ECOLOGICAL EXAMINATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF COLOR-BLIND
RACIAL BELIEFS IN BLACK COLLEGE STUDENTS

BY

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DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

The Ecological Model of Racial Socialization (EMRS) was tested among a sample of 204 Black college students from a Midwestern predominately White university. The EMRS explored the relation between the racial composition of participants' contexts and racial socialization provided by both familial and non familial sources. In addition, the model addressed the relations between racial socialization provided by multiple sources and color-blind racial beliefs and mental health. Findings from hierarchical multiple regression analyses indicated partial support of EMRS. Specifically, the racial composition of participants' neighborhood and friend group accounted for a unique amount of variance in Cultural Pride and Alertness to Racism racial socialization received from both parents and peers. Additionally, Alertness to Racism racial socialization provided by peers accounted for a significant amount of variance in color-blind racial attitudes. Similarly, Peer Alertness to Racism racial socialization accounted for a significant amount of variance in mental health outcomes. Finally, color-blind racial beliefs moderated the relationship between Parental Internalized Racism racial socialization and mental health outcomes. Implications and future directions are discussed.

In dedication to my grandparents,
Thomas and Alberta Barr and Thomas and Hannah Pinckney
From the tobacco fields of Hemingway, SC to a Doctoral degree in Champaign, IL!

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Since the election of the first Black president in the United States, there has been much in the public discourse concerning how race is dealt with in America. From the "Beer Summit" to the furor over whether the vitriol displayed in healthcare reform town hall meetings may be or may not be attributed by racism, our country has struggled with when and how to discuss issues concerning race(ism). These difficulties persist when having discussions with children. In a recent *Newsweek* article, Bronson and Merrymen (2009) explore the difficulty that a number of White parents have with discussing race with their young children. The parents interviewed for the article reported being fearful that if they had explicit conversations about race, they would encourage racial discrimination and segregation in their youngsters. However, recent studies suggest the contrary. Having explicit conversations encouraging multiracial friendships and equality across racial groups can improve racial attitudes in White pre-school-aged children (Vittrup-Simpson, 2007).

Empirical research has found that parents of color are three times more likely to discuss race and racism with their children than are White parents (Tanner-Smith, Lesane-Brown, & Brown, 2007). Historically, Black parents have dealt with the issue of race head on with their children. Black parents have had the unique challenge of raising their children within a society where being Black has negative implications (Peters, 1985). To contend with this challenge, many parents engage in the process of racial socialization. Racial socialization in general refers to the process by which information concerning race status in relation to (1) personal and group identity, (2) intergroup and interpersonal relationships, and (3) social position passed to children (Thorton, Chatters, Taylor, & Allen, 1990).

Racial socialization is relatively common in African American families. Findings from the National Survey on Black Americans (NSBA) indicated that approximately two-thirds (63.6%) of Black parents reported having specific conversations with their youth concerning issues of race (Thorton et al., 1990). In fact, findings suggest that African Americans engage in certain types of racial socialization at higher rates than other ethnic and racial groups. For example, Hughes (2003) conducted a study comparing African Americans, Dominicans, and Puerto Ricans residing within the United States racial socialization practices. African American parents were more likely to have discussions focusing on preparation for racist encounters with their children than the other two ethnic groups. Similarly, in a qualitative study, Phinney and Chavira (1995) compared African American, Japanese American, and Mexican American parental racial socialization and found that African American parents reported the most substantial racial socialization, including messages that focus on social problems facing African Americans.

Much of the African American racial socialization empirical literature has focused on the way in which racial socialization influences racial beliefs, particularly, racial identity. An underlying assumption of this research is the belief that racial socialization messages are intended to assist emerging adults to better negotiate the racial terrain of the U.S. (Alvarez, Juang, & Liang, 2006). One function of these practices is thus to increase youth's awareness of racism as a method of coping with one's environment. Building on this literature, recent empirical research suggests that certain types of racial socialization are related to African American young adults' adoption of color-blind racial beliefs, another type of racial belief (Barr & Neville, 2008). Similar to racial identity, racial color-blindness is connected to one's racial worldview. However, unlike racial identity, racial color-blindness focuses on one's

understanding of racism in the U.S. The current investigation has expanded upon this research to explore the impact that contextual factors such as neighborhood, high school, and peers have on the development of color-blind racial beliefs.

Guided by the Ecological Model of Racial Socialization, the current study explored the contexts in which racial socialization occurs and color-blind racial beliefs are formed. Specifically, it was hypothesized that the racial composition of important contexts such as the neighborhood, school, and peer group would be related to the content and frequency of racial socialization messages that Black young adults receive. Previous research suggests that racial socialization is provided to emerging adults from a myriad of sources (Arnett, 2007). Therefore, it was hypothesized that racial socialization provided by both familial and non-familial sources would impact their adoption or rejection of color-blind racial beliefs.

Finally, this study investigated the relation between familial/non-familial racial socialization and mental health outcomes. Previous research suggests that parental racial socialization can lead to both positive and negative mental health outcomes depending on the content (Bynum, Burton, & Best, 2007; G. Y. Davis & H. C. Stevenson, 2006). It was hypothesized this relationship would extend to racial socialization provided by peers. In addition, it was proposed that racial beliefs would moderate the relationship between racial socialization and mental health outcomes. Previous research suggests that racial beliefs are related to mental health outcomes. Specifically, it was proposed that understanding the realities of institutional racism would buffer the negative impact that some racial socialization messages have on mental health.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

In the following chapter, the literature regarding racial socialization and its relations to contexts, racial beliefs, and mental health is reviewed. The review begins with an introduction to racial socialization and an overview of the variety of message types that have been identified in the previous literature. Following this discussion, the guiding theoretical model is described and a review of the relevant research related to each of the key components of the model is explained. Next, a review of issues related to the measurement of racial socialization and its variability across demographic factors is provided. Finally, the rationale, hypotheses, and research questions of the current study are outlined.

Racial Socialization: Definition and Content

Racial socialization refers to the process by which people learn behaviors, beliefs, and values related to their own race and race relations (Lesane, 2002). According to Thornton and her colleagues (1990), racial socialization can assist youth in understanding their personal and group identity, interracial relations, and their social position. Boykin and Toms (1985) also suggested that parents use racial socialization to prepare their children to be aware of and navigate the mainstream culture, minority culture, and Black culture.

The content of racial socialization messages vary considerably from family to family in African Americans (Sanders Thompson, 1994). A number of scholars have focused on identifying the types of racial socialization messages that are common among Black families. Stevenson (1994) has proposed that African American parents generally focus on giving their children both protective and proactive racial socialization messages. Proactive socialization refers to messages focusing on the positive aspects of individual and their racial/ethnic group,

rather than the power of the oppressor. In contrast, protective socialization messages warn of the realities of racism and provide strategies to effectively handle oppression and discrimination in the future. Stevenson and colleagues (2008) suggest that both types of racial socialization are necessary for positive functioning. However, empirical research has suggested that protective and proactive racial socialization are differentially related to a number of outcomes. For example, Barr and Neville (2008) found that Black students' reports of protective racial socialization provided by parents was related to their denial of institutional racism (this relationship did not exist with proactive racial socialization).   In addition, protective and proactive racial socialization have been found to have both positive and negative relationships with mental health outcomes (Bynum et al., 2007).

Although not necessarily using the term, noted scholars have identified a number of proactive racial socialization messages given by Black parents. Black parents have reported giving their children *racial pride* messages that focus on instilling a positive self image and strong commitment to the Black race (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Hughes & Chen, 1997). The content of these messages include teachings concerning Black history, culture, and heritage (Bowman & Howard, 1985). In addition, Bowman and Howard (1985) found that some Black parents reported giving racial messages focusing on *self development* to their children. These messages encourage the development of skills and character regardless of race. Scholars have also reported that Black parents promote *egalitarian values* when discussing race with their children (Bowman & Howard, 1985). These messages can focus either on the equal status of all people regardless of race or the equal treatment of all people regardless of race. Proactive racial socialization has been found to be related to positive outcomes such as increased parental

involvement and decreased behavior problems in African American families with preschool-age children (Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002).

Researchers have also identified a number of racial socialization messages that would be classified as protective in nature. These messages include those that focus on *racial barriers* (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Hughes & Chen, 1997). Racial barriers messages highlight the presence of racism and prepare children for future encounters with racial discrimination and prejudice. Black parents have also reported giving their children messages that encourage the *promotion of mistrust* of White people and mainstream society(Hughes & Chen, 1997). In addition, Barr and Neville (2008) more recently found that a number of Black parents in their sample gave their children messages to *counter stereotypes* and encouraged their children to succeed in spite of negative assumptions about Black people. Protective racial socialization such as this has been found to be related to higher grades in Black adolescents (Bowman & Howard, 1985). Scott (2003) also found that protective racial socialization was related to adolescents use of approach coping strategies to deal with discrimination. In the following section, the proposed theoretical model, which has guided the current investigation, is discussed.
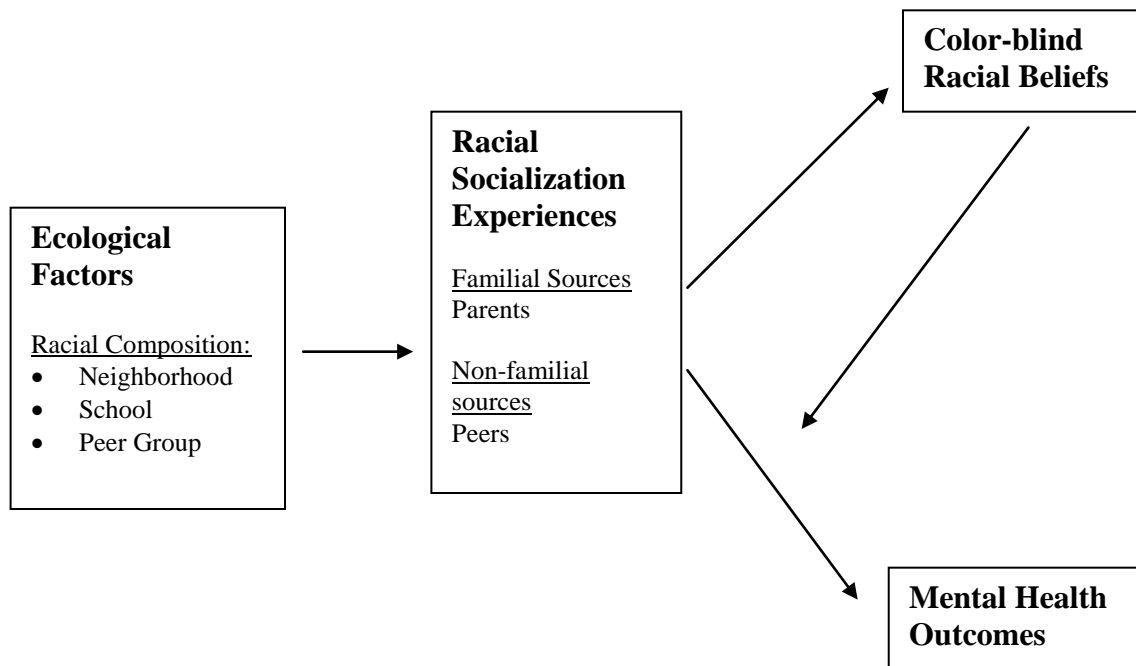
Guiding Theoretical Model: Ecological Model of the Racial Socialization

The Ecological Model of Racial Socialization is based on Umaña-Taylor and Fine's (2004) model of adolescent ethnic identity development. In their model, the authors utilized an ecological framework to explore how ethnic identity develops in Mexican American adolescents. The authors proposed that the racial composition of the youths' high school context would be related to their report of familial ethnic socialization which would in turn influence racial identity development. The authors found support for this model. Specifically, they found that youth who

attended high schools with fewer Mexican Americans received more racial socialization. They also found that familial ethnic socialization was positively related to ethnic identity achievement.

Given these findings, it was hypothesized that a similar process occurs in the development of color-blind racial beliefs. Limited evidence suggested that racial beliefs, such as color-blind racial beliefs, were related to racial socialization (Barr & Neville, 2008). The proposed model (see Figure 1), explored both the contexts and outcomes of racial socialization. Specifically, it was hypothesized that the racial composition of Black students' environment in high school (neighborhood, high school, and friend group) were related to the frequency and type of racial socialization received. In addition, it was proposed that racial socialization was related to students' adoption/rejection of color-blind racial beliefs and mental health outcomes. It is also proposed that color-blind racial beliefs are related to mental health outcomes. Finally, the proposed model posited that the adoption/rejection of color-blind racial beliefs would moderate the relation between racial socialization and mental health.

Figure 1: Ecological Model of the Racial Socialization

Color-blind Racial Beliefs

Racial Socialization Experiences

Familial Sources
Parents

Non-familial sources
Peers

Ecological Factors

Racial Composition:
- Neighborhood
- School
- Peer Group

Mental Health Outcomes

In the proposed model, ecological factors included the racial composition of the students' home neighborhood, high school, and peer group. Limited research has suggested that parental racial socialization was related to the racial composition of youths' neighborhood for African American families (McNeil, Stevenson, Herrero-Taylor, & Davis, 2005; Thorton et al., 1990). In addition, the racial composition of the high school was found to be related to ethnic socialization in Mexican American adolescents (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). However, there has not been a systematic examination of the relation between the racial socialization and the racial composition of other contexts that may be important to the African American young adults.

