultural groups and thus, it is accounted for in cultural socialization. Black racial socialization models have also tended to capture ethnic pride in being American. This type of pride has implications for Blacks who may not identify wholly with the American cultural experience of pride in Blackness, that is, aspects of pride that result partially from the historical and current socio-political environment of monothetic inter-group relations (White/Black). Rogers (2001) explained that though many Black immigrants take pride in being Black, they often do not attach the same importance to racial barriers to social mobility

assumed to have influenced the Black (American) Pride teachings of the early 1930's. Thus, common interest and shared ideology critical in building coalitions (Sonenshein, 2003) or cultural pride as measured by the current cultural socialization models for Blacks living in America is disrupted. In fact, Rogers (2004) also noted that Black immigrants are less likely to have solidarity with Black Americans in the United States due to the notable "occasional intergroup tensions" likely to be due to their differing attitudes about race, fighting over resources in America (Kasinitz, 1992) and, as Jackson and Cothran (2003) found, centralized ethnic attitudes (p.285). These ethnocentric (biased) attitudes are not currently accounted for when assessing pride values of non-American Blacks.

Biafora, Taylor et al. (1993) provided an illustration of this divergence in American aspect of cultural pride. In an multiethnic sample of 1,328 Black adolescent boys (946 Black American, 196 first and second-generation Haitians and 186 first and second-generation West Indians), racial pride instilled through the cultural socialization teachings of community and history (e.g., "I always defend the rights of Blacks," and "I want to know more about how Black people have overcome problems in America") varied significantly. That is, Black Americans expressed more racial pride than U.S.-born West Indians and foreign-born Haitians expressed more racial pride than U.S.-born Haitians and U.S.-born West Indians.

The review thus far consists of several studies conducted with different populations and suggests that distinct ethnic groups socialize their children about race differently (Biafora, Taylor et al., 1993; Hughes, 2003; Nagata & Cheng, 2003; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). Furthermore, considerable current research illustrates varying messages given to youth about their race (Anglin & Whaley, 2006; Biafora, Taylor et al., 1993; Hughes & Chen, 1997). These illustrations of variance in socialization especially with respect to Black ethnics warrant a closer

look at what takes place in Black racial socialization. The notable types of racial socialization (e.g., mistrust, preparation for bias and egalitarianism) used for Black Americans in addition to “cultural learning” (cultural socialization) are all culturally derived (Stevenson, 1995) based on the American experience of race. Stevenson, Cameron, Herrero-Taylor, and Davis (2002) noted the cultural basis (i.e., racism and prejudice) of Black American socialization and proposed a focus on culturally derived components of racial socialization that extends beyond using cultural socialization (e.g., pride teachings) as an isolated component that explores the cultural or ethnically derived component of racial socialization. Stevenson et al. (2002) argued that the African American’s normalized racial socialization experience is in and of itself a “cultural” experience where one learns about American society’s type of race relations. For Blacks that do not have this orientation, variance is to be expected. The implication this has on racial identity development for all Blacks in America is worth exploring.

In the developing body of literature on racial socialization, few recent studies have explored whether racial socialization predicts racial identity status attitudes, specifically, the effects of that frequency and content of racial socialization messages and teachings have on racial identity development. It is likely that this may be an informative factor in understanding Black racial identity development.

Racial Socialization and Black Racial Identity

Helms (1990) stated that racial identity occurs in response to transactions among a variety of factors including parental and family socialization. Several studies have looked at the relationship between racial socialization and racial identity status attitudes (Anglin & Whaley,

2006; Demo & Hughes, 1990; Fatimilehin, 1999; Hughes, 2003; Thomas & Speight, 1999; Sanders Thompson, 1994; Stevenson, 1995).

Thomas and Speight (1999) found parents' racial identity status attitudes influenced their racial socialization attitudes. They found Internalization status attitudes to be the best predictor of racial socialization attitudes. Internalization status attitudes accounted for 19% of the variance in racial socialization scores measuring parent's attitudes towards racially socializing children that include "pro-Black messages" (e.g., racial pride, reality of racism and historical information). This relationship is consistent with the racial identity theory of internalization attitude formation. That is, internalization reflects both a sense of inner pride about one's race as well as attitudes of social awareness. Furthermore, it is likely that parents having these attitudes will socialize children about race (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Stevenson et al., 2002; Thomas & Speight, 1999).

This is informative in light of the socialization process of Black children in America. Moreover, the implications this relationship has for socialization experiences of second-generation Black ethnics by their first-generation parents can be profound. For example, the significant differences Hall and Carter (2006) found between first and second-generation Black West Indian with respect to Internalization attitudes indicate it is probable that first-generation Black ethnic parents (at least with respect to the Caribbean region) are not likely to have high Internalization attitudes about race. This may influence the amount and type of racial socialization their children may receive around race.

In a sample of 273 Black Americans, Dominican and Puerto Rican parents, Hughes (2003) also found that parental racial attitudes and ethnic attitudes influenced the type of socialization messages given to children. Structured interviews of parents indicated that parents'

racial identification had different outcomes on what socialization messages were sent to children. For example, Dominicans and Puerto Ricans who mostly identified themselves racially as “other” and who also expressed a preference for ethnic labels over U.S. defined racial labels (White, Black, etc.), were more likely to instill cultural socialization messages to their children than preparation for bias messages. Cultural socialization items reflected teachings about history, culture, ethnic pride, and diversity. An example of this is, “Have you ever said or done things to encourage your child to be proud of his or her culture”? On the other hand, preparation for bias messages were based on items pertaining to discussion of unfair treatment and bias based on ethnicity or race. “Have you ever told your child that others might treat him/her badly because he/she is [ethnic group]?”, demonstrates preparation for bias messages for this study.

The parents’ ethnic identity, also measured, were influenced by specific migration processes and perceived experiences with discrimination that occurred and the number of times in the past year. Those who affirmed discriminatory experience differed in racial socialization messages. For instance, African American parents were more likely than Dominican and Puerto Rican parental groups to instill preparation for racial bias messages to children. It is notable that these questions did not indicate specific mistreatment based on race. This would have given more specific information about racial mistreatment in the lives of these parental groups and its relationship to their socialization styles. Nonetheless, notable perceived mistreatment affected racial socialization experiences.

In addition, Black Americans and Dominicans were more likely to report perceived group disadvantage as measured by a single question which sectioned out ethnic and racial groups such as Whites [e.g., How true is it that (Puerto Ricans/ Dominicans/ Mexicans/ Whites/African Americans/ Foreign born Blacks) are discriminated against?]. Dominicans, though less frequent

than African Americans, were more frequent than Puerto Ricans in transferring preparation for bias messages to their children. Hughes (2003) speculated that Dominicans are phenotypically more varied than Puerto Ricans and may be ascribed to the “Black” sociorace more often than not. Therefore, their experiences of discrimination based on skin color might mirror more closely Black Americans.

According to this study, sufficient exposure to and engagement in the host culture for ethnically diverse immigrants affects socialization practice for parents. For example, although Puerto Ricans and Dominican parents were less likely to be exposed during their own upbringing to American racism and the “cultural repertoire of behaviors that constitutes racial socialization in the Black Americans communities,” (Hughes, 2003: p.18) ability to perceive discrimination in the United States makes parents more inclined to socialize children on racial bias. Hall and Carter (2006) found that first-generation West Indians were less likely to perceive racial discrimination than second-generation counterparts. It is possible that the same can be said of first-generation Black ethnics in comparison to Black Americans. Nonetheless, Hughes (2003) notes: “without working models provided by families and communities of origin to guide them, [non-American] parents may be less comfortable in discussions about racial issues with their children” (p.18).

Unlike Thomas and Speight (1999) and Hughes (2003), Stevenson (1995) assessed how racial socialization attitudes influenced racial identity status attitudes in a group of 287 Black American adolescents ages 14-15. To assess racial socialization Stevenson (1995) used the *Scale of Racial Socialization-Adolescents (SORS-A)*, a 45-item scale composed of five factors measuring teenagers’ attitudes about different aspects of racial socialization: *Spiritual and Religious Coping* (importance of recognizing spirituality and religion as helpful to surviving

life's experiences), *Extended Family Caring* (importance of extended family role in child rearing), *Cultural Pride Reinforcement* (importance of African American history culture and pride), *Racism Awareness Teaching* (importance of promoting caution to or preparation for racism) and *Global Racial Socialization* endorsing all aspects of racial socialization of the other four factors.

Stevenson (1995) found that teenagers who endorsed higher *Racial Awareness Teachings* attitudes had significantly low Preencounter attitudes. This relationship, conceptually, supports the tenets of Preencounter attitudes: low salience or ignorance of race. Therefore, it follows that teenagers who felt strongly that teachings of race are important would not be likely to endorse ignorance of it.

The *Global Racial Socialization* attitudes factor predicted Immersion-Emersion status attitudes for males. For females, higher *Cultural Pride Reinforcement* was predictive of higher Immersion-Emersion status attitudes and higher *Extended Family Caring* attitudes were predictive of lower Immersion-Emersion status attitudes. Seemingly, attitudes representing engrossed racial group alignment differed based on factors of gender alone and gender interacting with attitudes about racial socialization.

Socialization that combined all aspects of socialization aforementioned (e.g., *Global Racial Socialization*) predicted attitudes of own-group racial alignment in males. But, specifically, when females felt strongly about being taught pride they were likely to also endorse higher racial group alignment. If girls believed that family should express care, their attitude about racial group centrality diminished. This indicated that emotional nurturance from family trumps racial group centrality for young Black girls.

Finally, girls who had endorsed higher *Global Racial Socialization* attitudes had higher Internalization status attitudes and males who endorsed both *Cultural Pride Reinforcement* and *Global Racial Socialization* had higher Internalization status attitudes. Males seemed to need instillation of cultural pride attitudes to have higher inner pride and acceptance of their Black identity. But belief in general socialization of race had enough of an impact for girls to be related to more integrated racial identity attitudes.

Essentially, this study indicated that racial socialization attitudes can influence attitudes of racial identity. Although behaviors were not directly measured in the study, Stevenson contended that “to the extent that racial socialization attitudes reflect the student’s own socialization experiences, this measure (SORS-A) will have served the purpose of capturing one’s experience through his or her judgments of appropriate Black family child-rearing practices” (p. 62).

A notable difference between the studies outlined in this section is the predictive and outcome variables. That is, some studies suggested racial identity predicts racial socialization (Hughes, 2003; Thomas & Speight, 1999) while another has supported the reverse relationship (Stevenson, 1995). Bowser (2005) contended that racial socialization should logically precede racial identity due to its global nature that informs psychological processes such as racial identity. Nonetheless, the research exploring the relationship between racial socialization and racial identity status attitudes is often mixed. This inconsistency makes it difficult to assess the racial socialization-racial identity relationship.

But as seen in this review, racial identity preceding racial socialization is feasible, depending on the participants. For example, Hughes’s (2003) and Thomas and Speight’s (1999) studies found racial identity preceded types of socialization imparted on children were conducted

with parents or socializing agents. Meanwhile, in other studies children or the recipients of racial socialization were the ones who reported their racial identity attitudes based on their received socialization (Barr & Neville, 2008; Joseph & Hunter, 2011; Stevenson, 1995). These separate studies inform a possible circular dynamic of how parents' attitudes and behavior affect children's identity attitudes (Bowser, 2005; Helms, 1990). Since the current study examines children's experiences with racial socialization from their parents, it explores how their socialization experiences affect their racial identity.

Understanding how parents' attitudes and actions play a role in what type of socialization takes place with children is important with all Blacks living in America. However, because racial socialization theorists have paid little attention to the non- American Black ethnic population, it is unclear as to what extent the socialization themes outlined so far and the outcomes will be the same. Closer exploration of what information may get relayed to second-generation children by non-American Black parents becomes essential in seeing whether this relationship between racial socialization and racial identity holds true for all Blacks living in America.

As noted earlier, pride is a central part of the cultural socialization component for Black racial socialization. However, measurement of the relationship between the endorsement of ethnic pride based in an American culture and racial identity attitudes only indicates the point to which this pride has an effect on racial identity and adds nothing to how group specific ethnic pride relates to other aspects of socialization and racial identity status attitudes.

Specific pride messages about being non-American Black need to be explored. This is important as ethnic group centrality embedded in pride teaching could also have components of chauvinism. Specifically, among American Black ethnics, a notable pattern of within racial group prejudice or ethnic bias that occurs (Jackson & Cothran, 2003; Kasinitz, Battles &

Miyares, 2004; Rogers, 2004; Vickerman, 1994, 1999; Waters, 1996) may be heightened due to ethnic centrality or within group pride (Rogers, 2004). Jackson and Cothran (2003) noted that Africans, Black Americans and West Indians all have ethno-cultural biases towards one another which have affected their relationships with one another and has implications for each ethnic group member's racial group identity. This ethnocentric bias may be a result of parental and community socialization process.

Ethnocentrism

Ethnocentrism is offered as an explanation of bias that exists between ethnic groups, though it has been taught and primarily researched in terms of racial groups. According to Sumner (1906), "*ethnocentrism* is the technical name for the view that one's own ethnic/cultural group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated in reference to it. Each group nourishes its own pride and vanity, boasts itself superior, exalts its own divinities and looks with contempt on outsiders" (p.13). With respect to within racial group ethnics, level "contempt" may have interesting implications for racial group identity.

Sumner's (1906) original assumptions posited that positive sentiments towards the in-group are directly correlated with inferiority attitudes, contempt and hostility towards out-groups. However in-group attitudes are complex (Brewer, 1999). Therefore, in-group centrality and praise does not necessarily coincide with out-group contempt and/or antagonism (Allport, 1954; Brewer, 1972, 1999). Allport (1954) argued that "although amount of predilection towards one's own group is inevitable in all in-group memberships, the reciprocal attitudes towards out-groups may range widely" (p.42). Brewer (1999) contended these out-group attitudes may include mild positivity, indifference, disdain, or hatred. For instance, Jackson and Cothran

(2003) found several types of attitudes diverse Black ethnic groups held towards one another that included affirmation, respect, indifference, and scorn. Moreover, second-generation Black ethnics' understanding of race is considerably more complex as they are at a crossroads of two cultures in terms of learning about and employing racial meaning to life. The type of ethnocentric attitudes adopted from their racial socialization could be informative with respect to racial identity development and should be explored.

The cross-cultural research of Raden (2003) supported the alternate views of Allport (1954) and Brewer (1972, 1979). It added specificity to their theoretical frameworks which may be useful in exploring the complexity of second-generation Black ethnics' unique experiences of making sense of racial identity with socialization messages received from parents. He argued that there are varying types of ethnocentrism and that the "classic" form of ethnocentrism as defined by Sumner (1906, 1911) may be less detectable. Raden (2003) suggested that people may have differing levels of ethnocentrism and distinguishes between several types of ethnocentrism, including *Classic Ethnocentrism* and *Simple In-group Bias*.

These categories of ethnocentrism types were used to operationalize the definition of ethnocentrism types in the present study. Therefore, ethnocentrism is defined as having in-group fondness and positivity with or without out-group disdain. *Classic Ethnocentrism* refers to attitudes reflecting Sumner's (1906) definition of in-group fondness and out-group disdain. *Simple In-group Bias* refers to attitudes reflecting extreme or moderate in-group preference without unfavorable evaluation of the out-group. The types differ in that the classic form of ethnocentrism implies out-group disdain and the simple form does not.

The implication characterizing ethnocentrism has for racial socialization and racial identity can be clinically informative. Specifically, characterizing types of ethnocentrism may

illustrate how people who hold certain type of bias think on a number of outcome variables. For example, differentiating the strength of the ethnocentrism by type can help researchers determine how type influences racial identity attitudes. Although the existing literature has provided some information regarding the nature, antecedents and consequences of ethnocentrism between races in the United States, but little is known about the role of ethnocentrism between Black ethnics in racial identity development. Specifically, there is currently no research exploring level or type of ethnocentric attitudes and their influence on racial identity attitudes. The present study sought to explore how level and type of ethnocentrism may predict racial identity types.

The exploration of the foundations of racial socialization and ethnocentrism provided background influences racial identity development in the United States. This point is illustrated by a number of examples that suggest this relationship may exist. Despite a lack of consistency of sample characteristics and instrumentation issues among the studies, some conclusions about the relationship of racial socialization with racial identity have been consistent. More challenging, due to the dearth of research, is the relationship ethnocentrism has with both racial socialization and racial identity. What is needed, however, is an adequate ethnic population to explore these relationships.

Black immigrants are historically situated at the intersection of two different conceptions of group identity, race and ethnicity. Both concepts are complex and, as Kasinitz (1992) notes, “slippery” and have been used synonymously in research and practice, and thus, tend to overlap. However, for some Black ethnic groups studied such as West Indians (persons residing from the Anglophone/English speaking Caribbean), those terms do have considerable meaning (Anglin & Whaley, 2006; Gopaul McNicol, 1993; Vickerman, 2001; Waters, 2001). As reviewed, some immigrants within the Black population hold various attitudes about other Blacks based solely on

other Blacks' ethnicity that may indicate varying levels and types of ethnocentric attitudes (Benson, 2006, Biafora, Taylor et al., 1993; Jackson & Cothran, 2003; Rogers, 2001, 2004; Waters, 2001).

Although varied attitudes held by Black immigrants have been theorized to be related to specific type of identity chosen while in the United States (Benson, 2006; Rogers, 2001), biased attitudes based on ethnicity have not been directly linked to racial identity attitudes held by immigrants and/or their offspring raised in the United States. What scholars have found is either a relationship between ethnic identification (Anglin & Whaley, 2006; Jackson & Cothran, 2003; Waters, 1994, 1999, 2001) or ethnic identity (Hall & Carter, 2006) as a component of Black racial identity, and in some cases, have substituted these constructs as a means to capture the idea of ethnocentrism (Waters, 1994).

The aforementioned studies were limited in two ways. The first is with making an empirical connection between ethnic identification or identity and ethnocentric values. Neither ethnic identification nor ethnic identity constructs, assesses attitudes about membership in a racially oppressed group but rather, identification with or role fulfillment of the ethnic group and culture. Consequently, the second limitation is in assessing whether ethnocentric attitudes influence racial identity. This research was concerned with the second relationship. No study to date has looked specifically at what role specific ethnocentric values as a part of racial socialization plays in Black racial identity status attitude development for Black ethnics and/or their children living in America or from where these attitudes derive.

Problem Statement

In recent years, the field of Counseling Psychology has called for more research exploring race and cultural issues (Carter, 1995; Sue & Sue, 2003). This is timely considering the nature of the population that varies with regards to race, culture and cultural values (Carter, 1990; Stewart & Bennett, 1991). How varied groups adapt to the North American cultural context is important given the pervasive nature of racism and bigotry in the United States. Further, understanding the nature of racial socialization, racial identity development and ethnocentrism within the American culture has been of interest to scholars for some time. However, as discussed in the literature review, there have been limited investigations of ethnic group differences within racial groups in terms of racial socialization practices and the extent ethnic bias and racial identity that may be accounted for on the basis of varied cultural influences.

