Making Meaning of the Messages: Transmission and Reception of Racial Socialization among African American Dyads

by

Kahlil R. Ford

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Psychology)
in The University of Michigan
2009

Doctoral Committee:

Professor Robert M. Sellers, Chair
Professor Richard D. Gonzalez
Associate Professor, Tabbye M. Chavous
Associate Professor, Stephanie J. Rowley

You come from sturdy, peasant stock, men who picked cotton and dammed rivers and built railroads, and in the teeth of the most terrifying odds, achieved an unassailable and monumental dignity.

– Baldwin (1962)

To those who opened the doors and those of us who follow in their footsteps.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For the past couple of years, even before it was the physical document that you hold now, I have carried this dissertation with me. It begged for all of my attention, competence, and above all else, my patience. It made me feel guilty when I watched television or played video games. It provided a ready-made excuse whenever I wanted to avoid an even more unpleasant task. It has been one of the most influential parts of my life for a considerable period of time. Even now, as I put the finishing touches on this project, I wonder at its purpose. Is it an elaborate hazing ritual? A rite of passage? A chance to show off my expertise? A summation of my graduate career? I believe it is all these things and at least one more: a test of mettle. At various times I thought that I would not complete this project. However, through my own efforts and with the encouragement of many others, I have been able to do what I thought was impossible. For showing me what I am capable of, I thank the dissertation process.

Of course, completing this process would not have been possible without many important people. Although I started working on this particular piece last summer, I have been collecting the requisite knowledge and skills for the past decade. I have been fortunate enough to have a great set of mentors and programs to guide my intellectual development. At the University of California, Riverside, I found Jelani Mandara, Sabine French, and Carolyn Murray. Jelani taught my first statistics course and allowed me to work on one of his research projects. He has been a constant source of encouragement and support ever since. Sabine guided me during my senior thesis project. Dr. Murray

provided me with a job during my year off from school and encouraged me to believe in myself throughout an emotionally taxing application process. At the University of Michigan, I have had the privilege of working in a collaborative community of scholars. Foremost among these have been members of the Sellers' lab, both past and present: Hoa Nguyen, Rhonda White, Enrique Neblett, Cheri Philip, Tiffany Yip, Eleanor Seaton, Etie Diallo, Christina Oney, Karryll Winborne, Lori Hoggard, Felecia Webb, and Rebecca Corsa. Hoa has been a constant source of both statistical knowledge and emotional support. In addition to being one of the smartest, most modest, and most supportive people I have ever known, he has frequently stimulated my thinking and provided a critical perspective on my work.

I would also like to acknowledge my dissertation committee: Robert Sellers, Richard Gonzalez, Tabbye Chavous, and Stephanie Rowley. Rob has facilitated my growth as a scholar over the last five years with intellectual, material, and financial support. Although I have learned many important lessons from Rob through meetings, classroom lectures, and his comments on my written work, I have learned even more by observing how he has handled his many responsibilities around the department while also lending a sympathetic ear and a critical eye to many students, both inside and outside of the University of Michigan. He handles these enormous burdens with grace and good humor. Both Tabbye and Stephanie provided insightful feedback that broadened the scope of this dissertation. I thank them for their effort on this project and their commitment to mentoring my colleagues and me. Rich has also had a profound effect on my graduate education. During my first year in graduate school, I sat through many meetings as Rich, Rob, and others discussed advanced statistical methods. I grew so

confused at these meetings that I resolved then to learn as many statistical procedures as possible and I have incorporated some of that knowledge in this dissertation.

Lastly, I would like to acknowledge the family and friends who helped me during the past year. First I would like to thank Daniela, my partner, my staunchest supporter, and, at times, my most ardent critic. I have learned many things about myself by getting to know you. For that, and for your unflagging love and loyalty, I extend my deepest gratitude. I would also like to thank my parents, Curtis and Margaret, for encouraging my intellectual pursuits as a child and for being my first teachers. Finally, to my sister Jamila, thank you for being my best friend.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF APPENDICES

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the relations among adolescent perceived racial socialization messages and mother transmitted messages in a sample of African American mothers and their children. It first examined the size and direction of the relationship between the two perspectives of racial socialization. The findings indicate that, although adolescent and parent socialization messages are related, there are substantial differences between the two perspectives. However, the size of the relationship differed across the socialization messages. Mothers and adolescents were more likely to agree on the indirect messages parents send through their actions ($r = 0.35$) than they were to agree on the direct verbal messages that parents use. The next set of analysis explored the ways in which adolescent, maternal, and family characteristics shaped the relationship between adolescent and maternal views of racial socialization messages and practices. These analyses demonstrated that adolescent gender, maternal education, and family structure affected the relationship between adolescent and maternal reports of behavioral socialization practices. Mother-daughter dyads had higher congruence on behavioral socialization than mother-son dyads. Dyads headed by married mothers had higher congruence than those headed by unmarried mothers. College-educated mothers had higher levels of congruence with their adolescent children than non-college educated mothers. The last set of analyses explored the relation between racial socialization and racial identity over time. Overall, adolescents' perceptions of racial socialization were

better predictors of their later racial identity than their mothers' reports of socialization. For example, mother transmitted egalitarian messages were significant predictors of children's public regard. However, adolescent perceived egalitarian messages did not share a similar relationship with adolescent public regard. Instead, public regard was related to adolescent perceived behavioral socialization. These findings, together with findings from the other two research questions, demonstrate the uniqueness of the two perspectives of racial socialization messages and practices and the necessity to further explore the reasons behind the discrepancies between adolescents and parents.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Over the last half century, the African American population has made remarkable strides economically, educationally, and politically within the United States. The poverty rate for African Americans has fallen from a high of 55% in 1959 to 24% in 2006 (DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, & Smith, 2006, Table B-1). The black median household income has risen from $22,311 in 1967 to $31,969 in 2006 (DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, & Smith, 2006, Table A-1). In 1960, only 18% of black men and 22% of black women had graduated from high school. By 2006, the numbers were 79% and 78%, respectively. Moreover, in 1960, only 3% of African Americans had received a college degree. By 2006, this number rose to 18%. These gains in income and educational attainment stem at least in part from one of the last century's great political triumphs: the *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision and subsequent desegregation efforts in public schools. In the wake of the *Brown* decision, African Americans won further victories with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. These pieces of legislation opened the door for further integration and increased political power. This increased political power resulted in, among other things, the nomination and confirmation of two black Supreme Court Justices, the appointment of blacks to cabinet positions in the executive branch, and the election of blacks to the House of Representatives and the Senate. This journey

from the margins of society to political power culminated in the election of Barack Obama, the nation's first African American president. These facts paint a picture of steady, hard-fought progress on multiple fronts.

However, despite significant advancement, African Americans remain circumspect about their ability to make further gains in American society. A recent poll revealed that fewer than half of African Americans surveyed expected that life for blacks would be better in the future (Pew Research Center, 2007). The causes of this pessimism are myriad. Though the black poverty rate has fallen considerably, it is still more than three times the white rate (DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, & Smith, 2006, Table B-1). Similarly, though the median income for blacks has risen over time, it still lags $20,000 behind the white median income (DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, & Smith, 2006, Table A-1). The percentage of blacks without health insurance is twice the percentage of whites (DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, & Smith, 2006, Table 7) and the black unemployment rate is still two times the white rate (McKinnon, 2003). Finally, though blacks make up approximately 12% of the general population, they represent 44% of the incarcerated population (Human Rights Watch, 2002). Unfortunately, these damning statistics only tell part of the story. Recent newsworthy events also provide ample cause for concern for proponents of racial progress. The tragedy of Hurricane Katrina illustrated the continuing legacy of poverty and segregation in the African American community. The case of the Jena 6 exposed ongoing racial tensions and sparked discussions about the justice system's harsh and unequal treatment of black juvenile offenders. Finally, a nationwide campaign to dismantle affirmative action programs threatens to roll back decades of progress in education and employment.

A growing chorus within segments of eewthe black community has set its sights on the structure and functioning of the Black family as the primary cause and the likely solution to many of the seemingly intractable social problems enumerated above. Actor and activist Bill Cosby has been one of the most outspoken proponents of this view. He summarized his thoughts in a recent speech to a church in Hartford, Connecticut: "Apathy! Apathy! That's why I'm here. I want to pull the scab off until it stings. Why don't you speak to your children? Straighten them out…You can't blame the white people" (as cited in Brown, 2008). He was more succinct during a forum in Atlanta when he exhorted the crowd to "stop blaming the government for your bad parenting" (as cited in Cobb, 2008). A number of influential pundits, civil rights leaders, and politicians of all ideological persuasions share Cosby's belief that further progress will only be made with sustained efforts from parents. This diverse consensus includes Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan (as cited in Musi, 2005), conservative columnist Armstrong Williams (2006), and President Barack Obama (2008).

The insistence for more parental involvement is set against the backdrop of nearly 60 years of declining marriage rates in the African American community. In 1960, 60% of black women of marriageable age were married (Mare & Winship, 1991). By 2002, this number declined to 31% (McKinnon, 2003, Figure 4). This decline has led to a marked increase in female-headed households, resulting in a sea change in the structure of black families. Families headed by single black women are more likely to live below the poverty line than two-parent families (Mare & Winship, 1991; McKinnon, 2003). It is unclear whether changes to family structure are causes or consequences of other secular trends. For instance, increased rates of incarceration and unemployment are linked to

lower probabilities of marriage in African Americans. Incarceration takes men of marriageable age out of neighborhoods for significant periods of time. High unemployment lessens the ability of black men and women to provide for their children and thus takes away an important incentive to get married. Consequently, one could argue that crime and poverty cause changes in family structure and not the other way around (Mare & Winship, 1991). However, the challenges that black families face are not reducible to poverty, crime, and unwed motherhood. The majority of black families live above the poverty line, and a growing number are joining the ranks of the middle class (Pattillo-McCoy, 1999). These middle class, two-parent families have less wealth than their white counterparts, are likely to live in segregated areas, and have children that do less well in school relative to whites of similar income levels (Downey, 2008; Patillo-McCoy, 1999). Though black middle class families do not suffer the profound material disadvantages that stymie the black poor, they still lag behind white families on indicators of economic and educational success (Downey, 2008).

Although Cosby and others are insistent about increased parental involvement, they are mostly silent on what parents should say when they talk to their children about race. The omission is especially distressing in this time of confusion about race and the role it plays in American life. What should parents tell children about what it means to be African American in a "post-civil rights" (Gergen & Licht, 2006), "post-racial" (Nossiter, 2008) era in which race still plays a decisive role in one's life prospects?

The answer to this question is likely to be as complex as the question. To begin to form an answer, psychologists have studied the frequency and content of the messages that parents give to their children about race. These messages and practices, collectively

known as racial socialization (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Demo & Hughes, 1990; Hughes & Chen, 1997), have received more attention in recent years as researchers link them to an increasing number of phenomena. Various racial socialization messages and practices are associated with healthy identity development (Barr & Neville, 2008; Murray & Mandara, 2002; Umana-Taylor, Bhanot, & Shin, 2006; Thompson, Anderson, & Bakeman, 2000), better self-esteem (Harris-Britt, Valrie, Kurtz-Costes, & Rowley, 2007; Neblett et al., 2008), reduced problem behaviors (Bennett, 2007), better academic adjustment (Anglin & Wade, 2007), reduced acculturative stress (Thompson, Anderson, & Bakeman, 2000), and increased resilience (Brown, 2008). Although a number of researchers have offered different taxonomies regarding the content of racial socialization messages (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Bowman & Howard, 1985; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Lesane-Brown, Brown, Caldwell, & Sellers, 2005; Scottham & Sellers, 2008; Stevenson, 1994), the content of most of the racial socialization messages that have been studied fall mainly into two broad categories. One type of message stresses cultural pride in the African American community, whereas a second type stresses racial barriers that may cripple interracial alliances and result in discrimination (Hughes & Chen, 1997). Ideally, these two types of messages should prepare African American children for successful lives in mainstream America while simultaneously warning them of the challenges of racism and discrimination (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Stevenson et al., 2002). For example, if a child reports racial discrimination from a teacher, a parent may bolster the child's feelings about the intellectual capacity of African Americans by telling her about the accomplishments of W.E.B. Du Bois, Carter G. Woodson, or bell hooks. The parent might also warn the child that teachers and classmates might discriminate against her

because of her race. In order for children to have the best mental health outcomes, parents must transmit a complex combination of complementary socialization messages that describe the promise and problems of American society (Neblett et al., 2008).

Whereas researchers have made progress by linking socialization to a host of psychological outcomes, they have not yet articulated an overarching theoretical model for racial socialization or explicitly placed racial socialization within the framework of an existing model of socialization (Hughes et al., 2006; Sellers & Coard, 2005). Many basic questions about the racial socialization process remain unanswered or under explored. The largest of these lacunae concerns the effect that children have on the transmission of race socialization messages. Few studies (e.g., Hughes & Johnson, 2001) have linked the content or frequency of parental racial socialization messages to characteristics of children. Researchers have largely viewed socialization from one perspective at a time. Some studies involve surveying parents about the socialization messages they transmit. Conversely, other studies survey children about the messages they have received. Both kinds of studies function on the implicit assumption that the racial socialization process can be understood by examining either perspective in isolation from the other. Although these types of studies have allowed researchers to study the relationship between racial identity and a host of outcomes, they have not provided a full accounting of the process of racial socialization.

Evidence from value socialization research (Acock & Bengtson, 1980; Bengtson, 1975; Thompson, Acock, & Clark, 1985) indicates that this assumption of the exchangeability of perspectives may be untenable. Parents' and children's values are weakly related (Bengtson, 1975). Furthermore, parents (Thompson, Acock, & Clark,

1985) are unable to correctly predict their child's answers on questions of values. Similarly, children are unable to predict their parents' responses to questions about values (Bengtson, 1975). Additional evidence shows children's perceptions of their parents actions may be more important than parents' reports of the same actions ((Kanters, Boccaro, & Casper, 2008). For instance, Kanters and colleagues (2008) found that children's perceptions of parental pressure were only weakly related to their parent's reports of parental pressure. The study also found that children's enjoyment of sports was related only to their *perception* of parental pressure, not to their parents' reports of pressure. Jacobs and Eccles (1992) found only moderate relationships between mother's and their children's ratings of children's social and math ability. Thus, we should not expect that children's reports of racial socialization would be carbon copies of parents' reports of racial socialization. Children's perceptions of their parents race socialization messages and practices are probably affected by personality characteristics in addition to To understand the process of racial socialization in its entirety, it is necessary to acknowledge that parents and children have different perspectives. Measuring either parent or child reports in isolation obscures this reality. The continuing reliance on single-perspective studies not only presents an unrealistic view of the racial socialization process, but also prevents researchers in this field from making connections with the broader theoretical literature on socialization in general.

Thus, to study the process of racial socialization, then, we must consider both parent and child perspectives. The inclusion of both perspectives will provide a more realistic assessment of racial socialization. It will also put racial socialization into a general socialization framework, which emphasizes the mutual influence of parents and

children. This perspective also highlights the influence of family structure on the socialization process.

Present Study

The present study places the racial socialization process within a bi-directional framework and attempts to address three research questions. The first is, what is the size and direction of the correlation between parent reports of racial socialization and child reports of socialization? Recent racial socialization work has shown a pattern of small, positive correlations between parent and child reports of racial socialization messages (e.g., Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009). Hughes and colleagues (2009) found that adolescents' and parents' reports of messages stressing pride in one's racial group and preparation for bias from other racial groups were positively related to one another. However, more work is necessary to establish the size and direction of the relationships between parent and adolescent reports of additional dimensions of racial socialization. Among these other socialization messages are those stressing equality between racial groups (egalitarian messages); those addressing negative aspects of African American culture (negative messages); and those instilling a sense of self-esteem and self-efficacy in the child (self-worth messages). Furthermore, although researchers have begun to consider the role of racialized behaviors in the racial socialization process (Neblett et al., 2008, 2009), no studies to date have described the size and direction of the relationship between parent and child reports of racialized behaviors. In general, it is expected that parent and adolescent reports of racial socialization messages will evince positive and weak relations. However, certain dimensions of racial socialization may differ from this general pattern. More specifically, negative messages may evince a smaller correlation

than the other aspects of racial socialization because of their relative scarcity (Neblett et al., 2008; White-Johnson, Ford, & Sellers, 2009). Conversely, we might expect that parent and child reports of race-related behaviors would be relatively high, because the behaviors scale refers to concrete events (e.g., buying the child books with Black cultural themes or taking the child to the African American history museum) as opposed to attitudes. It is assumed that the frequency of these discrete events will be easier to recall than the number of times that a parent transmits or a child receives a certain type of verbal racial socialization message.

Once the size and direction of the relations between parent and adolescent reports are established, it is necessary to examine factors that may increase or decrease the size of the relations. Thus the second research question concerns demographic factors that may increase or decrease the size of the relationship between parent and child reports of racial socialization messages. Adolescent gender may be just such a factor. Although the empirical evidence is scant (Davis-Maye & Perry, 2007; Sanders Thompson, 1994; Thomas & King, 2007), researchers theorize that boys and girls may receive different racial socialization messages as a function of gendered and racialized stereotypes. For African American boys, these stereotypes concern hypermasculinity and menace to others (Stevenson et al., 2002). These stereotypes may prompt parents to provide boys with messages stressing the possibility of discrimination from people of other racial groups, particularly police officers and other authority figures (Sanders Thompson, 1994). For African American girls, these stereotypes concern hypersexuality, uncommonly good nurturing instincts, and callousness (Thomas & King, 2007). Thus, African American parents may use self-worth messages to bolster their daughters' self-

esteem in the face of these pernicious attitudes. Additional evidence from the values socialization literature (Acock & Bengtson, 1985) has shown that mothers are more accurate judges of their children's values than their fathers. Thus we might expect that mothers and daughters would evince greater correlations between their responses than mothers and sons.

Maternal education may be another factor influencing the size of relations between the study variables of interest. Higher levels of parent education are generally associated with greater reports of racial socialization messages (e.g., Thornton, 1997). This correlation may be the result of differing parenting styles between more and less highly educated parents. Highly educated parents are more likely to use an authoritative parenting style that fosters conversations around a variety of topics (Schönpflug, Silbereisen, & Schulz, 1990). Less educated parents, on the other hand, are likely to use authoritarian styles that stress the child's obedience more than conversation. Research shows that when parents use authoritative parenting styles, parents and children are more likely to be congruent in the values that they endorse (Schönpflug, 2001). Conceivably, this means that more well-educated parents are more likely to have conversations with their children about race socialization and that these dyads will have higher correlations between parent and child reports of racial socialization than dyads with less well educated parents. Differences in the frequency of racialized behaviors may stem from the fact that more highly educated parents are more likely to have access to the resources that enable them to pass on cultural practices to their children. For instance, a parent may have books about the Civil Rights movement in her home. The present study will examine whether the greater number of race socialization messages reported by more

educated individuals will translate into higher levels of agreement between them and their children.

Family structure may be another factor that influences the size of the correlations between mother and child reports of socialization. Theoretically, children in single parent homes may receive one set of parental racial socialization messages whereas those in two parent homes might receive slightly or wholly different sets of messages from each parent. In the present study children are asked about the messages that their parent or parents give them. Children in single parent homes are likely to report on one parent whom they have frequent contact with, whereas those in two parent homes are instructed to report on a combination of their parents. Thus, children in single parent homes may evidence more agreement with the one parent included in the study than children from two-parent homes.

The third research question concerns the relation between both maternal and adolescent reports of racial socialization messages and racial identity. Racial socialization and identity have been linked both theoretically and empirically in the past. However, few studies have explored the link between racial identity and racial socialization using both adolescent and parent reports of race socialization (Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009; McHale et al., 2006; Thomas & King, 2007). The limited research in this area has shown that parent and adolescent racial socialization predict different dimensions of adolescent racial identity. Finding similar differences in the present study would highlight the unique nature of each report of racial socialization by demonstrating the ways in which they differentially predict identity. However, if the present study found similar relationships between adolescent and parent reports of racial socialization and

racial identity this would demonstrate Thus, the present study will add to this small literature that compares the effects of the two perspectives of racial socialization on adolescent identity.

In sum, the present study will examine three research questions: 1. What is the size and direction of the relationship between adolescent and maternal racial socialization?, 2. What demographic factors affect the size of the relationship between these two perspectives of racial socialization?, and 3. Do adolescent and maternal reports of racial socialization have similar relationships with adolescent racial identity?

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

African American parents are faced with the challenge of enabling their adolescents to find success in a society rife with structural and personal racism. African Americans have developed unique cultural adaptations and strategies to meet this challenge (Garcia-Coll et al., 1996). Racial socialization, or the process by which parents communicate race-related messages to their children, is among the most important and best studied of these cultural strategies (e.g., Boykin & Toms, 1985). Racial socialization messages and practices are associated with healthy identity development (Barr & Neville, 2008), better self-esteem (Neblett et al., 2008), reduced problem behaviors (Bennett, 2007), better academic adjustment (Anglin & Wade, 2007), reduced acculturative stress (Thompson, Anderson, & Bakeman, 2000), and increased resilience (Brown, 2008). Perhaps most importantly, racial socialization messages buffer African American adolescents' mental health from the harmful effects of racial discrimination (Neblett et al., 2008). These findings underscore racial socialization's central role in the promotion of healthy development for African American adolescents. Moreover, a greater understanding of the dynamics of racial socialization holds promise of improving African American's adolescents' lives in a variety of tangible ways from improved mental health to increases in school grades.

In this chapter, I will review the extant research in the areas of child socialization, racial socialization, and the relationship between racial socialization and racial identity. First, I will define socialization and describe the ways in which it has been conceptualized and studied during the last century. Next, I introduce and define the concept of racial socialization. I discuss the correlates of racial socialization messages and practices. I also discuss the limited literature comparing adolescent and parent reports of racial socialization messages. Next, I will compare the general socialization literature to literature concerning the race related messages that parents send to children. Lastly, I will examine the relations between racial socialization and racial identity.

Socialization

Socialization can be broadly conceived as the processes required for children "to function adequately within the requirements of the social group or groups among whom they live" (Maccoby, 1992, p. 1006). The process of socialization involves equipping children with the knowledge and skills to succeed in a changing world. Although there are myriad influences on children's lives, including peers, media, schools, and neighborhoods, psychologists have historically studied the immediate family as the main source of socialization. This historical emphasis on the immediate family has its roots in two dominant psychological theories of socialization: psychoanalytic theory and learning theory (Maccoby, 1992). Psychoanalytic theory is mainly concerned with moral and gender development (Freud, 1940/1949). For psychoanalytic theorists, the main goal of socialization is to tame instinctual impulses and to provide moral guidance that the child will carry with her for the rest of her life. Successful socialization also means that children will identify with their same sex parent. In psychanalytic thought, there is a

constant tension between society's rules and the instincts of the child. The parent's task is to help the child to channel inappropriate thoughts and feelings into socially acceptable outlets. Social learning theory has also been concerned with moral development (Bandura, 1969; Bandura & McDonald, 1963). For learning theorists, socialization occurs through imitation of models. Parents and other socialization agents serve as the models for children to imitate. Thus, it is paramount that parents model appropriate behavior for their children.

Both of these early socialization perspectives give parents primary responsibility for the successful upbringing of the child. In other words, these and other dominant psychological models of child development are essentially unidirectional – the parent is primarily responsible for the socialization of the child and the child is a passive recipient of parental messages and practices (Andersen, 1981; Maccoby, 1992; Parke, 2004). In this narrative of child development, a parent who is experienced with the ways of the world passes down cultural practices, knowledge, and expertise to the next generation through direct communication, modeling, behaviors or, indirectly, through the structure of the developmental context and the inheritance of social status. It is assumed that parents are able to impart this information in ways that children can understand and that children perceive the information in the way that their parents intend. Psychology shares this theoretical orientation with both sociology and political science. For instance, the sociological theorist Karl Mannheim (1970) posited that cultural transmission from one generation to the next is vital for the continuation of society. The most important aspect of cultural transmission is "the automatic passing on to new generations of traditional ways of life, feelings, and attitudes" (p. 403). Similarly, political scientists have searched

for the origins of opinions and beliefs within the family. In a review article, Connell (1972) writes that, "questions about the origins of mass belief and opinion have commonly been understood as questions of the type 'From whom were these beliefs acquired?' And the source to which the questioning led is the family" (p. 323). Consequently, the study of socialization across these three disciplines has focused mainly on the passing on of beliefs, values, and knowledge in the context of the family.

Socialization: Correlations between Parent and Child Reports of Values

Sociologists and political scientists have conducted the bulk of the research on transmission of parental values to children. These researchers have largely concerned themselves with the transmission of various types of values and attitudes, including political values, religious beliefs, gender beliefs, individualism, collectivism, materialism, and sexual permissiveness (e.g., Acock & Bengtson, 1980; Bengtson & Lovejoy, 1973; Connell, 1972; Fisher, 1988; Kulik, 2005; Miller & Glass, 1989; Thompson, Acock, & Clark, 1988). In a typical study, parents and children are instructed to fill out questionnaires asking them about their religious beliefs and view about sexual permissiveness (e.g., Acock, Barker, & Bengtson, 1982). Subsequently, researchers examine the degree of the relationship between parents' responses and the children's responses. Political scientists and sociologists have commonly operationalized socialization as this correlation between parent and child responses to questions of values (e.g., Tannenbaum & MacLeod, 1967). Many of these studies have used cross-sectional data based on large data sets (see Kohn, Slomczynski, & Schoenbach, 1986 and Vollebergh, Iedema, Raaijmakers, 2001 for notable exceptions). And, because the theories view the goal of socialization as the exact reproduction of parents' values in their

children, successful socialization should necessarily result in high correlations between parent and child reports of values (Hoge, Petrillo, & Smith, 1982). In other words, parents and children should share a common set of values. These studies also implicitly assume that the correlations between parent and child data are the result of a one-way process in which parents' values are transmitted to children (Bell, 1971). Thus, Kohn, Slomczynski, and Schoenbach (1986) write that "parent-to-child value-transmission implies that children come to hold the same values for themselves that their parents think desirable for them" (p. 79).

These studies presuppose that parent and child values should be related and that this relation is the product of three mechanisms for the transmission of adult values to children: (1) indirect influences of social status and occupation, (2) parent and adolescent perceptions of value similarity, and (3) parental behaviors and practices (Hitlin & Piliavan, 2004, p. 372). Sociologists have primarily focused on the first mechanism, arguing that parent and child reports of values are similar because they share a common social position (Gadsden & Hall, 1996; Glass, Bengtson, & Dunham, 1986; Kertzer, 1983; Kohn, 1959, 1963; Kohn, Slomczynski, & Schoenbach, 1986; Piotrkowski & Katz, 1982). Thus, parent-child similarity may be the result of the relationship between the family unit and the broader society. Because one's values are shaped by "class, race, religious affiliation, marital status, and other prominent social statuses that structure life experience and mold social attitudes," (Glass, Bengtson, & Dunham, 1986, p. 686) relationships between parent and child values may not reflect the direct transmission of values but instead the inheritance of social statuses from one generation to the next. Evidence suggests that one's social position affects one's own values and these in turn

influence the values that one transmits to children (Kohn, 1959, 1963; Kohn, Slomczynski, & Schoenbach, 1986; Pearlin & Kohn, 1966; Spenner, 1988; Xiao, 2000). For instance, Kasser and colleagues (1995) demonstrated that parents and children from low-income, high crime areas were more likely to value financial success than parents and children from areas with relatively higher levels of income and lower levels of crime. Kohn (1959) found that working class mothers were more likely to value obedience whereas middle class mothers were more likely to value happiness and consideration. In a study of American and Polish father-mother-child triads, Kohn and colleagues (1986) found that parents' occupation not only affected their own values of self-direction but also their children's self-direction values. In higher status occupations, parents engage in more autonomous work, which is related to a stronger endorsement of the value of self-direction. Having parents who work in high status occupations also makes it more likely that the child will be placed in educational contexts that require and encourage self-direction as opposed to conformity. Consequently, parents' occupational status may affect the explicit messages that parents send to children by molding parental values on conformity. Parents' occupational status may also indirectly affect their children's values by placing children in social contexts that reinforce parental values of either conformity or self-direction (Kohn, Slomczynski, & Schoenbach, 1986, p. 99). Thus, the parent from the lower end of the socioeconomic spectrum might indirectly and directly encourage her child to submit to authority, whereas the parent from the higher end might be more likely to encourage her child to work independently (Kasser et al., 1995; Pearlin & Kohn, 1966; Xiao, 2000). Another explanation is that high-status parents' past educational contexts may encourage more self-direction. Thus, high status parents may seek to cultivate the

same quality in their own children (Alwin, 1984, p. 373). Parents of low socioeconomic status may also encourage child conformity by using restrictive parenting techniques (Kasser Koestner, & Lekes, 2002).

Another social status, race, has also shown a relation with values. Racial differences are likely caused by differences between one's specific culture and mainstream culture, differences in the ways in which groups immigrate to the U.S., and racial segregation (Morgan, Alwin, & Griffin, 1979; Suizzo, 2007). For instance, Suizzo (2007) found that African American and Mexican American parents were more likely to endorse parenting goals of autonomy and self-reliance for their adolescent children than European American or Chinese American parents. In a study of African American, European American, and Latino parents, Xiao (2000) found that Latino parents were less likely to value autonomy for their children. And, in a sample of African American and European American mothers from Louisville, Kentucky, Morgan, Alwin, and Griffin (1979) found an interaction between mothers' values of self-direction and race on child's grade point average. White mothers' who valued self-direction were likely to have children with greater involvement in school activities and placement in more advanced classes. However, for the African American mothers, there was no relationship between mothers' value of self-direction and these two adolescent outcomes. The authors attributed these differences to the structure of schooling within Louisville. Specifically, the schools that Black children attend might not provide as many opportunities for parents to influence

Gender is still another social status that may also affect one's values. For example, Xiao (2000) found a gender by profession interaction on autonomy, such that

high-status women were more likely to value autonomy for their children than either high status or low status men. Low status women, on the other hand, were more likely to value conformity. It may be that high status women have been exposed to education that not only prepares them for careers but also exposes them to be more autonomous and independent (Xiao, 2000, p. 799). Lower class women, on the other hand, may have been exposed to less information instructing them to be autonomous.

Empirical studies have consistently yielded small, positive relationships between parent and child reports of values (Acock, Barker, & Bengtson, 1982; Acock & Bengtson, 1980; Bengtson, 1975; Gecas & Seff, 1990; Greeley, 1975; Hoge, Petrillo, & Smith, 1982) with some notable exceptions (i.e., Acock & Bengtson, 1978; Fisher, 1988; Kohn, Slomczynski, & Schoenbach, 1986). For example, Bengtson (1975) found that parental values of materialism ($r = 0.09$) and collectivism ($r = 0.18$) were weakly related to children's responses to the same questions of values. Acock and Bengtson (1980) found correlations ranging from -0.02 to 0.22 in a sample of father-mother-child triads for a diverse array of questions concerning everything from geopolitics to religion to the addictiveness of marijuana. Although these findings show a large degree of difference between the actual values of parents and children, Acock and Bengtson (1980) found an even greater discrepancy between the children's values and their perceptions of their parents' values. More specifically, children overstated the degree of difference between their responses and their parents' responses, suggesting at least two possibilities: either (1) they consistently misperceive their parents' values on a variety of topics or (2) they consciously or unconsciously wanted to emphasize the generation gap between them and their parents. Kasser and colleagues (1995) found correlations ranging from .21 for

financial success values to .37 for the value of affiliation with family and friends. Similarly, Greeley (1975) found small correlations for parent and child data on nine dimensions of political values in a sample of American ethnic groups. The values ranged from 0.11 for German-Protestant dyads to 0.22 for Italian-Catholic dyads. In a study of Turkish immigrants to Germany, Schönpflug (2001) found small correlations between fathers' collectivistic ($b = 0.23$) and individualistic ($b = 0.18$) values and children's reports of these values. Yi, Chang, and Chang's (2004) study of Taiwanese father-mother-adolescent triads also showed weak relationships between parental and children's values of conformity ($r = 0.17$), curiosity ($r = 0.18$), harmony ($r = 0.15$), and self-constraint ($r = 0.14$).

