Black Caribbean Immigrants in the United States and their Perceptions of Racial Discrimination:

Understanding the Impact of Racial Identity, Ethnic Identity and Racial Socialization

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
under the Executive Committee
of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

2014

ABSTRACT

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This study sought to address an existing gap in the multicultural research literature by exploring the impact of racial identity, ethnic identity, and racial socialization on perceptions of racial discrimination among Black Caribbean immigrants to the United States. Participants included 120 English-speaking Black Caribbean immigrant adults who completed a survey consisting of: a demographic information sheet, the Black Racial Identity Attitude Scale – Long Form (RIAS-L), the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM), the Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale (TERS), and the Perceived Racism Scale (PRS).

A Pearson's correlational analysis found significant relationships between racial identity and ethnic identity, with the racial identity status attitudes Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization being positively related to overall ethnic identity. Linear regression analyses were then conducted using racial socialization as a predictor variable and racial identity status attitudes as well as overall ethnic identity as criterion variables. Significant positive relationships were found between racial socialization and the racial identity status attitudes Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization, as well as between racial socialization and overall ethnic identity.

Two simple linear regressions were initially conducted in order to determine whether racial socialization might be predictive of perceptions of racial discrimination for the year as well as the lifetime. Significant positive relationships were found between racial socialization and

perceived racism scores for both the year and the lifetime. Further regression analyses also found the racial socialization factor Cultural Alertness to Discrimination (CAD) to be a unique positive predictor of perceptions of racial discrimination for the year as well as the lifetime. Subsequent hierarchical regression analyses later indicated that racial socialization significantly predicted perceptions of racial discrimination for the year and the lifetime above and beyond racial identity. Racial socialization was also a significant predictor of perceptions of racial discrimination for the year and the lifetime after accounting for overall ethnic identity.

Finally, MANOVA results indicated that first generation and second generation participants differed significantly on: the racial identity status attitude Encounter, overall ethnic identity, as well as the racial socialization factor Cultural Alertness to Discrimination (CAD). In sum, findings from the current study suggest that racial socialization experiences have a substantial impact on perceptions of racial discrimination and play an important role in racial and ethnic identity development. Implications for research and practice are discussed.

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Acknowledgements

It is important to first of all thank God for blessing me with the opportunity to pursue doctoral studies. By His grace I was brought through many challenging situations and provided with the resources needed to accomplish my goals. I must also highlight the invaluable contribution of my immediate family who not only provided significant financial assistance but also encouraged, motivated and inspired me throughout my years of study at Teachers College, Columbia University. I am deeply and sincerely grateful to my advisor Dr. Marie Miville. Indeed, the successful completion of this research is owed largely to her guidance and unequivocal support of my efforts. Appreciation is also extended to Dr. George Gushue, Dr. Matthew Johnson, Dr. Robert Fullilove, and Dr. Helena Verdeli, all members of my dissertation committee who were most kind in affording the benefit of their time and expertise in the compilation of this document. Finally, I am thankful for friends, colleagues, and all others on whom I depended in the process of making this dissertation a reality.

Dedication

To my mother, father, sister and brother. You all add happiness, meaning, and purpose to my life that goes beyond words. Without your love and unconditional support, this work would not have been possible.

Chapter I: Introduction

One of the most fundamental human rights is based on the principle that "all human beings are born free and equal…" (United Nations, 2011, p. 1). This equality in terms of dignity and rights is respected when an individual's life and agency is protected, as well as when others are prevented from imposing treatment that is severely unfair or degrading (Nickel, 2007). Unfair treatment communicates a lack of regard for the identity and basic worth of an individual or group and can be quite threatening to one's self-concept (i.e. the ways in which one perceives oneself) (Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998). Perceived unfair treatment is associated with poor physical and psychological health and is more often reported by persons who are members of stigmatized social groups, including but not limited to disadvantaged racial groups, women, and the poor (Oyserman, Uskul, Yoder, Nesse, & Williams, 2007). Feeling that one's fate and experience is highly regarded by others is essential to one's overall well-being; however, an experience of unfair treatment is particularly damaging psychologically because it communicates the message to an individual or group that they do not truly matter (Turner, Taylor, & Gundy, 2004). Unfair treatment is typically characterized by a combination of negative outcomes and ambiguity that is both attributional in basis (i.e. relating it to a particular cause or source, for example, "were the negative outcomes as a result of unfair treatment or were they due to my ability?"), and behavioral (i.e., "what is the appropriate response even if the treatment is unfair, for example, should I ignore it, avoid this situation in the future, or confront the situation head on now?") (Oyserman, Uskul, Yoder, Nesse, & Williams, 2007, p. 505).

A particularly pervasive form of unfair treatment that continues to affect many persons and groups in today's society is that of discrimination. Discrimination refers to "any distinction, exclusion, restriction, preference" or differential treatment "that disadvantages a person or group

in comparison to others of similar circumstances" (Dobre, 2011, p. 61). Discrimination may occur during any sort of human interaction (i.e., at personal, interpersonal, inter-group, and societal levels), and the reasons underlying discrimination may be diverse, including but not limited to: race, nationality, ethnicity, religion, sex, sexual orientation, language, age, and disability. Despite several decades of legislation rendering discrimination unlawful on the basis of race, gender, as well as other characteristics, much contemporary research continues to highlight ongoing incidents of discrimination across a variety of settings.

Available evidence regarding discrimination and health points to the fact that perceived discrimination is a critical yet understudied race-related stressor that adversely affects one's health (Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003). There is an ever-increasing body of research that highlights the association between perceived discrimination and unwanted physical and mental health outcomes (with the strongest impact being in the area of mental health) (Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003). In particular, population-based epidemiologic studies have found experiences of discrimination to be adversely related to both physical as well as mental health (Williams, Yu, Jackson, & Anderson, 1997). This includes feelings of anger and depression (Jackson et al., 1996), lower levels of life satisfaction and happiness (Williams & Chung, 2004), as well as symptoms of depression, anxiety, obsession-compulsion, and somatization (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996). Research examining the relationship of cardiovascular activity to both interpersonal mistreatment and discrimination has found subtle mistreatment to be positively related to diastolic blood pressure (DBP) reactivity, with those who attributed mistreatment to racial discrimination exhibiting greater than average DBP reactivity (Guyll, Matthews, & Bromberger (2001). Such findings demonstrate that racial discrimination is a chronic stressor that can negatively impact cardiovascular health (Guyll, Matthews, & Bromberger (2001).

Existing research documenting discriminatory experiences makes it undoubtedly clear that these events are stressful and frustrating for those who go through them and warrants further study given the unique impact of such incidents on physical and emotional health (Pavalko, Mossakowski, & Hamilton, 2003).

An unfortunate reality in the daily lives of many individuals is the existence of discrimination based on race (i.e. racial discrimination). Before we can address the issue of racial discrimination it is however important to first address the question "What is race?" There is in fact little consensus regarding the meaning of race (Blank, Dabady, & Citro, 2004). Biological definitions were first developed based on the work of naturalists in the eighteenth century and were used to distinguish populations from different geographic areas based on differences in physical characteristics such as skin color, facial features, hair texture and other distinctive elements of one's appearance (van den Berghe, 1997; Zuckerman, 1990, as cited in Blank, Dabady & Citro, 2004). Critics of this biological approach argue however that meaningful distinctions cannot be made between contemporary human groups based merely on biological notions of race. Instead, social constructions of race may prove more meaningful, as in virtually all human societies these differing physical characteristics elicit a variety of social perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors towards different groups. This perspective is referred to as the social-cognitive approach to thinking about race which is conceptually different from that which was mentioned earlier (i.e. the biological-taxonomic notion). From the social-cognitive perspective, 'race' may be identified in a society, recognized over many generations, and viewed as biologically determined although such groups do not necessarily exist in the biological-taxonomic sense (Blank, Dabady, & Citro, 2004). The social meaning attached to different racial categories results in the activation of beliefs and assumptions regarding the individuals in that

group. These can occur irrespective of the person's specific physical or other characteristics and have real and lasting consequences. One's racial classification can for example affect access to resources such as education, health-care, and jobs, and creates consequences that over time result in boundaries such as those which exist between racially defined groups today (Blank, Dabady & Citro, 2004).

A first step towards examining the connection between the concepts of race and racial discrimination is to provide a clear definition of racism. The term racism refers to "an ideology of inferiority that is used to justify the differential treatment of members of racial outgroups by both individuals and societal institutions, usually accompanied by negative attitudes and beliefs towards these groups" (House, & Williams, 2000, p. 99). Krieger (2003) also defines racism as the "institutional and individual practices that create and reinforce oppressive systems of race relations whereby people and institutions engaging in discrimination adversely restrict, by judgment and action, the lives of those against whom they discriminate" (p. 195). In relation to this definition, racial discrimination is "a class or type of avoidant racism that is reflected in behaviors, thoughts, policies, and strategies that have the intended or accidental purpose or effect of maintaining distance or minimizing contact between dominant racial group and nondominant racial group members" (Carter, Forsyth, Mazzula, Silvia, & Williams, as cited in Carter, 2007, p. 76). Racial discrimination can be viewed as involving two components: 1) differential treatment on the basis of race, and 2) treatment on the basis of inadequately justified factors other than race (e.g. unfair promotion practices) (Blank, Dabady, & Citro, 2004). Either of these components is based on behavior or treatment that places one racial group in a disadvantageous position or social location relative to another; however, the two components differ in terms of whether

treatment is based on the race of an individual or some other factor that produces a differential racial outcome (Blank, Dabady, & Citro, 2004).

The first component of racial discrimination mentioned has been used across several fields of social science and occurs "when a member of one racial group is treated less favorably than a similarly situated member of another racial group and suffers adverse or negative consequences" (i.e. differential treatment) (Blank, Dabady, & Citro, 2004, p. 40). An example of this takes place when an individual is not hired for a job because of his or her race. The second component mentioned relates to instances in which factors without adequate justification other than race produce unwanted racial consequences (i.e. differential effect discrimination), for example, unfair organizational promotion practices. Such practices may or may not be considered as lawful discrimination based on whether sufficiently compelling reasons exist for their use as well as whether there are alternative processes that would not produce racial disparities. One might consider for example an employment practice or policy under which job applicants with an arrest record are not hired. Such a policy would likely result in fewer hires from persons of disadvantaged racial groups while at the same time not promoting any legitimate interests on the part of the employer. These practices or policies would be considered unlawful unless sufficient justification could be provided based on compelling business reasons (Blank, Dabady, & Citro, 2004).

Any meaningful discussion on racial discrimination must however incorporate a variety of behaviors and processes such as those that are not necessarily viewed as explicitly unlawful and which are not often prohibited in an effective way due to the difficulties associated with measurement and proof of discrimination. More subtle forms of racial discrimination are one such example of this (e.g. those behaviors that are possibly unintentional). Subtle acts of racial

discrimination do not readily lend themselves to easy observation and as a result are less likely to be subject to anti-discriminatory laws due to the fact that they are hard to prove despite being a legitimate form of disparate treatment. An instance of subtle racial discrimination could occur for example when interviewers of job applicants engage in behaviors such as interrupting, asking fewer questions, or using a more intimidating tone that results in poor communication and inevitably lesser performance on the part of disadvantaged racial groups when compared to other applicants (Blank, Dabady, & Citro, 2004). In contrast, overt racial discrimination involves more intentional, explicit, direct behaviors and processes that disadvantage a racial group (e.g. denial of employment or rental opportunities).

Discrimination as an experience and its consequences may differ based on the particular environment within which it occurs. For the purposes of this document, the scope of our analysis will be focused on racial discrimination within the United States, with particular reference to disadvantaged racial groups. In the United States, overt discrimination as a result of minority status (i.e. membership in a sociological group that is not a part of the dominant voting majority of the total population) results in feelings of alienation from the majority culture (Euro-American culture) and perceived discrimination tends to be a significant stressor particularly for persons who are members of a visible minority group (Berg et al., 2011). Black Americans are one such minority group that has experienced particularly widespread racial discrimination in the United States as these experiences have been reported in numerous studies and are not limited merely to face-to-face interactions but can also involve discrimination in housing, employment, as well as health and social services (Klonoff, Landrine, & Ullman, 1999). For many persons of African descent who live in the United States, racial discrimination continues to be a chronic issue within contemporary society, with frequent exposure resulting in lowered self-esteem and life

satisfaction, as well as increased stress-related diseases (Utsey, Ponterotto, Reynolds, & Cancelli, 2000).

Given the prevalence of racial discriminatory experiences among members of the Black population living in the United States, the relationship between perceived racial discrimination and group identification (e.g. racial identity, ethnic identity) has received a significant amount of attention in the research literature (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Racial identity as defined by Helms (1990) refers to a group or collective identity which is based on the perception that one shares a common racial heritage with a particular group; whereas, ethnic identity refers to "the set of ideals, values, behaviors, and attitudes one holds regarding one's identity as a member of a distinguishable social group" (Bernal, Knight, Ocampo, Garza, & Cota, 1990, as cited in Utsey, Chae, Brown & Kelly, 2002, p. 367), and provides a way of understanding whether and to what extent an individual has explored the meaning of his or her ethnicity (e.g. cultural values) and has in some sense developed commitment to his or her ethnic heritage (Fischer & Moradi, 2001; Phinney, 1992, as cited in Utsey et al., 2002). What remains unclear in the existing research thus far however is the extent to which differences in the nature of membership identification within one's racial and ethnic group can result in varied perceptions of racial discrimination.

Immigrants to the United States are an example of a population in which there are numerous membership distinctions within several racial and ethnic groups (e.g. differences in socioeconomic status, country of origin, social background, etc.). Living within the context of a new culture requires that immigrants demonstrate the ability to not only understand and apply new codes of communication but to also form perspectives pertaining to issues that would not normally emerge within their countries of origin (Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000) (e.g. racial discrimination). Categorization of immigrants into certain racial and ethnic groups while failing

to account for their status as immigrants raises questions regarding how accurately race/ethnicity effects on discrimination have been measured within such groups (Lauderdale, Wen, Jacobs, & Kandula, 2006). In addition, factors associated with immigration status such as differences in racial socialization between country of origin and the United States can potentially have a differential impact on how racial discrimination is perceived. Racial socialization refers to the "specific verbal and non-verbal (e.g. modeling of behavior and exposure to different contexts and objects) messages transmitted to younger generations for the development of values, attitudes, behaviorism and beliefs regarding the meaning and significance of race, racial stratification, intergroup and intragroup interactions, and personal and group identity" (Lesane-Brown, 2006, p. 403). It is important that the impact of racial socialization be considered for several reasons: 1) racial socialization creates connections between seemingly unrelated literature on family processes, socialization processes, life course development and identity formation; 2) messages about race and racism do interact with the content of other messages on socialization (e.g. gender roles are learned within the context of race roles); 3) it implies that there is development and stability of attitudes towards race throughout the life span; 4) it places focus on Black families which are often not the subject of scientific studies; and 5) racial socialization is increasingly being considered as playing a critical role in the development of racial identity, self-esteem, attitudes, values and beliefs regarding race (Lesane-Brown, 2006).

As of the 2000 U.S. Census, foreign-born Blacks were found to constitute 12% of all first-generation immigrants in the United States (i.e. individuals who migrated to the United States from foreign countries) and made up approximately 6% of the total Black population (Logan & Deane, 2003). While there has been some immigration to the United States from Africa, the primary source of Black immigrants to the United States is from the nations of the

Caribbean (Deaux et al., 2007). In 2002, the Black Caribbean population accounted for approximately two thirds of the over two million Black immigrants who resided in the United States (Rong & Brown, 2002). This finding was later corroborated by Kent (2007, as cited in Joseph & Hunter, 2011) who also found that that in 2005, first generation Black Caribbean immigrants remained representative of two thirds of the 2.8 million foreign born Blacks in the United States. For Black Caribbean immigrants and their children, the experience of becoming American involves multiple and contradictory paths as issues of race and racism remain salient aspects of the Black experience in the United States based on the country's existing history of racism at institutional, personal, and cultural levels.

The Caribbean is not comprised of a monolithic group, but rather includes persons from the region who are distinguished by differences in nationality, language, race/color composition and legal status on entry into the United States. For clarification purposes, terms that may be used in reference to this particular population in the current paper are defined as follows: the terms *Black Caribbean, Afro-Caribbean*, or *African Caribbean* emphasize the role of race as these are persons from the Caribbean region who are of African descent (with a recent immigration history) (Rong & Brown, 2002). *West Indian* refers to persons from the Anglophone (independent English-speaking) Caribbean including the mainland nations of Guyana and Belize (Foner, 2001) with a recent immigration history (Rong & Brown, 2002), and they are usually considered to have at least partial African origins. *African Americans* or *Black Americans* refer to North Americans who are of African ancestry with no recent immigration history (Rong & Brown, 2002), and *Blacks* refers to all persons of African descent. *White* refers to European White Americans, and the term *non-White* is used to describe non-Black American minority groups (Rong & Brown, 2002).