The review of the research suggests that racial socialization plays a part in racial identity development. It also suggests that the relationship between racial socialization and racial identity status attitudes can be mediated via endorsement of biased attitudes derived from one's culture. Research to date has not afforded much exploration of varying culturally specific socialization systems and their effect on racial identity. Current research has not explored the relationship of ethnic bias and varying types of racial socialization messages, which may include ethnic bias. Qualitative studies (Bashi Bobb, 2001; Foner, 2001; Jackson & Cothran, 2003; Waters 1991, 1994, 1996, 2001) explored recurring themes of ethnocentric attitudes and social distance among Black immigrants in United States. These studies provide some context for these research questions. The study's purpose was to understand the effect ethnic group learning and attitudes have on racial identity development.

Over the course of the past four decades, West Indians of African ancestry migrated to the United States in great numbers (Hall & Carter, 2006). Although racially similar, they are ethnically distinct from Black Americans, even without confounding factors such as language, which characterizes other Black immigrants (e.g., Haitians and Dominicans). Therefore, persons of West Indian descent raised in the United States may provide a feasible illustration of the proposed model of this study.

Research hypotheses

1. There will be significant relationships between racial socialization and racial identity status attitudes. Higher levels of Mistrust and Racial Bias will be related to higher Encounter and Immersion statuses attitudes. High Cultural (pride) socialization will be related to higher Immersion-Emersion status attitudes. Finally, higher Mainstream endorsements will be related to high Preencounter status attitudes.
2. Racial socialization types will significantly predict to which racial identity profile groups a participant belongs.
3. Ethnocentric attitudes will be significantly related to racial identity status attitudes.
 - a) Higher levels of ethnocentric attitudes will predict higher Preencounter status attitudes and have an inverse predictive relationship with Internalization status attitudes.
4. Higher levels of racial bias socialization, Mistrust and American-based cultural pride will reflect lower levels of ethnocentrism. While higher levels of egalitarianism will reflect a significant positive relationship with higher levels of ethnocentrism.
5. The relationship found between racial socialization types and racial identity status attitudes will be mediated by ethnocentric attitudes.

Chapter III

METHOD

Participants

A total of 151 West Indian American Black youth and young adults (i.e., U.S.-born or U.S.-migrated before age 10) between the ages of 16-24 ($M = 18.23$, $SD = 2.56$) participated in this study. The sample consisted of 47 (31.1%) males and 102 (68.9%) females. Participants varied in country of origin and/or heritage. Most were of Jamaican heritage, ($n = 82$, 54.3%), both Trinidadian/Tobagonian heritage ($n = 17$, 11.3%) and a collective groups of 1-2 participants who had heritage from other islands, including St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Curacao and the Bahamas, ($n = 17$, 11.3%), were the second largest sample grouping. Next were Guyanese ($n = 13$, 8.6%), Haitian ($n = 10$, 6.6%), Grenadian ($n = 9$, 5.9%) and those with Panamanian/Costa Rican ($n = 3$, 2.0%) heritage.

The majority of the sample was U.S.-born ($n = 119$, 78.8%) while 21.2% ($n = 32$) were born in the West Indies and migrated to the United States before age 10. Participants' parental migration and years in the United States were also described. About 57% ($n = 171$) of parents migrated to the states after age 18, with most parents [mothers ($n = 60$, 39.7%) and fathers ($n = 55$, 36.4%)] living in the United States between 21-29 years. Participants self-identified as middle class ($n = 85$, 56.3%), working class ($n = 46$, 30.5%), lower class ($n = 9$, 6.0%), upper middle class ($n = 7$, 4.6%), and upper class ($n = 1$, .7%). There were three missing reports (2.0% of the sample). Educational status was commensurate with the sample age range (16-24). That is, the sample reported education ranging from completion of the ninth grade to at least one year of

graduate school. The most frequently reported completed grade was 11th grade ($n = 46$, 30.5%).

Finally, the majority of the sample was recruited from the Northeastern and Southeastern United States. Thus, states with historically higher concentrations of West Indian/Caribbean migration such as Florida, New York and New Jersey (Waters, 1994; 2001) constituted the majority of the sample. In fact, Florida alone had 69 participants, 45.7%, which was 4% greater than the other northeastern states combined. Regarding the data collection, 72% of the sample was collected online and 28% was via paper and pencil. See Table 1 for sample demographic information.

Instruments

Participants completed a survey that consisted of materials arranged in the following order: consent and participant's rights forms (see Appendices A & B), Assent Form for Minors (see Appendix C), Parental/ Guardian Consent for Minors (see Appendix D), Internet Consent and Description form (see Appendix E), Socio-Demographic Questionnaire (see Appendix F), Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale (see Appendix G), Image Scale (see Appendix H) and Black Racial Identity Attitude Scale-Long form (see Appendix I). Appendix E substituted appendices A-D for online participants.

Measures of Racial Identity

Racial Identity Attitudes Scales RIAS-B long form (Helms & Parham, 1996) (see Appendix I) is a widely used 50-item self-report measure that assesses the racial identity attitudes of Black Americans. The scales of this measure reflect the general concept of Cross' (1971, 1978) stage model of Nigrescence. However, it also reflects measurement

of Helms's (1990) model of racial identity as status attitudes. Scales are: (a) Preencounter (18 items), an active or passive endorsement of White culture and/or denigration of Black and Black culture); (b) Encounter (6 items), attitudes reflecting marked confusion about the contradiction of racelessness and discovery of mistreatment from Whites; (c) Immersion-Emersion (12 items), attitudes that reflect pro-Black stance and/or rejection of White culture or Whiteness; and (d) Internalization (14 items), positive attitudes or sense of inner pride about being a member on one's racial group without the need to idealize the Black culture and race or denigrate Whites and favors renegotiation of relationships with Whites. Participants are asked to respond using a five-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*).

The original scoring for each scale of the BRIAS relied on raw scores obtained by simply summing scores for each of the items corresponding to each of the four scales in which higher scaled scores equal stronger expression of status attitudes. However, in response to Carter's (1996) and Helms's (1996) call for better assessment and interpretation practices of racial identity, the current study used two alternate ways of scoring the BRIAS: *Percentile* scores and *Strength of Endorsement Profile* procedures.

Percentile scores. The sample generated percentile scoring procedure is calculated by averaging the scaled score for each of the four scales (Preencounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization). Each participant's raw score is transformed to a specific percentile ranking within the context of the sample's trend for each of the four racial identity scales. Thus, unlike the total raw score which indicated only a general score for each scale as compared to the original normative college-aged Black American sample in 1985, the higher percentile scores on the scales indicated a stronger expression of status attitudes of the sample. Therefore, a researcher could use percentile scoring to obtain specific information about the

participant within the context of a sample, thus, solidifying internal validity. See Table 2 for descriptive statistics for *RIAS-B* averaged scaled scores and sample-based percentiles. *RIAS-B* percentile scores were used in all analyses except for when noted otherwise.

Strength of endorsement profiles. In addition to using percentile scale scoring for the analyses, strength of endorsement racial identity profile analysis was used as well. Strength of endorsement profile analyses compare how racial identity attitudes present within an individual by assessing how a person's scores on each of the attitudinal statuses significantly differ from one another. Pieterse (2005) notes that profile scoring also gives an individual's "entire racial identity schema". The personal schema can be analyzed aiding in understanding the individuals. That is, rather than relying on a group mean or raw scores, using individualized schema provided through profile analysis can give "specific clinical information about how racial identity attitude statuses operate within a person." (p.73)

Computing profiles. First, *RIAS-B* Long form scale scores (Preencounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization), based on Helms's (1996) procedures, were calculated. Obtaining the profiles is a two-step process. In the first step the Standard Error of Difference (SED) bands or point values were calculated to assess the number of points by which each scale could be considered significantly different from its adjacent scale (e.g., Encounter vs. Immersion-Emersion). Thus, SED points estimate the differential strength of individual responses. The formula used to calculate the standard error of difference bands was:

$$SE_{dif} = SD * SQ(2 - r_{xx} - r_{yy}) * 1.96$$

In the above formula SD represents the average standard deviation of the scales in each comparison, SQ is the square root, r_{xx} and r_{yy} are the reliabilities for each scale in the comparison and 1.96 represents the significance at the $p = .05$ level. The second step is to standardize the

unequal number of items for each scale of the BRIAS-L. For this process T scores were used.

The T score is the score on which the SE_{dif} is assessed. However, in order to calculate T scores z scores are calculated. The formula goes as follows:

$$z_x = \frac{x - \lambda}{\rho_x}$$

In this formula x = the total score for an individual on a scale (Preencounter, Internalization, etc). λ is the mean of the scale for the entire sample and ρ_x is the standard deviation of the entire sample (Pieterse, 2005) Once the z scores were calculated the T score formula: $T = (10 * z_x) + 50$ was used to obtain T scores needed for creating the profiles.. Using the significance bands, each participant's scale scores were compared with another to determine whether they significantly differed from each other: Preencounter vs. Encounter, Encounter vs. Immersion-Emersion, Immersion-Emersion vs. Internalization, and Internalization vs. Preencounter, Encounter vs. Internalization, and Preencounter vs. Immersion-Emersion. See Table 3 for standard error of the difference point values for the profiles.

Three possibilities existed for each pair comparison: (a) a scale differed by less than one standard error of difference from its adjacent (Preencounter vs. Encounter) and other scales (Preencounter vs. Immersion-Emersion); (b) two scale scores were significantly different by one standard error of difference; or (c) two scale scores differed by two standard errors or twice the point value.

Scores were considered to have no significant difference and equal if they differed by less than one standard error or did not exceed the determined point value. If the differences between two scale scores were one standard error then the comparison was considered high; and if more than two standard errors, it was considered very high (Helms, 1996). Thus, five options for each paired comparison were available. For example, in the comparison between Preencounter and

Internalization scale scores, the strengths of endorsement could be: (a) very high Preencounter; (b) high Preencounter; (c) equal, meaning no significant difference between Preencounter and Internalization; (d) high Internalization; or (e) very high Internalization.

After each pair of racial identity status attitude scores were labeled according to comparative strength of endorsement, racial identity profiles were generated for each participant. Profiles were generated by creating a new variable using concatenation, a procedure that calculated all possible combinations of scale comparisons. When the profile calculation was completed for each participant, frequencies of each profile type in the data set were determined. Profile frequencies ranged from 1-61.

Pieterse (2005) outlined how to combine profiles that capture similar status themes to create larger groups sufficient for data analytic purposes. For example, a profile with very high Preencounter and high Internalization would be combined with a profile that was high internalization and high Preencounter to increase the group's number count for a high Preencounter/Internalization Blend.

In this sample, a total of 15 themed profile groups were found. Of the 15 profiles, eight distinct profile groupings with frequencies larger than five were used. The eight groups represented 88.2% ($n = 133$) of the sample. The profile groups are listed and further discussed below:

Undifferentiated "Flat" ($n = 54$)

Internalization Dominant ($n = 27$)

Preencounter Dominant ($n = 13$)

Immersion- Emersion Dominant ($n = 6$)

Preencounter/Internalization Blend ($n = 6$)

Immersion- Emersion/Internalization ($n = 6$)

Preencounter/Encounter/Immersion-Emersion Blend ($n = 13$)

Encounter/Immersion-Emersion/Internalization Blend ($n = 8$)

Undifferentiated “Flat” profiles. As with other studies that used strength of endorsement profiles (Carter, Helms, & Juby, 2004; Carter, Pieterse, & Smith, 2008; Forsyth, Hall, & Carter, 2008) Flat or undifferentiated types of profiles was the most frequently occurring profile (54 participants). This pattern was the norm for several different populations studied [e.g., Black males, (Carter, Pieterse, & Smith, 2008); White Americans, (Carter, Helms, & Juby, 2004), and West Indian Americans and Black Americans, (Forsyth, Hall, & Carter, 2008)]. Therefore, addressing the meaning of Flat or Undifferentiated profiles became important when discussing racial identity across groups.

In general, a “Flat” racial identity profile had no significant dominant profile for an individual within the Black racial identity status attitudes when compared to another. However, although there were no significant differences between an individual’s racial identity attitude scores with that of another, Carter, Helms, and Juby (2004) argued that it “should not be assumed that because there is no dominant status or no significant difference between status, that each status is equally present in each person, or that the profile is not meaningful” (p.12). They stated that use of percentile scores for each scale within a profile configuration gives specific added information about how a person’s raw score used to create profiles also ranks among others in the sample for a specific racial identity status attitude. This could be an attitude status that can be compiled into a profile. For instance, a participant’s raw score of 35 on a Preencounter scale could translate to 77th percentile, depending on unique sample characteristics. Carter, Pieterse, and Smith (2008) further elaborated on this formula noting:

... a participant with a flat profile could also have the following scores (raw and percentile for each status attitude): Preencounter, 33/70th percentile; Encounter, 17/95th percentile; Immersion-Emersion, 30/95th percentile; and Internalization, 55/99th percentile. This shows that there was a stronger influence from Internalization, although it was not dominant. (p.108)

Both raw and percentile scores were included to compare the numerical value to the corresponding percentile value. The raw score was used for the profile and had basic meaning in terms of numerical value for the score range but, the percentile score gave meaning in the context of the sample. It specified the rank according to the sample.

As the profiles discussion progresses for the second research question, the influence of using percentiles to determine meaning of profiles and identity potential “prominence” of an attitude may be useful.

Internalization dominant profiles. Twenty-seven participants had an Internalization Dominant profile. Helms (1990) referred to Internalized racial attitudes as “positive personally relevant Black identity” (p.28). This profile reflects people who are functioning with positive views about Blackness and simultaneously are able to renegotiate attitudes and relationship towards Whites and White society.

It is not surprising that this particular profile was the second most frequently endorsed profile type for this sample. Forsyth, Hall, and Carter (2008) compared the percentage distribution of 13 sample-generated profiles of West Indian Americans and African Americans and found Internalization profiles to be the second most endorsed profile among African American and West Indian Americans. However, of the two groups, West Indian Americans had significantly higher endorsement. While African Americans had 11.4% West Indians had 23.5 % of their overall profile distribution across the 13 sample-generated profiles.

Preencounter dominant profiles. Thirteen participants primarily functioned with Preencounter dominant profiles, meaning that they were more likely to endorse a colorblind orientation to racial relations in the United States. It is possible that this profile captured both active and passive forms of Preencounter. Helms (1990) and Cross (1990) distinguished between the *active* and *passive Preencounter*. *Active Preencounter* is a “deliberate idealization” of Whiteness and White culture and denigration of Blacks and Black culture through attitudes and behaviors (Helms, 1990). However, *passive Preencounter* is usually supported by the dominant White society that values Whites and White contributions to society. A person that holds passive Preencounter attitudes actively seeks acceptance from Whites and White culture. As a result they are likely to believe, as most Whites do, in a just world and racial equality. An advantaged status within the person’s racial group leads the person to believe that personal efforts guarantees passage into White culture. The denigration of Black culture is not deliberate as in active Preencounter. In fact, Helms (1990) contended that an acceptance of negative stereotypes about Blacks and positive stereotypes about Whites may be “outside of conscious awareness” for this person and that a person may engage in massive denial in order to maintain a belief in fictional racial equality. Essentially, this mode of Preencounter supports the naïveté of colorblind beliefs.

Immersion-Emersion dominant profiles. Six Immersion-Emersion dominant profiles captured persons who tended to rely on pro-Black attitudes. Helms (1990, 1996) stated that it is possible to have generalized anger towards Whites due to their role in racial oppression and perhaps for self-participation in the systems of racial oppression. Emersion offers attitudes of escape from Immersion’s predominance of anger, offering an opportunity to withdraw and engage into a catharsis utilizing of the Black community and kinship (Helms, 1990).

Preencounter/Internalization blend profiles. Perhaps the six Preencounter/ Internalization blend profiles best captured a blend of racial naïveté that characterized Preencounter and a more intellectually and emotionally mature acceptance and understanding of race found in Internalization attitudes. From the theory, it seems unlikely that Preencounter and Internalization be compiled with one another. However, this compilation may be an interaction between the passive Preencounter attitude expression (Helms, 1990) and the second phase of the Internalization status (Helms, 1996).

Helms contended that there are aspects of Internalization status attitudes in the second phase of this status that occasionally may be similar to what she described as passive Preencounter attitudes. Passive Preencounter according to Helms (1990), is characterized by an internalized subconscious and non-critical acceptance of and preference for White American Culture values such as individualism and the Protestant work ethic. Because Internalization attitudes also reflect tolerance and acceptance of Whites in addition to having affinity towards Blackness, it is likely that this blend is capturing this. This particular profile was a noted theme in Forsyth, Hall, and Carter's (2008) unpublished research for West Indian descended participants. Of the 13 generated, 8.4% of West Indian Americans compared to 1.1% of African Americans endorsed this particular profile.

Immersion-Emersion/Internalization blend profiles. The six Immersion-Emersion/Internalization profile blends perhaps capture a combination of a retreat towards Black culture and community and capitalization on positive views of Blacks with social advocacy related to race relations that can include some receptiveness to renegotiation of interracial relationships with Whites.

Preencounter/Encounter/Immersion-Emersion blend profiles. Preencounter/Encounter/Immersion-Emersion blends ($n = 13$) occurred as a result of the first research question. It is possible that it captures some sort of “racial negotiation” with the self around perhaps the progression of complex racial information from society.

Encounter/Immersion-Emersion/Internalization blend profiles. Encounter/Immersion-Emersion/Internalization Blend ($n = 8$), as with the above blend, illustrates some racial negotiation. However, the reflection of Internalization may add the option of Blacks reframing their relationships with Whites and White culture.

As discussed earlier in relation to Undifferentiated/Flat profiles discovered in samples, it is challenging to discern what a status attitude may mean within a profile compilation. Percentile conversion of raw scores per status may tell more about the ratio within complex three combination blends (i.e., Preencounter/Encounter/Immersion-Emersion). Furthermore, investigating how these profiles relate to other psychological variables adds further definition to each profile for a given sample. This was the intention behind the formation of the second research question. Table 4 further summarizes the profiles generated and their percentages.

Although, the *Racial Identity Attitudes Scale RIAS-B* long form (Helms & Parham, 1996) has been noted to be both reliable and valid, reliability coefficients as measured by Cronbach’s alpha have varied greatly across studies especially the few studies with Caribbean/West Indian populations. In a sample of 142 Black college students, Helms and Parham (1990) reported the reliabilities for Preencounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion and Internalization, respectively as, .69, .50, .67, and .79. In a later study, Helms & Parham (1996) reported internal consistencies of the scales Preencounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion and Internalization for the RAIS-B long form as .76, .51, .69, and .80, respectively, in a college sample of 175 students. Boatswain

and Lalonde (2000), in a study exploring racial and social identities and preferred racial/ethnic labels for a sample of 101 Canadian Blacks of Caribbean descent, the reliabilities reported were Preencounter, $r = .66$; Encounter, $r = .19$; Immersion-Emersion, $r = .55$; and Internalization, $r = .71$. Due to the lowered Encounter reliability, the authors did not include this scale in their study.