However, other studies show that parent-child value discrepancies may be a function of the type of values examined. In studies in which a wide variety of different values are examined, one can see the extent to which the degree of parent-child congruence is at least somewhat dependant on the content of the value. For example, Acock, Barker, and Bengtson (1982) found correlations between parent and child values ranging from a low of 0.06 for the importance of family to a high of 0.44 for religious beliefs. A study of the relation between parent and child reports of sexual attitudes among college students found a relatively large correlation ($r = 0.43$). And, in perhaps the most compelling study in this vein, Kohn, Slomczynski, and Schoenbach (1986) found large correlations between American fathers' ($r = 0.59$) and mothers' ($r = 0.52$) conformity values and those of their children. These high correlation estimates may be the result of at least two factors. The first possible explanation concerns the multiple paths through which children learn about the value of self-direction and conformity. Numerous studies

have demonstrated that parents believe this value is important (e.g., Kohn, 1959, 1963; Xiao, 2000). Thus parents might be likely to talk about the merits of either self-direction or conformity with their child. These studies have also shown that self-direction values may be socialized indirectly through the social contexts that children live in on a daily basis. Consequently, the large correlation might be a product of these two modes of socialization. The second possible explanation has to do with the way in which Kohn and colleagues measured conformity. The researchers modeled conformity using latent variables, which enabled them to account for measurement error and led to more robust findings than the usual practices of using either the mean of a set of items or using single-item indicators. The usual practices fail to account for measurement error and place a constraint on the upper limit of the correlation estimate. The upshot is that earlier studies may have systematically underestimated the degree of congruence between parent and child values because of methodological artifacts.

Despite these notable exceptions, the socialization literature has generally found smaller-than-expected relationships between parent and child values. Consequently, after reviewing nearly three decades worth of research in this vein, political scientist R.W. Connell (1972) concluded that "it appears from a substantial body of evidence that processes within the family have been largely irrelevant to the formation of specific opinions" (p. 330). Writing a decade later, Hoge and colleagues (1982) agreed, noting that "any simple model of parent-to-child value transmission is almost useless" (p. 578). However, the literature Connell reviewed, and indeed much of the literature after his review, has not examined the socialization process per se. These studies have instead examined parent and child reports of values simultaneously and inferred a process of

socialization from the size and direction of the correlations between them. Moreover, Connell's central conceit may be untenable. Parents may not want their children to replicate their values. Indeed, perfect transmission of values from parents to children would result in a static social system resistant to change in even the most divergent contexts (Glass, Bengtson, & Dunham, 1986; Mannheim, 1970; Phalet & Schönpflug, 2001; Schönpflug, 2001). Socialization theories must account for social change as well as social stability. Because contexts change, parents must adjust their socialization strategies to give their child adequate preparation for adulthood in new contexts while also preserving essential parts of their culture. This truism is illustrated in the challenges that immigrant families face in their adaptation to new societies (e.g., Knafo & Schwartz, 2003; Phalet & Schönpflug, 2001). A study of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants to Germany and the Netherlands found that parents' transmission of values was dependent on their cultural context (Phalet & Schönpflug, 2001). German immigrants were more likely to transmit values of collectivism than Dutch immigrants. This phenomenon may be the result of the Netherlands' relatively open, multicultural society. Because of the openness of the society in which they found themselves, the Dutch immigrants may have faced less pressure to intensively transmit collectivist values. However, in the relatively less welcoming and more individualistic German society, there may have been more pressure to transmit collectivistic values.

Although societal context is an important facet of socialization, aspects of the family system also play a role in the process. Some research indicates that gender may moderate the relation between parent reports of values and child reports of values. For instance, studies of mother-father-child triads show that mothers' religious and political

values are better predictors of their children's religious and political values than their husbands' responses (Acock & Bengtson, 1978; Hoge, Petrillo, & Smith, 1982). Another study found that mothers were better than fathers at predicting their children's responses to questions about religious beliefs and sexual permissiveness (Thompson, Acock, & Clark, 1985). An Israeli study of gender and ethnic stereotypes found that mothers' beliefs about gender were more predictive of their children's beliefs about gender than their husband's beliefs (Kulik, 2005). The same study found that father's beliefs about ethnic stereotypes were more robust predictors of their sons' beliefs of ethnic stereotypes. Clark, Worthington, and Danser (1988) found that fathers were more likely than mothers to transmit their religious beliefs to their preadolescent sons. Cichy, Lefkowitz, and Fingerman (2007) found that fathers' beliefs about marital roles were more predictive of their children's beliefs than mothers' beliefs. Similarly, Schönpflug's (2001) study of Turkish immigrant father-son dyads showed that father's collectivist values were predictive of their son's collectivist values. Taken together, these studies suggest that transmission and reception of specific values may differ as a function of the gender of the parent or of the child. The literature lacks a theoretical perspective to make sense of these patterns of results, although it seems clear that mothers seem to be responsible for a wider range of socialization activities than fathers (Parke, 2004).

Parents' socioeconomic status represents another important cluster of variables that may affect the socialization process. Generally speaking, families headed by highly educated parents are likely to have greater congruence between parent and children's values (Schönpflug, 2001). This finding may stem from educated parents' ability to convey messages in ways that children are better able to understand, more frequent

reliance on authoritative parenting styles, or the equitable sharing of power between husbands, wives, and children in these families (Schönpflug, 2001; Schönpflug, Silbereisen, & Schulz, 1990). Parents' occupational status can also affect this socialization process. As was noted above, occupational status may indirectly influence socialization by sorting families into contexts that encourage either self-direction or conformity (Kohn, Slomczynski, & Schoenbach, 1986). Lastly, parents who work in environments characterized by stimulating and self-directed work are more likely to parent with firm, flexible discipline and with higher levels of warmth and responsiveness (Greenberger, O'Neil, & Nagel, 1994).

Finally, aspects of parenting style and family communication have also been implicated in the socialization process. Taris (2000) found greater congruence between parent and child reports of sexual permissiveness in dyads that communicated with greater openness and mutual understanding than those dyads whose communication exhibited lower levels of these qualities. Similarly, Fisher (1988) found that parents who communicated with their children more often about sex had a greater degree of congruence with their children on a measure of sexual attitudes. Although the correlations between parent and child reports of values remained small, these studies indicate that family processes may be at the heart of parent-child similarity.

Reciprocal Socialization

The preceding section reviewed literature that assumed that correlations between parent and child data were evidence of the one-way transmission of culture from parents to children. However, one could also interpret them in the opposite direction – as evidence of the effect of children on parents (Bell, 1968). This interpretation leads to a

different narrative of child development, one that involves a maturing child who is continually synthesizing new experiences and information from parents and other sources of socialization. This developing child is helped on her journey by a thinking parent who changes her socialization strategies in light of the child's maturation. This narrative of development, in which both children and parents learn from each other and change their behavior accordingly, is known as reciprocal socialization (Bell, 1979). Although parents and children influence each other, their influence is asymmetrical (Bell, 1979; Parke, 2004). As I noted above, parents not only influence children directly through explicit messages, parenting styles and behaviors, but also indirectly by shaping their children's environments.

In Bell's (1971) theory of reciprocal socialization, changes in either parent or child behavior occur as the result of upper and lower limit controls. When a given member of a dyad behaves inappropriately, the other member attempts to bring the behavior back to an acceptable level (upper limit control). When a given member is withdrawn or non-responsive, the other member tries to stimulate her partner (lower limit control). For example, a parent of a hyperactive child may scold or punish the child to get her to stop misbehaving (upper limit control). In contrast, the parent of a withdrawn child may work hard to encourage her child to speak (lower limit control). In this way, child behavior may elicit differing reactions from parents.

For instance, Brunk and Heneggler (1984) used child confederates to experimentally manipulate child behavior in an interaction with 32 participant mothers. In one condition, a child confederate acted as though he had a conduct disorder, whereas in another condition a child confederate acted aloof and withdrawn. When both children

later exhibited non-compliant behavior, mothers reacted differently depending on their experimental condition. Mothers rarely disciplined the withdrawn child even when he was non-compliant. In contrast, mothers frequently disciplined the conduct-disordered child for non-compliance. Similarly, Keller and Bell (1979) manipulated the behavior of child confederates in an experimental study. In one condition, confederates showed great interest in their adult partners, whereas in another condition children did not show as much interest. The adult participants were given the task of teaching the children a lesson about altruism. Adults in the "interested" group talked to the confederate about different ways of being altruistic. In contrast, adults in the "non-interested" group made a number of power assertive statements to attempt to control the child. In a study of mothers' reactions to their infants, Bornstein and colleagues (2008) found that mothers' responses changed as a function of children's developmental trajectories. As infants age, mothers become less likely to respond by giving children direct information and more likely to ask the child questions that will allow her to reason out the information for herself. These studies illustrate the ways in which children's characteristics can elicit different types of control strategies from adults.

These laboratory results have been bolstered by studies of the relationship between children's mental health disorders and parents' attitudes and behaviors. Larsson and colleagues (2008) found that children's anti-social behavior predicts parents' feelings of negativity toward the child over time. Other studies have linked conduct disorder to lower levels of parental monitoring and poorer parenting (Burke, Pardidni, & Loeber, 2008; Pardini, Fite, & Burke, 2008). Hipwell and colleagues (2008) found that higher levels of adolescent conduct problems and depressed mood predicted lower levels of parental

warmth and higher levels of harsh punishment from parents. Finally, Gross, Shaw, and Moilenan (2008) found that boys' levels of anti-social behavior predicted their mothers' depressive symptoms in a longitudinal study.

Other studies have revealed that children may affect their parents' values (Axinn & Thornton, 1993; Glass, Bengtson, & Dunham, 1986; Peters, 1985; Pinquart & Silbereisen 2004), behavior (Ballantyne, Fien, Packer, 2001; Perlman & Ross, 1997), shopping habits (Beatty & Talpade, 1994; Ekstrom, 2007), and social networks (Munch, McPherson, & Smith-Lovin, 1997). A study of German parent-child dyads found that adolescents influenced their parent's beliefs about the importance of belief in God, usefulness of technological innovations, and beliefs regarding traditional ways of life (Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004). In a study of Canadian college students, Peters (1985) found that students changed their parents' views on sexuality, perceptions of youth, minorities, and the handicapped. Axinn and Thornton (1993) found that mothers' attitudes toward cohabitation grew more positive if their children had cohabited. They also found that mothers' attitudes were more influenced by their daughters' cohabitation than by their sons' cohabitation. Kohn and colleagues (1986) showed that mothers' values of self-direction were affected by their children's self-direction values. Moreover, Glass, Bengtson, and Dunham (1986) found that children's influence over their parents' religious, political, and gender beliefs increased as they grew older.

Taken together, these studies support a narrative of development that involves contributions from both parents and children. Parents work to shape their children's attitudes and behaviors through explicit socialization messages and practices. Parents also shape their children's development indirectly through their social position – where

parents live, work, and send their children to school, and the activities they encourage are all related to the context of the child's development. Parents influence the course of their children's lives through the use of both types of socialization strategies. However, children's attitudes and behaviors can potentially affect the strategies parents use to socialize them.

Although parents may influence children's behaviors both explicitly and implicitly, the extent of their influence is affected by the ways in which children understand and apply socialization messages and practices. Just as there are significant discrepancies between parent and children's values, there are also significant disagreements when parents and children report on the same behaviors. In typical studies parents and children report on aspects of their relationship quality (Aquilino, 1999) or on the behavior of a particular member of the dyad (e.g., Haines et al., 2008). These studies find discrepancies between parent and child reports of parent-child relationship quality and on the behavior of parents or children. Using data from the National Survey of Family and Households, Aquilino (1999) determined that parents were likely to report higher global relationship quality and also lower frequency of arguing, fighting, and having a difficult time in the parent-child relationship than their late adolescent children. Mandemakers and Dykstra (2008) found that parents and their adult children gave inflated estimates of their support for one another and depressed estimates of the amount of support received. Bogenschneider and Pallock (2008) found that the effect of parent-reported responsiveness on child outcomes was moderated by children's reports of responsiveness. For instance, children who reported low levels of parental responsiveness did not suffer lower GPAs if their parents self-reported high levels of responsiveness. Haines and

colleagues (2008) found discrepancies between parent and child reports of dieting behavior, such that children reported higher mean levels of parent dieting behavior than parents. Moreover, children's reports about their parent's dieting behavior was more influential for children's body satisfaction, weight concerns, and dieting than parents own reports of dieting behavior. Similarly, Kolko, Kazdin, and Day (1996) noted discrepancies between parent and adolescent reports of family violence and verbal conflict. Children's reports of various forms of family conflict predicted their later antisocial behavior. In sum, these studies show differences in parent and child perspectives even when both members of the dyad report on the same aspects of their relationships or on their partner's behavior. Researchers who study the messages that parents give to their children about race have found similar differences between parent and adolescent reports of parent's race socialization messages and practices (e.g., Hughes et al., 2009; Thomas & King, 2007). The next section will describe the racial socialization literature and discuss some of its correlates.

African American Racial Socialization

The work on general socialization and the theoretical advances in reciprocal socialization have both informed the literature on racial socialization. Race socialization has been defined as the process by which society communicates race messages to children. Like general socialization, the race socialization literature has viewed the socialization process as a one-way transaction wherein parents pass on messages to children (Hughes et al., 2006). However, recent theoretical (Coard & Sellers, 2005) work has challenged this dominant perspective, arguing for a process more akin to the reciprocal socialization work pioneered by Bell.

In a sense, racial socialization is the process by which parents and other socialization agents communicate the meaning of being Black in America to children. These meanings are shaped not only by the individual but also by her cultural context. The cultural context sets up a system of race related symbols or a "narrative of race" (Jones, 1997). To some extent, each individual should have knowledge of this American narrative of race. This process of the communication of values, ideology, and folkways to the next generation is related to the child's later concept of the significance and meaning of race in her life. Research suggests that race-related messages from parents may affect later child racial identity outcomes (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Marshall, 1995; Murray & Mandara, 2002; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). Racial socialization messages and practices are associated with healthy identity development (Barr & Neville, 2008; Murray & Mandara, 2002; Umana-Taylor, Bhanot, & Shin, 2006; Thompson, Anderson, & Bakeman, 2000), better self-esteem (Harris-Britt, Valerie, Kurtz-Costes, & Rowley, 2007), reduced problem behaviors (Bennett, 2007), better academic adjustment (Anglin & Wade, 2007), and increased resilience (Brown, 2008).

However, all racial socialization messages and practices are not created equal. Parents convey a variety of racial socialization messages to their children and the particular combination of messages has important implications for functioning and development. Children who receive a relatively high number of messages emphasizing pride in their racial group, barriers to interracial cooperation, belief in their capacity to succeed, and who take part in a number of culturally related activities are likely to have better mental health outcomes in comparison to those who receive fewer of these

messages (Neblett et al., 2008). This combination of messages and practices is also associated with higher levels of well-being and lower levels of stress and problem behaviors. Moreover, adolescents who report receiving a combination of messages stressing pride in their racial group and barriers to interracial cooperation are buffered from racial discrimination's deleterious effects on mental health and self-esteem (Neblett et al., 2008; Harris-Britt, Valerie, Kurtz-Costes, & Rowley, 2007). On the other hand, adolescents who report receiving messages emphasizing negative stereotypes about other African Americans do not receive the same boosts to mental health or the compensation from the effects of racial discrimination. Caughy and colleagues (2002) found that parents who reported providing culturally rich home environments had preschool students with greater levels of factual knowledge and better problem-solving skills than students from less culturally-rich homes. They also found that parents who reported giving racial socialization messages emphasized racial pride had preschool children with fewer problem behaviors.

Similarly, a host of other studies (Barr & Neville, 2008; Demo & Hughes, 1990; Murray & Mandara, 2002; Umaña-Taylor, Bhanot, & Shin, 2006; Thompson, Anderson, & Bakeman, 2000) have shown that the content of racial socialization messages can also affect children's racial identity. Children who report receiving messages that stress the cultural uniqueness of their racial group are more likely to have positive feelings toward their racial group (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Umaña-Taylor, Bhanot, & Shin, 2006; Thompson, Anderson, & Bakeman, 2000). Some studies have shown that this socialization message is also associated with a commitment to preserving African

American culture (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Murray & Mandara, 2002; Mutisaya & Ross, 2005).

Racial Socialization Messages

In general, racial socialization messages can be placed within two categories (Barr & Neville, 2008; Stevenson, 1995). One type of message involves teaching children about pride in their personal abilities, heritage, and their racial group (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Brown & Krishnakamur, 2007; Demo & Hughes, 1990; Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Phinney & Chavira, 1995; Suizzo et al., 2007). Stevenson (1995) terms these types of messages proactive socialization. Another type of message emphasizes the barriers children will face because of racism and discrimination (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Phinney & Chavira, 1995; Stevenson, 1995). Stevenson (1995) groups these types of messages under the rubric of reactive messages. Although various researchers have posited different typologies of racial socialization messages, there are notable similarities across them.

Proactive Messages

The first broad category of proactive messages stresses pride in and connection to the African American community. These messages are also concerned with increasing children's pride in their physical appearance. Bowman and Howard's (1985) racial pride and commitment messages encourage children to think positively about African Americans. Marshall's (1995) ethnic pride message concerns both teaching about African Americans' unique cultural heritage and about differences between Blacks and other ethnic groups, whereas the physical attributes dimension stresses phenotypic differences between Blacks and Whites. Demo and Hughes' (1990) integrative/assertive dimension

not only stresses the importance of racial pride, but also includes messages about trying to get along with and attempting to understand Whites. Phinney and Chavira's (1995) culture messages communicate traditions, customs, and history. Stevenson and colleagues' (2002) model includes two types of racial pride messages: cultural pride reinforcement, which give children pride in and knowledge about African American culture, and cultural legacy appreciation, which stresses a knowledge of African American history. Similarly, Brown and Krishnakamur's (2007) typology contains a cultural values dimension, stressing connections to the family and the broader African American community, and an ethnic pride dimension, focusing on positive feelings about Black culture and phenotypic features, and a history dimension. Finally, Hughes and Chen's (1997) cultural socialization messages stress the importance of Black culture much like racial pride and commitment and culture messages.

Many of the measures of racial socialization also contain messages meant to bolster children's self-esteem and purpose. Paradoxically, although this dimension is commonly included in measures of race socialization, the content of this dimension is not race-specific. Indeed, one could argue that these messages are more about building personal strength than stressing a sense of group solidarity. These messages are meant to instill the values of hard work, excellence, achievement, and character development. Phinney and Chavira's (1995) achievement message stresses personal mastery much like Bowman and Howard's (1985) self- development messages and Demo and Hughes' (1990) individualistic/universalistic messages.

A third common type of socialization message stresses the commonality of the human condition and the possibility of interracial cooperation. Demo and Hughes (1990)

individualist/universalistic message includes humanistic notions of the equality of all human beings. Demo and Hughes' (1990) typology also contains an adaptation message which encourages children to engage people of different races. Marshall's (1995) equality message emphasizes similarities between Blacks and Whites.

A few typologies also include a dimension encompassing culturally-specific parenting practices, such as giving children access to Black history texts and celebrating Black history month. For instance, Hughes and Chen's (1997) cultural socialization message is comprised of a series of culturally specific practices, including taking the child to cultural events and allowing the child to have a "Black" hairstyle. Similarly, Brown and Krishnakamur's (2007) cultural embeddedness dimension includes providing Black-themed books and magazines in the home. Caughy, Randolph, and O'Campo's (2002) Africentric Home Inventory lists African books, periodicals, artwork, music and African-print clothing.

Reactive Messages

Racial barrier messages stress the possibility of racism and discrimination and the defensive coping strategies necessary for coping with them. Hughes and Chen's (1997) preparation for bias messages inform the child of the possibility of racism, racial double standards, and that others may limit her opportunities because of her race. Demo and Hughes' (1990) cautious/defensive message is analogous to the preparation for bias message. Moreover, their coping with prejudice messages give children strategies to deal with discrimination. Stevenson and colleagues' (2002) cultural alertness to discrimination messages instruct youths about racism and also inculcate an awareness of the barriers and challenges to interracial cooperation. Moreover, Stevenson and colleagues' (2002)

cultural coping with antagonism dimension concerns the coping strategies that youth should use to combat the effects of racism and discrimination. Marshall's (1995) ethnic/racial barrier message concerns the challenges to advancement that children will face because of their racial group membership. Similarly, Phinney and Chavira's (1995) prejudice as a problem message alerts children to the possibility and the harmful impact of discrimination.

Stevenson's (et al., 2002) model also includes another reactive message that stresses the importance of mainstream cultural institutions and the benefits that the child may receive by aligning themselves with those institutions. These types of messages also deemphasize the effects of racism and the importance of the shared cultural connections of African Americans. A sample item from the survey used to measure this dimension reads, "Society is fair to African Americans."

The present study used Scottham and Sellers' (2008) conceptualization of racial socialization. This conceptualization is a synthesis of the previous research on socialization messages. The model's major addition concerns racial socialization practices. The majority of extant racial socialization models consist of a list of explicit messages that parents give to children. These typologies differ in the types of explicit messages they include but few have explored how parenting practices relate to socialization (see, Brown & Krishnakumar, 2007; Caughy, Randolph, & O'Campo, 2002; Hughes & Chen, 1997 for notable exceptions). Because of this oversight, most models of racial socialization have ignored the way in which parents socialize their children indirectly through their choices of activities and cultural practices (e.g., Parke, 2004). Thus, Scottham and Sellers' (2008) model is concerned not only with both the direct,

explicit messages that parents send to their children but also with the indirect, implicit practices that they use to influence the course of their children's development. Consequently, the model consists of five dimensions that tap explicit messages and a sixth dimension that corresponds to socialization behaviors.

The five explicit dimensions include racial pride, racial barrier orientation, egalitatrian, self-worth, and negative messages *Racial pride* messages concern the extent to which caregivers give their children positive messages about Black history, culture, and phenotypic features. These messages counteract the negative stereotypes that African American children face so that they can develop a healthy sense of identity in a society that is still racist (Jones, 1997) and is often discriminatory (Neblett et al., 2008). *Racial barrier orientation* messages warn children to expect to be treated differently because of their race. *Egalitarian* messages stress the importance of equality among racial groups. *Self-worth* messages convey positive messages to children about themselves as individuals. *Negative* messages portray African Americans in a negative light. *Behavioral socialization* consists of actions the caregiver takes to integrate African American culture into the child's life. These actions range from buying the child books detailing accomplishments of Black historical figures to attending cultural events.

Limitations of Past Research

The extant literature on racial socialization shares many of the theoretical and methodological limitations that have historically plagued the rest of the socialization literature (Coard & Sellers, 2005). Like early socialization researchers, racial socialization researchers have largely viewed socialization from one perspective at a time. Caregivers are asked about the socialization messages they transmit *or* children are

asked about the messages they have received; caregivers and children are rarely surveyed at the same time. Caregivers are given primary responsibility for providing their children with a structured framework from which to view the world. Questions about whether aspects of the child's personal characteristics or experiences have anything to do with the content, timing, or number of racial socialization messages given are largely ignored by theory and not tested in practice. Thus, although we have research on caregiver and child variables that may affect the frequency and content of racial socialization messages transmitted and received, respectively, we do not have an understanding of the underlying processes of racial socialization. In order to progress as a field, researchers must begin to grapple with racial socialization from both the parent and the child's perspectives. In a prescient paper, Marshall (1995) compared the views of African American parents and their children, finding that less than 60% of children reported receiving racial socialization messages. In contrast, more than 80% of parents reported that they gave at least one type of racial socialization message. Unfortunately, Marshall (1995) did not examine the correlations between parent and child reports of racial socialization messages. Recent research by Hughes and colleagues (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009) has shown that parent and child reports of racial socialization messages exhibit small, positive correlations with parent reports of racial socialization. Hughes and Chen (1997) found small correlations between mothers and adolescents for preparation for bias ($r = 0.19$) and cultural socialization ($r = 0.22$). Hughes and colleagues' (2009) study of African American, Latino, and Chinese mother-adolescent dyads found that mothers' reports of cultural socialization and preparation for bias had correlations of 0.16 and 0.25 with adolescents' reports of these messages,

respectively. In the same vein, Thomas and King (2007) found that adolescent perceived cultural appreciation messages were correlated with their mothers' transmitted cultural appreciation messages ($r = 0.50$).

Racial Socialization vs. General Socialization

The conceptualization and measurement of African American racial socialization messages is in some ways similar to the general socialization literature before the advent of theories of reciprocal socialization. The main similarity concerns the central role of the parent in the transmission of values from parents to children. In fact, the most frequently cited definitions of racial socialization refer only to the transmission of racial messages *to* children but do not contain explicit references to the reception of the messages (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Murray & Mandara, 2002; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). The implicit assumption is that the messages that parents give are more or less the same messages that children perceive. Thus, researchers have included *either* child *or* parent reports of socialization in their statistical models. However, the studies of value socialization described above have shown that this theoretical proposition is at best questionable. For the most part, these studies demonstrate that parents and children's values share small, positive relationships. The relationship between parent and child values differs as a function of family structure, social position, and parenting practices. Moreover, because of a dearth of studies including both parent and child reports of racial socialization, researchers have not had the opportunity to test the tenability of this assumption.

The African American racial socialization literature departs from the general socialization literature in at least one important way. From its inception, this literature has

been concerned with the explicit verbal messages and behaviors that parents use to socialize their children. These messages and practices have been operationalized with the use of questionnaires. Parents or children are asked questions about the messages they give or receive and the cultural practices used in their home during a defined period of time. In a typical study, African American adolescents are asked a series of questions about the race-related messages and practices used by their parents. Subsequently, researchers correlate the children's perceptions of racial socialization messages and practices with their answers to questions about the significance and meaning of race (Neblett et al., 2008). In this way, racial socialization researchers have been clear about the way in which messages are passed from parent to child – parents give explicit messages to children and children listen to and apply these messages to their lives. By measuring the content and frequency of parent's racial messages and practices, racial socialization researchers have learned a great deal about what particular types of parental racial messages and practices are associated with various child outcomes (e.g., Harris-Britt, Valerie, Kurtz-Costes, & Rowley, 2007). Moreover, this literature has always made a distinction between parents' socialization practices and the attitudes and values that guide those practices.

In contrast, the general socialization literature has been less clear about the mechanism underlying the transmission of values from parents to children. As noted above, the vast majority of studies of socialization have not measured the explicit messages that parents' give to children. Instead, they have examined the correlation between parents' values and children's values and *inferred* a socialization process from the degree of congruence of the two reports. For example, Kohn and colleagues (1986)

surveyed fathers, mothers, and children to examine their views on conformity. The researchers correlated the parental responses with the children's responses to study the transmission of values. Note that the researchers did not ask parents about how they talk to their children about self-direction or the various household practices they used to encourage or discourage it. In this, and most other studies in the value socialization tradition, the size of the correlation between parent and child ratings is seen as a guide to the transmission process. The bulk of the research has examined the ways in which social context and social status affect socialization (e.g., Kasser et al., 2002, 2005; Kohn, 1959, 1963). Until recently, the parenting practices and explicit parental messages driving these correlations have been relatively obscure.

To recapitulate, the racial socialization literature is primarily concerned with the race-related messages and practices that parents use to shape their children's environments and self-concepts. Since its inception, this literature has made a distinction between parental attitudes about race, on one hand, and their race-socialization messages and practices, on the other hand. However, until recently, racial socialization researchers have not made a theoretical distinction between parent or child reports of racial socialization messages (Coard & Sellers, 2005; Hughes et al., 2006; Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009). This theoretical distinction is likely to become more important in the future as racial socialization researchers begin to compare parent and child reports of racial socialization. When these studies are completed, they are likely to find discrepancies between parent and child reports of racial socialization, just as values socialization researchers found small relationships between parental and child reports of values. Indeed, the limited literature on this topic has already demonstrated differences

between these two perspectives (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009; Marshall, 1995; Thomas & King, 2007).

Thus, for my purposes, African American racial socialization is a two-stage process of transmission and reception. During the first stage, parents, peers, and society at large impart race-related messages and practices to children. This process of transmission is embedded in the system of racialized meanings in the United States. In the second stage, children listen to, interpret, and finally integrate racial messages and practices into their burgeoning sense of self. Presumably, this second stage is guided by children's attitudes, social status, race-related experiences, and their family structure. Although children undoubtedly receive race-related messages from many different sources, racial socialization researchers have mainly concerned themselves with the messages that parents give to their children. The broader socialization literature demonstrates that socialization experiences may differ as a function of socioeconomic status (e.g., Kohn, 1963), gender of the child (e.g., Kulik, 2005), and gender of the parent (e.g., Xiao, 2000). The vast majority of this research examines socialization experiences coming from mothers (Parke, 2004). Thus, the present study examines a variety of racial socialization messages and practices from both the mother and the child's perspectives. It also investigates whether the transmission process differs as a function of child gender, child age, mother's educational background, or mother's marital status.

Recent studies of racial socialization have begun to take child characteristics and experiences into account (e.g., Hughes & Chen, 1997). These studies have tapped into developmental psychology's focus on *reciprocal socialization* between caregivers and children. In this context, a transaction is an interaction that results in an observable

change in behavior (Sameroff, 1995). Developmental psychologists testing a wide range of phenomena have found that children have an important role to play in their own socialization (Maccoby, 1992). Developmental psychology is now charged with studying the bidirectional process by which caregivers and children negotiate the challenges of childhood in the context of their environment. Thus, it is not only instructive but also necessary to study caregivers and children in tandem to get a full picture of the richness of the phenomenon. Children are not passive vessels of socialization. Rather, their own development, both cognitively and socially, elicits relevant socialization messages from caregivers. These messages may, in turn, affect the course of the child's development. Thus, the first research question examines the size and direction of the relationship between parent and child racial socialization messages on a variety of messages.

Moreover, the second research question involves factors that may increase or decrease the size of the relationships between parent and child racial socialization messages. Although racial socialization research has considered demographic factors that affect the transmission *or* reception of racial socialization messages, the literature has not yet considered how these factors may affect the size and direction of the relationship between parent and child reports of racial socialization. In general, ethnic minority caregivers focus on teaching young children about cultural history or heritage and teach older children about discrimination or mistrust for other groups (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Lalonde, Jones, & Stroink, 2008). Hughes and and colleagues (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Johnson, 2001) have demonstrated that parents are more likely to transmit cultural socialization to younger children. On the other hand, parents reported that they transmitted more promotion of mistrust and preparation for bias

messages to older children. It is noteworthy that age was unrelated to children's perceptions of racial socialization messages in either of these studies. In a study of Black Canadian parents, Lalonde, Jones, and Stroink (2008), found that parents were more likely to talk to older children about racism and negative stereotypes. Parents gave messages about Black culture to children of all ages. Neblett and colleagues (2009) found that younger children perceived more messages about racial pride, self-worth, and more behavioral socialization than older children.