The current study also examined racial socialization messages provided by sources outside of parents into account. In this study, racial socialization provided by parents and peers was explored. Previous research suggest that racial socialization is provided by other sources, however there is very little research which has examined outcomes related to these messages (Lesane-Brown, Brown, Caldwell, & Sellers, 2005; Sanders Thompson, 1994). Umaña-Taylor and Fine (2004) only examined familial ethnic socialization. It was hypothesized that both familial and non-familial racial socialization are important factors when understanding color-blind racial beliefs.

The EMRS also explored the relation between racial socialization and mental health outcomes. Although not examined in Umaña-Taylor and Fine's model, it is hypothesized that both familial and non-familial racial socialization are related to mental health outcomes. Empirical research provides support for this hypothesis (Bynum et al., 2007; Davis & Stevenson, 2006). Depending on the content, parental racial socialization was related to both positive and negative mental health outcomes. Specifically, proactive racial socialization such as racial pride

was related to less psychological distress, while protective racial socialization was found to be related to higher levels of psychological distress (Bynum et al., 2007).

Finally, the EMRS examined if color-blind racial beliefs moderated the relation between racial socialization and mental health outcomes. As noted above, previous research suggested that protective racial socialization was related to negative mental health outcomes. However, there has not been a systematic examination of factors that may contribute this negative outcome. Given the research on color-blind racial beliefs in African Americans, it was hypothesized that the denial of color-blind racial beliefs would buffer the negative impact that protective racial socialization has on mental health. For example, Neville and colleagues (2005) have found that the adoption of color-blind racial beliefs in Black college students is related to negative psychological outcomes such as belief in internalized racial stereotypes and victim-blaming. It may be that negative mental health outcomes only exist for Black students' who receive messages about the realities of racial disparities and adopt color-blind racial beliefs because they do not attribute these disparities to structural and institutional racism. We believe that young adults who receive racial socialization messages that focus on racism and adopt higher levels of color-blind racial beliefs will have more negative mental health outcomes than those who have lower levels of color-blind racial beliefs. The following sections will explore the research related to the key components of the proposed theoretical model.

Context and Racial Socialization

It is suggested in the EMRS that the contexts of young adults' environments are related to the types of racial socialization they receive. Previous research supports the idea that racial socialization is related to the racial composition of contexts within one's environment. A number of studies have suggested that there is a relation between neighborhood context and

racial socialization in African American families. Neighborhood racial/ethnic composition, in particular, was found to be related to the types of racial socialization provided in Black families. In a study utilizing the National Survey on Black Americans (NSBA), Thornton and colleagues (1990) found that Black mothers living in neighborhoods composed equally of Black Americans and White Americans were more likely to give socialization messages than those living in primarily Black neighborhoods. Stevenson (2005) also found that Black teenagers' reports of racial socialization were related to the amount of ethnic diversity within their neighborhood. In neighborhoods that lack cultural diversity (Stevenson assumed that these neighborhoods were predominately Black), boys received more coping with antagonism racial socialization messages (a form of protective racial socialization messages) than girls regardless of their personal experiences with racism. Girls, in these neighborhoods, reported more cultural pride messages (a form of proactive racial socialization messages) than boys and this increased when they also reported personal experiences with racism. However in highly diverse multicultural neighborhoods, boys' reports of racism were significantly related to their coping with antagonism racial socialization experiences. In multicultural neighborhoods, girls who did not report personal experiences with racism reported receiving more cultural pride racial socialization than boys who did not report racism experiences. In contrast, racism experiences were reported, boys in multicultural neighborhoods reported higher rates of cultural pride racial socialization.

In a study examining racial socialization in Black families of first-grade children, Caughy and colleagues (2006) also found that neighborhood composition was related to the types of racial socialization provided in Black families. Specifically, they found that messages focusing on promoting mistrust of whites were less likely to be reported by parents living in

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predominately White neighborhoods compared to parents in predominately Black neighborhoods.

Findings from these studies suggested that the racial makeup of the neighborhood may influence the frequency and content of racial socialization that parents give their children. Similar to the empirical findings reviewed, Tatum (1999) suggested that Black parents living in predominately White neighborhoods have an acute desire to prepare their children for racial encounters compared their counterparts living in predominately Black neighborhoods. From this research, it is unclear if the racial composition of other contexts (i.e., school and peer group) within the youths' environment impact the types of racial socialization.

Agents of Racial Socialization

Researchers contend that young adults also receive racial socialization from various sources (Arnett, 2007; Lesane-Brown et al., 2005). However, the racial socialization literature has focused primarily on socialization that occurs within the context of the family, primarily with parents. There is a dearth in research exploring racial social socialization provided by other agents. In the following section, research on racial socialization provided by peers will be reviewed.

Arnett (2007), a leading scholar in emerging adulthood, suggested that as adolescents transition into adulthood, familial socialization becomes less important and messages received from sources outside of the family, such as peers, play a greater role in the socialization process. However, he also noted that there are important differences between familial and non-familial socialization. In comparison to familial socialization, emerging adults have greater control over the socialization provided by non-familial sources. Unlike family members, young adults have

the ability to choose their friends. Arnett (1995) suggested that young adults are likely to choose friends that are similar to them across a number of domains such as gender, race, class, etc.

Little, if any, evidence is available that suggests that peers provide racial socialization. Lesane-Brown and colleagues (2005) found that approximately 90% of adolescents and 95% of college-students reported receiving messages related to race from their friends. Very little is known regarding the content of racial socialization provided by peers. The current investigation will explore both the frequency and content of messages provided by peers.

In sum, the research on racial socialization suggested that racial socialization is transmitted from a number of different sources outside of the parents. However, there is little, if any, empirical data examining the impact these messages have on outcomes related to mental health and racial beliefs. The EMRS suggested that both familial and non-familial racial socialization was related to racial beliefs and mental health outcomes in African American emerging adults.

Racial Socialization and Mental Health Outcomes

The EMRS suggested that mental health were related to racial socialization experiences. Proactive racial socialization was found to be related to positive mental health outcomes.   For example, Bynum, Burton, and Best (2007) found that receiving racial socialization messages focusing on coping using cultural resources such as religion and family lessened the negative effects of racism experiences on psychological stress.   In addition, adolescents' and college students' reports of parental proactive racial socialization focusing on cultural pride was been related to less psychological distress and lower levels of low self esteem and lethargy (Bynum et al., 2007; Davis & Stevenson, 2006).

There have been mixed findings surrounding the relation between protective racial socialization and mental health outcomes. Some authors have found that adolescent reports of parental protective racial socialization were related to higher levels of psychological distress, instrumental helplessness, and depression, and externalizing behaviors (Bynum et al., 2007; Wilson, Foster, Anderson, & Mance, 2009). In addition, youth who reported receiving Mainstream Fit Racial socialization messages (messages focusing on the benefits of being involved in majority culture institutions) were more likely to have higher levels of depression (Bynum et al., 2007). Contrarily, protective racial socialization has also been found to buffer the negative impact of racial discrimination on mental health outcomes (Fisher & Shaw, 1999). To date, there has not been an investigation that examined factors that might moderate this relationship to better understand these findings. It is hypothesized that students' own racial beliefs may help account for these discrepancies.

In summary, these studies suggest that certain types of racial socialization can have positive effects on African American adolescents' mental health. Having open discussions with parents about race and racism can provide youth with adaptive coping strategies when they are faced with negative stimuli, such as racial discrimination (Phinney & Chavira, 1995; Scott, 2003). There is contradictory evidence that suggests that protective racial socialization can sometimes lead to negative mental health outcomes. The current study will explore if young adults' racial beliefs buffer the negative impact that these messages have on mental health.

Racial Socialization and Racial Beliefs

Previous research has also examined the association between racial socialization and youths' racial beliefs. The research examining racial beliefs and racial socialization has been limited to studies focusing on racial identity beliefs. Studies suggest that parental racial

socialization was related to youth racial identity beliefs. In a survey study, Sanders-Thompson (1994) found that adults' self-reported experiences of parental racial socialization were related positively to their racial identity. Similarly, using data from the NSBA, Demo and Hughes (1990) found that Black adults who recalled receiving proactive forms of racial socialization (integrative/assertive) felt a greater attachment to their racial group. In a study focusing on early adolescents (ages 14-15), Stevenson (1995) found that adolescents who reported receiving proactive racial socialization messages, such as racial pride, had more security and self-confidence in their own Blackness. In this same study, it was found that youth whose parents gave their children protective racial socialization messages were less likely to have pro-white and anti-Black attitudes. Marshall (1995) also found that older children's (ages 9 and 10) parent reports of racial socialization were related to their racial identity (more encounter attitudes).

Although racial identity is an important construct to be examined in the context of understanding racial socialization in Black families, other types of racial beliefs may be informative as well. Neville and her colleagues (2005) suggested that racial beliefs include both beliefs about the self as a racial being and beliefs about external forces such as racism. Both internal racial beliefs (e.g., racial identity) and external racial beliefs (e.g., racial color-blindness) can assist in understanding psychosocial and political behaviors in African Americans. Color-blind racial beliefs refer to the degree to which one denies the existence of institutional racism.

Although racial color-blindness has been found to be related to racial identity attitudes among Black Americans, especially the internalization of negative racial stereotypes, these constructs are distinct (Neville et al., 2005). Racial identity refers to a psychological process in which one makes meaning of his or her own race and meaning of Blackness. Even though, this process does not occur in a vacuum and contextual factors are taken into account, the focus of

racial identity is the self. In contrast, color-blind racial beliefs refer to a cognitive process by which one interprets external mechanisms, in particular racism. Highlighting the importance of differentiating between racial identity and color-blind racial beliefs, Neville and colleagues identified a racial ideology in which some Black Americans rejected internalizing racial stereotypes about Blacks without acknowledging the existence of structural racism. Nuances such as these can be missed without an examination of both external racial beliefs and internal racial beliefs. The identification of a multitude of racial ideologies demonstrates the necessity to explore consequences and antecedents of other racial beliefs for Black Americans.

Neville and her colleagues (2001) highlighted the main characteristics of color-blind racial attitudes. First, color-blind racial attitudes are a new form of racial ideologies that are distinct from, but related to racial prejudice (Neville et al., 2001). These attitudes are distinct from individual racism for a number of reasons. Individual racism is the belief in the inferiority/superiority of groups based on race. Also, individual racism includes behaviors related to these beliefs (Neville et al., 2001). However, color-blind racial attitudes do not include beliefs of inferiority or superiority. Instead, they refer to the denial that racism exists (Neville et al., 2001).

Also, color-blind racial attitudes are a cognitive schema (Neville et al., 2001). They shape how a person interprets race relations in the United States. There are also emotional responses that are associated with these beliefs. While the use of schemas to understand the world may be intrinsic process, the content of these schemas are socially determined (Gushue, 2004). Following this line of reasoning, it is hypothesized that socialization messages given by parents influence student's color-blind attitudes.

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Finally, color-blind racial ideologies are expressed differently in people of color and White populations. Although people of all races and ethnicities can possess color-blind racial attitudes, adopting these attitudes can have vastly different implications for Whites and people of color (Neville et al., 2001). Bonilla-Silva (2002) has suggested that white people utilize racial color-blind rhetoric to avoid appearing racist in a society where overt racism is not acceptable. It also allows for Whites to perpetuate White supremacy and privilege without acknowledging the impact of racism (Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2000). While color-blind attitudes may serve as a protective factor in white individuals, it can have some negative consequences in people of color (Neville et al.2005). Specifically, Neville and her colleagues have found that Black students who adopted more color-blind beliefs were more likely to (1) attribute the economic and social disadvantages that exist for African Americans to their own racial group (2) believe in a hierarchical system that justified oppression and (3) internalize racist stereotypes about Black people.

It seems logical that the content and frequency of racial socialization one receives would be related to their awareness or lack thereof of racism. Previous research suggests that protective racial socialization provided by parents is related to color-blind racial beliefs in African American college students (Alvarez et al.2006; Barr & Neville, 2008). Alvarez and colleagues (2006) are among the few researchers who have conceptualized and tested a link between racial socialization and perceptions of racism among older adolescents and young adults. Among a college-aged sample of Asian Americans, they found an association between reports of receiving messages about race and racism (i.e., protective messages) and students' level perceptions of racism (e.g., awareness of direct, vicarious, and collective racism).

Barr and Neville (2008) also explored the relations between color-blind racial beliefs and racial socialization in African American college students. In this study, both parents and students reported the types of racial socialization messages that were given to the students. Students' reports of protective racial socialization were found to be related to lower endorsement of color-blind racial attitudes. Surprisingly, parents' reports of racial socialization were not related to their child's color-blind racial socialization. However, parent reports of racial socialization were related to their own beliefs in institutional racism.

The EMRS hopes to extend these findings by exploring whether the relationship between racial socialization and color-blind racial beliefs extended to racial socialization provided by sources other than parents. It is feasible that one develops their beliefs based on information provided by a number of different sources including but not limited to parents. Developmental research has suggested that as adolescents approach adulthood parental socialization becomes less influential and other sources within the young person's context become very important (Arnett, 2007; 2008).

Racial Socialization across the Lifespan

Previous literature has suggested that the age of the child impacts the frequency and content of racial socialization transmitted by Black parents. It was found that older children are more likely to receive messages concerning race than younger children in African American, Dominican, and Puerto Rican populations (Hughes, 2003). In addition, older children also receive different types of racial socialization messages than their younger counterparts (Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Chen, 1997). For example, in a study examining racial socialization in families with children ages 4-14, parents of older children were more likely to give more protective racial socialization messages than the parent's of younger children (Hughes & Chen, 1997). Messages

reinforcing cultural and racial pride have been found to be given consistently to children of all ages (Hughes & Chen, 1997). These findings have also extended to research focusing on adolescents (Fatimilehin, 1999).