Hall and Carter (2006) faced a similar challenge in their study, which used *Racial Identity Attitudes Scale RIAS-B* long form (Helms & Parham, 1996) to explore the relationship between racial and ethnic identity and perceptions of racial discrimination with 82 immigrant (27 male, 52 female and 3 unidentified) and second (U.S.-born) generation Black West Indians. For Hall and Carter's (2006) study, the Cronbach's alpha internal consistencies for each scale were: Preencounter, .52; Encounter, .59; Immersion-Emersion, .78; and Internalization, .47. However, the authors interpreted the scale scores as meaningful in predicting their outcome variable based on Helms' (1996; 2005) assertion that adequate reliabilities are relative to the study of racial and ethnic identity and are influenced by sample characteristics and psychological processes such as social desirability and individual interpretations of the items. She argued that these factors may negatively influence reliability. Thus, low alpha reliability coefficients may be insufficient to infer that the racial identity items on the measure are not accessing the corresponding construct (i.e., status attitudes). This may indicate the need to assess further underlying variables such as culture, a probable sample characteristic that may interact with this bidimensional construct (Helms, 1990) and possibly contribute to the lowered reliability in this population. Nonetheless, because the Black racial identity construct is bidimensional and may interact with additional cultural factors for this study's population, the construct may be truly multidimensional and suitable for theta (θ) reliabilities, a more appropriate reliability accounting for multidimensionality of scales. Thus, theta reliabilities were calculated for each RAIS-B scale for

the current study (see Table 5). This sample's theta internal consistencies for each scale were: Preencounter, .85; Encounter, .66; Immersion-Emersion, .80; and Internalization, .76.

Convergent and discriminant validity were evidenced in studies in which RAIS-B scales correlated either positively or negatively with ethnic identity (Hall & Carter, 2006), racial socialization in youths (Stevenson, 1995), cultural values (Carter & Helms, 1987), and ego development (Miville, Koonce, Darlington, & Whitlock, 2000). The RIAS-B is also a valid instrument in evidencing predictive validity of perceptions of racial discrimination (Hall & Carter, 2006), race-related stress (Franklin-Jackson & Carter, 2007), self-esteem (Parham & Helms, 1985a), self-actualization and affective states (Parham & Helms, 1985b), and psychological health (Pillay, 2005).

Measures of racial socialization

Stevenson, Cameron Herrero-Taylor & Davis' (2002) *Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale (TERS)* is a 40-item measure ascertains the frequency and type of racial socialization messages and/or practices teenagers receive from parent(s) about managing racism, cultural pride and spirituality (see Appendix G). The scale has five "meaningful and reliable factors" or subscales (p. 20). Cultural Coping with Antagonism (CCA), 13 items, corresponds with preparation for bias socialization. It includes items that represent the messages from parents about the importance of struggling through racial hostilities and the role of spirituality and religion in coping. Cultural Pride Reinforcement (CPR), 9 items, represent teachings of pride and knowledge of Black American culture. Cultural Legacy Appreciation (CLA), 5 items, includes messages about cultural heritage issues such as enslavement and knowing historical issues for African Americans. Both Cultural Pride Reinforcement (CPR) and Cultural Legacy Appreciation

(CLA) correspond to overt forms cultural pride based socialization mentioned in the socialization literature. Cultural Alertness to Discrimination (CAD), 6 items, corresponds with the promotion of mistrust socialization. It includes messages that teach youth to be aware of racism and its barriers in society as well as multiple race-relations challenges between Blacks and Whites.

Finally, Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream (CEM), 6 items, measures messages about the relative importance of the majority culture institutions and values and the educational benefits received by being involved in those institutions. Also, this form of socialization assesses the frequency of conversations parents have with participants about irrelevance of talking about racism, of African cultural connections and overall importance of blood kinship for African Americans. This scale sits is a unique form of cultural socialization not specifically mentioned in previous racial socialization literature.

The scale also has one composite factor, Cultural Socialization Experience (CULTRS), 33 items, that combines the first four of the above five TERS factors (Stevenson et al., 2002). The current study used the five subscales rather than the composite score. Stevenson et al. (2002) noted the relevance of using only the subscales to get a comprehensive description of the differences between what types of socialization messages come up most for Black youth especially when pairing these results with outcome variables.

Furthermore, the authors posited that the unique variance of each scale supports the use of the individual scales as opposed to a whole. Given the nature of this study and the emphasis in exploring the difference between socialization themes for this group, the current study followed Stevenson's recommendation and used the five scales individually as unique predictors of racial identity ego status attitudes. As such, reliabilities for the composite score, discussed above, were not calculated.

Scoring for the scale was based on a 3-point frequency format (e.g., never, a few times and lots of times). Higher scores on the subscales indicated higher frequencies of specific socialization messages specific to the subscale.

Stevenson et al.'s (2002) study of 260 African American youth ages 14-17 ($M = 14.3$, $SD = 1.7$, 136 females and 124 males) found suitable reliabilities for subscales, composite, and entire scale. The reliabilities are as follows: Cultural Coping with Antagonism ($r = .85$); Cultural Pride Reinforcement ($r = .83$); Cultural Legacy Appreciation ($r = .74$); Cultural Alertness to Discrimination ($r = .76$); and Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream ($r = .71$). Cronbach's alpha reliability for the composite factor (CULTRS) and the TERS scale both were .91.

For the current study, Cronbach's alpha's are CCA, $r = .87$; CPR, $r = .75$; CLA, $r = .70$; CAD, $r = .87$; CEM, $r = .69$ (see Table 5).

In the same study, Stevenson et al. (2002) found both convergent and divergent validity for the TERS. Convergent validity was established for family communication about race on all factors except cultural alertness to discrimination (CAD). Stevenson et al. (2002) found convergent validity for family and personal experiences of racism and gender with the composite score CULTRS and CEM as the dependent variables. Specifically, there was a significant main effect [$F(1, 203) = 4.66$, $p < .05$] for family experiences with racism such that participants who reported family members' encounters with racism had higher levels of the composite score (CULTRS).

With regards to divergent validity, the authors found that the TERS (a scale which measures actual practices of parental socialization) and the SORS-A (Stevenson, 1994) (e.g., teenagers' attitudes about racial socialization) measure distinct phenomena with regards to assessing racial socialization for youth. Specifically, correlational analysis conducted and based

on a separate sample of 172 teenagers where both the SORS-A and TERS were given simultaneously and yielded significant correlations ranging from $r = -.16$ to $r = .35$).

Measure of ethnocentrism

This study used a modified version of Smith's (1990) Image Scale (see Appendix H) used in the General Social Survey (GSS) Topical report 19. The measure included six original questions that were used to generate own group and other group ratings on the same traits. The original items ask respondents to evaluate in general, Whites, Blacks, Jews, Asian Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Southern Whites on a number of attributes and moral and ability-related qualities: wealth, intelligence, tendencies to be lazy, tendencies to be violence prone, preferring to live off welfare, and tendencies to be patriotic. These attributes reflected traditional and contemporary stereotypes of the groups (Smith, 1990).

The modified version of Smith's (1990) Image Scale had 12 additional stereotypical racial and ethnic attributes (Jackson & Cothran, 2003) and asked respondents to rate how they viewed West Indian, American Blacks (African Americans) and Africans based on these stereotypes. For example, item #4 asked respondents about the groups' tendency to be intelligent vs. unintelligent as an example of a widely established racial stereotype (Steele, 1997). Item #13 questioned the groups' tendency to feel superior to other Blacks vs. tendency to feel equal to or on the same level with other Blacks as an example of an ethnic stereotype (Jackson & Cothran, 2003; Waters, 2001). Because the study's focus was on participant's stereotypes of American Blacks and West Indian Blacks, only these two comparison groups were used. With the now 18 stereotypical attributes by two group ratings (e.g., West Indian and American Blacks), a total of 36 items analyzed in this study.

The 36 items were rated on a 7-point bipolar scale. Respondents were instructed to use 1 or 7 if they thought that the great majority of a group is at either end of the trait continuum and to use a score of 4 when they thought that a group is not toward one end or the other. Smith's (1990) scoring procedure indicated that a score of 1 on an item meant a group was seen *very favorably* whereas a score of 7 meant a group was characterized *unfavorably*. However, to simplify scoring all ratings were reverse scored such that higher ratings (e.g., 6, 7) were favorable and lower ratings (e.g., 1, 2) were not. After the participant rated West Indians, African Americans and Africans (African group ratings were not used in this study) comparison scores were obtained. To obtain each participant's comparison score on the 18 stereotypical attributes, the 36 items were paired according to the 18 stereotypical attributes and the out-group (American-born Blacks) rating was subtracted from the in-group (West Indian Blacks) rating.

All items' paired stereotype ratings were scored. A higher score indicated the out-group was closer to the unfavorable characterization (e.g., poor, lazy, or violence prone). Thus, if West Indians, the in-group, were rated as 2 on rich/poor scale (which was reverse scored as 6), African Americans/Black Americans scored 7 (which was reverse scored as 1), the perceived wealth difference score calculations for African Americans/Black Americans would be 5 (below West Indians) and West Indians would be perceived as richer. Therefore, total comparison score for a pair stereotyped attribute could range from -6 to +6. The total ethnocentric comparison scores used in the analyses were gained by calculating total difference score for each participant across all 18 items. Thus, lower total scores indicated, in general, less ethnocentric attitudes for the participant across the items and higher total scores generally indicated more ethnocentric scores across the items.

There is evidence that the trait ratings of the Image Scale on the (GSS) Topical report 19 are reliable measures, both when the items deal with each target group are examined for homogeneity and when items are looked at individually. Across trait (e.g., intelligent/unintelligent and lazy/self-supporting) coefficient alphas were consistently about .70 (Raden, 2003). Smith (1990) reported on the construct validity of the scale stating the rating of the five character dimensions of the in-group (addressing personality and or moral characteristics) were “uniformly higher than they are when rated by the out group.” This is consistent with the classic assumption of ethnocentrism, which focuses on attitudes that reflect in-group centrality and out-group bias and/or degradation. The Cronbach’s alpha internal consistency for the 36 items in this study was .85 (see Table 5).

Socio-Demographic sheet

The Socio-Demographic Sheet (see Appendix F) assesses participants’ gender, age, self-reported socioeconomic status, self-reported educational level of participants and parent(s), participant’s and parent(s) place of birth, participants and parent(s) years in the US, age when parent(s) migrated to the United States, participants and parent(s) racial group (i.e., White, Black, African American, Asian, and Native American, Biracial) and ethnic group (i.e., a West Indian, a hyphenated West Indian and American or American). Participants could specify their answers if the available choices are not representative of their respective group identification for both racial and ethnic group identification.

Procedure

Voluntary participants were solicited from two Northeast churches, two after school program events in a Dade county high school, and through word of mouth/snowballing procedure. As a result of these solicitations, youth and young adults were encouraged to complete the survey either online or by paper and pencil. The researcher met with a church youth leader that worked with two youth groups each at two northeast churches. The researcher explained that the study was exploring social learning and social attitudes and visited both church youth groups to introduce the study to youth and parents. After basic questions were answered about study (i.e., confidentiality, how study's findings are reported and follow-up), the packets were provided which included informed consent (Appendix A), participant's rights (Appendix B), assent and parental consent (Appendices C and D) for distribution to interested participants. Forty-one participants completed paper and pencil surveys. Seventy packets were distributed to the church sites (40 to a New York church site and 30 to a New Jersey site). The response rate for the New York site was 67.5% ($n = 27$), all of which were usable data. For the New Jersey site, participants' response rate was 24 (80%). Of this 24, 10 were not eligible for inclusion criteria: Seven participants did not meet the age requirement; two were not of African descent; and one had not noted generational ties to the West Indies. Therefore, the total response rate from the 70 packets was 58.6%.

Because of the low response rate from the paper and pencil method of data collection, the study was also placed online. The online survey format and content remained the same as the paper and pencil study with the exception of two boxes requesting the participant's verification of legal adulthood or parental consent before beginning the online survey (see Appendix E). This

collection format yielded a total of 163 participants. Of this 163, 131 (80.4%) were completed studies. Due to some established inclusion/exclusion criteria, a total of 21 participants were excluded leaving a total online count of 110 participants, or 67.5% usable data.

Sixty-nine of the 110 online participants were recruited from Florida at two after school social events off school premises. The principal investigator contacted school personnel and explained the general purpose and use of the research and asked the personnel to make an announcement about the research project to students at two of campus school functions. Participants were assured that participation was voluntary and were encouraged to solicit other participants, but were informed that word of mouth solicitations was not mandatory for participation. Students and parents (for students under 18 years) who had questions about the research were encouraged to contact the investigator directly via her provided email. Participants were given the website information and asked to check a box indicating they had received parental consent to participate (see Appendix E). For participants under 18 beginning the study provided assent. In all cases for participants under 18, parental consent and assent were given. Participants were not allowed to participate online before indicating they were over 18 or checking a box indicating they received parental consent for participation.

Finally, as with some of the Florida participants, other participants were encouraged to share a link through word of mouth/email to the online survey to persons who qualified and were interested in completing the study. No compensation was given for participation. Participants were assured that telling others about the study was voluntary and was not a requirement for participation in the study. Those who joined the study in this way were also be given a brief description of the research and were given the opportunity to ask any question or address any

concerns. All participants were informed about the option to withdraw from the study at any time, if they so wished, without penalization.

Each participant (online and paper and pencil method) completed a questionnaire that included a Socio-Demographic Questionnaire, the Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale (TERS) (Stevenson, Cameron Herrero-Taylor & Davis, 2002), the modified version of the Image Scale (Smith, 1990), the Black Racial Identity Attitudes Scale-Long form (Helms & Parham, 1996), and the socio-demographic sheet. All paper and pencil participants returned their packets directly to a volunteer after removing the signed consent form and placing it in a separate envelope from the survey packet. For convenience and confidentiality purposes, the church youth leader received sealable airtight envelopes to place completed packets and the separate envelope with consent forms in. All participants were offered the opportunity to be debriefed about the study and to receive further information regarding the study from the investigator.

Chapter IV

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

Assessing Demographic Effects

According to the review of the literature, demographic variables such as gender, age and education may affect racial socialization patterns and/or Black racial identity status attitudes (Cort, 2008; Stevenson, 1995; Stevenson et al., 2002). Although it is not known what affect these variables have on ethnocentric attitudes as with the other main variables of this study, it was deemed important to rule-out these demographic effects on the main variables of interest before carrying out the main analyses found below. Therefore, four multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVAs) were conducted. Four demographic variables, gender, age, education, and collection site, each served as an independent variable per MANOVA with the study's main variables as dependent variables: five subscales of racial socialization which include Cultural Alertness to Discrimination, (CAD), Cultural Pride Reinforcement, (CPR), Cultural Legacy Appreciation, (CLA), Cultural Coping with Antagonism, (CCA), Cultural Endorsement of Mainstream, (CEM), ethnocentrism difference scores (Image Scores) and four transformed percentile scores of Black racial identity status attitudes (Preencounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization).

The first MANOVA indicated significant group differences between young men and women for the study's 10 main variables, Wilks's lambda = .83, multivariate $F(10, 140) = 2.80$, $p = .03$. Separate univariate ANOVAs on the outcome variables revealed significant differences

occurred between young men and women on the Cultural Endorsement of Mainstream type of racial socialization, $F(1, 149) = 9.01, p = .03$, and Preencounter racial identity status attitudes, $F(1, 149) = 15.32, p = .01$. Specifically, young men had higher accounts of being socialized to get on in mainstream culture ($M = 10.64, SD = 2.60$) than young women ($M = 9.34, SD = 2.38$) and they were more likely to have higher color-blind attitudes ($M = 66.25, SD = 26.16$) than young women ($M = 47.46, SD = 27.82$).

The second MANOVA also indicated that two age groups (16-19 vs. 20-24) of the participants significantly differed on the study's 10 main variables, Wilks's lambda = .76, multivariate $F(10, 140) = 4.41, p = .01$. Cultural Alertness to Discrimination socialization type, $F(1, 149) = 22.87, p = .01$, and Immersion attitude status, $F(1, 149) = 4.09, p = .05$, were significantly different by age group according to separate univariate ANOVAs.

Exploration of the group means indicated that for both Cultural Alertness to Discrimination socialization and Immersion attitude status, those aged 20-24 years had higher means than younger teen participants. In fact, young adults ($M = 14.11, SD = 3.14$) were 2.43 points higher than teens ($M = 11.68, SD = 2.73$) in reports of being socialized to mistrust Whites, that is, CAD socialization. They also had a significant 9.96 points increase in mean difference ($M = 58.78, SD = 27.81$) above teens ($M = 48.82, SD = 27.60$) for holding pro-Black attitudes.

Next, education had a significant effect on the main variables of the study, Wilks's lambda = .79, multivariate $F(10, 138) = 3.67, p = .01$. Specifically, univariate tests indicated that Cultural Legacy Appreciation, $F(1, 147) = 7.52, p = .01$, and Cultural Alertness to Discrimination, $F(1, 147) = 23.82, p = .01$, socialization types and Immersion-Emersion racial

identity status attitudes were $F(1, 147) = 4.26, p = .04$, significant between the two educational groups (high school and college/graduate school).

Across all three variables, high school participants had lower statistical means than their college and graduate school peers of reporting being socialized to appreciate Black American legacy: high school ($M = 10.68, SD = 2.36$); college/graduate school ($M = 11.87, SD = 2.68$); to mistrust Whites high school, ($M = 11.71, SD = 2.68$); college/graduate school, ($M = 14.15, SD = 3.10$), and being immersed in pro-Black attitudes high school, ($M = 48.89, SD = 27.08$); college/graduate school, ($M = 59.00, SD = 28.78$).

Finally, whether or not participants completed the survey online or with a traditional paper and pencil did not have significant effect on the participant's responses to the main variables of the study, Wilks's lambda = .90, multivariate $F(10, 140) = 1.50, p = .15$.

Although three of the four demographic variables, gender, age and educational status, have significance on some variables of the study, because of the complex multivariate analyses (canonical correlation analysis) that follow and the disproportionate sample sizes between demographic group variables (e.g., males, $n = 47$ vs. females, $n = 102$; teenagers, $n = 106$ vs. young adults, $n = 45$), these variables are not included as covariates in the main analyses. Implications for this decision are addressed in the limitation section of discussion chapter. See Table 6 for these MANOVA results.

Analysis of TERS, Ethnocentric Attitude Scores, and RIAS-B

To find evidence of validity of the scales, bivariate correlations were conducted between all main variables in this study.

Racial identity correlations. Correlations between RIAS percentile scores were theoretically consistent and also unexpected (see Table 7). For example, Preencounter inversely related to Internalization as outlined by the racial identity attitudes theory, as expected. It was positively related to both Encounter and Immersion statuses attitudes, again as expected. All variables were correlated at the $p < .01$ level. Attitudes that reflected both minimization or ignorance of racial roles and the alignment with White American mainstream culture as captured by Preencounter tended to have inverse relationships with attitudes of confusion about racial injustices captured by Encounter, cultural immersion towards Black identity, and also with attitudes that reflect valuing one's Blackness without actively identifying and/or glorifying with the White race. In all cases the inverse relationships with Preencounter are expected due to meaningful acknowledgement of race and moving towards new and diverse meanings about the significance of being Black in America.

Encounter and Immersion were also positively related at the $p < .01$. This complimentary relationship as well as those described above between other racial identity status attitudes was also noted in the Hall and Carter (2006) study with first and second-generation West Indian Americans. Therefore, this pattern is expected for this second-generation sample.