Vigilant caregivers may adjust their messages as they witness the maturation of their children (Hughes & Chen, 1997). Consequently, childhood advances in cognitive ability might be behind the changes in messages. This age effect might also be explained by the lattermost variables. As children mature, they begin to explore their identities, including their racial/ethnic identities (Phinney, 1992). Children may begin to ask questions concerning race, prompting their caregivers to vary the content of racial socialization messages. Moreover, as children begin to explore their racial identities, they are presented with a variety of new contexts and experiences. One of these novel experiences may be discrimination from peers or adults. Hughes and Johnson (2001) found that caregivers whose children experienced discrimination from adults were more likely to give their children messages warning them of possible discrimination.

A study comparing socialization across ethnic groups found that African American parents were more likely to give their children racial socialization messages than either Asian Americans or Latinos (Phinney & Chavira, 1995). They concluded that this socialization might be necessitated by the fact that African American children are the

most likely to be targets of discrimination. Frequent messages about discrimination may affect the child's perception of discrimination.

Another study of minority adolescents found that children who perceived many warnings from caregivers about possible racial discrimination reported higher rates of all types of discrimination (Fisher, Wallace, & Fenton, 2000). The authors suggest two possible scenarios at play: children who receive more negative socialization messages are more likely to experience discrimination or that children's experiences with discrimination may prompt more messages from socialization agents (e.g., caregivers). Another study (Hughes, 2003) found that 9 out of 10 African American caregivers gave their children messages that prepared them for racial bias. Further work has shown that children's discrimination experiences may prompt adults to give socialization messages about discrimination (Hughes & Johnson, 2001).

Based on these findings, the children of caregivers who instruct their children that they may be discriminated against are more likely to believe that discrimination has occurred. Alternatively, caregivers who perceive that their child has been discriminated against in the past are more likely to instruct their children to be cautious of associating with other ethnic groups. Racial socialization messages may have long-term consequences. Children who are instructed to distrust other groups may carry this belief with them for years to come, shaping their interpersonal relationships with people of other races. The content of socialization messages may color the way children construe ambiguous situations, resulting in discriminatory attributions.

Demographic Factors and Socialization

In most studies, the frequency and content of messages are correlated with measures of racial identity and demographic variables (e.g., Thornton, 1997). Data from the National Survey of Black Americans reveals that more educated, urban, Southern parents are more likely to racially socialize their children than others (Thornton, 1997). parents' socialization messages may also be influenced by their own racial identity (Harrison, 1985; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Romero, Cuellar, & Roberts, 2000), their own experiences with discrimination (Hughes & Chen, 1997) or by the salience of race in a particular situation (Hughes, 2003). Hughes and Chen (1997) found that African American parents of higher socioeconomic status were more likely to send cultural messages and preparation for bias messages. Hughes and colleagues (2009) found that college-educated parents were more likely to report transmission of cultural socialization messages.

The present study examines the effects of parental education on the relation between mother and child reports of racial socialization. Previous research in values socialization indicates that parent-child dyads headed by more educated parents are likely to have greater congruence than dyads headed by less educated parents. Highly educated parents are more likely to use an authoritative parenting style that fosters conversations around a variety of topics (e.g., Schönpflug, Silbereisen, & Schulz, 2002). Although the present study will not test this underlying mechanism, it will test whether African American mother-adolescent dyads headed by college-educated mothers will exhibit more congruence than those headed by less educated mothers.

Racial Socialization and Gender

Given the body of research that has emerged showing differences in socialization between girls and boys (e.g., Parke, 2004), it is surprising that little research has explored the possibility of such differences in racial socialization. For instance research, has shown that African American parents discipline boys and girls differently, such that boys are more likely to have priveleges taken away when they misbehave (Hill & Sprague, 1999). Differential treatment in this and other domains could lead to different outcomes for boys and girls. Theoretically, African American boys and girls should be socialized differently because of the gendered stereotypes that differentially affect their development. Thomas, Witherspoon, and Speight (2004) found that stereotypes depicting Black women as Mammies (nurturing women who care for others despite personal harm to themselves) and Sapphires (overly aggressive and domineering) had a negative effect on girls' self esteem. These negative stereotypes may prompt parents to send racial socialization messages to compensate. In line with this thinking, girls perceive more racial socialization messages than boys (Sanders Thompson, 1994). Furthermore, Thomas and King (2007) found that mothers report transmitting specific socialization messages to their daughters in response to stereotypes. These messages emphasized self-determination, pride, respect, and spirituality. Hughes and colleagues (2009) found that the relations between mother and adolescent reports of socialization were moderated by gender. The relationship between mother and adolescent reports of cultural socialization was stronger for girls, whereas the relationship between mother and adolescent reports of preparation for bias was stronger for boys. These findings suggest that boys and girls may be attentive to different types of racial socialization messages. This may be because different aspects of the context may be salient for girls and boys (Hughes, Hagelskamp,

Way, & Foust, 2009, p. 31). Because adolescent boys are more likely to report discrimination (Hughes & Johnson, 2001), they might be more attentive to socialization messages warning of unfair treatment from other groups. Moreover, adolescents' experiences of discrimination can trigger parents to transmit more messages warning of bias from other groups (Hughes & Johnson, 2001). Thus, adolescent boys' experiences with discrimination might make racial bias more salient and simultaneously trigger more racial socialization messages from their parents. The combination of these two factors could result in greater congruence between adolescent boys and their parents on messages emphasizing the potential for racial discrimination. Neblett and colleagues (2009) found that girls were more likely to report receiving racial pride, self worth messages, and behavioral socialization from parents, whereas boys were more likely to receive negative and racial barrier messages. Girls may be more likely to receive behavioral socialization because of their future responsibility of transmitting cultural values to the next generation (Hill, 2001).

The present study will examine gender differences for five explicit racial socialization messages and racial socialization behaviors. I expect that boys will receive more messages pertaining to racial barriers, because the stereotypes linking them to violent behavior (Stevenson et al., 2002) and their potential conflicts with police and other authority figures (Sanders Thompson, 1994). In line with the other literature on this topic (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Hughes et al., 2009; Sanders Thompson, 1994), it is hypothesized that girls will receive more messages stressing pride in their culture and will take part in more culturally-specific activities.

Racial Socialization and Racial Identity

Much of the theoretical and empirical work on racial socialization concerns its important role in the formation of identity (e.g., Sanders Thompson, 1994, 1999). Thus the third research question concerns the relationship between parent and child racial socialization messages and racial identity. Developmental psychologists have concluded that race awareness occurs at 2 to 3 years of age and at the age of 3 to 4 children begin to identify with their racial group (McAdoo, 2002). Studies have shown that close friends and relatives are likely to give children racial pride messages early in life (Harrison, 1985; Hughes, 2003; McAdoo, 1985). Members of a stigmatized group may still maintain a positive sense of self in a society that devalues their group, if they receive messages emphasizing pride in their group from the people closest to them. Although this topic has received a fair amount of theoretical and empirical attention (e.g., Anglin & Wade, 2007; Hughes et al., 2009), few studies have examined the relationship between racial socialization and racial identity over time (e.g., Neblett et al., 2009). This limitation has made it impossible to test one of this literature's central tenets – that racial socialization influences subsequent racial identity (Hughes et al., 2006).

However, the extant literature has established associations between many aspects of racial socialization and many dimensions of racial identity. Mandara and Murray (2002) found that adolescent perception of messages emphasizing racial pride were associated with more positive feelings about being Black, whereas negative messages were associated with less positive feelings about being Black. Similarly, Demo and Hughes (1990) found that children who perceived messages stressing the cultural uniqueness of their racial group were likely to view race as more important and were also

more likely to endorse beliefs associated with Black Nationalism. Sanders Thompson (1994) found that participants who reported receiving more caregiver racial socialization about appropriate behavior in race-related situations exhibited greater identification with Black culture. The same study also found that family racial socialization was positively correlated with identification with Black phenotypic features. Mutisaya and Ross (2005) found that participants who perceived a greater number of racial socialization experiences had a greater sense of Afrocentricity. Hughes and Johnson (2001) found that parents transmitted racial barrier messages were related to increases in children's racial identity exploration. Wills and colleagues (2007) found that adolescent perceived cultural socialization was related to children's pride in their racial group. Finally, Stevenson and Arrington (2009) found that African American adolescents' who perceived messages about possible discrimination from their caregivers were more likely to believe that other groups had more negative views of African Americans, were less likely to endorse assimilation with the mainstream, and were more likely to believe in the uniqueness of the African American experience. Additionally, adolescents who perceived socialization messages about coping with discrimination were likely to feel better about being African American. Adolescents who perceived messages stressing the importance of mainstream institutions felt worse about being African American and felt that race was a less important part of their self-concept. They were also more likely to endorse assimilation with the mainstream and less likely to view the African American experience as unique. Adolescents who received messages stressing African American history and culture felt that race was a more important part of their self-concept and were also more likely to believe in the uniqueness of the Black experience.

In one of the few longitudinal investigations of racial socialization and racial identity, Neblett and colleagues (2009) found that adolescents who perceived high levels of racial pride, barriers, and egalitarian messages at Time 1 of the study thought that race was more important to their self-concept and that African Americans have a unique cultural experience at Time 2. They were also less likely to endorse assimilation with mainstream America at Time 2.

The present study conceptualizes African American racial identity using the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI: Sellers,Rowley ,Chavous, & Smith, 1997). This model considers four dimensions of racial identity: centrality, salience, ideology and regard. The MMRI is broadly concerned with the significance and meaning that an individual ascribes to her racial background. The model attempts to capture the complexity and diversity of the African American experience by probing several different aspects of identity.

Salience and centrality are important variables to consider when examining an individual's behavior in a particular situation or across situations, respectively (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, and Chavous, 1997). Salience is the importance of race at a particular time. For instance, a conversation with people of many different ethnic backgrounds may prompt greater racial salience in some individuals. Centrality is the relative importance of race in one's self-definition across a variety of situations and time. Centrality and salience are thought to share a bi-directional relationship (Sellers, Morgan & Brown, 2001), such that people who believe that race is important will experience race as being salient in a greater number of situations and people who experience more race-salient situations over time will come to believe that race is a more central identity.

Ideology and regard concern an individual's judgments about what it means to be Black. Ideology is defined as beliefs, opinions, and attitudes about how Blacks should act. Four ideological themes have been identified: nationalist, oppressed minority, assimilation and, humanist. The nationalist ideology views the Black experience in America as unique. In contrast, the oppressed minority ideology is characterized by its appreciation of the similarities between the struggles of Blacks and other stigmatized groups in America. The oppressed minority philosophy emphasizes cross-cultural connections. The assimilationist ideology is concerned with the extent to which African Americans have contact with the rest of American society. Proponents of this ideology want to create more opportunities for interaction with Whites and measure progress by the extent to which Blacks come to resemble Whites in social standing. Finally, humanism emphasizes the qualities that African Americans share with all humans. A person high in humanism looks past race to the individual characteristics of people and is more concerned with problems that affect all humans than those that affect a particular race.

The final racial identity dimension, regard, concerns a person's feelings about one's race. Private regard refers to the extent to which one feels positively about being African American. Public regard refers to the extent to which one feels that other groups feel positively about African Americans. Thus, public regard represents a subjective assessment of African Americans place in the American racial hierarchy.

The present study examines the relationship between the race-related messages and practices that parents use with their children and children's views about the significance and meaning of race over time. In general, I expect that adolescents' reports of racial socialization will have stronger relationships with their racial identity than

parent reports (Neblett et al., 2009; Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009; Stevenson & Arrington, 2009). Previous studies have shown many significant relationships between adolescent perceived racial socialization and racial identity, but noted few (Hughes & Johnson, 2001; McHale et al., 2006) or no (Hughes & Chen, 1997) relationships between parent-reported messages and child racial identity. In practice, this phenomenon will result in statistically significant relationships between a greater number of child-reported racial socialization dimensions and aspects of racial identity. More specifically, I hypothesize the following relationships between racial socialization messages and practices and racial identity.

Racial Centrality. Racial pride messages and behavioral socialization should be associated with higher levels of racial centrality. Pride messages stress positive aspects of being African American and past studies have shown that these types of messages are related to the increased importance of race over time (Neblett et al., 2009). In addition, children who are continually exposed to culturally-relevant activities will be likely to make race a more important part of their self-concept (Hughes, 2003). A higher number of cultural activities may make race salient more often, resulting in its increased importance over time (Sellers, Morgan, & Brown, 2001).

Private Regard. Racial pride messages and self-worth messages should be associated with higher levels of private regard. Adolescents who habitually receive positive messages about African Americans should come to hold more positive views about being African American (Sanders Thompson, 1994). Moreover, self-worth messages, which are intended to bolster personal self-esteem, should presumably have a salutary impact on how children feel about being African American. In addition negative

messages should be associated with lower levels of private regard (Stevenson & Arrington, 2009).

Public Regard. Racial barrier messages should be inversely related to public regard. Research shows that children who are given racial barrier messages are more aware of racism (Fisher & Shaw, 1999; Hughes & Johnson, 2001) and thus are more wary of other groups. Egalitarian messages, which stress equality between racial groups, should be positively related to public regard (Neblett et al., 2009). Emphasizing similarity between groups should reduce feelings of distance and mistrust.

Assimilationist Ideology. Negative messages should be positively associated with greater endorsement of an assimilationist ideology (Neblett et al., 2009; Stevenson & Arrington, 2009). Negative messages emphasize African Americans' unfavorable qualities. These messages may push children to distance themselves from other African Americans and toward the mainstream. Behavioral socialization should be inversely related to assimilationist ideology. Whereas these messages draw children closer to African American culture (e.g., Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009), assimilationist ideology concerns getting closer to the mainstream.

Humanist Ideology. Racial barrier messages should be inversely related to humanist ideology. These messages stress the perils of interracial contact whereas humanist ideology is about the connection between people of various groups. Egalitarian messages should be positively related with humanist ideology. These messages stress the equality of all groups of people. Similarly, humanist ideology concerns the similarities between all people.

Minority Ideology. Egalitarian messages should be directly related to minority ideology. These messages stress connections between all groups of people. Similarly, minority ideology concerns the connections between oppressed groups, including their shared vulnerability to racial discrimination.

Nationalist Ideology. Barrier messages and behavioral socialization should be positively related to nationalist ideology. Past research has linked these messages about challenges to interracial cooperation to feelings about the uniqueness of the African American experience (Neblett et al., 2009; Stevenson & Arrington, 2009). Additionally, behavioral socialization, which envelope children in African American culture, should also enhance feelings about the uniqueness of the Black experience. Finally, egalitarian messages which stress similarities between groups, should be negatively related to nationalist ideology, which concerns the distinctiveness of African Americans.

Conclusion

The preceding literature review summarized findings on parent-child value similarity, noting that researchers have largely considered socialization as a process by which parents pass their views on to their children. Later theories of bi-directional influence have complicated our view of socialization by challenging the notion that children are passive vessels who perceive the same messages that their parent's attempt to send. Aspects of children's development, demography, context, and family structure affect the way that they listen to and apply the messages they receive. These theories of bi-directional socialization have only recently gained purchase in the study of racial socialization. In this view, the process of racial socialization proceeds in two steps: 1. the transmission of race-related messages or practices from socialization agents (commonly

parents); and 2. the reception of the messages by the child. The space between the transmission and reception of messages represents a fertile area for exploration. The present study will establish the size and direction of the relationship between maternal transmitted messages and adolescent perceived messages. Next, the study will examine whether this relationship differs as a function of adolescent, mother, or family characteristics. Lastly, the study will examine the relationships between these two perspectives of racial socialization and an important outcome for adolescents, racial identity.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

The current study utilizes data from a three-year sequential study of race and psychosocial adjustment in African American adolescents and their primary care-givers. Of the 287 children and care-giver dyads that completed the first wave of the study, only the 212 dyads in which the primary care-giver was both the child's mother and self-reported as African American were included in the present analyses. The mothers' ages ranged from 29 to 57 years with a mean age of 40.45 years (*SD* = 5.92). A small minority of the mothers in the sample had less than a high school diploma (4.2%), 14% received a high school diploma, 61.3% attended college, and 21.7% completed some graduate study (i.e., master's, Ph.D., J.D., M.D.) as their highest level of educational attainment. Forty percent of the sample was married, whereas 37% were single, 18% were divorced, and 5% were separated. Fifty-eight percent of the adolescents in the present sample were girls. The adolescents' ages ranged from 11 years to 17 years with a mean age of 13.6years (*SD* = 1.18). Adolescents' grade levels included 35.8% in 7th grade, 30.2% in 8th grade, 19.3 % in 9th grade, and 14.2% in the 10th grade.

The city in which the study was conducted has a population of approximately 110,000 people. African Americans comprise roughly 9% of the city population. The city's median income of $50,160 exceeds the national average of $48,451 (DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, & Smith, 2007). Eighteen percent of the school district's students were eligible for free or reduced lunch. Within the present sample, parent-reported family

incomes ranged from less than $10,000 to more than $130,000 with a median income of $30,000-$39,000 .

Procedure

Initial contact information was obtained from the school district for students in grades 7 through 11 who were identified by the school system as being African American. Letters were sent to students' legal guardians requesting permission for students and their primary caregiver to participate in a longitudinal study. One child per household was randomly chosen to participate in the study. Follow-up calls were made to parents to obtain informed consent and to confirm that the child identified was actually African American. Once informed consent was obtained, an appointment was scheduled for a data collection session after school with the child. A separate appointment was made to schedule a data collection session with the primary caregiver. These administrations took place in community settings (e.g. community centers, public library, mall). Both primary caregiver and adolescents completed a survey consisting of measures of racial identity, racial socialization, discrimination, and several indices of psychological adjustment in small groups administered by trained research assistants (primarily African American). Participants were informed that they would not be penalized for withdrawing from the study at any point, that they could skip any item to which they did not wish to respond, and that all responses were confidential. The questionnaire took approximately 60 to 90 minutes to complete. Adolescents received a $20 gift certificate to a local mall and primary caregivers received monetary compensation of $40 for their participation in the first wave of the study. Of the 742 households contacted to participate in the study,

546 children (74% child response rate) and 366 primary caregivers (49% caregiver response rate) participated across the life of the study.

Measures

Racial Socialization. Participants' scores on the Racial Socialization Questionnaire- Parent Version (RSQ-P) and the Racial Socialization Questionaire-Teen Version (RSQ-T) at wave 1 were used as the primary measures of racial socialization in the study for mothers and adolescents, respectively (Lesane-Brown, Scottham, Nguyen, & Sellers, under review; Appendix A). The RSQ-P was adapted from the Racial Socialization Questionnaire-Teen Version developed by Lesane-Brown and colleagues (under review). The two Racial Socialization Questionnaires correspond in such a way as to allow an assessment of both parent and child on the same racial socialization experiences. As a result, it is a theoretically-derived measure of five content themes identified in the research literature of messages that parents transmit verbally to their children about the significance and meaning of race in their child's life as well as a measure of the racial socialization behaviors and activities in which they engage their child. Both the RSQ-P and RSQ-T consist of 26 items that comprise 6 subscales. The *Racial Pride* subscale consists of four items measuring the extent to which primary caregivers emphasize Black unity, teachings about heritage and instilling positive feelings towards Blacks (e.g., "Told the target child that s/he should be proud to be Black"). The *Racial Barriers* subscale consists of four items measuring the extent to which an awareness of racial inequities and coping strategies are emphasized (e.g., "Told the target child that some people try to keep Black people from being successful"). The *Egalitarian* subscale consists of four items measuring the extent to which messages

regarding interracial equality and coexistence are emphasized (e.g., "Told the target child that Blacks and Whites should try to understand each other so they can get along"). The *Self-Worth* subscale consists of 4 items measuring the extent to which messages emphasizing positive messages about the self are conveyed (e.g., "Told the target child that s/he is somebody special, no matter what anyone says"). The *Negative* subscale consists of 5 items measuring the extent to which messages are conveyed that disparage Black people (e.g., "Told the target child that learning about Black history is not that important"). The Socialization Behaviors subscale consists of 5 items measuring the frequency of various socialization activities or behaviors related to Black culture (e.g., "Bought the target child books about Black people"). Participants were asked to respond to each item using a 3-point rating scale (0 = *never* to 2 = *more than twice*) indicating how often they had communicated each message or behavior to the target child in the study in the past year. Subscales were created by averaging across each of the items within the subscale such that higher scores indicated a greater frequency of the particular message or behavior.

Multidimensional Measure of Black Identity-Teen (MIBI-T). Child racial identity was assessed using the Multidimensional Measure of Black Identity-Teen (Scottham, Sellers, & Nguyen, 2008; Appendix B). The MIBI-T consists of 21 items and measures the same dimensions as the adult version of the MIBI. Each of the seven subscales contains three items. Participants responded to questions about the significance and meaning of race using a Likert-type scale from 1 (*really agree*) to 5 (*really disagree*). The answers were subsequently reverse-scored so that higher scores denote more endorsement of the dimensions described. The centrality subscale ($\alpha = 0.51$) assesses the

importance of race in the self-concept (e.g., "If I were to describe myself to someone, one of the first things that I would say is that I'm Black."). The minority subscale (α= 0.73) explores views that connect the plight of African Americans with those of other oppressed minority groups (e.g., "Blacks should spend less time focusing on how we differ from other minority groups and more time focusing on how we are similar to people from other minority groups."). The nationalist subscale (α= 0.66) concerns the extent to which the participant views the Black experience as unique (e.g. "Blacks should support Black entertainment by going to Black movies and watching Black TV shows."). The humanist subscale (α= 0.47) concerns the extent to which the participant endorses the belief that people are the same, regardless of race ("Black people should not consider race when deciding what movies to go see."). The assimilationist subscale (α= 0.59) explores the view that African Americans should attempt to fit in with mainstream America (e.g., "It is important that Blacks go to White schools so that they can learn how to act around Whites.").

Regard concerns how one feels others view one's racial group (public regard) or how one feels towards Blacks in general and how he/she feels about being Black (private regard). A sample question from public regard (α= 0.64) dimension reads, "I am proud to be Black." A sample question from the private regard (α= 0.80) subscale reads, "I feel good about Black people."

Sociodemographic variables. Mother's estimated the combined family income in the past year using a 14-point rating scale that began with 1= less than $10,000 and escalating $10,000 each point until it culminated with 14=more than $130,000. Mothers also self-reported their age and level of educational attainment. Level of educational attainment was measured using an 8-point scale: 1= junior high or less; 2=some high

school; 3=high school graduate; 4=some college; 5=college graduate; 6=some graduate school; 7=Master's degree; and 8=doctoral degree. Adolescents self-reported their own age and gender (male=1 and female=2).

Analysis Plan

The analyses proceeded in three stages. The first stage of data analysis explored the relationship between mother transmitted and child perceived racial socialization messages using a series of structural equation models. The structural equation models consisted of a latent variable for a given dimension of mother reported socialization, a latent variable for the same dimension of child reported socialization, sets of indicator variables for both mother and child reported socialization, and error terms for each of the indicator variables. The two latent variables were correlated with one another (Figure 1). These structural equation models established the size and direction of the relations between parent and child reports of racial socialization messages for each of the racial socialization subscales. These models accounted for non-independence between parent and child reports of racial socialization in two ways. First, the indicator variables for the mother's racial socialization subscale were correlated with the corresponding indicator for the child's racial socialization subscale. The correlations of each of the indicator variables between the dyad members represented an overall measure of latent non-independence (Kenny, Kashy, & Cook, 2006, p. 127). Second, the latent variables were correlated with one another. In this way, the proposed structural equation models accounted for the non-independence between members of the dyad. These models also examined to assess the extent to which mother and child reports of racial socialization have similar factor structures and variances. Different factor loadings for adolescents and

parents might indicate that each member of the dyad views racial socialization differently (Kenny, Kashy, & Cook, 2006, p. 107). Similarly, different variances for either the mother or the children would indicate that one of these groups has more within-group variation than the other. To examine the similarity of factor structures, the factor loadings connecting the indicator variables to the latent variables were tested. In one model, the factor loadings were allowed to vary for adolescents and parents. In a second model, the factor loadings were constrained to equality. Chi-square statistics were used to assess the extent to which the constraints worsen the fit of the model. If the fit of the model is not significantly worsened by the addition of the constraints, it is presumed that the factor loadings are similar for mothers and children. This result would indicate that the racial socialization variables are related in the same way for both members of the dyad. If the fit of the model is significantly worsened by the addition of the constraints, it is presumed that the factor loadings are not similar for mothers and children. This result would indicate that the racial socialization variables are not related in the same ways for mothers and children. Subsequent analyses would have to allow the factor loadings to remain free. The second stage of analysis will focus on the extent to which relationships between racial socialization and identity are moderated by demographic variables (Figure 2). These research questions was examined using groups' analysis. The first set of analyses examined whether younger and older adolescents have similar levels of congruence on the six racial socialization dimensions. A second set of models were estimated for mother-daughter dyads and mother-son dyads to explore whether child gender affects congruence. Similarly, separate models were tested for college-educated mother-child dyads and non-college educated mother-child dyads to determine whether college-

educated mothers' were more or less congruent with their children's perceptions of racial socialization. Finally, separate models were tested for single mother-child dyads and married mother-child dyads to determine whether family structure influences the extent of congruence between reports of socialization messages.

The third stage of analysis examined whether mother and adolescent racial socialization predicts later racial identity. The extent of change for each dimension of racial identity was explored using a set of growth curve models corresponding to each dimension of racial identity. Each growth curve model included terms for the intercept and the linear trend. The level two models contained two control variables, adolescent gender and age at wave 1 of the study. The level two equations for the intercept and linear trend also contained time 1 variables for each of the dimensions of racial socialization. The control and racial socialization variables included at the intercept indicated whether adolescents differ in their levels of racial identity at the first wave of data collection. One set of models examined the relationship between racial identity and adolescent perceived racial socialization messages. Another set of models examined the relationship mother transmitted racial socialization messages and adolescent racial identity. The variables included on the linear trend slope indicated whether race socialization variables affect adolescents' racial identity development over time.

The specification for the adolescent-perceived socialization model was as follows:

Level 1 Model

Racial Identity = $\pi_0 + \pi_1$ (Linear Trend) + E

Level 2 Model

$\pi_0 = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}$ (Adolescent Gender) + γ_{02} (Adolescent Age) + γ_{03} (Egalitarian) + γ_{03} (Negative) + γ_{04} (Barriers) + γ_{05} (Pride) + γ_{06} (Self-Worth) + γ_{07} (Behaviors) + U_0

$\pi_1 = \gamma_{10} + \gamma_{11}$ (Adolescent Gender) + γ_{12} (Adolescent Age) + γ_{13} (Egalitarian) + γ_{13} (Negative) + γ_{14} (Barriers) + γ_{15} (Pride) + γ_{16} (Self-Worth) + γ_{17} (Behaviors)

The specification for the mother-reported socialization model was as follows:

Level 1 Model

Racial Identity = $\pi_0 + \pi_1$ (Linear Trend) + E

Level 2 Model

$\pi_0 = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}$ (Adolescent Gender) + γ_{02} (Adolescent Age) + γ_{03} (Mother Egalitarian) + γ_{03} (Mother Negative) + γ_{04} (Mother Barriers) + γ_{05} (Mother Pride) + γ_{06} (Mother Self-Worth) + γ_{07} (Mother Behaviors) + U_0

$\pi_1 = \gamma_{10} + \gamma_{11}$ (Adolescent Gender) + γ_{12} (Adolescent Age) + γ_{13} (Mother Egalitarian) + γ_{13} (Mother Negative) + γ_{14} (Mother Barriers) + γ_{15} (Mother Pride) + γ_{16} (Mother Self-Worth) + γ_{17} (Mother Behaviors)

Figure 1. Structural equation model for the relating mother and adolescent racial socialization messages.

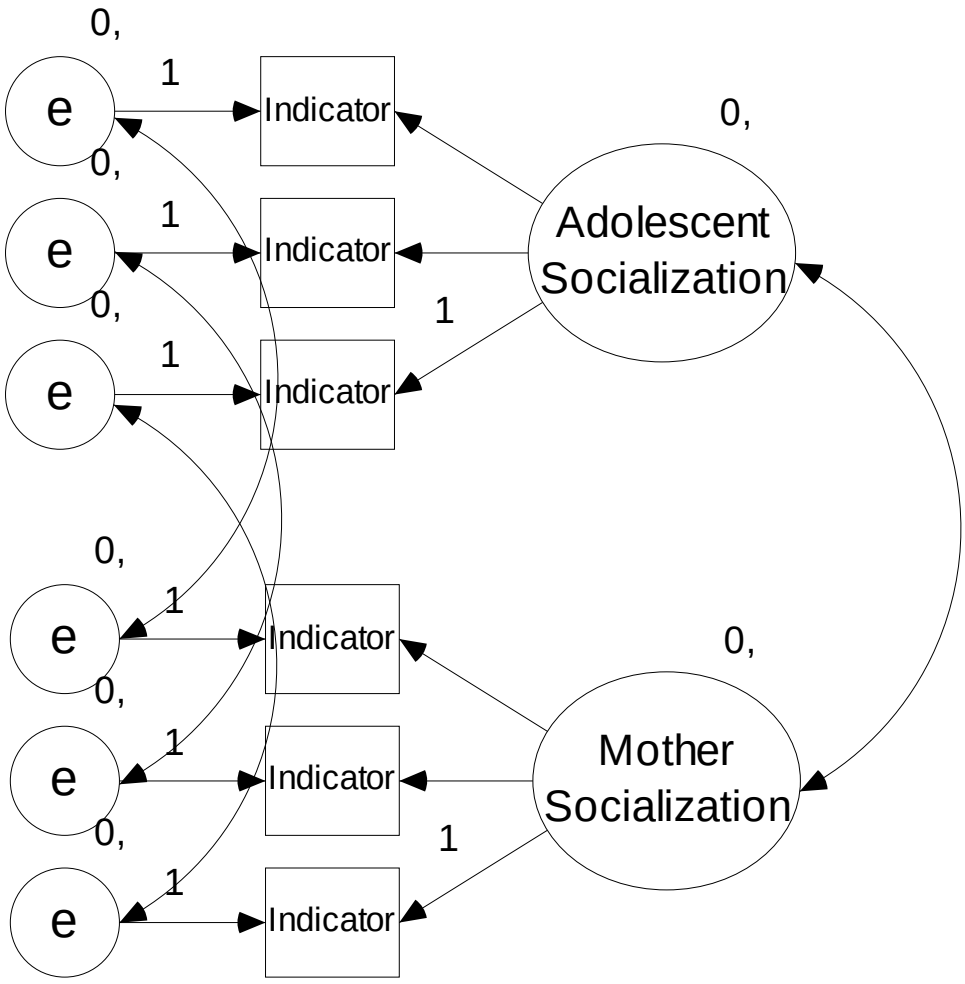
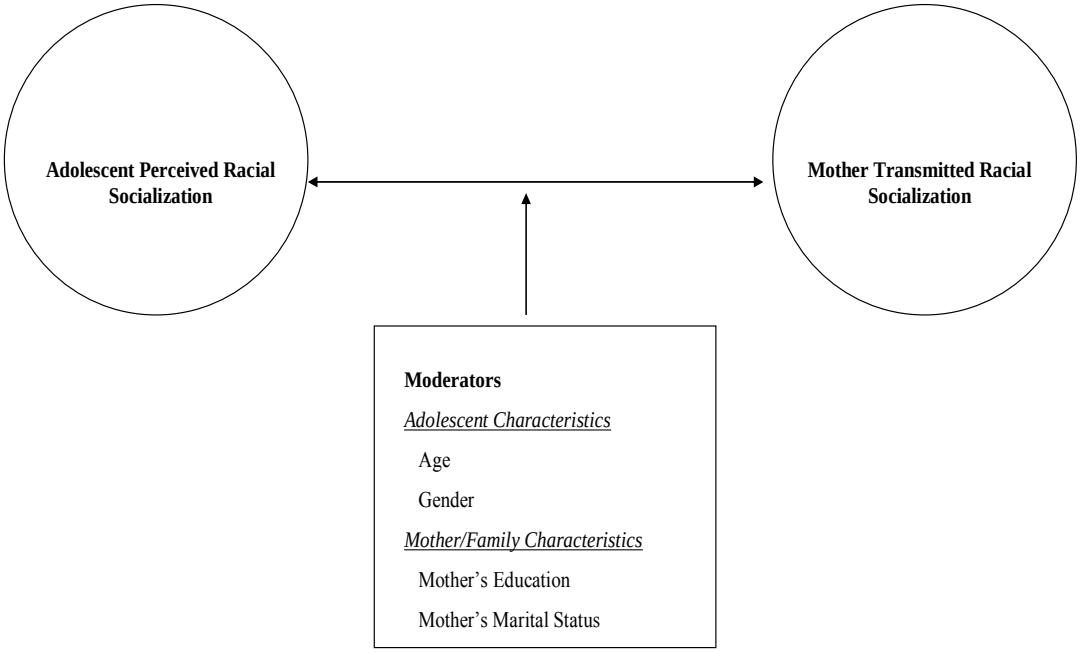


Figure 2. Heuristic model depicting the moderation of the relationship between adolescent and maternal racial socialization messages by adolescent and mother/family characteristics.



CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

Preliminary analyses focused on the means, standard deviations, and the bivariate correlations of adolescent and mother reports of racial socialization messages and adolescent racial identity. The mean levels of the race socialization dimensions indicated that most of the messages were transmitted or received once or twice in the past year (see Table 1 for adolescent means and Table 3 for mothers' means). The lone exception was negative messages. This dimension of racial socialization had the lowest mean for both adolescents ($M = 0.18$) and mothers ($M = 0.10$).

Intercorrelations among Study Variables

Adolescent Reports of Racial Socialization

The next stage of preliminary data analysis focused on the intercorrelations between adolescent reports of racial socialization and the other study variables. Table 1 shows the results for the intercorrelations among adolescent perceived racial socialization messages and demographic variables. For the most part, adolescent perceptions of racial socialization messages were positively related to one another. For example, higher levels of egalitarian messages were associated with higher levels of racial barrier ($r = 0.35$), racial pride ($r = 0.53$), behavioral socialization ($r = 0.37$), and self-worth messages ($r = 0.57$). The lone exceptions to this general rule were the inverse relationships between

negative messages and racial pride (r = -0.21) and another inverse relationship between negative messages and self-worth (r = -0.21). Girls were more likely to report racial pride (r =-0.31), behavioral socialization (r = -0.21), and self-worth messages (r = -0.17) than boys. Additional analyses revealed that girls had higher mean values for racial pride (M_{Girls} = 1.58, M_{Boys} = 1.29; t[202] = -4.65, $p < 0.001$), behavioral socialization (M_{Girls} = 1.28, M_{Boys} = 1.06; t[202] = -3.07, $p < 0.01$), and self-worth messages (M_{Girls} = 1.76, M_{Boys} = 1.61; t[202] = -2.43, $p < 0.05$). Older children were more likely to report receiving racial barrier messages (r = 0.15). Adolescents who had college educated mothers were more likely to report racial barrier (r = 0.15), racial pride (r = 0.20), and behavioral socialization (r = 0.23).

The correlations among Time 1 racial socialization messages and Time 2 racial identity were also examined (see Table 2). Time 1 egalitarian messages were positvely related to Time 2 minority ideology, such that higher levels of egalitarian messages were associated with higher levels of minority ideology. Similarly, adolescent reports of negative messages were associated with higher levels of assimilationist ideology (r = 0.22). Perceived racial barrier messages were negatively related to public regard (r = -0.30) and assimilationist ideology (r = -0.15). However, perceived racial barrier messages were positively related to nationalist ideology (r = 0.20). Nationalist ideology was also positively correlated with perceived racial pride messages (r = 0.15). Lastly, perceived self-worth messages were associated with higher levels of Time 2 humanist ideology (r = 0.15).

Mother Reports of Racial Socialization

The study also examined the intercorrelations between mothers' reports of racial socialization and the other study variables. Table 3 shows the results for the intercorrelations among mothers' transmitted racial socialization messages and demographic variables. In general, mother reports of racial socialization messages were positively related to one another. For example, higher levels of egalitarian messages were associated with higher levels of racial barrier (r = 0.38), racial pride (r =0.38), behavioral socialization (r = 0.23), and self-worth messages (r = 0.30). However, there were inverse relationships between negative messages and racial pride (r = -0.15) and another inverse relationship between negative messages and self-worth (r = -0.25). Mothers did not report any gender differences in their transmission of racial socialization messages. This finding represents a departure from the adolescent reported data, which evinced relationships between three dimensions of racial socialization and child gender. There were also no differences in transmitted racial socialization messages as a function of child age in the parent data, whereas the adolescent-reported data contained a correlation between age and racial barrier messages. College-educated mothers reported transmission of fewer negative messages (r = -0.21), but reported more frequent behavioral socialization (r = 0.25) than less-educated mothers. Mothers' marital status was not related to transmission of any dimension of racial socialization.

The correlations among Time 1 mother transmitted racial socialization messages and Time 2 adolescent racial identity were also examined (see Table 4). Transmitted negative messages were associated with higher levels of adolescent assimilationist (r =.017) and lower levels of adolescent nationalist ideology (r = -0.18). Mother reported racial pride messages were associated with higher levels of adolescent minority (r = 0.21)

and nationalist ideology ($r = 0.19$). Lastly, transmitted behavioral socialization was associated with higher levels of adolescent nationalist ideology ($r = 0.17$).

Question #1: Intercorrelations and mean differences between Mother and Adolescent Reports of Racial Socialization

The next stage of analysis assessed the first research question concerning the correlation between adolescent and mother reports of racial socialization messages and practices. The use of intercorrelations to examine similarity between parents' and children has a long history in the general socialization literature (e.g., Bengtson, 1975), but has only recently made its way into work on racial socialization (Hughes, Hagelskamp, Foust, & Way, 2009). For the most part, this research has shown that parent and child data have small, positive relationships. In the present study, it was expected that correlations between parent and child reports of racial socialization messages would be of a similar magnitude. The present study also explored whether parent-child dyads had similar mean values for each race socialization dimension as an additional measure of similarity.

As expected, mother and adolescent reports of racial socialization messages and practices had the small, positive relationships that have characterized other socialization research. These Pearson product correlations are summarized in Table 5. One can note the correlation between each adolescent-reported dimension of racial socialization with its maternal counterpart by following the main diagonal. Behavioral socialization had the highest levels of adolescent- mother similarity ($r = 0.35$), whereas egalitarian messages had the lowest level ($r = 0.15$).

The next step of the analysis examined mean differences in race socialization messages between adolescents and mothers as another measure of similarity. First, the

adolescent mean was subtracted from the maternal mean for each of the six racial socialization dimensions. Second, a Kolmogorov-Smirnov test (K-S test) was run to assess whether or not the mean differences between the mother and adolescent reports were normally distributed. If the K-S test were non-significant, it would indicate that the differences were normally distributed. In this case, a paired samples t-test would be used to investigate the mean differences. If the K-S test were significant, it would indicate a non-normal distribution of the differences. In this case, a Wilcoxon test would be used to examine the mean differences. As Table 6 shows, the K-S test for each of the mean differences was significant. These findings indicate a non-normal distribution for the differences on each of the dimensions of racial socialization. Consequently, the Wilcoxon test, a non-parametric procedure used to assess similarity in grouped data, was used to investigate the mean differences between adolescent and maternal racial socialization. Results showed significant differences between adolescents and mothers on each of the socialization dimensions (Table 7). Parents reported significantly higher levels of egalitarian ($M_{\text{Mother}} = 1.54$, $M_{\text{Adolescent}} = 1.34$; $z = -3.87$, $p < 0.01$), racial barrier ($M_{\text{Mother}} = 1.41$, $M_{\text{Adolescent}} = 1.23$; $z = -4.13$, $p < 0.01$), pride ($M_{\text{Mother}} = 1.74$, $M_{\text{Adolescent}} = 1.45$; $z = -7.03$, $p < 0.01$), behavioral socialization ($M_{\text{Mother}} = 1.43$, $M_{\text{Adolescent}} = 1.18$; $z = -5.81$; $p < 0.01$), and self-worth messages ($M_{\text{Mother}} = 1.88$, $M_{\text{Adolescent}} = 1.69$; $z = -5.40$, $p < 0.01$) than their adolescent children. However, adolescents reported higher levels of negative messages ($M_{\text{Mother}} = 0.10$, $M_{\text{Adolescent}} = 0.18$; $z = -3.04$, $p < 0.01$) than their mothers. Taken together, the small correlations coupled with the significant mean differences indicate a divergence between the mother and adolescent perspectives of racial socialization messages and practices.

Although the correlations described earlier are similar to those reported in the bulk of socialization research, there is reason to believe that they underestimate the size of the relationship between parent and child racial socialization. In one of the few studies to examine the question of parent-child similarity using a latent variable approach, Kohn and colleagues (1986) found larger correlations (average $r = 0.55$) than most other studies in this literature. The latent variable approach has advantages relative to the traditional approaches (Pearson's *r* and multiple regression) for assessment of parent-child similarity. Cohen and colleagues (1990) summarized the main advantage of the latent variable approach to the estimation of correlations in this way:

> When relationships between any given Lv [Latent Variable] and any other observed variable or Lv are compared to the same relationships based on a simple linear combination of the observed indicators [e.g., the mean], it will be seen that the former must always be larger, because they have been 'disattenuated' to take this unreliability into account. (p. 189)

In other words, because latent variable models account for measurement error, their use usually results in larger estimates of the correlation between a given pair of variables. Traditional approaches do not account for measurement error, resulting in smaller estimates for correlations (Goodwin & Leech, 2006; Musil, Jones, & Warner, 1998). Thus, the present study used a series of latent variable models to assess the relationships between all dimensions of racial socialization to investigate whether this alternative approach resulted in larger estimates of the correlations.

The latent variable approach was implemented using structural equation models. The first series of models tested relations between parent and adolescent racial socialization messages. The parent portion of the model included a latent variable for parent reports of a given racial socialization dimension, indicator variables for that

dimension of racial socialization, and error terms for each of the indicator variables. The adolescent portion of the model contained a latent variable for the same dimension of racial socialization, indicator variables, and error terms for the indicators. Finally, the models contain a correlation between the latent variables for mother and adolescent racial socialization and correlated error terms for the same indicators between mothers and children. The correlation between the latent variables and error terms provide a test for statistical non-independence (Kenny, Kashy, & Cook, 2006, pp. 127-128), allowing for estimation of the correlation between the latent variables.

After estimating the unconstrained models, two constrained models were run. The first set of models constrained the factor loadings to be the same for both mothers and adolescents. These constrained models answer the question of whether or not the construct has the same meaning for both mothers and adolescents (Kenny, Kashy, & Cook, 2006, p. 128). The second set of models contained the first set of constraints but also constrained the factor variances to equality to test whether mother and adolescent have the same variance on each of the racial socialization dimensions.

Egalitarian Messages. In the unconstrained model for egalitarian messages, the standardized indicator loadings varied from 0.37 to 0.70 for mothers, whereas these loadings ranged from 0.54 to 0.63 for adolescents. An examination of the chi-square statistic, χ^2 (15) = 13.80, p =0.54 and fit measures (CFI = 1.0, RMSEA = 0.00) indicated adequate fit. Mother and adolescent reports of egalitarian messages were positively correlated (r = 0.18, $p < 0.001$), such that as mothers' reports of messages stressing equality between racial groups increased, adolescents' reports also increased. The model constraining the factor loadings to equality across the two groups was not significantly

worse than the unconstrained model ($\chi^2_{\text{Equal Factor Loadings}} - \chi^2_{\text{Unconstrained}} = 16.24 - 13.80 = 2.45$, p = n.s.), implying that the meaning of egalitarian messages was similar for both mothers and adolescents. The model constraining both the factor loadings and variances to equality was not significantly worse than the model containing equal variances ($\chi^2_{\text{Equal Variances}} - \chi^2_{\text{Equal Factor Loadings}} = 16.60 - 16.24 = 0.36$, p =n.s.).

Barrier Messages. In the unconstrained model for barrier messages, the standardized indicator loadings varied from 0.58 to 0.77 for mothers. The standardized indicator loadings ranged from 0.47 to 0.63 for adolescents. The chi-square statistic ($\chi^2(15) = 21.74$, p =0.12) and fit measures (CFI = 0.98, RMSEA = 0.05) indicated an adequate fit to the data. Mother and adolescent reports of barrier messages were positively correlated ($r = 0.32$, p =0.05), meaning that as mother reports of messages stressing barriers between racial groups increased, adolescent reports also increased. The model constraining the factor loadings to equality across the two groups did not have significantly worse fit than the unconstrained model ($\chi^2_{\text{Equal Factor Loadings}} - \chi^2_{\text{Unconstrained}} = 25.60 - 21.74 = 3.86$, p =n.s.), indicating that the meaning of barrier messages was similar for both mothers and adolescents. The model constraining both the factor loadings and variances to equality was not significantly worse than the model containing equal variances ($\chi^2_{\text{Equal Variances}} - \chi^2_{\text{Equal Factor Loadings}} = 27.93 - 25.60 = 2.33$, p =n.s.). This finding means that parent and child reports of barrier messages have the same amount of variability.

Socialization Behaviors. In the unconstrained model for socialization behaviors, the standardized indicator loadings varied from 0.54 to 0.78 for mothers, whereas these loadings ranged from 0.51 to 0.67 for adolescents. An examination of the chi-square

statistic, χ^2 (29) = 21.27, p =0.12 and fit measures (CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = 0.00) indicates that this model has an adequate fit to the data. The model also showed as mothers' reports of socialization behaviors increased, adolescent reports also increased (r = 0.42, p < 0.001). The model constraining the factor loadings to equality across the two groups was not significantly worse than the unconstrained model ($\chi^2_{\text{Equal Factor Loadings}} - \chi^2_{\text{Unconstrained}}$ = 25.89 – 21.27 = 4.62, p =n.s.), indicating that the meaning of socialization behaviors was similar for both mothers and adolescents. The model constraining both the factor loadings and variances to equality was not significantly worse than the model containing equal variances ($\chi^2_{\text{Equal Variances}} - \chi^2_{\text{Equal Factor Loadings}}$ = 27.63 – 25.89 = 1.74, p =n.s.).

Negative Messages. The unconstrained model for negative messages had standardized indicator loadings varying from 0.26 to 0.54 for mothers, whereas these loadings ranged from 0.51 to 0.62 for adolescents. The chi-square statistic, χ^2 (29) = 42.80, p =0.05 and fit measures (CFI = 0.93, RMSEA = 0.05) showed adequate model fit. Mother and adolescent reports of negative messages were positively correlated (r = 0.44, p < 0.05). As mothers' reports of negative messages increased, adolescent reports also increased. The model constraining the factor loadings to equality across the two groups had a significantly worse fit than the unconstrained model ($\chi^2_{\text{Equal Factor Loadings}} - \chi^2_{\text{Unconstrained}}$ = 62.87 – 42.80 = 20.07, p < .01). The meaning of negative messages differed for mothers and adolescents. The third model constraining the variances to equality was not estimated because it is first necessary to fit a model with constrained factor loadings before one can move on to constraining the variances (Kenny, Kashy, & Cook, 2006, p. 122). The previous model shows that the factor loadings were not equal between adolescents and mothers. Overall, these results indicate that mother and

adolescent reports of negative messages are related to one another, but that these messages take on different meanings for the two groups.

Racial Pride Messages. In the unconstrained model for racial pride messages, the standardized indicator loadings varied from 0.34 to 0.70 for mothers, whereas these loadings ranged from 0.29 to 0.69 for adolescents. An examination of the chi-square statistic, χ^2 (29) = 57.29, p =0.00 and fit measures (CFI = 0.79, RMSEA = 0.12) indicates that this model has an inadequate fit to the data.

Self-Worth Messages. In the unconstrained model for self-worth messages, the standardized indicator loadings varied from 0.20 to 0.73 for mothers, whereas these loadings ranged from 0.52 to 0.62 for adolescents. An examination of the chi-square statistic, χ^2 (29) = 23.08, p =0.82 and fit measures (CFI = 0.97, RMSEA = 0.05) indicates that this model has an adequate fit to the data. The model also indicated that mother and adolescent reports of self-worth messages were positively correlated (r = 0.18, $p < 0.05$), meaning that as mother reports of self-worth messages increased, adolescent reports also increased. The model constraining the factor loadings to equality across the two groups was not significantly worse than the unconstrained model ($\chi^2_{\text{Equal Factor Loadings}} - \chi^2_{\text{Unconstrained}}$ = 24.08– 23.08 = 1.00, p =n.s.), implying that the meaning of self-worth messages did not differ between mothers and adolescents. The third model constraining the variances had a significantly worse fit to the data ($\chi^2_{\text{Equal Variances}} - \chi^2_{\text{Equal Factor Loadings}}$ = 115.19 – 23.08 = 92.11, $p < .01$). The variance for self worth messages was unequal, such that adolescents' perceived self-worth messages (0.17) had significantly greater variance than mothers' transmitted self-worth messages (0.03).

Summary of Question #1 Findings: Comparison of Correlations

In summary, the latent variable models increased the estimate of the correlation between adolescent and mother for four of the six racial socialization dimensions (Table 8). The biggest leap occurred in the estimate for negative messages (Pearson's r =0.27, SEM r = 0.44). However, this correlation should be interpreted with caution, because the structural equation model suggested that the negative messages dimension may have different meanings for parents and children. Overall, the findings indicated that adolescent and parent socialization messages had small, positive relationships with one another.

Question #2: Differences in Correlations between Racial Socialization Messages and Practices

The second research question concerned demographic differences in correlations between mother and adolescent reports of racial socialization messages and practices. More specifically, this second research question examines four areas of demographic difference (i.e., the age of the child, the gender of the child, the marital status of the mother, and the mother's educational attainment) to ascertain whether some mother-adolescent dyads show stronger correlations between racial socialization messages and practices than others. In the case of age, the groups were created by dividing the sample into early adolescent dyads (adolescents aged 11-13; N = 100) and older adolescent dyads (adolescents aged 14-17; N = 104). I examined the question of gender differences in the transmission of racial socialization messages and practices by separating the sample into mother-daughter dyads (N = 115) and mother-son dyads (N = 89). I also tested for differences between dyads with married (N = 86) and unmarried (N = 118) mothers and, finally, differences between dyads with mothers who obtained a college degree (N = 100) and those who did not receive a college degree (N = 104).

These questions were explored using structural equation models for five of the dimensions of racial socialization messages and practices. The models for self-worth failed to reach admissible solutions, thus those data are not summarized here. Models were tested for between-group differences in correlations between mothers' and adolescents' reports of racial socialization messages and practices using chi-square invariance tests for comparisons between three models. The unconstrained model allowed all of the parameters to vary. Another model, constraining the measurement weights to equality, was tested to insure that the constructs operated in the same manner in each subgroup. None of these models showed significant differences between groups. A third model, constraining the covariances to equality, was used to test for differences in correlations between subgroups (e.g., girls and boys). Because of the measurement invariance for each of the models, only findings from the first and third models are presented here.The primary research question was, do certain mother-adolescent dyads show stronger correlations in their reports of racial socialization messages and practices than other dyads? More specifically, do dyads with older adolescents have stronger correlations than those with younger adolescents? Do mother-daughter dyads have stronger correlations than mother-son dyads? Do dyads with married mothers have stronger correlations than dyads with unmarried mothers? And, finally, do dyads with college-educated mothers have higher correlations than those with less well-educated mothers?

Child Age

Egalitarian Messages. Fit statistics showed adequate fit for both the unconstrained (CFI = 0.95, RMSEA = 0.04, $\chi^2/df = 1.33$) and the model constraining the

correlation to equality between the groups (CFI = 0.96, RMSEA = 0.03, χ^2/df = 1.17). The chi-square invariance test showed that there was no significant difference between the unconstrained model and the constrained model ($\chi^2_{Difference}$ (17) = 14.83, p =n.s.). There was no significant difference between early and later adolescents in the correlation between mother and adolescent reports of egalitarian messages.

Barrier Messages. Both the unconstrained model (CFI = 0.98, RMSEA = 0.03, χ^2/df = 1.17) and the constrained model (CFI = 0.97, RMSEA = 0.03, χ^2/df = 1.16) fit the data adequately. Additionally, there was no significant difference in fit between the two models ($\chi^2_{Difference}$ (17) = 23.05, p =n.s.). These findings indicate no significant difference in barrier messages in the correlation between early and later adolescents (r = 0.29).

Socialization Behaviors. The unconstrained model (CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = 0.00, χ^2/df = 0.97) and the constrained model (CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = 0.00, χ^2/df = 0.97) fit the data well. The chi-square test ($\chi^2_{Difference}$ (21) = 19.94, p =n.s.) showed that the constrained model did not have a significantly worse fit than the unconstrained model. In sum, there was no significant difference the correlation in socialization behaviors between the older and younger adolescents.

Negative Messages. Neither the unconstrained (CFI = 0.86, RMSEA = 0.08, χ^2/df = 1.67) nor the constrained models (CFI = 0.87, RMSEA = 0.08, χ^2/df = 0.97) fit the data adequately.

Racial Pride Messages. Both the unconstrained (CFI = 0.75, RMSEA = 0.08, χ^2/df = 2.37) and the constrained models (CFI = 0.73, RMSEA = 0.08, χ^2/df = 2.15) failed to fit the data adequately.

Child Gender

Egalitarian Messages. Fit statistics showed adequate fit for both the unconstrained (CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = 0.00, χ^2/df = 0.79) and the model constraining the correlation to equality between the groups (CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = 0.00, χ^2/df = 0.97). The chi-square invariance test showed that there was no significant difference between the unconstrained model and the constrained model ($\chi^2_{Difference}$ (9) = 14.51, p =n.s.). There was no significant difference between boys and girls in the correlation between mother and adolescent reports of egalitarian messages.

Barrier Messages. Both the unconstrained (CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = 0.00, χ^2/df = 0.79) and constrained models (CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = 0.00, χ^2/df = 0.85) fit the data equally well. There were no differences in the correlation of mother and adolescent barrier messages in mother-daughter and mother-son dyads.

Socialization Behaviors. The unconstrained model for socialization behaviors evinced an excellent fit to the data (CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = 0.00, χ^2/df = 1.00). The model constraining correlations to equality for both groups had an adequate (CFI = 0.93, RMSEA = 0.41, χ^2/df = 1.34), but significantly worse fit ($\chi^2_{Difference}$ (21) = 48.01, p < .01) than the unconstrained model. Mother-daughter dyads (r = 0.47) had significantly stronger correlations of racial socialization behaviors than mother-son dyads (r = 0.41). In addition, mother-daughter dyads were likely to report higher mean levels of race socialization behaviors than mother-son dyads ($\chi^2_{Difference}$ (18) = 45.33, p < .01).

Negative Messages. Neither the unconstrained (CFI = 0.74, RMSEA = 0.06, χ^2/df = 1.80) nor the constrained (CFI = 0.72, RMSEA = 0.06, χ^2/df = 1.73) models adequately fit the data.

Racial Pride Messages. Neither the unconstrained (CFI = 0.79, RMSEA = 0.07, χ^2/df = 1.99) nor the constrained (CFI = 0.69, RMSEA = 0.08, χ^2/df = 2.17) models adequately fit the data.

Mother's Marital Status

Egalitarian Messages. The unconstrained (CFI = 0.95, RMSEA = 0.04, χ^2/df = 1.33) and constrained models (CFI = 0.96, RMSEA = 0.03, χ^2/df = 1.17) both fit the data well and were not significantly different than one another in that respect ($\chi^2_{Difference}$ (17) = 14.83, p =n.s.). There were no differences in correlations of egalitarian messages between dyads headed by married mothers and those headed by unmarried mothers.

Barrier Messages. There was no significant difference between the unconstrained (CFI = 0.99, RMSEA = 0.02, χ^2/df = 1.08) and the constrained (CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = 0.00, χ^2/df = 0.90) models ($\chi^2_{Difference}$ (16) = 9.13, *p* = n.s.). The married-mother dyads did not differ from the unmarried-mother dyads in the correlation between mother and adolescent racial barrier messages.

Socialization Behaviors. Although both the unconstrained (CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = 0.00, χ^2/df = 0.63) and the constrained (CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = 0.00, χ^2/df = 0.97) model had an excellent fit to the data, the fit of the constrained model was significantly worse ($\chi^2_{Difference}$ (21) = 40.33, p < .01). The correlations between the mother and adolescent reports of racial socialization were significantly higher in the dyads with married mothers (*r*=.49) as opposed to those with unmarried mothers (*r* =.39). In addition, the married mothers' dyads exhibited higher mean levels of socialization behaviors than the unmarried mothers' dyads ($\chi^2_{Difference}$ (18) = 31.09, p < .05).

Negative Messages. Neither model yielded an admissible solution thus I did not proceed with further analysis.

Racial Pride Messages. The unconstrained (CFI = 0.72, RMSEA = 0.09, χ^2/df = 2.71) and constrained models (CFI = 0.69, RMSEA = 0.09, $\chi^2/df = 2.50$) did not fit the data adequately.

Mother's Educational Attainment

Egalitarian Messages. The unconstrained (CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = 0.003, χ^2/df = 1.00) and the constrained (CFI = 0.99, RMSEA = 0.004, $\chi^2/df = 1.00$) models showed adequate fit to the data. Consequently, the unconstrained and constrained model fit the data equally well and thus there was no difference in the correlation between adolescents' and mothers' reports of egalitarian messages on the basis of the mothers' educational attainment ($\chi^2_{Difference}(11) = 14.25$, p = n.s.).

Barrier Messages. The unconstrained (CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = 0.003, $\chi^2/df = 1.00$) and the constrained (CFI = 0.99, RMSEA = 0.004, $\chi^2/df = 1.00$) models showed adequate fit to the data. There was no between-group difference in the correlation of mother and adolescent reports of racial barrier messages ($\chi^2_{Difference}(11) = 9.99$, p = n.s).

Socialization Behaviors. Although both the unconstrained (CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = 0.00, $\chi^2/df = 0.99$) and the constrained (CFI = 0.96, RMSEA = 0.03, $\chi^2/df = 1.15$) models showed excellent fit to the data, the unconstrained model had a significantly better fit ($\chi^2_{Difference}(21) = 35.21$, $p < 0.05$). The dyads headed by college-educated mothers had significantly higher correlations between mother and adolescent dyads ($r = 0.50$) than those headed by non-college educated mothers ($r = 0.39$).

Negative Messages. Neither the unconstrained (CFI = 0.88, RMSEA = 0.04, χ^2/df = 1.38) nor the constrained (CFI = 0.72, RMSEA = 0.06, χ^2/df = 1.70) models adequately fit the data.

Racial Pride Messages, Neither the unconstrained (CFI = 0.79, RMSEA = 0.07, χ^2/df = 1.98) and constrained models (CFI = 0.65, RMSEA = 0.07, χ^2/df = 2.11) fit the data adequately. Consequently, these models were not further analyzed.

Summary of Question #2 Findings: Demographic Factors Affecting the Relationship of Mother and Adolescent Reports of Racial Socialization Messages

This research question examined some demographic factors that might moderate the relationship between parent and adolescent reports of racial socialization messages and practices. All of the significant interaction effects occurred with adolescent and mother reports of behavioral socialization. Mother-daughter dyads had higher congruence on behavioral socialization than mother-son dyads. Dyads headed by married mothers had higher congruence than those headed by unmarried mothers. College-educated mothers had higher levels of congruence with their adolescent children than non-college educated mothers.

Question# 3: Modeling Effects of Racial Socialization over Time

The final research question concerned the relationship between racial socialization messages and adolescent racial identity. Sets of models explored the role of parent transmitted and adolescent perceived racial socialization messages and practices in the development of racial identity over the three-year span of the study. More specifically, the study examined whether adolescent and mother reports of socialization predicted similar aspects of identity.

Growth curve models were used to explore relations between parents' race-related messages and behaviors and changes in children's attitudes and beliefs about race over time. More specifically, time 1 racial socialization messages were used as predictors of age 13 racial identity and linear growth in racial identity. I first ran seven models to establish mean levels of each of the racial identity variables along with the overall trajectory for each of the racial identity dimensions. Next, I ran two sets of models to establish the relationships between racial identity and mother and adolescent racial socialization messages, respectively. One set of models used mother's reports of race-related messages and behaviors as predictors and another set used adolescent reports of the race-related messages and behaviors as predictors. These models were estimated to show the relation between racial socialization and identity at the first time point and also to test whether racial socialization moderates the growth of identity over time. These models also controlled for the relationship between racial identity and two control variables, child gender and age at time 1.

Racial identity was centered at age 13, so that the intercept of the models represented the adolescent's score on a given dimension of racial identity at this age. I chose to center on age 13 because a majority of the sample started the survey at this time. Cohort effects were examined using procedures detailed by Miyazaki and Raudenbush (2000). Each model was estimated using dummy codes representing the study cohorts. Next, a second set of models, excluding these dummy variables, was run. Finally, the deviance statistic from the first set of models was subtracted from that of the second set of models and checked for statistical significance using a chi-square test. Examination of the deviance statistics did not indicate a significantly worse fit for the models without the

cohort dummy variables. Thus, the models presented do not control for the non-significant cohort effects.

Models Examining Mean Levels of Identity and Change over Time

The preliminary models estimated the mean level of each dimension of racial identity at age 13 (π_0) along with the linear trend for identity (π_1) and a random effect (R).

Racial Identity = π_0 + π_1 (Linear Trend) + R

The models indicated significant variation at age 13 for each of the dimensions of racial identity (Tables 9-15). However, only the public regard (γ_{10} = -0.08, t = -2.66, p =<.0 001) and nationalist (γ_{10} = 0.15, t = 5.77, p =<.0 001) models showed significant linear trends. The results indicated that public regard declined over the three-year period, whereas levels of nationalist ideology rose over the same period.