Although Black Caribbean immigrants form a significant portion of America's new immigrants, they have often been ignored and are not viewed as having a highly distinctive experience from that of other immigrants as well as the larger Black population within the United States. Black Caribbean immigrants and African Americans do however share the status of being Black in America which places them in a relationship based on the common experience of racism and racial discrimination. Similar to African Americans, immigrants who come from the Caribbean are subject to racial exclusion and discrimination to much a greater extent than are European immigrants; and they enter a society which is based not on a monolithic "American culture", but rather on consciously pluralistic conditions in which numerous subcultures and racial and ethnic identities coexist (Waters, 1996).

In the chapters which follow, the focus of this research study is on perceptions of racial discrimination among Black Caribbean immigrants to the United States as they form a significant part of the disadvantaged Black racial group in U.S. society. Central questions that are investigated include: what associations exist between racial identity and ethnic identity, how does racial socialization inform the racial identity and ethnic identity development process, how does racial socialization inform perceptions of racial discrimination, what impact does racial socialization have on the relationship between racial identity and perceptions of racial discrimination, what impact does racial socialization have on the relationship between ethnic identity and perceptions of racial discrimination, are there significant effects for generational status and gender with respect to racial identity, ethnic identity, racial socialization, and perceptions of racial discrimination.

Chapter II: Literature Review

Racial Discrimination

In the previous chapter, a two-part definition of racial discrimination was provided. The first part referred to differential treatment based on race that resulted in disadvantages to a racial group; and the second was related to treatment based on inadequately justified factors other than race that resulted in disadvantages to a racial group (i.e. a differential effect) (Blank, Dabady, & Citro, 2004). Racial discrimination may be divided into four types; the first three types make reference to behaviors on the part of individuals and organizations, namely: intentional/explicit discrimination, subtle discrimination, and statistical profiling, whereas the fourth type involves discriminatory practices that exist within an organizational culture (Blank, Dabady, & Citro, 2004).

Forms of intentional/explicit racial discrimination that are most commonly expressed in the United States include verbal and nonverbal antagonism, racial avoidance, and the denial of certain opportunities on the basis of race (Blank, Dabady, & Citro, 2004). *Verbal antagonism* involves the use of casual racial slurs and disparaging comments regarding someone's race either in or out of the presence of the target. While these comments by themselves are not viewed as significant enough to be unlawful, they do create hostility and when coupled with nonverbal forms of antagonism (e.g. deliberately sitting so far away from someone as to communicate immediate dislike) can result in hostile environments in places such as schools, the workplace, and neighborhoods (Essed, 1997). *Racial avoidance* involves choosing one's own racial group over interaction with another racial group (Blank, Dabady, & Citro, 2004). While this might appear harmless in one situation, it can result in long-term exclusion of others when cumulated across several situations and can prove to be particularly problematic in circumstances where

social networking is important (e.g. access to health care, educational opportunities, as well as employment hiring and promotion) (Blank, Dabady, & Citro, 2004). *Denial of opportunities* occurs when members of a disadvantaged racial group are actively excluded from the allocation of resources as well as from access to institutions. Common examples of this include: denial of equal education, housing, employment, and health care on the basis of race (Blank, Dabady, & Citro, 2004).

While most individuals view racial discrimination as involving the expression of explicit, direct hostility by Whites towards persons from more disadvantaged racial groups, discrimination can also involve more subtle and unconscious behaviors. They can therefore be more automatic in nature, with ingroup members unconsciously categorizing outgroup members on the basis of race which then results in discriminatory behavioral impulses (Blank, Dabady, & Citro, 2004). This form of discrimination is largely based on the idea of prejudice. While prejudice can by definition incorporate both positive and negative attributes as it is "a feeling, favorable or unfavorable, toward a person or thing, prior to, or not based on, actual experience" (Allport, 1979, p.6); prejudice on the basis of race in the United States has been primarily negative in nature (Ponterotto, Utsey, & Pedersen, 2006). Consequently, prejudice in the U.S. context is more closely aligned with Allport's (1979) definition of negative prejudice which refers to "thinking ill of others without sufficient warrant" (p.6). In his view, discrimination can be understood as the third phase of a five-phase model of prejudice during which prejudice is acted out at increasing levels with the advancement of each phase.

The third type of racial discrimination outlined by Blank, Dabady, and Citro (2004) is *statistical profiling* and refers to a situation in which an individual or organization bases their decisions about an individual on overall beliefs about the group to which the individual belongs.

Perceived group characteristics are therein assumed to apply to the individual. For example, if an employer is of the impression that persons with criminal records will not make satisfactory employees, believes that Blacks on average are more likely to have a criminal record in comparison to Whites, and is unable to directly verify the criminal history of an applicant then a Black job applicant might be judged based on racial group averages for having a criminal history rather than on the basis of his/her qualifications for the job (Blank, Dabady, & Citro, 2004).

The first three types of racial discrimination discussed so far place emphasis on individual behaviors that lead to adverse outcomes for disadvantaged racial groups; however, many organizational rules have evolved out of past histories of racism. While they may appear neutral on the surface, these organizational processes often function in a manner that perpetuates differential racial treatment or leads to differential racial outcomes, the results of which can be discriminatory in nature (this is sometimes referred to as structural discrimination) (Blank, Dabady, & Citro, 2004). An example of this may be found in the area of housing where real estate agents often steer housing seekers towards units in certain neighborhoods but not others depending on their race, all the while holding the belief that they are best serving the interests of their White and non-White clients, without any intention of causing racial harm. Another example is that of banks and lending institutions which put forward rules regarding mortgage approval that appear neutral but which in fact often result in higher levels of loan refusal for persons from lower-income Black neighborhoods than for equivalent White applicants (Blank, Dabady, & Citro, 2004).

Racial discrimination in the United States and the Caribbean region. Discrimination based on race remains a pervasive experience in the daily lives of many racial and ethnic groups across the world. In the United States, the discussion of race can be traced back to 1789 when political representation to the states was assigned based on de facto recognition of White and non-White racial categories (Anderson & Fienberg, 2000). While slavery was later abolished in the mid-nineteenth century, federal and state laws as well as court decisions maintained racial classifications as the basis for unequal treatment of groups, therein maintaining dominant and subordinate racial groupings in society (Feagin & Feagin, 1996). The concepts of 'White' and 'non-White' were defined in laws as well as customs so as to exclude individuals from White status if they had even a small amount of non-White blood. This originated in the southern region of the United States and became known as the 'one-drop rule' which perpetuated rigid social exploitation of the Black population (Blank, Dabady, & Citro, 2004).

The population of the West Indies is comprised of original inhabitants, persons who colonized the area, as well as those who were brought to the area as slaves or indentured servants (Hine-St. Hilaire, 2008). Current descendants can be divided into six main groups: 1) White European immigrants (British, French, Spanish, and to a lesser extent, Dutch, Danish, and German) and West Indian born descendants of European immigrants; 2) African Blacks and West Indian born Blacks whose ancestors were from Africa; 3) bi-racial persons who are of European and African descent; 4) Indians recruited from India as laborers and West Indian born Indians; 5) Chinese; and 6) Aboriginal Indians descended from the original inhabitants of the Caribbean (Hine-St. Hilaire, 2008). While racial discrimination is not sanctioned by law in the West Indies, color distinctions often do correlate with class differences and are "frequently voiced to derogate the darker among the people" (Lowenthal, 1967, p. 581). Caribbean societies

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lack a dichotomous classification of race where individuals are labeled as either White or non-White and instead incorporate factors such as social class as well as physical appearance in order to determine degrees of 'whiteness' (Blank, Dabady, & Citro, 2004). Wynter (1996) used the example of British colonial Trinidad to illustrate a social hierarchy based on a cultural model in which:

> …degrees of whiteness permutated with other value systems and translated the race question into a color question....Black as the original sin could…be "redeemed" by degrees of education and wealth. The latter could "make up for" degrees of blackness, which could devalue levels of education and of wealth. Whiteness functioned – exactly as money – as the Marxian general equivalent of value. (p. 68)

Former British colonies of the Caribbean in particular were found to have a "pigmentocracy" where the position of Blacks in the social and political hierarchy was defined according to lightness of skin (with lighter skinned persons at the top and darker individuals beneath) (Cox, 2002, p. 155). The social hierarchy was unlike the rigid prescriptive White/Black categories used in the United States (Wynter, 1996); rather, racial identity formed a multicategory continuum which ranged from White to Black (Denton & Massey, 1989).

Racism has been acknowledged as operating in the West Indies; however, it is generally considered as different in categorical nature and not at the same magnitude as that which is evident in the United States (Bryce-LaPorte, 1972):

> In many of these countries, the white or lighter-skinned elite has capitalized on the myth of no racial problem and has disseminated a false ideology and image of racial egalitarianism to their advantage. Lower- and middle-class citizens of such countries come to accept this myth, which on one hand is ego-inflating, but, on

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the other, is the basis of a vicious, self-defeating trap which prevents them from

responding to subtle racist cues directly or publicly lest *they* be considered *racist*

and *unpatriotic.* (p. 39)

West Indians did not contend with Jim Crow laws (i.e., U.S. local and state laws which

resulted in strict legal segregation or isolation of members of the Black race from persons of the

White race between 1876 and 1965), or the need for amendments which guaranteed individual

rights, and as a result the systematic devaluing of persons of African descent did not become as

high in magnitude as in the United States (Waters, 1999).

In general, the exploitation colonies of the West Indies…had substantial native

black majorities and rather small white, European administration-entrepreneurial

upper classes, so that whatever the form of white racism expressed by the latter,

the former had their native communities and culture to draw upon and further

were convinced that they could somehow dominate the society. (Bryce-Laporte,

1972, p. 41)

Many islands of the former British Caribbean which gained independence in the 1960s became

self-governed, and this resulted in African-descended leadership in the government as well as in

other high-ranking social positions (Stephenson, 2004). An African-descended racial majority

was also produced, as well as perceptions of accompanying rights and privileges which

contrasted with the experiences of African-Americans in the United States who were forced to

engage in a continuous fight for freedom and individual rights. The experience of racial minority

status and the denigration which came along with this struggle was pervasive within the United

States, even among African Americans who were raised in racial majority contexts (e.g. growing

up in Harlem and being subjected to police harassment or racial profiling) (Hunter, 2008). These

differences in oppressive experiences among Afro-Caribbeans and African Americans have resulted in "distinct attitudes with respect to the perception of race as a barrier" (Hunter, 2008, p. 322). As a result, findings on racial discrimination among the African American population may not necessarily be generalizable to Afro-Caribbean immigrant groups as the norms within their countries of origin are different (Chae et al., 2008).

Afro-Caribbeans fall under the racial category 'Black' as defined by phenotypic markers which attest to their African origins. In addition, they are from areas that are recognized as socially, culturally, and politically distinct from that of the mainland United States (McLaughlin, 1981). On entry to the United States however, Afro-Caribbean immigrants experience a "reorganization of status" which involves adjustments to inter-racial and intra-racial situations (McLaughlin, 1981, p. 10). For example, such individuals are forced to adjust to circumstances in which they are in the numerical and social minority rather than the numerical majority.

According to Clarke (1996, as cited in Hine-St. Hilaire, 2008), slaves in the British West Indies (unlike those in the southern United States) were given the opportunity to become upwardly mobile and were allowed to assume leadership roles during slavery. In America, middle and lower class Whites were employed to monitor slaves, whereas in the West Indies, other Blacks and "Mulattoes" (i.e. first generation off-spring of a Black person and a White person) were given that responsibility (Brandon, 1994). Consequently, West Indian Blacks soon acquired business skills, engaged in business ventures of their own, and do not currently view themselves as "second class citizens" (Hine-St. Hilaire, 2008. p. 50).

Hunter (2008) contends that an examination of historical context alone does not begin to explore how Afro-Caribbeans perceive experiences of racial discrimination in the United States. She argues that Afro-Caribbeans living in the United States are aware of the likelihood of racial

discrimination and do possess some knowledge of the negative stereotypes which exist towards their racial group members. Unlike their African American counterparts however, they do not view themselves as "having or coming from a racial minority experience"; consequently, their beliefs in individualistic values which place emphasis on equality and self-reliance may have resulted in the minimization of race and racism (Rogers, 2001; Vickerman, 2001, as cited in Hunter, 2008, p. 322). Experiences of racial discrimination in the United States have however resulted in heightened awareness among African Americans with regard to the negative influence of race on their lives (Hunter, 2008). African Americans possess values associated with individualism (which stresses the independence of the individual as well as individual initiative, action, and interests) and self-sufficiency that are derived from periods of institutional and racial segregation which may be related to increased perceptions of racial discrimination in comparison to their Afro-Caribbean counterparts (Hunter, 2008).

Afro-Caribbeans and Americans of African descent may also differ in their collectivistic orientations (i.e. emphasis placed on group goals rather than individual achievement and uniqueness), and this may be explained in part based on the salience of group categorization, such as frequent requests to identify oneself in terms of race and ethnicity in the United States which is not the case in the Caribbean (Hunter, 2008). Afro-Caribbeans often report facing the challenge of understanding themselves as part of a racial and/or ethnic group for the first time upon migrating to the United States (Deaux, 2006; Waters, 1999). African Americans however have greater familiarity with the needs and goals associated with their racial and/or ethnic group based on the influence of the civil rights movement (Hunter, 2008). Such differences in cultural worldviews may also have some impact on perceptions of racial discrimination among Afro-Caribbean immigrants when compared to African Americans, since the individualistic

worldviews of Afro-Caribbeans may be reflective of a mode of acculturation that seeks to encourage integration into the American society by maintaining distance between themselves and the negative stereotypes typically associated with African Americans (Deaux, 2006). In order to understand how Blacks differ in their perceptions of racial discrimination, it is important to examine the ways in which they identify with their race as this likely has some impact on their perceptions of individual, institutional and cultural race-related events (Hall & Carter, 2006).

Racial Identity

As mentioned in the Introduction, racial identity refers to a group or collective identity which is based on the perception that one shares a common racial heritage with a particular group (Helms, 1990). It is one's identification with "a societally designated racial group" and "occurs in response to environments in which societal resources are differentially allocated on the basis of racial group membership" (Helms, 1995, p. 184). The allocation of these resources usually implies a hierarchy in which one group is assumed to be entitled to more than its share of resources whereas the other groups are entitled to less than their share (Helms, 1995).

Black racial identity development. Thomas (1971) and Cross (1971) have presented models of Black psychological racial identity development which include stage theories. Cross' theory of psychological Nigrescence (i.e., the process of becoming Black) is by far one of the most commonly used models of racial identity development. His five stage model has been revised over two decades, and is the most closely examined in empirical literature.

The first stage he identifies is that of the *Pre-Encounter*, in which an individual holds pro-White and anti-Black racial attitudes (Fatimilehin, 1999). The second stage is the *Encounter* stage during which the person has an experience that catches them off guard and which brings them face to face with the realities of racism (Fatimilehin, 1999). This critical encounter could be

a single event (e.g. a personal encounter with racism) or a dramatic community event that leads to reconsideration of one's identity (Ponterotto, et al., 2006).

During the next stage, which Cross calls *Immersion-Emersion*, the person may experience a great deal of rage as well as guilt due to having previously accepted the White or Eurocentric view. The individual therein becomes immersed in their newfound Afrocentric world and rejects anything that is associated with the White worldview (in other words, the person is pro-Black and anti-White). As the person gradually begins to emerge from this stage however and moves to the fourth stage known as the *Internalization* phase, he/she begins to resolve their feelings of guilt and anger and becomes aware that Black and White people have attributes that are both positive and negative (Fatimilehin, 1999). The fifth, less commonly used stage outlined by Cross is that of *Internalization-Commitment* in which the individual maintains a lifelong commitment to the Black community as well as social justice issues (Ponterotto, Utsey & Pedersen, 2006).

Black immigrant racial identity in the United States. While there have been many documented studies on racial identity and its importance within the African American experience, there is very little research which examines this concept within other Black populations within the United States. According to Rong and Brown (2001), the process of racial identity formation among immigrants may be different from that of children who are long-term U.S. residents. Immigrants who enter the United States come into a differentiated culture and society in which there are several subcultures (racial, ethnic and national identities) (Rong & Brown, 2001). Foreign-born Blacks undergo a significant change as they become part of the larger Black population in a country that is racially divided (Waters, 1994), as the process of becoming an American requires that immigrants develop an understanding of racism inclusive of

its subtleties (Rong & Brown, 2001). For people of African origin who come from countries where Blacks are not a racial minority and the racial hierarchy is more flexible than in the Unites States, Blackness within America may have a more negative meaning (Lindsey & Wilson, 1994; Vickerman, 1999). The formation of the young immigrant Black identity therein involves a 'choice' regarding the kind of American that one is or would like to become. This is an option that is uniquely available to Black immigrants as they can identify as non-immigrant Black Americans or as immigrant Blacks who maintain an identity that is reflective of their national origins (Rong & Brown, 2001).

There is however research literature which contends that prevailing racial inequalities in the Unites States inevitably compel Afro-Caribbeans to unite with African Americans based on a shared racial group identity (Kasintz, 1992; Foner, 1987; Vickerman, 1998). Rogers (2001) argued that Afro-Caribbean immigrants will be inclined to identify racially with African Americans "as long as blacks are subject to categoric racial treatment and discrimination" (p. 166), stating that this view is consistent with scholarly findings regarding African Americans' strong attachment to their racial identity regardless of socioeconomic background. It is therein concluded that existing racism leads to heightened racial group identification among Blacks.