Racial socialization correlations. Most TERS correlations were consistent with Stevenson's (1995) and Stevenson et al.'s (2002) theory of racial socialization. Stevenson et al. (2002) posited that all five factors reflected a common theme but they are expected to measure "uniquely different aspects of racial socialization," (p. 92). The Cultural Endorsement toward the Mainstream subscale was positively correlated with the Cultural

Coping with Antagonism, Cultural Pride Reinforcement, Cultural Legacy Appreciation, and Cultural Alertness to Discrimination subscales, with most significant at a $p < .01$ level. That is, as Cultural Endorsement towards the Mainstream, an egalitarian-based socialization subscale reports increased, racial socialization subscales reflecting themes of preparation for racial bias (CCA), pride (CPR), Black legacy (CLA) and mistrust of Whites (CAD) also increased. Of note, a sample theme indicated there were no inversely related correlations among all five types of racial socialization for this sample.

This is consistent with Stevenson et al.'s (2002) "both-and" tenant of the multidimensionality of the cultural forms of American racial socialization captured by the TERS. That is, it is likely that a participant could recall receiving both messages about getting on in mainstream White culture and, for example, simultaneously hear messages related to mistrusting Whites (Stevenson et al., 2002). A final notable theme is that there were no inversely related correlations among all five types of racial socialization.

Previous studies (Davis & Stevenson, 2006; Stevenson et al., 2002) studies found inverse relationships between several socializations such as CEM and all other socializations [Pride (CPR), Black Legacy (CLA), preparation for bias (CCA), mistrust (CAD)] (Stevenson et al., 2002) or between preparation for bias themes (CCA) and Black Legacy socializations and endorsement of mainstream culture (CEM) (Davis & Stevenson, 2006).

Racial socialization and identity correlations. The relationship between subscales on the TERS and RIAS-B Scales were also noteworthy. It was expected that Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream would have a strong positive relation to Preencounter themes, $r = .27, p < .01$. Both constructs actively engaged endorsing the White mainstream American culture. In fact, most of the correlations were consistent with

previous research findings between racial socialization themes and racial identity (Cort, 2008; Stevenson, 1995). For example, more reports of Cultural Pride Reinforcement or pride based socialization were related to less reports of Preencounter attitudes, $r = -.24$, $p < .01$; Cultural Coping with Antagonism (preparation for bias socializations) as were cultural legacy (CLA) and mistrust teachings (CAD) were positively correlated with both Encounter and Immersion-Emersion status attitudes, $p < .01$. See Table 7 for additional details.

Ethnocentrism, racial socialization, and racial identity correlations. Finally, there were notable significant correlations between ethnocentric attitudes, racial socialization and racial identity status attitudes. Regarding socialization and ethnocentric attitudes, only pride themed socializations were significantly positively correlated with ethnocentric difference scores, $r = .21$, $p < .01$. However, for racial identity status attitudes, Preencounter status attitudes were inversely related to difference ethnocentric scores, $r = -.19$, $p < .05$. Therefore, an increase in ethnocentric attitudes scores meant a significant increase in racial pride socialization reports and significant decrease in Preencounter status attitudes. Because these two constructs have never been measured together, it was unclear how they would correlate.

Main Analyses

Relationship Between Racial Socializations and Racial Identity

Research Hypothesis 1. Hypothesis 1 anticipated significant relationships between the subscales of racial socialization including Cultural Coping with Antagonism, Cultural Alertness to Discrimination, Cultural Pride Reinforcement-based socialization and

Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream culture socialization and Racial Identity Status Attitudes (i.e., Preencounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, Internalization), as measured by group generated percentile scores.

Expected Findings 1a. Higher levels of mistrust and preparation for bias socializations respectively measured by the CAD and CCA subscales of the Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale (TERS) will be significantly related to higher Encounter and Immersion-Emersion status attitudes.

Expected Findings 1b. Higher levels of pride and African American legacy socializations respectively measured by the CPR and CLA subscales of the Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale (TERS) will be significantly related to higher Immersion-Emersion status attitudes.

Expected Findings 1c. Higher levels of Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream (CEM) socializations will be significantly related to higher Preencounter status attitudes.

A canonical correlation analysis was conducted to address the global two-tailed hypotheses and expected findings 1a-1c. Canonical correlation was the analytic method used to explore how the multiple continuous variables of this dataset were related. This canonical correlation used the five racial socialization scales as the predictor variable set and the four, group generated, racial identity attitude scale percentile scores as the criterion variables. This method was statistically appropriate as the assumptions related to this test were met (e.g., linearity, normality, homoscedasticity and multicollinearity) and the continuous nature of all variables was conducive to this test. Also, given the somewhat exploratory nature of this hypothesis, canonical correlation analysis aided in

narrowing down specific relationships between the multiple variables confirming significant relationships.

With regards to the canonical correlation: the full canonical correlation model was significant, with a Wilks's lambda of .38, $F(20, 471.91) = 7.95, p < .001$, and an effect size of $.62 = R_c^2$. This indicates that full model explained about 62%, a substantial portion of the variance shared between the variable sets. The effect size was calculated by using the formula $1 - \text{Wilks's lambda}$. In this case, $1 - .38 = .62$.

A dimension reduction analysis for this canonical correlation indicated the statistically significant hierarchal arrangement was related to the full model (functions 1 to 4) noted above, and functions 2 to 4, $F(12, 378.63) = 4.90, p < .001$. The variance corresponded with the significance of the two functions and helped determine the overall effect of each model. This information was found when examining the squared canonical functions. The first two functions, function 1 at 44.1% and function 2 at about 26.0%, explained a significant amount of the variance within their functions. Because the other two functions, 3 and 4, were less than 10%, at 6.1% and 1.8% respectively, after the extraction of the prior functions (1 and 2), they are not interpreted.

Sherry and Henson (2005) suggested interpreting functions with a "reasonable amount of variance." Although this can be relative to the study, in general, studies (Sherry & Henson, 2005) included functions with an overall within function variance above 20%. Thus, the cutoff for this study was .20. Table 8 illustrates the canonical solution for the TERS predicting racial identity status attitudes for functions 1 and 2. The squared structure coefficients (r_s^2) are also given as well as the communalities (h^2) across the two functions for each variable.

In function 1, Internalization status attitude contributed the most to the synthetic criterion variable with a structure coefficient (r_s) of -.86. Preencounter made secondary contributions to the synthetic criterion variable; however, it is inversely related to the other contributors with a structure coefficient (r_s) of .48. Finally, Immersion-Emersion is the third significant contributor to the synthetic criterion variable with a (r_s) of -.47. As per Sherry and Henson's (2005) recommendation, only structure coefficients greater than $|\text{.45}|$ were interpreted as having significant contributions to the synthetic variable. In the case of Internalization, Preencounter and Immersion-Emersion status attitudes, these conclusions were supported by the squared structure coefficients (r_s^2), which respectively, accounted for 74%, 23%, and 22%. Lastly, the structural coefficients indicated that while Internalization and Immersion-Emersion are negatively related to one another and to Encounter and to the synthetic variable, Preencounter was positively related to the synthetic criterion variable. Thus, Preencounter is inversely related to all other attitudes statuses. These results are supportive of the theoretical model of racial identity development between adaptive and non-adaptive identity statuses.

Regarding the predictor variable set in function 1, pride based socializations such as Cultural Legacy Appreciation, ($r_s = -.77$); and Cultural Pride Reinforcement ($r_s = -.70$), both capture active and explicit forms of cultural socialization (Stevenson et. al., 2002), and preparation for bias themed socialization, Cultural Coping with Antagonism ($r_s = -.64$) were the primary contributors to the synthetic predictor variable. These significant covariates all contributed 59%, 49% and 41% respectively, of the variance (r_s^2) in the synthetic predictor variable.

These results indicate that the compilation of less pride, explicit culturally based socialization, and preparation for racial bias socializations were related to lower levels of emotional growth in understanding the self as Black in a North American context without idealizing White American Culture. Thus, this relational variate between the synthetic predictor and criterion can be identified as “cultural affinity and racial knowledge with tolerance” (see Figure 1).

In function 2 (see Table 8) Immersion-Emersion status attitudes contributed the most to the synthetic criterion variable $r_s = .88$. Encounter made a secondary, moderate contribution to the synthetic criterion variable $r_s = .56$, as well as Preencounter $r_s = .54$. Again, reviewing the squared structure coefficients (r_s^2), there is support for these results. Emersion- Immersion, Encounter, and Preencounter respectively account for 77%, 31%, and 29% of the variance found in the synthetic criterion variable. It is notable that all three variates significantly contributing to the synthetic variable positively contribute to the variable and relate to each other. For the structural coefficients, Internalization ($r_s = -.34$), though not significant, was inversely related to other aforementioned attitude statuses in this function when contributing to the synthetic variable.

As for the socialization experiences, the predictor variable, Cultural Alertness to Discrimination, a measurement of mistrust themes (Stevenson et al., 2002), was now the only significant dominant factor related to the synthetic predictor variable ($r_s = -.52$). The r_s^2 for this variable contribution to the synthetic predictor variable was 27%.

For the second function, more reports of mistrust were related to the compilation of strong cultural affinity and subscription to and confusion around racelessness.

Therefore, the synthetic variable was named “mistrust with racial negotiation” (see Figure 2).

This exploratory multivariate analysis offers confirmation of the general Hypothesis 1, that there is a significant relationship between racial socialization and racial identity status attitudes. This was noted with the two aforementioned functions that collectively explained 62% of the variance found between the two synthetic variables. The findings also addressed specific expected directional relationships between racial socialization types and racial identity status attitudes. That is, that socialization that included higher levels of mistrust socialization positively related to Encounter and Immersion-Emersion status attitudes as evidenced in the second canonical function results. However, preparation for bias messages ($r_s = .36$) was not found to significantly contribute to the model as to influence either Encounter or Immersion-Emersion Status attitudes.

Another positive relationship illustrated that pride and legacy based cultural socializations were significantly related to Immersion-Emersion. This was fully supported with the first function. As socialization compilations included both pride and cultural legacy of Black Americans decreased so did Immersion-Emersion status attitudes. Thus, as these socialization messages increase, we would expect Immersion-Emersion status attitudes to increase as well for this population.

Finally, although there was a positive relationship between higher levels of Endorsement of the Mainstream culture socializations and Preencounter status attitudes, it was not significant. Therefore, the presumed relationship between mainstream socialization and Preencounter racial identity attitudes was not confirmed.

Research Hypothesis 2. Hypothesis 2 stated that racial socialization styles would significantly predict differences in sample generated racial identity personality profile groups. Because racial identity attitude statuses from which the profiles were derived were not rank ordered, the profile groups could be rank ordered. Therefore, a multinomial logistic regression multivariate analysis was not deemed appropriate and was not used to explore this hypothesis. Instead, a MANOVA was used in which the profile groups were predictor variables and the racial socialization styles were, instead, the outcome variables. To further simplify the analysis, a MANOVA explored the ways in which four rather than eight racial identity profiles significantly differed from one another on each of the five socialization scales. It was decided to include only the three dominant and the Flat profiles in a MANOVA to help clearly delineate the effects of completely uniform and completely mixed attitude orientations on reported socialization patterns. The implications for this analysis are discussed in Chapter 5.

The MANOVA indicated significant group differences between the four racial identity profile groups and the five racial socialization styles, Wilks's lambda = .75, multivariate $F(15, 254) = 1.88, p = .03$. Separate univariate ANOVAs on the outcome variables revealed significant differences occurred with Cultural Coping with Antagonism (CCA), $F(3, 100) = 2.87, p = .04$; Cultural Pride Reinforcement type of racial socialization (CPR), $F(3, 100) = 2.87, p = .04$ and Cultural Legacy Appreciation (CLA) type of racial socialization, $F(3, 100) = 3.65, p = .02$. Specifically, a Games-Howell post hoc analyses indicated that the participants with an Immersion dominant profile group ($M = 33.00, SD = 2.37$) reported significantly higher preparation for bias socialization (CCA) than persons with Preencounter dominant profiles, ($M = 24.96, SD =$

1.61), $p = .02$ (See Table 9). Participants with Internalization dominant profiles ($M = 25.13$, $SD = .52$) had significantly higher pride based socialization (CPR) than those who had a Flat profiles ($M = 23.76$, $SD = .37$) $p = .04$ (see Table 10). Finally, persons with Preencounter dominant profiles ($M = 9.00$, $SD = .69$) were significantly less likely than those with Undifferentiated/Flat profiles ($M = 11.22$, $SD = .34$), Internalization dominant profiles ($M = 11.27$, $SD = .48$) and Immersion dominant profiles ($M = 12.33$, $SD = 1.01$) to report high Cultural Legacy Appreciation socialization (CLA), $p = .01$ (see Table 11).

This analysis did not explore the predictive ability that racial socialization types have on unique sample generated profile groups. The results of this analysis, however, support the general hypothesis that certain racial socialization types occur more or less with persons exhibiting specific racial identity attitude profile compilations. There can be some speculation made about how these two variables would relate based on previous studies that have used group mean analyses of racial identity and racial socialization (Stevenson, 1995). However, the results of this analysis are unique and not entirely expected because socialization modalities explored in this study captured types of people holding specific identities.

Research Hypothesis 3. Explicit forms of culturally based socialization related to Black American history/legacy and Black pride teachings will be related to ethnocentric attitudes for participants.

Expected Findings 3a. Higher teachings of Black American history and pride will be inversely related to ethnocentric attitudes.

A multiple regression was conducted with cultural legacy (CLA), pride (CPR) based socializations as predictor variables and total ethnocentric difference scores as the

criterion variable. The results indicated a statistically significant model, $F(2,148) = 3.75$, $p = .03$. Specifically, there was a significant inverse relationship between total ethnocentric attitude difference scores and pride messages (CPR) $\beta = 1.18$, $t(2, 148) = 2.56$, $p = .01$. The expected directional finding suggested an inverse relationship between ethnocentric attitudes and pride-based socialization was not supported. As pride teachings increased so did ethnocentric attitudes. The inverse relationship was noted between teaching about Black American legacy and ethnocentric attitudes. However, it was insignificant.

The general alternative hypothesis that there would be a significant relationship between pride socialization and ethnocentrism was supported (see Table 12). However, the null hypothesis was accepted for the predicted relationship between Black legacy teaching and ethnocentric attitudes. This regression was also not compromised by multicollinearity, assumed due to high correlations between variables, tolerance = .693 = $VIF = 1.444$.

Research Hypothesis 4. There will be a significant relationship between Ethnocentric Attitudes and Racial Identity Status Attitudes.

Expected Finding 4a. Higher levels of ethnocentric attitudes will predict higher Preencounter status attitudes.

Because Preencounter was the only racial identity attitude scale significantly correlated with the ethnocentric difference scores, this relationship was explored with a simple linear regression where ethnocentric scores were the predictor and Preencounter percentile scores was the criterion variable. The regression was significant, $F(1,149) = 6.15$, $p = .01$. However, the expected relationship was reversed, such that higher levels of

ethnocentric attitudes actually predicted lower reports of Preencounter status attitudes, $\beta = -.40$, $t(1, 149) = 2.48$, $p = .01$, instead of the projected higher Preencounter status attitudes. Thus, Hypothesis 4 was not supported as the direction for the specific relationship between Preencounter and ethnocentric attitudes were contrary to what was predicted (see Table 13).

Hypothesis 5. Ethnocentric attitudes will have significant mediation effects on the relationship found between racial socialization and racial identity. There will be a weaker relationship between racial socialization and racial identity in the absence of ethnocentrism.

All notable conditions for testing mediation between the predictor set of variables (racial socialization and ethnocentrism) and the criterion variable (racial identity) were met. Barron and Kenny (1986) stated: (a) that the initial variable should correlate with the outcome variable. The regression model predicting the relationship between the initial independent variable and the outcome variable should be significant; (b) the initial variable is correlated with and predicts the mediator and; (c) with both the initial variable and the proposed mediator in the same equation as independent variables, the mediator should significantly predict the outcome variable and there should be an effect noted in the beta weights of a regression model.

In this case, the preliminary analyses had significant correlations between pride-based socializations, total ethnocentric difference scores, and both Preencounter status attitudes (Barron & Kenny, 1986). Hypotheses 2 established a significant linear relationship between Preencounter status attitudes and pride based racial socialization. Hypothesis 3 established a significant linear relationship between the IV pride-based

racial socialization and the mediator, total ethnocentric difference scores. Hypothesis 4 established significant relationships between the mediator, total ethnocentric difference scores and Preencounter status attitude scores. Because all these conditions were met, mediation was tested. A multiple regression was conducted for the dependent variable Preencounter and the independent variable (pride-based socialization) and mediator (ethnocentric difference scores).

A significant model between pride socialization, total ethnocentric attitude difference scores and Preencounter status attitudes, $F(2,148) = 6.57, p = .01$ was established. Specifically, there was only a significant relationship between pride messages; Cultural Pride Reinforcement and Preencounter status attitudes for the model $\beta = -.21, t(2, 148) = -2.60, p = .01$. Thus, there was no full mediation between the pride-based socialization and the mediator, total ethnocentric attitude difference scores. Also, total ethnocentric attitude difference scores for the model was just shy of indicating significant partial mediation between pride based socialization and Preencounter status attitude; $\beta = .15, t(2, 148) = -1.91, p = .06$ (see Table 14).

Chapter V

DISCUSSION

Parham (1989) suggested that Black youth and young adults in America need to develop a strong racial identity in order to meet the challenges of social conditions that inhibit their advancement. Racial identity theory has been used for several decades in the United States to investigate ways of validating Blacks and build their advancement as a people. Most of the literature on Black racial identity has, however, focused on Blacks in the United States who were socialized for generations within the North American culture. As the United States becomes more culturally diverse, implications on how ethnically diverse Blacks and their children orient themselves to race in the American racial context become important factors for understanding American racial identity development.

Exploration of how Black youth and young adults are socialized to think and feel about their own race and the races of others has led several scholars (Benson, 2006; Carter, 1995; Stevenson, 1995) to consider it as a key factor in racial identity development. However, little is known about the direct racial socialization experiences of second-generation West Indian Americans. Because socialization is informed by cultural practice, there can be varying racial-ethnic themed group specific messages (Hughes, 2006; Stevenson, 1995, Stevenson et al., 2002). It is unclear how these themed messages can foster psychologically healthy Black identities (Stevenson et al., 2002) and/or deter them (Benson, 2006, Waters, 2001). It is also unclear as to what and how socialization messages such as racial pride, mistrust, preparation for racial bias, and egalitarianism affect the racial identity development of ethnically diverse Blacks in America.

This issue can be more obscure for ethnically diverse Blacks in America because of noted themes of competition and ethnic bigotry among Black ethnics in the United States (Jackson & Cothran, 2003; Benson, 2006). The ethnocentric component found among all Blacks living in the United States (Jackson & Cothran, 2003) was presumed to be a component of cultural socialization specific to first-generation Black West Indians (Kasinitz, 1992; Waters, 2001); nonetheless, that could also relate to the development of racial identity of the second-generation West Indian Americans.

Therefore, this study empirically explored the relationships between three variables. The first variable, racial socialization; captured socialization themes of Racial Pride, Mainstream/Egalitarianism, Mistrust of Whites, and Preparation for Bias from Whites and was measured by the Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale (TERS). The second variable was Ethnocentrism and was measured by the Image Scale. The final variable, racial identity statuses, was measured by the Black Racial Attitude Status scales. It was hypothesized that ethnocentric messages, in addition to racial socialization, could predict racial identity status attitudes. Three research hypotheses informed by the literature review were tested:

1. Aspects of racial socialization (e.g., Pride, Preparation for Racial Bias, Egalitarianism, and Mistrust) would predict racial identity status attitudes.
2. Aspects of racial socialization (e.g., Pride, Preparation for Racial Bias, Egalitarianism, and Mistrust) would predict specific strength of endorsement racial identity profiles.