Examining Adolescents' Racial Socialization and Adolescents' Racial Identity

The next set of models examined the relation between adolescents' reports of their parents' race-related messages and practices and their racial identity at age 13 and over time. These models controlled for the age and gender of adolescent participants.

Level 1 Model

Racial Identity = π_0 + π_1 (Linear Trend) + E

Level 2 Model

$\pi_0 = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}$ (Adolescent Gender) + γ_{02} (Adolescent Age) + γ_{03} (Egalitarian) + γ_{03} (Negative) + γ_{04} (Barriers) + γ_{05} (Pride) + γ_{06} (Self-Worth) + γ_{07} (Behaviors) + U_0

$\pi_1 = \gamma_{10} + \gamma_{11}$ (Adolescent Gender) + γ_{12} (Adolescent Age) + γ_{13} (Egalitarian) + γ_{13} (Negative) + γ_{14} (Barriers) + γ_{15} (Pride) + γ_{16} (Self-Worth) + γ_{17} (Behaviors)

Centrality. Although the model indicated significant individual variation in Cenrality at time 1 ($\gamma_{00} = 3.87$, $p < 0.001$), neither the control variables nor the adolescent perceived racial socialization variables explained any of this variation (Table 16). However, children who reported more racial pride messages at time 1 were likely to think that race was more central over time ($\gamma = 0.17$, $p < 0.05$; Figure 3).

Private Regard. There were individual differences in adolescents' feelings about being Black at time 1 ($\gamma = 4.68$, $p < 0.001$), but neither the control variables nor perceived racial socialization explained any of this variation. Similarly, none of the study variables moderated the growth of private regard over time (Table 17).

Public Regard. At age 13, males ($\gamma = 0.29$, $p < 0.05$) were more likely than females to believe that other groups felt more positively about African Americans. Adolescents who received more messages stressing equality between racial groups were also more likely to believe that other groups viewed African Americans more positively ($\gamma = 0.35$, $p < 0.05$) at age 13. However, adolescents who received messages highlighting challenges to interracial cooperation believed that other groups held more negative views about African Americans at age 13 ($\gamma = -0.80$, $p < 0.01$). Moreover, adolescents who participated in more race-related activities at wave 1 were more likely to believe that other groups held more negative views about African Americans later on (Table 18; Figure 4).

Assimilationist. Adolescents who received more messages stressing negative facts about African Americans were more likely to believe that African Americans should make more attempts to fit in with mainstream America ($\gamma = 0.94$, $p < .01$) at age 13 (Table 19). Adolescents who reported receiving more messages boosting personal self-esteem were

likely to experience more growth in their assimilationist ideology than adolescents who reported less of these messages ($\gamma = 0.18$, $p < .05$; Figure 5).

Humanist. At age 13, adolescents who received more messages stressing barriers between racial groups had lower levels of humanist ideology ($\gamma = -0.29$, $p < 0.05$). However, none of the study variables moderated the growth of humanist ideology over time (Table 20).

Minority. Adolescents who received more messages stressing negative aspects of African Americans had lower levels of minority ideology at age 13 ($\gamma = -0.39$, $p < .05$). None of the study variables affected the trajectory of minority ideology (Table 21).

Nationalist. At age 13, adolescents who reported receiving more egalitarian messages ($\gamma = -0.46$, $p < .01$) endorsed nationalist ideology less strongly (Table 22). Conversely, adolescents who received messages stressing barriers between racial groups had higher levels of nationalist ideology ($\gamma = 0.36$, $p < .01$). Over time, adolescents who reported a higher number of egalitarian messages at time 1 had a more pronounced growth of nationalist ideology than adolescents who received fewer egalitarian messages at time 1 ($\gamma = 0.12$, $p < .05$).

Examining Mothers' Transmitted Racial Socialization and Adolescent Racial Identity

The next set of models examined the relation between mothers' race-related messages and practices and adolescents racial identity at age 13 and over time. These models controlled for the age and gender of the adolescent participants.

Level 1 Model

Racial Identity = $\pi_0 + \pi_1$ (Linear Trend) + E

Level 2 Model

$\pi_0 = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}$ (Adolescent Gender) + γ_{02} (Adolescent Age) + γ_{03} (Mother Egalitarian) + γ_{03} (Mother Negative) + γ_{04} (Mother Barriers) + γ_{05} (Mother Pride) + γ_{06} (Mother Self-Worth) + γ_{07} (Mother Behaviors) + U_0

$\pi_1 = \gamma_{10} + \gamma_{11}$ (Adolescent Gender) + γ_{12} (Adolescent Age) + γ_{13} (Mother Egalitarian) + γ_{13} (Mother Negative) + γ_{14} (Mother Barriers) + γ_{15} (Mother Pride) + γ_{16} (Mother Self-Worth) + γ_{17} (Mother Behaviors)

Centrality. Although the model indicated significant individual variation in Centrality at time 1 ($\gamma_{00} = 3.87$, $p < 0.001$), neither the control variables nor the mothers' racial socialization variables explained any of this variation. Moreover, none of the study variables moderated the growth of centrality over time (Table 23).

Private Regard. There were individual differences in adolescents' feelings about being Black at time 1 ($\gamma_{00} = 4.68$, $p < 0.001$), but neither the control variables nor the mothers' racial socialization variables explained any of this variation. Similarly, none of the study variables moderated the growth of private regard over time (Table 24).

Public Regard. Though the model indicated significant individual variation in adolescents' public regard at time 1 ($\gamma_{00} = 3.18$, $p < 0.001$), neither the control variables nor the mothers' racial socialization variables explained any of this variation. However, the linear trend for public regard was moderated by mothers' messages stressing equality between racial groups (Figure 6). Children whose mothers reported conveying more egalitarian messages thought that other groups had a more positive view of African Americans as time progressed, whereas those who received less of these messages thought that other groups had less positive feelings about African Americans (Table 25).

Assimilationist. The model indicated that adolescent males were more likely to believe that African Americans should strive to fit in with mainstream society at age 13. However, none of the mothers' messages or socialization practices explained variation in assimilationist messages at age 13 or moderated the growth of this dimension over time (Table 26).

Humanist. Although the model indicated significant individual variation in the humanist ideology at time 1 ($\gamma_{00} = 3.75$, $p < 0.001$), neither the control variables nor the mothers' racial socialization variables explained any of this variation. Moreover, none of the study variables moderated the growth of humanist ideology over time (Table 27).

Minority. Adolescents who received more messages stressing negative aspects of African Americans had lower levels of minority ideology at age 13 ($\gamma = -0.60$, $p < .05$). On the other hand, transmission of negative messages was associated with higher levels of minority ideology over time ($\gamma = 0.33$, $p < 0.05$; Table 28, Figure 7).

Nationalist. The model indicated significant individual variation at both age 13 ($\gamma = 3.29$, $p < 0.01$) and over time ($\gamma = 0.11$, $p = 0.01$), however, none of the study variables explained any of the variation in nationalist ideology (Table 29).

Summary of Question# 3: Modeling Effects of Racial Socialization over Time

Overall, the present study found fewer relationships between maternal socialization messages and adolescent racial identity than between adolescent perceived racial socialization messages and adolescent racial identity. These results also demonstrated that the two perspectives of racial socialization exert unique effects on racial identity outcomes. For example, mother transmitted egalitarian messages were significant predictors of children's public regard. However, adolescent perceived

egalitarian messages did not share a similar relationship with adolescent public regard. Instead, public regard was related to adolescent perceived behavioral socialization. These findings, together with findings from the other two research questions, demonstrate the uniqueness of the two perspectives of racial socialization messages and practices.

Table 1. Means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations between adolescent perceived racial socialization and demographic variables.

Variable	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Egalitarian	1.34	0.52	–									
2. Negative	0.18	0.32	-0.12	–								
3. Barriers	1.23	0.54	0.35**	0.02	–							
4. Pride	1.45	0.47	0.53**	-0.21**	0.42**	–						
5. Behavioral	1.18	0.52	0.37**	0.01	0.45**	0.59**	–					
6. Self-worth	1.69	0.44	0.57**	-0.21**	0.37**	0.49**	0.34**	–				
7. Son	–	–	-0.13^{+}	0.11	-0.08	-0.31**	-0.21**	-0.17*	–			
8. Adolescent Age	13.65	1.2	-0.05	-0.07	0.15*	0.08	0.12	0.04	0.05	–		
9. Mother's Education	5.00	1.88	0.07	-0.13	0.15*	0.20**	0.23**	0.14	0.01	0.04	–	
10. Mother Married	–	–	-0.04	-0.1	0.04	0	0.08	-0.03	-0.01	0.07	0.35**	–

Note: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

Table 2. Means and standard deviations for adolescent racial identity and intercorrelations between racial identity and adolescent perceived racial socialization.

Variable	*M*	*SD*	Egalitarian	Negative	Barriers	Pride	Behavioral	Self-worth
Centrality	3.92	0.80	0.04	-0.14	0.12	0.07	0.06	0.02
Private Regard	4.58	0.66	0.12	-0.11	0.03	0.06	-0.01	0.08
Public Regard	3.13	0.91	0.08	0.00	-0.30**	-0.03	-0.09	0.06
Assimilationist	1.71	0.72	-0.09	0.22**	-0.15*	-0.09	-0.01	-0.08
Humanist	3.62	0.81	0.14	-0.10	-0.07	0.03	-0.02	0.15*
Minority	3.97	0.72	0.21**	-0.10	0.09	0.14	0.07	0.13
Nationalist	3.42	0.88	-0.07	-0.10	0.20**	0.15*	0.10	-0.06

Note: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

Table 3. Means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations between mothers' transmitted racial socialization and demographic variables.

Variable	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Egalitarian	1.54	0.48	–									
2. Negative	0.10	0.21	0.08	–								
3. Barriers	1.41	0.57	0.38**	0.09	–							
4. Pride	1.74	0.36	0.38**	-0.15*	0.45**	–						
5. Behavioral	1.43	0.48	0.23**	-0.01	0.33**	0.60**	–					
6. Self-worth	1.88	0.23	0.30**	-0.25**	0.29**	0.30**	0.12	–				
7. Son	–	–	0.01	-0.08	0.06	-0.04	-0.06	0.11	–			
8. Adolescent Age	13.65	1.20	0.00	-0.13	0.04	0.10	0.08	0.00	0.05	–		
9. Mother's Education	5.00	1.88	-0.09	-0.21**	0.03	0.16	0.25**	0.04	0.01	0.04	–	
10. Mother Married	–	–	-0.03	-0.16	-0.02	0.09	0.09	-0.01	-0.01	0.07	0.35**	–

Table 4. Intercorrelations between adolescent racial identity and mother transmitted racial socialization messages and practices.

Variable	Egalitarian	Negative	Racial Barriers	Racial Pride	Behavioral	Self-worth
Centrality	-0.01	-0.04	-0.10	0.03	0.11	-0.08
Private Regard	-0.11	-0.06	-0.08	0.04	0.04	0.01
Public Regard	0.05	0.10	-0.01	-0.03	-0.02	0.03
Assimilationist	0.06	0.17*	0.05	0.06	0.13	-0.09
Humanist	-0.02	-0.01	0.06	-0.11	-0.11	-0.04
Minority	0.14	-0.01	0.13	0.21**	0.11	0.10
Nationalist	0.01	-0.18*	-0.04	0.19**	0.17*	0.06

Note: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

Table 5. Intercorrelations between mother transmitted and adolescent perceived racial socialization messages and practices.

	Mother Variable					
Adolescent Variable	Egalitarian	Negative	Barriers	Pride	Behavioral	Self-worth
Egalitarian	0.15*	0.01	0.23**	0.12	0.14	0.13
Negative	0.08	0.27**	0.12	-0.01	0.02	-0.06
Barriers	0.05	-0.06	0.23**	0.03	0.09	0.08
Pride	0.05	-0.06	0.18*	0.22**	0.22**	0.13
Behavioral	-0.01	-0.02	0.18*	0.14*	0.35**	0.02
Self-worth	0.06	-0.14*	0.08	0.06	0.06	0.19**

Note: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

Table 6. Sample Kolmogorov-Smirnov test for the difference between adolescent and mother racial socialization messages and practices (N= 204).

	Normal Parameters		Most Extreme				
Difference	*M*	*SD*	Absolute	Positive	Negative	*Z*	
Egalitarian	-0.19	0.65	0.12	0.11	-0.12	1.73	***
Negative	0.08	0.33	0.27	0.27	-0.22	3.89	***
Barriers	-0.18	0.69	0.14	0.14	-0.08	2.00	***
Pride	-0.29	0.52	0.14	0.12	-0.14	1.97	***
Behavioral	-0.25	0.57	0.11	0.09	-0.11	1.56	***
Self-Worth	-0.19	0.46	0.28	0.20	-0.28	3.95	***

Note: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

Table 7. Wilcoxon test for the difference between adolescent and mother racial socialization messages and practices.

Difference	Ranks	N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks	*Z*	
Egalitiarian	Negative	106	84.92	9002	-3.87	***
	Positive	57	76.56	4364		
	Ties	41				
	Total	204				
Negative	Negative	38	47.62	1809.5	-3.04	***
	Positive	66	55.31	3650.5		
	Ties	100				
	Total	204				
Barriers	Negative	107	81.77	8749	-4.13	***
	Positive	52	76.37	3971		
	Ties	45				
	Total	204				
Pride	Negative	128	84.98	10878	-7.03	***
	Positive	35	71.09	2488		
	Ties	41				
	Total	204				
Behavioral	Negative	128	93.33	11946	-5.81	***
	Positive	50	79.70	3985		
	Ties	26				
	Total	204				
Self-worth	Negative	78	58.08	4530.5	-5.40	***
	Positive	28	40.73	1140.5		
	Ties	98				
	Total	204				

Note: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

Table 8. Comparison between Pearson's *r* correlation and correlations computed from SEM latent variable models for racial socialization messages.

Variable	Pearson's *r*	SEM
Egalitarian	0.15	0.18
Negative	0.27	0.44
Barriers	0.23	0.32
Pride	0.22	0.21*
Behavioral	0.35	0.42
Self-Worth	0.19	0.18

*Structural equation model did not have adequate fit to the data.

Table 9. Baseline model for centrality over time.

	Centrality			
	Coefficient	*df*	*t*	
Intercept, γ_{00}	3.85	255	69.35	***
Linear Trend, $\gamma 10$	0.00	575	0.07	

Note: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

Table 10. Baseline model for private regard over time.

	Private Regard			
	Coefficient	*df*	*t*	
Intercept, γ_{00}	4.64	204	104.56	***
Linear Trend, $\gamma 10$	-0.02	467	-0.81	

Note: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

Table 11. Baseline model for public regard over time.

	Public Regard			
	Coefficient	*df*	*t*	
Intercept, γ_{00}	3.30	204	46.00	***
Linear Trend, $\gamma 10$	-0.08	467	-2.66	***

Note: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

Table 12. Baseline model for assimilationist ideology over time.

	Assimilationist			
	Coefficient	*df*	*t*	
Intercept, γ_{00}	1.83	204	29.10	***
Linear Trend, $\gamma 10$	0.00	467	-0.04	

Note: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

Table 13. Baseline model for humanist ideology over time.

	Humanist			
	Coefficient	*df*	*t*	
Intercept, γ_{00}	3.70	255	67.71	***
Linear Trend, $\gamma 10$	0.00	574	0.04	

Note: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

Table 14. Baseline model for minority ideology over time.

	Minority			
	Coefficient	*df*	*t*	
Intercept, γ_{00}	4.03	255	84.89	***
Linear Trend, $\gamma 10$	0.00	574	0.10	

Note: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

Table 15. Baseline model for nationalist ideology over time.

	Nationalist			
	Coefficient	*df*	*t*	
Intercept, γ_{00}	3.25	255	54.73	***
Linear Trend, $\gamma 10$	0.15	575	5.77	***

Note: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

Table 16. Growth curve analysis of adolescent racial centrality as a function of control variables and child perceived racial socialization messages.

	Centrality			
	Coefficient	*df*	*t*	
Intercept, γ_{00}	3.87	196	40.99	***
Age, γ_{01}	0.00	196	0.02	
Male, γ_{02}	-0.13	196	-0.95	
Egalitarian, γ_{03}	0.21	196	1.34	
Negative, γ_{04}	0.05	196	-0.26	
Racial Barriers, γ_{05}	0.22	196	1.66	+
Racial Pride, γ_{06}	-0.09	196	-0.46	
Behavioral, γ_{07}	0.06	196	0.35	
Self-worth, γ_{08}	-0.29	196	-1.72	+
Linear Trend, γ_{10}	0.00	196	-0.09	
Age, γ_{11}	0.01	196	0.49	
Male, γ_{12}	0.05	196	0.91	
Egalitarian, γ_{13}	-0.10	196	-1.56	
Negative, γ_{14}	-0.06	196	-0.64	
Racial Barriers, γ_{15}	0.01	196	0.12	
Racial Pride, γ_{16}	0.17	196	2.00	*
Behavioral, γ_{17}	0.00	196	0.01	
Self-worth, γ_{18}	0.01	196	0.18	

Note: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

Figure 3. The relationship between centrality and linear trend is moderated by adolescent perceived racial pride messages.

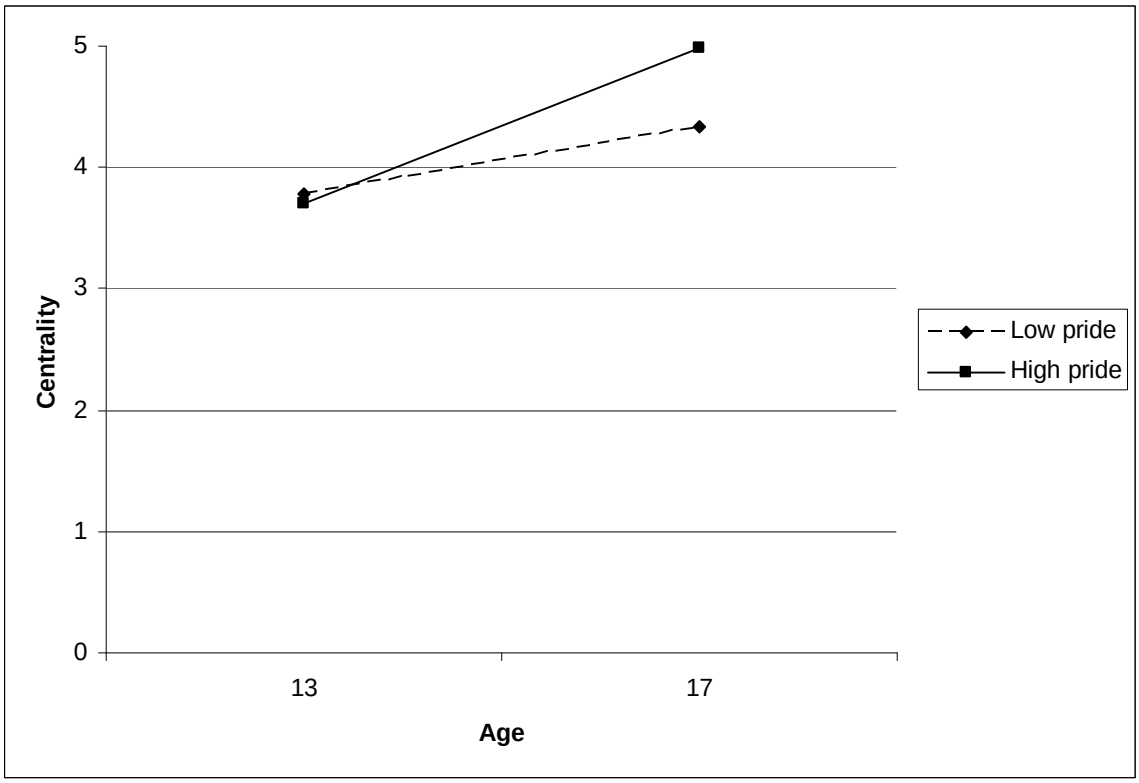


Table 17. Growth curve analysis of adolescent private regard as a function of control variables and child perceived racial socialization messages.

	Private Regard			
	Coefficient	*df*	*t*	
Intercept, γ_{00}	4.66	196	70.63	***
Age, γ_{01}	0.03	196	0.69	
Male, γ_{02}	-0.02	196	-0.18	
Egalitarian, γ_{03}	0.05	196	0.47	
Negative, γ_{04}	-0.17	196	-1.32	
Racial Barriers, γ_{05}	0.04	196	0.48	
Racial Pride, γ_{06}	0.09	196	0.72	
Behavioral, γ_{07}	0.01	196	0.10	
Self-worth, γ_{08}	0.07	196	0.61	
Linear Trend, γ_{10}	-0.04	196	-1.09	
Age, γ_{11}	0.01	196	0.66	
Male, γ_{12}	-0.01	196	-0.15	
Egalitarian, γ_{13}	0.05	196	1.08	
Negative, γ_{14}	-0.01	196	-0.13	
Racial Barriers, γ_{15}	0.02	196	0.52	
Racial Pride, γ_{16}	0.03	196	0.50	
Behavioral, γ_{17}	-0.03	196	-0.64	
Self-worth, γ_{18}	-0.11	196	-1.88	+

Note: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, $^{+}p < 0.10$

Table 18. Growth curve analysis of adolescent public regard as a function of control variables and child perceived racial socialization messages.

	Public Regard			
	Coefficient	*df*	*t*	
Intercept, γ_{00}	3.15	196	30.89	***
Age, γ_{01}	0.02	196	0.31	
Male, γ_{02}	0.30	196	2.44	*
Egalitarian, γ_{03}	0.35	196	2.11	*
Negative, γ_{04}	0.00	196	0.13	
Racial Barriers, γ_{05}	-0.80	196	-5.43	***
Racial Pride, γ_{06}	0.01	196	0.35	
Behavioral, γ_{07}	0.19	196	1.13	
Self-worth, γ_{08}	-0.17	196	-0.94	
Linear Trend, γ_{10}	-0.04	196	-0.88	
Age, γ_{11}	0.03	196	0.99	
Male, γ_{12}	-0.12	196	-1.67	+
Egalitarian, γ_{13}	-0.06	196	-0.73	
Negative, γ_{14}	-0.08	196	-0.66	
Racial Barriers, γ_{15}	0.10	196	1.39	
Racial Pride, γ_{16}	0.09	196	0.83	
Behavioral, γ_{17}	-0.18	196	-2.63	*
Self-worth, γ_{18}	0.17	196	1.71	+

Note: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

Figure 4. The relationship between public regard and linear trend is moderated by adolescent perceived behavioral socialization.

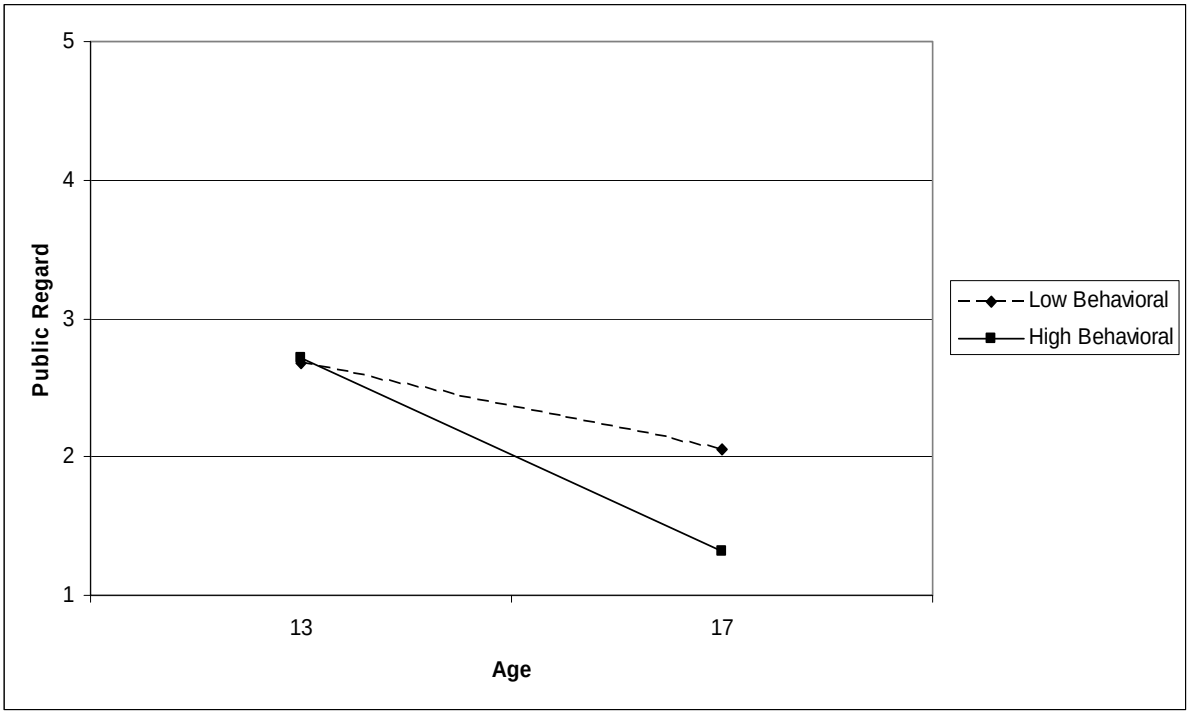


Table 19. Growth curve analysis of adolescent assimilationist ideology as a function of control variables and child perceived racial socialization messages.

	Assimilationist			
	Coefficient	*df*	*t*	
Intercept, γ_{00}	1.73	196	17.44	***
Age, γ_{01}	0.00	196	-0.05	
Male, γ_{02}	0.23	196	1.62	
Egalitarian, γ_{03}	-0.17	196	-1.08	
Negative, γ_{04}	0.94	196	4.59	***
Racial Barriers, γ_{05}	-0.09	196	-0.65	
Racial Pride, γ_{06}	0.27	196	1.38	
Behavioral, γ_{07}	-0.22	196	-1.31	
Self-worth, γ_{08}	-0.19	196	-1.05	
Linear Trend, γ_{10}	0.00	196	-0.08	
Age, γ_{11}	0.01	196	0.22	
Male, γ_{12}	0.00	196	-0.07	
Egalitarian, γ_{13}	0.05	196	0.61	
Negative, γ_{14}	-0.20	196	-1.85	+
Racial Barriers, γ_{15}	0.03	196	0.49	
Racial Pride, γ_{16}	-0.14	196	-1.47	
Behavioral, γ_{17}	0.10	196	1.30	
Self-worth, γ_{18}	0.18	196	2.09	*

Note: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

Figure 5. The relationship between assimilationist ideology and linear trend is moderated by adolescent perceived self-worth messages.

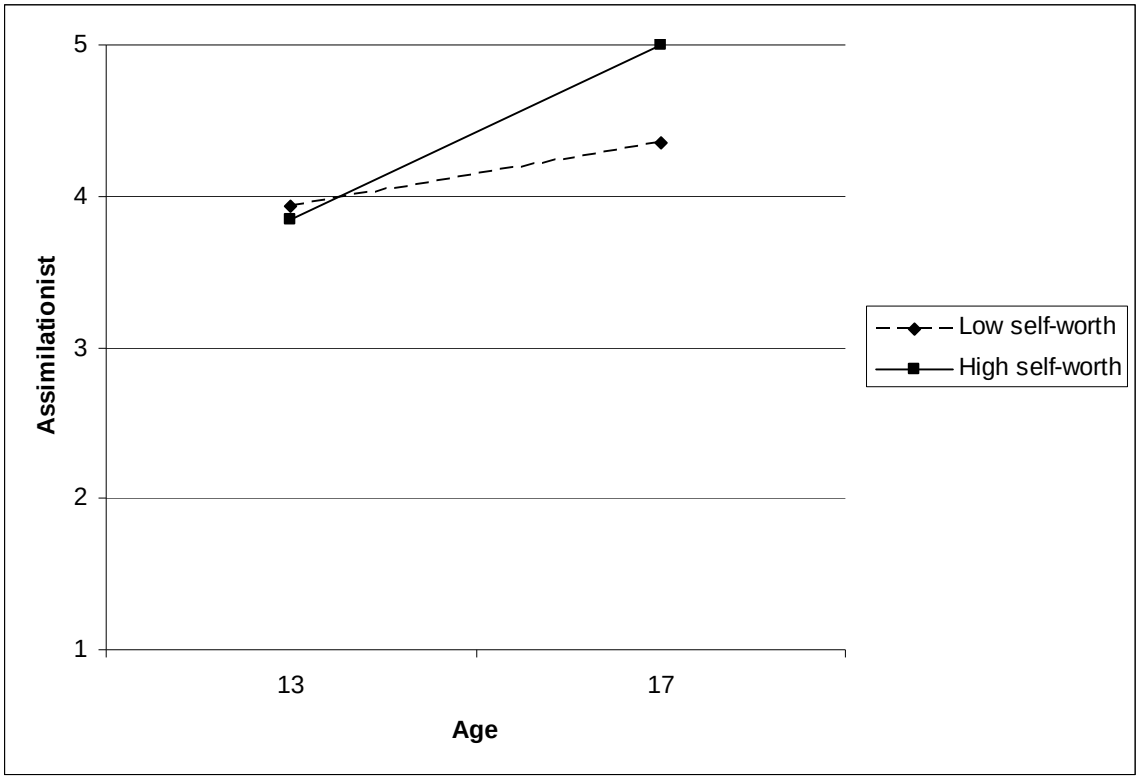


Table 20. Growth curve analysis of adolescent humanist ideology as a function of control variables and child perceived racial socialization messages.

	Humanist			
	Coefficient	*df*	*t*	
Intercept, γ_{00}	3.74	196	40.30	***
Age, γ_{01}	0.06	196	0.88	
Male, γ_{02}	0.03	196	0.23	
Egalitarian, γ_{03}	0.22	196	1.49	
Negative, γ_{04}	-0.01	196	-0.08	
Racial Barriers, γ_{05}	-0.29	196	-2.26	*
Racial Pride, γ_{06}	-0.06	196	-0.31	
Behavioral, γ_{07}	-0.02	196	-0.13	
Self-worth, γ_{08}	0.16	196	0.98	
Linear Trend, γ_{10}	0.03	196	0.57	
Age, γ_{11}	-0.04	196	-1.54	
Male, γ_{12}	-0.04	196	-0.65	
Egalitarian, γ_{13}	0.02	196	0.30	
Negative, γ_{14}	0.04	196	0.41	
Racial Barriers, γ_{15}	0.04	196	0.59	
Racial Pride, γ_{16}	-0.04	196	-0.38	
Behavioral, γ_{17}	-0.07	196	-0.87	
Self-worth, γ_{18}	0.05	196	0.60	

Note: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

Table 21. Growth curve analysis of adolescent minority ideology as a function of control variables and child perceived racial socialization messages.