Black immigrant ethnic identity in the United States. Although Black Caribbean immigrants share a racial classification with African Americans, they also claim a distinctive ethnic identity which is separate from the racial status that they hold with American-born Blacks. Ethnic identity is a multifaceted concept which is derived from a "sense of peoplehood within a group, a culture, and a particular setting" (Phinney & Ong, 2007, p. 271). It is not merely knowledge and understanding of one's ingroup affiliations but is developed over time through a process of exploration and commitment. Ethnic identity is distinct from racial identity; however,

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it does share aspects of both personal and group identities (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Although Black immigrants to the United States share racial minority status with African Americans, they also have the option of identifying themselves as voluntary immigrants with a distinct ethnic identity. As a result, they are "Black ethnics with access to both racial and ethnic markers of group identification" (Rogers, 2001, p. 165).

While racial identity is a multidimensional construct which places emphasis on the degree to which one feels connected to or shares commonalities with a group based on racial attributes, ethnic identity has received increased attention in the literature as a developmental process (Phelps et al., 2001). Maldonado (1975) states that "ethnic identity is…central to the development of the personal identity of minority group members" (p. 621). As a general phenomenon that is common to all people, ethnic identity may prove especially helpful in understanding the psychological impact that ethnicity has on various racial and ethnic groups (Phinney, 1992). Research that has been conducted in this area indicates that ethnic identity is complex and bound by context. Although increased interest has been paid in the literature towards ethnic identity as a developmental process, there is still very little information available regarding within and between group differences of Black ethnically diverse populations in the United States (Phelps et al., 2001).

Several contradictory views exist in the research literature regarding the persistence of ethnicity among West Indians in the United States. Glazer and Moynihan (1964) argued that ethnic identification disappeared among West Indians but survived among other groups. Sutton and Makiesky (1975) also suggested that West Indians arrive in the United States with distinct ethnic feelings that later dissipate once they realize the full meaning of being Black in a White society. Such deductions were largely based on observations; however, empirical studies on

West Indians as a group as well as on individual national groups have found that ethnic identification has persisted and held meaning for these individuals (McLaughlin, 1981). For example, according to Waters (1996), first-generation Black immigrants to the United States have generally been either classified with or contrasted to Black Americans. Research has shown that these immigrants tend to distance themselves from Black Americans, placing emphasis on their national origins and ethnic identification (e.g. Jamaican, Haitian, or Trinidadian). Nevertheless, they face overwhelming pressure within the United States to identify only as Blacks.

Waters (1996) also contends that there are long-standing tensions between newly arrived West Indians and American Blacks which have resulted in a legacy of mutual stereotyping. First-generation immigrants are of the opinion that their status as foreign-born Blacks is higher than that of African Americans, and therefore tend to highlight their identities as immigrants. Their accent is for example a clear signal to other Americans that they are foreign-born.

According to Hintzen (2001), "a Caribbean identity is available as an escape from the repressive conditions of blackness pertaining to African American identific construction (p.112)." When West Indians enter "geosocial arenas" in which identity is constructed based on "ethnicized understandings" (i.e. understanding of one's ethnic heritage based on the formation of social boundaries aimed to protect it) of what it means to be American they can become "Americanized" (p. 112). Such processes are typical of West Indian experiences in the East Coast, particularly among West Indians in New York City. While such ethnicized constructions can cause the African American identity to be internalized, and the symbolic power and legitimacy of belonging among African Americans may seem attractive, they come with the burden of American racism (Hintzen, 2001). West Indians who become newly racialized African

Americans are therefore quickly exposed to the limitations of race that are imposed according to systemic-based organizations (Hintzen, 2001).

In a study of West Indian immigrants and their ethnic identification, McLaughlin (1981) found that they tended to define themselves based on nationality (i.e. their identification with a particular place of origin, birth or naturalization, e.g. Haitian, Jamaican, etc.) rather than race. McLaughlin also found that the frequency with which the term 'West Indian' was used increased when the context included other West Indians, Blacks, and White Americans (Phelps et al., 2001). This finding is supported by Rogers (2001) who found that in a group of 59 first-generation (i.e. foreign-born/ non-US born) Afro-Caribbeans, although none of the respondents rejected their race, most persons preferred to use ethnicity as their primary identification. One explanation that is offered for this group's preference for ethnic identity rather than race identity is offered by Rogers (2001) who states that Afro-Caribbeans may have adopted negative stereotypes regarding what it means to be Black in the United States. Not identifying racially may therefore serve the purpose of avoiding an association with a group that is negatively perceived (Gopaul-McNicol, 1993). Those who are proponents of Black racial identity theory may contend that in this case, viewing one's race in a negative light could be reflective of a racial identity status that results in psychological disconnection from one's shared African heritage (Carter, 1995, as cited in Hall & Carter, 2006).

Additional research with Afro-Caribbeans also suggests that the second-generation (i.e. persons born in the United States to foreign born immigrants) may hold on to their ethnicity and emphasize their distinction from African Americans as this serves to remove them from the negative stereotypes of African Americans (i.e. the negative generalized qualities assigned to this group based on their race) and therein allows them to maintain some sense of superiority over

American Blacks (Waters, 1996). Sutton (1973) points out that assimilation, the process by which immigrants fully integrate themselves into a new country therein acquiring new customs and attitudes, holds quite different meanings for Black and White immigrants. White immigrants view the move from being an immigrant to becoming an American as representing upward social mobility, whereas Blacks see the change from being an immigrant to being an American as "merely being American black" and representing downward social mobility (p. 142).

Despite these seemingly contradictory research findings, it may be that Afro-Caribbean immigrants in fact see no contradiction between their ethnicity and racial group identity (Rong, 2001). Rather than being forced to make a choice between racial and ethnic identities where highlighting one identity results in the negation of the other, racial and ethnic identities may instead be complex and fluid categories (Butterfield, 2004). Consequently, individuals may have multiple identities which they hold simultaneously and manage in different ways based on social context (Rong, 2001).

Racial Socialization

According to Bush and Simmons (1990), socialization refers to "the ways in which individuals learn skills, knowledge and values, motives, and roles appropriate to their position in a group or society" (p. 134). More than two decades ago, scholars introduced the notion that communications to children about race and ethnicity are highly important aspects of parenting in ethnic minority families (Hughes et al., 2006). While the role of socialization factors has been implied in many models which consider the development of ethnic and racial attitudes, it has not been specifically addressed (Fatimilehin, 1999).

Racial socialization is a complex and multidimensional construct (Lesane-Brown, 2006). As a result, there is no single or commonly accepted definition but rather multiple definitions

that describe the presence of single or multiple functions (Lesane-Brown, 2006). One definition

is offered by Thornton et al. (1990, as cited in Fatimilehin, p. 307) who refers to racial

socialization as "specific messages and practices that are relevant to and provide information

concerning the nature of race status as it relates to: (1) personal and group identity, (2) inter-

group and inter-individual relationships, and (3) position in the social hierarchy." Racial

socialization can also be viewed as a process which involves the communication of messages and

behaviors to children which bolsters their sense of identity "…given the possibility that their life

experiences may include racially hostile encounters" (Stevenson, 1995, p.51).

Racial socialization messages are transmitted by parents in a number of ways and can be

divided into two dimensions: 1) expression, and 2) intent of racial socialization messages

(Lesane-Brown, 2006). *Expression* makes reference to the way in which these messages are

transmitted. They can be expressed either verbally (e.g. through direct conversations between

parents and their children as well as through indirect parental conversations that are observed by

the child), or non-verbally such as: through the modeling of cultural or ethnic behaviors (e.g.

cooking traditional foods), structuring the environment of the child (e.g. displaying culturally

relevant art or books in the home, raising the child in a predominantly Black or multicultural

neighborhood), or reinforcing the behavior of the child in a selective manner (e.g. attending

children's race-related activities) (Lesane-Brown, 2006). The second dimension, *intent* of

messages, makes reference to the "state of mind in which racial socialization messages are

transmitted (i.e. the purpose, aim, or goal of messages)" (Lesane-Brown, 2006, p. 403-404).

They can therefore be distinguished based on whether they are deliberate messages (i.e.

proactive or explicit), or inadvertent messages (i.e. passive or implicit). In the case of the former,

some Black parents are of the belief that racism and discrimination are unavoidable realities;

therefore, in anticipation of this, they actively provide their children with the knowledge and skills required to handle these situations in an effective manner (Lesane-Brown, 2006). Inadvertent messages however may or may not be directed towards children but do transmit some information regarding attitudes, values or views regarding race relations (e.g., through a child overhearing their parents' conversations about such issues, or observing their parents' interactions with other adults) (Lesane-Brown, 2006).

There has been an increase in scholarly interest with regard to racial socialization. This has been influenced by a number of complex factors among which the most important is what has been referred to as the "browning of America" (Hughes et al., 2006, p. 747). This makes reference to the prediction made in 2008 by the U.S. Census Bureau that by 2023, more than 50% of children in the United States population will be children of color. Parent racial socialization practices among immigrant populations are likely to have a significant bearing on this process. Existing research studies have sought to examine how thoughts, emotions, behaviors, and interactions are influenced by racial socialization. Empirical research regarding socialization practices within racial and ethnic minorities is however limited. In particular, there remains a paucity of research regarding within-group socialization among Black ethnic groups, both as immigrants in America and across the Black Diaspora. Although there continues to be research on the influence of racial socialization practices on African Americans, the impact of these practices on Black Caribbean immigrants in the United States has not often been considered.

Given that racial socialization tends to place emphasis on messages regarding preparation for bias (e.g. ideas about societal racism, assimilation, biculturalism, spirituality, and egalitarianism) (Stevenson, Cameron, Herrero-Taylor & Davis, 2002), the concept of racial

socialization is particularly relevant to an increased understanding of the racial discriminatory experience as it places emphasis on how others perceive an individual, which in turn has an effect on the individual's interactions (Bentley et al., 2009). Messages that are transmitted regarding within-group internalized racism are also incorporated in racial socialization as they are representative of others' divisive belief systems (Bentley et al., 2009).

Fischer and Shaw (1999) argue that racial socialization can reduce the impact of racist events on mental health. Black immigrants (e.g. Afro-Caribbeans) who are not members of the racial minority in their countries of origin may however not have experienced or received such racial socialization messages (Phinney & Onwughalu, 1996). The idea of being Black may also not have been salient particularly when shifts in the construction of race between their home countries in the Caribbean and the United States are taken into consideration. Given that Black immigrants often hold an idealized view of the United States and its potential advantages, racial socialization is likely to have some impact on their experiences and perceptions of racism upon arrival to the United States (Arthur & Katkin, 2006).

Racial Identity, Ethnic Identity, Racial Socialization and Perceptions of Racial Discrimination among Black Caribbean Immigrants to the United States

Past research has shown that perceptions of racial discrimination are dependent on both individual and group psychological processes such as racial and ethnic identity (Jefferson & Caldwell, 2002). Black Caribbean immigrants come to the United States with unique conceptions of their racial and ethnic identities which have also largely been influenced by within-group socialization in their countries of origin. The historical context of the United States has however failed to adequately acknowledge within-group variations and diversity among Black populations; therefore, on entering the United States Black Caribbean immigrants are

presented with limited identity options. As a result of differences within such groups, some persons may not perceive racial discrimination as easily as others, even under ambiguous circumstances, while others may justify race-based discrimination (Hall & Carter, 2006).

Identity variables such as racial identity and ethnic identity have been used as constructs in past research in order to understand individual and ethnic group differences regarding perceptions of racial discrimination (Hunter, 2008). Sellers and Shelton (2003) examined the role of racial identity in relation to the antecedents and consequences of perceived racial discrimination among a sample of 267 African American college students. They used the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI) which measures the three stable dimensions of racial identity described in the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity for African Americans (Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997). These are: *Centrality*, the extent to which an individual normatively defines him/herself according to race; *Ideology*, an individual's beliefs, opinions, and attitudes about the way he/she feels that Blacks should act; and *Regard*, an individual's affective and evaluative judgment of his/her race (Sellers et al., 1997). In addition, participants completed measures of perceived racial discrimination, as well as measures of psychological distress (including depression, perceived stress, and anxiety). After controlling for previous perceptions of discrimination, their findings revealed a positive association between racial centrality and perceived racial discrimination and a positive association between perceived discrimination and subsequent specific and global psychological distress. In addition, racial ideology and public regard beliefs were found to moderate the positive relationship between perceived discrimination and subsequent distress.

Hall and Carter (2006) in their study of 82 Afro-Caribbeans investigated the relationship between racial identity status attitudes, ethnic identity, and perceptions of racial discrimination.

They administered measures of racial identity, ethnicity identity and perceived racism. Results showed that: racial identity was significantly related to ethnic identity, higher racial identity status attitudes were related to perceived racial discrimination, and both racial identity and ethnic identity were significant predictors of perceptions of racial discrimination during one's lifetime.

Based on the research reviewed, it may be concluded that the increasing number of Black Caribbean immigrants to the United States is changing not only the demographics of American society but also what it means to be Black in America. There have however been no studies so far that incorporate racial socialization when investigating the relationship between racial identity and ethnic identity in order to understand the potential impact on perceived racial discrimination. In addition, racial identity, ethnic identity, racial socialization and perceptions of racial discrimination are complex ideas which have yet to be extensively researched within the Black Caribbean immigrant population. This study proposed to expand on previous work pertaining to this particular population, as an increased understanding of the impact of racial identity, ethnic identity and racial socialization on perceptions of racial discrimination as well as the inter-relationships therein may have significant implications for the ways in which helping professionals address the deleterious effects of racial discrimination and intra-racial relations; and can play a critical role in the improvement of quality of life for Black Caribbean immigrants in the United States.

As mentioned in the Introduction, the following research questions were considered: what associations exist between racial identity and ethnic identity, how does racial socialization inform the racial identity and ethnic identity development process, how does racial socialization inform perceptions of racial discrimination, what impact does racial socialization have on the relationship between racial identity and perceptions of racial discrimination, what impact does

racial socialization have on the relationship between ethnic identity and perceptions of racial discrimination, are there significant effects for generational status and gender with respect to racial identity, ethnic identity, racial socialization, and perceptions of racial discrimination. Given the theoretical framework of this study, the following hypotheses were investigated:

1. There will be a significant relationship between racial identity and ethnic identity. The racial identity status attitudes Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization will be positively correlated with overall ethnic identity, while the racial identity status attitude Pre-Encounter will be inversely correlated with overall ethnic identity.

2. Racial socialization will be significantly predictive of the racial identity status attitudes Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization; in addition to ethnic identity.

3. Racial socialization will be significantly predictive of perceptions of racial discrimination.

4. Racial socialization will significantly predict perceptions of racial discrimination after accounting for racial identity status.

5. Racial socialization will significantly predict perceptions of racial discrimination after accounting for ethnic identity.

6a. There will be a significant effect for generational status with respect to racial identity, ethnic identity, racial socialization and perceptions of racial discrimination.

6b. There will be a significant effect for gender with respect to racial identity, ethnic identity, racial socialization and perceptions of racial discrimination.

Chapter III: Methodology

This chapter describes each component of the methodology applied in this study. Relevant subsections provide information regarding the participants, each of the measures used [i.e. Demographic Information Sheet, Black Racial Identity Attitude Scale – Long form (RIAS-L), Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM), Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale (TERS), and the Perceived Racism Scale (PRS)], as well as the procedures employed in the study.

Participants

Based on the inclusion criteria used for this study, the participants were English speaking male and female Caribbean immigrants to the United States of Black descent aged 18 years and above.

Measures

Demographic information sheet. This sheet gathered information regarding each participant's: gender, age, race, ethnic group, country of birth, country where primarily raised, length of time living in the United States, primary language of communication, marital status, number of biological children, living arrangements, highest level of education, and primary occupation. In addition, information was sought regarding the combined income of the participant's household during childhood, the marital status of each participant's parent (i.e. mother and father) when the participant was a child, as well as the highest level of education completed by each participant's mother and father (see Appendix D).

Black racial identity attitude scale. The RIAS (Racial Identity Attitude Scale) was developed in 1981 by Parham and Helms and measures the attitudes and beliefs consistent with Cross' (1971, 1978) stages of Black identity development. The original RIAS is a 30 item self

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report measure that was later revised to the RIAS-Short Form (RIAS- B) which includes the same 30 original RIAS items but with some items reassigned to different subscales, and then later the RIAS-Long form (RIAS-L) (Parham & Helms, 1996) which contains the original 30 RIAS items plus 20 additional items as well as redistribution of some of the original RIAS items (Fischer, Tokar, & Serna, 1998).