3. Pride-based racial socialization would be inversely related to ethnocentric attitudes for participants. Specifically, higher teachings of Black American history and racial pride will be inversely related to ethnocentric attitudes.

4. There will be a significant relationship between ethnocentric attitudes and Racial Identity Status Attitudes; higher levels of positive in-group ethnocentric attitudes would be related to higher Preencounter status attitudes.

5. The relationship found between aspects of racial socialization and racial identity will be mediated by ethnocentric attitudes.

With the exception of the Hypotheses 3 and 4, in which direction was predicted for the variables, the hypotheses were approached as research questions and were directionless. This study utilized several multivariate analyses such as canonical correlation analyses and multivariate analysis of the variance along with simple linear regressions to explore the possible relationships between these three variables. Several notable relationships between racial socialization, racial identity and ethnocentrism were addressed. Limitations and future directions with respect to research, education, and clinical practice are also addressed in this final chapter.

Racial Identity and Racial Socialization (Hypothesis 1)

This first hypothesis sought to explore the different ways in which aspects of racial socialization were related to racial identity status attitudes. A canonical correlation was conducted to assess the shared multivariate relationships between two sets of variables associated with these constructs. Five unique socialization types and four racial identity status attitudes were included. The five socialization types assessed and its

corresponding subscale(s) were as follows: (a) mistrust (of Whites) socialization measured with the Cultural Alertness to Discrimination subscale; (b) preparation for bias (from Whites) socialization measured with the Cultural Coping with Antagonism subscale; (c) Cultural Pride Reinforcement measured unique forms of racial pride socialization; (d) Cultural Legacy Appreciation also measured unique forms of racial pride socialization and; (e) Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream measured egalitarian-like socialization themes. These scales comprised the predictive variables while four racial identity status attitudes: Preencounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization, were the criterion variable set. Given the exploratory nature of this question, there were no a priori expectations or hypotheses about the relationships between the variables.

The canonical correlation was significant in establishing two significant ways socialization was related to racial identity for this sample. These results were generally supportive of the theoretically expected relationships between racial socialization and racial identity variables. The two, interpretable functions were named, “*Racial/Cultural Affinity and Knowledge with Racial Centrality and Tolerance*” and “*Mistrust with Racial Negotiation*” and are discussed below.

Racial/Cultural Affinity and Knowledge with Racial Centrality and Tolerance

This variate consisted of positive relationships among three racial socialization scales: racial pride socializations, (Cultural Pride Reinforcement and Cultural Legacy Appreciation) and racial bias preparation (Cultural Coping with Antagonism) and with two racial identity status attitudes: Internalization and Immersion-Emersion, and an inverse relationship with Preencounter. Therefore, the more the participants received

parental messages of Black pride acknowledging specific achievements, contributions, and histories of Blacks combined with forewarnings of racial bias, the more likely participants were to exhibit racial expressions of comfort and a strong attachment to Black culture and its expressions and approach relationships with Whites without idealizing them and White American mainstream culture.

This outcome illustrates that when this second-generation West Indian American sample is socialized with racial bias preparation and racial pride, they tend to have the most developed race centered attitudes. Their attitudes were mostly reflective of security of one's self as a racial being as being "Black enough" (e.g., holding Blackness as central to their identity) (Helms, 1990) and also not likely to simply be reflective of superficial Black racial identification terms as suggested by some qualitative research (Benson, 2006; Waters, 1996).

The Racial/Cultural Affinity and Knowledge with Racial Centrality and Tolerance variate was both expected and meaningful. The finding supported previous research that racial socialization and identity are related (Barr & Neville, 2008; Cort, 2008; Sanders Thomson, 1994; Stevenson, 1995). The results of this variate specifically validated significant relationships between the variables of this variate previously found with Black youths. For example, according to Stevenson's (1995) landmark empirical study on Black adolescents' socialization beliefs and racial attitudes, girls who believed they should be socialized with racial pride had higher Immersion-Emersion status attitudes and boys who had greater beliefs about being socialized with racial pride had higher Internalization status attitudes. Both boys and girls who believe that youth should receive racial bias preparation had lower Preencounter status attitudes.

Although the study explored beliefs about socialization, there is strong evidence (Joseph & Hunter, 2011; Stevenson et al., 2002; Waters, 1994) that attitudes held by youth regarding such matters of race can be reflective of their social surroundings, which can include parental, peer and societal socializations.

Nonetheless, a more recent study by Cort (2008) that asked youths to assess socialization actions of parents also supports some relationships found with the *Racial/Cultural Affinity and Knowledge with Racial Centrality and Tolerance* variate. Cort (2008) found girls who reported higher racial pride socializations also had higher Immersion-Emersion status attitudes and lower Preencounter status attitudes. She also found that boys who had racial pride socialization had higher Internalization attitudes as captured by this variate.

Not only is there support for the *Racial/Cultural Affinity and Knowledge with Racial Centrality and Tolerance* variate from previous studies, the relationships among the variables that comprise this variate also make theoretical sense. The reasons for these relationships are likely due to the theoretical underpinnings of each of the variable components of this variate. For example, the positive Internalization status attitudes reflected in the racial centrality and tolerance component of the variate, reflects inner pride and social consciousness about race that is related to racial pride and bias preparation socializations (Cort, 2008; Stevenson, 1995). Furthermore, Preencounter status attitudes, attitudes that, at a minimal level, can reflect passive color-blind perceptions of the world- minimizing the significance of socio-racial consciousness, is inherently opposed to bias preparation socialization and using one's race as a focal point for pride.

The theoretically consistent and empirically supported relationships between the variables both within and between the predictor and criterion variable sets support the overall idea of the formed variate *Racial/Cultural Affinity and Knowledge with Racial Centrality and Tolerance*. That is, racial/cultural affinity towards one's race and societal knowledge of one's race would lead to positive racial alignment or centrality with one's racial group and tolerance for relationships with Whites.

Furthermore, the findings for this sample are meaningful because they confirm that second-generation West Indian Americans largely identify with having this type of socialization/identity outcome found with other Black populations. Thus, the fact that this relationship between racial socialization and racial identity was found with this sample speaks to the validity of this sample in exploring complex racial concepts in North America.

Mistrust with Racial Negotiation

This second variate found a positive relationship between mistrust socialization and Immersion-Emersion, Encounter, and Preencounter status attitudes. Therefore, the more participants were taught to mistrust Whites by their parents, the more likely they were to have a heightened need to engage in pro-Black racial definition. However, this strong pro-Black racial engagement occurred while still navigating confusion around a former misperception of racelessness (related to Encounter attitudes) and idealizing White culture (related to Preencounter attitudes). Thus, West Indian Americans socialized to mistrust Whites and their intentions shift between the three distinct racial identity status attitudes of Immersion-Emersion, Encounter and Preencounter “negotiating” the meaning and importance of their racial group membership.

It is conceivable how mistrust socialization can bring about racial identity negotiation for youth/young adults of this sample. Racial negotiation is especially likely during a time when several other social and personal identities are forming, shifting, and solidifying (Erikson, 1968; Joseph & Hunter, 2011; Stevenson, 1995). Therefore, what is highly probable with respect to racial identity formation for West Indian Americans are also negotiations and racial bargaining that occur. Being taught to mistrust Whites can initiate identity confusion as Black youth are deciding both who they are in relation to other Blacks and in relation to Whites. As second-generation, Black, West Indian American youth experience and navigate a racial context, shifting between a superficial pro-Black identity, confusion about race and rejection/ignorance of it (race) are the three conceivable options for these youth as they grow up and navigate in a race-conscious society with migrant parents.

There is a theoretical relationship between a “protective” socialization like Mistrust and Immersion-Emersion and Encounter as both attitudes relate to the recognition of race, likely from negative outcomes. Encounter status attitudes not only reflect attitudes showcasing confusion, they also reflect attitudes characterized by alertness of Whites and their unearned privilege. Alertness to Whites and their social privileges are an inherent component of the mistrust socialization.

Immersion-Emersion status attitudes capture a reactive attitude to protect and repair the ego (Helms, 1990). Because the ego may have been bruised from a negative encounter experience, it follows that defenses ensue. Persons with Immersion-Emersion status attitudes hold attitudes of skepticism towards Whites and mainstream White

culture (Cross 1970; Helm, 1990) as a way of protecting the *self*. Thus, it follows that Mistrust socialization relates to the Immersion-Emersion status attitudes.

The support for this relationship can be seen with bivariate intercorrelations. Like this study, Phelps et al. (2001) also found significant, positive bivariate intercorrelations between cultural mistrust of Whites, Encounter and Immersion-Emersion attitudes with their ethnically diverse Black sample suggesting that there is some strong association between the three variables.

However, at first glance it may be perplexing to imagine the ways Preencounter attitudes are related to Encounter and Immersion-Emersion much less be an outcome of mistrust socialization. This skepticism is likely because Preencounter functions with varying levels of racial ignorance that seem oppositional to other statuses in Mistrust and Racial Negotiation variate. However, this outcome is possible for this population. First, according to racial identity attitude theory in the past 20 years, racial identity attitudes do not occur in stages, statuses are not rank ordered, and statuses can exist concurrently (Carter, 1995, Helms 1995; Parham, 1989). Second, studies have consistently illustrated similar racial compilations (Cort, 2008; Forsyth, Hall, & Carter, 2008).

Previous research on West Indian Americans found similar positive associations and relationships between the three racial identity variables. In Hall and Carter's (2006) study positive relationships were found a very significant relationship ($p < .01$) between Preencounter, Encounter and Immersion-Emersion attitudes. Furthermore, in Cort's (2008) study, which featured racial socialization and identity, mistrust socialization also predicted higher Immersion-Emersion, Encounter and Preencounter for the teenage girls in her sample.

It is possible that the Preencounter attitudes captured in the *Mistrust with Racial Negotiation* variate reflect passive Preencounter attitudes. Passive Preencounter Helms (1990) reports are characterized by idealization of Whites. This idealization can exist without the conscious denigration of Blacks found with active Preencounter and can be unknown to an individual. This is because passive Preencounter attitudes closely mirror dominant White society and is reinforced by it (Helms, 1990). Therefore, one reason Preencounter may be a component of *Mistrust with Racial Negotiation* can be reflected in the nuance of the type of Preencounter.

The compilations of racial identity attitudes that result from mistrust socialization are indeed complex. The negotiation component of this variate in many ways informs us about the nature of mistrust socialization functions for second-generation West Indian Americans. Like preparation for racial bias socialization, the purpose of mistrust socialization is protective in nature (Davis & Stevenson, 2006; Hughes, et al., 2000; Stevenson, 1995; Stevenson et al., 2002; Thornton et al., 1990). However, given the identity and inherent emotions of Immersion-Emersion, Encounter, Preencounter from previous studies, it seems as though mistrust for this population can potentially produce insecurities in the process of stabilizing a psychologically grounded Black racial identity.

Thus, it seems like the protective factor of this mistrust correlate comes at an expense for second-generation West Indian Americans, in particular. This theme was also found in Cort's (2008) study of racial socialization and racial identity of young Black women. Adolescent Black girls who were socialized to mistrust actually exhibited what Cort (2008) calls a "negative, pessimistic outlook regarding race" fostering a "less mature racial identification". Like this variate, mistrust socialization in her sample increased

color-blind stereotypical thinking or beliefs about Blacks (Preencounter), confusion about race (Encounter) and anger about race (Immersion-Emersion).

The results of hypothesis 1 confirm that both socialization and identity for Blacks in the United States are complex. More recently, to explore the complexities of racial identity status attitudes are developments and studies that focus on within group percentiles (Carter 1996) and within intrapersonal racial identity status profiles (Carter, Pieterse & Smith, 2008). Fortunately, this study used both methods to assess identity development for this sample and relate them to their socialization. Discussion of hypothesis 2 further illustrates this.

Racial Identity Profiles and Racial Socialization (Hypothesis 2)

Carter, Helms, and Juby (2004) suggested racial identity research include racial identity profiles with other racial and/or psychological variables. Therefore, this research question explored the relationship between racial socialization and racial identity profile in order to delineate characteristics of each racial identity profile.

In general, the results indicated that certain types of profiles were related to reports of racial socialization. The fact that second-generation West Indian Americans with Preencounter dominant profiles were significantly lower in racial bias preparation than those with Immersion-Emersion dominant profiles and these Preencounter dominant West Indian Americans were also lower than those with Undifferentiated/Flat, Internalization, and Immersion-Emersion dominant profiles for Cultural Legacy Appreciation socialization is consistent with racial identity theory. Preencounter attitudes

are not associated with acknowledgement of race in a color conscious or prideful/legacy driven way.

Both of these racial socializations promote awareness of race in a way that is opposed to the core tenet of both active and passive Preencounter attitudes. Recall active Preencounter, according to Helms (1990) and Cross (1978), is described as a deliberate idealization of Whiteness and White culture and denigration of Blacks and Black culture.

While these messages support development of pro-Black attitudes found in Immersion-Emersion attitudes, these messages overtly challenge attitudes that reflect active idealization of Whites and mainstream White culture in the way active Preencounter attitudes reflect. Racial bias socialization in its message infers Whites, traditionally White institutions (i.e., colleges and field of counseling psychology), as well as the principles behind mainstream White American culture can be biased, discriminatory, and/or racist. This challenges Preencounter attitudes. Pride-based socializations like Black legacy socializations can also challenge active Preencounter attitudes because this socialization instills some history about the contributions of Blacks that may challenge denigration of Blacks and Black culture. It also challenges the person with passive or assimilating Preencounter attitudes (Helms, 1989) by teaching Blacks to acknowledge the contributions, strength and resilience of a race as something empowering, beautiful and worthy of having membership.

Lastly, another finding of this analysis was that persons with Internalization dominant profiles were significantly higher in reports of pride based racial socialization than persons who had Undifferentiated or Flat profiles. Flat profiles in relation to outcomes variables sometimes pose as an anomaly when reviewing the results at face

value. However, there have been several studies that have made sense of what happens with Flat profiles by understanding its relational correlates i.e., anger expression, (Carter, Pieterse, & Smith, 2008) general emotional correlates (Carter, Helms, & Juby, 2004) as well as in relation to other profile groups. That being said, one way to understand the 54 West Indian Americans in this sample with Undifferentiated/Flat profiles is to assess their pride socialization compared to Internalization dominant profile group.

Essentially, this process informs us about the qualities of Flat by exploring what it is not: (a) a dominant profile and (b) a profile that solely fosters attitudes of racial centrality. Therefore, it follows that Internalization dominant persons report more pride based socializations generally for this sample not only based on Internalization status attitudes significant correlation with pride socialization, but also the theoretical component of mature racial centeredness that define Internalization attitudes. Pride socialization promotes racial centrality.

Thus, perhaps second-generation West Indian Americans with Internalized profile were primed to be this way given the messages they have received. Internalized racial attitudes reflect a security and comfort with racial group identity, which may come from racial pride teaching. Furthermore, persons who have pride socializations were more likely to have a more psychologically grounded Black identity (Stevenson, 1995).

This research question is unique in that it is the first of its kind to explore profiles and their relationship with racial socialization. At a group level many of these relationships were expected and have been found in the current study (results for hypothesis one) as well as in other studies (Cort, 2008; Stevenson, 1995). However, it is

notable that indications of the racial socialization and racial identity relationship surface at individual level profiles within this population.

Pride Socialization and Ethnocentric Attitudes (Hypothesis 3)

This study questioned the role ethnocentrism played in the racial socialization-racial identity relationship explored. This current hypothesis was concerned if racial pride socialization, a predictor variable, is related to ethnocentrism, the mediator. Therefore, ethnocentrism was hypothesized to mediate any significant relationships found between racial socialization and racial identity.

There was much interest in exploring this particular relationship because research has been scarce on how racial pride socialization, in particular, and ethnocentrism relate to one another for Black West Indian Americans. Previous studies have consistently found a positive relationship between ethnic pride socialization and ethnocentric attitudes for West Indian Americans (Foner, 2001; Joseph & Hunter, 2011; Waters, 1994, 1996, 2001; Woldemikael, 1989). However, the research on racial pride socialization and ethnocentric attitudes for second-generation West Indian Americans has been limited to one study (Woldemikael, 1989).

Despite this study's findings suggesting positive relationship between racial pride and ethnocentric socialization habits of West Indian parents, there have been speculations that racial pride socialization and ethnocentrism are mutually exclusive (Waters, 1996) or, at minimum, that the two constructs are inversely related (Foner, 2001). These conclusions are based on studies that found West Indian Americans distinguish between race and ethnicity while in the States (Bryce-Laporte, 1978; Foner, 1985; Sutton &

Makiesky, 1975). Other scholars have found that although West Indian Americans may define themselves as Black racially, they have been less likely to attach the same political meaning to race as their Black American peers may and may have questionable or wavering racial pride (Rogers, 2001; Vickerman, 1999; Waters, 1994).

Therefore, this study explored the relationship between ethnocentric attitudes and racial pride socialization for this second-generation West Indian American population. Two pride-based subscales, Cultural Pride Reinforcement (CPR) and Cultural Legacy Appreciation (CLA) of the Teenage Experience of Racial Socialization Scale (TERS), were entered as predictor variables in a multiple regression analysis with ethnocentric attitudes as the outcome variable.

Ethnocentric attitudes reflecting a positive bias towards West Indians when compared to African Americans was expected to be inversely related to the American based racial pride socializations for this population. However, a positive relationship was found between ethnocentric attitudes and racial pride socialization. Thus, this hypothesis was not supported. As the American based racial pride socialization increased ethnocentric attitudes of second-generation West Indian Americans also increased. The results indicate that West Indian Americans can have racial pride socialization that focuses on being Black in America and synonymously hold ethnocentric bias attitudes toward their Black American peers.

This “both-and” outcome was not entirely unexpected. Consider the unique position of the second-generation West Indian American: he/she is raised in America by sometimes strongly ethnocentric West Indian identified families/communities (Kasinitz, 1992, 2006; Jackson & Cothran, 2003; Foner, 2001; Waters, 1994, 1999; Woldemikael,

1989). Even though second-generation West Indian Americans may hear themes of racial pride, they may also hear and internalize ethnic pride and prejudice/bias themes. Thus, while developing an understanding of and coping with racial politics in the United States, children of West Indian immigrants may also have to contend with processing parental slights to other Black ethnics concurrent with parents' culturally specific promotion of racial pride. It may be likely that this culturally specific promotion of racial pride include praise of West Indian culture and its Black people.

Woldemikael's (1989) study of Haitians in Illinois captured the complexity in racial pride and ethnocentrism relationship informing this "both-and" process. Through interviews this qualitative study found that Haitians' higher racial pride was a factor of believed superior social, cultural and ideological differences from Black Americans. Haitians' racial pride independently resulted from their own national heritage and culture, and was manifested by their attempts to distance themselves from American Blacks in the host culture as well as social definitions ascribed to U.S. Blacks.

Therefore, racial pride in being Black for this group was developed while holding bias against ethnically diverse Black Americans. Furthermore, it seems that racial pride in being Black was only maintained by the first-generations' failure to accept the political/social racial definitions of Blackness in the United States. This was the same theme argued by Rogers (2004). If these attitudes were likely passed on to their second-generation offspring, the results could be social distancing from Black Americans and ethnic pride despite children's understanding and acceptance of the United States' racial politics.