	Minority			
	Coefficient	*df*	*t*	
Intercept, γ_{00}	4.01	196	46.15	***
Age, γ_{01}	0.07	196	1.06	
Male, γ_{02}	0.17	196	1.44	
Egalitarian, γ_{03}	0.26	196	1.83	+
Negative, γ_{04}	-0.39	196	-2.24	*
Racial Barriers, γ_{05}	-0.02	196	-0.15	
Racial Pride, γ_{06}	-0.10	196	-0.59	
Behavioral, γ_{07}	0.25	196	1.75	+
Self-worth, γ_{08}	0.08	196	0.50	
Linear Trend, γ_{10}	0.00	196	-0.04	
Age, γ_{11}	-0.01	196	-0.32	
Male, γ_{12}	-0.08	196	-1.43	
Egalitarian, γ_{13}	-0.03	196	-0.40	
Negative, γ_{14}	0.09	196	0.93	
Racial Barriers, γ_{15}	-0.03	196	-0.48	
Racial Pride, γ_{16}	0.09	196	1.03	
Behavioral, γ_{17}	-0.11	196	-1.70	+
Self-worth, γ_{18}	-0.02	196	-0.23	

Note: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

Table 22. Growth curve analysis of adolescent nationalist ideology as a function of control variables and child perceived racial socialization messages.

	Nationalist			
	Coefficient	*df*	*t*	
Intercept, γ_{00}	3.26	196	31.65	***
Age, γ_{01}	0.02	196	0.30	
Male, γ_{02}	0.07	196	0.48	
Egalitarian, γ_{03}	-0.46	196	-2.68	**
Negative, γ_{04}	0.01	196	0.04	
Racial Barriers, γ_{05}	0.36	196	2.40	*
Racial Pride, γ_{06}	0.28	196	1.33	
Behavioral, γ_{07}	0.24	196	1.40	
Self-worth, γ_{08}	-0.22	196	-1.19	
Linear Trend, γ_{10}	0.14	196	3.00	**
Age, γ_{11}	0.00	196	0.07	
Male, γ_{12}	-0.05	196	-0.86	
Egalitarian, γ_{13}	0.12	196	1.82	+
Negative, γ_{14}	0.01	196	0.14	
Racial Barriers, γ_{15}	0.02	196	0.33	
Racial Pride, γ_{16}	-0.01	196	-0.11	
Behavioral, γ_{17}	-0.05	196	-0.73	
Self-worth, γ_{18}	-0.05	196	-0.66	

Note: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

Table 23. Growth curve analysis of adolescent racial centrality as a function of control variables and parent transmitted racial socialization messages.

	Centrality			
	Coefficient	*df*	*t*	
Intercept, γ_{00}	3.87	196	41.37	***
Age, γ_{01}	0.02	196	0.26	
Male, γ_{02}	-0.10	196	-0.80	
Egalitarian, γ_{03}	0.04	196	0.28	
Negative, γ_{04}	-0.03	196	-0.08	
Racial Barriers, γ_{05}	0.02	196	0.15	
Racial Pride, γ_{06}	-0.25	196	-1.04	
Behavioral, γ_{07}	0.14	196	0.79	
Self-worth, γ_{08}	-0.13	196	-0.43	
Linear Trend, γ_{10}	0.00	196	-0.04	
Age, γ_{11}	0.01	196	0.55	
Male, γ_{12}	0.05	196	0.81	
Egalitarian, γ_{13}	-0.04	196	-0.55	
Negative, γ_{14}	0.05	196	0.30	
Racial Barriers, γ_{15}	-0.03	196	-0.46	
Racial Pride, γ_{16}	0.03	196	0.23	
Behavioral, γ_{17}	0.12	196	1.62	
Self-worth, γ_{18}	0.07	196	0.51	

Note: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

Table 24. Growth curve analysis of adolescent private regard as a function of control variables and parent transmitted racial socialization messages.

	Private Regard			
	Coefficient	*df*	*t*	
Intercept, γ_{00}	4.68	196	72.06	***
Age, γ_{01}	0.04	196	0.76	
Male, γ_{02}	-0.06	196	-0.73	
Egalitarian, γ_{03}	-0.12	196	-1.20	
Negative, γ_{04}	-0.15	196	-0.70	
Racial Barriers, γ_{05}	0.02	196	0.19	
Racial Pride, γ_{06}	0.11	196	0.67	
Behavioral, γ_{07}	0.02	196	0.19	
Self-worth, γ_{08}	-0.02	196	-0.08	
Linear Trend, γ_{10}	-0.05	196	-1.49	
Age, γ_{11}	0.01	196	0.54	
Male, γ_{12}	0.01	196	0.34	
Egalitarian, γ_{13}	0.00	196	0.04	
Negative, γ_{14}	-0.05	196	-0.43	
Racial Barriers, γ_{15}	0.01	196	0.12	
Racial Pride, γ_{16}	-0.07	196	-0.83	
Behavioral, γ_{17}	0.07	196	1.31	
Self-worth, γ_{18}	-0.07	196	-0.63	

Note: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

Table 25. Growth curve analysis of adolescent public regard as a function of control variables and parent transmitted racial socialization messages.

	Public Regard			
	Coefficient	*df*	*t*	
Intercept, γ_{00}	3.18	196	29.99	***
Age, γ_{01}	-0.01	196	-0.10	
Male, γ_{02}	0.23	196	1.55	
Egalitarian, γ_{03}	-0.17	196	-0.99	
Negative, γ_{04}	0.38	196	1.01	
Racial Barriers, γ_{05}	-0.12	196	-0.80	
Racial Pride, γ_{06}	-0.02	196	-0.09	
Behavioral, γ_{07}	0.03	196	0.13	
Self-worth, γ_{08}	0.24	196	0.69	
Linear Trend, γ_{10}	-0.06	196	-1.17	
Age, γ_{11}	0.04	196	1.27	
Male, γ_{12}	-0.10	196	-1.43	
Egalitarian, γ_{13}	0.18	196	2.13	*
Negative, γ_{14}	0.22	196	1.16	
Racial Barriers, γ_{15}	-0.03	196	-0.44	
Racial Pride, γ_{16}	-0.10	196	-0.73	
Behavioral, γ_{17}	0.12	196	1.29	
Self-worth, γ_{18}	-0.09	196	-0.49	

Note: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

Figure 6. The relationship between public regard and linear trend is moderated by mother transmitted egalitarian messages.

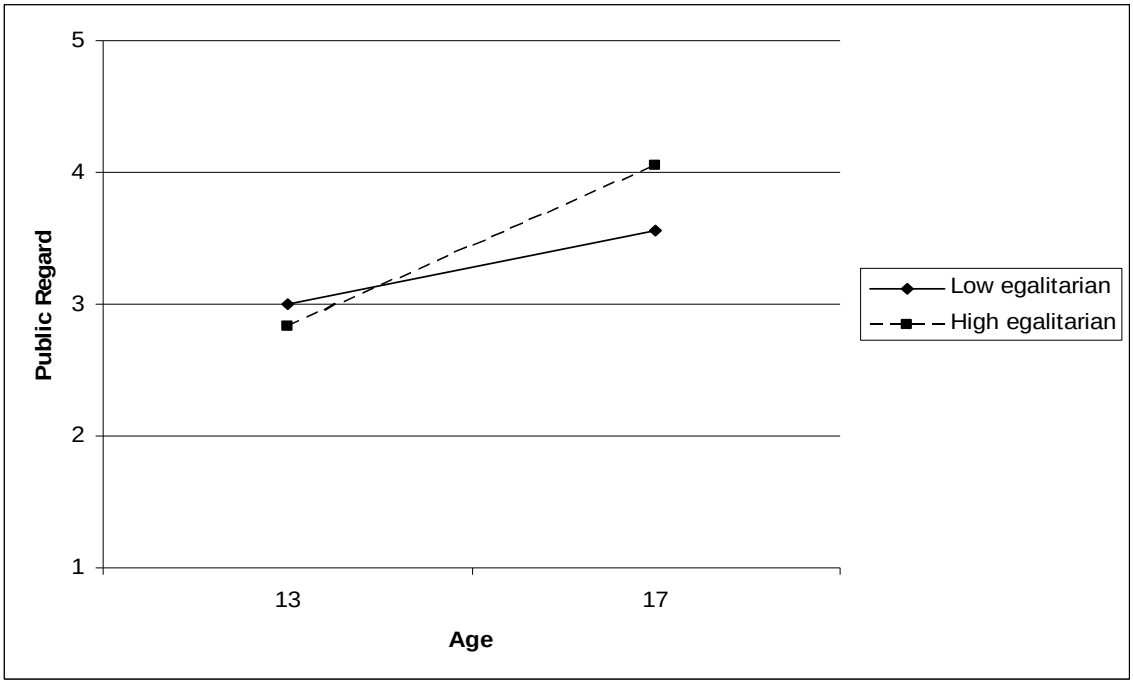


Table 26. Growth curve analysis of adolescent assimilationist ideology as a function of control variables and parent transmitted racial socialization messages.

	Assimilationist			
	Coefficient	*df*	*t*	
Intercept, γ_{00}	1.69	196	16.61	***
Age, γ_{01}	-0.03	196	-0.40	
Male, γ_{02}	0.30	196	2.10	*
Egalitarian, γ_{03}	0.23	196	1.40	
Negative, γ_{04}	0.25	196	0.70	
Racial Barriers, γ_{05}	-0.04	196	-0.25	
Racial Pride, γ_{06}	0.18	196	0.68	
Behavioral, γ_{07}	-0.09	196	-0.48	
Self-worth, γ_{08}	-0.17	196	-0.51	
Linear Trend, γ_{10}	0.01	196	0.19	
Age, γ_{11}	0.02	196	0.80	
Male, γ_{12}	-0.03	196	-0.46	
Egalitarian, γ_{13}	-0.05	196	-0.61	
Negative, γ_{14}	0.16	196	0.90	
Racial Barriers, γ_{15}	-0.01	196	-0.19	
Racial Pride, γ_{16}	-0.12	196	-0.92	
Behavioral, γ_{17}	0.10	196	1.12	
Self-worth, γ_{18}	0.00	196	0.00	

Note: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

Table 27. Growth curve analysis of adolescent humanist ideology as a function of control variables and parent transmitted racial socialization messages.

	Humanist			
	Coefficient	*df*	*t*	
Intercept, γ_{00}	3.75	196	41.11	***
Age, γ_{01}	0.03	196	0.37	
Male, γ_{02}	0.00	196	-0.03	
Egalitarian, γ_{03}	0.02	196	0.17	
Negative, γ_{04}	-0.44	196	-1.43	
Racial Barriers, γ_{05}	0.06	196	0.50	
Racial Pride, γ_{06}	-0.16	196	-0.74	
Behavioral, γ_{07}	0.15	196	0.90	
Self-worth, γ_{08}	0.31	196	1.10	
Linear Trend, γ_{10}	0.02	196	0.51	
Age, γ_{11}	-0.04	196	-1.44	
Male, γ_{12}	-0.04	196	-0.60	
Egalitarian, γ_{13}	0.04	196	0.58	
Negative, γ_{14}	0.13	196	0.77	
Racial Barriers, γ_{15}	0.00	196	-0.01	
Racial Pride, γ_{16}	0.03	196	0.25	
Behavioral, γ_{17}	-0.10	196	-1.21	
Self-worth, γ_{18}	-0.15	196	-0.96	

Note: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

Table 28. Growth curve analysis of adolescent minority ideology as a function of control variables and parent transmitted racial socialization messages.

	Minority			
	Coefficient	*df*	*t*	
Intercept, γ_{00}	4.05	196	46.70	***
Age, γ_{01}	0.07	196	0.97	
Male, γ_{02}	0.10	196	0.86	
Egalitarian, γ_{03}	0.14	196	1.01	
Negative, γ_{04}	-0.60	196	-1.99	*
Racial Barriers, γ_{05}	0.08	196	0.64	
Racial Pride, γ_{06}	0.08	196	0.36	
Behavioral, γ_{07}	0.06	196	0.40	
Self-worth, γ_{08}	-0.13	196	-0.47	
Linear Trend, γ_{10}	0.00	196	-0.11	
Age, γ_{11}	-0.01	196	-0.58	
Male, γ_{12}	-0.07	196	-1.21	
Egalitarian, γ_{13}	0.00	196	0.02	
Negative, γ_{14}	0.33	196	2.16	*
Racial Barriers, γ_{15}	-0.04	196	-0.64	
Racial Pride, γ_{16}	0.09	196	0.80	
Behavioral, γ_{17}	0.00	196	-0.03	
Self-worth, γ_{18}	0.06	196	0.43	

Note: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

Figure 7. The relationship between minority ideology and linear trend is moderated by mother transmitted negative messages.

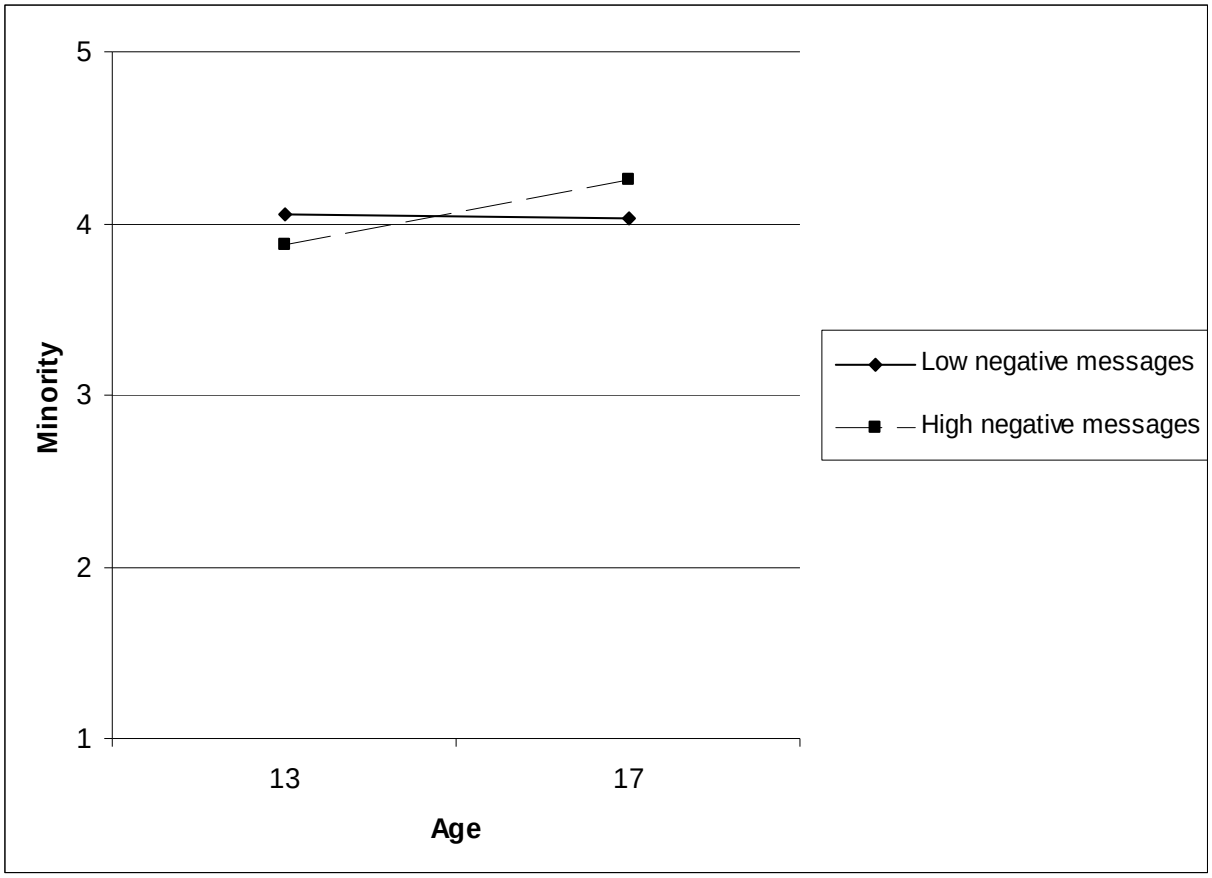


Table 29. Growth curve analysis of adolescent nationalist ideology as a function of control variables and parent transmitted racial socialization messages.

	Nationalist			
	Coefficient	*df*	*t*	
Intercept, γ_{00}	3.29	196	31.14	***
Age, γ_{01}	0.09	196	1.06	
Male, γ_{02}	0.00	196	-0.02	
Egalitarian, γ_{03}	0.00	196	-0.02	
Negative, γ_{04}	-0.47	196	-1.22	
Racial Barriers, γ_{05}	0.11	196	0.73	
Racial Pride, γ_{06}	-0.08	196	-0.29	
Behavioral, γ_{07}	0.18	196	0.86	
Self-worth, γ_{08}	-0.35	196	-1.00	
Linear Trend, γ_{10}	0.12	196	2.56	**
Age, γ_{11}	-0.02	196	-0.59	
Male, γ_{12}	-0.01	196	-0.11	
Egalitarian, γ_{13}	-0.08	196	-1.04	
Negative, γ_{14}	0.06	196	0.37	
Racial Barriers, γ_{15}	-0.03	196	-0.42	
Racial Pride, γ_{16}	0.04	196	0.35	
Behavioral, γ_{17}	0.10	196	1.29	
Self-worth, γ_{18}	0.19	196	1.22	

Note: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The current study examined the relations among adolescent perceived racial socialization messages and mother transmitted messages. It was also concerned with the relationship between these two perspectives of socialization and adolescent racial identity. This study first examined the size and direction of the relationship between the two views of racial socialization. The findings indicated that, although adolescent and parent socialization messages are related, there are substantial differences between the two perspectives. The next set of analysis explored the ways in which adolescent, maternal, and family characteristics shape the relationship between adolescent and maternal views of racial socialization messages and practices. These analyses demonstrated that adolescent gender, maternal education, and family structure affected the relationship between adolescent and maternal reports of behavioral socialization practices. The last set of analyses explored the relation between racial socialization and racial identity over time. Overall, adolescents' perceptions of racial socialization were better predictors of their later racial identity than their mothers' reports of socialization. In the present chapter, I interpret these findings in the context of past research on socialization, in general and racial socialization, specifically. To begin, I compare the magnitude of the correlations found in my analyses with findings from the value socialization literature. Next, I explore some of underlying family and contextual

dynamics underlying the relationship between adolescent and maternal racial socialization messages. The chapter compares the relationships between adolescent perceived socialization and identity, on one hand, and mother transmitted socialization messages, on the other hand. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the broader significance and implications of the study findings.

Correlations between Mother and Adolescent Reports of Racial Socialization Messages and Practices

Although the present study took advantage of recent methodological advances to model the relationship between parent and child reports of racial socialization, the size and direction of the results are similar to those reported in the value socialization literature. For the most part, those studies reported small, positive correlations between parent and child reports of values. One possible explanation for these findings is that, because researchers have rarely used latent variable models, they have underestimated the degree of the relationship between parent and child values. Indeed, in one of the few studies using a latent variable approach, Kohn and colleagues (1986) found abnormally high levels of agreement between parent and child reports of the value of self-direction. Their correlations ranged from 0.52 for the correlation between mothers' self direction values and 0.59 for father's values and children' values. Like the Kohn study, the present study used a latent variable approach. The models also contained correlated error terms between mother and adolescent reports of racial socialization. This methodology should have resulted in better estimates than Pearson's *r* for two reasons. First, the methodology used in the present study allows for estimation of measurement error. The use of latent variables separates measurement error from explainable variance, allowing for more robust estimates of the correlations than alternative approaches. For four of the six racial

socialization dimensions, the estimates of the correlations obtained from the latent variable analysis were greater than the Pearson's *r* for the same pair of variables. Because the vast majority of past (e.g., Acock, Barker, & Bengtson, 1982) and present (e.g., Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009) studies still use Pearson's *r* or regression methods, they underestimate the magnitude of the correlation between parent and child reports. A reexamination of these past studies using the current methodology would likely result in higher estimates of these correlations.

However, even with these key methodological differences, the magnitude of the correlations found in the present study is in line with other research finding small to moderate correlations between parent and child values (Acock & Bengtson, 1978, 1980; Acock, Barker, & Bengtson, 1982; Bengtson, 1975). Although each of the mother and adolescent reports of socialization messages were related to one another, the relationships were small to moderate, ranging from 0.18 for egalitarian messages to 0.44 for negative messages. These relationships indicate substantial differences in perspective between mothers and their adolescent children. The relationships also indicate that some aspects of racial socialization are likely to have more congruence than others. In trying to explain why certain domains of racial socialization evince stronger relationships between mother and adolescent reports, we may gain greater insight into the mechanisms underlying the race socialization process.

In the present study, mother and adolescent reports of racial barriers ($r = 0.32$), socialization behaviors ($r = 0.42$), and negative messages ($r = 0.44$) showed greater congruence than the other three racial socialization dimensions, egalitarian messages, self-worth, and racial pride. The mechanisms behind these correlations may be as

disparate as the messages themselves. One possible mechanism may be the salience of the message in a particular cultural context. Earlier studies using profile approaches have shown that parents transmit a variety of racial socialization messages (Neblett et al., 2008; White-Johnson, Ford, & Sellers, 2009; Stevenson, 1997). This diversity of messages is necessitated by the fact that race-related conversations occur for many different reasons. For instance, a parent might want to talk to her child about race if the child were dating or starting an interracial friendship for the first time. A parent might also want to talk to her child about race in light of relevant current events such as political elections or incidents of police brutality. Finally, a parent might talk about race in the context of racial discrimination. Adolescents might be especially receptive to messages stressing obstacles to interracial cooperation after an incident of discrimination. Studies have confirmed a link between experiences of discrimination and messages warning children to be vigilant about differential treatment (e.g., Fisher, Wallace, & Fenton, 2000; Hughes & Chen, 1997). Parents whose children report discrimination are also more likely to report transmitting barrier messages (Hughes & Chen, 1997) and children who have been discriminated against report more racial barrier socialization (Hughes & Johnson, 2001). Conversely, adolescents might not be receptive to barrier messages after having an enjoyable day at the park with a White friend. In this case, adolescents might be more receptive to messages stressing the common humanity of people from all racial groups. Although a link between the race of children's friends and their racial socialization seems plausible, no extant studies have examined this particular relationship.

Presumably, children's attention to the content of racial socialization messages varies as a function of the contexts they face. Race-related messages, then should be matched to external circumstances for maximum efficacy. Differences in congruence between race-related messages may stem from the extent of the match between the adolescent's context and the content of the message. When there is a close match between the content of the messages and the immediate context surrounding it, as when parents give racial barrier messages in the context of discrimination, we would expect more congruence. However, when the parents' message is inappropriate for the context, as is the case when parents give barrier messages in the presence of racial harmony, we would expect less congruence. Racial barrier messages might be particularly salient during adolescence because children face many novel social contexts, with the transition from elementary school to middle school and, finally, to high school. Adolescents are also spending more time with peers, beginning to date, and perhaps taking on a job. Because African American adolescents are likely to experience discrimination from both peers and authority figures (Burchinal et al., 2008; Fenning & Rose, 2007; Neblett et al., 2006; Seaton & Yip, 2009; Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003), entering new contexts may trigger increased perceptions of racist events. For instance, Seaton and Yip (2009) found that students from more ethnically diverse middle and high schools were more likely to report racial discrimination than children from predominately Black schools. Wong and colleagues (2003) showed that discrimination from peers and teachers can have deleterious effects on children's self esteem and academic achievement. In a review of discipline practices in public schools, Fenning and Rose (2007) demonstrate that African Americans are more likely than White students to be suspended or expelled from school

for non-violent violations of school rules. Taken together, these data indicate that African American children are at risk for racial discrimination in the school context. Given that children are likely to face discrimination from peers and authority figures in their new contexts, it is not surprising that parents give their children messages about possible discrimination during this time. It may be that many African American children may be especially attuned to racial barrier messages given the discriminatory experiences they are likely to face. The relatively high correlation between mother and adolescent racial barriers, then, might be a product of the match between the discrimination endemic to these novel social contexts and the content of the racial socialization messages.

For socialization behaviors, the mechanism for mother-adolescent similarity may be more direct. The socialization behaviors scale is composed of concrete actions that parents use to racially socialize their children, such as having African American books or talking to the child about Black history. These actions are likely to require deliberation as well as a financial investment from parents. Moreover, cultural objects (such as books) are seen frequently in the home and provide a reminder of the parent's socialization efforts in this domain. These actions are likely to be recurrent family traditions (such as a yearly Kwanzaa celebration) or they are permanent objects that may be seen for many years. Thus parents and children are more likely to accurately recall these deliberate actions and physical objects than they are attitudes or statements made in the past year. An additional explanation may come from the group of people most likely to use this sort of socialization strategy. The limited literature on cultural practices has shown that more highly educated and affluent parents are likely to use behavioral socialization (Caughy et al., 2002a, 2002b; White-Johnson, Ford, & Sellers, 2009). Additional literature indicates

that affluent and well-educated parents are also likely to use practices that promote greater parent-child attitude congruence (e.g., Schönpflug, 2001), such as authoritative parenting and more democratic family decision-making. Consequently, the association between parent and child reports of behavioral socialization may be an indirect manifestation of these parenting practices. Parents who use congruence-promoting practices may also report most instances of behavioral socialization.

For negative messages, greater mother-adolescent congruence may be a result of the relative rarity of the messages. Although many studies of race socialization have asked parents and children about the content of the racial socialization messages, few have uncovered evidence of negative messages (Parham & Williams, 1993; Neblett et al., 2008). Moreover, in qualitative studies in which parents are asked about the race-related messages they use with their children (e.g., Bowman & Howard, 1985; Coard et al., 2004; Phinney & Chavira, 1995), negative messages are not often mentioned. However, these results may be the product of social desirability concerns from respondents. Parents and children may be wary of answering that they gave or received messages that cast aspersions on other African Americans. Nevertheless, this rarity may be the root cause of the relatively high congruence between mother and adolescent reports of negative messages. Because negative messages are rare, mothers and adolescents may be distinctly aware of when they have been said.

However, these mechanisms do not explain the relatively low correlations between the other three dimensions of racial socialization: egalitarian, racial pride, and self-worth messages. Interestingly, these three dimensions had the highest mean levels of endorsement for both parents and children. Furthermore, in qualitative studies of racial

socialization messages and practices (e.g., Bowman & Howard, 1985; Brown & Krishnakumar, 2007; Marshall, 1995; Phinney & Chavira, 1995), parents usually report giving these types of socialization messages more frequently. Moreover, all three types of messages seem more socially desirable than the messages that had the highest levels of congruence. Egalitarian messages promote shared understanding between all races of people. Racial pride messages bolster children's sense of group esteem and self-worth messages encourage self-esteem. Racial barrier messages, which focus on discrimination from other racial groups, and negative messages, which highlight African Americans' shortcomings, would seem to be the least socially desirable messages but have some of the highest levels of congruence.

Reasons behind Parent-Child Discrepancies

Although researchers have expressed surprise at the seemingly small correlations between parent and child reports of values (Hoge, Petrillo, & Smith, 1982), there are some important reasons to expect less-than-perfect congruence between these two groups. Whereas methodological constraints and limits of knowledge create some reasons for difference, there are also some important theoretical reasons that suggest low correlations among parent and child reports of racial socialization.

Methodological Reasons

In the methodological realm, there are at least two potential explanations for the differences in mother and adolescent reports of racial socialization. As described previously, the vast majority of the extant literature on parent-child similarity on a variety of attitudes, values, and reports of socialization has relied on either Pearson's *r* or ordinary least squares regression to obtain estimates of the correlation between parent and

child reports. This methodology may result in systematic underestimation of the correlation between reports of racial socialization messages and practices. These methods do not account for measurement error, which attenuates the size of the correlation between parent and child reports. When these sources of error are modeled through the use of latent variables and correlated error terms, the estimates of the size of the correlation are likely to increase, as they did in the present study.

Properly modeling these sources of error mitigates but does not eliminate the measurement problems inherent to this type of research. In the present study, mothers and adolescents are asked to retrospectively report on the racial socialization messages and practices in use in their households over the past year. Research has shown that memory distortions occur in ways that bolster one's self-perception (see Koriat, Goldsmith, & Pansky, 2000 for a review). Thus if a mother thinks of herself as proud of her racial heritage, then she is likely to overestimate the number of times that she told her child to be proud of her heritage. Similarly, the child's recall of racial socialization messages may be biased by her own racial identity. If a child believes that race is an important part of her self-concept, she may overestimate the number of times that her parent told her that she should be proud to be Black. Conversely, a child who has not explored her racial identity might underestimate the number of times that her parent told her to be proud to be Black. Future studies should consider whether the child's racial identity moderates her perception of parents' transmitted socialization messages. The extent of these and other memory distortions could account for some of the observed error in the present study. Another potential methodological problem comes from the way in which parents and children are asked to report about racial socialization. The families headed by unmarried

mothers could have higher levels of congruence than those headed by unmarried mothers because of the way the questions were worded. More specifically, adolescents from two-parent households were told to report on the socialization messages they received from their "parents." Children from single parent homes were instructed to consider the messages they received from one parent. The adolescents from two-parent households were instructed to report about the behavior of both of their parents. Moreover, children from two parent homes might receive contradictory messages from each parent. This discrepancy might conceivably lead to lower levels of congruence between mothers and adolescent reports of race socialization messages in two-parent families. Future studies should explicitly distinguish between the messages that children in two-parent homes receive from each parent. In this way, researchers can begin to disentangle the two sources of race socialization messages.

Theoretical Reasons

There are also theoretical reasons for these discrepancies. Although theories of socialization are largely concerned with continuity from one generation to the next (e.g., Connell, 1972; Mannheim, 1970), they also must account for societal change. For instance, Alwin's (1984) study of Detroit-area parents spanning 1958 to 1983 showed a steady increase in the parental socialization value of autonomy. Over time, successive generations of parents came to believe that independence was more important to their children than obedience to parents. Alwin's (1988) study of parenting socialization values from 1924-1978 shows a similar pattern, with parents becoming more interested in the child's independence over time.

> Parents experiencing social change are likely to want to raise their children differently from what they perceive were their own parents'

> approaches to child rearing, adapting their child-rearing values (and practices) to meet the demands of social life as they currently experience it. Through their orientations to children, the parental generation not only passes along stable norms and values of the culture, it also mediates social change through emphases in child rearing aimed at preparing children for the society of the present and future. (p. 47)

Thus, parents might take deliberate steps to socialize their children differently than they themselves were socialized in order to prepare children for a society that differs markedly from what they themselves experienced as a child. As a consequence of these changes in parenting socialization values, children's behavior also changed. For instance, the children from the 1977 cohort were more likely to want their parents to respect their attitudes and opinions than children from the 1924 cohort. Theoretically, this increased emphasis on independence should result in less continuity between generations, as children are expected to form their own attitudes and values with a diminished number of parental prescriptions. Alwin (1988) attributes this shift to broad changes in the granting of autonomy to family members; society's increased emphasis on education and complex work roles; and the changing values of various ethnicities, religions, and other cultural subgroups. This work illustrates how parenting values can change over time and how those changes can have implications for the similarity between parents and children. Theoretically, these values guide the socialization process and, changes in these values are associated with concomitant shifts in parent messages and practices.

In the case of African American parents, one must consider these broad societal shifts in parenting attitudes and socialization in the context of changes in the racial climate, including desegregation and increased opportunities for education and career advancement. Increased opportunity has been paired with radical changes to the structure of the Black family, increased rates of incarceration, and persistently high rates of

poverty, relative to Whites. To show the complexity of the African American experience, one needs only to look at two contrasting stories from January 2009. On New Year's Day, Oscar Grant, an unarmed 22-year old African American man was shot and killed by White police officer while lying facedown on the ground. On January 20th, Barack Obama was inaugurated as the nation's first Black president. These contrasting stories illustrate how contemporary African American life is posed on the intersection between unprecedented opportunity and the reality of continuing discrimination. It stands to reason that these shifting and complex realities have triggered changes in the ways in which African Americans socialize their children.