While the RIAS-Long form (RIAS-L) has been used less frequently in the assessment of racial identity development, Helms (1990, as cited in Caples, 2008) suggests using the Long form to examine racial identity development in diverse populations. The 50 item (RIAS-L) was used in this study and consists of four subscales that reflect the first four stages of Cross' theory of psychological Nigrescence (i.e. Pre-Encounter [PreE], Encounter [Enc], Immersion-Emmersion [I/E], and Internalization [Int]) (Helms & Parham, 1996) (see Appendix E). The fifth stage of Cross' model (Internalization/Commitment) was not operationalized in the RIAS as it was found to describe a behavior style that was not unique to a single stage but which might have been present in some earlier stages (Helms, 1990). Participants responded using a five-point Likert scale (ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*, with 3 being *uncertain*). Subscale scores were obtained by averaging the scaled scores for each of the four status attitude types. The higher the score, the more strongly an individual possesses attitudes represented by that particular status. Helms (1990) however recommends using scores for each of the four subscales in order to describe individual racial identity attitudes rather than make an assignment to a single stage based on the highest obtained score.

Using the Cronbach's alpha statistic as a measure of the extent to which items included in the scale actually relate to each other and to determine whether the subscales assess different types of attitudes in a consistent way (i.e. internal consistency), Phinney (1992) reported an alpha

of .90 for the internal consistency reliability of the total scale (where a Cronbach's alpha value of above .70 reflects adequate internal consistency). Reliability estimates of the four scales of the Long form have been reported as: Pre-Encounter = .76, Encounter = .51, Immersion/Emersion = .69, and Internalization = .80 (*n*= 175) (Helms & Parham, 1996). Hall and Carter in their 2006 study of an Afro-Caribbean descent sample reported Cronbach's alpha reliabilities for each of the RIAS-L subscales as follows: Pre-Encounter (.52), Encounter (.59), Immersion-Emersion (.78), and Internalization (.47). In the current study, the Cronbach's alpha for each subscale was found to be: Pre-Encounter (.70), Encounter (.65), Immersion-Emersion (.75), and Internalization (.67).

Ponterotto and Wise (1987) used oblique factor analytic methods in their examination of the construct validity of the RIAS and found strong statistical support for the Pre-Encounter, Immersion-Emersion and Internalization constructs but only minimal support for the Encounter stage. They contend based on their findings that Encounter attitudes may therefore be difficult to conceptualize and measure. Limited support for the convergent and discriminant validity of the RIAS-L was later found by Fischer, Tokar and Serna (1998) and points to the need for more information on the convergent and discriminant validity of the RIAS-L in order to better evaluate its adequacy and relations to theoretically based external constructs (Helms, 1997)

Multigroup ethnic identity measure. The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) (Phinney, 1992; Roberts et al., 1999) is a 15-item measure of ethnic identity which uses four points (ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 4 = *strongly agree*) and includes fourteen items that measure Ethnic Identity (EI) achievement and six items that measured Other Group Orientation (OGO). Ethnic Identity achievement items provide an assessment of the behaviors and attitudes reflected in ethnic identity exploration, the sense of affiliation to one's ethnic

group, as well as practices that are particular to that group; while Other Group Orientation items measure attitudes that pertain to interaction with people from different ethnic groups (Burkard & Ponterotto, 2008). Roberts et al. (1999) later factor-analyzed the fourteen-item Ethnic Identity portion of the MEIM which resulted in the twelve-item, two-factor measure used in this study where: (1) the affirmation/ belonging subscale included items that assessed participants' commitment and sense of belonging to an ethnic group along with positive feelings and pride regarding the group and; (2) the exploration subscale which assessed the process through which participants explored, learned about, and became involved in their ethnic group (see Appendix F). The affirmation/ belonging subscale included items: 3,5,6,7,9,11, and 12 on the measure while the exploration subscale included items 1,2,4,8, and 10. Scoring for each subscale was carried out by finding the mean of the relevant item scores. An overall/ total score for the MEIM was derived by finding the mean of the 12 items.

The MEIM has shown consistently good reliability with alphas of .80 and above using populations that include a wide variety of ages and ethnic groups (Phinney, 1992). In their study of Afro-Caribbeans which used the MEIM (Phinney, 1992) Hall and Carter (2006) reported an overall full-scale Cronbach's alpha of .80. Subscale Cronbach's alphas were not all consistent with those obtained by Phinney (1992); therefore, the full-scale MEIM score was used in their study. For the sample used in this study, the overall full-scale Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient was .89. Validity of the MEIM has been demonstrated through correlations with variables that are expected to be theoretically related to ethnic identity (Fisher & Lerner, 2005). For example, the MEIM is positively correlated with measures of psychological well-being such as coping, mastery, self-esteem, optimism and happiness but negatively correlated with loneliness and depression (Roberts et al., 1999).

Teenager experience of racial socialization scale. The Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale (Stevenson, Cameron, Herrero-Taylor & Davis, 2002) is a 40-item measure that assesses the extent to which African American adolescents perceive their parents as having used proactive and protective socialization strategies regarding how to manage racism, cultural pride, and spirituality (Nicholson, 2002) (see Appendix G). Though similar to other measures of racial socialization such as the SORS-A (Scale of Racial Socialization for Adolescents) (Stevenson, 1994), the content of the TERS is empirically distinct because it assesses the extent to which respondents have heard racial socialization messages (thereby assessing experiences) rather than the extent to which they agree with racial socialization statements (an assessment of beliefs) (Fischer & Shaw, 1999). The TERS is the only available measure of racial socialization that is currently designed to assess "actual behavioral examples of racial socialization messages that participants have heard from parents or caregivers and the frequency of such messages" (Fischer & Shaw, 1999, p. 398). Stevenson, Cameron, Herrero-Taylor & Davis (2002) note that although beliefs play an important role in understanding the ideal self of Black adolescents, what adolescents believe and what they experience may be quite different. It was for this reason that the TERS was developed as it offers a unique approach towards ascertaining the behavioral dimensions of racial socialization (Stevenson, Cameron, Herrero-Taylor & Davis, 2002).

Although development of the TERS by Stevenson, Cameron, Herrero-Taylor & Davis, (2002) was based on a study which used a sample of Black adolescents whose mean age was reported as 14.3 years, it has been used in studies with other age groups. For example, Constantine and Blackmon (2002) in their study of Black adolescents used the TERS with participants as young as 11 years. Their research explored the relationship between parental racial socialization messages and area-specific self-esteem (i.e. home, school, and peer self-

esteem), and included middle-school students from the sixth, seventh and eighth grades whose ages ranged from eleven to fourteen years, with the mean age of the sample reported as 12.29 years.

The response format of the TERS uses a 3-point scale (1 = *Never*, 2 = *A Few* Times, and 3 = *Lots of* Times). Five factors are included, namely: (1) Cultural Coping with Antagonism (CCA) which includes items representing messages about the importance of successfully struggling through experiences of racial hostility as well as the role that spirituality and religion plays in coping; (2) Cultural Pride Reinforcement (CPR) which includes items that represent attitudes supporting the teaching of pride and knowledge of the African American culture to children; (3) Cultural Appreciation of Legacy (CAL) which includes items that address issues of cultural heritage as well as knowledge of African American historical issues; (4) Cultural Alertness to Discrimination (CAD) which includes items with messages teaching youth about awareness of the barriers created by racism in society as well as the many challenges that exist between Blacks and Whites with regard to race relations; and (5) Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream (CEM) which represents messages pertaining to the importance of majority culture institutions and values as well as the educational and affective benefits available to African Americans by virtue of their involvement in such institutions. From these five factors, two composite factors were derived: (1) Proactive Racial Socialization Experience (PRSE) which consists of the first 4 factors/ constructs, and (2) Adaptive Racial Socialization Experience (ARSE) which represents the total scale.

Reliability coefficients for the CCA, CPR, CAL, CAD, PRSE and ARSE factors have been reported as ranging between .73 and .94, while reliability for the CEM factor has been low in comparison (.64 and .68) (Nicholson, 2002). Stevenson et al. (2002) reported a Cronbach's

alpha for the entire TERS scale (i.e. the ARSE factor) as .91, with reliability for the remaining

factors being either moderate or above an alpha coefficient of .71 (CCA = .85, CPR = .83, CAL

= .74, CAD = .76, CEM = .71). In the present study, the Cronbach's alpha for the ARSE factor

was found to be .94. Reliability for other factors was as follows: CCA alpha = .86, CPR alpha =

.79, CAL alpha = .84, CAD alpha = .90, CEM alpha = .72, PRSE alpha = .83.

A higher order factor analysis conducted by Stevenson et al. (2002) provides support for

the validity of the TERS as both a one-dimensional racial socialization measure as well as a more

specific measure of five distinct aspects of racial socialization. Discriminant validity of the scale

was demonstrated by the presence of a small correlation between racial socialization experiences

and racial socialization beliefs (Stevenson et al., 2002). Adolescents who reported receiving

racial socialization from their parents with greater frequency also reported greater frequency of

general family communication about race therein supporting the convergent validity of the TERS

(Stevenson et al., 2002).

Perceived racism scale. The Perceived Racism Scale (PRS) is a measure consisting of

51 items that assess the racism experience across a variety of situational domains in a

multidimensional way using three sections (McNeilly et al., 1996) (see Appendix H). In the first

section of the instrument, frequency of exposure to racism is measured across four areas: racism

on the job, racism in academic settings, racism in the public realm, and responses to racist

statements. Participants were required to rate the frequency of their exposure in each of these

areas during the past year as well as during their lifetime using a rating scale (0 = *Never*, 1 =

Almost Never, 2 = *Several Times a Year*, 3 = *Several Times a Month*, 4 = *Several Times a Week*,

5 = *Several Times a Day)* (McNeilly et al., 1996). Subscale scores were obtained by summing

the scores for each item in a particular section.

Section two of the scale asked participants to indicate their emotional reaction when experiencing a racist event. Using a 5-point Likert scale where 1 = *Not at all*, 3 = *Moderately*, and 5 = *Extremely*, participants selected a response from those provided (i.e. *angry, hurt, frustrated, sad, powerless, hopeless, ashamed,* and *strengthened*) that best describes the emotion that they experience within a particular setting. Subscale scores for this section are calculated by summing the scores of emotions within each context. An overall score regarding intensity of emotions across all contexts can also be obtained by adding all emotions across all of the domains.

Section three of the PRS required participants to select from a checklist those behaviors that they engage in when dealing with racism across a range of settings. Options included: *speaking up, accepting it, ignoring it, trying to change things, keeping to myself, working harder to prove them wrong, praying, avoiding it, getting violent, forgetting it, and other* (which was an open-ended choice). A score representing the number of coping mechanisms used by each participant can be obtained by summing the number of coping responses selected by participants across all settings.

Since the current study focused primarily on perceptions of racial discrimination and did not include emotional and coping responses, only section one which measures frequency of perceived racism was used for the purposes of data analysis. McNeilly et al. (1996) reported a Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient of .96 for the frequency of exposure domain (i.e. items 1-43, pooled). Cronbach's alpha reliabilities for a sample of Afro-Caribbean adults in Hall and Carter's 2006 study were reported as .95 for perceived racism for the year and .95 for perceived racism for the lifetime. Additionally, other studies using the Perceived Racism Scale have reported internal reliability scores ranging between .87 and .96 as well as adequate retest

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reliability (.71-.80) (Steffen, McNeilly, Anderson, & Sherwood, 2003). In the current study, the Cronbach's alpha reliabilities were found to be as follows: .96 (perceived racism for the year), and .95 (perceived racism for the lifetime).

Procedures

After receiving Teachers College – Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval, the research study was administered online using the software survey tool *SurveyMonkey*. Participants were recruited online to complete the study on a voluntary basis using snowball sampling techniques. Initial participants were sought from Caribbean student organizations, Caribbean community associations/clubs, as well as church groups, and encouraged to recruit additional persons from among their network of colleagues, peers or acquaintances by passing on the survey and/or survey link to others via email. Upon accessing the online survey link, participants were provided with informed consent and participant's rights forms before giving their assent to participate in the study. After participating, they were debriefed about the study and given the option to participate in a drawing for a $50 gift card that was conducted after the data collection process was completed. In addition, participants were provided with contact information for both the principal investigator as well as the faculty sponsor of the study in order to obtain further information if they so desired.

Chapter IV: Results

A total of 148 participants completed the study voluntarily online. Of this original number, 28 were removed as their surveys were not complete (defined here as less than 80% complete). The final sample therefore consisted of 120 participants (see Table 1). 88 (73.3%) were females and 32 (26.7%) were males. All persons identified themselves as adult (aged 18 years and over), Black Caribbean English speaking immigrants to the United States. Their reported ages ranged from 18 years to 75 years *(M = 33.23, SD = 13.97)*. 76.7% (*n* = 92) were first generation immigrants (i.e. born in the Caribbean) whereas 23.3% (*n* = 28) identified themselves as second generation immigrants (i.e. born in the United States). Most participants identified Jamaica as their country of birth (*n* = 68, 56.7%), followed by the United States (*n* = 28, 23.3%), and then Trinidad and Tobago (*n* = 11, 9.2%). The remaining participants (*n* = 13, 10.8%) came from either Grenada, Haiti, St. Kitts & Nevis, Panama, or Barbados. 52.5% reported Jamaica as the country in which they were raised or where they primarily grew up, 30.8% were raised in the United States, 9.2% in Trinidad and Tobago, 3.3% in Grenada, and 4.2% grew up in either Haiti, St. Kitts & Nevis, or Panama.

In terms of primary occupation, 42.5% of the sample were students, 19.2% self-identified as professionals, 11.7% worked in the management field, 10.8% held other occupations (including educator or pastor), 5.8% of persons were in an administrative position, 4.2% reported being unemployed, 2.5% held an executive position, 1.7% were government workers and 1.7% were service workers.

Most participants reported their highest level of education as that of a master's degree (29.2%), 23.3% reported some college education, 20.8% completed college, 11.7% completed some graduate school, 5.8% reported obtaining a professional degree, 5% completed high school

or obtained a GED, 3.3% held a doctoral degree, and 0.8% either did not complete high school or obtained an elementary school level education.

Comparative data is provided by Thomas (2012) who wrote a demographic profile of Black Caribbean immigrants to the United States which included findings from the U.S. Census regarding persons who were born in the Caribbean (i.e. first generation). He indicated that such persons from English-speaking Caribbean countries make up the majority of Black Caribbean immigrants in the United States. Between the years 2008 and 2009, Jamaica alone was found to account for 36%, 31% were from Haiti, while Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, and Grenada collectively accounted for 16% (Thomas, 2012). Between the years 2005 and 2009, 32% of Black immigrants aged 25 years and over who were born in the Caribbean had completed high school or earned a GED, 27% had completed some college, 22% had educational attainment that was below the high school level, 13% had completed college, and 7% had earned a master's, doctorate, or professional degree. Traditionally, the majority of Caribbean immigrants to the United States have been women. For example, in 2009, Caribbean Blacks were predominantly female (55%) (Thomas, 2012). With respect to age, between the years 2005 and 2009, 22% of Black Caribbean immigrants born in the Caribbean were 45 to 54 years old, 21% were 35 to 44 years, 17% were 25 to 34 years, 15% were 55 to 64 years, 13% were 65 and over, 8% were 18 to 24 years, and 6% were below the age of 18 (Thomas, 2012). No comparative data was available regarding the primary occupation of first generation Black Caribbean immigrants. Additionally, statistics specifically pertaining to second generation Black Caribbean immigrants were not available.

Table 1

Demographic Data (N = 120)

Variable	N	%
<u>Gender</u>		
Male	32	26.7
Female	88	73.3
<u>Age Group</u>		
18 – 24 years	40	33.3
25 – 44 years	54	45.0
45 – 64 years	21	17.5
65 years and over	5	4.2
<u>Country of Birth</u>		
Jamaica	68	56.7
United States of America	28	23.3
Trinidad and Tobago	11	9.2
Grenada, Haiti, St. Kitts and Nevis, Panama, or Barbados	13	10.8
<u>Country Where Primarily Grew Up</u>		
Jamaica	63	52.5
United States of America	37	30.8
Trinidad and Tobago	11	9.2
Grenada	4	3.3
Haiti, St. Kitts and Nevis, or Panama	5	4.2
<u>Primary Occupation</u>		
Administrative	7	5.8
Executive	3	2.5
Government Worker	2	1.7
Management	14	11.7
Professional	23	19.2
Service Worker	2	1.7
Student	51	42.5
Unemployed	5	4.2
Other	13	10.8

Table 1 continued

Variable	N	%
<u>Highest Level of Education</u>		
High School or GED	6	5.0
Some College	28	23.3
College	25	20.8
Some Graduate School	14	11.7
Master's Degree	35	29.2
Doctoral Degree	4	3.3
Professional Degree	7	5.8
Other	1	0.8

Hypothesis 1: There will be a significant relationship between racial identity and ethnic identity. The racial identity status attitudes Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization will be positively correlated with overall ethnic identity, while the racial identity status attitude Pre-Encounter will be inversely correlated with overall ethnic identity

In order to test this hypothesis, Pearson's correlations between racial identity and ethnic identity were conducted (see Table 2 for correlation matrix). Overall ethnic identity was found to have significant positive correlations with the racial identity status attitudes Encounter, $r(120) = .323$, $p < .01$; Immersion-Emersion, $r(120) = .236$, $p < .01$; and Internalization, $r(120) = .305$, $p < .01$. A significant relationship was not however found between overall ethnic identity and the racial identity status Pre-Encounter, $r(120) = -.031$, $p > .01$. Hypothesis 1 was therefore partially supported based on the correlations found. Racial identity status attitudes during which one holds positive views regarding the Black race were positively associated with overall ethnic identity

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(understanding and acceptance of one's cultural values and social group membership). The Pre-Encounter racial identity status, during which one highly values Eurocentric racial attitudes, was found to be negatively correlated with overall ethnic identity; however, it did not achieve statistical significance.