Being socialized with Black pride yet holding ethnocentric attitudes is a unique cultural experience of being a second-generation West Indian American (Waters, 1994, 1996, 2001; Vickerman, 1999) that requires navigation and speaks to a bicultural ingenuity for this group. That is, second-generation West Indian Americans are likely able to understand and expect ethnocentric teachings of parents yet translate their own experiences of being Black (Joseph & Hunter, 2011). This was a theme found in several studies where ethnocentric attitudes and teachings of family were incorporated into their racial identity (Hine St. Hilaire, 2006; Joseph & Hunter, 2011).

The second-generation West Indian American may learn to take pride in being Black from their parents as described. This racial pride however is exclusive and based on parent's ethnic group. However, given second-generation West Indian Americans' experiences in the United States, they perhaps reinterpret and incorporate their own pride in Blackness that may be more inclusive. This is a likely alternative for second-generation West Indian Americans as they also have been found to have higher internalized racial attitudes in being Black (Hall & Carter, 2006).

To the extent that the ethnocentric attitudes held by second-generation West Indians in this study actually reflect ethnocentric parental socialization is still questionable. However, as the argument of this and others studies have shown, attitudes seem to indicate a consistently significant relationship with socialization experiences (Cort, 2008; Jackson & Cothran, 2003; Hall & Carter, 2006; Joseph & Hunter, 2011; Stevenson, 1995). Perhaps future research could specifically explore whether ethnocentric attitudes expressed in a sample have been learned from parents.

Ethnocentric and Preencounter Attitudes (Hypothesis 4)

As a third component to exploring the mediational effects of ethnocentrism on the racial socialization- racial identity relationship, this fourth hypothesis explored how the ethnocentric attitudes (mediator) related to Preencounter racial identity status attitudes (outcome variable). Similar to the previous hypothesis, this study investigated how ethnocentric attitudes related to racial awareness for second-generation West Indian Americans. The research (Rogers, 2001; Waters, 2001) alluded to ethnic bias having varying effects on racial identity status attitudes for this population. For example, the research suggested that Preencounter might positively relate to ethnocentrism and Immersion-Emersion might be inversely related to ethnocentrism (Waters, 2001). These particular expected relationships were based on the concept that ethnocentric attitudes for this population would mean anti-racial awareness and racial group connection. There were no other hypothesis with respect to Encounter or Internalization based themes.

Because Preencounter was the only racial identity attitude scale significantly correlated with the ethnocentric difference scores (see table 7) and pride socialization, this relationship between Preencounter status attitudes and ethnocentric attitudes was explored. A simple linear regression was done where ethnocentric scores were the predictor and Preencounter percentile scores was the criterion variable. The significant regression, however, did not confirm the expected positive relationship between ethnocentrism and Preencounter. Instead an inverse relationship was found between the two variables. Higher ethnocentric attitudes towards Black Americans did not mean obliviousness to race, endorsing passivity to color-blind attitudes as suggested by previous research (Water, 1996; 2001).

As Benson (2006) and Rogers (2001, 2004) argued, this inverse result between ethnocentrism and Preencounter attitudes points to a distinction in how cultural socialization of Blackness which may include ethnocentric views but, does not necessarily mean color-blindness or rejection of Blackness in the way thought. What can be inferred from the inverse relationship between Preencounter and ethnocentric attitudes are that there is an acknowledgement of one's race and Blackness. It is just unclear what it may be for second-generation West Indian Americans as no other racial identity status attitudes were significantly associated with ethnocentric attitudes from the preliminary analysis. For instance, there may be an acceptance of Blackness as found with Internalization status attitudes, confusion around Blackness as found with Encounter or any other combination.

This study indicates that those of West Indian descent held attitudes related to racial identity were not as clear as suggested by some research (Rogers, 2001; Waters, 1996), but is more complex. West Indian Americans are aware of race and higher ethnocentric attitudes do not compromise this awareness. Based on the findings of Hypothesis 3 that linked racial pride socialization and high ethnocentrism and this current finding of Hypothesis 4, second-generation West Indian Americans are connected enough to their racial group membership that ethnocentric attitudes praising their parents culture does not diminish the ability to see some pride with and some attachment to ethnically diverse Blacks in the United States. Consequently, one can conclude that level of ethnocentrism for this sample functions as intercultural barometer of ethnic bias for second-generation West Indian Americans. However, it does not predict allegiance toward American culture over West Indian culture or vice versa.

The inverse relationship found between ethnocentric and Preencounter attitudes was possible. Previous ethnocentric themes among first-generation West Indian Americans in literature suggested that although second-generation West Indian Americans may hold some of these ethnocentric attitudes, it may not be as pronounced as their immigrant parents to the point of not acknowledging race within the context of the U.S. cultural patterns. Bryce-Laporte (1979), Foner (2001) and Waters (2001) contended that this difference in ethnocentric attitudes is likely due to the inability to fully hold onto some aspects of parental culture such as dialect, dress, some values and, perhaps, racial views. This issue would more likely make second-generation West Indian Americans unable to be considered immigrants or directly connected to the immigrant experiences of their parents. Connecting with the immigrant experiences of Blacks who come from a cultural context where they are the majority and may hold more assimilative Preencounter attitudes may also be challenging for second-generation West Indian Americans. This challenge is furthermore, a result of second-generation West Indian Americans level of cultural integration perhaps through institutions (i.e., media and education) concurrently affecting their likelihood to be more race aware and less color-blind.

Racial Pride Socialization and Ethnocentric and Preencounter Attitudes

(Hypothesis 5)

The final hypothesis suggested ethnocentric attitudes would mediate the relationship found between racial socialization and racial identity. A preliminary look at the correlational analysis identified directional trends between three significant variables. Racial pride socialization, ethnocentrism and Preencounter status attitudes were

significantly correlated. These three variables were also significantly related to one another.

In order to find a basis for mediation a significant relationship has to be established between all three variables. That is, the predictor (racial pride socialization) and the outcome (Preencounter, a racial identity status attitude) variables need to be first related. This was established in Hypothesis 1, next the predictor (racial pride socialization) is related to ethnocentrism, the mediator. This was established in Hypothesis 3. The fourth hypothesis established a relationship between the mediator, ethnocentrism and the outcome variable Preencounter. This final hypothesis (5) used a hierarchical regression based on these three significant relationships.

The hierarchical regression did not support full or partial mediation between racial pride socialization and Preencounter status attitudes when ethnocentric attitudes were included in the model. It seems higher pride socialization decreased Preencounter status attitudes significantly without the inclusion of higher ethnocentric attitudes. This result was not expected.

Given the strong relationship between racial pride socialization and ethnocentric attitudes for this population there may likely be conceptual reasons mediation was not found in this study between the three variables. As discussed earlier in this chapter, ethnocentrism may be an unexplored component of the racial pride socialization youth and young adults of this study recall receiving from parents.

While an established relationship is required between mediator and initial predictor variable, perhaps the relationship may be strong enough that that racial pride socialization and ethnocentrism; a pride based concept, can substitute one another. That

is, they may likely cancel each other out in the mediation model. Furthermore, neither the Cultural Pride Reinforcement (CPR) subscale of the Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization scale (TERS) or the Image Scale that measured ethnocentric attitudes explored crucial components of each other. For example, the CPR did not include ethnocentric language deliberately assessing ethnic based pride in being West Indian American and the Image Scale assessing ethnocentric attitudes did not assess whether the attitudes were reflected from pride-based socialization despite this gap. It may be likely that the strong correlation and subsequent relationship between the two scales are tapping into a similar concept and make it challenging to establish mediation.

Other possible reasons for the failure to detect significant mediation between the three variables may have to do with the instrument used to measure ethnocentrism and analysis. While the revised Image Scale is the first of its kind to include stereotypes and biases specific to West Indian Americans and Black Americans, it was perhaps not able to detect mediation between racial pride and Preencounter status attitudes. Furthermore, a hierarchical regression is a more complex and comprehensive analysis than the simple linear regression performed in establishing a relationship between ethnocentric attitudes and Preencounter.

Limitations

The current study's findings must be understood in terms of limitations of sample size, correlational nature of the findings, and reliance on self-report data.

Sample Size

These findings should be examined with some caution. Demographic group differences were found for the studies main variables (i.e., racial identity status attitudes, racial socialization and ethnocentrism). However, the small group sample size (e.g., men = 47 vs. women = 102) for the groups made it difficult to control for in the study's main analyses. For example, gender differences were found with Preencounter attitude status and *Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream* (egalitarian) racial socialization. These were two of the main variables used in the Canonical Correlational Analysis (CCA). Because a CCA actually uses the main variables as covariates for a synthetic variable, there would need to be two separate CCA's done accounting for gender group differences. This would have been ideal.

Unfortunately, this limited sample size made splitting the groups by gender compromise power for the CCA analysis. With a total of nine main variables for the predictor and criterion variable set of the Canonical Correlation Analysis (CCA), a minimum total of 10 participants per variable are needed for power (Field, 2009). This suggests at least a sample size of 90 for each CCA. While the sample size for the young women is sufficient at 102, this is not the case for the young men ($n = 47$). Further, because there were demographic group differences for the studies main variables by age group and education, this protocol would have to be done two more times to account for other demographic group.

Controlling for group differences on the main analyses is important for giving an accurate depiction of the results and better understanding of trends within racial identity research. Essentially, being able to collect more data can only improve the understanding of the relationship between racial socialization, ethnocentrism and racial identity.

Construct validity. This study proposed exploring how ethnocentric specific socialization from parents may be a part of cultural socialization that takes place for West Indian Americans. However, the Image Scale, the ethnocentrism instrument, only assessed the ethnocentric attitudes held by participants and not whether they had received the ethnocentric messages from their parents. Thus, the question remains, are the ethnocentric attitudes held by these participants capturing a unique component of their parental socialization? Ethnocentric socialization was the specific construct proposed in the beginning but had to be altered based on what the measure actually measured- ethnocentric attitudes of participants.

Although several studies (Joseph & Hunter, 2011; Stevenson, 1995; Stevenson & Arrington, 2009) including the current study concluded that attitudes held by participants function as unique reflections of their socialization experience, it is not certain that these ethnocentric attitudes came solely from parental socialization, as participants in this study were not asked to confirm or disconfirm ethnocentric teachings by parents in the ethnocentrism self-report measure. Studies have shown that neighborhoods (Thornton et al., 1990), peers (Cort, 2008; Joseph & Hunter, 2011) and institutions (Biafora, Taylor et al., 1993; Joseph & Hunter, 2011; Stevenson et. al., 2002) also have an effect on the socialization experiences of youth and young adults. It may be unlikely that the unique intra-racial ethnocentric attitudes established in this study have come from other sources such as institutions. However, because the source was not addressed directly, future research may seek to explore more directly whether the ethnocentric attitudes endorsed in this study by participants were taught by parents including frequency of these ethnocentric messages.

Correlational Design

Because a correlational design was employed, threats to internal validity present (i.e., no ability to manipulate independent variables, maturation, testing, and testing effects). The correlational design only allows for the measurement of the variables as they exist (Campbell & Stanley, 1963).

While correlational designs insure stronger external validity, possible extraneous variables may interfere with the relationship between the variables of interest. Therefore, a researcher cannot ever claim that the independent variable solely caused the dependent variable. In this study, extraneous variables like accurate memory of past socialization attempts from parents and feelings about reporting socialization practices of parents can be a factor affecting relationships found.

Reliance on self-report data. As a discussion of extraneous variables alluded to above, another limitation is that the study relied on participants' self-reports as measures of racial socialization, racial identity attitudes and ethnocentric attitudes. Most research on socialization and attitudes utilize self-report data. This usage is because subjective experiences and perceptions matter. However, possible stable individual factors such as personality may inflate the reporting of experiences of socialization as well as the link among socialization experiences and ethnocentric and racial attitudes (Rasinski, Visser, Zagatsky & Rickett, 2005). On the other hand, this can be a limitation because as participants report on personal issues such as racial and ethnocentric attitudes and actions of their parents, participants may not always provide candid responses to self-report questions. For example should a participant recognize his parent had not focused on racial pride themes much and if he regretted this, he may over-report pride socialization.

Rasinski et al. (2005) suggested the use of implicit goal priming to improve the quality of self-report data. The authors recommend using priming especially for data that might be sensitive to obtain even when confidentiality can be assured from participants such as perceivable undesirable attitudes like racial identity status attitudes and ethnocentric attitude.

Finally, there is the issue of generalizability. The sample was drawn primarily from the East coast from urban areas; therefore there is a possibility that the results found from this study may vary given which region of the U.S. participants live. Ethnic communities may change depending on the area's demographics (i.e., state and cities). As discussed above, the group differences not assessed in this study (e.g., gender and age) due to sampling issues may also affect generalizability of the results. There might be different outcomes of socialization and identity attitudes based on these demographic differences.

Future Directions

Research

Future studies should continue to consider the intraracial group differences in socialization methods, which most certainly include exploring ethnocentric themes of socialization and outcomes on identity. This will be important to attend to further develop the complex and thoughtful understanding of identity for the ethnically diverse Black population in North America. Future research should focus on gaining larger samples to explore the concept of ethnocentric socialization and racial identity. A combination of self-report data and observational data can be most helpful in learning more about the

value-based type of cultural socialization that takes place for ethnically diverse Blacks. A mixed method study that includes observational data and self-report data can also help in the development of better instruments to assess racial socialization, ethnocentrism and racial identity for ethnically diverse samples.

Education

Training programs may want to include focusing on diverse cultural implications of identity development for ethnically varied racial populations. In essence, this model can be applied to all racial groups perhaps with some caveats. For instance, Asian Americans are ethnically varied and each ethnicity has distinct cultural perspectives that may both contribute to a global racial/cultural perspective in the United States. However, Asians as a group may also in some ways diverge from one another ethnically. If ethnocentrism is involved, this may also have some influence in the way a Filipino vs. a Korean vs. a Desi define her/himself racially and engage in racial independent of ethnic socialization. As seen previously, context plays a role in socialization.

Therefore, their distinct histories that exist outside of United States' influence could also play a role in how they may define themselves racially in an American society. Similarly, Eastern Europeans may define themselves differently from White Americans based on ethnocentric stereotypes and different socialization context. Although ignorance of Whiteness may be common throughout the world as colorism is a global concept (Alleyne, 2002), acknowledgement of a intraracial stereotypes and discrimination among the groups might prove to be an extra layer in acknowledging their psychological connection to race, especially in a monothetic American racial climate. Education and

clinical programs that focus on multicultural exploration and training might consider this aspect in training future multiculturally competent clinicians to appropriately further explore racial identity issues with others.

Having information about Black identity factors of the youth and young adults can assist school educators who desire to work with a multicultural framework in exploring identity with students. Attempting to understanding identity of students can be an effective tool in helping educators to open a more trusting relationship for students and can be beneficial for both parties. It will also aid educators in recognizing and addressing racial issues in classrooms for optimal learning experiences of students, educators, and administrators.

Clinical Practice

This study has clinical indications of understanding identity. For clinicians and clients alike, gaining clarity around identity is the crux of clinical work. Setting out to find or discover the *self* is a lengthy process. Identity is a complex concept that is developed and shaped by a variety of factors that may include individual characteristics, family dynamics, social/political contexts and historical factors. Black identity is no exception. The complexities that surround Black identity of ethnically diverse Blacks become more meaningful in the face of continual prejudice and discrimination from multiple ethnic (both within and outside of their race) and racial groups.

The clinical indication for this research is to shed light on these complexities. It is to inform an empathic stance for the process that may inform the second-generation Trinidadian American college freshman who struggles to understand her first racial encounter with a professor. Or perhaps this research could support the high school junior

who is concerned about his apathetic stance towards relating to other Blacks. These incidents and many others like this happen. As multicultural and social justice clinical work broadens to support a culturally diverse society, being prepared to address issues like the those aforementioned clinically should be informed by research on observable phenomenon.

Conclusions

The growth of Black immigrants in the United States has steadily increased since the third wave of immigration post 1965 (Kasinitz, 1992) with no signs of abating. Kent (2007) recently noted: “immigration contributed at least one-fifth of the growth in the U.S. Black population between 2001 and 2006” p. 3. She also noted that in “2005 more than 1 million U.S.-born Black children were immigrants or had at least one foreign-born parent, and about three-fifths of these children were from Caribbean families” p. 3. These increases in Black immigrant populations bring challenges for them integrating in the United States and choosing salient group identities.

The increase of Black immigrants like West Indian Americans may also bring about challenges for those looking to understand them. In particular, sociologist, and anthropologists for years have dominated the research, exploring the diversity of African Diaspora people within the United States. They too have looked at challenging questions of identity, and identification. However, what counseling psychology research like this current study can add to this growing literature of diverse Blacks like West Indian Americans is exploration of the psychological implications of identity formation for this

group. Establishing correlates of identity formation like socialization and ethnocentrism in this study served as a step in this direction.

These correlates were of interest to this author as scholars (Bashi Bobb, 2001; Benson, 2006; Foner, 2001; Jackson & Cothran, 2003; Rogers, 2001, 2004; Vickerman, 1994, 1999; Waters, 1991, 1994, 1999, 2001 Woldemikael, 1989) consistently noted social distance among Blacks of varying ethnicities within the United States. Several question were left unanswered by this notable phenomena. However, the questions most relevant to conceptualizing this research were what created social distance? And, how did it affect racial identity?

Conclusions drawn by scholars (Brewer, 1979, Brewer & Campbell, 1976; Sumner 1906), that being of differing cultures and potentially having clashes created a perfect opportunity for ethnocentric attitudes. Ethnocentric attitudes is one influential catalyst for social distance among the U.S.' Black ethnics (Jackson & Cothran, 2003; Roger, 2004) subsequently affecting application of historic linear acculturation models on Black ethnics born outside of the United States.

Scholars (Benson, 2006; Waters, 1994) have noted the ways in which Black immigrants and their children challenge the general acculturation-assimilation models that relate to group identity. As we see in this study, linear models do not apply for West Indian Americans (Benson, 2006). This is especially the case for second-generation West Indian Americans children of this study. Second-generation West Indian American children, even more than their parents are often caught between cultures. They very cleverly navigate essentially, three cultures: White American mainstream, Black

American, and their parent's culture. They can feel varied attachments to each culture based on environmental feedback.

However, this study indicates that the impact of these multicultural influences (e.g., White mainstream, Black American and West Indian cultures) on this population is very multidimensional. Thus, the cultural impact of ethnicity for diverse U.S. Blacks should not be reduced to only exploring behaviors. Values, attitudes and beliefs are an important component of the cultural influences and socialization, and it affects racial group identity.