Arnett has suggested that socialization continues to occur within this stage of development. He posited that the goals of socialization in emerging adulthood include the acquisition of cultural norms, beliefs, and values from various agents of socialization (Arnett, 2007). Research with college-aged students reflects the continuing significance of parental racial socialization in early adulthood. For example, in a study validating the Comprehensive Racial Socialization Inventory (CRSI), Lesane-Brown and colleagues (2005) examined the racial socialization experiences of 255 Black college students from various Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU) and Predominately White Universities (PWI) across the United States. They found that 79.6% of college students reported receiving racial socialization messages from their parents. In addition, Barr and Neville (2008) found that two-thirds ($n = 76$) of their sample of Black college students reported discussing issues of race and racism with their parents focusing on both protective and proactive racial socialization.

Gender and Racial Socialization

Gender has also been found to impact the types of racial socialization messages that African American parents give their children. A number of studies have found that African American adolescent girls tend to receive more proactive racial socialization messages than boys (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Brown & Linver, 2009; Caughy et al., 2002; McNeil et al., 2005). These studies have also found that parents tend to give their male children more protective racial socialization messages preparing them for encounters with racism and discrimination (Bowman & Howard, 1985; McNeil et al., 2005). Thomas and King's (2007) research best illustrates how

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gender can influence the types of messages given Black youth. In this study, the authors examined the specific types of racial socialization given to Black girls by their mothers. Both mothers and daughters answered open-ended questions pertaining to the types of messages given and received about being an African American female. They found that the mothers reported giving messages that may be of particular importance to African American girls including issues such as standards of beauty (i.e., "Black is beautiful"). In addition, mothers placed strong emphasis on messages concerning self-determination and assertiveness (i.e., "Stand up for yourself and what you believe in.").

From this discussion, it is clear that concept of racial socialization is a complex multifaceted process. Cumulatively, these studies suggest that the content of racial socialization varies and can be influenced by a number of factors including gender and developmental stage. The way that racial socialization is assessed can be important to capturing the multidimensional nature of this construct.

Assessing Racial Socialization

Although the types of messages that have been identified by scholars are consistent with the Stevenson's framework of protective vs. proactive racial socialization, there has been a push to standardize the measurement of racial socialization. Over the course of the development of the racial socialization literature, scholars have used a myriad of strategies to capture racial socialization in families. For example, some research has focused on self-reports of racial socialization experiences (Stevenson, 1995), while others have asked parents to report their practices (Caughy et al., 2002). There are inventories developed deductively from open-ended data (Bowman & Howard, 1985), while others created scales utilizing an inductive process based on previous literature (Hughes & Chen, 1997; McNeil et al., 2005). Unfortunately, this

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inconsistency across measurement has made it extremely difficult to draw conclusions concerning the correlates of racial socialization. In this section both qualitative and quantitative methods of measuring racial socialization are reviewed and discussed.

Qualitative assessments of racial socialization. As mentioned previously, some scholars have used qualitative methods to identify the content of racial socialization in Black families (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Harris, 1995; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Peters, 1985; Thorton et al., 1990). These scholars assert that qualitative methods are more suitable for obtaining a complex picture of racial socialization (Coard, Wallace, Stevenson, & Brotman, 2004). In addition, qualitative methods allow participants to speak to their actual experiences of racial socialization without being influenced by the researchers preconceived notions (Bentley et al., 2008).

One example of the qualitative research on racial socialization is a subset of data collected in the National Survey on Black Americans (NSBA). A number of studies have used the NSBA dataset to explore racial socialization in Black Americans (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Demo & Hughes, 1990; Harris, 1995; Thorton et al., 1990). In this survey, 2,107 Black adults from across the country were contacted to discuss a number of issues related to Black life using both scaled measures and open ended questions. To assess racial socialization, Black parents were asked the most important things they told their children concerning what it means to be Black and how to get along with white people. In addition, a three generation family sample which included grandparents, parents, and children between the ages of 14 and 24 were contacted to complete interviews. The children's interviews focused on a myriad of issues including racial socialization experiences. Specifically, they were asked if their parents or guardians discussed what it meant to be Black, the content of the most important messages they received, and the content of discussions focusing on how to interact with White people

successfully. The data gathered from this survey were coded by various scholars in a variety of ways. For example, Demo and Hughes (1990) coded the parental dataset using the NSBA coding scheme and suggested that parents reported giving their children racial socialization messages that were individualistic/universal, integrative/assertive, or cautious/defensive. In contrast, Thornton and colleagues (1990) utilized thematic analysis to develop codes for the same dataset. They found that parents reported giving their children a variety of racial socialization messages focusing on achievement, good citizenship, racial pride, self acceptance, positive self image, racial barriers, and egalitarian messages.

Although informative, the use of qualitative methods can result in wide variability when classifying racial socialization behaviors. Using NBSA as an example, researchers used the same dataset but came up with different conceptualizations of the content of racial socialization. This can be problematic when attempting to draw conclusions concerning outcomes related to racial socialization and limit generalizability (Bentley et al., 2008). To contend with the issues raised by the use of qualitative methods, scholars have developed quantitative measures to capture racial socialization.

Quantitative assessment of racial socialization. In response to the variability in qualitative assessment, Howard Stevenson has been in the forefront of creating measures to assess the multidimensional nature of racial socialization from the adolescents' perspective. His first scale, Scale of Racial Socialization in Adolescents (SORS-A;1994), was designed to measure adolescents perceptions of the appropriateness of racial socialization with African American children and families.   In this measure, adolescents' rated their level of agreement with the belief that certain types of racial socialization should be included when raising Black children. The four domains included in the SORS-A are as follows: (a) Spiritual and Religious

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Coping (SRC) (b) Extended Family Caring (EFC) (c) Cultural Pride Reinforcement (CPR) and (d) Racism Awareness Teaching (RAT). These domains tapped into both proactive racial socialization (SRC, EFC, and CPR) and protective racial messages (RAT). The overall scale, termed Global Racial Socialization, had an acceptable level reliability (α=.75 - .77).

Although extremely useful, the information gathered from the SORS-A can be limiting. Strictly focusing on teenagers' belief system regarding racial socialization may only tap into their ideal racial socialization process. However, it is important to note that one's ideals and actual experiences may not coincide. In response to this limitation, Stevenson also developed the Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale (TERS). This scale focused on adolescents' self reported experiences of racial socialization. Teenagers were asked to assess the amount of racial socialization they received from their parents on a number of different domains. These domains included proactive socialization [i.e., Cultural Pride Reinforcement (CPR), Cultural Legacy Appreciation (CLA), and Cultural Endorsement of the Mainstream (CEM)] and protective racial socialization [i.e., Cultural Alertness to Discrimination (CAD) and Cultural Coping with Antagonism (CCA)].

Stevenson noted that the domains identified by adolescents in the TERS are related to those that have been identified in previous literature using parent reports. Specifically, using Hughes and Chen's (1997) typology of racial socialization the TERS relates in the following ways: Cultural socialization is related to the CLA and CPR, Preparation for Bias corresponds with CCA, and Promotion of Mistrust corresponds to CAD. The CEM factor was not found to be related to Hughes and Chen's conceptualization but may be an additional type of message that African American parents give their children. In addition, Stevenson found evidence of

discriminate validity between the TERS and the SORS-A (Stevenson, Cameron, Herrero-Taylor, & Davis, 2002).

Both the SORS-A and the TERS have demonstrated acceptable reliability estimates and validity across a number of studies; however, both fall short of capturing the multidimensional nature of racial socialization which has been uncovered in recent work in this area. Factors such as gender and class have not been taken into account in these racial socialization scales, however they have been found to impact the content of racial socialization provided by parents (Thomas & King, 2007; Thorton et al., 1990). Lesane-Brown and colleagues (2005) also noted that these scales do not include information on the various sources of racial socialization messages.

In response to the missing components of the racial socialization scales noted by scholars, Bentley and Stevenson (2007) created the Cultural and Racial Experiences of Socialization (CARES) measure. Building upon the TERS and SORS-A, the CARES examines both the beliefs and experiences of Black youth concerning racial socialization. Additionally, the CARES extended the work of previous inventories to include an examination of the frequency, recency, importance, and source of racial socialization. The CARES also expands upon the content of racial socialization to include gendered racial socialization, internalized racism, multiculturalism, and religious coping. The CARES is a 74-item scale which measures the frequency, agreement, and sources of various racial socialization messages. The measure includes seven subscales: (a) Alertness to Racism (AR), (b) Coping with Antagonism (CA), Religious Coping with Antagonism (R-CA), (c) Cultural Legacy (CL), (d) Cultural Pride (CP), (e) Internalized Racism (IR), and (f) Mainstream/Bicultural Coping (MC). These subscales capture both protective racial socialization (AR, CA, and R-CA) and proactive racial socialization (CL and CP).

One component that makes the CARES unique was the authors' examination of racial socialization that comes from sources other than parents. Similarly, the current study has examined racial socialization provided by both familial and non familial sources. In addition, the current study has investigated the influence that racial socialization provided by these sources has on racial beliefs.

The Current Study

The overarching goal of the study was to test the Ecological Model of Racial Socialization. Cumulatively, the findings from the research reviewed on racial socialization and racial beliefs provide support for the theoretical model. Empirical research has found that contextual factors such as neighborhood racial composition are related to parental racial socialization in African Americans. In addition, research suggests that racial socialization can be provided by both familial and non-familial sources. Finally, empirical findings suggest that racial socialization is related to both mental health and color-blind racial beliefs.

The theoretical model adds to the research on racial socialization and color-blind beliefs in a number of ways. First, the model has attended to contextual factors that may be important in the development of racial beliefs. Going beyond previous research examining the influence that racial composition has on racial socialization, the EMRS included the neighborhood context, school context, and the peer context. In addition, the model included reports of racial socialization messages provided by various sources (both familial and non-familial) as opposed to only parental racial socialization messages. Finally, the EMRS has extended the previous research on mental health and racial socialization. It is hypothesized that the adoption/rejection of color-blind racial beliefs will moderate the relation between racial socialization and mental health.

In summary, the current project will attempt to answer the following research questions:

1. Is the racial composition of contexts such as neighborhood, high school, and peer groups related to racial socialization experiences of Black young adults?

2. Is racial socialization provided by familial and non-familial sources related to color-blind racial beliefs?

3. Is racial socialization provided by familial and non-familial sources related to mental health outcomes?

4. Does the rejection of color-blind racial beliefs moderate the relationship between racial socialization and mental health outcomes?

Based on the findings from the extant literature, the current project will test the following hypotheses:

1. Living in a predominately Black neighborhood, attending a predominately Black High School, and having mainly Black friends will be related to higher rates of peer and parental racial socialization experiences reported by Black emerging adults.

2. The racial socialization provided by family and peers is related to the rejection of color-blind racial beliefs, such that more racial socialization will contribute to less adoption of color blind racial attitudes.

3. Racial socialization provided by family and peers is related to more positive mental health outcomes, such that Cultural Pride socialization will be related to positive mental health outcomes and Internalized Racism will be related to negative mental health outcomes.

4. The rejection/adoption of color-blind racial beliefs will moderate the relationship between racial socialization and mental health outcomes, such that the rejection of color-blind racial beliefs will buffer against the negative mental health outcomes associated with certain types of racial socialization.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

Participants

Participants were 207 self-identified Black Americans (124 women, 77 men, and 6 unknown gender) college students from a large, predominately White university in the Midwest. Participants' age ranged from 18-32 ($M = 19.14$ and $SD = 1.37$). The majority of the participants identified as Christian (83.1%); the remaining were agnostic (1.4%), Jewish (1%), or another religion (11.1%).

Measures

Personal information. All participants completed an information sheet requesting demographic data including age, gender, parents' education level and religious affiliation. Participants were also asked to provide their racial (e.g., White, Black, Asian, Latino, etc.) and ethnic identification (e.g., African American, Jamaican American, Ghanaian, etc.).

Racial composition. The racial composition of the neighborhood in which participants were raised was assessed utilizing census data. To gather this information, participants were asked to provide the name of their high school and their parents' home address. The participants' addresses were then entered into http://factfinder.census.gov to locate demographic information at the block level. The high school racial composition was acquired by accessing high school websites and other internet sources such as: www.schoolmatters.com, www.publicschoolreview.com, and www.greatschools.net. Based on data the gathered, the percentage of Black neighbors/students was calculated for each participant. Participants also were asked to rate the racial composition of their current close friends and their close friends during high school on a scale of 0 (*none)* to 5 (*all).*

Racial socialization - Quantitative. The Cultural and Racial Experiences of Socialization Scale (CARES) was developed by Stevenson and Bentley (2007) to incorporate theoretical advances in racial socialization measurement. The scale was created to unify previous measures of racial socialization and explore both the breadth and depth of African Americans' racial socialization experiences. The measure examined the frequency that participants experienced racial socialization, participants' agreement with various types of racial socialization, and the sources from which they received racial socialization messages. The CARES was selected because of its attention to racial socialization provided by various sources. In addition, this measure was chosen because of its inclusion of both positive and negative messages about African Americans.

The CARES consists of two instruments: 1) The Parent-CARES which is administered to parents or caregivers and explores their parenting behaviors and beliefs and 2) The Youth-CARES which was developed to be administered to both high school age and college age students to examine their perceptions of racial socialization received throughout their lifetime. A modified version of the Youth-CARES was used in the current study to explore the frequency and source of racial socialization in African American students.

In the original measure, each of the 74 items is rated in three ways by participants. The participants rate the frequency at which they receive each item, their agreement with the item, and the source of the particular message. The items are rated on a 3-point scale to determine the overall frequency of the messages they receive ranging from 1 (*never*) to 3 (*a lot of times*). The items were then rated on a 4-point scale to assess their agreement with each particular message ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 4 (*strongly agree*). In addition, participants were asked to identify the sources of each message in a dichotomous manner.