Table 2

Pearson's Correlations between Racial Identity Status Attitudes and Overall Ethnic Identity

Variable	1	2	3	4	5
1. Pre-Encounter[a]	-	.239**	.044	-.286**	-.031
2. Encounter[a]		-	.690**	.254**	.323**
3. Immersion-Emersion[a]			-	.234**	.236**
4. Internalization[a]				-	.305**
5. Ethnic Identity Overall[b]					-

a. Black Racial Identity Attitude Scale.
b. Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure.
 **$p < .01$.

Hypothesis 2: Racial Socialization will be significantly predictive of the racial identity status attitudes Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization; in addition to ethnic identity

In order to examine racial socialization as a predictor of racial identity status, four simple linear regressions were conducted (see Tables 3a-3d). Adaptive Racial Socialization Experience (ARSE) which represents the total scale was used as the predictor variable for racial socialization in each regression, with the racial identity status attitudes Pre-Encounter, Encounter, Immersion-

Emersion, and Internalization each being used as the outcome variables in separate regressions. Racial socialization was not found to be a significant predictor of the racial identity status Pre-Encounter, $F(1, 118) = 1.262$, $p > .05$. There were however significant positive relationships found between racial socialization and the racial identity status attitudes: Encounter, $\beta = .329$, $t(1, 118) = 3.781$, $p < .05$; Immersion-Emersion, $\beta = .365$, $t(1, 118) = 4.255$, $p < .05$; as well as Internalization, $\beta = .289$, $t(1, 118) = 3.277$, $p < .05$.

Racial socialization (using the factor ARSE) as a predictor of overall ethnic identity was also examined using a simple linear regression (see Table 4). The results indicate a significant relationship, $F(1,118) = 5.535$, $p < .05$. Specifically, there is a significant positive relationship between racial socialization and overall ethnic identity, $\beta = .212$, $t(1,118) = 2.353$, $p < .05$.

The data therefore supported hypothesis 2 as higher levels of racial socialization were associated with higher levels of the racial identity status attitudes Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization. The ARSE or total racial socialization scale was also found to have a significant positive relationship with overall ethnic identity (based on the total ethnic identity scale) therein providing further support for this hypothesis.

Table 3a

Linear Regression Analysis Predicting Pre-Encounter Racial Identity Status Attitude from Racial Socialization

Variable	B	SE B	β	R^2	F	p
ARSE	.003	.002	.103	.011	1.262	.263

Note. ARSE = Adaptive Racial Socialization Experience.

Table 3b

Linear Regression Analysis Predicting Encounter Racial Identity Status Attitude from Racial Socialization

Variable	B	SE B	β	R^2	F	p
ARSE	.014	.004	.329	.108	14.298	.001

Note. ARSE = Adaptive Racial Socialization Experience.

Table 3c

Linear Regression Analysis Predicting Immersion-Emersion Racial Identity Status Attitude from Racial Socialization

Variable	B	SE B	β	R^2	F	p
ARSE	.012	.003	.365	.133	18.105	.001

Note. ARSE = Adaptive Racial Socialization Experience.

Table 3d

Linear Regression Analysis Predicting Internalization Racial Identity Status Attitude from Racial Socialization

Variable	B	SE B	β	R^2	F	p
ARSE	.009	.003	.289	.083	10.737	.001

Note. ARSE = Adaptive Racial Socialization Experience.

Table 4

Linear Regression Analysis Predicting Ethnic Identity from Racial Socialization

Variable	B	SE B	β	R^2	F	p
ARSE	.078	.033	.212	.045	5.535	.02

Note. ARSE = Adaptive Racial Socialization Experience.

Hypothesis 3: Racial socialization will be significantly predictive of perceptions of racial discrimination

In order to determine whether racial socialization might be predictive of perceptions of racial discrimination for the year as well as the lifetime, two simple linear regressions were initially conducted. In the first linear regression which included ARSE as the predictor variable and the perceived racism score for the year as the outcome variable, a significant positive relationship was found, $\beta = .346$, $t(1,118) = 4.010$, $p < .05$ (see Table 5). Racial socialization was also found to explain a significant amount of the variance in perceived racism for the year, $R^2 = .12$, $F(1,118) = 16.078$, $p < .05$.

In the second linear regression, ARSE remained the predictor variable; however, the perceived racism score for the lifetime was the outcome variable. A significant positive relationship was found, $\beta = .390$, $t(1,118) = 4.608$, $p < .05$ (see Table 6). In this case, 15.2% of the variance in perceived racism for the lifetime was explained by racial socialization, $F(1, 118) = 21.230$, $p < .05$.

Table 5

Linear Regression Analysis Predicting Perceptions of Racial Discrimination for the Year from Racial Socialization (ARSE)

Variable	B	SE B	β	R^2	F	p
ARSE	.601	.150	.346	.120	16.078	.001

Note. ARSE = Adaptive Racial Socialization Experience.

Table 6

Linear Regression Analysis Predicting Perceptions of Racial Discrimination for the Lifetime from Racial Socialization (ARSE)

Variable	B	SE B	β	R^2	F	p
ARSE	.667	.145	.390	.152	21.230	.001

Note. ARSE = Adaptive Racial Socialization Experience.

Given these significant results, additional information was sought regarding the kinds of racial socialization messages that might most significantly impact perceptions of racial discrimination among Black Caribbean immigrants. The relationship between racial socialization and perceptions of racial discrimination was further examined by conducting two multiple regression analyses in which the five racial socialization factors (Cultural Coping with Antagonism - CCA, Cultural Pride Reinforcement - CPR, Cultural Appreciation of Legacy - CAL, Cultural Alertness to Discrimination - CAD, and Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream - CEM) were the predictor variables. In the first multiple regression the outcome variable was perceived racism for the year (see Table 7), while in the second multiple regression perceived racism for the lifetime was the outcome variable (see Table 8). The variance inflation factor was consistently found to be less than 3 in both regression models thereby reducing the chance of multicollinearity. Overall, a significant relationship was found between the five racial socialization factors and perceptions of racial discrimination for the year, $F(5,114) = 4.677$, p <.05; as well as between the five racial socialization factors and perceptions of racial discrimination for the lifetime, $F(5, 114) = 7.497$, p <.05. Of the five racial socialization factors, Cultural Alertness to Discrimination (CAD) was found to be a uniquely significant positive predictor of perceptions of racial discrimination for the year, $\beta = .317$, $t(5, 114) = 2.725$, p <.05 as well as perceptions of racial discrimination for the lifetime, $\beta = .418$, $t(5, 114) = 3.774$, p <.05.

The results therefore provided general support for hypothesis 3 as a significant positive relationship was found between ARSE/ the total scale score and perceptions of racial discrimination over the past year, as well as between ARSE and perceptions of racial discrimination over one's lifetime. Of the five racial socialization factors, Cultural Alertness to

Discrimination (CAD) was uniquely positively predictive of participants' perceptions of racial

discrimination for the year as well as their perceptions of racial discrimination over the lifetime.

Table 7

Linear Regression Analysis Predicting Perceptions of Racial Discrimination for the Year from
Racial Socialization (CCA, CPR, CAL, CAD & CEM)

Variable	B	SE B	β	t	p
CCA	1.137	.682	.234	1.668	.098
CPR	-1.276	1.061	-.157	-1.203	.232
CAL	.675	1.340	.065	.504	.615
CAD	2.573	.944	.317	2.725	.007
CEM	-.429	1.355	-.033	-.317	.752

Note. CCA = Cultural Coping with Antagonism; CPR = Cultural Pride Reinforcement; CAL = Cultural
Appreciation of Legacy; CAD = Cultural Alertness to Discrimination; CEM = Cultural Endorsement of
the Mainstream.

Table 8

Linear Regression Analysis Predicting Perceptions of Racial Discrimination for the Lifetime
from Racial Socialization (CCA, CPR, CAL, CAD & CEM)

Variable	B	SE B	β	t	p
CCA	1.138	.639	.238	1.780	.078
CPR	-1.702	.995	-.212	-1.712	.090
CAL	1.174	1.256	.115	.935	.352
CAD	3.340	.885	.418	3.774	.001
CEM	-.963	1.270	-.076	-.758	.450

Note. CCA = Cultural Coping with Antagonism; CPR = Cultural Pride Reinforcement; CAL = Cultural
Appreciation of Legacy; CAD = Cultural Alertness to Discrimination; CEM = Cultural Endorsement of
the Mainstream.

Hypothesis 4: Racial socialization will significantly predict perceptions of racial discrimination after accounting for racial identity status

The relationship between racial socialization, racial identity, and perceptions of racial discrimination was explored using two hierarchical regressions (see Tables 9 and 10). In the first hierarchical regression, perceived racism for the year was entered as the outcome variable, while in the second hierarchical regression, perceived racism for the lifetime was the outcome variable. In both regressions, racial identity status attitude (Pre-Encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization) functioned as the predictor variable. The total scale for racial socialization (ARSE) was also included as a predictor variable at the second step of the hierarchical regression model in order to determine whether this would add to the prediction of perceiving racial discrimination above and beyond racial identity.

In the first hierarchical regression, racial identity accounted for 23.1% of the variance in perceptions of racial discrimination for the year and was a significant predictor, $F(4,115) = 8.637$, $p < .05$. The second step of the regression model included racial socialization which added to the significant prediction of perceptions of racial discrimination for the year, $F(5, 114) = 8.376$, $p < .05$ and altered the amount of variance explained (R^2 change $= .038$). Inspection of the beta weights in the regression model further revealed that racial socialization was a unique positive predictor of perceptions of racial discrimination for the year, $\beta = .217$, $t(5, 114) = 2.423$, $p < .05$.

In the second hierarchical regression, racial identity accounted for 30.3% of the variance in perceptions of racial discrimination for the lifetime and was found to be a significant predictor, $F(4,115) = 12.519$, $p < .05$. The inclusion of racial socialization at the second step added to the significant prediction of perceptions of racial discrimination for the lifetime, $F(5,$

114) = 11.903, $p < .05$ and increased the amount of variance accounted for (R^2 change = .040). Inspection of the beta weights in the regression model revealed that Encounter racial identity status attitude, $\beta = .247$, $t(5, 114) = 2.191$, $p < .05$, Immersion-Emersion racial identity status attitude, $\beta = .250$, $t(5, 114) = 2.291$, $p < .05$, and racial socialization (ARSE), $\beta = .223$, $t(5, 114) = 2.622$, $p < .05$ were unique positive predictors of perceptions of racial discrimination for the lifetime. Tests for multicollinearity indicated that the variance inflation factor (VIF) in both regressions was consistently less than 2.5.

Based on the results, Hypothesis 4 was generally supported as racial socialization was not only found to be a unique positive predictor but also increased the amount of variance explained in perceptions of racial discrimination for the year as well as perceptions of racial discrimination for the lifetime above and beyond racial identity.

Table 9

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analyses for Racial Identity Status Attitude and Racial Socialization (ARSE) Predicting Perceptions of Racial Discrimination for the Year

Variable	β	R^2	ΔR^2	ΔF	$p \Delta F$
Step 1		.231	.231	8.637	.001
Pre-Encounter	.129				
Encounter	.242				
Immersion-Emersion	.245				
Internalization	-.033				
Step 2		.269	.038	5.869	.017
Pre-Encounter	.095				
Encounter	.234				
Immersion-Emersion	.187				
Internalization	-.089				
ARSE	.217				

Note. ARSE = Adaptive Racial Socialization Experience.

Table 10

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analyses for Racial Identity Status Attitude and Racial Socialization (ARSE) Predicting Perceptions of Racial Discrimination for the Lifetime

Variable	β	R^2	ΔR^2	ΔF	$p \Delta F$
Step 1		.303	.303	12.519	.001
Pre-Encounter	.112				
Encounter	.256				
Immersion-Emersion	.310				
Internalization	.014				
Step 2		.343	.04	6.877	.01
Pre-Encounter	.077				
Encounter	.247				
Immersion-Emersion	.250				
Internalization	-.044				
ARSE	.223				

Note. ARSE = Adaptive Racial Socialization Experience.

Hypothesis 5: Racial socialization will significantly predict perceptions of racial discrimination after accounting for ethnic identity

In order to examine the relationship between racial socialization, ethnic identity, and perceptions of racial discrimination two hierarchical regressions were conducted (see Tables 11 and 12). The first hierarchical regression included perceived racism for the year as the outcome variable, whereas in the second hierarchical regression perceived racism for the lifetime was entered as the outcome variable. Both regressions included overall ethnic identity score as the predictor variable. The total scale for racial socialization (ARSE) was included at the second step of each regression model in order to determine whether this would add to the prediction of perceiving racial discrimination above and beyond ethnic identity. Results from the first hierarchical regression showed that ethnic identity was not a significant predictor of perceptions

of racial discrimination for the year, $F(1,118) = .351$, $p > .05$. Racial socialization when added at Step 2 was however found to significantly predict perceptions of racial discrimination for the year, $F(2, 117) = 7.999$, $p < .05$ and explained 12% of the variance in perceptions of racial discrimination for the year. In keeping with these results, inspection of the beta weights in the regression model showed racial socialization (ARSE) to be a unique positive predictor of perceptions of racial discrimination for the year, $\beta = .350$, $t(2, 117) = 3.950$, $p < .05$.

In the second hierarchical regression, ethnic identity was not found to be a significant predictor of perceptions of racial discrimination for the lifetime, $F(1,118) = .683$, $p > .05$. Perceptions of racial discrimination for the lifetime was however significantly predicted when racial socialization was included at step 2 of the regression, $F(2, 117) = 10.529$, $p < .05$. Additionally, racial socialization accounted for 15.3% of the variance in perceptions of racial discrimination for the lifetime. Inspection of the beta weights therefore indicated that racial socialization (ARSE) was the unique variable that contributed to the significant relationship with perceptions of racial discrimination for the lifetime, $\beta = .392$, $t(2, 117) = 4.502$, $p < .05$. Both hierarchical regressions were not compromised by multicollinearity as the variance inflation factor statistic was consistently found to be less than two.

Hypothesis 5 was therefore generally supported by both hierarchical regressions as racial socialization was significantly predictive of perceptions of racial discrimination for the year as well as perceptions of racial discrimination for the lifetime after accounting for ethnic identity.

Table 11

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analyses for Ethnic Identity and Racial Socialization Predicting Perceptions of Racial Discrimination for the Year

Variable	β	R^2	ΔR^2	ΔF	$p \Delta F$
Step 1		.003	.003	.351	.555
Ethnic Identity Overall	.054				
Step 2		.120	.117	15.604	.001
Ethnic Identity Overall	-.020				
ARSE	.350				

Note. ARSE = Adaptive Racial Socialization Experience.

Table 12

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analyses for Ethnic Identity and Racial Socialization Predicting Perceptions of Racial Discrimination for the Lifetime

Variable	β	R^2	ΔR^2	ΔF	$p \Delta F$
Step 1		.006	.006	.683	.41
Ethnic Identity Overall	.076				
Step 2		.153	.147	20.264	.001
Ethnic Identity Overall	-.007				
ARSE	.392				

Note. ARSE = Adaptive Racial Socialization Experience.

Hypotheses 6a and 6b:

In order to determine whether there were significant differences between participants as a result of the demographic variables generational status and gender, a MANOVA (Multivariate Analysis of Variance) test was conducted which involved a comparison of the means of first and second generation participants, as well as men and women with respect to racial identity, ethnic identity, experiences of racial socialization, and perceptions of racial discrimination (see Table 13). The demographic variables generational status (first generation, second generation) and gender (male, female) served as the independent variables in the MANOVA with the dependent variables being: racial identity status (Pre-Encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization), ethnic identity (overall MEIM score), racial socialization (Adaptive Racial Socialization Experience - ARSE, Proactive Racial Socialization Experience - PRSE, Cultural Coping with Antagonism - CCA, Cultural Pride Reinforcement - CPR, Cultural Appreciation of Legacy - CAL, Cultural Alertness to Discrimination - CAD, and Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream - CEM), and perceived racism (perceived racism overall, perceived racism for the year, and perceived racism for the lifetime).