Counseling psychology research has mostly overlooked the multicultural framework that second-generation West Indian Americans operate with. The results of this study, in many ways support the growing need for more counseling research with diverse U.S. populations. Nonetheless, counseling research need to continue exploring this population. The implications for establishing a stronger research base for this population can aid the field of counseling psychology in being great contributors to social justice work with marginalized populations. `

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Table 1

Demographic Data (N=151)

Variable	<i>N</i>	%
<u>Gender</u>		
Man	47	31.1
Woman	102	68.9
<u>Age Groups</u>		
16-18	100	66.2
19-21	30	19.9
22-24	21	13.9
Mean Age 18.23		
<u>Socioeconomic Status</u>		
Lower Class	9	6.0
Working Class	46	30.5
Middle Class	85	56.3
Upper Middle Class	7	4.6
Upper Class	1	0.7
Missing	3	2.0
<u>Education</u>		
9-10 th Grade	36	23.8
11-12 th Grade	67	44.4
1-2 Years College	23	15.2
3-4 Years College	19	12.6
1-2 Years Graduate School	3	2.0
3 or More Years Graduate School	1	0.7
Missing	2	1.3
<u>Ethnicity</u>		
American	20	13.4
West Indian American (e.g., Trinidadian-American)	59	39.1
West Indian (e.g., Guyanese, Jamaican, etc.)	70	46.4
Missing	2	1.3

Table 1 Continued

Variable	<i>N</i>	%
<u>Country of Origin</u>		
Jamaica	82	54.3
Trinidad	17	11.3
Other (St. Vincent, Bahamas, St. Lucia, etc.)		
Blended Islands (e.g., Antigua and St. Croix, etc.)	17	11.3
Guyana	13	8.6
Haiti	10	6.6
Grenada	9	5.9
Panamanian/Costa Rican	3	2.0
<u>Region/State</u>		
Southeast/ FL	67	45.0
Northeast/(NY/NJ/CT)	63	42.3
Southeast/ (GA, LA, VA/MD/DC)	15	10.1
West/Midwest (CA)	3	2.0
Missing	1	0.7

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations of BRIAS Scores in Main Study (N=151)

Variable	Raw Scores		Percentiles	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Preencounter	41.89	8.42	53.31	28.60
Encounter	15.00	3.80	52.25	27.46
Immersion-Emersion	29.70	6.88	51.79	27.94
Internalization	54.28	6.78	52.64	27.91

Note. BRIAS = Black Racial Identity Attitude Scale (same as RIAS-B long form).

Table 3

Summary of Racial Identity Profile Standard Error of Difference Point Values

Profile Groups	Point Value
Preencounter vs. Encounter	13.72
Encounter vs. Immersion-Emersion	14.40
Immersion-Emersion vs. Internalization	13.00
Internalization vs. Preencounter	12.24
Preencounter vs. Immersion-Emersion	11.60
Encounter vs. Internalization	14.93

Table 4

Summary of RIAS-B 8 Profile Types (n = 133)

Profile Groups	<i>f</i>	%
Undifferentiated "Flat"	54	35.8
Internalization Dominant	27	17.9
Preencounter Dominant	13	8.6
Preencounter/Encounter/Immersion-Emersion Blend	13	8.6
Encounter/Immersion-Emersion/Internalization Blend	8	5.3
Immersion- Emersion Dominant	6	4.0
Preencounter/Internalization Blend	6	4.0
Immersion- Emersion/Internalization Blend	6	4.0

Table 5

Scales Descriptive Data (N=151)

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range	Reliability
Racial Socialization				
CCA	28.44	5.74	13-39	.87 (α)
CLA	11.06	2.50	5-15	.70 (α)
CPR	23.71	2.98	9-27	.75 (α)
CAD	12.41	3.06	6-18	.87 (α)
CEM	9.75	2.52	6-18	.69 (α)
Racial Identity (BRIAS)				
Pre	41.89	8.42	18-90	.85 (θ)
Enc	15.00	3.80	6-30	.66 (θ)
Im	29.70	6.88	12-60	.80 (θ)
Int	54.28	6.78	14-70	.76 (θ)
Ethnocentrism				
EAS	160.18	21.91	36-252	.85 (α)

Note. CCA = Cultural Coping with Antagonism; CLA = Cultural Legacy Appreciation; CPR = Cultural Pride Reinforcement; CAD = Cultural Alertness to Discrimination; CEM = Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream; Pre = Preencounter; Enc = Encounter; Im = Immersion-Emersion; Int = Internalization; EAS = Ethnocentric Attitudes Score (Image Scale). (α) = alpha reliability, (θ) = theta reliability

Table 6

Means Scores for Demographic Variables: 4 MANOVAs Preliminary Analyses

Variable	CCA	CPR	CLA	CAD	CEM	EAS	PRE	ENC	IM	INT
Gender										
Female (<i>n</i> = 104)	28.3	23.8	10.9	12.3	9.3*	16.4	47.5*	51.5	50.4	54.8
Male (<i>n</i> = 47)	28.7	23.3	11.4	12.6	10.6*	13.4	66.3*	54.0	54.8	47.8
Age										
Teenager (<i>n</i> = 106)	28.2	23.8	10.8	11.7*	9.8	14.2	54.5	51.5	48.8*	51.9
Young Adult (<i>n</i> = 45)	29.1	23.5	11.6	14.1*	9.6	18.6	50.6	54.1	58.8*	54.3
Education										
High School (<i>n</i> = 103)	28.0	23.8	10.7*	11.7*	9.8	15.0	55.1	52.1	48.9*	51.8
College/Grad (<i>n</i> = 46)	29.6	23.8	11.9*	14.1*	9.7	16.5	50.5	54.0	59.0*	56.2
Collection Site										
Online (<i>n</i> = 108)	28.4	23.6	10.8	12.4	9.8	15.0	53.6	53.4	50.7	51.7
Paper Copy (<i>n</i> = 43)	28.5	23.9	11.8	12.4	9.6	16.7	52.7	49.4	54.5	55.0

Bold and * indicates significant mean difference.

Note. CCA= Cultural Coping with Antagonism; CLA = Cultural Legacy Appreciation; CPR = Cultural Pride Reinforcement; CAD = Cultural Alertness to Discrimination; CEM = Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream. Percentile score transformations were used for the Black Racial Identity Attitude Scales: Pre = Preencounter; Enc = Encounter; Im = Immersion-Emersion; Int = Internalization; EAS = Ethnocentric Attitudes Score (Image Scale).

Table 7

Intercorrelations of Predictors and Criterion Variables (N=151)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. CCA	-									
2. CLA	.72**	-								
3. CPR	.61**	.55**	-							
4. CAD	.50**	.52**	.39**	-						
5. CEM	.44**	.25**	.24**	.20*	-					
6. Pre	-.01	-.12	-.24**	.07	.27**	-				
7. Enc	.26**	.25**	.10	.34**	.08	.30**	-			
8. Im	.36**	.41**	.05	.37**	.02	.26**	.67**	-		
9. Int	.36**	.39**	.51**	.17*	-.12	-.34**	.08	.11	-	
10. EAS	.04	.08	.21**	.06	-.07	-.20*	-.02	-.12	.12	-

* = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$

Note. CCA = Cultural Coping with Antagonism; CLA = Cultural Legacy Appreciation; CPR = Cultural Pride Reinforcement; CAD = Cultural Alertness to Discrimination; CEM = Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream. Percentile score transformations were used for the Black Racial Identity Attitude Scales: Pre = Preencounter; Enc = Encounter; Im = Immersion-Emersion; Int = Internalization; EAS = Ethnocentric Attitudes Score (Image Scale).

Table 8

Canonical Solutions for Racial Socialization Predicting Racial Identity Attitudes for Functions 1 and 2 (N = 151)

Variable	Function 1			Function 2			
	Coef	r_s	r_s^2 (%)	Coef	r_s	r_s^2 (%)	h (%)
Preencounter	.38	<u>.48</u>	23.04	.20	<u>.54</u>	29.16	<u>52.20</u>
Encounter	-.01	-.28	7.84	-.09	<u>.56</u>	31.36	<u>39.20</u>
Immersion-Emersion	-.49	<u>-.47</u>	22.09	.93	<u>.88</u>	77.44	<u>99.53</u>
Internalization	-.68	<u>-.86</u>	73.96	-.37	-.34	11.56	<u>85.52</u>
R_c^2			44.07			25.93	
CCA	-.36	<u>-.64</u>	40.96	.49	.36	12.96	<u>53.92</u>
CAD	.03	-.41	16.81	.51	<u>.52</u>	27.04	<u>43.85</u>
CLA	-.47	<u>-.77</u>	59.29	.33	.37	13.69	<u>72.98</u>
CPR	-.38	<u>-.70</u>	49.00	-1.09	-.38	14.44	<u>63.44</u>
CEM	.61	.26	6.76	.08	.22	4.84	11.60

Note. Structure coefficients (r_s) greater than $|\text{.45}|$ are underlined. Community coefficients (h^2) greater than 45% are underlined. Coef = standardized canonical function coefficient; r_s^2 = squared structure coefficient; h^2 = communality coefficient. CCA = Cultural Coping with Antagonism; CAD = Cultural Alertness to Discrimination; CLA = Cultural Legacy Appreciation; CPR = Cultural Pride Reinforcement; CEM = Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream.

Table 9

Hypothesis 2a: Post Hoc Games-Howell Comparison Test for Racial Identity Profile Types and Preparation for Racial Bias Socialization (CCA)

Profile	<i>M</i>
Undifferentiated "Flat"	28.47
Preencounter Dominant	24.96*
Immersion-Emersion Dominant	33.00
Internalization Dominant	29.00

* $p < .05$

Table 10

Hypothesis 2b: Post Hoc Games-Howell Comparison Test for Racial Identity Profile Types and Racial Pride Socialization (CPR)

Profile	<i>M</i>
Undifferentiated "Flat"	23.76*
Preencounter Dominant	22.77
Immersion-Emersion Dominant	25.05
Internalization Dominant	25.13

* $p < .05$

Table 11

Hypothesis 2c: Post Hoc Games-Howell Comparison Test for Racial Identity Profile Types and Racial Pride Socialization (CLA)

Profile	<i>M</i>
Undifferentiated "Flat"	11.22*
Preencounter Dominant	9.00
Immersion-Emersion Dominant	12.33*
Internalization Dominant	11.27*

* $p < .05$

Table 12

Hypothesis 3: Linear Regression Analyses Predicting Ethnocentric Attitudes from Pride Socialization

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
CPR	1.175	.458	.247*
CLA	-.338	.546	-.060

Adjusted $R^2 = .04$, $\Delta R^2 = .04$, * $p < .05$

Note. CPR = Cultural Pride Reinforcement; CLA = Cultural Legacy Appreciation; *B* = Unstandardized Beta Coefficient; *SE B* = Standard Error of Unstandardized Beta Coefficient; β = Beta Coefficient (Standardized).

Table 13

Hypothesis 4: Linear Regression Analyses Predicting Preencounter from Ethnocentric Attitudes

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
EAS	-.401	.162	-.199*

Adjusted $R^2 = .03$, $\Delta R^2 = .04$, * $p < .05$

Note. EAS = Ethnocentric Attitude Scores (Image Scale); *B* = Unstandardized Beta Coefficient; *SE B* = Standard Error of Unstandardized Beta Coefficient; β = Beta Coefficient (Standardized).

Table 14

Hierarchical Regression Analyses Showing Amount of Unique Variance Ethnocentric Attitudes Adds to Pride-Based Socialization CPR and Preencounter Relationship

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>adj R</i> ²	ΔR^2	<i>F</i>
Step 1				
CPR	-2.33	.05	.06	9.32**
Step 2				
CPR	-2.01	.07	.02	6.57**
EAS	.31			

*adj R*² = Adjusted R^2 , ** $p < .01$

Note. CPR = Cultural Pride Reinforcement; *B* = Unstandardized Beta Coefficient; EAS = Ethnocentric Attitude Scores (Image Scale).

Figure 1: “Cultural Affinity and Racial Knowledge with Tolerance” (Canonical Solution Function 1)

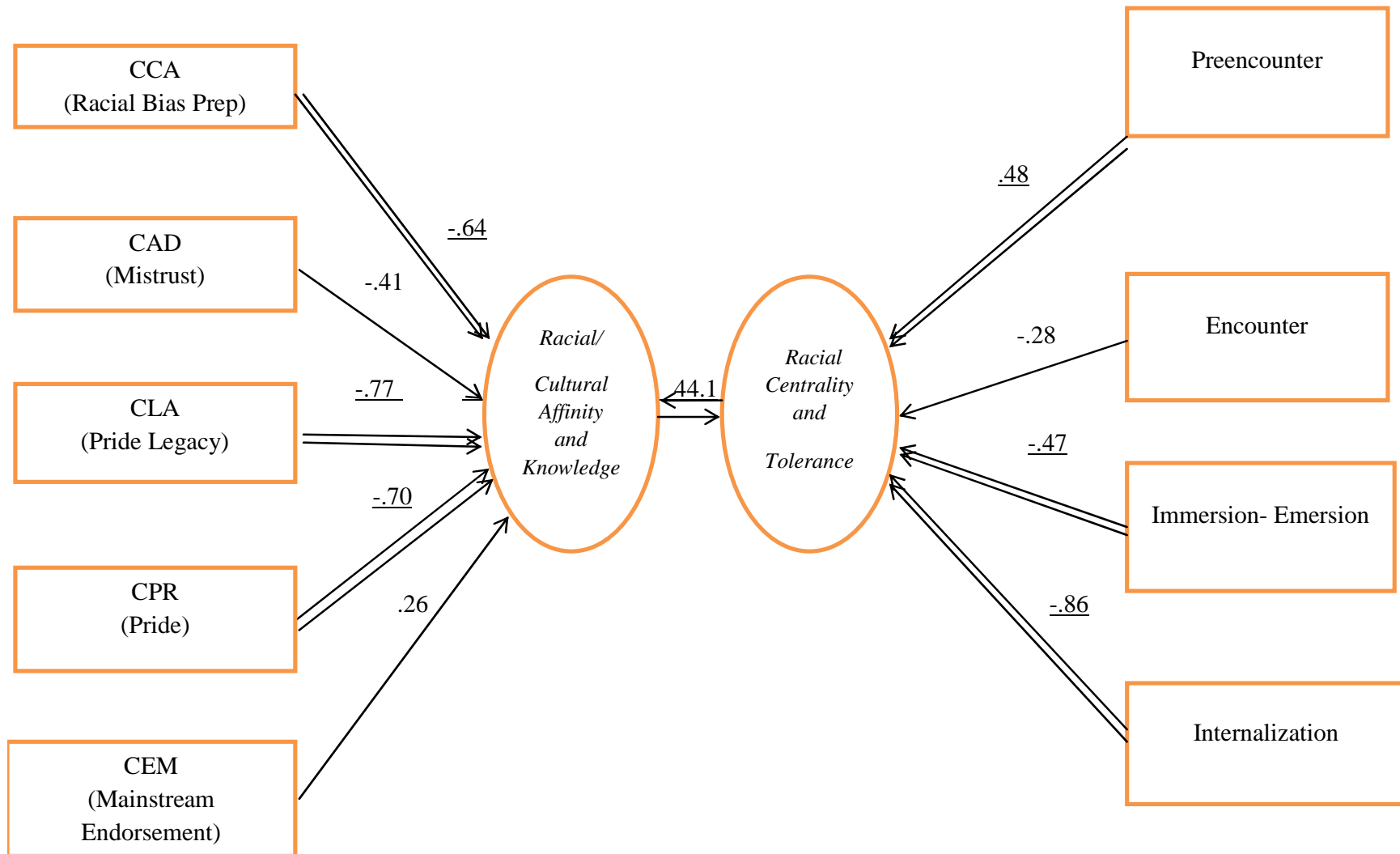
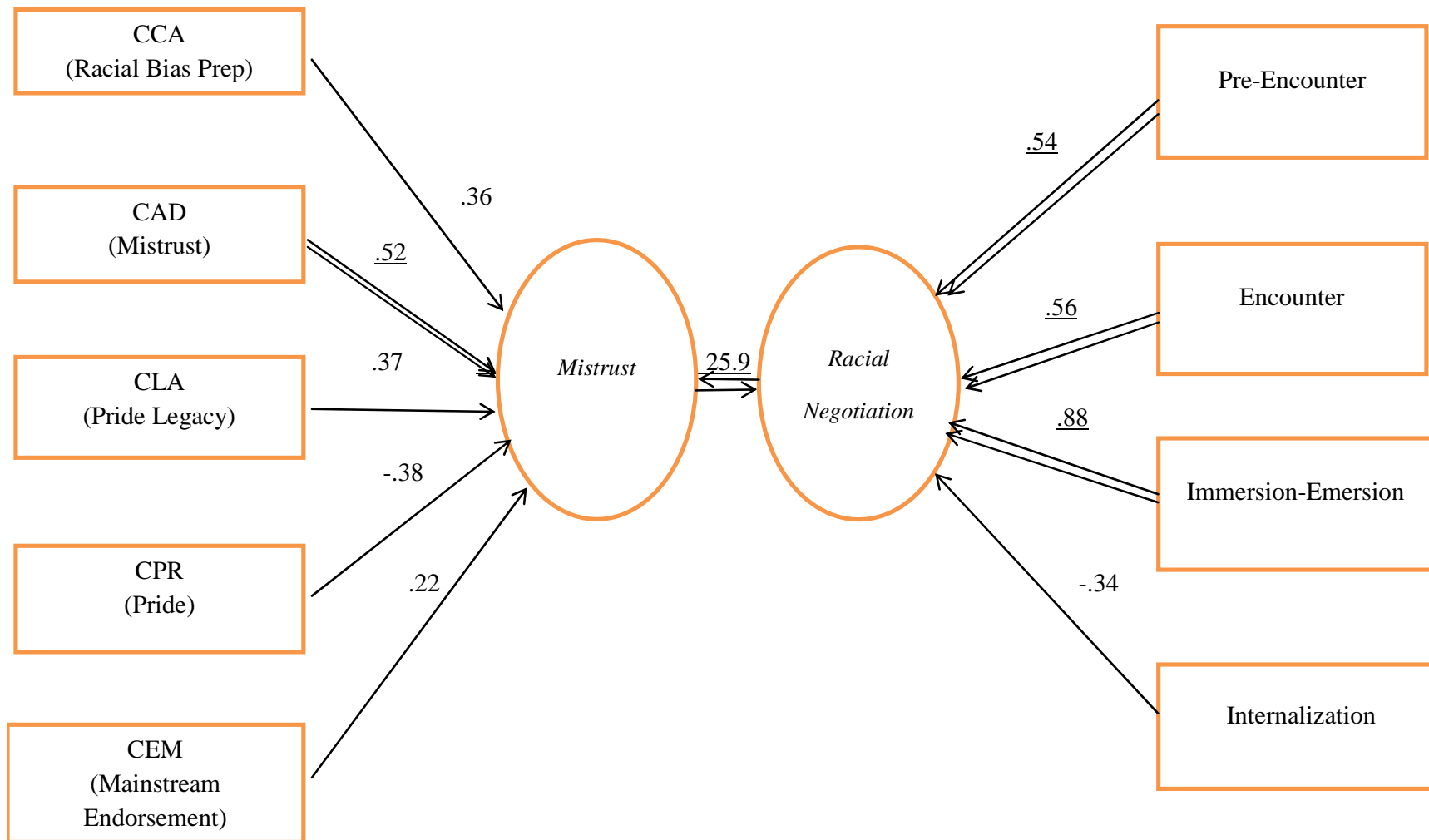


Figure 2: “Mistrust with Racial Negotiation” (Canonical Solution Function 2)



Appendix A

INFORMED CONSENT

Description of the Research

You are invited to participate in a research study, which examines the relationship between your educational experiences and your social attitudes regarding race and ethnicity. The survey contains questions about your exposure to messages/statements from family members about race and race relations and your attitudes about race and ethnicity. You are asked to indicate to what extent you agree or disagree and/or rate with these statements. If you decide to participate in this study, you will be asked to complete the enclosed survey, along with a demographic sheet which asks for some basic information about you and return the completed packet to the researcher. The research is being conducted by Schekeva Hall, a doctoral student in counseling psychology at Teachers College, Columbia University.

