Perceived Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization as a Predictor of African American Youths' Racial Identity, Critical Conciousness, and Race-Related Stress

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BOSTON COLLEGE
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Counseling Psychology

PERCEIVED PARENTAL ETHNIC-RACIAL SOCIALIZATION AS A PREDICTOR

OF AFRICAN AMERICAN YOUTHS' RACIAL IDENTITY, CRITICAL

CONSCIOUSNESS, AND RACE-RELATED STRESS

Dissertation
By

Dana Lang Collins

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Abstract

Perceived Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization as a Predictor of African American

Youths' Racial Identity, Critical Consciousness, and Race-Related Stress

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African American parents engage in ethnic-racial socialization practices, which may

foster their youths' racial identity and critical consciousness development, each of which

may decrease youths' race-related stress. The few studies that have examined the

relationships between African American youths' perceived parental ethnic-racial

socialization practices and their racial identity or critical consciousness have used

inconsistent conceptualizations of racial identity. No studies have compared the

effectiveness of different kinds of perceived parental socialization practices on critical

consciousness development, nor has previous research demonstrated that critical

consciousness is related to reduced stress. In the present study, the perceived parental

strategies of Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias were investigated to

determine how they were related to racial identity and critical consciousness

development. Also, effects of racial identity and critical consciousness on racial stress

were studied.

African American youths, ages 18-24 years (N=139), completed a demographic

questionnaire, perceived ethnic-racial socialization measures, a racial identity measure,

critical consciousness measures and a measure of race-related stress. Multivariate

multiple regression analyses revealed that parental Cultural Socialization was related to

lower levels of Preencounter (conformity), Post-Encounter (confusion), and higher levels of Internalization (self-actualizing) racial identity statuses, and to critical consciousness dimensions of Critical Reflection and Political Efficacy, but lower levels of Critical Action. Parental Preparation for Bias only predicted Preencounter.

Critical Reflection was related to high levels of Cultural Race-Related Stress, was negatively related to Institutional Race-Related Stress, and was not related to Individual Race-Related Stress. Each of the other critical consciousness dimensions was related to higher levels of at least one type of race-related stress, rather than lower levels. Immersion/Emersion was related to high levels of all three types of race-related stress. Implications of the findings are that (a) parental Cultural Socialization strategies may be most useful for promoting racial identity and critical consciousness, (b) parental strategies may encourage all aspects of critical consciousness except political action, and (c) with only a couple of exceptions, racial identity and critical consciousness were related to higher stress.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

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Because this dissertation is about the ways that African American parents teach their youths about race, I will start by acknowledging my parents. Mommy and Daddy, thank you for helping me to feel good about being Black, especially in a society that can make that hard. Thank you for having our family celebrate Kwanzaa, thank you for buying me Black dolls, thank you for playing music by Black artists, thank you for buying me books by Black authors, thank you for talking to me about Black history, thank you for talking to me about racism, thank you for encouraging me to wear my hair natural, thank you for sending me, Stacie and Gary to HBCU's, thank you for loving me. I wouldn't have been able to write this dissertation, or do any of the things I've been able to do without you.

I've told this story many times, and I'm going to tell it again here. My grandmother used to teach in Oakland public schools, which were largely attended by Black students. When I was out of school, I sometimes went to her class rooms with her to help her students. I heard and was saddened by the ways that some of the students talked about being Black. It was clear that these students associated Blackness with failure, poverty, and despair. Occasionally their parents visited the classroom, and many of them seemed to reinforce the idea that being Black wasn't a good thing. Grandmommy, these experiences primed me to wonder about how Black parents talk to their children about what it means to be Black, and years later write this dissertation.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The association between racism experiences and a host of negative health and psychological outcomes for African American youths has been well-documented. As a result of experiencing racism, African American youths may suffer from race-related stress, which may contribute to a wide range of harmful psychological symptoms, such as depression (Brody, Chen, Murry, Simons, Ge, Gibbons, & Gerrard, & Cutrona, 2006; Harrell, 2000; Prelow, Danoff-Burg, Swenson, & Pulgiano, 2004; Sellers, Copeland-Linder, Martin, L'Heureux, 2006; Wong, Eccles & Sameroff, 2003), general stress (Sellers, Copeland-Linder, Martin, L'Heureux, 2006), internalizing problems (Dubois, 2002; Nyborg & Curry, 2003) and lower levels of well-being (Sellers et. al, 2006). Experiences with racism have also been linked to behavioral problems for African American youths, including conduct issues (Brody et al., 2006; Dubois, 2002), delinquency (Prelow et al., 2004), substance abuse (Gerrard, Stock, Roberts, Gibbons, O'Hara, Weng, Willis, 2012; Gibbons, 2012; Stock et. al, 2014), and risky sexual behaviors (Stock, 2014).

Much of the research on African American youths' experiences of racism has focused on racial discrimination and cultural racism. *Racial discrimination* has been defined as differential treatment based on race (Blank, Dabady, & Citro, 2004; Jones, 1997), and "unjustified, negative or harmful conduct, verbal or physical, that is directed at an individual because of the individual's race, color, national origin, or ethnicity" (Arson, Wilson, & Akert, 1999, p. 127). Racial discrimination is a common occurrence in the lives of many Black people (Williams & Mohammed, 2009). *Cultural racism*, on the other hand, has been described as "the systematic

manner in which the White majority has established its primary cultural institutions (e.g., education, mass media, and religion) to elevate and glorify European physical characteristics, character, and achievements, and to denigrate the physical characteristics, character and achievement of nonwhite people" (Oliver, 2001, pp. 4-5). Black youths in particular are exposed to high occurrences of racial discrimination and cultural racism, both of which can lead to *race-related stress*, which is defined as the cognitive, emotional, and behavioral responses to experiencing racial discrimination (Utsey, 1999).

In hopes of combating the effects, including race-related stress, of their youths' exposure to these types of racism, African American parents employ a variety of ethnic-racial socialization practices. *Ethnic-racial socialization* has been defined as the transmission of parents' messages, both subtle and overt, about race, racism, and culture (Hughes, 2003). These messages may include (a) information about the existence and prevalence of stereotypes and discrimination, as well as (b) interpretations of the meaning and significance of race and racial stratification, intergroup and intragroup interactions, cultural heritage and social group status, and group characteristics (Hughes & Chen, 1999; Lesane-Brown, 2006). Parents allegedly engage in several racial-ethnic socialization practices, two of which are Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias.

To prepare youths to face the challenges of cultural racism, and to impart to their children a sense of ethnic and racial pride, parents may engage in Cultural Socialization. *Cultural Socialization* includes practices that teach children about their racial/ ethnic heritage and history, and promote cultural pride and knowledge. Examples of Cultural Socialization include talking about important historical or cultural figures, exposing youths to culturally relevant artifacts, and

eating ethnic foods (Coard et al., 2004; Hughes, 2003; Hughes et al., 2006; Hughes & Chen, 1997; French & Coleman, 2013). *Preparation for Bias* is intended to help African American youths cope with racial discrimination and refers to any practice in which parents promote youths' awareness of the existence of racism and racial discrimination, as well as their ability to cope with them. Preparation for Bias includes discussions about racism, discrimination, and bias, as well as specific stress-reducing coping strategies. Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias are used for the purpose of addressing particular forms of racism, cultural discrimination, and racial discrimination, respectively, and negating their harmful effects. As such, a major goal of these two practices is to help youths develop their racial identity (Hughes et al., 2006). Because racial identity aids youths in making sense of and knowing how to respond to racial stimuli (Helms, 1995), racial identity may be associated with African American youths' capacities to resist race-related stress.

Racial Identity

A well- developed racial identity incorporates a sense of racial pride, positive identification with one's presumed racial group, and related self-concept (Hughes et al., 2006). Racial-ethnic socialization is necessary for promoting these aspects of racial identity development (Lesane-Brown, 2006). In her model of racial identity for Black individuals, Helms asserts that racial identity also helps individuals to process and make sense of racial stimuli through use of information-processing strategies (Helms, 1990, 1995, 1996). As Black individuals advance in their racial identity development, they may be better able to understand and cope with racism, which may help them to avoid high levels of race-related stress.

Although some literature has focused on parental ethnic-racial socialization and different aspects of racial identity (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Stevenson, 1995), virtually no research has studied how youths' perceptions of parental ethnic-racial socialization processes relate to their capacity to analyze and understand experiences of racism. Because Preparation for Bias is intended to help youths identify and understand racism, it can be argued that Preparation for Bias prepares youths to critically analyze or evaluate racism, and that Cultural Socialization encourages their racial identity development, particularly in terms of positive identification with and regard for their racial group (Hughes et al., 2006).

Critical Consciousness

Through ethnic-racial socialization, African American parents may be attempting to help their youths develop critical consciousness with respect to race (Hughes & Chen, 2006). Paulo Freiré (1973, 1993), to whom the conceptualization of critical consciousness is often credited, described *critical consciousness* as an individual's perceptions and engagement of race and its meanings as a tool for resisting internalized racism. Having critical consciousness means that a youth can engage in analysis and interpretation of her or his experiences, particularly those related to race and racism, and can act to create change in the youth's own life and community. Given that through racial socialization, African American parents attempt to help their youths to identify, understand, and be critical of and resist the effects of racism, it can be argued that they are in fact attempting to help their youths develop critical consciousness, specifically with respect to race.

Nevertheless, no studies have explored the parental ethnic-racial socialization practices of Preparation for Bias and Cultural Socialization as factors that might enhance critical

consciousness development. In addition, no studies have investigated whether these perceived practices are related to youths' manifestations of critical consciousness. If critical consciousness development is an important outcome of parents' efforts to help their youths to resist race-related stress, it is important for researchers to investigate how Preparation for Bias and Cultural Socialization impact youths' critical consciousness development.

Race-Related Stress

Drawing on Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) definition of psychological stress, Harrell (2000) proposed that *race-related stress* is a multidimensional construct defined as "the race-related transactions between individuals or groups and their environment that emerge from the dynamics of racism, and that are perceived to tax or exceed existing individual and collective resources or threaten well-being" (Harrell, 2000, p. 44). Race-related stress, then, can be understood as the distress individuals experience as a result of experiencing racism. Scott (2003) and Moos (2002) argue that the outcomes African American youths experience as a result of racism depends on their ability to cope with it. Because African American youths experience racism in a number of different ways, they may be at risk for developing race-related stress, particularly if they do not have the tools needed to cope with racism. It is essential that African American youths have adequate strategies for minimizing the risk of race-related stress, suggesting the need to understand which skills or strategies, best prepare youths to do so.

Current Study

African American youths must contend with different kinds of racism in their daily lives, including cultural racism and discrimination. Racism is related to a number of negative outcomes for them, including race-related stress. Some African American parents may use the

ethnic-racial socialization practices of Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias to help their youths cultivate their racial identity development, and critical consciousness, which may help them to avoid race-related stress. However, virtually no research has examined the extent to which youths perceive that their parents have engaged in such activities and are affected by them. Though Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias may enhance African American youths' racial identity and critical consciousness so that they can avoid the stress associated with racism, there is no research comparing the efficacy of the two practices. Therefore, researchers do not know which ethnic-racial socialization practices best foster African American youths' racial identity and critical consciousness.

The current study compared the differential effects of Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias on African American youths' racial identity and critical consciousness, as well as the effects of racial identity and critical consciousness on African American youths' race-related stress. Understanding which socialization practices African American parents can use to best help their youths to develop the tools (racial identity and critical consciousness) to resist race-related stress may have important implications for researchers and clinicians who are interested in promoting African American youths' positive development.

Chapter 2

Review of Literature

Although adolescence has long been identified as a time of identity exploration and development, little attention has been focused on the special tasks or challenges to positive development that African American adolescents face**.** African American youths must contend with the unique challenges of racism and discrimination and the devaluation of their ethnic and racial groups as they negotiate their identity development (American Civil Liberties Union, 1998; Nicolas, Helms, Jernigan, Sass, Skrzypek, & DeSilva, 2008; Stevenson, Reed, Bodison, & Bishop, 1997). African American youths are exposed to racial stereotypes, and thus cultural racism, that state that they are intellectually inferior (Fries-Britt & Griffin, 2007; Johnson, 2008), poorly behaved (Chang & Demyan, 2007; Stangor, Sullivan, & Ford, 1991), and dangerous (Dixon & Azocar, 2007; Neimann, O'Connor, & McClorie, 1998). African American youths face racial discrimination via their relatively high school suspension and expulsion rates (Tajalli & Garba, 2014), and high incarceration rates (Sickmund, Sladky, Kang, & Puzzanchera, 2011). Consequently, it may be argued that developing the inner resources to grapple with racism is an important developmental task for African American youths. African American parents' racial and cultural parenting practices potentially play an important role in helping their adolescents develop the internal resources to face racism and contend with race-related stress. Racial identity and critical consciousness may be important aspects of resisting race-related stress for African American youths, and parental ethnic-racial socialization practices may play an important role in promoting both.

To support the premise that African American adolescents' racism survival depends on perceived parental ethnic-racial socialization practices, I use principles from Nicolas et al.'s (2008) Strength and Coping Model for Black Youths, and Helms' (1995) racial identity theories to argue that development of racial identity and critical consciousness are intended consequences of certain parental ethnic-racial socialization practices. This model was employed because it recognizes the threat that racism poses for Black youths, and identifies a number of assets, including parental socialization, racial identity, and critical consciousness, that Black youths can potentially draw on to help them navigate and overcome the effects of racism.

A Conceptual Model for Understanding Healthy Black Youths' Development

In recognition that Black youths must navigate the developmental task of overcoming racism, Nicolas et al. (2008) proposed a conceptual model that outlines a number of strengths some Black youths may possess that promote healthy development in spite of their experiences with racism. Racial identity and critical consciousness are two of the strengths included in their model. Nicolas and colleagues argue that Black youths may actively use their racial identity and critical consciousness to alter their environments and reactions to racist contexts. Specifically, Black youths' strengths may be demonstrated by their abilities to analyze situations for race-related inequities and power imbalances and act on them, while using their racial pride, an aspect of racial identity development, to reject racist ideas. The model identifies parental socialization practices as important for the development of racial identity and critical consciousness. However, the model does not specify which practices are best suited for developing positive identity and the capacity to evaluate and challenge racism in one's environment.

Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization

Parental ethnic-racial socialization is the direct and indirect messages that African American parents transmit to their youths about race and racism. It has been cited as playing an important role in helping African American youths to value themselves and understand racial stimuli in increasingly complex ways (Nicolas et al., 2008). *Ethnic-racial socialization* refers broadly to the transmission of information about race and ethnicity from adults to children (Hughes et al., 2006). More specifically, it is defined as specific messages passed on to younger generations that lead to their development of attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs regarding the significance of race and racial stratification, intergroup and intragroup interactions, strategies for coping with racism, as well as personal and group identity (Lesane-Brown, 2006). Of particular interest in the current study are youths' perceptions of their parents' practices for preparing them to resist systemic bias, cultural racism, and race-related stress, and how these practices impact the youths' racial identity and critical consciousness development.

Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias are two types of parental ethnic-racial socialization practices that are of particular interest given the cultural racism and racial discrimination that African American youths face. As a parental strategy, Cultural Socialization is intended to address and mitigate the effects of cultural racism by bolstering youths' sense of cultural pride and esteem. Preparation for Bias is intended to address and mitigate the effects of racial discrimination by focusing on helping youths to understand and deal with racial discrimination (Hughes et al., 2006).

It might be argued that while these two types of socialization target youths' ability to contend with different types of racism, they are both important in promoting racial identity

statuses that enable youth to make sense of, and thus cope with, racism. Alternatively, it might be argued that in a society that appropriates Black youths' culture for its own profit, Preparation for Bias may be more important. Nevertheless, it is likely the case that youths' perceived parental racial-ethnic socialization influences the types of racial identity schemas that youths develop.

Racial Identity

Nicolas et al. (2008) contend that racial identity may enable African American youths to make sense of their experiences with racism. However, not all youths gain the capacity to cope with racism effectively.   Helms (1995) proposed that racial identity helps individuals to understand and manage the effects of racial stimuli, including racism, within oneself and one's environment. However, she also theorized that some types of racial identity statuses allow the individual to cope more effectively with racism than others, and/or are characterized by different valuing of African American culture.

The four schemas in Helms's (1996) racial identity model are Preencounter, Post-encounter, Immersion/Emersion, and Internalization. Each of these identity statuses is associated with specific information-processing strategies that allow youths who use them to process and understand racial stimuli. As Black youths develop these statuses, they may, through the use of the relevant information-processing strategies, shift their manner of analyzing and reacting to racism from automatic feelings and reactions of internalized racism to racial pride and critical analysis of racial dynamics.

Preencounter. The Preencounter status is described as the least effective schema for coping with racism through the lenses of one's own racial experiences. It is characterized by obliviousness to the existence of racism, denigration of one's racial group, and idealization of

Whites and White culture. African American youths who use this schema may have internalized

negative racial stereotypes about their racial group, be unaware that racism is pervasive in

society, and attempt to become a part of the White culture, eschewing Black culture. The

information- processing strategies associated with this status include denial, distancing,

individualism, and own-group blaming. Youths using this schema are likely to have high levels

of race-related stress, because they feel badly about their racial group and are unable to

effectively deal with racism.

      Post-Encounter. Post-Encounter is characterized by confusion about racism and one's

value as an African American person. When using this type of racial identity schema, one

exhibits confusion, anxiety, or ambivalence about one's racial group. African American youths

using this racial identity schema may have begun to acknowledge kinship with their racial group,

but may be unsure of how to interact with other members of their racial group. The information-

processing strategies used in this status are disorientation, repression, and vacillation. Youths

using this schema may have high levels of race-related stress, because of their uncertainty about

their racial group membership and uncertainty about how to interact with members of different

racial groups.

      Immersion/Emersion. In this schema, both coping with racism and incorporating

culture into one's self-concept are central themes. Individuals using the Immersion/Emersion

schema idealize their racial group and denigrate the White racial group. African American

youths who use Immersion attempt to value their racial group by developing a sense of pride and

commitment to it. This commitment, however, is exaggerated, and prevents youths from

appreciating other groups' strengths. The information-processing strategies used in this status are

judging, dichotomizing, and acting combatively. Because youths using this schema are focused on identifying and coping with racism, race-related stress may be low.

  Internalization. The final schema of racial identity for African Americans is Internalization, which is theorized to be the most effective for coping with racism and other forms of oppression. Individuals using this schema make an authentic commitment to their racial group, and also appreciate other racial groups' contributions. African American youths who use Internalization enjoy their racial group's uniqueness, but are also able to enjoy aspects of other cultures and form positive relationships with members of other races and cultures. African American youths using this final schema are able to use the information-processing strategies probing, restructuring, and integrating. Because these youths have advanced understandings of and tools for understanding and coping with racism, race related stress is likely low.

Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization and Racial Identity

  Although Nicolas et al. (2008) provided a rationale for studying parental socialization as a potentially positive contribution to youths' identity development, Stevenson (1995) has been more specific about the kinds of socialization that are necessary. Stevenson suggested that, for Black youths to develop a racial identity that will help them to contend with racism, parents' ethnic-racial socialization must be both reactive (i.e., prepare youths for bias or oppressive experiences), as well as creative (i.e., teaching them to be proud of their race and culture). In recommending that African American youths need to be exposed to both reactive and creative parental socialization, Stevenson highlighted the importance of considering different types of

racial socialization, specifically Preparation for Bias and Cultural Socialization, for racial identity development.

Empirical Studies of Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization and Racial Identity

Despite the theoretical link between parental ethnic-racial socialization and racial identity development, few studies have been conducted that examined how parental ethnic-racial socialization is related to African American youths' racial identity development. Many of the existing studies were conducted in the early 1990's. Because the study of ethnic-racial socialization in African American families is relatively new, conceptualizations and definitions of socialization practices and racial identity have varied widely, with consensus only recently developing. The most recent literature has focused on the relationship between parental ethnic-racial socialization practices and racial identity beliefs.

Inferred Parental Socialization Experiences and Racial Identity

Demo and Hughes's (1990) study is perhaps the earliest empirical study linking African American parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices with their youths' racial identity. The researchers proposed that a primary goal for African American parents is to build their children's confidence and self-respect regarding racial identity, and attempted to identify relevant socialization experiences. Their sample was drawn from the National Survey of Black Americans (NSBA), a nationally representative sample of interviews with Black Americans ($N =$ 2,107), 18 years of age and older.

Racial identity was inferred from three dimensions: (a) feelings of closeness to other Blacks; (b) Black separatism, which includes commitment to African culture and belief about the degree to which Blacks should limit their interactions to interactions with other Blacks; and (c)

Black group evaluation, the belief that most Blacks possess positive rather than negative characteristics. Thus, their dimensions seemed to reflect components of Helms's Immersion/Emersion schema (Helms, 1995).

Recalled parental ethnic-racial socialization was measured by examining responses to two items that asked what respondents' parents had taught them about what it means to be Black and what they had been told about how to get along with White people. For both variables, Demos and Hughes (1990) collapsed the responses into one of four categories: (a) individualistic and/or universalistic attitudes without any specific references to race; (b) integrative/assertive attitudes, consisting of racial pride and the importance of Black heritage; (c) cautious/defensive attitudes, consisting of social distance from Whites and an understanding that Whites have power over Blacks, and (d) no specific messages about what it means to be Black or how to get along with Whites.

Regression analyses revealed that participants who perceived that they had learned the integrative/assertive parenting style identified more closely with other Black people, their history, and culture than did participants who perceived having experienced an individualistic/universalistic or cautious/defensive parenting style. These findings suggest that youths who perceived that their parents taught them to value Blacks and Black culture identified more closely with Blacks and Black culture, whereas youths who reported that their parents talked to them about racism felt worse about being Black and wanted to distance themselves from other Blacks, perhaps because they perceived being Black as a negative experience.

Although Demo and Hughes's (1990) study attempted to link ethnic-racial socialization experiences to Black identity, they did not use an established model of racial identity

development for designing their study or interpreting their results. They focused on feelings

about being Blacks and feelings about associating with Blacks. Therefore, Demo and Hughes's

treatment of racial identity was related more to participants' feelings about and evaluations of the

Black racial group than to racial stimuli in general. Nevertheless, their findings did indicate that

youths who recalled that their parents had taught them to value Blacks and Black culture did so,

whereas youths who recalled that their parents had taught them about racism felt less positively

about Blacks and Black culture.

Stevenson (1995) examined the relationship between racial-ethnic socialization and racial

identity in a sample of African American adolescents ($N = 287$)*,* ages 14-16 years. To assess the

participants' belief in the appropriateness of different socialization practices in African American

families, Stevenson administered the Scale of Racial Socialization-Adolescents (SORS-A;

Stevenson, 1994). The SORS-A measures four types of parental socialization strategies. The two

that were most relevant to the current study are Cultural Pride Reinforcement, and Racism

Awareness. Cultural Pride Reinforcement measures attitudes about teaching African American

culture and pride to youths, and Racism Awareness focuses on messages and attitudes that

promote cautious views about the existence of racism in society and the need to discuss racism

with family members. To assess racial identity, the participants completed the Racial Identity

Attitudes Scale (RIAS, Helms & Parham, 1990), which measured the four schemas,

Preencounter, Post-encounter, Emersion/Immersion, and Internalization, in Helms's (1995)

model.

Bivariate correlations revealed that Preencounter was inversely correlated with

adolescents' belief in the importance of Preparation for Bias practices. This relationship

suggests that when adolescents had high levels of conformance to a non-racial orientation, they did not believe that they needed to be taught to respond to racial bias. A belief in the importance of Cultural Socialization practices was positively correlated with Internalization attitudes, which may mean that youths who have positive feelings about their racial group believe in the importance of learning about their culture. Also, Stevenson's findings may suggest that adolescents who have less developed racial identity are unaware of the racial discrimination that African Americans face, and thus do not see Preparation for Bias practices as necessary.

Stevenson's (1995) study examined the relationship between ethnic-racial socialization practices and racial identity, but did not investigate relationships between actual or perceived experiences of parental racial socialization practices and racial identity. Rather, Stevenson investigated adolescents' beliefs about the *importance* of ethnic-racial socialization practices and their corresponding racial identity. Thus, the study's findings do not add to the understanding of how perceived parental ethnic-racial socialization practices influence youths' racial identity, unless what youths perceive as important is a result of what they have experienced.

Explicit Studies of Perceived Parental Socialization

More recent studies, while few in number, come closer to the objective of demonstrating possible relationships between adolescents' perceived parental ethnic-racial socialization practices and racial identity. Neblett, Smalls, Ford, Nguyên, and Sellers (2009) examined the relationships between perceived parental ethnic-racial socialization practices and racial identity of Black middle- and high-school students (*N*= 358). Perceived parental ethnic-racial socialization was assessed using the Racial Socialization Questionnaire-Teen (Lesane-Brown, 2006), which examines six racial socialization practices, only two of which (a) Racial Pride and

(b) Racial Barriers pertain to the current study. *Racial Pride* measures the extent to which parents encourage their children to take pride in their racial group, its customs, and its history; whereas *Racial Barriers* examines the frequency of messages that parents used to prepare their children for racial adversity. Racial identity was assessed using the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI) (Scottham, Sellers, & Nguyên, 2008).

Neblett et al. (2009) found that participants who perceived receiving high levels of Racial-Barriers and Racial-Pride parental socialization behaviors endorsed high levels of Centrality (i.e., importance of race to one's personality) and Nationalist Ideology (i.e., belief in the uniqueness of Black people's experiences as an oppressed group(s). Higher levels of Racial Barrier messages were also associated with lower levels of Public Regard. Thus, messages about racial discrimination, (which were analogous to Preparation for Bias*)* and racial pride (which were perhaps analogous to Cultural Socialization) were related to feelings that race is an important part of identity, which may be analogous to both Immersion/Emersion and Internalization. Adolescents who perceived that they were exposed to high levels of parental messages about racial discrimination and racial pride perceived race as important to them.

Neblett et al.'s (2009) study is one of the few that has found relationships between perceived parental ethnic-racial socialization and racial identity. However, the study's conceptualization of racial identity was limited to explaining participants' attitudes towards their racial group, rather than the ways in which individuals make sense of race and racism as it pertains to themselves. Thus, Neblett et al.'s study did not assess the ways in which ethnic-racial socialization influenced youths' ability to make sense of racial stimuli and cope with racism.

Summary

The research on whether perceived parental ethnic-racial socialization practices are related to different types of racial identity schemas does not discover whether specific parental ethnic-racial socialization practices were associated with specific aspects of racial identity development. This objective is important for understanding how African American parents' socialization practices contribute to their adolescents' racial identity development. The cited studies do, however, reveal some information about the relationship between youths' perceived parental ethnic-racial socialization practices and their beliefs about the importance of receiving such socialization on their feelings about their racial group.

Youths who believed that their parents taught them to value Blacks and Black culture (analogous to Cultural Socialization), were more likely to value Blacks, Black culture, and to feel good about being Black. Youths who believed that their parents had taught them about racism (Preparation for Bias) felt less good about being Black. Youths who did not believe that racism was a serious problem did not believe in the necessity of receiving ethnic-racial socialization. Lastly, youths who recalled receiving high levels of both racial barrier and pride messages (analogous to Preparation for Bias and Cultural Socialization) were more likely to believe that race was an important part of their identity.

An important task for African American youths is resisting debilitating stress related to racism through the use of active coping strategies that their parents teach them to use to alter their environments, or their reactions to negative environments. None of the cited studies specifically mentioned race-related stress. However, it may be inferred that youths who view Preparation for Bias and Cultural Socialization as important experience less race-related stress if

they view being Black positively and are able to dismiss messages that devalue Blackness. Because some types of racial identity enable youths to make sense of issues related to race and racism, racial identity may help youths to cope with racism and reduce race-related stress.

Adolescents' Coping with Racism: Racial Identity

Helms's (1990, 1995) theory of racial identity suggest that racial identity schemas are associated with different information-processing strategies. These strategies allow adolescents to potentially critically analyze racism, and to react emotionally to the racial dynamics that they encounter. Research has tended to investigate racial identity as coping strategies for buffering negative emotions attributed to racism or individuals' reactions to racism or discrimination. Multiple racial identity theories have been used as the basis for these studies, but virtually all were developed in response to or as alternatives to Helms's racial identity model and, consequently, often assess attitudes that are analogous to her schemas. Of these studies, those focused on discrimination and/or reactions to racism- particularly race-related stress- are most relevant to the proposed study.

Discrimination Studies and Race-Related Stress

Discrimination studies have focused on examining how Black individuals' various racial identity statuses are related to the ways in which they understand and make sense of racial discrimination and associated negative emotions, a form of race-related stress. Three studies have investigated racial identity as a coping strategy for race-related stress (i.e., Carter & Reynolds, 2011; Johnson & Arbona, 2006; Pieterse & Carter, 2010). The cited studies might provide direction for the kinds of parental strategies that would be most effective, culture or discrimination based, for helping African American youths to develop their racial identity, and in

turn effectively navigate racial discrimination. They might also provide justification for the perspective that racial identity could aid in the development of coping strategies to mitigate race-related stress.