Hypothesis 6a: There will be a significant effect for generational status with respect to racial identity, ethnic identity, racial socialization, and perceptions of racial discrimination. Based on the overall MANOVA, there were significant effects found for generational status (Wilks' Lambda = .782, multivariate $F(13, 104) = 2.230$, p = .013. Inspection of separate univariate ANOVAs on the outcome variables revealed significant differences between first generation and second generation immigrants on: the racial identity status Encounter, $F(13, 104) = 11.400$, p = .001; overall ethnic identity, $F(13, 104) = 7.170$, p = .008; as well as the racial socialization factor Cultural Alertness to Discrimination (CAD), $F(13, 104)$

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= 8.071, p = .005. Specifically, second generation immigrants were found to endorse significantly higher Encounter status attitudes (M = 2.80, SD = .68) than first generation immigrants (M = 2.26, SD = .62), as well as significantly higher overall ethnic identity scores (M = 39.74, SD = 4.77) than first generation immigrants (M = 34.94, SD = 5.44). Additionally, the racial socialization factor Cultural Alertness to Discrimination (CAD) was significantly higher for second generation immigrants (M = 12.15, SD = 2.50) than for first generation immigrants (M = 9.82, SD = 3.27). The results therefore provide general support for the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 6b: There will be a significant effect for gender with respect to racial identity, ethnic identity, racial socialization and perceptions of racial discrimination. The overall MANOVA did not reveal significant group differences between males and females for the dependent variables racial identity status, ethnic identity, racial socialization, and perceived racism, Wilks' Lambda = .895, multivariate $F(13, 104)$ = .936, p = .520. No support was therefore found for this hypothesis.

Table 13

Mean Scores for Demographic Variables: MANOVA

Variable	PRE	ENC	IM	INT	EIO	ARSE	PRSE	CCA	CPR	CAL	CAD	CEM	PRSO	PRSY	PRSL
Gender															
Male (*n* = 32)	2.1	2.3	2.5	4.0	35.0	78.9	56.6	25.3	20.0	8.7	10.2	7.0	80.4	36.4	44.0
Female (*n* = 88)	2.0	2.5	2.2	3.9	36.4	79.3	56.5	24.9	20.4	8.5	10.4	7.1	60.5	27.0	33.4
Generation															
First (*n* = 92)	2.0	**2.2***	2.3	3.8	**34.9***	77.6	55.4	24.6	19.9	8.3	**9.8***	6.9	65.6	29.9	35.7
Second (*n* = 28)	2.1	**2.8***	2.4	4.0	**39.7***	84.6	60.0	26.2	21.4	9.3	**12.1***	7.5	66.3	28.2	38.0

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Bold and * indicates significant mean difference (p<.05).
Note. PRE = Pre-Encounter; ENC = Encounter; IM = Immersion-Emersion; INT = Internalization; EIO = Ethnic Identity Overall; ARSE = Adaptive Racial Socialization Experience; PRSE = Proactive Racial Socialization Experience; CCA = Cultural Coping with Antagonism; CPR = Cultural Pride Reinforcement; CAL = Cultural Appreciation of Legacy; CAD = Cultural Alertness to Discrimination; CEM = Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream; PRSO = Perceived Racism Score Overall; PRSY = Perceived Racism Score for the Year; PRSL = Perceived Racism Score for the Lifetime.

Chapter V: Discussion

Immigration to the United States over the past few decades has brought an unprecedented number of individuals who are either foreign-born or American born children of immigrants (Rong & Brown, 2002). As mentioned in previous chapters, Black Caribbean individuals represent a significant portion of this increasing immigrant population therefore it is imperative that their experiences as a group be considered in multicultural research. Several existing studies which examine the prevalence of racial discrimination within the Black population in the United States fail to address the impact of existing within group differences. It has been theorized that persons who hold race and ethnicity as a central part of their identity may be more likely to perceive ambiguous discriminatory events as connected to race (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). There is however a complex interplay between the ways in which Black Caribbean immigrants may distance themselves from or connect with such identities. Racial socialization has also been found to enhance one's "…sense of racial/ethnic identity, partially in preparation for racially hostile encounters." (Fischer & Shaw, 1999, p. 396). While existing racial and ethnic identity models have sought to understand the ways in which individuals make meaning of their race and ethnicity (Burkard & Ponterotto, 2008), less is known about how racial socialization might influence such processes, in addition to its potential impact on perceptions of racial discrimination. Prior studies on Black Caribbean immigrants to the United States have shown that there are relationship patterns that exist between their racial identity, self-perceived ethnic identity and experiences of racial discrimination; however, the role that racial socialization might play in preparing such persons to navigate the harsh realities of racial discrimination in the United States has not been directly addressed.

This study sought to address this oversight in the research literature by investigating the impact of racial identity, ethnic identity and racial socialization on perceptions of racial discrimination among Black Caribbean immigrants to the United States. During data analysis, a number of significant and noteworthy relationships were found between the variables racial identity status, overall ethnic identity, racial socialization, and perceptions of racial discrimination which will be further addressed in this chapter. Limitations of this study as well as implications for research and practice are also discussed.

Racial Identity and Ethnic Identity

The current study hypothesized that the racial identity status attitudes Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization would be positively correlated with overall ethnic identity, while the racial identity status attitude Pre-Encounter would be inversely related with overall ethnic identity. Partial support was found for this hypothesis as a significant positive relationship was found between overall ethnic identity and the racial identity status attitudes Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization. While an inverse correlation was noted between the racial identity status attitude Pre-Encounter and overall ethnic identity, it did not achieve statistical significance. Higher overall ethnic identity was therefore associated with higher levels of the racial identity status attitudes Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization. Consequently, only racial identity status attitudes characterized by positive views regarding the Black race were found to have significant and positive correlations with overall ethnic identity.

Though prior research such as that of Gopaul-McNicol (1993) and Rogers (2001) has suggested that the maintenance of an ethnic identity might in fact inhibit racial group identification, the results found in the current study seem to suggest otherwise. Hall and Carter

(2006) in their research on an Afro-Caribbean descent sample also found a significant

relationship between racial identity and ethnic identity. They subsequently concluded that both

racial identity and ethnic identity were related and seemed to "evolve together" (p. 169). Their

findings also suggested that Afro-Caribbean immigrants may in fact be capable of holding a

developed racial identity status attitude while also maintaining sound ties to their ethnic heritage.

Similar to Cross' theory of psychological Nigrescence, ethnic identity has been theorized by

Phinney and Ong (2007) as constructed over time, with the achievement of a secure ethnic

identity being gained through a combination of experiences, actions and choices. It may be

concluded that ethnic identity is a multidimensional construct that is distinct from other group

identities such as racial identity but which also has some commonalities with individual as well

as group identities (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Participants in the current study could therefore be

described as having a dual identity in which they claim both a racial identity as well as an ethnic

identity. Such findings also highlight the importance of examining the intersectionality of racial

identity and ethnic identity. Multiple ethnic groups can be found within any race and vice-versa.

Additionally, social constructions of race may have different meanings and levels of importance

based on one's ethnic group. In general, there is however little in the way of existing research

that examines such intersections (Umaña-Taylor, 2011). While this draws attention to significant

limitations in the current literature, it is also indicative of an area deserving of further study.

Racial Socialization, Racial Identity and Ethnic Identity

It was hypothesized that racial socialization would be significantly predictive of the racial

identity status attitudes Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization; in addition to

ethnic identity. The results of the present study were found to support this hypothesis. A

significant positive relationship was found between racial socialization and the racial identity

status attitudes Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization; as well as between racial socialization and overall ethnic identity. Racial socialization includes specific verbal and non-verbal messages that are transmitted to younger generations and which have an impact on the development of their values, attitudes, behaviors and beliefs regarding the meaning and significance of race and racial stratification, personal and group identity, as well as intergroup and intragroup interactions (Leasane-Brown, 2006). The current findings suggest that during the process of racial socialization one develops an awareness of race that may later influence racial identity development. This is in keeping with existing research which views racial socialization as increasingly important for the development of Black racial identity, self-esteem, attitudes, values and beliefs regarding race (Lesane-Brown, 2006). In 1990, Demo and Hughes postulated that racial socialization was a process during which future generations gained the help needed to develop a positive racial identity. Stevenson (1993, as cited in Stevenson, 1995) later argued that "racial socialization processes are multidimensional and precede, coincide with, and contribute to racial awareness and racial identity development across the lifespan" (p. 53). Additionally, Cross (1991) highlighted the existence of a connection between the racial socialization and racial identity development processes, stating that a person may acquire the dynamic functions of a Black identity during socialization from childhood through early adulthood with a parent or caretaker who possesses a strong Black identity. While the current study did not investigate the racial identity of the parent or caretaker who communicates racial socialization messages, it did provide further support for the theory that there is an important relationship between racial socialization and the formation of the Black racial identity. Nigrescence identity theory was expanded to put forward the view of racial identity as multidimensional and continuous rather than dichotomous (e.g. anti-White versus anti-Black); therefore, individuals can simultaneously

experience pro- as well as anti-Black and White racial attitudes with one theme being predominant (Stevenson, 1995). In a similar fashion, racial socialization theory also views the individual as more diverse and complex than an either/or paradigm (Stevenson, 1994).

Based on the findings of the current study, racial socialization may also be predictive of one's overall ethnic identity. Persons from the same geographic location often share an ethnic identity which includes but is not limited to language, food, ways of dress, customs, and/ or other group identity markers (Smedley, 1993, as cited in Rong & Brown, 2002). Stevenson (1995) contends that racial socialization prepares individuals not only for oppressive experiences but also teaches them about cultural pride, is historic in nature, and is culturally empowering. Such information is closely connected to the development of one's ethnic identity and may therefore include socialization messages regarding the modeling of ethnic or cultural behaviors (e.g. cooking traditional foods from one's culture, or interacting in culturally appropriate ways), in addition to structuring the environment to highlight knowledge most relevant to one's ethnic group (e.g. buying ethnic clothing, or displaying culturally based art or books in the home) (Lesane-Brown, 2006).

Racial Socialization and Perceptions of Racial Discrimination

Racial socialization was hypothesized to significantly predict perceptions of racial discrimination. The results presented were generally in support of this hypothesis as racial socialization was found to have a significant positive relationship with perceptions of racial discrimination for the year as well as perceptions of racial discrimination for the lifetime and explained a significant amount of the variance in both cases. Additionally, further analyses revealed that the racial socialization factor Cultural Alertness to Discrimination (CAD) was a

unique positive predictor of both perceptions of racial discrimination for the year and perceptions of racial discrimination for the lifetime.

The Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale (TERS) used in the present study focused specifically on the experiences of participants, including the nature of and extent to which they received race related messages from family members, therein tapping explicitly into the actual socialization process (Fischer & Shaw, 1999). Adaptive racial socialization may be considered to incorporate both protective and proactive dimensions, with cultural alertness to discrimination being a protective racial socialization strategy (Stevenson & Arrington, 2009). While some researchers have raised the question of whether racial socialization promotes the perception of racial discrimination or enhances an individual's receptivity to racial socialization communications (Stevenson & Arrington, 2009), the current study seems to suggest that higher levels of adaptive racial socialization (including exposure to messages regarding mistrust of Whites) increases one's likelihood of perceiving racial discrimination. The results provided also highlight the fact that exposure to racial socialization messages (particularly those focused on increasing awareness regarding existing racial barriers and challenges between Black and White individuals) have a significant impact on perceptions of racial discrimination in the short-term (e.g. during the past year) as well as across the life span. The life course perspective regarding racial socialization contends that individuals' lives are shaped by social change that is rooted in certain periods of history (Lesane-Brown, 2006). Family communication about race is therefore embedded within the values and social conditions of that historical period and recognizes that racial socialization practices must be responsive not only to fluctuations in social conditions but also to changes to the political climate (Park, 2004, as cited in Lesane-Brown, 2006) which may

include issues regarding racism. Such shifts are also likely to influence the way in which racial discrimination is perceived over time.

Racial Socialization, Racial Identity and Perceptions of Racial Discrimination

It was expected that racial socialization would significantly predict perceptions of racial discrimination after accounting for racial identity. This hypothesis was supported as racial socialization was found to positively predict perceptions of racial discrimination for the year as well as perceptions of racial discrimination for the lifetime above and beyond racial identity. Racial socialization also accounted for a significant proportion of the variance in perceptions of racial discrimination for the year as well as perceptions of racial discrimination for the lifetime. Additionally, the racial identity status attitudes Encounter and Immersion-Emersion were found to be positive predictors of perceptions of racial discrimination for the lifetime. The research of Hall and Carter (2006) found higher levels of Immersion-Emersion attitudes to be related to perceptions of racial discrimination over the lifetime in a sample of Afro-Caribbeans. Racial identity has also been found to be predictive of perceived discrimination in a sample including African Americans, European Americans, Mexican Americans, and Vietnamese Americans (Romero & Roberts, 1998). The inclusion of racial socialization along with racial identity in the present study however highlights the unique contribution of the former to perceptions of racial discrimination above and beyond racial identity not only during recent times but across the lifetime of study participants. This finding provides further support of an earlier hypothesis (Hypothesis 3) which predicted perceptions of racial discrimination from racial socialization.

It has been argued that while parents may expose their children to race-related messages and behaviors, their children are mutually active agents who will filter what they hear and subsequently endorse or reject their interpretations of those messages (Bentley, Adams &

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Stevenson, 2009). The results of the current study suggest that racial socialization measures which place particular emphasis on the behavioral dimensions of this experience may yield information with particularly meaningful implications for how one later perceives experiences of racism. Socialization about race is highly influenced by messages pertaining to the direct modeling, reinforcement and imitation of behaviors which in turn helps children to learn about the consequences of race (Lesane-Brown, 2006) as well as how to interpret and later respond to race-related situations.

Racial Socialization, Ethnic Identity and Perceptions of Racial Discrimination

In the current study, it was predicted that racial socialization would significantly predict racial discrimination after accounting for ethnic identity. General support was obtained for this hypothesis. Interestingly, ethnic identity was not found to be a significant predictor of perceptions of racial discrimination for the year as well as perceptions of racial discrimination for the lifetime. When racial socialization was however included in the analysis, this variable explained a significant amount of the variance in perceptions of racial discrimination for the year and was a unique positive predictor. Racial socialization was also found to significantly predict perceptions of racial socialization for the lifetime and accounted for a significant proportion of the variance.

There are competing arguments within the literature regarding the extent to which ethnic identity might impact perceptions of racial discrimination. Some research studies have found ethnic identity to be positively associated with perceptions of racial discrimination. For example, Operario and Fiske (2001) noted that ethnic minorities who were highly identified with their ethnic group were more likely to make attributions of discrimination regarding subtle, ambiguous behaviors demonstrated by a White confederate than those who were less identified

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with their group. Additionally, Major, Quinton and McCoy (2002) as well as Operario and Fiske (2001) found that persons who were high in ethnic identity perceived themselves as more susceptible to discrimination. There have also been studies which suggest that the development of a secure and accepting view of oneself as a member of an ethnic group replaces a high concern with experiences of prejudice and discrimination (Verkuyten & Brug, 2002). Consequently, perceived racial discrimination would be negatively related to ethnic identity achievement.

Rather than ethnic identity being predictive of perceptions of racial discrimination, a possible explanation for the results obtained in the current study may be based on research findings which suggest that perceived racism can be predictive of ethnic identity. Phinney, DuPont, Espinosa, Revill and Sanders (1994) argued that "when one's [ethnic] group faces rejection and discrimination, a common strategy, in order to preserve one's self-respect, is to reaffirm and strengthen group identity, through movements, which stress ethnic pride" (p. 179). Branscombe, Schmitt and Harvey (1999) also found little support in their research that minority group identification influenced individuals' attributions to discrimination and self-reported experiences with discrimination. They did however find evidence that minority group identification was likely influenced by attributions to discrimination. Based on such findings there may therefore be a cyclical relationship between ethnic identity and perception of racial discrimination. Group identification may lead an individual to perceive their personal experiences in a particular way and these experiences in turn result in a strengthening of identification with one's ethnic group (Sellers & Shelton, 2003).

Notwithstanding the lack of a significant relationship between overall ethnic identity and perceptions of racial discrimination, racial socialization emerged yet again as a significant

predictor of perceptions of racial discrimination for the year as well as the lifetime and provides further support for hypotheses 3 and 4.

The Impact of Generational Status and Gender on Racial Identity, Ethnic Identity, Racial Socialization and Perceptions of Racial Discrimination

   Generational Status. Group identification based on place of birth (i.e. whether an individual is first generation or second generation) has been an area of much interest to scholars (Hall & Carter, 2006). The current study hypothesized that generational status would have a significant effect on racial identity, ethnic identity, racial socialization, and perceptions of racial discrimination. The results provided partial support for this hypothesis as significant differences were found between the means of first and second generation Black Caribbean immigrants with respect to the Encounter racial identity status attitude, overall ethnic identity, as well as the racial socialization factor Cultural Alertness to Discrimination (CAD). Notably, second generation Black Caribbean immigrants were found to have higher mean scores than those from the first generation on all three variables.

   Woldemikael (1989) found that second generation Black Caribbean immigrants often felt pressured by Black Americans to "adopt their dialect, speech and dress styles and ways of behavior" (p.94). Additionally, assimilation results in such persons becoming "not just Americans but Black Americans" (Waters, 1994, p.799). Part of the Black American experience is however exposure to an oppressive and racist society in which negative media images and stereotypes persist regarding the Black race and Black Americans in particular. The racial identity status attitude Encounter is characterized by an event that triggers the individual to reevaluate their prior held belief of racelessness (Hall & Carter, 2006). The results of the current study suggest that second generation immigrants who are born and raised in the United States

may perhaps face challenges to their racial attitudes and beliefs that create "feelings of confusion, alarm, and depression followed by guilt, anger, and anxiety" (Thomas & Speight, 1999, p. 153) to a much greater extent than their first generation counterparts.