Risks and Benefits

In general, anticipated physical or psychological risks involved in participating in this study are no greater than completing other questionnaires. However, for some, exploring racial issues can lead to discomfort. If you experience some feelings of discomfort in response to certain items on the questionnaires and would like to seek counseling, you may contact your school's counseling center/guidance counselor, The Dean Hope Center for Educational and Psychological Testing at 212-678-3262 or contact 1-800-LIFENET for counseling referrals in your area.

There are no direct benefits associated with this study. However, your participation can help researchers and practitioners in the field of psychology better understand the relationship between socialization and various social attitudes.

Data Storage

All of the data gathered through the use of the questionnaires will be confidential. The participants will be asked to sign a consent form that will no way be linked with their responses on completed questionnaires. No one other than the researcher will have access to the questionnaires without the written permission of the participant (see participant's rights). Additionally, the completed questionnaires will be stored in primary investigator's locked office.

Time Involvement

Your participation will take approximately 30-40 minutes.

How the Results Will Be Used

The results of the study will be used for the researcher's doctoral dissertation. It is possible that the results may be published and or presented at professional conferences.

Appendix B

PARTICIPANT'S RIGHTS

Principal Investigator: Schekeva P. Hall, M.Phil.

Research Title: The Role of Racial Socialization and Ethnocentrism in Racial Identity Development

- I have read and discussed the Research Description with the researcher. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the purposes and procedures regarding this study.
- My participation in research is voluntary. I may refuse to participate or withdraw from participation at any time without jeopardy to future medical care, employment, student status or other entitlements.
- The researcher may withdraw me from the research at his/her professional discretion.
- If, during the course of the study, significant new information that has been developed becomes available which may relate to my willingness to continue to participate, the investigator will provide this information to me.
- Any information derived from the research project that personally identifies me will not be voluntarily released or disclosed without my separate consent, except as specifically required by law.
- If at any time I have any questions regarding the research or my participation, I can contact the investigator, who will answer my questions. The investigator's email address is: sph2008@columbia.edu.
- If at any time I have comments, or concerns regarding the conduct of the research or questions about my rights as a research subject, I should contact the Teachers College, Columbia University Institutional Review Board /IRB. The phone number for the IRB is (212) 678-4105. Or, I can write to the IRB at Teachers College, Columbia University, 525 W. 120th Street, New York, NY, 10027, Box 151.
- I should receive a copy of the Research Description and this Participant's Rights document.
- The written materials will be viewed only by the principal investigator.
- Written materials () may be viewed in an educational setting outside the research () may NOT be viewed in an educational setting outside the research.
- My signature means that I agree to participate in this study.

Participant's signature: _____ Date: ____/____/____

Name: _____

Appendix C

ASSENT FORM FOR MINORS (8-17 YEARS OLD)

I _____ (child's name) agree to participate in the study entitled: "*The Role of Racial Socialization and Ethnocentrism in Racial Identity Development.*" The purpose and nature of the study has been fully explained to me by Schekeva P. Hall. I understand what is being asked of me, and should I have any questions, I know that I can contact Schekeva P. Hall at any time. I also understand that I can quit the study any time I want to.

Name of Participant: _____

Signature of Participant: _____

Witness: _____

Date: _____

Investigator's Verification of Explanation

I certify that I have carefully explained the purpose and nature of this research to _____ (participant's name) in age-appropriate language. He/She has had the opportunity to discuss it with me in detail. I have answered all his/her questions and he/she provided the affirmative agreement (i.e. assent) to participate in this research.

Investigator's Signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix D

PARENTAL/GUARDIAN CONSENT FOR MINORS (8-17 YEARS OLD)

I _____ (parent/guardian's name) permit my child
_____ (child's name) participate in the study entitled:
"The Role of Racial Socialization and Ethnocentrism in Racial Identity Development." I
have read through the research description and participants rights and understand the
purpose and nature of the study. Should I have any questions, I know that I can contact
the principal investigator (Schekeva Hall) via email: sph2008@columbia.edu at any time.
I also understand that I can withdraw my child from the study any time I want to.

Guardian's Signature/consent: _____

Date: _____

Appendix E

ABBREVIATED DESCRIPTION AND CONSENT – ONLINE VERSION

Dear Potential Participant:

Thanks for your consideration of my survey! I am Schekeva Hall, a doctoral candidate in counseling psychology at Teachers College, Columbia University. I am interested in learning about your socialization experiences and attitudes about race and ethnicity. My survey asks you to respond to questions about your exposure to messages from family members about race and race relations and your attitudes about race and ethnicity. It also asks basic information about you (e.g., age, race, ethnic heritage, etc).

Below are statements for your participation. If you decide to participate after reading this information, you can scroll down to the bottom of the page, click "next," and start the survey!

RISKS AND BENEFITS: In general, anticipated physical or psychological risks involved in participating in this study are no greater than completing other questionnaires. For some, exploring racial issues can lead to discomfort. If you experience some feelings of discomfort in response to certain items on the questionnaires and would like to seek support, you may contact your school's counseling center/guidance counselor, or The Association of Black Psychologists at: <http://www.abpsi.org/listing.htm> or 1-800-LIFENET for counseling referrals in your area.

DATA STORAGE: All information gathered through this site is maintained confidentially and anonymously. I never ask participants' names and do not collect IP addresses or other computer-related information. My survey is located on a secure, encrypted site. Survey results are collected and reported only as a group and will be stored in a password-protected computer in the primary investigator's office.

TIME INVOLMENT: Your participation will take approximately 30-40 minutes.

USE OF RESULTS: The results of the study will be used for the researcher's doctoral dissertation. It is possible that the results may be published and/or presented at professional conferences.

ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA:

*Must self identify as a person of African descent (e.g., Black, African American, West Indian/Caribbean/Caribbean-American, etc.)

*Must be between 16 and 24 years old (If under 18, please have parent/guardian consent to your participation.)

*Must be born and raised in the U.S. or was raised in the U.S. since or before 10 years old

*Must live with or have been raised by at least one parent/guardian who was born and raised in the Caribbean/West Indies

**This study has been approved by the Teachers College, Columbia University Institutional Review Board: Protocol #09-217. If you have any complaints, questions, concerns, or would like to know the results, please feel free to contact me via e-mail at sph2008@columbia.edu, or my faculty sponsor, Robert T. Carter via email rtc10@columbia.edu. If you have any questions that you would like to direct to the IRB, you may contact the office via email: sponsoredprograms@exchange.tc.columbia.edu or you may write to the IRB at Teachers College, Columbia University, 525 W. 120th Street, New York, NY, 10027, Box 151.

Thank you for your time contribution!

Best Regards,
Schekeva Hall, M.Phil.

Please select one*:

_____ I am not 18 years or older and have received consent from my parent/guardian to participate in this study.

_____ I am at least 18 years old.

I understand that by clicking the “next” button below and submitting my answers to this survey indicates that I am informed about this study and willing to be a participant. My participation is voluntary and I may stop filling out the survey at any time by clicking the "exit this survey" located at the top right hand corner of each page.

Note* indicates necessary fields to be completed (in a drop down box)

Appendix F

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC SHEET

Your Age (Please specify) _____

Sex: Male ____ Female _____

State _____

Educational Level:
(Circle highest grade completed)
High School: 9 10 11 12
College: 13 14 15 16
Graduate School: 17 18 19 20

Do you live with your parent(s):
Yes ____ No ____
Yes and away at college ____

Family Socio-Economic Status (Circle One):

Lower Class Working Class Middle Class Upper Middle Class Upper Class

Your Race (e.g. White, Black, African American, Latino/a, Asian, Native American, etc.): (please specify):

Your place of birth (e.g., USA, West Indies, Europe/Canada, etc.): please specify _____
Country of Citizenship (e.g. USA, West Indies, Europe/Canada, etc.): please specify _____
Years on the US _____ Age of entry in the U.S. _____

Ethnic Group (e.g. American, Trinidadian, Jamaican- American, etc.):
Please specify: _____

Mother's Race (e.g. White, Black, African American, Latino/a, Asian, Native American, etc): (please specify):

Mother's place of birth (e.g., USA, West Indies, Europe/Canada, etc.): please specify _____
Country of Citizenship (e.g. USA, West Indies, Europe/Canada, etc.): please specify _____
Years on the US _____ Age of entry in the U.S. _____

Ethnic Group (e.g. American, Trinidadian, Jamaican- American, etc.):
Please specify: _____

Father's Race (e.g. White, Black, African American, Latino/a, Asian, Native American, etc): (please specify):

Father's place of birth (e.g., USA, West Indies, Europe/Canada, etc.): please specify _____
Country of Citizenship (e.g. USA, West Indies, Europe/Canada, etc.): please specify _____
Years on the US _____ Age of entry in the U.S. _____

Father's Ethnic Group (e.g. American, Trinidadian, Jamaican- American, etc.):
Please specify: _____

Mother's Educational Level:
(Circle highest grade completed)
Elementary: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
High School: 9 10 11 12
College: 13 14 15 16
Graduate School: 17 18 19 20
5 or more years of Graduate School: 21

Father's Educational Level:
(Circle highest grade completed)
Elementary: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
High School: 9 10 11 12
College: 13 14 15 16
Graduate School: 17 18 19 20
5 or more years of Graduate School: 21

Appendix G

SOCIALIZATION EXPERIENCE SCALE

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 one number per question. Please answer all questions. Thank you.

<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
Never	A few times	Lots of times

	Never	A Few Times	Lots of times
1 American society is fair to Black people.	1	2	3
2 Black children will feel better about themselves if they go to 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 would 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

		Never	A Few Times	Lots of times
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 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 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 Blacks 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 and a Black world.	1	2	3

		Never	A Few Times	Lots of times
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 by Whites just because s/he is Black.	1	2	3
36	More job opportunities would be open to Blacks if Whites 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 1960s.	1	2	3

Appendix H

IMAGE SCALE

Here are some questions about different groups in our society. On the seven point scale to the right of each question please indicate how you would rate each group based on each characteristic by circling the number that comes closest to where you think people on the group stand. Please answer the questions as honestly as possible. Note: “West Indians” refer to persons from the English-Speaking Caribbean (Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados, etc), “African Americans” refer to American born Blacks with no immediate generational ties (i.e., parents or grandparents) to Africa or the West Indies) and “Africans” refer to persons born in Africa.

1. Group tendency to be rich or tendency to be poor

1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Rich Poor

Where would you rate West Indians in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Where would you rate African Americans in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Where would you rate Africans in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2. Group tendency to be hard working or tendency to be lazy

1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Hard Lazy Working

Where would you rate West Indians in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Where would you rate African Americans in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Where would you rate Africans in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3. Group tendency to be violence prone or tendency to not be violence prone

1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Not Violence Prone Violence Prone

Where would you rate West Indians in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Where would you rate African Americans in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Where would you rate Africans in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

4. Group tendency to be unintelligent or tendency to be intelligent

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Intelligent						Unintelligent

Where would you rate West Indians in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Where would you rate African Americans in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Where would you rate Africans in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

5. Group tendency to prefer to be self-supporting or tendency to prefer to live off welfare

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Self-Supporting						Live off Welfare

Where would you rate West Indians in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Where would you rate African Americans in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Where would you rate Africans in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

6. Group tendency to prefer to patriotic or tendency to be unpatriotic

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Patriotic						Unpatriotic

Where would you rate West Indians in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Where would you rate African Americans in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Where would you rate Africans in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

7. Group tendency to be courteous or tendency to be discourteous/rude

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Courteous						Rude

Where would you rate West Indians in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Where would you rate African Americans in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Where would you rate Africans in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8. Group tendency to be aggressive or tendency to be non-aggressive

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Non Aggressive Aggressive

Where would you rate West Indians in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Where would you rate African Americans in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Where would you rate Africans in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

9. Group tendency to be proud of heritage or tendency to not be proud of heritage

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Proud of Heritage Not Proud Heritage

Where would you rate West Indians in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Where would you rate African Americans in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Where would you rate Africans in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

10. Group tendency to have a positive self- image or tendency to have a negative and self- image

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Positive Self-Image Negative Self-Image

Where would you rate West Indians in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Where would you rate African Americans in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Where would you rate Africans in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

11. Group tendency to be arrogant/ snobbish or tendency to be modest/ humble

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Modest/ Humble						Arrogant/ Snobbish
Where would you rate West Indians in general on this scale?						1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Where would you rate African Americans in general on this scale?						1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Where would you rate Africans in general on this scale?						1 2 3 4 5 6 7

12. Group tendency to display resilience or tendency to display weakness when facing adversity

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Resilience in facing adversity						Weakness in facing adversity
Where would you rate West Indians in general on this scale?						1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Where would you rate African Americans in general on this scale?						1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Where would you rate Africans in general on this scale?						1 2 3 4 5 6 7

13. Group tendency to feel superior to other Blacks or tendency to feel on the same “level” with other Blacks

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Feel on the same “level” with other Blacks						Feel superior to other Blacks
Where would you rate West Indians in general on this scale?						1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Where would you rate African Americans in general on this scale?						1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Where would you rate Africans in general on this scale?						1 2 3 4 5 6 7

14. Group tendency to be friendly or tendency to be unfriendly

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Friendly						Unfriendly

Where would you rate West Indians in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Where would you rate African Americans in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Where would you rate Africans in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

15. Group tendency to have a “chip” on their shoulder or tendency to be carefree

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Carefree						Have a “Chip” on Shoulder

Where would you rate West Indians in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Where would you rate African Americans in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Where would you rate Africans in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

16. Group tendency to be conniving or scheming or tendency to be sincere

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Sincere						Conniving/Scheming

Where would you rate West Indians in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Where would you rate African Americans in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Where would you rate Africans in general on this scale? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

17. Group tendency to be family oriented or tendency to not be family oriented

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Family Oriented						Non-family Oriented
Where would you rate West Indians in general on this scale?						1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Where would you rate African Americans in general on this scale?						1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Where would you rate Africans in general on this scale?						1 2 3 4 5 6 7

18. Group tendency to be distrustful of other Blacks/trustful of other Blacks

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Trustful of Other Blacks						Distrustful of Other Blacks
Where would you rate West Indians in general on this scale?						1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Where would you rate African Americans in general on this scale?						1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Where would you rate Africans in general on this scale?						1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Appendix I

SOCIAL ATTITUDES SCALE

Instructions: This questionnaire is designed to measure people's attitudes about social and political issues. There are no right or wrong answers. Different people have different viewpoints. So, try and be as honest as you can. Beside each statement, circle the number that best describes how you feel. Use the scale below to respond to each statement.

	1	2	3	4	5	
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree	
	(circle here)					
1	2	3	4	5		1. I believe that being Black is a positive experience.
1	2	3	4	5		2. I know through my personal experiences what being Black in America means.
1	2	3	4	5		3. I am increasing my involvement in Black activities because I don't feel comfortable in White environments.
1	2	3	4	5		4. I believe that large numbers of Blacks are untrustworthy.
1	2	3	4	5		5. I feel an overwhelming attachment to Black people.
1	2	3	4	5		6. I involve myself in causes that will help all oppressed people.
1	2	3	4	5		7. A person's race does not influence how comfortable I feel when I am with her or him.
1	2	3	4	5		8. I believe that White people look and express themselves better than Blacks.
1	2	3	4	5		9. I feel uncomfortable when I am around Black people.
1	2	3	4	5		10. I feel good about being Black, but don not limit myself to Black activities.
1	2	3	4	5		11. When I am with people I trust, I often find myself referring to Whites as "honkies", "devils", "pigs", "white boys", and so forth.
1	2	3	4	5		12. I believe that being Black is a negative experience.
1	2	3	4	5		13. I believe that certain aspects of "the Black experience" apply to me, and others do not.

	1	2	3	4	5	
	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Uncertain	
						Agree
						Strongly Agree
			(circle here)			
1	2	3	4	5	14.	I frequently confront the system and the (White) man.
1	2	3	4	5	15.	I constantly involve myself in Black political and social activities (such as art shows, political meetings, Black theater, and so forth).
1	2	3	4	5	16.	I involve myself in social action and political groups even if there are no other Blacks involved.
1	2	3	4	5	17.	I believe that Black people should learn to think and experience life in ways that are similar to White people's ways.
1	2	3	4	5	18.	I believe that the world should be interpreted from a Black or Afrocentric perspective.
1	2	3	4	5	19.	I am changing my style of life to fit my new beliefs about Black people.
1	2	3	4	5	20.	I feel excitement and joy in Black surroundings.
1	2	3	4	5	21.	I believe that Black people came from a strange, dark, and uncivilized continent.
1	2	3	4	5	22.	People, regardless of their race, have strengths and limitations.
1	2	3	4	5	23.	I find myself reading a lot of Black literature and thinking about being Black.
1	2	3	4	5	24.	I feel guilty or anxious about some of the things I believe about Black people.
1	2	3	4	5	25.	I believe that a Black person's most effective weapon for solving problems is to become art of the White person's world.
1	2	3	4	5	26.	I speak my mind about injustices to Black people regardless of the consequences (such as being kicked out of school, disappointing my parents, being exposed to danger).
1	2	3	4	5	27.	I limit myself to Black activities as much as I can.
1	2	3	4	5	28.	I am determined to find my Black identity.
1	2	3	4	5	29.	I believe that White people are more intelligent than Blacks.

	1	2	3	4	5	
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree	
	(circle here)					
1	2	3	4	5	30.	I believe that I have many strengths because I am Black.
1	2	3	4	5	31.	I feel that Black people do not have as much to be proud of as White people do.
1	2	3	4	5	32.	Most Blacks I know are failures.
1	2	3	4	5	33.	I believe that White people should feel guilty about the way they have treated Blacks in the past.
1	2	3	4	5	34.	White people can't be trusted.
1	2	3	4	5	35.	In today's society if Black people don't achieve, they have only themselves to blame.
1	2	3	4	5	36.	The most important thing about me is that I am Black.
1	2	3	4	5	37.	Being Black just feels natural to me.
1	2	3	4	5	38.	Other Black people have trouble accepting me because my life experiences have been so different from their experiences.
1	2	3	4	5	39.	Black people who have White people's blood should feel ashamed of it.
1	2	3	4	5	40.	Sometimes, I wish I belonged to the White race.
1	2	3	4	5	41.	The people I respect most are White.
1	2	3	4	5	42.	A person's race usually is not important to me.
1	2	3	4	5	43.	I feel anxious when White people compare me to other members of my race.
1	2	3	4	5	44.	I can't feel comfortable with either Black people or White people.
1	2	3	4	5	45.	A person's race has little to do with whether or not he or she is a good person.
1	2	3	4	5	46.	When I am with Black people, I pretend to enjoy the things they enjoy.

	1	2	3	4	5	
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree	
	(circle here)					
1	2	3	4	5	47.	When a stranger who is Black does something embarrassing in public, I get embarrassed.
1	2	3	4	5	48.	I believe that a Black person can be close friends with a White person.
1	2	3	4	5	49.	I am satisfied with myself.
1	2	3	4	5	50.	I have a positive attitude about myself because I am Black