Johnson and Arbona (2006) examined the extent to which racial identity statuses were related to race-related stress. *Race-related stress* referred to the level of discomfort that the participants felt as the result of observing or witnessing racial discrimination. To measure racial identity, the researchers administered the preliminary version of the Black Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (RIAS; Helms & Parham, 1990). The researchers also administered a measure of race-related stress and ethnic identity. All measures were administered to Black college students ($N = 140$), ages 17-58 years ($M=24.00$, $SD=6.8$). They conducted a hierarchical multiple regression analysis in which ethnic identity and racial identity were used to predict individual and Cultural Race-Related Stress. The researchers did not specify the order in which the variables were entered, which may have affected their results. The analysis revealed no significant relationship between Preencounter and stress. The analysis did find positive relationships between Post-Encounter, Immersion/Emersion, and Internalization and race-related stress, suggesting that higher levels of the later statuses were related to more stress. This means that youths who were more advanced in their racial identity development experienced higher levels of stress when faced with racism, which is counter to a supposition that more advanced racial identity development may act as a buffer for race-related stress.

The Black-identifying statuses of racial identity development, Immersion/Emersion and Internalization, involve analyzing racial dynamics and their effects on the person. Because youths who had more advanced racial identity endorsed more stress, it appears that Johnson and

Arbona's (2006) results indicate that racism is stressful for Black identified or identifying young adults, whereas non-Black identity may be associated with less stress when faced with racism, particularly in predominantly White college environments. These finding contradict the supposition that more advanced racial identity statuses help Black individuals to cope with racism more effectively. Perhaps Black young adults, who are early in their racial identity development, tend to be oblivious to the existence of racism, and do not recognize experiences that are in fact racist as racist, whereas Black young adults who are later in their racial identity development may recognize that racist experiences are in fact unjust and racist, and consequently experience distress.

Although Johnson and Arbona (2006) found that Black adults, who were more advanced in their racial identity development, found racism more stressful than those, who were less advanced in their racial identity development, Pieterse and Carter (2010) found different results. They found that, for their somewhat older sample of Black adults, advanced racial identity was associated with lower levels of stress. The study's sample was Black adults (N=340), ages 18 to 80 years (M=30.10, SD = 9.70). The researchers found that Preencounter was related to higher levels of perceived or general life stress. Conversely, Internalization was related to lower levels of general life stress. These findings suggest that more advanced racial identity development might be associated with lower levels of stress in the face of racial discrimination, perhaps because adults in more advanced statuses have the cognitive resources to better manage stress.

Carter and Reynolds's (2010) study on the relationship between racial identity and race-related stress for Black adults, ages 25 to 88 (M= 49.8, SD=15.4) also supports the idea that advanced racial identity development may help Blacks to cope with racism. The researchers

found that high levels of Conformity (i.e., Preencounter) were related to high levels of anger, depression, confusion, fatigue, and tension. In addition, there was an association between Internalization, the most advanced racial identity status, and less intense emotional reactions. These findings suggest that more advanced racial identity statuses may be associated with healthier emotional reactions, whereas less advanced statuses may be associated with less desirable emotional reactions. Some racial identity statuses may serve as protective factors when dealing with negative emotions for Black adults, but it is not clear whether this is the case for Black youths.

In another study with an adult sample, Forsyth and Carter (2012) investigated racial identity and racism-related coping strategies as moderators of racism-related coping styles and psychological symptoms in Black adults ($N=233$), ages 18 to 72 years ($M=33.00$ $SD=11.19$). The participants responded to questions about incidents in which they had experienced racism, completed measures that assessed how they coped with racism and psychological symptoms, mental health, and Black racial identity. The results of their cluster analysis revealed that, when compared to individuals endorsing Internalization, individuals who endorsed Post-Encounter and Immersion racial identity appeared to use more adaptive coping strategies, such as drawing on social support, taking action, or using spirituality when faced with racial discrimination. Interestingly, however, they did find not a significant relationship between the Internalization status and use of adaptive coping skills. These findings are counter to the proposition that individuals who endorse advanced racial identity statuses have the capacity to deal with racism in more healthy ways.

Summary

A plausible inference from Helms's (1995) racial identity theory is that Black individuals who have attained more advanced statuses should be better able to adaptively deal with racism so that its potential for harm to them is reduced, but findings confirming this supposition are somewhat equivocal. Some literature suggests that use of Post-Encounter, Immersion/Emersion, and Internalization may be associated with lower levels of stress and psychological symptoms when individuals are faced with racism (Banks & Kohn-Wood, 2007; Carter & Reynolds, 2011; Pieterse & Carter, 2010). Other literature suggests that more advanced identity statuses, Immersion and Internalization, were not associated with lower levels of stress and symptomatology (Forsyth & Carter, 2012; Johnson & Arbona, 2006). Perhaps the disparities are attributable to the different methodologies used, which included diversity in samples' ages, the nature of the symptoms investigated, and the different manners in which racial identity and outcomes were measured. Moreover, none of the studies explicitly focused on how racial identity was related to youths' skills in critically analyzing or responding to racial dynamics that is, critical consciousness.

Critical Consciousness

The strengths based model (Nicolas et al., 2008), racial identity theory (Helms, 1990, 1995), and perhaps parental ethnic-racial socialization literature each proposes that Black youths' capacity to analyze racial dynamics in an important asset for their development. Critical consciousness is a concept used to describe the process by which oppressed individuals critically "read" and act to change their social conditions. The term "critical consciousness" was first described in 1973 by Brazilian theorist, activist, and educator Paulo Freire as a way for

marginalized individuals and groups to overcome oppression (Freire, 1973, 1993). In his book, *Education for Critical Consciousness*, Freire (1973) declared "...to every understanding, sooner or later, an action corresponds. Once man [sic] perceives a challenge, understands it, and recognizes the possibilities of response, he [sic] acts. The nature of the action corresponds to the nature of the understanding" (Freire, 1973, p. 44).

Watts, Diemer, and Voight (2011) describe critical consciousness as consisting of three components: (a) Critical Reflection, (b) Political Efficacy, and (c) Critical Action. *Critical Reflection* refers to the analysis of structural oppression, *Political Efficacy* is the perceived belief in one's ability to enact social and political change through individual or collective action, and *Critical Action* refers to individual or collective action taken to challenge and transform unjust aspects of society. Collectively, the components of critical consciousness help disempowered individuals to recognize, deconstruct, and act on social inequities, such as racism. Therefore, critical consciousness may be of great utility to African American youths as they negotiate racism. Having a critical consciousness may enable African American youths to question and ultimately work to challenge society's racist notions about them, as well as work to effect social change. Watts, Griffith, and Abdul-Adil (1999) argue that without critical consciousness, African American youths are at risk for simply internalizing and accepting the negative messages society perpetuates about them.

Critical Consciousness and Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization

Although the concept of critical consciousness shows promise for helping African American youths to be critical of and challenge the obstacles they face, little is known about how parental socialization or racial identity might foster its development. However, Nicolas et al.'s

(2008) model posits that youths' perceptions of their parents' socialization practices may promote critical consciousness. Specifically, parents can provide socialization experiences intended to encourage the development of skills needed for understanding the racial dynamics of their social contexts, an important component of critical reflection.

Indeed, Hughes et al. (2006) argued that ethnic-racial socialization helps African American youths learn skills to cope with racism. Preparation for Bias in particular may achieve this objective if it includes discussions about recognizing racism and developing strategies for dealing with it. Also, it might be argued that Preparation for Bias prepares African American youths to engage in all three components of Critical Consciousness if it helps them to recognize racism and gives them options for responding to it. Cultural Socialization may contribute to Critical Reflection, and help Black youths to avoid race-related stress by emphasizing the positive aspects of being Black. Presumably, African American youths who have received positive cultural socialization hold their ethnic-racial group in high esteem, enabling them to reject negative racial messages about their group.

African American youths are constantly exposed to racist messages, both implicit and explicit, from various sources (Bryant-Davis & Ocampo, 2006; Martin, 2008), which can occur in a number of different forms (Way, Hernandez, Rogers, Hughes, 2013). These messages, which are often pervasive and persistent, may put African Americans at risk for race-related stress. However, critical consciousness may prepare them to recognize that these messages are merely tools designed to oppress their group and elevate the White racial group, and are not in fact true. If critical consciousness might protect African American youths from race-related stress, then it might be a very important strength of African American youths. Therefore,

research on how parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices might foster its development is needed. In addition, given that both racial identity and critical consciousness potentially can serve as assets for African American youths, it is important to examine the relationships between the different aspects of the two constructs.

Racial Identity

There is emerging theoretical and empirical evidence that critical consciousness and racial identity are important for African American youths' development, especially in light of the racism and racial discrimination that they inevitably face (Banks & Kohn-Wood, 2007; Nicolas et al., 2008; Watts, Griffith & Abdul-Adil, 1999). Perhaps racial identity can help African American youths to reduce race-related stress and overcome internalized racism, whereas critical consciousness can help them to analyze racism, increase their civic engagement, and take action to change unjust social conditions. Although it is possible that African American youths have much to gain from developing advanced racial identity statuses and critical consciousness skills, there is no empirical or theoretical literature focusing on the relationship between racial identity and critical consciousness. Nevertheless, it appears that the two may share a number of similarities.

Both begin with relative obliviousness to racial injustice and end with the acquisition of knowledge and advanced levels of understandings of race and racism. In addition, both racial identity and critical consciousness models describe a process of growing cognitive complexity, in which Black youths are increasingly able to engage in more nuanced understandings of race and racism. Depending on where African American youths are in their development, racial identity and critical consciousness may be associated with feelings of self-loathing, passivity,

and unawareness, or with understanding and navigation of society in ways that are adaptive and empowering. Research is needed to explore the relationships between racial identity and critical consciousness.

Critical Consciousness and Race-Related Stress

Empirical research on African American youths' critical consciousness is limited in quantity and scope. Extant literature has focused on critical consciousness and career development (Diemer, 2009; Diemer & Blustein, 2006) or voting behavior (Diemer & Li, 2011). Though these studies demonstrate the ways in which Black youths can act to overcome racism and racial barriers, they do not specify how youths may use critical consciousness to overcome race-related stress. It is conceivable, however, that more advanced critical consciousness skills protect youths from race-related stress, if they allow them to recognize, understand, and act against racism.

<div align="center">

Statement of the Problem

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African American youths must contend with various forms of racism throughout their lives, which puts them at risk for race-related stress. Two types of racism that they may face are racial discrimination and cultural racism. Racial discrimination refers to unequal, unjust, and harmful treatment based on race or ethnicity (Blank, Dabady, & Citro, 2004; Jones, 1997). Cultural racism refers to beliefs and actions that elevate the White race while debasing other races and deeming them inferior in comparison (Harrell, 2000; Jones, 1997). Racism seems to have a wide range of harmful effects on African American youths (Gibbons et al., 2004; Gibbons et al., 2012; Martin, 2008), but perhaps race-related stress is a catalyst for such effects. If so, then it is important to identify factors that might help youths reduce or resist the stress associated

with racism as well as familial socialization experiences that might facilitate development of effective coping strategies. Parental ethnic-racial socialization may help develop racial identity and critical consciousness as coping strategies, which in turn may help youths reduce or resist various forms of racism.

Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization and Racial Identity

African American parents engage in ethnic-racial socialization practices, the goals of which are to help their youths attain advanced racial identity development and help them develop their critical consciousness (Nicolas et al., 2008), as well as contend with race-related stress (Hughes, et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006). Recall that the parental practice of Cultural Socialization is intended to bolster youths' knowledge and feelings about their ethnic-racial group, whereas Preparation for Bias is intended to help youths recognize and appropriately respond to racism. The extent to which youths perceive receiving these messages may influence how they think about their racial group membership, and how they think about and respond to racism, thereby helping them to mitigate race-related stress responses. Although African American parents may use Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias practices (Hughes et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006; Stevenson, 1995), there is virtually no empirical literature comparing how these two practices affect African American adolescents in terms of how they make sense of racial stimuli and view themselves in relation to their racial group, that is, their racial identity development (Helms, 1995, 1996).

In their theoretical model, Nicolas et al. (2008) propose that Black parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices promote their youths' racial identity development, which may help them contend with racism. However, the empirical literature supporting the claim that parental

socialization practices may encourage racial identity development is scarce. The few empirical studies that support the idea that parental practices support youths' racial identity development do not reveal which parental ethnic-racial socialization practice, Cultural Socialization or Preparation for Bias, most effectively fosters development of advanced racial identity schemas (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Stevenson, 1995; Neblett et al., 2009). In addition, the studies on the association between parental socialization practices and racial identity often have limited their conceptualization of racial identity to youths' feelings about their racial group or the extent to which the youths associate with their group (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Demo & Hughes, 2006; Neblett et al., 2009). Although feelings about group membership are an important aspect of racial identity, these studies have not considered youths' abilities to understand and process racial stimuli, an equally important component of racial identity. Indeed, Helms (1995) argues that racial identity schemas allow, to varying degrees, individuals to make sense of and cope with racism in ways that allow them to resist its negative effects. Being able to make sense of racial stimuli is an important component of racial identity because it may enable African American youths to analyze and resist racism. Therefore, studies on the relationship between parental or familial ethnic-racial socialization and racial identity should employ conceptualizations of racial identity that consider youths' differential abilities to make sense of racial stimuli, as well as their feelings about their racial group membership.

Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization and Critical Consciousness

Nicholas et al. (2008) also propose that parental socialization practices may help youths develop their critical consciousness, but no empirical studies have been conducted to support this claim. Critical consciousness may enable youths to (a) analyze racism, (b) increase their belief

that they can challenge it, (c) take action against it, both in their daily lives and in their communities; and (d) to help reduce their race-related stress responses. Both Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias messages provide youths with information about race and racism, and this information may help them to think more deeply about racial issues. In addition, both types of messages encourage youths to think about their racial group in ways that challenge society's dominant negative narrative about them. Recognition that society's portrayal of their social group and positive messages about their social group are discrepant may lead youths to attempt to resolve this discrepancy, through thinking about race in an alternative way, or by taking action to address social injustice. Thus, although Nicolas and colleagues' assertion that parental socialization may promote youths' critical consciousness is plausible, empirical research is needed to investigate whether parent's socialization practices are related to youths' critical consciousness.

Racial Identity and Race-Related Stress

Because racial identity may equip youths with the information-processing capabilities to help them to understand racism, racial identity may mitigate race-related stress. The few studies that have examined whether racial identity offers protection from race-related stress have produced inconsistent findings, with one study suggesting that more advanced racial identity is associated with more race-related stress (Johnson & Arbona, 2006), and others suggesting that more advanced racial identity is associated with less stress (Forsyth & Carter, 2012; Pieterse & Carter, 2010). The scarcity and equivocal research findings on racial identity and race-related stress make further research necessary.