Prior research by Waters (1994) postulates that first generation Black Caribbean immigrants tend to distance themselves from American Blacks resulting in an emphasis being placed more so on their ethnic identities and national origins. It has also been contended in the literature that second generation Black Caribbean immigrants will more likely be viewed as simply "American" therein making their ethnic identity more invisible than that of their parents (Waters, 1994). Based on such information, one might therefore expect first generation immigrants to have higher overall ethnic identity scores than second generation immigrants. The results found in the current study proved contrary to this assumption as second generation or American born children of Black Caribbean immigrants were in fact found to possess higher overall ethnic identity scores. Consequently, while they may lack the distinctive accent of their parents and according to Bryce-Laporte (1992) have often been described as "invisible immigrants", current second generation Black Caribbeans seem to in fact assert their ethnic identities strongly while also maintaining ties to their national heritage.

According to Waters (1994), second generation Black Caribbean immigrants often grow up exposed to negative opinions being voiced by their parents regarding American Blacks and may have adopted the belief that foreign-born Blacks are responded to more favorably by Whites. It has also been the belief of many immigrants that their status as an immigrant Black is higher than that of an American Black (Waters, 1994). Unlike the experience of European immigrants in the early twentieth century who moved towards adopting an "American identity" (Waters, 1994, p. 799) and who sought to loosen the ties to their immigrant or ethnic identities,

the second generation Black Caribbean immigrants in this study seem to be emphasizing/ strengthening their ethnic ties. It could be hypothesized that such individuals are more accepting of society's negative portrayals of Black Americans and therein seek to distance themselves (Waters, 1994). It may also be argued that they view their ethnic identities as granting access to upward social mobility while holding the stance that hard work and discipline will produce success despite existing racism or discrimination. Further research is warranted in order to explore this issue as well as to determine whether there may be other contributing factors that remain unexamined.

Earlier discussions in this chapter have highlighted the importance of racial socialization given the prevalence of racial discrimination for many racial and ethnic minority groups living in the United States. Second generation Black Caribbean immigrants (whose parents would likely have experienced both subtle and blatant forms of racism since moving to the United States) are frequently and consistently exposed to messages and practices regarding their position in the societal hierarchy as well as to information about how to respond to experiences that are characterized by racial hostility from a young age. Additionally, the racial socialization factor Cultural Alertness to Discrimination (CAD) places particular emphasis on increasing one's awareness of existing racial barriers. Based on the results found in the present study, it appears that first generation immigrants upon entering the United States may however be less aware of the racial tensions and politics that exist in their newly found home.

Gender. It was also hypothesized that there would be a significant effect for gender with respect to racial identity, ethnic identity, racial socialization and perceptions of racial discrimination. The results did not provide support for this hypothesis as there were no significant differences found between males and females for any of the aforementioned

variables. Similar results were also found by Hall and Carter (2006) in their study of Afro-Caribbeans as racial identity status attitude (i.e. Pre-Encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, Internalization), ethnic identity, and perceptions of racial discrimination for the year as well as the lifetime were not found to differ significantly by gender. Limited research exists regarding gender differences and their relationship to racial identity, ethnic identity, racial socialization and perceptions of racial discrimination. Additionally, available literature places emphasis primarily on the African American population (Brown, Linver & Evans, 2010). Though the results from the present study did not yield significant results for Black Caribbean immigrants, it may be premature to rule out the impact of gender on the study variables until more explicit examinations or research is conducted.

Limitations

While the results obtained in this study provide important information regarding the presently understudied Black Caribbean immigrant population in the United States, caution should be exercised when considering potential implications. The study involved a small sample of Black Caribbean immigrants recruited through online snowball sampling techniques. It is therefore likely that there may be important findings not reflected in the current results that may be found with a larger number of study participants.

In terms of demographic characteristics, the current study population included a large number of women, with most persons identifying themselves as first generation immigrants. While no significant differences were later found with respect to gender, there was a significant effect noted for generational status. Controlling for the latter variable during future data analyses will therefore be essential in order to ensure that accurate conclusions are being drawn. Most participants reported Jamaica as their country of birth as well as the country in which where they

were raised. Additionally, a substantial proportion of the sample consisted of students and most participants reported their highest level of education as that of a master's degree. The resulting sample was therefore highly skewed towards persons who were in school or highly educated, and heavily reflected the views and experiences of persons from one Caribbean country. While the participants involved in this research may have been the most convenient and readily accessible, it is possible that such a methodological approach reduced the likelihood that characteristics of the sample would in fact match those of the larger population that it was intended to represent. The demographic profile by Thomas (2012) which was referenced in the results section of this document provides some indication of this. Generalizability of the findings in this study is therefore limited and efforts should be made in the future to obtain a larger sample that is more reflective of the Black Caribbean immigrant demographic profile in the United States.

The current study included several regression analyses which sought to describe the relationship between two or more variables. This statistical procedure is often based on the implicit assumption that there is a one-way causal effect from the predictor variable/s to the outcome variable/s. It must however be acknowledged that the regression technique can only be used to examine relationships between variables and cannot account for all underlying factors that may have contributed to the obtained results. Additionally, some variables may in fact have a more cyclical relationship in which variables impact each other. Rather than stating that one or more variables is predictive of another variable/s, it may therefore be more accurate to describe them as strongly associated.

Helms (1989) noted that self-selection in racial identity studies tends to result in participants who hold predominantly higher racial attitudes. It is therefore likely that persons who volunteered to participate in this study did so because they were more interested in issues

pertaining to race. As a result, the findings provided may in fact reflect the attitudes and beliefs of persons who hold stronger pro-Black values and attitudes than is typical of the general Black Caribbean immigrant population.

Each measure used in this study relied on participant self-report. The data collected was therefore subject to issues of report bias which raises questions regarding the accuracy of participants' perceptions and experiences. Statistics regarding the frequency with which racism was experienced in different settings over the past year as well as the lifetime; in addition to the frequency with which participants recalled their parents communicating certain racial socialization messages were heavily reliant on retrospective report (during which most individuals likely provided educated guesses regarding their experiences rather than attempting to recall each event). It is also possible that participants may have responded differently on some measures due to the influence of social desirability or efforts geared towards self-enhancement. Some persons may therefore have shifted their responses towards a direction that was considered to be more socially acceptable so as to project a more favorable view of themselves and avoid being negatively evaluated.

Implications for Research and Practice

Though some of the findings presented in this study are in keeping with existing research literature on Black Caribbean immigrants, new and meaningful information is also provided regarding the influence of racial socialization on racial identity status attitudes, ethnic identity, and perceptions of racial discrimination among this immigrant group in the United States, and demonstrates that the relationships between these variables are multifaceted and complex. This knowledge can prove particularly useful for individuals who provide psychological and social services to the Black Caribbean population in the United States by informing the development of

interventions and strategies that are more culturally appropriate, relevant, and reflective of an understanding of this population's worldview. With Black Caribbean immigrants accounting for the majority of Black immigrants in the United States, it is imperative that culturally skilled clinicians gain a deeper knowledge and understanding of the ways in which race, ethnicity, culture and socialization affect this group's experiences as a population of color. Help-seeking behaviors, personality formation, and the manifestation of psychological disorders are all highly influenced by the aforementioned factors which can provide valuable diagnostic information towards the development of appropriate treatment interventions.

While parents/caregivers may not spontaneously discuss issues regarding race with their children and often place more direct focus on the acquisition of skills and characteristics that fit with those of mainstream society (Hughes et al., 2006), the findings of the current study suggest that efforts on the part of parents/ caregivers to increase their children's awareness of racism can have a significant impact on their perceptions of racial discrimination both in the short and long-term. Such conversations should be encouraged by treatment providers and could also be incorporated as part of their work with individual clients and families. Additional research examining the Black Caribbean immigrant population would also help to decipher which aspects of the racial socialization process are rooted in historical experiences and generational family practices as opposed to those that may be reactions to existing constraints and barriers in contemporary society.

Future research could more heavily incorporate ethnic dimensions of the socialization process. While the term racial socialization is commonly used to reference messages transmitted within the African American population, the term ethnic socialization has been more recently applied to research involving multiple ethnic groups (Hughes et al., 2006) and may prove more

relevant for the population used in this study. There is considerable overlap between the two concepts due to fragmentation in the literature therefore future studies should seek to identify and integrate multidimensional aspects of the racial/ ethnic socialization process in their research design.

The current study required participants to report on their overall racial socialization experiences based on messages received from parents/ caregivers either currently or during their younger years. It is however important to recognize that racial socialization is a life-long process, with messages received in childhood potentially holding a different meaning from those that one might be exposed to in adulthood (Lesane-Brown, 2006). The messages that one receives at any point during the life span can be challenged, rejected or accepted as persons develop their own beliefs and values based on prior knowledge and experiences. The kinds of messages that are needed may also shift based on length of time living in the United States as well as processes such as acculturation. Further research would help to tease apart such nuances and develop knowledge in this area.

For immigrants such as those included in the current study, racial socialization messages may also be received from sources outside of the family (e.g. neighbors, community members, school, church) which can have a significant impact on racial identity and ethnic identity formation amongst Black Caribbean immigrants. Future measures of racial socialization may therefore need to take other contexts into account while also recognizing the influence of factors such as age (e.g. differences in socialization experiences across immigrant birth cohorts), cognitive ability, socioeconomic status, acculturation, and neighborhood/ geographic location to name a few. Longitudinal studies, experimental designs that permit the examination of causal

elements, qualitative data, and mixed-method approaches can also provide important additional

information.

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<u>INFORMED CONSENT</u>

<u>DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH</u>: You are invited to participate in a research study on the racial and ethnic experiences of Black Caribbean immigrants to the United States. You will be provided with a series of close-ended questions and asked to select a response from the rating scales provided. The research is being conducted by a fifth year Doctoral student in Counseling Psychology through the administration of an online study and is under the direct supervision of a licensed counseling psychologist.

<u>RISKS AND BENEFITS</u>: A potential risk associated with this study is the possibility of discomfort in disclosing feelings about yourself as well as your racial and/or ethnic experiences. Demographic information will be kept confidential. You may end your participation at any point if you feel uncomfortable while responding to any of the questions provided. If you decide to quit at any time before you have finished completing the study, your responses will not be recorded. There is no direct benefit for your participation in this research study. It is believed however that your participation may benefit counseling psychology as a profession and as a scientific discipline, contributing to a growing body of literature on the Black Caribbean immigrant population.

<u>PAYMENTS</u>: While there is no direct payment for participation in this study, each participant who completes the study will have the option to enter into a drawing for a $50 Amazon.com gift card to be conducted after data collection is complete. It is anticipated that 250 persons will participate in the study. The winner will receive the gift certificate via email.

<u>DATA STORAGE TO PROTECT CONFIDENTIALITY</u>: Your IP address will not be recorded when you respond to the online study. You will be given the option to provide your email address when you complete the online study so that you can enter into the drawing for the gift card. If you choose to do so, your email address will not be stored with the data from your survey. Instead, you will be assigned a participant number which will appear on your survey responses. The list of participant email addresses will be stored electronically in a password protected folder. All data collected through the demographic information sheet and survey will be held in a secure password protected database to which only the principal investigator will have access. All stored electronic data will be encrypted to further ensure confidentiality. No other identifying information will be collected online and the data will be kept confidential.

Any written information will be viewed only by the principal investigator or faculty sponsor and will be stored in a secured file cabinet in the principal investigator's office which is locked when she is not present.

TIME INVOLVEMENT: Your participation in this study will take approximately 15 to 20 minutes.

HOW WILL RESULTS BE USED: The results of the study will be used for doctoral dissertation research purposes and may be presented in educational settings or at professional conferences.

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<u>PARTICIPANT'S RIGHTS</u>

Principal Investigator: <u>Jorja Redway, M.A.</u>

Research Title: <u>Black Caribbean Immigrants in the United States and their Perceptions of Racial Discrimination: Understanding the Impact of Racial Identity, Ethnic Identity and Racial Socialization</u>

- I have read the Research Description. 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: jar2210@columbia.edu. The faculty sponsor of this research study, Dr. Marie Miville may also be reached at: mlm2106@tc.columbia.edu.

- My participation in this research is voluntary. I may refuse to participate or withdraw from participation at any time.

- 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 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.

- Completing this survey serves as your agreement to participate in this study and indicates that you have read and understand this consent form.

- I agree to participate in this study about the racial and ethnic experiences of Black Caribbean immigrants to the United States. I understand that I may discontinue my participation at any time without penalty and that my answers are confidential.

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<u>Recruitment Email</u>

Greetings!

My name is Jorja Redway and I am a doctoral student in the Counseling Psychology program in the Department of Counseling and Clinical Psychology at Teachers College, Columbia University.

You are invited to participate in a research study investigating the racial and ethnic experiences of **Black Caribbean** immigrants in the United States. The only requirements for participation are that you be 18 years of age or older and identify as an English-speaking Caribbean immigrant of African descent. By participating and sharing your experiences, you will be contributing invaluable information that may inform counselors as well as others in helping professions and potentially help them to better understand and attend to the needs of individuals in the Black Caribbean community.

If you choose to participate in this study, please click on the link below. The survey will take approximately 15 to 20 minutes to complete. If you choose to participate, you will have the option to be entered into a drawing for a $50 Amazon.com gift card that will be conducted after data collection is complete. At the end of the survey, you will be given the option to provide your email address so that you can be entered into the drawing. If you choose to do so, your email address will not be stored with the data from your survey. Your responses will be kept strictly confidential. If you would like further information about this study, please do not hesitate to contact me at jar2210@columbia.edu. You may also contact my advisor Dr. Marie Miville at mlm2106@tc.columbia.edu

The methods of this research and the plan for protection of rights of participants have been reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board which oversees all research activities conducted at Teachers College, Columbia University (Protocol Number 13-256). ***Please feel free to forward this email and link to other Black Caribbean individuals who may be interested in participating***. If you have read this email and would like to take the survey, please click on the URL below:

https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/JREDWAY

Thank you very much for your time and participation!

Sincerely,

Jorja A.K. Redway, M.A.
Department of Counseling & Clinical Psychology
Teachers College, Columbia University

Demographic Information Sheet

1) What is your gender?
      Female _____
      Male   _____
      Other (please specify) _____

2) What is your age? _____

3) What is your race/ ethnic group? (select one)
      Black   _____
      Latino/a   _____
      Hispanic   _____
      Asian   _____
      Pacific Islander   _____
      Native American   _____
      White   _____
      Middle Eastern   _____
      Biracial/Multiracial (please specify) _____
      Other (please specify)   _____

4) In which country were you born? _____

5) In which country were you raised/ where did you primarily grow up? _____

6) Approximately how long have you been living in the United States? _____

7) What is your primary language of communication (written and spoken)? _____

8) What is your current marital status? (select one)
      Single   _____
      Married   _____
      Separated   _____
      Remarried   _____
      Divorced   _____
      Widowed   _____

9) Do you have any biological children?

No   _____

Yes   _____   If yes, how many? _____

10) What is your current living arrangement? (select one)

Living with family   _____

On your own   _____

Living with partner   _____

Living with friend or roommate   _____

11) What is your highest level of education? (select one)

Eighth grade   _____

Some high school   _____

High school or GED   _____

Some college   _____

College   _____

Some graduate school   _____

Master's degree   _____

Doctoral degree   _____

Professional degree   _____

Other (please specify)   _____

12) What is your primary occupation? (select one)

Administrative   _____

Executive   _____

Government worker   _____

Management   _____

Manual labor   _____

Professional   _____

Service worker   _____

Stay-at-home mother   _____

Student   _____

Unemployed   _____

Other (please specify)   _____

13) Please indicate the best yearly estimate of household (combined) income during your childhood (select one)

Under $10,000 _____
$10,000 to $19,000 _____
$20,000 to $29,999 _____
$30,000 to $39,000 _____
$40,000 to $49,000 _____
$50,000 to $74,999 _____
$75,000 to $99,999 _____
Over $100,000 _____

14) What was the marital status of your <u>mother</u> when you were a child (before you turned 18)? (select one)

Single _____
Living with another person _____
Married to father _____
Married to other _____
Divorced _____
Remarried _____
Widowed _____
Unknown _____
Other (please specify) _____

15) What is the highest level of education that your <u>mother</u> completed? (select one)

Eighth grade _____
Some high school _____
High school or GED _____
Some college _____
College _____
Some graduate school _____
Master's degree _____
Doctoral degree _____
Professional degree _____
Other (please specify) _____

16) What was the marital status of your <u>father</u> when you were a child (before you turned 18)?
(select one)

Single	_____
Living with another person	_____
Married to mother	_____
Married to other	_____
Divorced	_____
Remarried	_____
Widowed	_____
Unknown	_____
Other (please specify)	_____

17) What is the highest level of education that your <u>father</u> completed? (select one)

Eighth grade	_____
Some high school	_____
High school or GED	_____
Some college	_____
College	_____
Some graduate school	_____
Master's degree	_____
Doctoral degree	_____
Professional degree	_____
Other (please specify)	_____

Appendix E

Social Attitudes Questionnaire (BRIAS)

Instructions: This questionnaire is designed to measure people's attitudes about social and political issues. There are no right or wrong answers. <u>Different people have different viewpoints.</u> So try to be as honest as you can. For each statement, select 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

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 do 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 Agree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree

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 in 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 part 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
Strongly Agree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree

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   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 any 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
	Strongly Agree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree

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   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.