It is no wonder, then, that African American parents give their children so many different types of messages about race (Neblett et al., 2008; White-Johnson, Ford, & Sellers, 2009), perhaps in an effort to convey the complexity of the racial context their children will inhabit. Although no extant studies have followed the evolution of racial socialization messages over the last century in the way that Alwin plotted the course of the value of autonomy, it is probable that racial socialization messages have shifted over time to accommodate the changing nature of race in this country. These contextual changes have probably also caused shifts in racial attitudes and behaviors. Because of the continuing changes to the racial context (and thus the narrative of race), we should expect some differences in the ways in which parents and their children think about race. In other words, parents and children probably think differently about race because they have been socialized in contexts that differ from one another. These contextual differences affect the way that parents convey messages and the way that children listen to, interpret, and apply messages. Indeed, we could only expect perfect congruence

between parent and child views when the larger context is static.

Beyond these contextual reasons, there are also developmental phenomena that should lead to parent-child discrepancies. Among these is individuation, the process by which children shift from dependence on their parents to a more peer-like relationship (Auqilino & Supple, 2001, p. 289). During adolescence, children are less closely supervised by their parents and are likely to achieve more autonomy in behavior and cognition (Freeman & Newland, 2002). This period is also characterized by increased identity exploration, including racial or ethnic identity (Phinney, 1992). Although adolescent racial identity is certainly shaped by parents (e.g., Demo & Hughes, 1990; Umaña-Taylor, Bhanot, & Shin, 2006; Thompson, Anderson, & Bakeman, 2000), non-parental influences become more prominent during this time in life and likely exert some effect on the exploration process. Presumably, these influences are not always in line with parents' views on race. Thus, the individuation process creates at least two sources of discontinuity from parents. First, in the process of exploring her own racial identity, the adolescent will likely form views of race that differ at least slightly from her parent's views. These differences may be even more magnified over time, because the adolescent's views of race will probably affect the way that she listens to racial socialization messages. Her perception of racial socialization messages and practices will affect her subsequent racial identity, perhaps causing her attitudes to drift away from her parent's views. It follows that the discrepancy between parent and child racial socialization could represent a feedback loop between the adolescent's identity and perceived socialization. If the child's identity differs markedly from her parent's identity, then this discrepancy will likely grow over time because her perception of racial

messages will be filtered through her identity. Second, because children are exposed to more non-parental influences during adolescence, they are likely to hear a wide range of views about the meaning of race. Her peers, the media, and her immediate social context will affect the adolescent's developing racial consciousness. Because these sources of racial messages are likely to differ from the ones her parents present, the adolescent is likely to have at least slightly different views than her parents.

Demographic Factors Affecting the Relationship of Mother and Adolescent Reports of Racial Socialization Messages

The next research question considered some demographic factors that might moderate the relationship between parent and adolescent reports of racial socialization messages and practices. Prior research has examined some of the reasons for discrepancies between parent and child reports, including the perception of a generation gap (Acock & Bengtson, 1980), immigration to a disparate cultural context (Schönpflug, 2001; Schönpflug, Silbereisen, & Schulz, 1990), differences in parenting style or practices (Steinberg & Morris, 2001), difficulties in communication between opposite gender parents and children (Kulik, 2001), differences on the basis of socioeconomic status (Kohn, 1959, 1963), and differences as a function of parental education (Xiao, 2000). The present study considered whether adolescents' or mothers' demographic factors affected the relationship between adolescent and mothers' reports of racial socialization. The relationship between reports of socialization behaviors differed as a function of adolescent gender, mothers' marital status, and mothers' education. The gender difference is in line with previous research (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009; Sanders Thompson, 1994) indicating that girls are more likely to receive racial socialization messages concerning racial pride and cultural

socialization. Girls may be given more of these types of messages because they will be responsible for passing on the family's cultural traditions to future generations (Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009, p. 29). This consideration is especially important within African American families, because women are likely to head the family without a companion (Mare & Winship, 1991; Mackinnon, 2003) and thus may not be able to share the burden of this cultural transmission with a partner. When they have children of their own, the daughters in this study may be solely responsible for making sure that their children are raised with a strong sense of African American culture. As a result, parents may be more vigilant about using behavioral socialization with their daughters. Moreover, these findings are commensurate with research demonstrating stronger relationships between parent and adolescent reports for same-gender dyads (Acock & Bengtson, 1978). Research shows that mothers are likely to talk to girls more often and are likely to use more supportive speech with them (see Lanvers, 2004 for a review). This relatively higher baseline level and superior quality of mother-daughter communication might pave the way for greater congruence on a wide variety of topics, including the content and frequency of race socialization messages.

Although this study found that mothers' reports of racial socialization messages do not differ on the basis of their child's gender, the adolescent daughters in the sample were likely to report receiving more racial pride, behavioral socialization, and self-worth messages than the sons in the sample. Differences in perceived frequency, communication style, or reporting bias could explain the differences between adolescent boys and girls. Mothers might communicate with daughters more frequently because of their importance in passing cultural traditions (Hill, 2001, 2002). Alternatively, mothers

could transmit the same number of messages to their sons and daughters, but they might talk to daughters in ways that ease the transmission of information. In other words, boys and girls might receive the same content and frequency of messages, but stylistic differences in the way that the messages are delivered could cause the observed difference in congruence. For instance, because mothers use more supportive speech when talking to daughters (Lanvers, 2004), daughters might be more likely to listen to the content of race socialization messages than sons who generally receive less supportive speech. Lastly, mothers could be overestimating the number of messages that they give to their sons or underestimating the number they give to their daughters. Daughters' reports of socialization might be a more accurate representation of the family dynamics. Although parents broadly support notions of gender equality, in practice, boys and girls are often treated differently (Hill, 2001). To examine this difference fully, it would be necessary to study within-family differences in race socialization between sons and daughters. If daughters reported more behavioral socialization than sons in this type of study, we would have more evidence that parents socialize daughters differently in this domain. It will also be necessary to examine whether daughters are simply more perceptive or otherwise better able to understand the messages that their parents send. Taken together, these findings underscore how little is presently known about the gender dynamics underlying the transmission and reception of race socialization messages.

There was also a significant difference in the relationship between parent and adolescent reports of behavioral socialization on the basis of parents' marital status. There was higher congruence within families with married mothers than within families with unmarried mothers. This finding was counter to the hypothesis that families headed

by unmarried mothers would have higher levels of congruence than those headed by married mothers. This hypothesis assumed that adolescents from two-parent households would show lower levels of congruence because they reported on both of their parents, whereas children from single-parent households reported on only one parent. Presumably, adolescents from two-parent households could receive twice the number of messages than children from single-parent homes. The structure of the race socialization questionnaire instructs children to think about the messages they receive from both parents, whereas the mothers in the sample were instructed to consider which messages they gave to the child in the sample. This discrepancy might conceivably lead to lower levels of congruence between mothers and adolescent reports in two-parent families. However, this distinction between single and two-parent homes seems less relevant in the case of behavioral socialization. Behavioral socialization involves deliberate actions and physical objects that parents use to socialize their children whereas the other socialization dimensions are concerned with the transmission of attitudes. The child might not distinguish between which parent provided her with *The Bluest Eye* or took her to a Black history museum. Mothers in two-parent homes might also see behavioral socialization as a joint decision made with their partners and thus might not make a distinction between, for example, what books they have provided and which ones their husband gave to the child. Moreover, mothers from two-parent homes might be more likely to use the parenting practices that result in higher levels of agreement between parents and children. Although this study did not contain a measure of such practices, it is plausible that they provide the link between mothers' marital status and congruence. Future studies should examine whether married parents are more likely to use congruence-promoting strategies

(e.g., democratic family decision-making, positive parenting, and authoritative parenting) and whether these strategies are related to higher correlations between mother and adolescent reports of racial socialization.

The present study also found differences in the congruence of behavioral socialization on the basis of the mother's educational attainment. College-educated mothers had higher levels of congruence with their adolescent children than non-college educated mothers. The mechanism for this connection is likely similar to the mechanism for marital status. Namely, because college-educated mothers are likely to use authoritative parenting and democratic family decision-making strategies, they are also more likely to have higher levels of agreement with their adolescent children.

There were no other significant interactions between demographic factors and reports of racial socialization messages. I hypothesized gender differences in the congruence of racial barrier messages, because previous research has demonstrated that boys are more likely to receive messages warning them of possible discrimination from peers and authority figures (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009; Sanders Thompson, 1994). Hughes and colleagues (2009) found that mothers and sons had higher correlations on preparation for bias than mothers and daughters. However, in the present study adolescent sons were no more likely to report racial barrier messages than adolescent girls (r = .06, n.s.) and there were no gender differences in the congruence of the messages with parents.

Interestingly, all of the significant differences in congruence occurred with the behavioral socialization dimension and not with the others that tap into verbal messages that parents send to children. These findings highlight the importance of distinguishing

between the actions parents take and the statements they make to their children about race. Congruence of behavioral socialization is likely tied to stylistic variation in parenting practices that differs on the basis of the gender of the child, the mother's marital status, and the mother's educational attainment. Further research will have to establish which dimensions of parenting are implicated in this process of behavioral socialization to explain the mechanism behind these demographic differences.

Examining the Role of Parental Racial Socialization in Adolescent Racial Identity

The third research question concerned the relationship between racial socialization messages and racial identity among adolescents. Although this topic has been well researched, few studies have examined how parent and child racial socialization differentially predict racial identity outcomes (Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009). Moreover, few studies have examined the relationship between racial socialization and racial identity over time.

Racial Socialization from the Adolescents' Perspective

The present study found that the content of adolescent perceived socialization messages affected many aspects of racial identity at age 13. Egalitarian messages were associated with higher public regard and lower levels of nationalist ideology at the first time point. Egalitarian messages, which stress similarity between racial groups, are associated with feeling that other groups value African Americans. If children are told that all racial groups should be treated the same, they are likely to believe that members of other racial groups hold similar views of equality about African Americans. The other finding, showing that these messages about racial equality are associated with less endorsement of the uniqueness of the African American experience, indicates that these messages are

associated with less focus on the uniqueness of the African American experience. This diminished focus is understandable given that these messages stress the similarity between groups.

Negative messages were associated with higher levels of assimilationist ideology and lower levels of minority ideology at Time 1. These messages, which denigrate other African Americans, are associated with an increased willingness to fit into mainstream institutions. They also lead to less identification with the struggles of other oppressed racial minorities. These findings echo those of Stevenson and Arrington (2009), who demonstrated that adolescents' perception of messages stressing cultural endorsement of mainstream values were associated with higher levels of assimilationist ideology. Just as negative messages *push* adolescents toward mainstream values, cultural endorsement of mainstream values messages *pull* children toward the mainstream by demonstrating the importance of majority institutions, contexts, and values (Stevenson & Arrington, 2009, p. 129). In the same vein, Stevenson and Arrington (2009) found that mainstream messages were associated with diminished feelings of the importance of being Black, with less positive feelings toward being Black, and with less emphasis on the uniqueness of the Black experience. In the present study, negative messages were also associated with less emphasis on the shared struggle of African Americans and other minority groups.

Racial barrier messages were associated with lower levels of public regard and humanist ideology as well as higher levels of nationalist ideology. Children who received messages that stressed possible discrimination from other racial or ethnic groups were more likely to believe that these groups held African Americans in low esteem. This

result is similar to Stevenson and Arrington's (2009) finding that adolescents who reported more socialization messages stressing alertness to discrimination had lower public regard. This focus on possible discrimination is also related to less emphasis on the commonalities between all groups of people. This manifests itself in the inverse relationship with humanist ideology and in the positive relationship with nationalist ideology, which stresses the uniqueness of the African American experience. Past research (Fisher & Shaw, 1999; Hughes & Johnson, 2001) has demonstrated that perception of racial barrier messages is associated with increased perception of racial discrimination from peers and authority figures. Both incidents of discrimination and racial barrier messages may make the adolescent's collective identity salient, causing her to identify with aspects of herself that are similar to other members of her in-group (Brewer & Gardner, 1996, p. 84).

The present study also noted a few relationships between perceived racial socialization and identity over time. Time 1 racial pride messages were associated with greater growth in centrality over time. These findings are in line with several other studies (e.g., Demo & Hughes, 1990; Umaña-Taylor, Bhanot, & Shin, 2006; Thompson, Anderson, & Bakeman, 2000) showing that children who report receiving messages stressing pride in their racial group are likely to make race an important part of their self-concept.

Children who experienced more behavioral socialization at Time 1 were likely to have lower levels of public regard over time. Children who took part in more race-based activities at the beginning of the study were likely to believe that other groups had more negative opinions of African Americans by the end of the study. Insofar as behavioral

socialization draw children closer to African American culture, they might act as a catalyst for more exploration of Blacks' unique status in society. For instance, if a child reads the *Autobiography of Malcolm X*, she may become more aware of the history of prejudice and discrimination in this country. This burgeoning awareness might change how she views the relationship between African Americans and other groups in contemporary society. This finding is in line with the emerging research literature documenting the ways in which culturally relevant physical objects (e.g., books), traditions, and activities affect children's racial identity (Neblett et al., 2006), cognitive development (Caughy et al., 2002a), and academic achievement (Neblett et al., 2006). Taken together, these studies have demonstrated that parents have at least two strategies for influencing their children's opinions and beliefs: directly, through verbal messages and practices, and indirectly, through the ways in which they structure their children's cultural context. Moreover, these indirect means of control become more important as children grow older, because parents' ability to directly influence their offspring lessens during and after adolescence. This finding shows the importance of including behavioral socialization in future race socialization typologies.

Self-worth messages were associated with higher levels of assimilationist ideology over time. These messages, which bolster the child's individual self-esteem, are associated with more intense feelings of closeness to the mainstream. The promotion of individual efficacy is at odds with other socialization messages, such as racial pride and racial barrier messages, which stress intraracial solidarity in the face of prejudice and discrimination. It is fitting, then, that self-worth messages are associated with more comfort with mainstream institutions whereas the latter type of messages draw children

closer to other African Americans. From its inception, the race socialization literature has noted the challenges of this dialectic (Bowman & Howard, 1985); to achieve success in the American context, children must have the ability to navigate both mainstream and culturally specific contexts. Thus, the adolescents in the study report receiving many different types of messages and participating in culturally relevant activities. Neblett and colleagues (2008) demonstrated that a combination of messages stressing self, esteem, pride in one's racial group, and vigilance about possible racial discrimination resulted in lower levels of depressive symptoms and problem behaviors in the face of discrimination.

Racial Socialization from the Mothers' Perspective

In contrast, the present study noted relatively few relationships between mother-reported racial socialization messages and adolescent identity at age 13 or beyond. The present study found that egalitarian messages at Time 1 were associated with increased growth in public regard over the three waves of data collection. When mothers stressed the essential similarity of all racial groups at the beginning of the study, children came to believe that other groups viewed African Americans more favorably at the end of the study. This finding mirrors the result from the adolescent perspective, showing that egalitarian messages led to increased public regard over time.

Negative messages were related to decreased levels of minority ideology at age 13. This finding is commensurate with the findings from the adolescent data, showing that the perception of messages that denigrate other African Americans led to less identification with other oppressed groups. However, negative messages were related to increases in minority ideology over time. This seemingly paradoxical finding might stem

from the fact that children who receive more negative messages at the beginning of the study have more room for upward growth in subsequent years.

The overall finding, that parent racial socialization messages are poorer predictors of children's racial identity than adolescent messages, may have both methodological and theoretical roots. First, from a methodological perspective, using reports from parents adds an additional source of measurement error. Second, from a theoretical perspective, children's perception of racial socialization may have more bearing on their later outcomes than parents' actual messages and practices. If one concedes that a child's perceptions of racial socialization messages are guided in part by her own racial identity, then it should be no surprise that her perceptions of socialization are better predictors of her later racial identity than her mother's report of racial socialization. As a product of memory reconstruction, the adolescent measure of race socialization is, in part, a manifestation of the adolescent's racial identity. This insight applies equally well to mothers' reconstruction of racial socialization messages and behaviors over the past year (Brown et al., 2009; Hughes, 2003; Thomas & King, 2007). These perspectives of racial socialization messages and practices are also shaped by different socio-historical contexts. Parent socialization messages are filtered through children's views of race and applied in contexts that may differ markedly from what the parents experienced at the same age. For example, a parent may have grown up in a segregated, racially hostile environment whereas her child may grow up in an integrated, relatively peaceful community. The parents' messages will be informed by her socialization context. The child's attempts to listen to and apply her parent's messages will be embedded within a context that is distinct from the context that informs her mother's messages. The contrast

between the environment that shaped the messages and the one in which it is applied should lead to some differences in perspective. Given these methodological and theoretical considerations, adolescents' views of racial socialization should be better predictors of their later racial identity. Other research using both the adolescent and parent perspectives has demonstrated a similar lack of relationships between parental racial socialization messages and adolescent racial identity. In two studies, Hughes and colleagues (Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009) have failed to find any relationship between parent-reported racial socialization messages and child ethnic identity. However, McHale and colleagues (2006) found a relationship between mother's reports of cultural socialization and children's ethnic identity. It is likely that the effects of parental racial socialization messages on children's racial identity is moderated by children's perception of racial socialization messages. Therefore, the racial socialization process cannot be properly examined without including both parent and child perspectives. Each perspective provides a unique piece of a complicated process of transmission and reception. Thus, future research needs to examine a possible mediating model in which children's expereinces of racial socialization mediate the relationship between parents' reports of their racial socialization and their children's racial identity attitudes.

Limitations

The present study is limited by its sample and by issues of measurement. The mother sample is highly educated, with most attending college for some time and nearly 22% having completed some post-graduate work. Earlier studies have noted that education can affect the ways in which parents socialize their children (Thornton,

Chatters, Taylor, & Allen, 1990). In addition, the sample is limited by the fact that it includes only mothers. Perhaps the size of the correlation between parents and adolescents would change if fathers were used instead of mothers. Given the gender dynamics surrounding socialization processes (Thomas & King, 2007), it is safe to assume that socialization from fathers differs qualitatively from what children receive from mothers. It is also conceivable that fathers and sons might have higher levels of congruence in light of the present findings demonstrating higher congruence on behavioral socialization for mothers and daughters.

The sample is also limited by its location. At the time of the study, all of the participants lived in a suburban town in the Midwest. Previous studies have demonstrated that region of the country (Thornton et al., 1990) and the perceived racial make-up of the neighborhood (Stevenson et al., 2005) can affect the transmission and perception of racial socialization messages. Although the present study's findings are mainly in line with past research, it is important to consider the effects that the social context might have on the frequency and content of messages. A full accounting of these sorts of effects would only be possible in a sample taken from a diverse set of communities or from a national sample, as was the case in Thornton and colleague's (1990) study.

The present study is also limited by issues of measurement. As stated earlier, mothers in the sample reported the socialization messages and practices used on the particular child in the study. Children were instructed to report on socialization from either one parent, in the case of children from one-parent households, or both parents, in the case of children from two-parent households. Future studies should either include separate surveys for each parent or should ask children to focus on one parent while

filling out a single questionnaire. Following either one of these practices would eliminate the ambiguity in interpretation. Presumably, this practice could also lead to higher estimates of congruence because children from two-parent homes would know which of their parents to report on. Moreover, the present study was also limited by the low reliability of the MIBI-T. This measurement issue likely resulted in an underestimation of the size of the relationships between child racial identity and racial socialization messages.

Contributions

The present study makes several important contributions to the empirical and theoretical literature. In the empirical vein, it adds to a broad and deep socialization literature that has studied the question of parent-child similarity on a wide variety of attitudes and values (e.g., Hoge, Petrillo, & Smith, 1982; Kohn, 1959, 1963). The present study found small, positive correlations between parents and children on all aspects of racial socialization. However, some aspects evinced more congruence than others, just as some values (i.e., autonomy) have been shown to have relatively large correlations between parents and children. The present study also contributes to the psychological literature that has concerned itself with the ways in which aspects of family functioning drives similarity or dissimilarity between members of a family (e.g., Schönpflug, 2001). This study also demonstrated that the gender of the child, the mothers' educational attainment, and family structure were all important moderators of the relationship between parent and child racial socialization messages. It also made several empirical contributions to the race socialization literature. In the first place, it examined the relationship between mother and adolescent socialization. This relationship has rarely

been explored in the past (Hughes et al., 2009; Marshall, 1995). Additionally, the study examined some of the underlying reasons behind this relationship. Much like Hughes and colleagues (2009), the present study found that gender moderated the relationship between mother and adolescent race socialization. Mother-daughter dyads had higher levels of congruence than mother-son dyads on behavioral socialization. Moreover, dyads headed by married mothers and those headed by mothers with college degrees had higher levels of congruence than single parent and non-college degree dyads, respectively. Lastly, the study added to the limited empirical literature examining the effects of parent-reported racial socialization on children's racial identity. This study found several relationships between adolescent reports of racial socialization messages and adolescent racial identity. However, there were fewer significant relationships with parent reported racial socialization messages. Future studies should examine the mechanism behind this discrepancy.

The present study also made some important theoretical contributions to the race socialization literature. First, it provided a clear demonstration of the contrast between parent and child racial socialization messages. This contrast manifests itself not only in the small correlation between parent and child racial socialization messages, but also in the ways in which these perspectives of racial socialization differentially predict aspects of adolescent racial identity. These findings underscore the theoretical importance of separating race socialization into a two-stage process of transmission by parents and reception by adolescents. Once we consider race socialization in this manner, we can begin to theorize about the intervening factors associated with greater or lesser congruence between adolescent and parent reports. Although the present study

demonstrated how demographic factors can affect the relationship between reports of racial socialization messages, there are myriad of other factors that could be implicated in this process. Parenting style is among the most promising areas of future study in this vein. A small literature has already begun to document the relationships between parenting style and racial socialization. For instance, Frabutt and colleagues (2002) found that moderate levels of racial socialization were associated with higher levels of parental warmth and lower levels of negativity between parents and adolescents. Robbins and colleagues (2007) found that the relationship between a clinical intervention and racial socialization was mediated by family process variables. The intervention was successful in raising the level of racial socialization messages transmitted from parents to adolescents when improvements in family functioning provided the necessary context. McHale and colleagues (2006) found that parental warmth was associated with the transmission of more cultural socialization and racial barrier messages in a sample of African American mothers and fathers. Consequently, aspects of the parent and child's day-to-day interactions with each other may have important implications for the study of the transmission of racial socialization messages, perhaps including the congruence of socialization messages between parents and children. Future research should consider how aspects of parenting like parental warmth moderate the relationship between parent and adolescent racial socialization messages. These sorts of analyses may explain why some parents are better able to communicate racial messages to their children than others. A fuller understanding of the discrepancies can be used to help parents to communicate racial socialization messages to their adolescents more effectively, increasing the likelihood that they will enjoy the benefits of racial socialization that have been noted in the literature (e.g., Neblett et al., 2008). This sort of information would also help mental health professionals and community

leaders to further refine interventions and social programs that aid parents in the transmission of socialization messages to their adolescents. This research will lead to evidence-based interventions and programs that improve mental health and academic outcomes for African American adolescents (e.g., Brody et al., 2004; Coard, Wallace, Stevenson, & Brotman, 2004; Greene, 1992).

APPENDIX A

Racial Socialization Questionnaire

For the teen version, the stem of each question reads: "How often has your parent(s)…" The parent version reads, "How often have you told the target child that…" Each question has a response scale ranging from 0 (Never), 1 (Once or Twice), 2 (More than Twice).

Egalitarian Messages

1. Told you that Blacks and Whites should try to understand each other so they can get along.
2. Told you that because of opportunities today, hardworking Blacks have the same chance to succeed as anyone else.
3. Told you that you should try to have friends from all different races.
4. Told you that you can learn things from people of different races.

Negative Messages

1. Told you learning about black history is not that important.
2. Told you it is best to act like whites
3. Told you that being Black is nothing to be proud of
4. Told you white businesses are more reliable than Black businesses
5. Told you that Blacks are not as smart of other races

Racial Barrier Messages

1. Told you that some people think they are better than you because of their race
2. Told you that Blacks have to work twice as hard as Whites to get ahead
3. Told you that some people may dislike you because the color of your skin
4. Told you that some people tried to keep Black people from being successful

Racial Pride Messages

1. Been involved in activities that focus on things important to Black people
2. Talked with you about Black History
3. Told you that you should be proud to be Black
4. Told you never to be ashamed of your black features (hair texture, lip shape, skin color, etc.)

Behavioral Socialization

1. Gone with you to Black cultural events (plays, movies, concerts, museums)
2. Gone with you to cultural events involving other races and cultures (plays, movies, and concerts)
3. Went with you to organization meetings that dealt with Black issues
4. Bought you books about Black people
5. Bought you Black toys or games

Behavioral Socialization

1. Told you that you are somebody special, no matter what anybody says
2. Told you to be proud of who you are
3. Told you that skin color does not define who you are
4. Told you that you can be whatever you want to be

APPENDIX B

The Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity-Teen Version

Likert Response Scale: (1) Really Disagree; (2) Kind of Disagree; (3) Neutral; (4) Kind of Agree; (5) Really Agree

Centrality Scale

1. I feel close to other Black people.

2. I have a strong sense of belonging to other Black people.

3. If I were to describe myself to someone, one of the first things that I would say is that I'm Black.

Regard Scale

Private Regard Subscale

1. I am happy that I am Black.

2. I am proud to be Black.

3. I feel good about Black people.

Public Regard Subscale

1. Most people think that Blacks are as smart as people of other races.

2. People think that Blacks are as good as people from other races.

3. People from other races think that Blacks have made important contributions.

Ideology Scale

Assimilation Subscale

1. It is important that Blacks go to White Schools so that they can learn how to act around Whites.

2. I think it is important for Blacks not to act Black around White people.

3. Blacks should act more like Whites to be successful in this society.

Humanist Subscale

1. Being an individual is more important than identifying yourself as Black.

2. Blacks should think of themselves as individuals, not as Blacks.

3. Black people should not consider race when deciding what movies to go see.

Minority Subscale

1. People of all minority groups should stick together and fight discrimination.

2. There are other people who experience discrimination similar to Blacks.

3. Blacks should spend less time focusing on how we differ from other minority groups and more time focusing on how we are similar to people from other minority groups.

Nationalist Subscale

1. Black parents should surround their children with Black art and Black books.

2. Whenever possible, Blacks should buy from Black businesses.

3. Blacks should support Black entertainment by going to Black movies and watching Black TV shows.

REFERENCES

Acock, A.C., & Bengtson, V.L. (1978). On relative influence of mothers and fathers. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 40*(3), pp. 519-530.

Acock, A.C., & Bengtson, V.L. (1980). Socialization and attribution process actual versus perceived similiarity among parents and youth. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 42*(3), pp. 501-515

Acock, A.C., Barker, D., Bengtson, V.L. (1982). Mothers Employment Parent Youth Similarity. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 44*(2), pp. 441-455.

Alwin, D. F. (1984). Trends in parental socialization values: detroit, 1958-1983. *American Journal of Sociology, 90*(2), 359-382.

Alwin, D. F. (1988). From obedience to autonomy: Changes in traits desired in children, 1924-1978. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 52*(1), 33-52. doi: 10.1086/269081.

Anderson, C. W. (1981). Parent-child relationships: A context for reciprocal developmental influence. Counseling Psychologist, 9(4), 35-44. doi: 10.1177/001100008100900406.

Anglin, D. M., & Wade, J. C. (2007). Racial socialization, racial identity, and Black students' adjustment to college. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *13*(3), 207-215. doi: 10.1037/1099-9809.13.3.207.

Anglin, D. M., & Whaley, A. L. (2006). Racial/Ethnic Self-Labeling in Relation to Group: Socialization and Identity in African-Descended Individuals. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, *25*(4), 457-463. doi: 10.1177/0261927X06292770.

Aquilino, W. S. (1999). Two Views of One Relationship: Comparing Parents' and Young Adult Children's Reports of the Quality of Intergenerational Relations. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 61(4), 858. doi: 10.2307/354008.

Aquilino, W.S., & Supple, A.J. (2001). Long-term effects of parenting practices during adolescence on well-being. *Jounral of Family Issues*, *22*(3), 289-308.

Axinn, W. G., & Thornton, A. (1993). Mothers, children, and cohabitation: The intergenerational effects of attitudes and behavior. *American Sociological Review, 58*(2), 233-246. doi: 10.2307/2095968.

Ballantyne, R., Fien, J., & Packer, J. (2001). Program effectiveness in facilitating intergenerational influence in environmental education: Lessons from the field. *Journal of Environmental Education, 32*(4), 8-15.

Bandura, A. (1969). Social learning of moral judgments. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 11*(3), 275-279. doi: 10.1037/h0026998.

Bandura, A., & McDonald, F. J. (1963). Influence of social reinforcement and the behavior of models in shaping children's moral judgment. *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 67*(3), 274-281. doi: 10.1037/h0044714.

Barr, S. C., & Neville, H. A. (2008). Examination of the Link Between Parental Racial Socialization Messages and Racial Ideology Among Black College Students. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *34*(2), 131-155. doi: 10.1177/0095798408314138.

Beatty, S. E., & Talpade, S. (1994). Adolescent influence in family decision making: A replication with extension. *Journal of Consumer Research, 21*(2), 332-341. doi: 10.1086/209401.

Bell, R.Q. (1968). A reinterpretation of the direction of effects in studies of socialization, *Psychological Review, 75*(2), pp. 81-95.

Bell, R.Q. (1971). Stimulus control of parent or caretaker behavior by offspring. *Developmental Psychology,* 4(1), pp. 63-72.

Bell, R.Q. (1979). Parent, child, and reciprocal influences. *American Psychologist*, *34* (10), pp. 821-826.

Bell, R.Q. (1981). Four new research approaches to socialization: An evaluation of their advantages and disadvantages. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 9* (3), pp. 341-345.

Bell, E. L. J., & Nkomo, S. M. (1998). Armoring: Learning to withstand racial oppression. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 29*(2), 285-295.

Bengtson, V. L. (1975). Generation and family effects in value socialization. American *Sociological Review, 40*(3), 358-371. doi: 10.2307/2094463.

Bengtson, V. L., & Lovejoy, M. C. (1973). Values, personality, and social structure: An intergenerational analysis. *American Behavioral Scientist, 16*(6), 880-912.

Bennett, M. D. J. (2007). Racial socialization and ethnic identity: Do they offer protection against problem behaviors for African American youth? *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, *15*(2), 137-161.

Bogenschneider, K., & Pallock, L. (2008). Responsiveness in Parent-Adolescent Relationships: Are Influences Conditional? Does the Reporter Matter? Journal of Marriage and Family, 70(4), 1015-1029. doi: 10.1111/j.1741-3737.2008.00543.x.

Bornstein, M. H., Tamis-LeMonda, C. S., Hahn, C., & Haynes, O. M. (2008). Maternal responsiveness to young children at three ages: Longitudinal analysis of a multidimensional, modular, and specific parenting construct. *Developmental Psychology, 44*(3), 867-874. doi: 10.1037/0012-1649.44.3.867.