Critical Consciousness and Race-Related Stress

Nicolas et al. (2008) proposed that critical consciousness has the potential to help youths manage race-related stress. Critical consciousness development may help to minimize youths' stress-related responses when they encounter racism, if it enables them to understand and ultimately deconstruct racism in a way that increases their feelings of efficacy, and allows them to reject racist messages so that they are less upsetting. Unfortunately, there are no empirical studies on critical consciousness and race-related stress. Thus, research on the relationship between critical consciousness and race-related stress is needed in order to determine whether critical consciousness does in fact protect youths from race-related stress.

Current Study

The current study had the following objectives: (a) to investigate the extent to which perceived exposure to two parental ethnic-racial socialization practices, Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias, were related to African American youths' racial identity and (b) and critical consciousness; (c) to understand how African American youths' racial identity and critical consciousness were related; (d) to examine how African American youths' racial identity and (e) critical consciousness were related to their race-related stress.

Hypothesis 1: Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias will be negatively related to the early statuses of racial identity development (Preencounter and Post-Encounter), and positively related to the advanced racial identity statuses (Immersion/Emersion and Internalization).

The goal of Cultural Socialization is to instill youths with a sense of pride about their race and racial group membership, whereas Preparation for Bias is designed to increase youths'

awareness of the existence of racism and prepare them to respond to it (Hughes et al., 2006). A basic premise of racial identity theory is that youths' developmental task is to overcome internalized racism as manifested by high levels of Preencounter and Post-Encounter by developing positive Black perspectives as manifested by Immersion-Emersion and/or Internalization (1995). The Preencounter racial identity schema is characterized by devaluing of the Black racial group in favor of the White racial group. The Post-Encounter status is characterized by repression, vacillation, and confusion about race and one's value as an African American person. Immersion/Emersion features commitment to the African American group, and denigration of Whiteness and use of judging, dichotomizing, and acting combatively as coping strategies. Internalization is the final, and most mature, in Helms (1995) theory involves integrating, probing, restructuring, and integrating as coping strategies when dealing with racial issues.

Overcoming racism requires the capacity to recognize it, whereas developing positive orientations toward oneself and one's racial group possibly requires a focus on African American culture. Because the goal of parental cultural socialization is to help youths to feel positively about their racial group, I hypothesized that this practice would be related to African American youths' identifying with their racial group, which is characteristic of the advanced racial identity statuses of Immersion/Emersion and Internalization. On the other hand, I hypothesized that this parental practice would be negatively related to the Preencounter and Post-Encounter statuses, which include denial and shame.

The goal of Preparation for Bias is to enable youths to recognize and cope with racial discrimination rather than to passively accept such discrimination. Thus, it seems possible that

this practice results in African American youths' utilization of the Immersion and Internalization schemas, which both enable youths to cope with racism in different ways. Alternatively, youths who do not receive cautionary messages about racism may be more confused by it and unsure about how to respond to racial issues, which are features of the Preencounter and Post-Encounter statuses. Thus, when youths do not perceive that they received much Preparation for Bias, they may exhibit strong use of the less mature racial identity statuses, Preencounter and Post-encounter. Therefore, I hypothesized that Preparation for Bias would be negatively related to Preencounter and Post-Encounter, and positively related to Immersion/Emersion and Internalization.

In the current study, Cultural Socialization was operationally defined by scores on the Ethnic Pride Subscale (ARESS; Brown & Krishnakumar, 2007). Higher scores indicated higher levels of perceived Cultural Socialization. Perceived Preparation for Bias was operationally defined by Scores on the Preparation for Bias Scale (Tran & Lee, 2010). The four racial identity statuses, Preencounter, Post-encounter, Immersion/Emersion, and Internalization, were operationally defined by scores on the Black Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (BRIAS; Helms & Parham, 1996). Figure 1 shows the hypothesized negative relationships between the parental socialization practices and Preencounter and Post-Encounter, and the hypothesized positive relationships between the socialization practices and Immersion/Emersion and Internalization.

Figure 1. Hypothesized Relationships between Perceived Parental Cultural Socialization, Perceived Preparation for Bias, and Racial Identity.
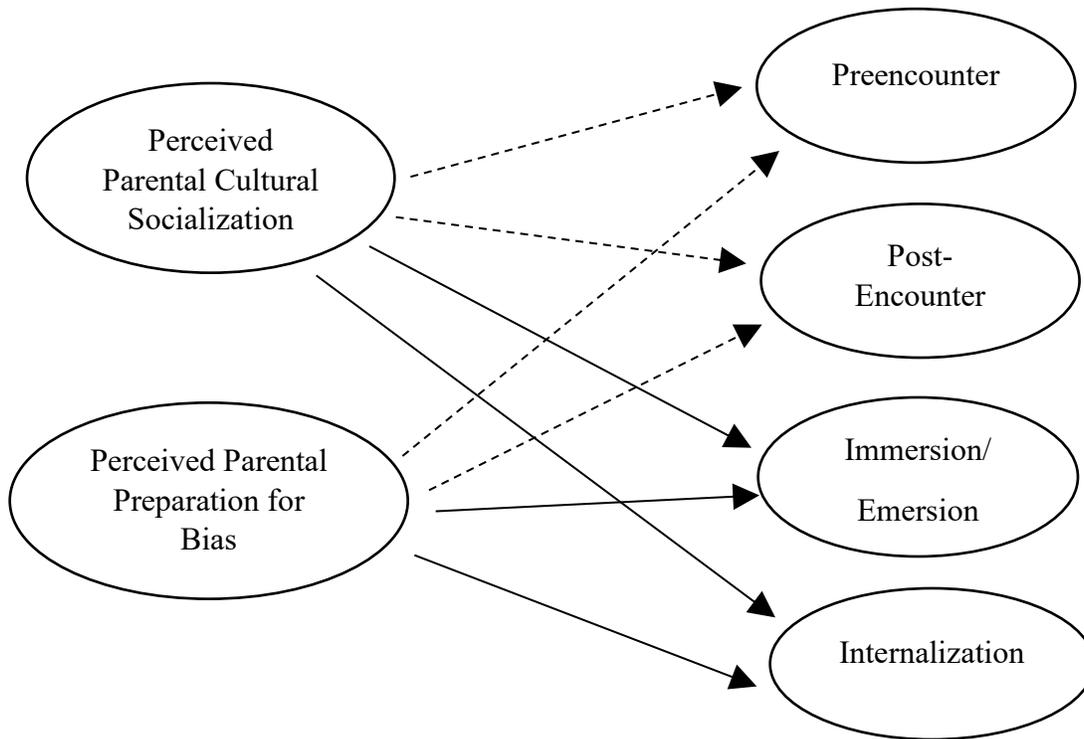
Figure 1 proposes that perceived parental socialization strategies are positively related to some identity statuses based on inferences from existing literature rather than empirical studies. Note: Solid lines denote hypothesized positive relationships, while dashed lines denote hypothesized negative relationships.

Hypothesis 2: Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias will be significantly positively related to critical consciousness (Critical Reflection, Political Efficacy, and Critical Action).

The purpose of Cultural Socialization is to help increase youths' sense of pride about their racial group and racial group membership. Hughes and colleagues (2006) describe Cultural

Socialization as consisting of practices that teach youths about their racial and ethnic heritage and history, and promote their cultural pride and knowledge, whereas the purpose of Preparation for Bias is to help youths identify, understand, and deal with racial discrimination in order to mitigate its effects.

Critical consciousness includes Critical Reflection, Critical Action, and Political Efficacy, may help youths to identify and understand racism (Freire, 1973, 1993). Critical Reflection refers to the critical analysis of racism and ability to understand how and why it occurs. Political Efficacy is an individual's perceived belief in their ability to engage in individual or collective social or political action to challenge racism. Critical Action refers to engagement in individual or collective action to challenge and correct racial injustice (Watts, Diemer, & Voight, 2011). Preparation for Bias and critical consciousness, then, are similar to each other in that they enable youths to identify and respond to racism. Although Cultural Socialization may help youths to cope with racism because they feel positively about their racial group, and, therefore, may be less likely to internalize the racism, Cultural Socialization deals with racism less directly than does Preparation for Bias. Thus, it is hypothesized that Preparation for Bias will be a stronger predictor of all three components of critical consciousness than Cultural Socialization.

Perceived Cultural Socialization was operationally defined by scores on the Ethnic Pride Scale (ARESS; Brown & Krishnakumar, 2007), perceived Preparation for Bias was operationally defined by scores on the Preparation for Bias subscale from the Perceived Ethnic–Racial Socialization Measure (Tran & Lee, 2010), and the four racial identity statuses were operationally defined by scores on the BRIAS (BRIAS; Helms & Parham, 1996). Figure 2 shows

the hypothesized positive relationships between the parental socialization practices and the three critical consciousness components.

Figure 2. Hypothesized Relationships between Perceived Parental Cultural Socialization, Perceived Preparation for Bias, and Critical Consciousness.
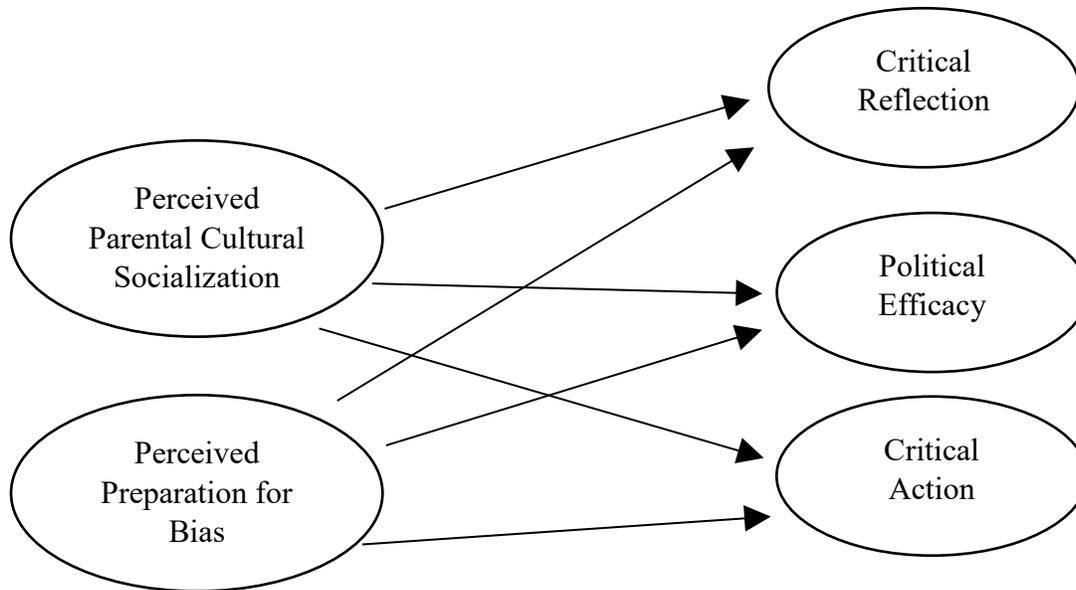
Figure 2 proposes that perceived parental socialization strategies are positively related to all three components of critical consciousness, based on inferences from existing literature rather than empirical studies. Note: Solid lines denote hypothesized positive relationships, while dashed lines denote hypothesized negative relationships.

Hypothesis 3: The earlier identity statuses (Preencounter and Post-Encounter) will be negatively related to the three critical consciousness components (Critical Reflection, Political Efficacy, and Critical Action), and the later racial identity statuses, (Immersion/Emersion and Internalization), will be positively related to the critical consciousness components.

As previously mentioned, racial identity addresses youths' ability to process racial stimuli in addition to feelings about their racial group and racial-group membership (Helms, 1995; 1996). Critical consciousness may help youths develop nuanced, sophisticated ways of thinking about and responding to issues of race and racism (Diemer & Li, 2011; Watts, Diemer, & Voight, 2011) Perhaps youths who rely on earlier identity statuses may be oblivious to racism and/or unable to critically analyze it because they lack the information processing tools to do so, whereas youths who rely on later statuses may be able to critically analyze it because they have a greater variety of and more advanced information processing tools at their disposal. Similarly, advanced critical consciousness development should allow youths to understand and be critical of racism, and to respond to it. Racial identity and critical consciousness are similar, and thus are hypothesized to be related.

The four racial identity statuses were operationally defined by scores on the BRIAS (BRIAS; Helms & Parham, 1996). The three components of critical consciousness were (a) Critical Reflection, operationally defined by scores from the Color Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS; Neville et al., 2000); (b) Political Efficacy, as operationally defined by scores from the Sociopolitical Control Scale for Youth (SPC-Y; Peterson et al., 2011); and (c) Critical Action, operationally defined by scores on the Critical Action subscale of the Critical Consciousness Scale (Diemer et al., 2014). Figure 3 shows (a) the hypothesized negative relationship between Preencounter and Post-Encounter and the three critical consciousness components, and (b) the hypothesized positive relationship between Immersion/Emersion and Internalization and the three critical consciousness components.

Figure 3. Hypothesized Relationships between Racial and Identity and Critical Consciousness.
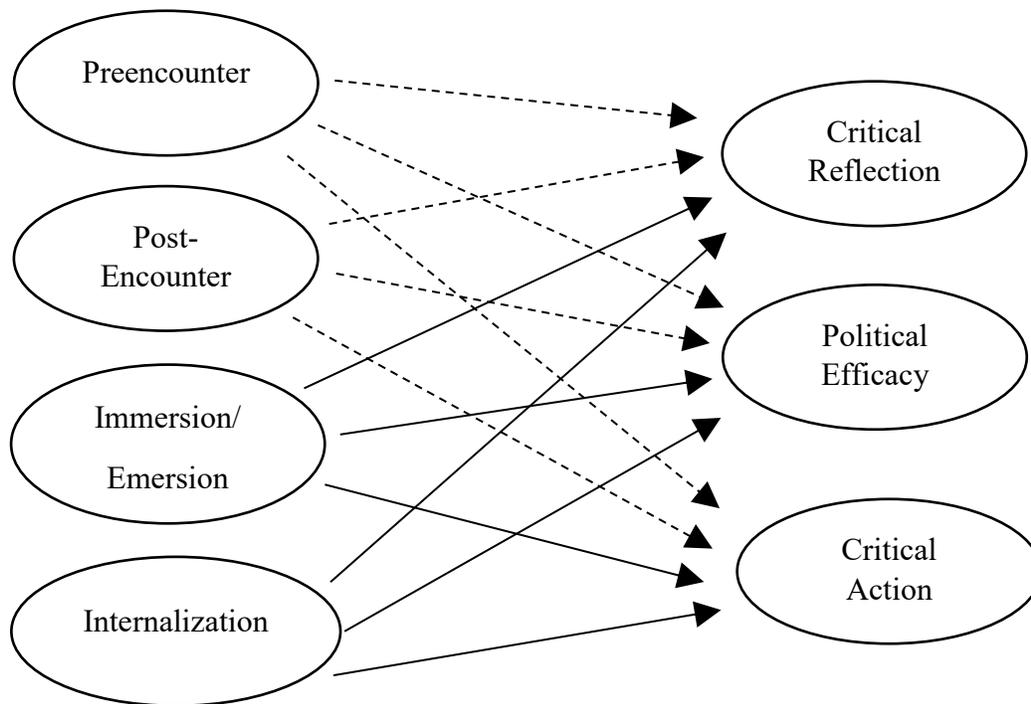
Figure 3 proposes that the earlier racial identity statuses are negatively related to all three components of critical consciousness, and that the later racial are positively related to all three components of critical consciousness. This hypothesis is based on inferences from existing literature. Solid lines denote hypothesized positive relationships, while dashed lines denote hypothesized negative relationships.