The original Youth- CARES included seven subscales: Alertness to Racism (AR; 9 items) which reflect messages warning youth about the realities of racism (e.g., "Whites have more opportunities than Blacks."). (b) Coping with Antagonism (CA: 6 items) includes messages focused on strategies to contend with racism (e.g., "You should speak up when someone says something that is racist."). (c) Religious Coping with Antagonism (R-CA; 6 items) includes messages that focus on the importance of spirituality and religion in coping with discrimination and racism (e.g., "A family that prays together, stays together."). (d) Cultural Legacy (CL; 10 items) focus on African American history (e.g., "Knowing your African heritage is important for the survival of Black people."). (e) Cultural Pride (CP; 9 items) center on pride and knowledge of African American culture (e.g., "You should be proud to be Black."). (f) Internalized Racism (IR; 19 items) focus on negative perceptions about Black people (e.g., "Black people are their own worst enemy."). (g) Mainstream/Bicultural Coping (MC; 16 items) focus on preparing youth to interact with White people and mainstream culture (e.g., "You need to learn how to live in a White world and a Black world.").

The seven subscales were derived from previous empirical findings and theory about racial socialization research. To date, there is no available data on the construct validity of the CARES. The reliability on the frequency subscales range from .66 (Coping with Antagonism) to .80 (Cultural Pride) and the composite reliability for the CARES has been found to be in the acceptable range for the frequency score (α = .93 - .96) (Davis, 2008; H. C. Stevenson & Bentley, 2007).

The Youth-CARES was modified in the current study to investigate the frequency and source of racial socialization experiences. I was particularly interested in understanding the frequency in which young adults reported receiving messages concerning race from multiple

sources. Therefore, the CARES was modified to combine the source and frequency ratings used in the original scale. Specifically, participants were asked to rate the frequency of each message for parents and peers on a 3 - point scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 3 (*a lot of the time*). Exploratory factor analyses and confirmatory factor analyses were conducted to determine if the subscales in the original Youth-CARES would fit the data gathered with the modified version. Results from the factor analyses indicate that a three factor solution best fit the modified version of the CARES. A detailed description of the factor analyses are described in the results section.

Racial Socialization - Open-ended. Participants were also asked to provide a brief narrative about racial socialization. Specifically, they were asked to write two to three sentences about 1) the most important messages they received about race and racism, 2) the source of this message, and 3) the impact that it had on their view of race relations. The participants' narratives have been examined to contextualize the quantitative findings. The purpose of the inclusion of open-ended data was to utilize participants' own words to illuminate the processes identified in the quantitative analyses particularly concerning racial socialization content and sources.

Racial beliefs. The Color-blind Racial Attitudes Scale (Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000) was used to assess racial beliefs in the study. The shorter 14-item self-report measure uses a 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). Scores can range from 14 to 84, with higher scores reflecting a greater denial of institutional racism.   The CoBRAS contains three subscales: Unawareness of Racial Privilege, Institutional Discrimination, and Blatant Racial Issues. Increased CoBRAS total score has been found to be related to students' greater belief in a "just world" and to the adoption of racial prejudice beliefs among primarily White Americans (Neville et al., 2000) and to a range of racial

beliefs among Black Americans, including internalized negative racial beliefs (Neville, Coleman, Falconer, & Holmes, 2005) and fewer protective racial socialization messages (Barr & Neville, 2008). The internal consistency estimates for the CoBRAS total score has been acceptable with alphas ranging from .86 to .91 for the predominantly White samples (Neville et al., 2000) and alphas ranging from .70 to .74 among Black samples (Barr & Neville, 2008; Neville et al., 2005). The Cronbach's alpha estimate for the current sample was .76.

Mental health outcomes. The Mental Health Inventory – 18 (Ware, Manning, Duan, Wells, & Newhouse, 1984) was used to assess both well-being and psychological distress in the current investigation. The MHI-18 is a shortened version of the original 36-item scale which was developed for use in general populations (Veit & Ware, 1983). The MHI-18 maintains the original subscale structure (Consortium of Multiple Sclerosis Centers Health Services Research Subcommittee, 1997). The scale assesses psychological health across four domains: Anxiety, Depression, Loss of Behavioral/Emotional Control, and General Positive Affect. A 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*all of the time*) to 6 (*none of the time*) is used to assess the frequency and intensity of mental health. The subscale and total scores range from 0 to 100, with higher scores indicating better mental health. The MHI-18 has excellent psychometric properties including strong one-year test-retest reliability, internal consistency, and evidence of convergent and discriminant validity (Weinstien, Berwick, Goldman, Murphy, & Barsky, 1989). The MHI-18 has been found to be highly correlated with its longer version the MHI-36 and the more established Center for Epidemiological Studies –Depression Scale (CES-D) (McHorney & Ware, 1995). Acceptable reliability has been found for the MHI in general adult populations ranging from .74 to .89 (Berwick, Murphy, Goldman, & Ware, 1991; McHorney & Ware, 1995). In African American college student populations, the MHI has also been found have acceptable

reliable estimates (α = .87 - .94) (Fisher & Shaw, 1999; Whittaker & Neville, in press). The Cronbach's alpha estimate for this sample is .91.

Procedures

Students were recruited from five undergraduate African American studies courses at a predominately white university in the Midwest. All students had the opportunity to complete the survey regardless of race. Only the Black students' data were used in the current analysis. At the beginning of each class, the primary investigator provided a brief overview of the current study and discussed the purpose of the research and the voluntary nature of the study. The students were given the opportunity to enter into a raffle to win one of three Visa gift cards valued at $100 or $50. Students who chose to enter the raffle provided their contact information (e-mail and telephone number) on a raffle entry form. The paper-pencil questionnaires were distributed by the primary investigator at the beginning of the students' class. Two copies of the informed consent form and one copy of the raffle entry form were attached to the first page of the survey. Students were asked to detach the first copy of the informed consent form to keep for their records and to sign and return the second copy with their survey. Once the students completed the questionnaire, the primary investigator collected the survey, ensured that the informed consent was signed and dated by the participant, and detached the informed consent form and raffle entry form from the data. The survey took approximately 45 minutes to complete. After the data were collected, it was stored in a locked filing cabinet separate from the informed consent and the raffle entry form.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Preliminary Data Analysis

     CARES factor structure. Due to the modified nature of the CARES and its limited

construct validity, two main steps were taken to explore if the number of factors in the modified

version were similar to the original. The modified CARES essentially included two separate

measures of racial socialization for parents and peers. Therefore, the data for each source was

analyzed separately to determine the number of factors present using both principal components

analysis and exploratory factor analyses.

     To identify the number of factors represented in each of the CARES measures a principal

components analysis (PCA) followed by an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) were completed.

Specifically, three separate principal components analyses (PCA) were performed on the 74-item

measure for each source of racial socialization (e.g., parents and peers) to determine the potential

number of components present for each source. The data were evaluated using the Kaiser (1958)

criterion for examining eigenvalues and Catell's (1966) recommendations for utilizing scree

plots to determine the number of factors that best fit the data. On the basis of the results of the

PCA, exploratory factor analysis using the principal axis factoring extraction method was

conducted to assist in the identification of the factors present in this sample. The Promax

rotation, an oblique rotation, was chosen for each of the analysis because it was assumed that the

items were correlated. Using recommendations provided by Tabechnick and Fidell (Tabachnick

& Fidell, 2007) the KMO statistics and Bartlett test were used to determine the adequacy of the

correlations for factor analyses.

For parents and peers, three and four factor solutions were inspected. A three-factor solution was retained because of its conceptual clarity and psychometric strength. Items were retained if they had a factor loading of at least .40 on one factor. In addition, items were examined across socialization source (i.e., parents and peers) to determine the factor structure. Specifically, only items that reflected consistency across parents and peers socialization ratings were retained for analyses for comparability purposes. Please refer to Table 1 for detailed information regarding items and factor loadings

Similar to previous literature on the content of racial socialization, both Protective and Proactive racial socialization were identified. Factor 1, which was named Cultural Pride (proactive racial socialization), included 15 items. The items in this factor reflect the importance of being proud to be Black and being aware of racial heritage (i.e., "You should learn more about Black history so that you can prevent people from treating you unfairly."). Factor 2, named Alertness to Racism (protective racial socialization), and included 10 items which discuss the racial disparities that many African Americans face (i.e., "You have to work twice as hard as Whites in order to get ahead in this world".). Factor 3, Internalized Racism, included 4 items which promote the minimization of race to fit into the mainstream (i.e., Black children don't have to know about Africa to survive life in America"). The alpha coefficients for Parental Cultural Pride, Parental Alertness to Racism, and Parental Internalized Racism scales were in the acceptable range (α = .87, .83, .71 respectively) and the alpha coefficients for Peer Cultural Pride, Peer Alertness to Racism, and Peer Internalized Racism were also in the acceptable range (α = .91, .86, .72, respectively).

Data cleaning. Prior to the main analysis, the data were screened to identify potential data entry errors and missing data. Specifically, all of the data were checked to ensure that all

values of variables were within the range and then spot checked to identify potential data entry errors. The data were also tested for assumptions of normality. Specifically, the skewness and kurtosis of each variable was examined. Only the CoBRAS did not meet the assumptions of normality: skewness = 1.36 and kurtosis = 4.20. Because the CoBRAS was negatively skewed, I used a square root transformation method. The transformed variable was normally distributed: skewness = .75 and kurtosis = 1.78.

Descriptive information. Descriptive statistics, including means and standard deviations, were computed for all of the study variables. Racial composition was measured by examining the percentage of Black people in participants' neighborhood, school, and friend group. According to census data, over half of the participants lived in Black neighborhoods (over 75% Black). Specifically, 21.7% of the participants lived in neighborhoods that were less than 25% Black (*n* = 36), 10.2% in neighborhoods that were 25%-50% Black (*n* = 17), 15.7% lived in neighborhoods that were 50%-75% (*n* = 26), and 52.4% lived in neighborhoods that were over 75% black (*n* = 87). Similarly, the largest proportion of participants went to schools that were predominately Black. Specifically, 21.8% of the participants attended schools that were less than 25% Black (*n* = 39), 26.3% attended schools that were 25%-50% Black (*n* = 47), 10.6% attended schools that were 50%-75% (*n* = 19), and 41.3% attended schools that were over 75% black (*n* = 74). On average, participants' reported that the majority of their friends were African American in high school (*M* = 3.29). In general, the participants reported that they heard the different types of racial socialization a few times from both peers and parents. The participants had high rates of positive mental health (*M* = 4.43) and low rates of color-blind racial attitudes (*M* = 1.62).

I examined potential gender differences on each of the dependent variables included in the investigation using one-way analyses of variances (ANOVAs). Results indicated that there were gender differences on only one variable, the CoBRAS, $F(1, 198)$ 8.45, $p<.001$.

A Pearson product-moment correlation analysis was conducted to assess the relationship between the study variables. Table 2 provides the means, standard deviations, and correlation coefficients for demographic factors, racial composition, color-blind racial attitudes, and mental health outcomes. A number of small correlations were identified across the variables. The racial composition of the neighborhood had a positive correlation with both parental Cultural Pride ($r = .24$, $p<.01$) and peer Cultural Pride ($r = .31$, $p<.001$) racial socialization variables. The racial composition of the neighborhood was also negatively correlated with color-blind racial attitudes ($r = .20$, $p<.01$). The types of racial socialization messages participants received from their parents were related to a range of variables in expected ways, including greater percentage of Black peers ($r = .15$, $p<.05$) and higher racial color-blindness ($r = .29$, $p<.01$). The types of racial socialization messages participants received from their peers were also related to a range of variables, including greater percentage of black peers ($r = .25$, $p<.01$) and high school ($r = .17$, $p<.05$). Peer racial socialization focused on Cultural Pride and Alertness to Racism were related to both lower adoption of color-blind racial attitudes ($r = -.19$, $p<.05$). Both parent and peer Internalized Racism socialization were related to higher racial socialization attitudes ($r = .22$, $p<.01$; $r = .22$, $p<.01$, respectively). Peer Alertness to Racism racial socialization was also related to greater psychological distress ($r = -.16$, $p<.05$).

Table 1

Factor Loadings for Exploratory Factor Analysis with Promax
Rotation of CARES Scale

Item	Parents			Peers		
	CP	AR	IR	CP	AR	IR
11. It's important to remember the experience of Black slavery.	.72			.60		
42. It is important to go to Black festivals and African American History Museums.	.69			.45		
50. You should learn more about Black history so that you can prevent people from treating you unfairly.	.67			.70		
57. Black children should be taught early that God can protect them from racial hatred.	.66			.60		
32. Knowing your African heritage is important for the survival of Black people.	.60			.47		
49. "Train up a child in the way he should go, and he will not turn away from it."	.60			.53		
10. A family that prays together stays together.	.54			.56		
23. Never be ashamed of your color.	.53			.74		
67. its ok if you want to move to the beat of music no matter who is around.	.53			.53		
38. Sometimes you have to correct White people when they make racist statements about Black people.	.52			.42		
34. Doing well in school doesn't make you any less Black.	.52			.54		
12. Don't forget who your people are because you may need them someday.	.52			.61		
16. Racism is real, and you have to understand it or it will hurt you.	.50			.42		
21. Spirituality is an important part of a person's life.	.45			.55		
55. You should speak up when someone says something that is racist.	.45			.50		
60. Black youth are harassed by police just because they are Black.		.70			.51	
36. You have to work twice as hard as Whites in order to get ahead in this world.		.63			.84	

Table 1 (cont.)