The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM)

In this country, people come from many different countries and cultures, and there are many different words to describe the different backgrounds or <u>ethnic groups</u> that people come from. Some examples of the names of ethnic groups are: Black Caribbean/ Afro-Caribbean/ African Caribbean, West Indian, African American, Black, Hispanic or Latino, Asian American, Chinese, Filipino, American Indian, Mexican American, Caucasian or White, Italian American, and many others. These questions are about your ethnicity or your ethnic group and how you feel about it or react to it.

Please fill in: In terms of ethnic group, I consider myself to be _____

Please select the appropriate number under each statement where:

1 = Strongly Disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Agree
4 = Strongly Agree

1.   I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.

$$1 \qquad 2 \qquad 3 \qquad 4$$

2.   I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group.

$$1 \qquad 2 \qquad 3 \qquad 4$$

3.   I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.

$$1 \qquad 2 \qquad 3 \qquad 4$$

4.   I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.

$$1 \qquad 2 \qquad 3 \qquad 4$$

5.   I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.

$$1 \qquad 2 \qquad 3 \qquad 4$$

6.   I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.

$$1 \qquad 2 \qquad 3 \qquad 4$$

7.   I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.

                           1   2   3   4

 8.   In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.

                           1   2   3   4

9.   I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group.

                           1   2   3   4

10.   I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs.

                           1   2   3   4

11.   I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.

                           1   2   3   4

12.   I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.

                           1   2   3   4

13.   My ethnicity is: ____
             (1) Asian or Asian American, including Chinese, Japanese, and others
             (2) Black, including Black Caribbean/Afro-Caribbean/ African Caribbean, West Indian,
                 African American, and others
             (3) Hispanic or Latino, including Mexican American, Central American, and
                 others
             (4) White, Caucasian, Anglo, European American; not Hispanic
             (5) American Indian/Native American
             (6) Mixed; Parents are from two different groups
             (7) Other (write in): _____

14.   My father's ethnicity is: ___   (use numbers above).

15.   My mother's ethnicity is: ___ (use numbers above).

Appendix G

Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale

Instructions: Do your parents or any of your caregivers say to you any of the following statements now or when you were younger? Select 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**. Select only one number per question.

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

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

	Never	**A Few Times**	**Lots of Times**
30. Be proud of who you are.	1	2	3
31. Going to a Black school will help Black children feel better about themselves.	1	2	3
32. You need to learn how to live in a White world and a Black world.	1	2	3
33. Never be ashamed of your color.	1	2	3
34. Whites have more opportunities than Blacks.	1	2	3
35. A Black child or teenager will be harassed just because s/he is Black.	1	2	3
36. More job opportunities would be open to African Americans if people were not racist.	1	2	3
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.	1	2	3

Appendix H

Perceived Racism Scale

SECTION I: Please select the number which corresponds to how often you experience each event. Please select only one number for question "a" and one number for question "b" for each item. For example if you felt over the past year that you were assigned jobs no one else wanted, on average, "several times a month", you would select number "3" next to item 1a. If you felt, over your entire lifetime you were assigned jobs no one else wanted, on average "several times a year", you would select number "2" next to item 1b.

0	Never	3	Several Times a Month
1	Almost Never	4	Several Times a Week
2	Several Times a Year	5	Several Times a Day

A. *RACISM ON THE JOB*: (If you have never been employed, please skip this question and go to question 11, Section B)

1.   Because I'm Black, I'm assigned the jobs no one else wants to do.

a. How often has this happened in the past year?
          0   1   2   3   4   5

b. How often has this happened during my lifetime?
          0   1   2   3   4   5

2.   At work, when different opinions would be helpful, my opinion is not asked for because of my race.

a. How often has this happened in the past year?
          0   1   2   3   4   5

b. How often has this happened during my life?
          0   1   2   3   4   5

3.   I am treated with less dignity and respect than I would be if I were White.

a. How often has this happened in the past year?
          0   1   2   3   4   5

b. How often has this happened during my life?
          0   1   2   3   4   5

0 Never   3 Several Times a Month
1 Almost Never   4 Several Times a Week
2 Several Times a Year   5 Several Times a Day

4.   I am watched more closely than other workers because of my race.

        a. How often has this happened in the past year?
             0   1   2   3   4   5

        b. How often has this happened during my life?
             0   1   2   3   4   5

5.   Racial jokes or harassment are directed at me at work.

        a. How often has this happened in the past year?
             0   1   2   3   4   5

        b. How often has this happened during my life?
             0   1   2   3   4   5

6.   Because I am Black, I feel as if I have to work twice as hard.

        a. How often has this happened in the past year?
             0   1   2   3   4   5

        b. How often has this happened during my life?
             0   1   2   3   4   5

7.   Tasks that require intelligence are usually given to Whites, while Blacks get those that
        don't require much thought.

        a. How often has this happened in the past year?
             0   1   2   3   4   5

        b. How often has this happened during my life?
             0   1   2   3   4   5

0 Never   3 Several Times a Month
1 Almost Never   4 Several Times a Week
2 Several Times a Year   5 Several Times a Day

8.   I am often ignored or not taken seriously by my boss because of my race.

        a. How often has this happened in the past year?
                0   1   2   3   4   5

        b. How often has this happened during my life?
                0   1   2   3   4   5

9.   Whites often assume I work in a lower status job than I do and treat me as such.

        a. How often has this happened in the past year?
                0   1   2   3   4   5

        b. How often has this happened during my life?
                0   1   2   3   4   5

10.   A White co-worker with less experience and qualifications got promoted before me.

        a. How often has this happened in the past year?
                0   1   2   3   4   5

        b. How often has this happened during my life?
                0   1   2   3   4   5

B. RACISM IN ACADEMIC SETTINGS:

11.   I have been made to feel uncomfortable in a classroom of White students.

        a. How often has this happened in the past year?
                0   1   2   3   4   5

        b. How often has this happened during my life?
                0   1   2   3   4   5

0 Never   3 Several Times a Month
1 Almost Never   4 Several Times a Week
2 Several Times a Year   5 Several Times a Day

12.   Teachers and students assume I'm less intelligent because of my race.

        a. How often has this happened in the past year?
                0   1   2   3   4   5

        b. How often has this happened during my life?
                0   1   2   3   4   5

13.   Whites assume I gained admission to school only because of Affirmative Action - not
        based on my abilities or intelligence.

        a. How often has this happened in the past year?
                0   1   2   3   4   5

        b. How often has this happened during my life?
                0   1   2   3   4   5

14.   My graded assignments are judged more critically because I am Black.

        a. How often has this happened in the past year?
                0   1   2   3   4   5

        b. How often has this happened during my life?
                0   1   2   3   4   5

15.   Although I'm equally prepared and responsive, I am called on less than Whites in the
        class.

        a. How often has this happened in the past year?
                0   1   2   3   4   5

        b. How often has this happened during my life?
                0   1   2   3   4   5

0 Never   3 Several Times a Month
1 Almost Never   4 Several Times a Week
2 Several Times a Year   5 Several Times a Day

16.   When I excel academically, I am looked upon as an exception to my race.

        a. How often has this happened in the past year?
                0   1   2   3   4   5

        b. How often has this happened during my life?
                0   1   2   3   4   5

17.   I find it difficult to trust White teachers and/or students.

        a. How often has this happened in the past year?
                0   1   2   3   4   5

        b. How often has this happened during my life?
                0   1   2   3   4   5

18.   My academic advancement has suffered because of my race.

        a. How often has this happened in the past year?
                0   1   2   3   4   5

        b. How often has this happened during my life?
                0   1   2   3   4   5

19.   Although I am equally intelligent, Whites often don't include me in study groups because
        I am Black.

        a. How often has this happened in the past year?
                0   1   2   3   4   5

        b. How often has this happened during my life?
                0   1   2   3   4   5

0 Never	3 Several Times a Month
1 Almost Never	4 Several Times a Week
2 Several Times a Year	5 Several Times a Day

20.   I have been taught in school that Europeans are civilized and Africans are primitive.

    a. How often has this happened in the past year?
          0   1   2   3   4   5

    b. How often has this happened during my life?
          0   1   2   3   4   5

C. *RACISM IN THE PUBLIC REALM*:

21. I have been called insulting names related to my skin color.

    a. How often has this happened in the past year?
          0   1   2   3   4   5

    b. How often has this happened during my life?
          0   1   2   3   4   5

22.   When I go shopping, I am often followed by White security guards or watched by White clerks.

    a. How often has this happened in the past year?
          0   1   2   3   4   5

    b. How often has this happened during my life?
          0   1   2   3   4   5

23.   I hear comments from Whites expressing surprise at my or other minority individuals' intelligence or industriousness.

    a. How often has this happened in the past year?
          0   1   2   3   4   5

    b. How often has this happened during my life?
          0   1   2   3   4   5

0 Never   3 Several Times a Month
1 Almost Never   4 Several Times a Week
2 Several Times a Year   5 Several Times a Day

24.   People "talk down" to me because I am Black.

        a. How often has this happened in the past year?
                 0   1   2   3   4   5

        b. How often has this happened during my life?
                 0   1   2   3   4   5

25.   I have been refused rental housing which was then later rented to Whites of similar
        standing (e.g. comparable family income).

        a. How often has this happened in the past year?
                 0   1   2   3   4   5

        b. How often has this happened during my life?
                 0   1   2   3   4   5

26.   I know of people who have gotten into trouble (gotten hurt, beaten up, shot) by Whites
        (individuals, gangs, police, White hate groups).

        a. How often has this happened in the past year?
                 0   1   2   3   4   5

        b. How often has this happened during my life?
                 0   1   2   3   4   5

27.   I have difficulty getting a loan because I am Black.

        a. How often has this happened in the past year?
                 0   1   2   3   4   5

        b. How often has this happened during my life?
                 0   1   2   3   4   5

0 Never	3 Several Times a Month
1 Almost Never	4 Several Times a Week
2 Several Times a Year	5 Several Times a Day

28.   I am followed, stopped, or arrested by White police officers more than others because of my race.

a. How often has this happened in the past year?
     0   1   2   3   4   5

b. How often has this happened during my life?
     0   1   2   3   4   5

29.   I have had to make my speech and posture appear passive when dealing with Whites.

a. How often has this happened in the past year?
     0   1   2   3   4   5

b. How often has this happened during my life?
     0   1   2   3   4   5

30.   Waiters and waitresses ignore me and serve Whites first.

a. How often has this happened in the past year?
     0   1   2   3   4   5

b. How often has this happened during my life?
     0   1   2   3   4   5

31.   White males talk about not desiring Black women for "serious" relationships versus those with White women.

a. How often has this happened in the past year?
     0   1   2   3   4   5

b. How often has this happened during my life?
     0   1   2   3   4   5

0 Never   3 Several Times a Month
1 Almost Never   4 Several Times a Week
2 Several Times a Year   5 Several Times a Day

32.   My house has been vandalized because of my race.

       a. How often has this happened in the past year?
            0   1   2   3   4   5

       b. How often has this happened during my life?
            0   1   2   3   4   5

33.   I have had to allow Whites to obtain the best seats in public places.

       a. How often has this happened in the past year?
            0   1   2   3   4   5

       b. How often has this happened during my life?
            0   1   2   3   4   5

34.   I have been denied hospitalization or medical care because of my race.

       a. How often has this happened in the past year?
            0   1   2   3   4   5

       b. How often has this happened during my life?
            0   1   2   3   4   5

35.   I have known Black men who have suffered negative consequences for talking to White women (being hurt or killed).

       a. How often has this happened in the past year?
            0   1   2   3   4   5

       b. How often has this happened during my life?
            0   1   2   3   4   5

0 Never   3 Several Times a Month
1 Almost Never   4 Several Times a Week
2 Several Times a Year   5 Several Times a Day

36.   I have encountered legal restrictions against Blacks. Please select each one that applies: housing, marriage, use of public facilities.

a. How often has this happened in the past year?
          0   1   2   3   4   5

b. How often has this happened during my life?
          0   1   2   3   4   5

D. *RESPONSES TO RACIST STATEMENTS:*

37.   "Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten more economic and educational breaks than they deserve."

a. How often has this happened in the past year?
          0   1   2   3   4   5

b. How often has this happened during my life?
          0   1   2   3   4   5

38.   "Blacks should not push themselves into places where they are not wanted."

a. How often has this happened in the past year?
          0   1   2   3   4   5

b. How often has this happened during my life?
          0   1   2   3   4   5

39.   "Most Blacks are on welfare because they are too lazy to get a job."

a. How often has this happened in the past year?
          0   1   2   3   4   5

b. How often has this happened during my life?
          0   1   2   3   4   5

0 Never   3 Several Times a Month
1 Almost Never   4 Several Times a Week
2 Several Times a Year   5 Several Times a Day

40.   "If a Black family moved in next door to me, I would seriously think about moving."

       a. How often has this happened in the past year?
             0   1   2   3   4   5

       b. How often has this happened during my life?
             0   1   2   3   4   5

41.   "Black people are generally not as smart as Whites."

       a. How often has this happened in the past year?
             0   1   2   3   4   5

       b. How often has this happened during my life?
             0   1   2   3   4   5

42.   "Black men have an 'animal-like' passion in bed."

       a. How often has this happened in the past year?
             0   1   2   3   4   5

       b. How often has this happened during my life?
             0   1   2   3   4   5

43.   "Some Blacks are so touchy about their rights that it is difficult to get along with them."

       a. How often has this happened in the past year?
             0   1   2   3   4   5

       b. How often has this happened during my life?
             0   1   2   3   4   5

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SECTION II: Please circle a response next to each emotion that best describes how you feel in that setting.

44. When I experience <u>RACISM ON THE JOB</u>, I generally feel:

	Not at all		Moderately		Extremely
Angry	1	2	3	4	5
Hurt	1	2	3	4	5
Frustrated	1	2	3	4	5
Sad	1	2	3	4	5
Powerless	1	2	3	4	5
Hopeless	1	2	3	4	5
Ashamed	1	2	3	4	5
Strengthened	1	2	3	4	5

45. When I experience <u>RACISM IN ACADEMIC SETTINGS</u>, I generally feel:

	Not at all		Moderately		Extremely
Angry	1	2	3	4	5
Hurt	1	2	3	4	5
Frustrated	1	2	3	4	5
Sad	1	2	3	4	5
Powerless	1	2	3	4	5
Hopeless	1	2	3	4	5
Ashamed	1	2	3	4	5
Strengthened	1	2	3	4	5

46. When I experience <u>RACISM IN THE PUBLIC REALM</u>, I generally feel:

	Not at all		Moderately		Extremely
Angry	1	2	3	4	5
Hurt	1	2	3	4	5
Frustrated	1	2	3	4	5
Sad	1	2	3	4	5
Powerless	1	2	3	4	5
Hopeless	1	2	3	4	5
Ashamed	1	2	3	4	5
Strengthened	1	2	3	4	5

47.   When I hear <u>RACIST STATEMENTS</u>, I generally feel:

	Not at all		Moderately		Extremely
Angry	1	2	3	4	5
Hurt	1	2	3	4	5
Frustrated	1	2	3	4	5
Sad	1	2	3	4	5
Powerless	1	2	3	4	5
Hopeless	1	2	3	4	5
Ashamed	1	2	3	4	5
Strengthened	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION III: In answering the questions in this section, please select the behavior or behaviors that best describe how you deal with racism in each setting.

48.   When I experience <u>RACISM ON THE JOB</u>, I generally deal with it by:

a. speaking up ___   g. praying ___
b. accepting it ___   h. avoiding it ___
c. ignoring it ___   i. getting violent ___
d. trying to change things ___   j. forgetting it ___
e. keeping to myself ___   k. other: _____
f. working harder to prove them wrong ___

49.   When I experience <u>RACISM IN ACADEMIC SETTINGS</u>, I generally deal with it by:

a. speaking up ___   g. praying ___
b. accepting it ___   h. avoiding it ___
c. ignoring it ___   i. getting violent ___
d. trying to change things ___   j. forgetting it ___
e. keeping to myself ___   k. other: _____
f. working harder to prove them wrong ___

50.   When I experience <u>RACISM IN THE PUBLIC REALM</u> (e.g. a restaurant) I generally deal with it by:

a. speaking up ___   g. praying ___
b. accepting it ___   h. avoiding it ___
c. ignoring it ___   i. getting violent ___
d. trying to change things ___   j. forgetting it ___
e. keeping to myself ___   k. other: _____
f. working harder to prove them wrong ___

51.   When I hear <u>RACIST STATEMENTS</u>, I generally deal with it by:

a. speaking up ___   g. praying ___
b. accepting it ___   h. avoiding it ___
c. ignoring it ___   i. getting violent ___
d. trying to change things ___   j. forgetting it ___
e. keeping to myself ___   k. other: _____
f. working harder to prove them wrong ___