Hypothesis 4: The advanced racial identity statuses (Immersion/Emersion and Internalization) will be negatively related to the three types of race-related stress. The early statuses of racial identity development (Preencounter and Post-Encounter) will be positively related to the three types of race-related stress (Cultural Race-Related Stress, Individual Race-Related Stress, and Institutional Race-Related Stress).

Race-related stress is one of the many negative outcomes Black youths may experience as a result of being exposed to racism (Harrell, 2000). Depending on their racial identity status, African American youths may be able to process-race related stimuli so that they are better able to cope with racism and, in turn, avoid race-related stress. Helms (1995) proposed that individuals who use more advanced statuses may be better equipped to contend with racism than individuals who use earlier statuses. Thus, it was hypothesized that African American youths who use more advanced racial identity statuses would be better able to contend with racism, and thus have lower levels of race-related stress, whereas African American youths who use less advanced racial identity statuses will be less prepared to contend with racism, and thus have higher levels of race-related stress.

The four racial identity statuses were operationally defined by scores on the BRIAS (BRIAS; Helms & Parham, 1996). Cultural Race-Related Stress, Individual Race-Related Stress, and Institutional Race-Related Stress were operationally defined by the respective subscales from the IRRS-B (Utsey, 1999). Figure 4 shows the hypothesized positive relationships between Preencounter and Post-Encounter and race-related stress, and the hypothesized negative relationships between Immersion/Emersion and Internalization and race-related stress.

Figure 4. Hypothesized Relationships between Racial and Identity and Race-Related Stress.
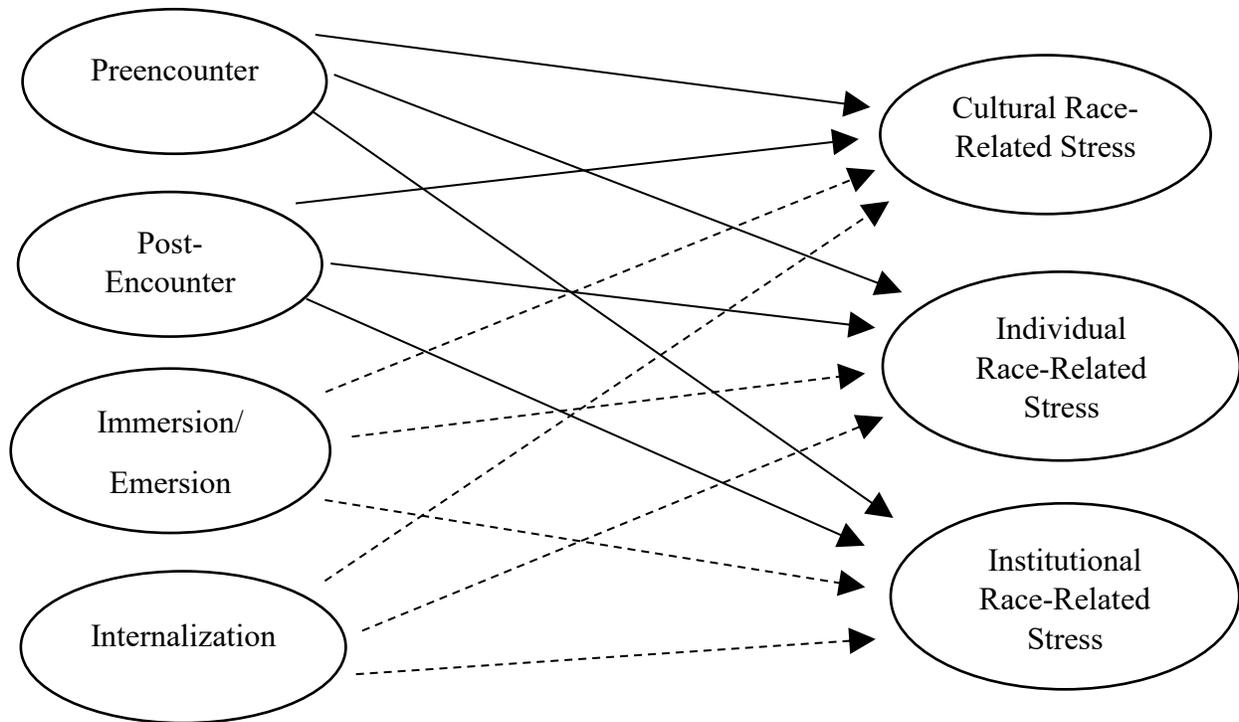
Figure 4 proposes that the earlier racial identity statuses are positively related to race-related stress, and that the later racial are negatively related to race-related stress. This hypothesis is based on inferences from existing literature. Solid lines denote hypothesized positive relationships, while dashed lines denote hypothesized negative relationships.

Hypothesis 5: The three components of critical consciousness (Critical Reflection, Political Efficacy, and Critical Action), will be negatively related to the three types of race-related stress (Cultural Race-Related Stress, Individual Race-Related Stress, and Institutional Race-Related Stress).

Critical consciousness may help Black youths to use information-processing strategies and other analytical tools to critically reflect on and challenge the racism they are faced with. By

being able to understand and deconstruct racism, African American youths may be able to avoid the harmful consequences of race-related stress. The three components of critical consciousness, (a) Critical Reflection, (b) Political Efficacy, and (c) Critical Action were respectively operationally defined by scores from the Color Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS, Neville et al., 2000), the Sociopolitical Control Scale for Youth (SPC-Y; Peterson et al., 2011), and the Critical Action subscale of the Critical Consciousness Scale (Diemer, 2014). Race-related stress was defined as how upset participants reported being as a result of experiencing different kinds of racial discrimination as measured by scores from the IRRS-B (Utsey, 1999).

Figure 5. Hypothesized Relationships between Critical Consciousness and Race-Related Stress.
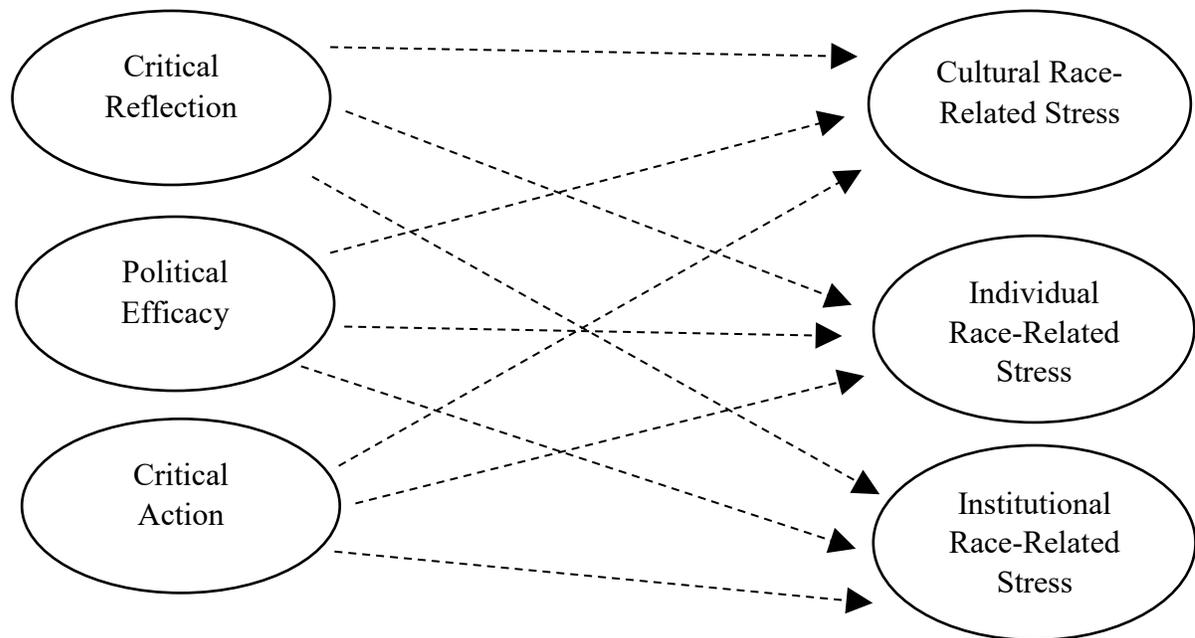
Figure 5 proposes that all three components of critical consciousness are negatively related to race-related stress, based on inferences from existing literature rather than empirical studies.

Note: Dashed lines denote hypothesized negative relationships.

Chapter 3

Method

Participants

Participants were African American youths (*N*=139). All participants either identified as African American or had at least one African American parent. Most participants identified as female (70.5%), the remainder identified as male (29.5%). Participants ranged in age from 18 to 24 years (*M*= 20.91, *SD*=1.71). Less than two percent of participants (*n*=2) reported having less than a high school education, 15.8% (*n*=22) reported having a high school education, 51.1% (*n*=71) reported completing some college, 8.6% (*n*=12) reported having an associate's degree, 14.4% (*n*=20) reported having a BA or BS degree, 5.8% (*n*=8) reported having completed some graduate school, and 3.9% (*n*=4) reported having an advanced degree.

As incentive for participation, participants were offered an opportunity to enter a raffle to win one of 10 $20 amazon.com electronic gift cards.

Measures

The online survey included the measures that are listed in Table 1 and are described subsequently. The survey scales were administered in the order that they are shown in the table.

Table 1

Summary of Measures Used to Test Hypotheses

Variable	Measure
Perceived Parental Strategies	
Cultural Socialization	Ethnic Pride Scale (ARESS; Brown & Krishnakumar, 2007)
Preparation for Bias	Perceived Ethnic–Racial Socialization Measure, Preparation for Bias subscale (Tran & Lee, 2010)
Racial identity statuses	
Preencounter	Preencounter subscale (BRIAS; Helms & Parham, 1996)
Post-Encounter	Post-encounter subscale (BRIAS; Helms & Parham, 1996)
Immersion/Emersion	Immersion/Emersion subscale (BRIAS; Helms & Parham, 1996)
Internalization	Internalization subscale (BRIAS; Helms & Parham, 1996)
Critical consciousness components	
Critical Reflection	Color Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS, Neville, et al., 2000)
Political Efficacy	Sociopolitical Control Scale for Youth (SPC-Y; Peterson, et al., 2011)
Critical Action	Critical Action Subscale (Diemer, 2014)
Race-related stress types	
Cultural	Cultural Racism subscale (IRRS-B, Utsey, 1999)
Individual	Individual Racism subscale (IRRS-B, Utsey, 1999)
Institutional	Institutional Racism subscale (IRRS-B, Utsey, 1999)

Demographic Questionnaire. The researcher developed a questionnaire to collect information about participants' demographic characteristics. These questions included items asking about participants' age, race, and gender, their parents/guardians' race and gender, and who they identify as their primary caregiver (i.e. biological parent(s), grandparents, etc.). Information about parents' race was used to determine whether participants met the inclusion criteria of having at least one African American parent. Information about parents' gender, and who they identified as their primary and secondary caregiver, was not used (Appendix E).

Perceived Parental Socialization Measures

  Perceived Parental Cultural Socialization. The Adolescent Racial and Ethnic Socialization Scale (ARESS) Ethnic Pride subscale was used to assess how often participants perceived that their parents encouraged racial pride and engagement in behaviors related to their racial group's culture (Brown & Krishnakumar, 2007). Example items are: "Talked to you about important people or events in the history of your racial/ethnic group?" "Encouraged you to read books about your racial/ethnic group?" This subscale contains five self-report items that participants responded to using five-point frequency scales ranging from 1 (never) to 5 (very often). Higher scores indicate higher levels of perceived parental cultural socialization (Appendix F).

  When they administered the ARESS to a sample of 218 ninth, 10th, 11th, and 12th grade African Americans, Brown and Krishnakumar (2007) reported high Cronbach alpha internal consistency reliability coefficients for scores on the Ethnic Pride subscale (Cronbach α= .83). As evidence of validity, Brown and Krishnakumar reported finding associations between general parental ethnic-racial socialization and delinquent behaviors and academic performance of African American youths such that parental ethnic-racial socialization was positively associated with youths' grades and negatively associated with delinquent behaviors and anxiety and depression.

  In the present study, the obtained Cronbach alpha reliability coefficient for scores on the ARESS was .84. The obtained coefficient suggests that the youths' responses to subscale items were substantially positively interrelated, and were consistent with Brown and Krishnakumar's (2007) reported reliability of the Ethnic Pride subscale scores.

Perceived Parental Preparation for Bias. To assess the extent to which participants perceived being exposed to parental Preparation for Bias, the Preparation for Bias subscale from the Perceived Ethnic-Racial Socialization Measure (Tran & Lee, 2010) was used (Appendix G). This measure was originally designed for use with Asian-American adolescents.

Although the Preparation for Bias subscale (Tran & Lee, 2010) was designed for use with Asian-American youths, its items appeared to meet the study's objectives of evaluating youths' perceptions of receiving messages that prepared them for and helped them think about different ways in which they might experience racism (e.g., "How often has one or more of your parents talked to you about expectations others might have about your abilities based on your race/ethnicity?" "How often has one or more of your parents explained something on TV to you that showed discrimination against your racial/ethnic group?) Thus, the Bias subscale was selected to measure youths' Preparation for Bias experiences.