Item				
45. Whites make it hard for people to get ahead in this world.	.61	.79.		
3. When Black people make money, they try to forget they are Black.	.59	.44		
53. Whites have more opportunities than Blacks.	.59	.67		
30. You have to watch to work twice as hard as whites in order to get ahead in this world.	.57	.83		
66. Sometimes you have to make yourself less threatening to make White people around you comfortable.	.48	.52		
63. More jobs would be open to African Americans if employers were not racists.	.48	.60		
48. Life is easier for light-skinned Black people than it is for dark-skinned Black people.	.46	.51		
64. America built its wealth off the backs of slaves.	.42	.55		
39. Black children don't have to know about Africa to survive life in America.			.61	.45
14. Living in an all Black neighborhood is no way to show that you are successful.			.51	.42
35. Sometime you have to turn your back on Black people to get ahead.			.51	.44
15. Since the world has become so multicultural, it's wrong to focus on Black issues.			.48	.58

Note: Factor loadings < .40 have been deleted for clarity. CARES = Cultural and Racial Experiences of Socialization; CP= Cultural Pride; AR = Alertness to Racism; IR = Internalized Racism

Table 2

Summary of Intercorrelations, Means, and Standard Deviations for Criterion and Outcome Variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. Age	-														
2. Gender	-.71[b]	-													
3. Mother's Education	-.03	.08	-												
4. Father's Education	-.10	.09	.35[b]	-											
5. % Black Neighborhood	.00	-.04	-.15	-.07	-										
6. % Black High School	.03	-.04	-.13	.01	.41[b]	-									
7. % Black Friends	-.05	-.01	-.10	-.06	.43[b]	.38[b]	-								
8. Parent Cultural Pride RS	-.10	.02	-.13	-.07	.24[b]	.03	.14[a]	-							
9. Parent Alertness to Racism RS	-.00	-.02	-.14[a]	-.10	.10	-.04	.19[b]	.55[c]	-						
10. Parent Internalized Racism RS	-.03	.07	.08	.00	.10	.01	.14[a]	.34[c]	.52[c]	-					
11. Peer Cultural Pride RS	-.08	.05	-.20[b]	-.11	.31[c]	.17[a]	.24[c]	.62[c]	.41[c]	.24[c]	-				
12. Peer Alertness to Racism RS	.02	-.10	-.20[b]	-.08	.15	.14	.22[b]	.50[c]	61[c]	.33[c]	.64[c]	-			
13. Peer Internalized Racism RS	-.02	.05	-.01	.05	.09	-.01	-.02	.26[c]	.36[c]	.65[c]	.26[c]	.32[c]	-		
14. CoBRAS	-.11	.11	-.04	.10	.20[b]	-.09	-.06	-.08	-.02	.22[c]	-.17[c]	-.17[b]	.22[b]	-	
15. MHI-18	-.08	.02	-.02	-.04	.07	-.01	.04	.03	-.10	-.13	.01	-.18[a]	-.06	-.09	-
M	18.8	-	-	-	65.44	55.47	3.29	2.22	1.84	1.47	2.09	1.92	1.44	1.62	4.43
SD	1.83	-	-	-	35.76	34.53	.93	.45	.48	.40	.44	.44	.40	20	.79

NOTE: RS= Racial socialization as measured by the modified CARES (range 1-3) where higher scores are indicative of more racial socialization; CoBRAS = Color-blind Racial Attitudes Scale (range 1-3) where higher scores indicate more endorsement of color-blind racial attitudes; MHI-10 = Mental Health Inventory – 18 (range 1-5) where higher scores are indicative better mental health.
[a] p<.05 * ; [b] p<.01; [c] p<.001

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Main Analyses

    Hypothesis 1: The racial composition of contexts such as neighborhood, high school, and peer groups will be related to higher rates of peer and parental racial socialization experiences of Black emerging adults.

    Six hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted to determine if the racial composition of various contexts (i.e., neighborhood, high school, and peer group) accounted for a significant amount of variance in types of racial socialization messages received, after controlling for demographic information. The criterion variable for each analysis was the racial socialization message subscale (i.e., Parental Cultural Pride, Parental Alertness to Racism, Parental Internalized Racism, Peer Cultural Pride, Peer Alertness to Racism, and Peer Internalized Racism). Gender, a dichotomous variable, was dummy coded (0 = male and 1 = female). Tolerance scores were examined as a check of multicollinearity and each were within an acceptable range for each of the following analyses. For each analysis, the demographic factors gender, age, mother's education, and father's education were entered into Step 1. In Step 2, the percentage of Black people in participants' neighborhood, high school, and peer group were entered to test the first order or main effects.

    Table 3 provides the results of the hierarchical regression analyses where the parent racial socialization variables were entered as the criterion variables. In the analysis of Parental Cultural Pride socialization, it was found that Step 1 (demographic variables) of the multiple regression equation was not significant, $F (4, 139) = 1.42$, *ns*. Step 2 contributed to a significant increase in Cultural Pride racial socialization $F (7, 136) = 2.47$, $p < .01$. These variables accounted for 6 percent of the variance beyond demographic factors (Adjusted $R^2 = .08$). In the model where Parental Alertness to Racism socialization was the criterion variable, Step 1

(demographic variables) of the multiple regression equation was not significant, F (4, 139) = 1.63, ns. Step 2 contributed to significant increase in racial disparities racial socialization F (7, 136) = 2.79, p < .01. These variables accounted for 6% of the variance beyond demographic factors (Adjusted R^2 = .08). In the regression analysis where Parental Internalized Racism racial socialization was set as the criterion variable, the model was not significant F (7, 139) = 1.57, ns.

Table 4 provides the results of the hierarchical regression analyses where the peer racial socialization variables were entered as the criterion variable. In the analysis of Peer Cultural Pride socialization, it was found that Step 1 (demographic variables) was significant, F (4, 139) = 3.18, $p < .05$. Step 2 contributed to significant increase in cultural pride racial socialization F (7, 136) = 3.88, p < .001. Racial composition accounted for 7 percent of unique variance beyond demographic factors (Adjusted R^2 = 13). In the model where Peer Alertness to Racism socialization was the criterion variable, Step 1 (demographic variables) of the multiple regression equation was significant, F (4, 139) = 3.67, $p<.01$. Step 2 contributed to significant increase in racial disparities racial socialization F (7, 136) = 3.63, $p < .001$. These racial composition variables accounted for 5% of the variance beyond demographic factors (Adjusted R^2 = .12). In the regression analysis where Peer Internalized Racism socialization was set as the criterion variable, the model was not significant F (7, 139) = 1.07, ns.

Table 3

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses Predicting Parental Cultural Pride Socialization and Parental Alertness to Racism Socialization

	Parental Cultural Pride				Parental Alertness to Racism			
	B	$SE\ B$	β	ΔR^2	B	$SE\ B$	β	ΔR^2
Step 1				.02				.02
Age	-.04	.03	-.13		-.02	.03	-.06	
Gender	-.08	.08	-.08		-.06	.09	-.06	
Mother Education	-.06	.03	-.15		-.06	.04	-.16	
Father Education	-.02	.03	-.05		-.03	.03	-.09	
Step 2				.06[a]				.06[b]
Age	-.03	.03	-.09		-.01	.03	-.02	
Gender	-.11	.08	-.12		-.08	.08	-.08	
Mother Education	-.05	.03	-.12		-.06	.03	-.14	
Father Education	.01	.03	-.04		.02	.03	-.05	
% Black Neighborhood	.00	.001	.23[a]		.001	.001	-.05	
% Black High School	.00	.001	-.08		- .002	.001	-.15	
% Black High School Friends	.06	.04	.13		.14	.05	.30[c]	
Full Model Adjusted R^2				.08[b]				.08[b]
N				143				143

[a] p<.05; [b] p<.01; [c] p<.001

Table 4

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses Predicting Peer Cultural Pride Socialization and Peer Alertness to Racism Socialization

	Peer Cultural Pride				Peer Alertness to Racism			
	B	SE B	β	ΔR^2	B	SE B	β	ΔR^2
Step 1				.06[a]				.07[a]
Age	-.04	.03	-.13		-.04	.03	-.14	
Gender	.15	.08	.16		-.01	.08	-.01	
Mother Education	-.08	.03	-.21[b]		-.10	.03	-.26[b]	
Father Education	.01	.03	-.03		-.03	.03	.09	
Step 2				.07[b]				.06[a]
Age	-.03	.03	-.08		-.03	.03	.08	
Gender	.12	.08	.12		-.04	.08	-.04	
Mother Education	-.06	.03	-.17[a]		-.08	.03	-.21[b]	
Father Education	.01	.03	-.03		.02	.03	.07	
% Black Neighborhood	.003	.001	.20[a]		.001	.001	.09	
% Black High School	.00	.001	-.02		.00	.001	.01	
% Black High School Friends	.06	.04	.14		.10	.04	.21[a]	
Full Model Adjusted R^2				.13[c]				.12[b]
N				143				143

[a] p<.05; [b] p<.01; [c] p<.001

Hypothesis 2: The racial socialization provided by familial and non-familial sources is related to the rejection of color-blind racial beliefs.

A hierarchical multiple regression analysis was used to test if racial socialization provided by parents and peers accounted for a significant amount of variance in color-blind racial attitudes. The total CoBRAS score was the criterion variable in this analysis. Demographic variables (i.e., age, gender, mother's education, father's education) were entered into Step 1. The racial composition of the home neighborhood, high school, and peer group were entered into Step 2. The six types of racial socialization were entered into Step 3 to determine if racial socialization contributes unique variance outside of racial composition. Table 5 provides the results of the hierarchical regression analysis where CoBRAS was the criterion variable. It was found that Step 1 (demographic variables) of the multiple regression equation was not significant, $F (4, 137) = 2.14$, *ns*. Step 2, which included racial composition variables, contributed to significant increase in color-blind racial attitudes $F (7, 134) = 2.39$, $p < .05$. These variables accounted for 4 percent of the variance beyond demographic factors. Step 3, which included the six racial socialization variables, contributed significantly to color-blind racial attitudes $F (13, 128) = 2.84$, $p < .001$. The racial socialization variables accounted for 8% of the variance beyond Step 1 and Step 2 (Adjusted $R^2 = .15$).

Table 5

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses Predicting Color-Blind Racial Attitudes

	B	$SE\ B$	β	ΔR^2
Step 1				.03
Age	.001	.01	.01	
Gender	- .08	.03	-.21[a]	
Mother education	-.01	.01	-.04	
Father education	.02	.01	.14	
Step 2				.04[a]
Age	.004	.01	.03	
Gender	-.07	.03	-.18[a]	
Mother education	- .01	.01	-.08	
Father education	.02	.01	.13	
% Black Neighborhood	.00	.001	-.15	
% Black High School	.00	.001	-.04	
% Black High School Friends	-.02	.02	-.11	
Step 3				.08[c]
Age	-.01	.01	-.08	
Gender	-.06	.03	-.14	
Mother education	-.02	.01	-.15	
Father education	.01	.01	.09	
% Black Neighborhood	.00	.001	-.16	
% Black High School	.00	.001	-.01	
% Black High School Friends	-.01	.02	-.06	
Parental Cultural Pride RS	-.01	.05	-.03	
Parental Alertness to Racism RS	-.01	.05	-.02	
Parental Internalized Racism RS	-.01	.05	.19	
Peer Cultural Pride RS	-.01	.05	-.01	
Peer Alertness to Racism RS	-.12	.05	-.28[a]	
Peer Internalized Racism RS	.08	.05	.16	
Full Model Adjusted R^2				.15[c]
N				141

Note: RS = Racial Socialization [a]p<.05; [b]p<.01; [c]p<.001

Hypothesis 3: Racial socialization provided by familial and non-familial sources is related to more positive mental health outcomes and Hypothesis 4: The rejection/adoption of color-blind racial attitudes will moderate the relationship between racial socialization and mental health outcomes.

A hierarchical multiple regression analysis was used to test if racial socialization provided by multiple sources (parents and peers) accounted for a significant amount of variance in mental health outcomes. In addition, the analysis tested if the adoption/rejection of color-blind racial attitudes would moderate the relation between racial socialization provided by parents and peers and mental health outcomes. All predictor variables were standardized to reduce multicollinearity as recommended by Baron and Kenny (1986; Frazier, Tix, & Barron, 2004). Procedures outlined by Aiken and West (1991) were used to interpret statistically significant interactions. For each significant interaction found, scores were computed by inserting specific values (1 SD above and 1 SD below the mean) for each variable to facilitate interpretation.

The total MHI score was the criterion variable in this analysis. Demographic variables (age and gender) were entered into Step 1. The six racial socialization variables and CoBRAS were entered into Step 2. Six interaction terms (Parental Cultural Pride X CoBRAS, Parental Alertness to Racisms X CoBRAS, Parental Internalized Racism X CoBRAS, Peer Cultural Pride X CoBRAS, Peer Alertness to Racism X CoBRAS, and Peer Internalized Racism X CoBRAS) were entered into Step 3.

Table 6 provides the results of the hierarchical regression analyses. It was found that Step 1 (demographic variables) of the multiple regression equation was not significant, F (2, 194 = .46, *ns*. Step 2, which included the racial socialization and color-blind racial attitudes

variables, contributed to significant increase in mental health outcomes, $F(9, 187) = 2.03$, $p <$ .05. These variables accounted for 4 percent of the variance beyond demographic factors. Step 3 (interaction between racial socialization and color-blind racial attitudes) contributed to a significant increase in mental health outcomes, $F(15, 181) = 2.36$, $p < .001$. These variables accounted for 5 percent of the variance beyond demographic factors, racial socialization, and color-blind racial attitudes (Adjusted $R^2 = .10$).