Bowman, P. J., & Howard, C. (1985). Race-related socialization, motivation, and academic achievement: A study of Black youths in three-generation families. *Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry*, *24*(2), 134-141.

Boykin, A. W. & Toms, F.D. (1985). Black child socialization: a conceptual framework. In H.P. McAdoo & J.L. McAdoo (Eds.). *Black Children* (pp. 33-51). Beverly Hills, CA.: Sage.

Brega, A. G., & Coleman, L. M. (1999). Effects of religiosity and racial socialization on subjective stigmatization in African-American adolescents. *Journal of Adolescence*, *22*(2), 223-242.

Burchinal, M. R., Roberts, J. E., Zeisel, S. A., & Rowley, S. J. (2008). Social risk and protective factors for African American children's academic achievement and adjustment during the transition to middle school. *Developmental Psychology, 44*(1), 286-292. doi: 10.1037/0012-1649.44.1.286.

Burke, J. D., Pardini, D. A., & Loeber, R. (2008). Reciprocal relationships between parenting behavior and disruptive psychopathology from childhood through adolescence. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 36*(5), 679-692. doi: 10.1007/s10802-008-9219-7.

Brewer, M.B. & Gardner, W. (1996). Who is the we? Levels of collective identity and self representations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 71* (1), 83-93.

Brown, D. L. (2008). African American Resiliency: Examining Racial Socialization and Social Support as Protective Factors. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *34*(1), 32-48. doi: 10.1177/0095798407310538.

Brown, T.A. (2008, July 11). Cosby to Parents: Time to Deal with Kids. *Hartford Courant.* Retrieved July 28, 2008, from http://www.courant.com/community/news/hfd/hc-cosby0711.artjul11,0,2390607.story.

Brown, T. L., & Krishnakumar, A. (2007). Development and validation of the adolescent racial and ethnic socialization scale (ARESS) in African American families. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *36*(8), 1072-1085.

Brown, T. L., Linver, M. R., Evans, M., & DeGennaro, D. (2009). African–American Parents' Racial and Ethnic Socialization and Adolescent Academic Grades: Teasing Out the Role of Gender. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 214-227.

Brunk, M.A., & Henggeler, S.W. (1984). Child Influences on Adult Controls:An Experimental Investigation. *Developmental Psychology, 20*(6), 1074-1081.

Caughy, M. O., O'Campo, P. J., Randolph, S. M., & Nickerson, K. (2002a). The influence of racial socialization practices on the cognitive and behavioral competence of African American preschoolers. Child Development, 73(5), 1611-1625. doi: 10.1111/1467-8624.00493.

Caughy, M. O., Randolph, S. M., & O'Campo, P. J. (2002b). The Africentric Home Environment Inventory: An Observational Measure of the Racial Socialization Features of the Home Environment for African American Preschool Children. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *28*(1), 37-52. doi: 10.1177/0095798402028001003.

Cichy, K. E., Lefkowitz, E. S., & Fingerman, K. L. (2007). Generational differences in gender attitudes between parents and grown offspring. *Sex Roles, 57*(11), 825-836. doi: 10.1007/s11199-007-9314-1.

Clark, C. A., Worthington Jr, E. L., & Danser, D. B. (1988). The transmission of religious beliefs and practices from parents to firstborn early adolescent sons. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, *44*(3) 463-472.

Coard, S. I., Wallace, S. A., Stevenson, H. C., & Brotman, L. M. (2004). Towards culturally relevant preventive interventions: The consideration of racial socialization in parent training with African American families. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, *13*(3), 277-293.

Coard, S.I. & Sellers, R.M. (2005). African American families as a context for racial socialization. In. V. McLoud, N. Hill, & K. Dodge (Eds.). *Emerging Issues in African American Family Life: Context, Adaptation, and Policy* (pp. 264-284). New York: Guilford Press.

Cobb, W.J. (2008, April 29). Frayed Bootstraps in the Black Mecca. *The Root.* Retrieved July 29, 2008, from http://www.theroot.com/id/46097.

Cohen, P., Cohen, J., Teresi, J., & Marchi, M. L. (1990). Problems in the measurement of latent variables in structural equations causal models. *Applied Psychological Measurement, 14*(2), 183-196. doi: 10.1177/014662169001400207.

Connell, R. W. (1972). Political socialization in the American family: The evidence re-examined. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 36*(3), 323-333. doi: 10.1086/268014.

Constantine, M. G. (1999). Racism's impact on counselor's professional and personal lives: A response to the personal narratives on racism. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, Racism: Healing its effects, *77*(1), 68-72.

Davis-Maye, D., & Perry, T. (2007). Momma's Girl. *Journal of Human Behavior in the*

Social Environment, *15*(2), 307-328. doi: 10.1300/J137v15n02_18.

Dekker, H., Darina, M., & Hoogendoorn, S. (2003). Nationalism and Its Explanations. *Political Psychology*, *24*(2), 345-376. doi: 10.1111/0162-895X.00331.

Demo, D. H., & Hughes, M. (1990). Socialization and racial identity among Black Americans. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *53*(4), 364-374. doi: 10.2307/2786741.

DeNavas-Walt, C., Proctor, B.D. and Smith, J. (2007). U.S. Census Current Population Reports, P60-233, *Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2006*, U.S. Government Printing Office: Washington, DC.

DeVos, G. A. (1980). Ethnic adaptation and minority status. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *11*(1), 101-124. doi: 10.1177/0022022180111007.

Downey, D.B. (2008). Black/White Differences in School Performance: The Oppositional Culture Explanation. *Annual Review of Sociolology*, pp.107-126.

Ekström, K. M. (2007). Parental consumer learning or 'keeping up with the children'. *Journal of Consumer Behaviour*, *6*(4), 203-217. doi: 10.1002/cb.215.

Fenning, P., & Rose, J. (2007). Overrepresentation of African American students in exclusionary discipline: The role of school policy. *Urban Education, 42*(6), 536-559. doi: 10.1177/0042085907305039.

Fischer, A. R., & Shaw, C. M. (1999). African Americans' mental health and perceptions of racist discrimination: The moderating effects of racial socialization experiences and self-esteem. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *46*(3), 395-407. doi: 10.1037/0022-0167.46.3.395.

Fisher, T.D. (1988). Relationship between parent child communication about sexuality and college students sexual behavior and attitudes. *The Journal of Sex Research, 24*, 305-311.

Fisher, C.B., Wallace, S.A., & Fenton, R.E. (2000). Discrimination distress during adolescence. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 29* (6), 679-695.

Frabutt, J. M., Walker, A. M., & MacKinnon-Lewis, C. (2002). Racial Socialization Messages and the Quality of Mother/Child Interactions in African American Families. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, *22*(2), 200-217. doi: 10.1177/0272431602022002004.

Freud, S. (1940/1949). *An Outline of Psycho-Analysis*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

Gadsden, V.L., and Hall, M. (1996). Intergenerational learning: A review of the

literature. Philadelphia: National Center on Fathers and Families.

Garcia-Coll, C., Lamberty, G., Gontran, J., McAdoo, R., Pipes, H., Crnic, K., Wasik, B. H., & Vazquez Garcia, H. (1996). An Integrative Model for the Study of Developmental Competencies in Minority Children. *Child Development*, *67*, 1891-1914.

Gergen, D. & Licht, J. (2006, April 16). Politics, Post-Civil Rights. *U.S. News & World Report*. Retrieved August 3, 2008 from http://www.usnews.com/usnews/opinion/articles/060424/24essay.htm .

Glass, J., Bengtson, V. L., & Dunham, C. C. (1986). Attitude similarity in three-generation families: Socialization, status inheritance, or reciprocal influence? *American Sociological Review*, *51*(5), 685-698.

González, A. G., Umaña-Taylor, A. J., & Bámaca, M. Y. (2006). Familial Ethnic Socialization Among Adolescents of Latino and European Descent: Do Latina Mothers Exert the Most Influence? *Journal of Family Issues*, *27*(2), 184-207. doi: 10.1177/0192513X05279987.

Goodwin, L. D., & Leech, N. L. (2006). Understanding correlation: Factors that affect the size of r. *Journal of Experimental Education, 74*(3), 251-266. doi: 10.3200/JEXE.74.3.249-266.

Greeley, A.M. (1975). A model for ethnic political socialization. *American Jounral of Political Science, 19*(2), 187-206.

Greenberger, E., O'Neil, R. and Nagel, S.K. (1994). Linking Workplace and Homeplace: Relations Between the Nature of Adults' Work and Their Parenting Behaviors. *Developmental Psychology, 30*(6), 990-1002.

Gross, H. E., Shaw, D. S., & Moilanen, K. L. (2008). Reciprocal associations between boys' externalizing problems and mothers' depressive symptoms. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 36*(5), 693-709. doi: 10.1007/s10802-008-9224-x.

Haines, J., Neumark-Sztainer, D., Hannan, P., & Robinson-O'Brien, R. (2008). Child versus parent report of parental influences on children's weight-related attitudes and behaviors. *Journal of Pediatric Psychology, 33*(7), 783-788. doi: 10.1093/jpepsy/jsn016.

Harris, D. (1995). Exploring the determinants of adult Black identity: Context and Process. *Social Forces*, *74*(1), 227-241. doi: 10.2307/2580630.

Harris-Britt, A., Valrie, C. R., Kurtz-Costes, B., & Rowley, S. J. (2007). Perceived racial discrimination and self-esteem in African American youth: Racial socialization as a protective factor. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *17*(4), 669-682.

Harrison, A. O. (1985) The Black family's socializing environment: self-esteem and ethnic attitude among Black children. In H.P. McAdoo & J.L. McAdoo (Eds.). *Black Children* (1st ed., pp. 174-193). Beverly Hills, CA.: Sage.

Helmer Johnson. (1944). An Empirical Study of the Influence of Errors of Measurement upon Correlation. *The American Journal of Psychology*, *57*(4), 521-536.

Hill, N. (1997). Does parenting differ based on social class?: African American women's perceived socialization for achievement. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 25* (5), 675-697.

Hill, S. A. (2001). Class, race, and gender domensions of child rearing in African American families. *Journal of Black Studies, 31*(4), 494-508.

Hill, S. A. (2002). Teaching and doing gender in African American families. *Sex Roles, 47*(11), 493-506.

Hill, S. A. & Sprague, J. (1999). Parenting in Black and White families: The interaction of gender with race and class. *Gender and Society, 13*(4), 480-502.

Hipwell, A., Keenan, K., Kasza, K., Loeber, R., Stouthamer-Loeber, M., & Bean, T. (2008). Reciprocal influences between girls' conduct problems and depression, and parental punishment and warmth: A six year prospective analysis. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 36*(5), 663-677. doi: 10.1007/s10802-007-9206-4.

Hitlin, S., & Piliavin, J. A. (2004). Values: Reviving a dormant concept. *Annual Review of Sociology, 30*, 359-393.

Hoge, D. R., Petrillo, G. H., & Smith, E. I. (1982). Transmission of religious and social values from parents to teenage children. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, *44* (3), 569-580.

Hughes, D., & Chen, L. (1997). When and What Parents Tell Children About Race: An Examination of Race-Related Socialization Among African American Families. *Applied Developmental Science*, *1*(4), 200-214. doi:10.1207/s1532480xads0104_4.

Hughes, D., & Johnson, D. (2001). Correlates in children's experiences of parents' racial socialization behaviors. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 981-995.

Hughes, D., Rodriguez, J., Smith, E. P., Johnson, D. J., Stevenson, H. C., & Spicer, P. (2006). Parents'ethnic-racial socialization practices: A review of research and directions for future study. *Developmental Psychology*, *42*(5), 747-769.

Hughes, D. (2003). Correlates of African American and Latino parents' messages to children about ethnicity and race: A comparative study of racial socialization.

American Journal of Community Psychology, *31*(1), 15-33. doi: 10.1023/A:1023066418688.

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

Hughes, D., Rodriguez, J., Smith, E. P., Johnson, D. J., Stevenson, H. C., & Spicer, P. (2006). Parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices: A review of research and directions for future study. *Developmental Psychology*, *42*(5), 747-770. doi: 10.1037/0012-1649.42.5.747.

Human Rights Watch (2002, February 27). Race and Incarceration in the United States. *Human Rights Watch Briefing.*

Johnston, K. E., Swim, J. K., Saltsman, B. M., Deater-Deckard, K., Petrill, S. M. (2007). Mothers racial ethnic cultural socialization of transracially adopted Asian children. *Family Relations, 56*(4), 390-402.

Jones, J. M. (1997). *Prejudice and racism* (2nd ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Kasser, T., Ryan, R. M., Zax, M., & Sameroff, A. J. (1995). The relations of maternal and social environments to late adolescents' materialistic and prosocial values. *Developmental Psychology, 31*(6), 907-914. doi: 10.1037/0012-1649.31.6.907.

Kasser, T., Koestner, R., & Lekes, N. (2002). Early family experiences and adult values: A 26-year, prospective longitudinal study. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 28*(6), 826-835. doi: 10.1177/0146167202289011.

Keller, B. B., & Bell, R. Q. (1979). Child effects on adult's method of eliciting altruistic behavior. *Child Development, 50*(4), 1004-1009. doi: 10.2307/1129326.

Kertzer, D. I. (1983). Generation as a sociological problem. *Annual Review of Sociology, 9*(1), 125-149.

Kenny, D. A., Kashy, D. A., & Cook, W. L. (2006). *Dyadic data analysis.* New York: Guilford Press.

Knafo, A., & Schwartz, S. H. (2004). Identity formation and parent-child value congruence in adolescence. British Journal of Developmental Psychology, 22(3), 439-458. doi: 10.1348/0261510041552765.

Kolko, D. J., Kazdin, A. E., & Day, B. T. (1996). Children's perspectives in the assessment of family violence: Psychometric characteristics and comparison to parent reports. *Child Maltreatment, 1*(2), 156-167. doi:

10.1177/1077559596001002007.

Kohn, M. L. (1959). Social class and parental values. American Journal of Sociology, *64*(4), 337-351.

Kohn, M. L. (1963). Social cass and parent-cchild relationships: An interpretation. *The American Journal of Sociology, 68*(4), 471-480. doi: 10.2307/2774426.

Kohn, M. L., Slomczynski, K. M., & Schoenbach, C. (1986). Social stratification and the transmission of values in the family: A cross-national assessment. *Sociological Forum*, *1*, 73-102.

Kulik, L. (2005). Intrafamiliar Congruence in Gender Role Attitudes and Ethnic Stereotypes: The Israeli Case. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 36*(2), 289-304.

Lalonde, R. N., Jones, J. M., & Stroink, M. L. (2008). Racial identity, racial attitudes, and race socialization among Black Canadian parents. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science/Revue canadienne des sciences du comportement*, *40*(3), 129-139. doi: 10.1037/0008-400X.40.3.129.

Lanvers, U. (2004). Gender in discourse behaviour in parent-child dyads: A literature review. *Child: Care, Health and Development, 30*(5), 487-493. doi: 10.1111/j.1365-2214.2004.00443.x.

Larsson, H., Viding, E., Rijsdijk, F. V., & Plomin, R. (2008). Relationships between parental negativity and childhood antisocial behavior over time: A bidirectional effects model in a longitudinal genetically informative design. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 36*(5), 633-645. doi: 10.1007/s10802-007-9151-2.

Lee, C. & Gromatnev, H. (2007). Life Transitions and Mental Health in a National Cohort of Young Australian Women. *Developmental Psychology*, *43*(4),877-888.

Lesane-Brown, C. L. (2006). A review of race socialization within Black families. *Developmental Review*, *26*(4), 400-426. doi: 10.1016/j.dr.2006.02.001.

Lesane-Brown, C. L., Brown, T. N., Caldwell, C. H., & Sellers, R. M. (2005). The Comprehensive Race Socialization Inventory. Journal of Black Studies, 36, 163-190.

Lesane-Brown, C.L. Scottham, K.M., Nguyen, H.X. & Sellers, R.M. (n.d.). Racial Socialization Questionnaire-Teen Version. Unpublished manuscript.

Maccoby, E.E. (1992). The role of parents in the socialization of children: An historical overview. *Developmental Psychology*, 28, 1006-1017.

Mandemakers, J. J., & Dykstra, P. A. (2008). Discrepancies in parent's and adult child's reports of support and contact. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 70*(2), 495-506. doi: 10.1111/j.1741-3737.2008.00496.x.

Mannheim, K. (1970). The problem of generations. *Psychoanalytic Review, 57*(3), 378-404.

Mare, R.D. & Winship, C. (1991). Socioeconomic change and the decline of marriage for Blacks and Whites. In Jencks, C. & Peterson, P.E. (Eds.) *The Urban Underclass* (pp. 175-202). Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution.

Marshall, S. (1995). Ethnic socialization of African American children: Implications for parenting, identity development, and academic achievement. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *24*(4), 377-396. doi: 10.1007/BF01537187.

McHale, S. M., Crouter, A. C., Kim, J., Burton, L. M., Davis, K. D., Dotterer, A. M., et al. (2006). Mothers' and Fathers' Racial Socialization in African American Families: Implications for Youth. *Child Development*, *77*(5), 1387-1402. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8624.2006.00942.x.

Miller, R.B. & Glass, J. (1989). Parent child attitude similarity across the life course. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 51* (4), pp. 991-997.

Morgan, W.R., Alwin, D.F., & Griffin, L.J. (1979). Social Origins, Parental Values, and the Transmission of Inequality. *The American Journal of Sociology, 85*(1), 156-166.

Munch, A., McPherson, J. M., & Smith-Lovin, L. (1997). Gender, children, and social contact: The effects of childrearing for men and women. American Sociological Review, 62(4), 509-520. doi: 10.2307/2657423.

Murray, C.B. & Mandara, J. (2002). Racial Identity development in African American children: cognitive and experiential antecedents. In H.P. McAdoo (Eds.). *Black Children: Social, educational, and parental environments* (2nd ed., pp. 73-95). Thousand Oaks, CA.: Sage.

Musi, V.J. (2005, October 14). Louis Farrakhan speaks. *Time*. Retrieved July 28, 2008, from http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,1117512,00.html.

Musil, C. M., Jones, S. L., & Warner, C. D. (1998). Structural equation modeling and its relationship to multiple regression and factor analysis. *Research in Nursing & Health, 21*(3), 271-281. doi: 10.1002/(SICI)1098-240X(199806)21:3<271::AID-NUR10>3.0.CO;2-G.

Mutisya, P. M., & Ross, L. E. (2005). Afrocentricity and Racial Socialization Among African American College Students. *Journal of Black Studies*, *35*(3), 235-247. doi: 10.1177/0021934704266597.

Nagourney, A., & Thee, M. (2008, July 16). Poll Finds Obama Isn't Closing the Divide on Race. *New York Times.* Retrieved July 28, 2008, from http://www.nytimes.com/2008/07/16/us/politics/16poll.html?_r=1&8br&oref=slogin .

Neblett, E. W., Philip, C.L., Cogburn, C.D., & Sellers, R..M. (2006). African American Adolescents' Discrimination Experiences and Academic Achievement: Racial Socialization as a Cultural Compensatory and Protective Factor. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *32*(2), 199-218. doi: 10.1177/0095798406287072.

Neblett, E. W. Jr., Smalls, C. P., Ford, K. R., Nguyên, H. X., & Sellers, R. M. (2009). Racial socialization and racial identity: African American parents' messages about race as precursors to identity. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *38*(2), 189-203. doi: 10.1007/s10964-008-9359-7.

Neblett, E.W., Jr., White, R.L., Ford, K.R., Philip, C.L., Nguyên, H.X., & Sellers, R.M. (2008). Patterns of racial socialization and psychological adjustment: Can parental communications about race reduce the impact of discrimination? *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *18* (3), 477-515.

Nossiter, A. (2008, February 21). Race Matters Less in Politics of South. *New York Times.* Retrieved August 3, 2008 from http://www.nytimes.com/2008/02/21/us/politics/21race.html?_r=1&oref=slogin .

Obama, B.H. (2008, June 15). Remarks of Senator Barack Obama: Apostolic church of God. Retrieved July 28, 2008, from http://www.barackobama.com/2008/06/15/remarks_of_senator_barack_obam_78.php .

O'Campo, P. J., Randolph, S. M., & Nickerson, K. (2002). The influence of racial socialization practices on the cognitive and behavioral competence of African American preschoolers. *Child Development*, 1611-1625.

Pardini, D. A., Fite, P. J., & Burke, J. D. (2008). Bidirectional associations between parenting practices and conduct problems in boys from childhood to adolescence: The moderating effect of age and African-American ethnicity. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 36*(5), 647-662. doi: 10.1007/s10802-007-9162-z.

Parham, T. A., & Williams, P. T. (1993). The relationship of demographic and background factors to racial identity attitudes. *Journal of Black Psychology, 19*(1), 7-24. doi: 10.1177/00957984930191002.

Parke, R.D. (2004). Development in the family. *Annual Review of Psychology, 55*, 365-399.

Pattillo-McCCoy, M. (1999). *Black Picket Fences*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Pearlin, L. I., & Kohn, M. L. (1966). Social Class, Occupation, and Parental Values: A Cross-National Study. *American Sociological Review, 31*(4), 466-479. doi: 10.2307/2090770.

Perlman, M., & Ross, H. S. (1997). Who's the boss? Parents' failed attempts to influence the outcomes of conflicts between their children. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 14*(4), 463-480. doi: 10.1177/0265407597144003.

Peters, J.F. (1985). Adolescents as socialization agents to parents. *Adolescence, 20*, 921-933.

Pinquart, M., & Silbereisen, R. K. (2004). Transmission of values from adolescents to their parents: The role of value content and authoritative parenting. *Adolescence*, 39(153), 83-100.

Pew Research Center (2007, November 13). Optimism about Black progress declines: Blacks see growing values gap Between poor and middle class. *Pew Research Center Reports.* Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Center.

Phalet, K., & Schönpflug, U. (2001). Intergenerational transmission in Turkish immigrant families: Parental collectivism, achievement values and gender differences. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, Immigrant and ethnic minority families, *32*(4), 489-504.

Phinney, J.S. (1992). The multigroup ethnic identity measure: a new scale for use with diverse groups. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 7* (2), 156-176.

Phinney, J.S., Chavira, V. (1995). Parental Ethnic Socialization and adolescent coping with problems related to ethnicity. *Journal of Research on Adolescence 5* (1), 31-53.

Piotrkowski, C. S., & Katz, M. H. (1982). Indirect socialization of children: The effects of mothers' jobs on academic behaviors. *Child Development*, *53*(6), 1520-1529.

Robbins, M. S., Szapocznik, J., Mayorga, C. C., Dillon, F. R., Burns, M., & Feaster, D. J. (2007). The impact of family functioning on family racial socialization processes. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *13*(4), 313-320. doi: 10.1037/1099-9809.13.4.313.

Rockquemore, K. A. (2002). Negotiating the Color Line: The Gendered Process of Racial Identity Construction among Black/White Biracial Women. *Gender & Society*, *16*(4), 485-503. doi: 10.1177/0891243202016004005.

Rodriguez, J., Umaña-Taylor, A., Smith, E. P., & Johnson, D. J. (2009). Cultural processes in parenting and youth outcomes: Examining a model of racial-ethnic socialization and identity in diverse populations. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *15*(2), 106-111. doi: 10.1037/a0015510.

Romero, A. J., Cuéllar, I., & Roberts, R. E. (2000). Ethnocultural variables and attitudes toward cultural socialization of children. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *28*(1), 79-89. doi: 10.1002/(SICI)1520-6629(200001)28:1<79::AID-JCOP8>3.3.CO;2-E.

Sanders Thompson, V. L. (1994). Socialization to race and its relationship to racial identification among African Americans. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *20*(2), 175-188. doi: 10.1177/00957984940202006.

Sanders Thompson, V. L. (1999). Variables affecting racial-identity salience among African Americans. *Journal of Social Psychology*, *139*(6), 748-761.

Schönpflug, U. (2001). Integenerational transmission of values: The role of transmission belts. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, Perspectives on cultural transmission, *32*(2), 174-185. doi: 10.1177/0022022101032002005.

Schönpflug, U., Silbereisen, R. K., & Schulz, J. (1990). Perceived decision-making influence in Turkish migrant workers' and German workers' families: The impact of social support. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *21*(3), 261-282. doi: 10.1177/0022022190213001.

Scott, L. D. J. (2003). The relation of racial identity and racial socialization to coping with discrimination among African American adolescents. *Journal of Black Studies*, *33*(4), 520-538. doi: 10.1177/0021934702250035.

Scottham, K. M., Sellers, R. M., & Nguyên, H. X. (2008). A measure of racial identity in African American adolescents: The development of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity--Teen. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 14*(4), 297-306. doi: 10.1037/1099-9809.14.4.297.

Seaton, E. K., & Yip, T. (2009). School and neighborhood contexts, perceptions of racial discrimination, and psychological well-being among African American adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 38*(2), 153-163. doi: 10.1007/s10964-008-9356-x.

Sellers, R.M., Chavous, T.M. & Cooke, D.Y. (1998). Racial Ideology and Racial Centrality as predictors of African American college students' academic performance. *Journal of Black Psychology, 24* (1), 8-27.

Sellers, R. M., Rowley, S. A. J., Chavous, T. M., Shelton, J. N., & Smith, M. A. (1997). Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity: A preliminary investigation of

reliability and construct validity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 73*(4), 805-815. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.73.4.805.

Smetana, J. G., Abernethy, A., & Harris, A. (2000). Adolescent-parent interactions in middle-class African American families: Longitudinal change and contextual variations. *Journal of Family Psychology*, *14*(3), 458-474.

Sameroff, A.J. (1995). General systems theories and developmental psychopathology. In D. Cicchetti & D. Cohen (Eds.), D*evelopmental and psychopathology: Vol. 1. Theory and methods*. New York: Wiley.

Smith, E. P., Atkins, J., & Connell, C. M. (2003). Family, School, and Community Factors and Relationships to Racial–Ethnic Attitudes and Academic Achievement. *American journal of community psychology*, *32*(1), 159-173.

Spenner, K.I. (1988). Social Stratification, work, and personality. *Annual Review of Sociology,14*, 69-97.

Stevenson, H. C. (2005). Influence of Perceived Neighborhood Diversity and Racism Experience on the Racial Socialization of Black Youth. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *31*(3), 273-290. doi: 10.1177/0095798405278453.

Stevenson, H. C., Cameron, R., Herrero-Taylor, T., & Davis, G. Y. (2002). Development of the Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale: Correlates of Race-Related Socialization Frequency from the Perspective of Black Youth. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *28*(2), 84-106. doi: 10.1177/0095798402028002002.

Stevenson, H. (1998). Managing Anger. *Journal of Prevention & Intervention in the Community*, *16*(1), 35-61. doi: 10.1300/J005v16n01_03.

Stevenson, H. C. (1994). Validation of the Scale of Racial Socialization for African American adolescents: Steps toward multidimensionality. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *20*(4), 445-468. doi: 10.1177/00957984940204005.

Stevenson, H. C. (1995). Relationship of adolescent perceptions of racial socialization to racial identity. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *21*(1), 49-70. doi: 10.1177/00957984950211005.

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

Suizzo, M., Robinson, C., & Pahlke, E. (2007). African American Mothers' Socialization Beliefs and Goals With Young Children: Themes of History, Education, and Collective Independence. *Journal of Family Issues*, *29*(3), 287-316. doi:

10.1177/0192513X07308368.

Supple, A. J., Ghazarian, S. R., Frabutt, J. M., Plunkett, S. W., & Sands, T. (2006). Contextual Influences on Latino Adolescent Ethnic Identity and Academic Outcomes. *Child Development*, *77*(5), 1427-1433. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8624.2006.00945.x.

Tannenbaum, P. H., & McLeod, J. M. (1967). On the measurement of socialization. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 31*(1), 27-37.

Taris, T.W. (2000) Quality of mother child interaction and the intergenerational transmission of sexual values. *The Journal of Genetic Psychology, 16*(2), 169-180.

Thomas, A. J., & King, C. T. (2007). Gendered Racial Socialization of African American Mothers and Daughters. *The Family Journal*, *15*(2), 137-142. doi: 10.1177/1066480706297853.

Thomas, A. J., Witherspoon, K. M., & Speight, S. L. (2004). Toward the Development of the Stereotypic Roles for Black Women Scale. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *30*(3), 426-442. doi: 10.1177/0095798404266061.

Thomas, A. J., & Speight, S. L. (1999). Racial identity and racial socialization attitudes of African American parents. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *25*(2), 152-170. doi: 10.1177/0095798499025002002.

Thompson, L., Acock, A.C., & Clark, K. (1985). Do parents know their children? The ability of mothers and fathers to gauge the attitudes of their young adult children. *Family Relations, 34* (3), 315-320.

Thompson, C. P., Anderson, L. P., & Bakeman, R. A. (2000). Effects of racial socialization and racial identity on acculturative stress in African American college students. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 6*(2), 196-210. doi: 10.1037/1099-9809.6.2.196.

Thornton, M.C. (1997). Strategies of racial socialization among black parents: mainstream, minority, and cultural messages. In R. Taylor, J. Jackson, &L. Chatters (Eds.) *Family life in Black America* (pp. 201-215). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Thornton, M. C., Chatters, L. M., Taylor, R. J., & Allen, W. R. (1990). Sociodemographic and environmental correlates of racial socialization by Black parents. *Child Development, 61*(2), 401-409. doi: 10.2307/1131101.

Townsend, T., & Lanphier, E. (2007). Family Influences on Racial Identity Among African American Youth. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *33*(3), 278-298. doi:

10.1177/0095798407302568.

Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Bhanot, R., & Shin, N. (2006). Ethnic Identity Formation During Adolescence: The Critical Role of Families. *Journal of Family Issues*, *27*(3), 390-414. doi: 10.1177/0192513X05282960.

Vollebergh, W. A. M., Iedema, J., & Raaijmakers, Q. A. (2001). Intergenerational transmission and the formation of cultural orientations in adolescence and young adulthood. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, *63*, 1185-1198.

Williams, A. (2006, October 23). Our Black brothers! *Townhall.* Retrieved July 28, 2008, from http://www.townhall.com/columnists/ArmstrongWilliams/2006/10/23/our_black_brothers! .

Wills, T. A., Murry, V. M., Brody, G. H., Gibbons, F. X., Gerrard, M., Walker, C., et al. (2007). Ethnic pride and self-control related to protective and risk factors: Test of the theoretical model for the strong African American families program. *Health Psychology*, *26*(1), 50-59. doi: 10.1037/0278-6133.26.1.50.

Wong, C. A., Eccles, J. S., & Sameroff, A. (2003). The influence of ethnic discrimination and ethnic identification on African American adolescents' school and socioemotional adjustment. *Journal of Personality, 71(*6), 1197-1232. doi: 10.1111/1467-6494.7106012.

White-Johnson, R.L., Ford, K.R., & Sellers, R.M. (2009). Parental racial socialization profiles: Associations with demographic factors, racial discrimination, childhood socialization, and racial identity. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology.*

Xiao, H. (2000). Class, gender, and parental values in the 1990s. *Gender & Society, 14*(6), 785-803. doi: 10.1177/089124300014006005.

Yi, C., Chang, C., & Chang, Y. (2004). The Intergenerational Transmission of Family Values: A Comparison between Teenagers and Parents in Taiwan. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 35*(4), 523-545.