 The Preparation for Bias subscale measures how often youths perceived that their parents warned them that they might face racial prejudice (e.g., "Talked to you about others who may try to limit you because of your race/ethnicity."). It contains eight self-report items that participants respond to using five-point frequency scales ranging from 1 (never) to 5 (very often). Total scores were calculated by summing the individual item responses. Higher scores indicated higher frequency of perceived parental messages intended to help participants anticipate bias, while lower scores indicated lower perceived frequency of such messages. Tran and Lee (2010) reported high internal consistency reliability (Cronbach $\alpha= .85$) for scores on the subscale when administered to a sample of Asian Americans, ages 17 to 19 years. In addition, Tran and Lee found that higher levels of Preparation for Bias were associated with more

advanced ethnic identity development. In the current study, the obtained Cronbach alpha

reliability coefficient was .84, which was consistent with Tran and Lee's findings and suggests

that the responses to items within the subscale were positively interrelated for the current sample.

Measures of Racial Identity Statuses

　　　　Black Racial Identity. Racial Identity was assessed using the Black Racial Identity

Attitudes scale (BRIAS; Helms & Parham, 1985) (Appendix H). The BRIAS is a 60-item

quantitative self-report instrument designed to measure four dimensions of racial identity: (a)

Preencounter (18 items), measured the individual's level of acceptance of society's racial

attitudes towards Black people (e.g., "I believe that large numbers of Blacks are untrustworthy");

(b) Post-Encounter (six items), assessed the individual's confusion about her or his racial group

membership (e.g., "I feel guilty or anxious about some of the things I believe about Black

people"); (c) Immersion/ Emersion (14 items), examined superficial valuation of one's racial

group membership and rejection of White racial values and norms (e.g., "Black people who have

any White people's blood should feel ashamed of it"); and (d) Internalization (13 items) which

measured an individual's internalized self-definition of her or his racial group and racial group

membership (e.g., "I believe that I have many strengths because I am Black."). Each of these

dimensions represents schemas that Black people use to process and make sense of racial stimuli,

and describes the extent to which they identify with the Black racial group. Participants respond

to each item using five-point Likert-type scales ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly

agree). Responses to items of each subscale were summed to determine the degree to which

participants used each schema.

When Miville, Koonce, Darlington, and Whitlock (2000) administered the BRIAS to a sample of 104 Black college students with a mean age of 21.00 years (*SD=4.31)*, the BRIAS subscales demonstrated low to moderate internal consistency reliability: The Cronbach alpha internal consistency reliability estimates were as follows: Preencounter, α = .75 (*M*= 39.16, *SD*=9.03)*;* Post-Encounter, α = .35 (*M*=16.31, *SD*=3.24); Immersion/Emersion, α = .59 (*M*=27.24, *SD*=5.6), and Internalization, α = .59 (*M*= 54.60, *SD*=6.38).

In the current study, Cronbach alpha reliability coefficients were used to assess internal consistency of item responses for each BRIAS (Helms & Parham, 1985) subscale (Preencounter, Post-encounter, Immersion/Emersion, and Internalization). Internal consistency coefficients were .90, .73, .86, and .72, respectively, all of which indicated that the responses to items within each of the subscales were positively interrelated for the sample and were generally better than the coefficients reported by Miville et al. (2000).

Measures of Critical Consciousness

Critical Reflection. Critical Reflection was measured with the Color Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS; Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000) (Appendix I). The Color Blind Racial Attitudes Scale is designed to measure individuals' awareness and understanding of the role that racism plays in society and in the lives of People of Color. Although the CoBRAS was not specifically designed to measure Critical Reflection, Diemer and colleagues (2011) recommended it as a proxy for Critical Reflection. They asserted that critical consciousness is the result of one's ability to identify and analyze the structural causes of social inequality. Identifying structural causes as responsible for inequality is antithetical to identifying individuals as responsible for inequality. The CoBRAS assesses whether individuals believe that racial

inequality is caused by structural or individual influences. Visual examination of the items (e.g., "Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich.)" supported the idea that the CoBRAS is an acceptable measure of individuals' capacity for analyzing structural racism. Therefore, in line with Diemer et al.'s (2011) recommendation, the CoBRAS was used to assess Critical Reflection in the present study.

The CoBRAS consists of 20 self-report items rated on six-point Likert-type scales, ranging from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 6 (Strongly agree). In the original version of the CoBRAS, *lower* scores indicate *greater* awareness of the existence of institutional racism, while higher scores indicate less awareness of its existence. In the current study, to make interpretation of participants' scores easier, their responses were reverse coded so that higher scores represented higher levels of Critical Reflection.

Barr and Neville (2014) assessed internal consistency reliability for CoBRAS item responses using the Cronbach alpha (α) coefficient. In a sample of self-identified Black or African American first-year college students (*N*=153), they found a coefficient of .74. As evidence of construct validity, in a White sample of adults, ages 17 to 52 years, Neville et al. (2000) found that when CoBRAS scores indicated less awareness of racism scores on measures of racial prejudice and gender intolerance were high.

In the current study, the Cronbach alpha reliability coefficient for scores on the CoBRAS was .78, which was similar to Barr and Neville's (2014) finding and suggests that the responses to items within the subscale were positively interrelated for the current sample of Black youths.

Political Efficacy. Political Efficacy was measured using the Sociopolitical Control Scale for Youth (SPC-Y; Peterson et al., 2011) (Appendix J). The SPC-Y is a self-report

measure designed to assess youths' perceptions of their ability to make sociopolitical change. It includes 17 items divided into two subscales: (a) Leadership Competence, which assesses youths' self-perceptions of their ability to organize groups of people (e.g., "I would prefer to be a leader rather than a follower."), and (b) Policy Control, which assesses youths' self-perceptions of their ability to influence policy decisions at a community or organizational level (e.g., "Youth like me have the ability to participate effectively in community or school activities and decision making.").

Respondents indicated the extent to which they agreed that they are able to achieve specific tasks or that their thoughts and actions are important using Likert-type scale responses, ranging from one (Strongly Disagree) to five (Strongly Agree). Higher scores represent higher levels of Political Efficacy. In the current study, total SPC-Y scores rather than subscale scores were used to assess political efficacy as a broad construct. A total score was derived by summing the item scores.

When administered to a high school aged sample of racially diverse urban youths, Peterson et al. (2011) found good internal consistency reliability for their scores using Cronbach α for item responses to the overall measure ($\alpha = .89$; $M=3.71$, $SD= .64$). In the current study, the Cronbach alpha coefficient for responses to the total Sociopolitical Control Scale Cronbach α was .86, suggesting that the responses to items within the scale were positively interrelated for the sample.

Critical Action. Critical Action was assessed using the Sociopolitical Participation subscale of Diemer, Rapa, Park, and Perry's (2014) Critical Consciousness Scale (Appendix K). This subscale consists of 22 self-report items and is designed to measure the extent to which a

person participates in individual or collective action to produce sociopolitical change. Respondents are asked to use five-point frequency scales ranging from 1 (never do this) to 5 (at least once a week) to indicate how often they engage in sociopolitical activities (e.g., "Participated in a political party, club, or organization."). Total scores were derived by summing each of the item responses. Higher scores reflect a greater degree of engagement in Critical Action.

Diemer et al. (2014) found that scores on the Sociopolitical Participation subscale had good internal consistency reliability using Cronbach α (α=.85) when administered to a racially diverse sample of participants ages 13 to 19 years. Though reliability information about the measure and subscale were derived from a relatively young sample, the authors asserted that the measure is appropriate for use with both younger and older individuals. In the current study, Cronbach α reliability coefficient for scores on the Sociopolitical Participation subscale was .87, suggesting that the responses to items within each of the subscales were positively interrelated for the sample.

Race-Related Stress. The Index of Race-Related Stress- Brief Version contains 22 items designed to measure stress related to experiencing or witnessing racist events. It has three subscales: (a) Cultural Racism (10 items), which assesses experiences with cultural racism (e.g., "You have observed that White kids who commit violent crimes are portrayed as "boys being boys," while Black kids who commit similar crimes are wild animals."); (b) Institutional Racism (six items), which assesses experiences with institutional racism (e.g., "You or your family was refused an apartment or other housing, you suspect it was because you're Black".); and (c) Individual Racism (six items), which assesses experiences with interpersonal racism (e.g., "Sales

people/clerks did not say thank you or show other forms of courtesy and respect (e.g., put your things in a bag) when you shopped at some White/non-Black owned businesses.").

Respondents were asked to respond to each item on a 5-point frequency scale to indicate how upset they were by the events described by the items (0= "This never happened to me" to 4= "This event happened to me and I was extremely upset"). Total scores were derived by summing the item responses. Higher scores indicate more race-related stress, and lower scores indicate lower levels of race-related stress. In a sample of Black adults (N=229), ages 25 to 88 years (M=49.8, SD=15.4), Carter and Reynolds (2011) reported adequate reliability estimates for each of the three subscales. Cronbach alpha internal consistency reliability coefficients for scores on the subscales were as follows: (a) Cultural Racism (α=.86), (b) Institutional Racism (α=.67), and (c) Individual Racism (α=.78).

In the current study, Cronbach α coefficients for Cultural Racism, Institution Racism, and Individual Racism were .85, .83, and .77, respectively, suggesting that the responses to items within each of the subscales were positively interrelated for the sample and were as high or better than those reported by Carter and Reynolds (2011).

Procedure

Prior to recruiting participants for the study, approval to conduct the study was obtained through Boston College's Institutional Review Board. Participants were recruited via emails to leaders of undergraduate and graduate racial, ethnic, and cultural groups at colleges and universities in major U.S. cities with large populations of African Americans, as well as through listservs that cater to Black populations. The study was also advertised on the social media websites Facebook and Craigslist, as well as online forums that cater to Black populations,

including BlackHairMedia.com, hypebeast.com, and Kanyetothe.com. In addition, recruitment advertisements were sent to community agencies serving diverse populations. As an incentive for participation, participants were given the opportunity to enter an anonymous raffle to win one of ten $20 Amazon.com gift cards. A copy of the recruitment letter and recruitment flier are found in Appendices A and B, respectively.

The survey was created and the data were collected using Qualtrix, an online survey development and data collection program. The survey measured the following constructs: (a) demographics variables, (b) perceived parental Cultural Socialization, (c) perceived parental Preparation for Bias (d) racial identity (Preencounter, Post-encounter, Immersion/Emersion, Internalization), (e) critical consciousness (Critical Reflection, Political Efficacy, Critical Action), and (f) race-related stress (cultural, individual, and institutional).

Prior to beginning the survey, participants were instructed to read a consent form detailing procedures for maintaining the confidentiality of their survey responses and potential benefits, harms, and risks associated with completing the survey. The consent form also included the investigator's name and contact information for questions about the survey and results, and a description of how to enter the gift card raffle.

Invitations to participate were sent to college and university department chairs and professors and directors of community organizations, and were posted on social media websites (Facebook, Craigslist, and online discussion forums). The invitations requested African American participants' ages, 18 to 24 years, willing to complete an online survey answering questions about how their parents and guardians talked to them about race and racism, their thoughts, feelings, and experiences related to race and racism, and their feelings about

participating in social action. A total of 267 participants began the survey. Participants who (a) did not identify as African American, (b) were not between the ages 18 and 24 years old, and/or (c) had more than two thirds of their responses to survey questions missing were excluded from the study. This resulted in a final sample of 141, or 53% of the original sample.

Chapter 4

Results

Data Preparation

Before conducting the tests of hypotheses, the data were screened to identify participants who did not meet the study's inclusion criteria. Participants who were not between the ages of 18 and 24 years ($n=10$) or did not have at least one African American parent ($n=11$) were excluded from the analyses. Participants who did not respond to more than a third of the survey ($n=106$) were excluded as well. After excluding participants who did not meet the inclusion criteria, the sample was reduced from 267 to 141 participants.

The sample ($N = 141$) was screened for missing data. Six percent of the data was missing, and was replaced with a series mean. For each variable that contained missing data, a mean score of the existing data was calculated, and this mean score was used to replace missing data. After the series mean substitutions were performed, the data were screened to verify that the substituted scores were within the respective variable's score range. An analyses of descriptive statistics revealed that two participants out of the 141 identified as "other gender," while the remainder of the sample identified as "female" or "male." Because the other gender constituted such a small percentage (1.42%) of the sample, they were considered outliers, and excluded from the sample. Thus, 139 participants were included in subsequent checks of assumptions.

Checks of Multivariate Assumptions

Preliminary analyses were conducted to determine whether the variables met multivariate assumptions of (a) normality, (b) linearity, (c) homoscedasticity, and (d) collinearity.

Normality

To test whether the data were normally distributed, skewness and kurtosis histograms were examined for each variable. Calculations of kurtosis statistics revealed no significant kurtosis for any of the variables. However, calculations of skewness statistics revealed significant skewness in the score distributions of five of the variables. An absolute $z_{skewness}$ value that is greater than 2 indicates that the variable is significantly skewed at less than the .05 probability level. $Z_{skewness}$ values indicated significant negative skewness for Cultural Socialization ($z = -3.96$), positive skewness for Pre-Encounter ($z = 2.76$), negative skewness for Immersion/Emersion ($z = 2.72$), and significant positive skewness for Critical Action ($z = 2.25$). To address skewness, a data transformation technique called winsoring was used, in which outliers were manually replaced by less extreme values if z was ≥ 3.29 (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2012). When outliers could not be identified using z-scores, they were identified by visually examining histograms.

After winsoring was performed, $z_{skewness}$ scores were recalculated, and histograms were re-plotted. Winsoring improved but did not remove Cultural Socialization's skewness, although it removed Pre-Encounter and Immersion/ Emersion's skewness. Outliers for Internalization and Critical Action could not be identified via either examination of z-scores or histograms, thus, winsoring was not applied, and distributions for these variables remained slightly positively skewed ($z_{skewness} = 2.46$ and zskewness = 2.25, respectively).

Collinearity

To determine if any of the variables was collinear, variance inflation factors (VIF) and tolerance values were examined via multiple regression analyses. A maximum value of 10 for VIF and a minimum value of .10 for tolerance were used (Hair et al., 1995; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2012). Based on these recommendations, none of the variables appeared to be collinear. In addition, an examination of the correlation matrix (Table 2) revealed that none of the pairs of the variables was so highly correlated as to indicate collinearity.

Homoscedasticity

To determine whether the variance of the predictor and outcome variables was the same for all levels of the outcome variables (and thus the assumption of homoscedasticity was met), for each predictor and outcome variable pair, standardized residuals were plotted against predicted residuals. An examination of the residual plots did not reveal serious violations of the assumption of homoscedasticity.