To determine how CoBRAS affected the relations between Internalized Racism messages provided by peers and parents and mental health outcomes, simple main effects were calculated to further examine CoBRAS moderator effects. Upon further examination, the interaction between color-blind racial attitudes and Peer Internalized Racism racial socialization was not significant, $F(3, 194) = .71$, *ns*; however, the interaction between Parental Internalized Racism and CoBRAS remained significant $F(3, 194) = 3.02$, $p<.05$. Results indicated that when participants adopted more color-blind racial-attitudes, higher frequency of parental racial assimilation racial socialization was associated with negative mental health outcomes, ($B = -.13$), $p<.05$. In contrast, there was no relationship between Parental Internalized Racism racial socialization and mental health outcomes when students adopted fewer color-blind racial beliefs ($B = .08$), *ns*. As illustrated in Figure 2, lower levels of color-blind racial attitudes buffered against the negative impact of Parental Internalized Racism messages on mental health outcomes.

Table 6

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses Predicting Mental Health Outcomes

	B	$SE\ B$	β	ΔR^2
Step 1				.01
Age	-.03	.04	-.08	
Gender	-.04	.04	-.04	
Step 2				.04[a]
Age	-.03	.04	-.08	
Gender	-.06	.07	-.06	
Parental Cultural Pride RS	-.09	.08	.11	
Parental Alertness to Racism RS	-.02	.08	-02	
Parental Internalized Racism RS	-.09	.08	-.11	
Peer Cultural Pride RS	-.09	.08	.11	
Peer Alertness to Racism RS	-.27	.09	-.34[c]	
Peer Internalized Racism RS	.07	.08	.08	
CoBRAS	-.10	.06	-.13	
Step 3				.05[a]
Age	-.03	.04	-.07	
Gender	-.05	.07	-.06	
Parental Cultural Pride RS	-.11	.08	.13	
Parental Alertness to Racism RS	.02	.08	.03	
Parental Internalized Racism RS	.06	.08	-.07	
Peer Cultural Pride RS	.10	.09	-.13	
Peer Alertness to Racism RS	-.27	.08	-.34[b]	
Peer Internalized Racism RS	.06	.07	.08	
CoBRAS	-.10	.06	-.13	
Parental Cultural Pride X CoBRAS	.10	.09	.11	
Parental Alertness to Racism X CoBRAS	-.13	.09	.13	
Parental Internalized Racism X CoBRAS	-.21	.09	-.24[b]	
Peer Cultural Pride X CoBRAS	-.09	.09	.10	
Peer Alertness to Racism X CoBRAS	-.10	.09	-.11	
Peer Internalized Racism X CoBRAS	.22	.09	.25[b]	
Full Model Adjusted R^2				.10[c]
N			176	

Note: RS = Racial Socialization; [a]p<.05; [b]p<.01; [c]p<.001

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Figure 2: Interaction of Color-blind Racial Attitudes and Parental Racial
Internalized Racism Racial Socialization on Mental Health Outcomes.
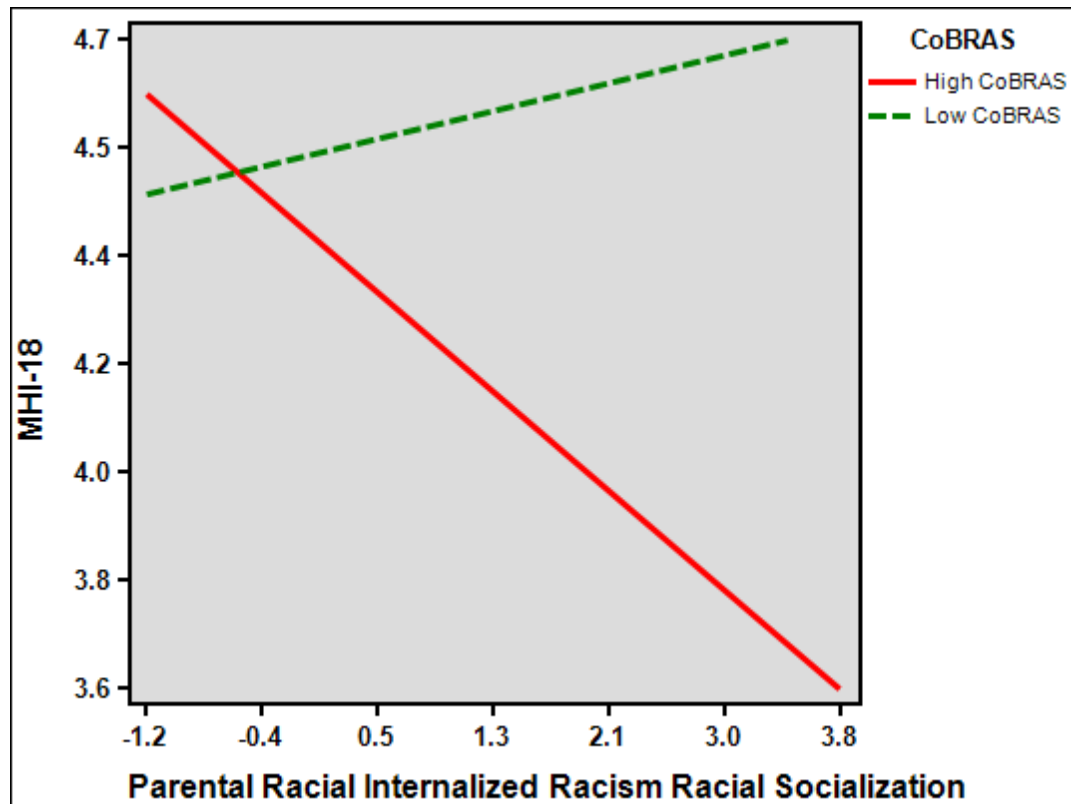
CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

The overarching purpose of the current investigation was to test the Ecological Model of Racial Socialization (EMRS), which highlights the connection between ecological factors, racial socialization, racial beliefs, and mental health. The EMRS provides a framework to understand racial socialization through an ecological lens by: 1) Providing a more holistic view of racial socialization which includes messages provided by parents and peers. 2) Exploring whether the racial composition of emerging adults' multiple environments (e.g., peer group, high school, and neighborhood growing up) were related to the type of racial socialization they received. 3) Investigating whether peer and parent racial socialization was related to students' color-blind racial beliefs. 4) Exploring if racial socialization provided by parents and peers are related to mental health outcomes. 5) Investigating if color-blind racial beliefs moderate the relation between peer/parent racial socialization and mental health outcomes. Overall, the findings lend support to the EMRS. In the following chapter, I will discuss how the results support the facets of the EMRS and how they contribute to the broader literature on racial socialization, racial beliefs, and mental health in Black emerging adults.

Racial Socialization Content and Sources

The content of racial socialization examined in the current study was similar to conceptualizations provided in previous literature. Results of the factor analysis provided support for three of the seven original subscales identified by Stevenson and Bentley (2007) in the original version of the Youth-CARES. In addition, two of the three types of socialization fit into Stevenson's (1997) broader conceptualization of racial socialization which noted that most socialization falls into the two main categories of protective or proactive racial socialization. As

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noted by Barr and Neville (2008), proactive racial socialization focuses on positive message about Black people. Cultural Pride socialization, which focused on Black history and positive statements about Blackness, was identified in the current study. Protective racial socialization, which refers to messages that highlight the reality of racism, was also identified. In the current study, Alertness to Racism socialization included messages about the reality of racism and strategies to appropriately respond to discrimination. Interestingly, a third type of racial socialization, Internalized Racism socialization, emerged from the data. Internalized Racism socialization included negative messages about Black people that promoted fitting into the White mainstream culture. Participants reported similar rates of Internalized Racism messages from both parents and peers. Similarly, Stevenson (2002) has noted that many parents discuss the necessity of fitting into the mainstream to get ahead in society. This study extends the literature on racial socialization content and provides a systematic measure of Cultural Pride, Alertness to Racism, and Internalized Racism racial socialization for both parents and peers.

In addition to broadening our understanding of the content of racial socialization, the current investigation provides support for scale development of the CARES for use with both parents and peers. As noted previously, there have been a number of quantitative measures that capture racial socialization. However, to date, there has not been a systematic measure of racial socialization that included the frequency of racial socialization provided by various sources. Recent literature on racial socialization literature is moving in the direction of understanding the multi-dimensional nature of racial socialization. The modified CARES measure follows this precedent by including socialization by both parents and peers. It also includes a broader conceptualization of racial socialization by including protective socialization, proactive socialization, and Internalized Racism socialization messages.

The EMRS posited that both familial and non familial sources provided a variety of racial socialization messages to African American young adults. The findings from the current study provide support for the EMRS and contribute to our understanding of racial socialization provided by parents and peers. Overwhelmingly, past research has only explored racial socialization provided by parents. Only one study to date has explored the frequency of racial socialization provided by peers (Lesane-Brown et al., 2005). Similar to Lesane-Brown and colleagues (2005), participants reported receiving similar rates of racial socialization from both parents and peers. Going beyond previous research, the current investigation examined the frequency of each type of racial socialization provided by parents and peers. The findings suggest that both parents and peers provide important messages concerning race and racism.

To gain a deeper understanding of how Black emerging adults make sense of racial socialization, participants provided brief narratives which discussed the content and source of the racial messages that the participants deemed important to their racial beliefs. Participants highlighted the three types of racial socialization messages examined in the study. For example, one participant discussed the Cultural Pride socialization message that she received from her parents stating, "Being Black is a beautiful gift. It's important to understand your culture." Another participant noted that her best friend told her, "Black is beautiful and the blacker the berry sweeter the juice. The darker the chocolate richer the taste." Another participant noted that his parents taught him that, "[African Americans are] descendants of kings & queens, Whites imitate Blacks because they want to be "cool" like us." Similar to the cultural racial socialization messages utilized in the CARES-revised, these participants noted that they were taught to appreciate their heritage and encouraged to learn about their cultural history.

Participants also discussed Alertness to Racism messages. For example, one participant reported that his friends and parents taught him, "Racism still exists. I will encounter it in some part of my life because I am Black and I have to work hard to get where someone who has not been discriminated against is." Another participant discussed the message she got from her father, "Racism is always going to exist. People will tell you black people are dumb and can't get ahead in school. They will tell you that your teachers will try to bring you down. If you let it happen and drop out, then you are trying to prove them right." These participants' noted that their parents and friends prepared them for future racial bias by discussing the realities of racism and providing strategies to cope with these situations.

Although not frequent, one participant discussed Internalized Racism in her narrative. She reported that her mother taught her, "To be successful, you have to play the White man's game because they are the ones who own everything." This participant noted, "I couldn't hate or be angry with white people, I had to learn how to get along with them, and become as educated as possible." Although the message is not explicitly negative toward African Americans, it is apparent that the participant's mother is encouraging her daughter to assimilate into mainstream cultural as a means to get ahead.

Interestingly, the students cited a variety of sources, including parents, extended family, teachers, friends, religious leaders, and the media that provided important racial messages. For example, one participant stated that his pastor taught him that, "I am unashamedly Black. If I do not know my past I will have no future." Another participant discussed how his grandfather taught him about the realities of racism by recalling incidents of racism that he experienced in the past. This participant noted, "I learned that people always didn't live in equality as we do today. As a young child, he experienced things that I couldn't imagine." Another participant

noted how a close friend taught her that, "Your skin color should not determine what type of person you are but instead the content of your character should tell you." Teachers and professors were also cited a number of times throughout the narratives. For example, one participant noted that his high school teacher taught him, "Race is a socially constructed myth. Race may be a myth but it has real consequences. Race has nothing to do with my capabilities." A few participants quoted song lyrics, passages in books, and speeches by Black leaders in their narratives. The qualitative data suggests that although parental racial socialization is important, researchers should also begin to examine messages from other sources that are deemed important to African American young adults.

Contextual Factors Related to Racial Socialization

In addition to understanding the content of racial socialization provided by parents and peers, the study examined the impact that contextual factors had on racial socialization. The findings from the study support the EMRS and provide partial support Hypothesis 1. The racial makeup of participants' neighborhood was an important factor in students' reports of Cultural Pride socialization provided by both parents and peers. Specifically, participants who had more Black neighbors also reported more Cultural Pride messages from both parents and peers. It may be that institutions within Black neighborhoods facilitate proactive racial socialization. For example, there may be more ethnic-focused activities, foods, and celebrations that take place in these neighborhoods that are available to the residents. Surprisingly, neighborhood composition was not related to Alertness to Racism or Internalized Racism socialization messages. Previous research supports the connection between neighborhood context and racial socialization (Caughy et al., 2006; Davis & Stevenson, 2006; Smith, Atkins, & Connell, 2003). To date only one study has examined the link between neighborhood racial composition and racial socialization. Caughy

and colleagues (2006) found that the Black parents of young children living in predominantly Black neighborhoods were more likely to give messages that focused on protective racial socialization than those living in predominately White neighborhoods. In contrast, racial composition was related to proactive racial socialization in our sample of emerging adults. The findings suggest that neighborhood composition continues to be important in later development. In older samples, racial composition plays a major role in whether participants report receiving proactive racial socialization messages from parents. The results also suggest that the impact of neighborhood composition can be extended to proactive racial socialization provided by peers.

The racial composition of participants' high school friend group predicted the participants' report of Alertness to Discrimination racial socialization provided by parents and peers. There has been very little research which has explored the connection between racial socialization and friend group choices in emerging adults. However, O'Brien and colleagues (2002) found that maternal socialization encouraging social distance between Whites and Blacks was related to Black girls' in-group preference for friends, television, and music. Protective socialization provided by mothers was related to their daughters having more Black friends and consuming media focused on African American experiences. The findings from the current study suggest that this relationship extends to those in emerging adulthood. Similar to O'Brien's work with children, the young adults in the current investigation reported having more Black friends when they received more racial socialization focusing on the realities of racism.