Table 2

Correlations Among Predictor and Outcome Variables and Means, SD's, and Cronbach α for

Measures ($N = 139$).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. CULT	.84											
2.PREP	.51	.84										
3.PRE	-.26**	-.04	.89									
4.POS	-.17*	.07	.76*	.73								
5.IMM	.13*	.16	-.16	-.05	.86							
6.INT	.50*	.33*	-.60	-.45*	.40*	.72						
7.CT	.26*	.18*	-.79	-.59*	.44*	.62*	.78					
8.PE	.32*	.18	-.41	-.32	.31*	.70*	.40	.86				
9.CA	-.25*	-.11	.34*	.28*	.25*	-.21	-.24	-.03	.87			
10. CUL	.14	.14	-.53*	-.40	.59*	.50*	.66*	.45*	-.01	.85		
11.IND	-.21	.05	.33*	.30*	.35	-.14	-.26	.02	.55*	.10	.83	
12.INS	-.08	.15	-.03	.03	.49*	.10	.16	.19*	.18*	.44*	.52	.77
Mean	16.40	27.61	39.10	19.65	69.88	46.77	85.69	64.15	17.47	36.17	13.2	17.28
S.D.	3.60	6.44	12.66	5.75	12.67	6.30	16.70	10.38	6.85	8.90	5.8	6.43

Note. CULT= Cultural Socialization, PFB= Preparation for Bias, PRE = Preencounter, POS= Post-Encounter, IMM=Immersion/Emersion, INT= Internalization, CT=Critical Reflection, PE=Political Efficacy, CUL= Cultural Race-Related Stress, IND= Individual Race-Related Stress, INS=Institutional Race-Related Stress. * $p < .05$. Cronbach α's are reported in the diagonal of the table.

Preliminary Analyses

To determine whether gender (i.e., female, male) should be included in the analyses to test the hypotheses, a multivariate multiple regression analyses (MMRA) was conducted. In these analyses racial identity, critical consciousness, and race-related stress variables were dependent variables, given that they each functioned as dependent variables in at least one hypothesis test. Means and standard deviations for the total sample are shown in Table 2. Because gender differences were found in all three of the dependent variable sets (racial identity, critical consciousness, and race-related stress), gender was included as a predictor variable in the subsequent analyses. Means and standard deviations for female and male participants are shown in Table 3.

To determine whether perceived Cultural Socialization and perceived Preparation for Bias differed by gender, a multivariate multiple regression analysis (MMRA) was run. In this analysis, gender (male and female) was used as the predictor variable, and Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias were used as the dependent variables. Female participants reported slightly higher scores for Cultural Socialization (M= 16.57, SD = 3.64) than did males (M= 16.00, SD = 3.50), and males reported slightly higher scores for Preparation for Bias (28.30, SD =7.03) than females (M= 27.37, SD = 6.20). However, gender differences were not significant for either of the perceived parental practices.

Test of Hypothesis

MMRAs were also used to test the hypotheses. MMRA is useful when investigating how multiple predictor variables predict several outcome variables (Shavelson, 1996). It is a stepdown analysis in which one first examines the omnibus test involving each predictor and the

set of dependent variables. If the models are significant, then subsequent steps are examined to

determine which variables uniquely contribute to the overall significance of the model. For each

of the analyses, Wilks λ was used to evaluate the significance of the model(s) and $1-$ Wilks

lambda (λ) is the percent of variance explained by each regression model (i.e., R^2).

Hypothesis 1: Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias will be negatively related to

the early statuses of racial identity development (Preencounter and Post-Encounter), and

positively related to the advanced racial identity statuses (Immersion/Emersion and

Internalization).

In the MMRA analysis to test hypothesis 1, Cultural Socialization and Preparation for

Bias were the predictor variables and the four racial identity statuses were the criterion variables.

Although the hypothesis did not address possible gender differences, gender was also entered

into the model as a predictor since the preliminary analyses revealed gender differences in racial

identity (males were coded "0", females were coded "1"). Cultural Socialization was

operationally defined by scores on the Ethnic Pride subscale of the Adolescent Racial and Ethnic

Socialization Scale (Brown & Krishnakumar, 2007), with higher scores indicating higher

frequency of perceived parental messages related to Cultural Socialization. Preparation for Bias

was operationally defined by scores on the Preparation for Bias Subscale from the Perceived

Ethnic-Racial Socialization Measure (Tran & Lee, 2010), with higher scores indicating higher

frequency of youths' perceiving that their parents had communicated cautionary messages about

racism. Each of the four racial identity statuses, Preencounter, Post-Encounter,

Immersion/Emersion, and Internalization, was operationally defined by its respective scale score

on the BRIAS (BRIAS; Helms & Parham, 1996). For each of the subscales, higher scores represented more frequent use of the respective racial identity status.

In the first step of the analysis, the model using Cultural Socialization to predict the four racial identity statuses was significant, Wilks' λ=.84, F (4, 132) = 6.55, p<.0001, R^2=16.5. The model using Preparation for Bias to predict the four racial identity statuses was also significant Wilks' λ= .92, F (4, 132) = 2.94, p < .02, R^2=8.0. Also, the model using gender to predict the racial identity statuses was significant, Wilks' λ= .92, F (4, 132) = 2.76, p <.03, R^2=8.0.

Cultural Socialization. The second step of the analysis indicated significant relationships between Cultural Socialization and Preencounter, F (1, 135) = 9.19, p<.003, Post-Encounter, F (1, 135) = 7.75, p<.006, and Internalization, F (1, 135) = 24.32, p<.0001. However, there was not a significant relationship between Cultural Socialization and Immersion/Emersion F (1, 135) = .20 p > .65 (Table 3).

In the third step of the analysis examination of standardized beta coefficients indicated significant negative relationships between Cultural Socialization and Preencounter (B= -1.00, t (1) = -3.02, p<.003) and Post-Encounter (B = -.43, t (1) = -2.78, p< .006) and a positive relationship between Cultural Socialization and Internalization, B =.73, t (1) = 4.93, p < .0001.

These relationships suggest that the more often African American youths perceived that their parents engaged in socialization practices to affirm their racial group (Cultural), the lower were their levels of identification with White values (Preencounter) and confusion about race (Post-Encounter). The more often they perceived that their parents had engaged in Cultural Socialization practices that affirmed their racial group, the higher were their levels of self-actualized racial identity (Internalization).

Preparation for Bias. The second step of the MMRA indicated that Preparation for Bias significantly predicted Post-Encounter, F (1, 135) = 4.32, p <.04, but did not significantly predict Preencounter, F (1, 135) = .936, p >.36, Immersion/Emersion, F (1, 135) =2.22, p >.14, or Internalization, F (1, 135) =2.29, p>.13. Beta coefficients indicated a significant positive relationship between Preparation for Bias and Post-Encounter, B=.18, t (1) =2.08, p< .04, suggesting that the more youths perceived that their parents prepared them for racial bias, the higher was their level of confusion about race.

Gender. The second step also revealed that gender significantly predicted Preencounter, F (1,135) = 8.37, p<.004, and Internalization, F (1,135) <.0001, but did not significantly predict Post-Encounter, F (1,135) = 1.30, p<.196, or Immersion/Emersion, F (1, 135) = 1.34, p<.25. Beta coefficients indicated a significant negative relationship between gender and Preencounter and a significant positive relationship between gender and Internalization, B= 2.45, t (1,135) = 2.42, p<.016.   These relationships suggest that young women, when compared to young men, had lower levels of denial about race and higher levels of positive feelings about their own and other racial groups. Standardized beta coefficients and R^2 values are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3

Summary of Multivariate Multiple Regression Analyses Using Perceived Cultural Socialization

and Perceived Preparation for Bias and Gender to Predict Racial Identity.

Predictor Model	Criteria	R^2 (%)	Standardized Beta
		16.5	
CULT			
	Preencounter		-1.00*
	Post-Encounter		-.43*
	Immersion/Emersion		.15
	Internalization		.73***
PREP		8.0	
	Preencounter		.18
	Post-Encounter		.18*
	Immersion/Emersion		.13
	Internalization		.29
Gender		7.4	
	Preencounter		-6.50*
	Post-Encounter		-1.30
	Immersion/Emersion		2.73
	Internalization		2.45*

Note. Perceived parental ethnic-racial socialization practices are Cultural Socialization (CULT) and Preparation for Bias (PREP). *** $p<.0001$, **$p<.05$

Summary

This hypothesis stated that (a) Cultural Socialization and (b) Preparation for Bias would each be negatively related to Preencounter and Post-Encounter and positively related to Immersion/Emersion and Internalization.   Cultural Socialization or racially affirming parental messages were related to lower levels of shame about race (Preencounter) and confusion about race (Post- Encounter), as well as more positive feelings about participants' own and other racial groups (Internalization), but not to immersion into the Black racial group (Immersion/Emersion). Thus, Hypothesis 1 was supported when Cultural Socialization was the predictor for all of the racial identity statuses except Immersion/Emersion.

Preparation for Bias, or youths' perceptions of receiving cautionary messages about race from their parents, was significantly positively related to Post-Encounter, but was not significantly related to Preencounter, Immersion/Emersion, or Internalization. Thus, support for Hypothesis 1 received negligible support when Preparation for Bias was the predictor of racial identity.

Hypothesis 2: Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias will be significantly positively related to critical consciousness (Critical Reflection, Political Efficacy, and Critical Action).

Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias were operationally defined as previously described (Hypothesis 2). Critical Reflection was operationally defined by scores from the CoBRAS (Neville et al., 2000), with higher scores indicating higher levels of critical thinking about race. Political Efficacy was operationally defined by scores from the Sociopolitical Control Scale for Youth (SPC-Y; Peterson et al., 2011), with higher scores indicating higher perceived ability to make social change. Engagement in social action was operationally defined by scores from the Critical Action subscale of the Critical Consciousness Scale (Diemer, 2014), with higher scores indicating higher levels of Critical Action.

In the MMRA analysis, Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias were defined as the predictor variables, and the set of critical consciousness variables were defined as the criteria. Although this hypothesis did not address possible gender differences, gender was also entered into the model as a predictor since the preliminary analyses revealed gender differences in the critical consciousness variables.

In the first step of the analysis, Cultural Socialization explained significant variance amongst the critical consciousness variables, Wilks' $\lambda=.886$, $F(3, 133) = 5.69$, $p < .001$, R^2

=11.4. Gender also explained significant variance in critical consciousness, Wilks' λ=.915, F (3, 133) = 4.12, $p < .008$, $R^{2=}.09$. The model that examined whether Preparation for Bias predicted the critical consciousness variables was not significant, Wilks' λ= .99, F (3, 133) = .43, $p > .73$, $R^2 = 0.01$, and, therefore, subsequent steps examining the relationship between Preparation for Bias and the critical consciousness variables were not examined. Cultural Socialization accounted for 11.4% of the variance explained in the critical consciousness variables, Preparation for Bias accounted for 1% of the variance, and gender accounted for 8.5 %.

Cultural Socialization. The second step of the analysis indicated that Cultural Socialization was significantly related to Critical Reflection, F (1, 135) = 4.38, $p < .04$, Political Efficacy, F (1, 135) = .79, $p < .003$, and Critical Action, F (1, 135) = 7.00, $p = .009$. Standardized beta coefficients indicated positive relationships between Cultural Socialization Critical Reflection, B= .93, t (1,135) =2.10, $p<.038$, and Political Efficacy, B=.73, t (1,135) = 2.73, $p<.007$, and a negative relationship with Critical Action, B= -.50, t (1,135) = -2.64, $p<.009$.

These results indicate that the more often African American youths perceived that their parents engaged in socialization practices that encouraged positive regard for their racial group (i.e., Cultural Socialization), the greater was their confidence in their ability to create social change (i.e., Political Efficacy), but the lower their level of involvement in social action.

Gender. In the second step of the model with gender as the predictor, gender significantly predicted Critical Reflection, F (1, 135) =4.70, $p =.05$, and Political Efficacy, F (1,135) =5.94, $p<.001$, but did not predict Critical Action, F (1, 135) = -.40, $p=.75$. Beta coefficients indicated a significant positive relationship between gender and Critical Reflection, B=4.70, t (1,135) = 2.01, $p<.05$, and a significant positive relationship between gender and Political Efficacy, B= 6.00, t (1,135) = 3.32, $p<.001$. There was no relationship between gender

and Critical Action $B= -.403$, $t\,(1,135) = -.32$, $p>.750$. These results indicate that females, when

compared to males, engaged in more analytical thought about racism, and felt more confident in

their ability to effect social change, but that there were no gender differences in frequency of

engagement in social action. Standardized beta and R^2 values are summarized in Table 4.

Table 4

Summary of Multivariate Multiple Regression Analyses Using Perceived Cultural Socialization

and Perceived Preparation for Bias and Gender to Predict Critical Consciousness.

Predictor Model	Criteria	R^2 (%)	Standardized Beta
		11.4	
CULT			
	Critical Reflection		.93**
	Political Efficacy		.73**
	Critical Action		-.50**
PREP		.10	
	Critical Reflection		.20
	Political Efficacy		.10
	Critical Action		.02
Gender		.08	
	Critical Reflection		4.70**
	Political Efficacy		6.00**
	Critical Action		-.40

Note. Perceived parental ethnic-racial socialization practices are Cultural Socialization (CULT)
and Preparation for Bias (PREP). *** p<.0001, **p<.05

Summary

Hypothesis 2a was partially supported because there were significant relationships

between Cultural Socialization and the three critical consciousness variables. Hypothesis 2b was

not supported because the relationships between Preparation for Bias and the critical

consciousness variables were not significant. Perceived parental Cultural Socialization

accounted for more variance in critical consciousness than did Preparation for Bias, which did

not support Hypothesis 2.

Hypothesis 3: The earlier identity statuses (Preencounter and Post-Encounter) will be negatively related to the three critical consciousness components (Critical Reflection, Political Efficacy, and Critical Action), and the later racial identity statuses (Immersion/Emersion and Internalization) will be positively related to the critical consciousness components.

The four racial identity statuses were operationally defined by the racial identity statuses (Preencounter, Post-Encounter, Immersion/Emersion, and Internalization) as previously described (Hypothesis 1) and Critical Reflection, Political Efficacy, and Critical Action were operationally defined as previously described (Hypothesis 2).In the MMRA analysis, the four racial identity statuses were defined as the predictor variables, and the set of three critical consciousness variables was defined as the criterion variables. Although the hypothesis did not address possible gender differences, gender was also entered into the model as a predictor since the preliminary analysis revealed gender differences in critical consciousness.

In the first step of the analysis, Preencounter explained significant variance among the critical consciousness variables, Wilks' λ= .681, F (3,132) =20.63, p<.0001, R^2=31.9, explaining almost 32% of the variance in critical consciousness. Immersion/Emersion explained significant variance in critical consciousness, Wilks' λ= .753, F (3,132) =14.41, p<.0001, R^2=24.7, explaining about 25% of the variance in the critical consciousness variable set. Internalization also explained significant variance in critical consciousness, Wilks' λ= .672, F (3,132) =21.52, p<.0001, R^2=32.8, explaining about 33% of the variance in the critical consciousness variables. Post-Encounter was the only racial identity variable that did not explain significant variance in the critical consciousness set, Wilks' λ= .996, F (3,132) =.18, p=.91, R^2=.04. Post-Encounter accounted for 4% of the variance in the critical consciousness set. Also, gender accounted for 4%

of the variance in the critical consciousness set, which was significant, Wilks' λ= .957, F (3,132) =1.95, p=.006, R^2=.4.3.