Surprisingly, the racial composition of the high school was not related to racial socialization provided by parents or peers. There are a number of possibilities as to why this was the case. For example, school districting policies may determine the racial composition of participants' high school. It may be that these institutional policies regarding districting are too

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far removed from individual level factors such as socialization provided by parents and peers. It may also be the case that other high school factors are related to socialization practices such as school income composition (% of students receiving free lunches), public vs. private schools, or participants' participation in ethnic-focused extracurricular activities. Another explanation for these findings is that our sample consists of emerging adults in college and the racial composition of participants' high school fails to remain significant after they have transitioned to college.

Although participants' socioeconomic status was not directly measured in the study, the findings suggest that SES factors may be related to peer racial socialization. Both Cultural Pride and Alertness to Racism socialization provided by peers was negatively related to participants' mothers' education level. Specifically, participants whose mothers had a more education were less likely to report receiving Cultural Pride and Alertness to Racism socialization from their peers. This relationship was not found with parental racial socialization. Previous research on parental racial socialization suggests that parents' education level and racial socialization are connected. For example, Thornton and colleagues (1990) found that more educated parents were more likely to provide racial socialization to their children. The findings from this study suggest that the opposite relation exists for peer racial socialization. It may be that participants whose mothers are more educated are more likely to have friends outside of their racial group. If so, it is less likely that participants would discuss cultural pride and the realities of racism within their peer group.

The Link between Racial Socialization, Racial Beliefs, and Mental Health

The third goal of the study was to explore outcomes related to racial socialization provided by parents and peers. In support of the EMRS, findings suggest that racial socialization

accounted for a significant amount of variance of participants' endorsement of color-blind racial attitudes. Peer Alertness to Racism socialization (a type of protective racial socialization), in particular, contributed a significant amount of variance to color-blind racial beliefs. Specifically, protective racial socialization provided by peers was related to lower adoption of color-blind racial attitudes. More discussions concerning the realities of racism with peers was related to participants' rejection of the belief that institutional racism is a thing of the past. Similarly, Arnett (2007) suggests that emerging adults choose friends that share their worldviews.

Previous research has supported the notion that racial socialization and color-blind racial beliefs are connected. Similar to the results in this study, Barr and Neville (2008) found that protective racial socialization (messages which focus on the realities of racism) provided by parents was inversely related to the adoption of colorblind racial beliefs. Results from the current study both replicate previous work and extend the literature on the connection between protective racial socialization and color-blind racial beliefs to include peer racial socialization. Congruent with the EMRS, the study suggests that racial socialization provided by peers is related to the rejection of color-blind racial attitudes.

The current study also explored the relation between racial socialization and mental health. Partial support was garnered for the EMRS in this regard. Peer Alertness to Racism racial socialization contributed a significant amount of variance to mental health outcomes. Depending on the content, racial socialization has been found to both buffer and contribute to negative mental health outcomes in adolescents. Davis and Stevenson (2006) found that parental racial socialization focused on racial discrimination was related to more depression in teenagers. Similarly, findings from the current investigation suggest that protective socialization received from peers is related to negative outcomes in emerging adults.

The EMRS suggested that color-blind racial attitudes would moderate the relation between racial socialization and mental health outcomes. Findings from the current investigation provide partial support for this hypothesis. Participants, who adopted more color-blind racial attitudes, had more negative mental health outcomes when they received greater Parental Internalized Racism messages; whereas parental Internalized Racism messages were not related to mental health for students with lower color-blind racial beliefs. Furthermore, participants who had lower color-blind racial attitudes and received fewer Internalized Racism socialization messages had the highest mental health outcomes. To date, this is the first study to examine the moderating role of color-blind racial beliefs on the relation between racial socialization and mental health outcomes; however, previous research has suggested that the adoption of color-blind racial beliefs for African American is related to self-blame for racial discrimination (Neville et al., 2005). The findings from the current study suggest that Black young adults, who internalize color-blind racial beliefs, are negatively impacted by Internalized Racism messages provided by parents. In contrast, Black emerging adults, who acknowledge the reality of structural inequalities, are more able to successfully manage messages from parents concerning assimilating into mainstream culture.

Limitations

Although this study adds to the literature on racial socialization, there are limitations to the findings. First, the findings from this may not generalize to young adults of a similar age from a community sample or a sample of Black students at Historically Black Colleges or Universities (HBCU) because we utilized a convenient sample of Black students recruited from African American Studies courses at a Predominately White Institution (PWI). Previous research has indicated that SES indicators such as educational attainment impact the type and frequency

of racial socialization in Black families (Thornton, et al., 1990). Racial beliefs may also differ between those who choose to take African American Studies and those who do not. In addition, racial beliefs may differ between those who choose to attend college at PWI's and HBCU's.

The retrospective nature of the student's reports of racial messages received from parents and peers is another potential limitation to the study. Participants were asked to report on their experiences and it is possible that their reports do not accurately reflect what happened in their past. However, we believe that while these reports may not be accurate, they do detail what experiences were salient to the participants. Finally, we acknowledge that the data from this study is cross-sectional so causal relationships cannot be assumed from the findings.

There are limitations on the measurement of racial composition in the study. Participants were asked to provide their permanent address during high school; however approximately one – fifth of participants refused to provide this information for the study which resulted in a smaller sample size. In addition, the length of their residence could vary widely based on our data collection strategy and we were unable to distinguish whether participants lived at this residence one year or their whole life. Finally, the 2000 Census and high school websites were used to obtain racial composition data. It is unclear whether this is data an accurate record of participants' neighborhood and high school composition during the time the participants were in high school.

Implications for Future Research

The findings from this study underscore the importance of exploring racial socialization under an ecological lens. The emerging adults in the study reported receiving messages about race and racism from both parents and peers. Future research is needed to explore the content and frequency of racial socialization provided by other sources such as media, teachers, and

religious leaders. Research is also needed to explore the mental health correlates of racial socialization provided by non-familial sources.

This study contributes to the growing literature on contextual correlates of racial socialization. The findings from this study suggest that racial composition of young adults' neighborhood and peer group nurture racial socialization processes. As we continue to understand the content of racial socialization, research should include investigations of the ecological conditions that make racial socialization more or less likely.

This study expands our understanding of African American racial beliefs. Previous research has suggested that the endorsement of color-blind racial beliefs can have deleterious effects for African Americans. Similarly, the current study found that endorsement of more color-blind racial beliefs exacerbated the negative impact of Internalized Racism racial socialization on mental health outcomes. Future studies should also explore other types of racial beliefs moderate the relation between racial socialization and mental health outcomes.

In summary, the findings from this study support the EMRS and suggest that ecological factors should not be ignored when investigating racial socialization. Both parents and peers provided socialization that Black emerging adults deemed important to their worldview regarding race and racism. The racial composition of participants' neighborhood and peer group were related to both protective and proactive racial socialization received by both familial and non-familial sources. Peer protective racial socialization was related to color-blind racial beliefs and mental health outcomes. The finding also suggests that the racial ideology of young adults moderates the impact of racial socialization on mental health outcomes. Similar to previous work, this study supports the notion that racial socialization is a complex, multi-faceted process.

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Racial Experiences Survey
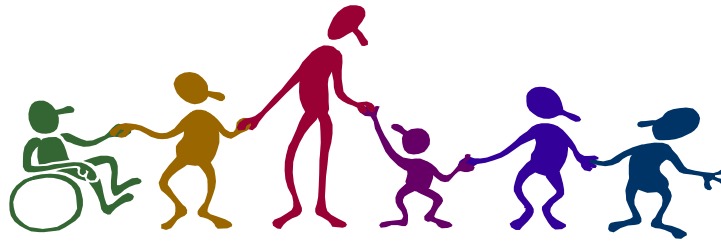
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Racial Experiences Survey

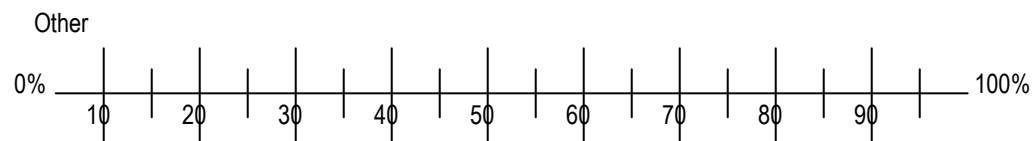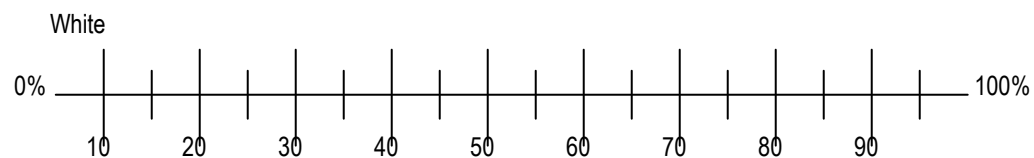University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Directions: Below is a set of questions that deal with social issues <u>in the United States</u> (U.S.). Using the 6-point scale below, please give your honest rating about the degree to which you <u>personally</u> agree or disagree with each statement. Please be as open and honest as you can; there are no right or wrong answers.

Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
1---------------2---------------3------------4-------------5-----------------6					

	Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2. Race plays a major role in the type of social services (such as type of health care or day care) that people receive in the U.S.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3. It is important that people begin to think of themselves as American and not African American, Mexican American or Italian American.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4. Due to racial discrimination, programs such as affirmative action are necessary to help create equality.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5. Racism is a major problem in the U.S.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6. Race is very important in determining who is successful and who is not.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. Racism may have been a problem in the past, but it is not an important problem today.	1	2	3	4	5	6

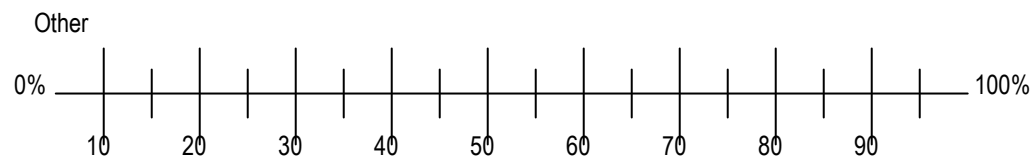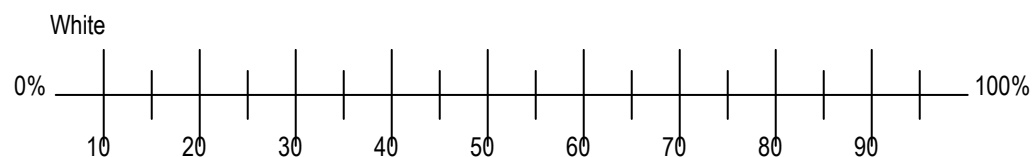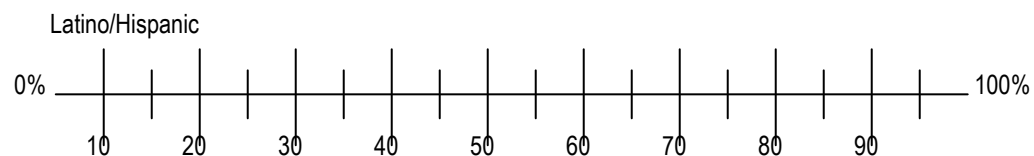|	Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
8. Racial and ethnic minorities do not have the same opportunities as White people in the U.S.	1	2	3	4	5	6
9. White people in the U.S. are discriminated against because of the color of their skin.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10. Talking about racial issues causes unnecessary tension.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11. It is important for political leaders to talk about racism to help work through or solve society's problems.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12. White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.	1	2	3	4	5	6
13. Immigrants should try to fit into the culture and adopt the values of the U.S.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14. English should be the only official language in the U.S.	1	2	3	4	5	6
15. White people are more to blame for racial discrimination in the U.S. than racial and ethnic minorities.	1	2	3	4	5	6
16. Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against White people.	1	2	3	4	5	6
17. It is important for public schools to teach about the history and contributions of racial and ethnic minorities.	1	2	3	4	5	6
18. Racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.	1	2	3	4	5	6
19. Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations.	1	2	3	4	5	6
20. Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Directions: What was the racial/ethnic composition of your **HIGH SCHOOL**? Please circle your response. **Make sure that your responses to this question add up to 100%.**

Asian/Asian American

0% |———|——|——|——|——|——|——|——|——|——|———| 100%
    10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80   90

Black

0% |———|——|——|——|——|——|——|——|——|——|———| 100%
    10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80   90

Latino/Hispanic

0% |———|——|——|——|——|——|——|——|——|——|———| 100%
    10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80   90

White

0% |———|——|——|——|——|——|——|——|——|——|———| 100%
    10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80   90

Other

0% |———|——|——|——|——|——|——|——|——|——|———| 100%
    10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80   90
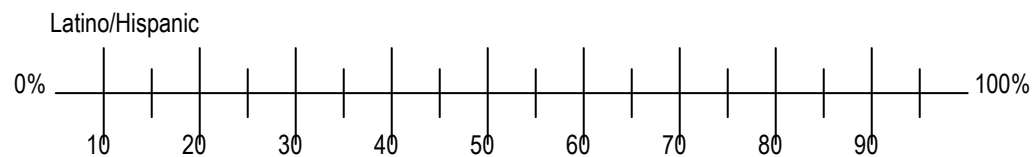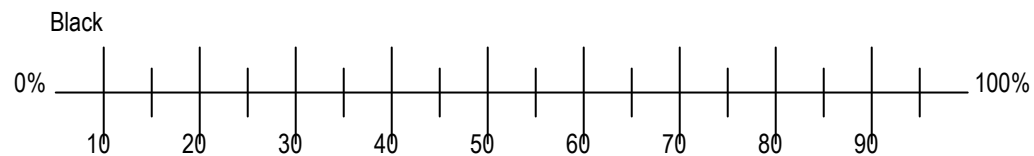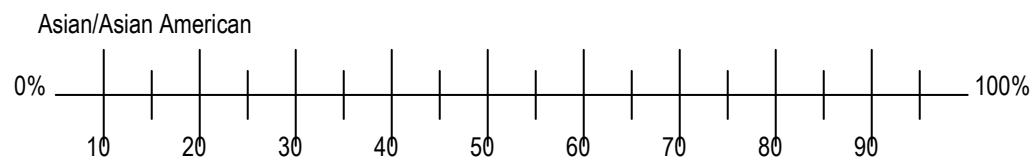
Directions: What was the racial/ethnic composition of your **NEIGHBORHOOD** while in high school? Please circle your response. **Make sure that your responses to this question add up to 100%.**

Asian/Asian American

0% |—————————————————————————| 100%
   10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80   90

Black

0% |—————————————————————————| 100%
   10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80   90

Latino/Hispanic

0% |—————————————————————————| 100%
   10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80   90

White

0% |—————————————————————————| 100%
   10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80   90

Other

0% |—————————————————————————| 100%
   10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80   90
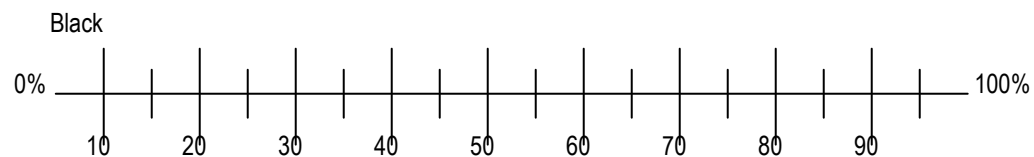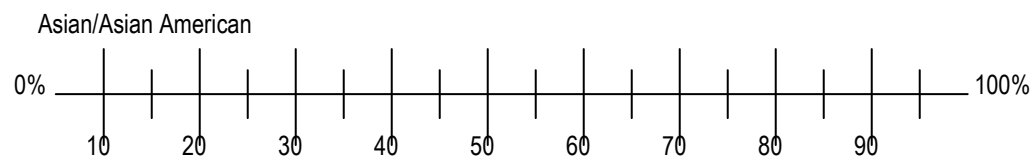
Directions: Using the scale below, please indicate the racial/ethnic backgrounds of your closest friends; people who are a part of your inner circle. Please **circle the number** below of each item that corresponds to your response.

My current close friends are:

	None (almost none)	Few	Some	The majority	All (Almost all)
Black/African American	0	1	2	3	4
Asian/Asian American	0	1	2	3	4
Hispanic/Latino (Non White)	0	1	2	3	4
White/European American	0	1	2	3	4
Native American/American Indian	0	1	2	3	4
Bi-racial	0	1	2	3	4
Other	0	1	2	3	4

My close friends from high school were:

	None (almost none)	Few	Some	The majority	All (Almost all)
Black/African American	0	1	2	3	4
Asian/Asian American	0	1	2	3	4
Hispanic/Latino (Non White)	0	1	2	3	4
White/European American	0	1	2	3	4
Native American/American Indian	0	1	2	3	4
Bi-racial	0	1	2	3	4
Other	0	1	2	3	4

Directions: Have your parents/relatives, friends/peers, teachers/professors, other adults, or the media said to you any of the following statements throughout your lifetime? Please, indicate how often you heard this message from **each** of the different sources using the scale below.

1=Never   2=A Few Times   3=Lots of times

SAMPLE ITEM:

	Parents	Extended Family	Friends/Peers	Media (TV, Movies, Internet, Books, etc.)	No one told me this
1. You should be proud to be Black.	2	3	1	1	3

	Parents	Extended Family	Friends/Peers	Media	Teachers/ Professors	No one told me this
1. You should be proud to be Black.						
2. You need to learn how to live in a White world and a Black world.						
3. When Black people make money, they try to forget they are Black.						
4. It is better for Black kids to go to schools with people with different races.						
5. Racial discrimination is the hardest thing a Black child has to face.						
6. American society is fair toward Black people.						
7. Schools should be required to teach all children about Black history.						
8. Black children will feel better about themselves if they go to a school with mostly White people.						
9. You can't trust Black people who act too friendly with White people.						

Directions: Please, indicate how often you heard this message from **each** of the different sources using the scale below.

1=Never 2=A Few Times   3=Lots of times

	Parents	Extended Family	Friends/ Peers	Media	Teachers/ Professors	No one told me this
10. A family that prays together, stays together.						
11. It's important to remember the experience of Black slavery.						
12. Don't forget who your people are because you may need them someday.						
13. Sometimes you have to look and act more like White people to get ahead in America.						
14. Living in an all Black neighborhood is no way to show that you are successful.						
15. Since the world has become so multicultural, it's wrong to focus on Black issues.						
16. Racism is real, and you have to understand it or it will hurt you.						
17. All races are equal.						
18. Teachers can help Black children grow by showing signs of Black culture in the classroom.						
19. Black children will learn more if they go to a mostly White school.						
20. You really can't trust most White people.						
21. Spirituality is an important part of a person's life.						
22. Cousins, aunts, and uncles help Black families manage the stress of raising children.						
23. Never be ashamed of your color.						
24. Fitting into school or work means swallowing your anger when you see racism.						
25. Poor Black people are always looking for a handout.						
26. Too much talk about racism will keep you from reaching your goals.						

Directions: Please, indicate how often you heard this message from **each** of the different sources using the scale below.

1=Never 2=A Few Times   3=Lots of times

	Parents	Extended Family	Friends/ Peers	Media	Teachers/ Professors	No one told me this
27. If you work hard then you can overcome barriers in life.						
28. Going to a Black school will help Black children feel better about themselves.						
29. Only people who are blood-related to you should be called your "Family."						
30. You have to watch to work twice as hard as whites in order to get ahead in this world.						
31. A belief in God can help a person deal with tough life struggle.						
32. Knowing your African heritage is important for the survival of Black people.						
33. Children need signs of Black art and music in their home to feel good about themselves.						
34. Doing well in school doesn't make you any less Black.						
35. Sometime you have to turn your back on Black people to get ahead.						
36. You have to work twice as hard as Whites in order to get ahead in this world.						
37. Getting a good education is still the best way for you to get ahead.						
38. Sometimes you have to correct White people when they make racist statements about Black people.						
39. Black children don't have to know about Africa to survive life in America.						
40. Spiritual battles that people fight are more important than the physical battles.						
41. To be Black is to be connected to a history that goes back to African royalty.						

Directions: Please, indicate how often you heard this message from **each** of the different sources using the scale below.

1=Never 2=A Few Times   3=Lots of times

	Parents	Extended Family	Friends/ Peers	Media	Teachers/ Professors	No one told me this
42. It is important to go to Black festivals and African American History Museums.						
43. You can learn a lot from being around important White people.						
44. When you get successful, you need to leave the hood and never look back.						
45. Whites make it hard for people to get ahead in this world.						
46. Racism is not as bad today as it used to be.						
47. You should just ignore people that make racist comments.						
48. Life is easier for light-skinned Black people than it is for dark-skinned Black people.						
49. "Train up a child in the way he should go, and he will not turn away from it."						
50. You should lean more about Black history so that you can prevent people from treating you unfairly.						
51. Black people have to work together in order to get ahead.						
52. Black people will pull you down if you let them.						
53. Whites have more opportunities than Blacks.						
54. Teachers do not treat Black children any differently than other children.						
55. You should speak up when someone says something that is racist.						
56. Some Black people are just born with good hair.						
57. Black children should be taught early that God can protect them from racial hatred.						

Directions: Please, indicate how often you heard this message from **each** of the different sources using the scale below.

1=Never 2=A Few Times   3=Lots of times

	Parents	Extended Family	Friends/ Peers	Media	Teachers/ Professors	No one told me this
58. Black slavery has affected how Black people live today.						
59. Black people are their own worst enemy.						
60. Black youth are harassed by police just because they are Black.						
61. It is better to attend a church that is lively and emotional.						
62. Black people are just not as smart as White people in Math and Science.						
63. More jobs would be open to African Americans if employers were not racists.						
64. America built its wealth off the backs of slaves.						
65. Sports are the only way for Black kids to get out of the hood.						
66. Sometimes you have to make yourself less threatening to make White people around you comfortable.						
67. Its ok if you want to move to the beat of music no matter who is around.						
68. Light-skinned Blacks think they are better than dark-skinned Black people.						
69. Black men just want sex.						
70. African and Caribbean people think they are better than Black Americans.						
71. Black women keep the family strong.						
72. Good Black men are the backbone of a strong family.						
73. Black women just want money.						
74. Africans and Caribbean people get along with Black Americans.						

Directions - Using the 6-point scale, please indicate how much of the time you felt in the specified way **DURING THE PAST MONTH**; please circle the appropriate number corresponding to your response.

	All of the time	Most of the time	A good bit of the time	Some of the time	A little bit of the time	None of the time
1. Has your daily life been full of things that were interesting to you?	1	2	3	4	5	6
2. Did you feel depressed?	1	2	3	4	5	6
3. Have you felt loved and wanted?	1	2	3	4	5	6
4. Have you been a nervous person?	1	2	3	4	5	6
5. Have you been in firm control of your behavior, thoughts, emotions, and feelings?	1	2	3	4	5	6
6. Have you felt tense and high strung?	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. Have you felt calm and peaceful?	1	2	3	4	5	6
8. Have you felt emotionally stable?	1	2	3	4	5	6
9. Have you felt downhearted and blue?	1	2	3	4	5	6
10. Were you able to relax without difficulty?	1	2	3	4	5	6
11. Have you felt restless, fidgety, or impatient?	1	2	3	4	5	6
12. Have you been moody, or brooded about things?	1	2	3	4	5	6
13. Have you felt cheerful, light-hearted?	1	2	3	4	5	6
14. Have you been in low or very low spirits?	1	2	3	4	5	6
15. Were you a happy person?	1	2	3	4	5	6
16. Did you feel you had nothing to look forward to?	1	2	3	4	5	6
17. Have you felt so down in the dumps that nothing could cheer you up?	1	2	3	4	5	6
18. Have you been anxious or worried?	1	2	3	4	5	6

1. What was one of the most meaningful messages that you received about race and racism? (**Please answer in <u>AT LEAST</u> 3 sentences)**

2. Who gave you this message? (Example: Mother, Father, Best Friend, High School teacher, etc)

3. What was the impact that this message had on you? **(Please answer in <u>AT LEAST</u> 3 sentences).**

Directions. Please tell us about yourself by circling or filling in the following information as completely as possible:

1. Age: _____

2. Gender: ___ Male   ___ Female

3. Which religion or spiritual beliefs do you identify with?
    a.   Christian (_____)   d.   Buddhist
    b.   Hindu   e.   Agnostic or Atheist
    c.   Jewish   f.   Other (Specify _____)

4. Currently, how religious or spiritual are you?
    a.   not at all religious/spiritual
    b.   a little religious/spiritual
    c.   somewhat religious/spiritual
    d.   very religious/spiritual

5.   What country were you born in? _____

6.   If you were <u>not</u> born in the United States, approximately how many years have you lived in the United States?   _____ years

7.   What is your racial or pan-ethnic identification?
    a.   Asian/Asian American
    b.   Black
    c.   Latin/Hispanic
    d.   White
    e.   Other (please specify _____)

8.   What is your primary ethnic background (e.g., African American, Filipino, Chinese, Taiwanese, French, Mexican American, Italian, Haitian, English, and Cuban etc.).
    _____

9. Please indicate the highest education level of your parent(s) (guardian(s) growing up) below.

Mother (female guardian growing up)
      a. Some High School
      b. High School Diploma or Equivalent
      c. Some College
      d. College (Bachelor) Degree
      e. Master's Degree
      f. Doctoral or Professional Degree (e.g., JD, MD, PH.D)
      g.   Other _____

Father (male guardian growing up)
      a. Some High School
      b. High School Diploma or Equivalent
      c. Some College
      d. College (Bachelor) Degree
      e. Master's Degree
      f. Doctoral or Professional Degree (e.g., JD, MD, PH.D)
      g. Other _____

10. Please provide us with the name of each of your parent's current occupation. Please be as specific as possible (sales manager at retail store, secretary at university, Bank manager, etc.)
      Mother (female guardian) _____
      Father (male guardian) _____

We will detach this form from the data that you contribute. That is, the information below will be kept in a separate and secure location from the answers you completed on the previous pages.

1.   What high school did you graduate from?

    Name of high school_____

    Year_____

    City/State_____

2.   What is the address that you lived at for the longest length of time while you were attending high school?

    Street Address_____

    City/State_____

    Zip Code_____

3.   How long did you live at this address?

    _____ years _____ months

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND PARTICIPATION

AUTHOR'S BIOGRAPHY

Simone Chantel Barr graduated from her "Home by the Sea", Hampton University, in 2003 with a Bachelors of Arts degree in Psychology. She received her Master of Arts degree in Psychology from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in 2006. During her tenure at UIUC, Simone served as the Graduate Coordinator for the Family Advocacy Program under the supervision of Gladys D. Hunt, MSW. She is currently completing her predoctoral clinical internship at the Medical University of South Carolina and receiving specialized training in interventions for trauma survivors.