Preencounter. The second step of the MMRA indicated that Preencounter significantly predicted Critical Reflection, F (1, 134) = 59.60, p<.0001, and Critical Action F (1, 134) = 4.62, p = .053. The relationship between Preencounter and Political Efficacy was not significant, F (1, 134) = 2.60, p >.86. The relationship between Preencounter and Critical Reflection was negative, B = -.89, t (1,134) = -8.29, p<.0001, suggesting that higher levels of shame and unawareness about racism were related to lower levels of Critical Reflection about racism. The relationship between Preencounter and Critical Action was negative, B = -.14, t (1,134) = -1.96, p<.05, suggesting that higher levels of shame were related to lower levels of social action.

Immersion/Emersion. In the second step of the model in which Immersion/Emerson was used to predict the three critical consciousness variables, it significantly predicted Critical Reflection, F (1, 134) = 18.29, p<.0001, and Critical Action, F (1, 134) = 20.28, p <.0001, but did not predict Political Efficacy, F (1, 134) = 6.85, p >.41. There were positive relationships between Immersion/Emersion and Critical Reflection, B = .36, t (1,134) = 5.19, p<.0001, and Critical Action, B=.23, t (1,134) = 4.96, p < .0001. These findings suggest that higher levels of immersion into the Black racial group were related to higher levels of engagement in analytical thought about race and higher levels of engagement in action for social change.

Internalization. In the second step, Internalization significantly predicted Political Efficacy, F (1, 134) = 52.79, p<.0001, and Critical Action, F (1, 134) = 3.69, p<.05, but did not significantly predict Critical Reflection F (1, 134) = .936, p > .335. The relationship between Internalization and Political Efficacy was positive, B=1.02, t (1,134) =7.42, p < .0001, but the relationship between Internalization and Critical Action was negative, B = -.23, t (1) = -2.10, p <

.05. Collectively, these results suggest that the higher the participants' levels of self-actualizing racial identity, the higher their levels of belief in their ability to make social change, but the lower their levels of engagement in Critical Action.

Gender. Gender significantly predicted Political Efficacy $F(1,134) = 335.45$, $p<.02$, but did not significantly predict Critical Reflection, $F(1,134) = -.58$, $p>.75$, or Critical Action, $F(1,134) = .07$, $p>.95$. Beta coefficients indicated that females, when compared to males, had higher levels of Political Efficacy, $B = .64$, $t(1) = 3.41$, $p < .001$. Standardized beta-coefficients and R^2 values for the MMRA for hypothesis 3 are reported in Table 5

Table 5

Summary of Multivariate Multiple Regression Analyses Using Racial Identity to Predict Critical Consciousness.

Predictor Model	Criteria	R^2 (%)	Standardized Beta
		40.0	
PRE			
	Critical Reflection		-.89***
	Political Efficacy		.04
	Critical Action		-.14
POST		.04	
	Critical Reflection		-.03
	Political Efficacy		-.08
	Critical Action		.07
IMM		24.7	
	Critical Reflection		.36***
	Political Efficacy		.07
	Critical Action		.23***
		3.28	
INT	Critical Reflection		.25
	Political Efficacy		1.02***
	Critical Action		-.23**

Table 5 (Continued)

Predictor Model	Criteria	R^2 (%)	Standardized Beta
Gender			
	Critical Reflection	4.3	-.58
	Political Efficacy		.64**
	Critical Action		.07

Note. Racial identity statuses are Preencounter (PRE), Post-Encounter (POST),

Immersion/Emersion (IMM), and Internalization (INT). *** p<.0001, **p<.05

Summary

Hypothesis 3 was partially supported. As predicted, shame and unawareness about race (Preencounter) were related to lower levels of analytical thought (Critical Reflection). Also as predicted, positive regard for the Black racial group (Immersion/Emersion) was positively related to higher levels of analytical thought (Critical Reflection) and social action (Critical Action), and self-actualized racial identity (Internalization) predicted higher belief in individuals' ability to act for social change (Political Efficacy).

The hypothesis that Internalization would predict higher levels of Critical Action was not supported, because the relationship was negative, rather than positive. Post-Encounter did not significantly predict any of the components of critical consciousness, contradicting the hypothesis that it would be negatively related to all of the critical consciousness components. Immersion/Emersion did not significantly predict Political Efficacy, and Internalization did not significantly predict Critical Reflection.

Hypothesis 4: The advanced racial identity statuses (Immersion/Emersion and Internalization) will be negatively related to the three types of race-related stress. The early statuses of racial identity development (Preencounter and Post-Encounter) will be

positively related to the three types of race-related stress (Cultural Race-Related Stress, Individual Race-Related Stress, and Institutional Race-Related Stress).

In the MMRA analysis, the four previously described racial identity statuses were the predictor variables and the three types of race-related stress were the criterion variables. All three types of race-related stress were operationally defined by their respective subscale score on the Index of Race-Related Stress- Brief version (IRRS-B; Utsey, 1999). On each subscale, higher scores indicated higher levels of stress, and lower scores indicated lower levels of stress. Although the hypothesis did not address possible gender differences, gender was also entered for reasons previously discussed.

In the overall models (i.e., step 1), the following two racial identity predictors accounted for significant variance in the race-related stress set of variables: (a) Preencounter, Wilks' λ=.862, F (3,131) = 6.96, p < .0001, R^2=13.80, accounting for almost 14% of the variance in the race-related stress variables; and (b) Immersion/Emersion accounted for significant variance in race-related stress, Wilks' λ=.603, F (3,131) = 28.79, p < .0001, R^2=39.7, which was almost 40% of the variance in the criterion variable set. Neither Post-Encounter , Wilks' λ=.993, F (3,131) = .31, p > .82, R^2=.07, accounting for less than 1% of the variance in racial identity nor Internalization accounted for significant variance in the set of race-related stress variables, Wilks' λ=.976, F (3,131) = 1.10, p > .36, R^2=.024, accounting for 2% of the variance. Gender did not account for significant variance in the race-related stress variables, Wilks' λ=.998, F (3,131) = .10, p > .96, R^2=.002, accounting for .2% of the variance. Consequently, only the MMRA models for Preencounter and Immersion racial identity predicting race-related stress were examined in subsequent steps.

Preencounter. Examination of the results of the second step of the MMRA indicated that Preencounter significantly predicted Cultural Race-Related Stress, F (1, 131) = 13.52, p<.0001, and Institutional Race-Related Stress, F (1, 133) = .13, p<.03, but did not significantly predict Individual Race-Related Stress, F (1, 133) = .12, p>.73. Examination of standardized beta coefficients indicated a negative relationship between Preencounter and Cultural Race-Related Stress, B = -.26, t (1,133) = -3.68, p < .0001, and a positive relationship between Preencounter and Institutional Race-Related Stress, B = .13, t (1) = 2.26, p < .03. These findings suggest that youths who accepted White racial norms had lower levels of stress when faced with cultural and institutional racism, and higher levels of stress when faced with institutional racism.

Immersion/Emersion. For its model, Immersion/Emersion significantly predicted Cultural Race-Related Stress, F (1, 133) = 60.81, p<.0001, Individual Race-Related Stress, F (1, 133) = 30.78, p<.0001, and Institutional Race-Related Stress, F (1, 133) = 40.47, p<.0001. Immersion/Emersion was positively related to Cultural Race-Related Stress, B =.35, t (1,133) = 2.26, p < .03, Individual Race-Related Stress, B=.27, t (1,133) =6.45, p < .0001, and Institutional Race-Related Stress, B=.21, t (1,133) =.21, p < .0001. Therefore, higher levels of withdrawal into the African American group (i.e., Immersion/Emersion) were associated with higher levels of stress experienced from racism attributable to denigration of the Black racial group (Cultural Race-Related Stress), interpersonal racism (Individual Race-Related Stress), and systemic racism (Institutional Race-Related Stress). Standardized beta and R^2 values are summarized in Table 6.

Table 6

Summary of Multivariate Multiple Regression Analyses Using Racial Identity to Predict Race-

Related Stress.

Predictor Model	Criteria	R^2 (%)	Standardized Beta
		13.70	
PRE			
	Cultural rrs		-.26***
	Individual rrs		-.02
	Institutional rrs		.13**
POST		.07	
	Cultural rrs		-.10
	Individual rrs		.04
	Institutional rrs		.05
IMM		39.70	
	Cultural rrs		.35**
	Individual rrs		.27***
	Institutional rrs		.21***
INT			
	Cultural rrs	.02	.06
	Individual rrs		-1.14
	Institutional rrs		-.12
Gender			
	Cultural rrs	.02	-.09
	Individual rrs		.54
	Institutional rrs		.41

Note. Racial identity statuses are Preencounter (PRE), Post-Encounter (POST),

Immersion/Emersion (IMM), and Internalization (INT), and race-related stress types (rrs) are

Cultural Race-Related Stress, Individual Race-Related Stress, and Institutional Race-Related

Stress. *** p< .0001, **p< .05

Summary

Hypothesis 4 stated that (a) the advanced racial identity statuses (Immersion/Emersion

and Internalization) would be negatively related to the three types of race-related stress, and (b)

the early statuses of racial identity development (Preencounter and Post-Encounter) would be positively related to the three types of race-related stress. This hypothesis was only minimally supported. Although Preencounter predicted Cultural and Institutional Race-Related Stress, the relationship was positive, rather than negative. There was no relationship between Preencounter and Individual Race-Related Stress.

Although Immersion/Emersion did significantly predict all three types of race-related stress, the relationships were positive, rather than negative. Neither Post-Encounter nor Internalization predicted any of the three types of race-related stress.

Hypothesis 5: The three components of critical consciousness (Critical Reflection, Political Efficacy, and Critical Action) will be negatively related to the three types of race-related stress (Cultural Race-Related Stress, Individual Race-Related Stress, and Institutional Race-Related Stress).

The same scales used to measure critical consciousness in Hypotheses 2 and 3, and the same scales used to measure race-related stress in Hypothesis 4 were used to test Hypothesis 5. In the MMRA analysis, the three components of critical consciousness were defined as the predictor variables, and the three types of race-related stress were defined as the criterion variables. Each of the three critical consciousness models accounted for significant variance in the racial stress set of variables. The model using Critical Reflection to predict race-related stress was significant, Wilks' λ=.599, $F (3, 132) = 29.50$, $p<.0001$, R^2=40.1. The Critical Reflection predictor accounted for 40% of the variance among the race-related stress variables. The model using Political Efficacy as a predictor of the race-related stress variables was significant as indicated by Wilks' λ=.902, $F (3, 132)$, 4.78, $p<.003$, R^2=0.098. Political Efficacy accounted for 9.8% of the variance explained in the race-related stress variable set. The model

using Critical Action as a predictor was also significant, Wilks' λ=.718, F (3, 132), 17.31, $p<$ .0001, R^2=28.2. Critical Action accounted for about 28% of the variance explained in race-related stress. Gender did not significantly predict race-related stress, Wilks' λ=.996, F (3, 132), .04, $p \leq$ .990, R^2=.004. Gender accounted for .4% of the variance in race-related stress; thus, gender was not interpreted in the subsequent steps of the analysis. All three critical consciousness models were interpreted at step 2.

Critical Reflection. The second step of the MMRA indicated that Critical Reflection significantly predicted Cultural Race-Related Stress, F (1, 132) = 61.00, p<.0001, and Institutional Race-Related Stress, F (1, 134) = 7.39, $p <$ .007, but not Individual Race-Related Stress, F (1, 134) =1.65, $p =$ .10, although there was a trend towards significance. Examination of standardized beta coefficients for directionality of the significant relationships indicated a positive relationship between Critical Reflection and Cultural Race-Related Stress, B= .38, t (1,134) = 7.81, $p <$ .0001, and a negative relationship between Critical Reflection and Institutional Race-Related Stress, $B =$ -.09, t (1,134) = -2.72, $p <$ .007. These results indicate that higher levels of Critical Reflection were related to higher levels of stress when youths encountered cultural racism and lower levels of stress when they encountered institutional racism.

Political Efficacy. Political Efficacy significantly predicted Cultural Race-Related Stress, F (1, 134) = 7.81, p<.0001, trended toward significance when Individual Race-Related Stress was the criterion, F (1, 134) = 1.00, $p =$ .09, but did not significantly predict Institutional Race-Related Stress, F (1, 134) =1.41, $p =$ .16. The significant relationship between Political Efficacy and Cultural Race-Related Stress was positive, B= .23, t (1,134) =2.72, $p <$ .0001, suggesting that higher degrees of Political Efficacy or beliefs in one's capacity to make social

change were associated with higher levels of stress related to cultural racism (i.e., perceptions that one's racial group is devalued).

Critical Action. Critical Action significantly predicted Cultural Race-Related Stress, F (1, 134) = 4.57, p < .03, Individual Race-Related Stress, F (1, 134) =6.10, p < .02, and Institutional Race-Related Stress, F (1, 134) =48.17, p < .0001. The relationship with Cultural Race-Related Stress was positive, B= .21, t (1,134) =2.12, p < .034; the relationship with Individual Race-Related Stress was positive, B= .20, t (1,134) =2.46, p < .02; and the relationship with Institutional Race-Related Stress was positive B= .43, t (1) =6.94, p < .007.

These results suggest that higher levels of participation in social action were related to higher levels of stress associated with racism directed toward individuals (individual racism) and Blacks as a racial group (cultural racism), as well as stress related to racially biased laws and policies (i.e., institutional racism). Standardized beta-coefficients and R^2 values for the MMRA for hypothesis 5 are reported in Table 7.

Table 7

Summary of Multivariate Multiple Regression Analyses Using Critical Consciousness to Predict Race-Related Stress.

Predictor Model	Criteria	R^2 (%)	Standardized Beta
		40.1	
THO			
	Cultural rrs		.38***
	Individual rrs		.06
	Institutional rrs		-.09**
POL		0.098.	
	Cultural rrs		.23***
	Individual rrs		.10
	Institutional rrs		.06

Table 7 (Continued)

Predictor Model	Criteria	R^2 (%)	Standardized Beta
ACT		28.2	
	Cultural rrs		.18**
	Individual rrs		.20**
	Institutional rrs		.43**

Note. Critical Consciousness components are Critical Reflection (THO), Political Efficacy (POL), and Critical Action (ACT), and race-related stress (rrs) types are Cultural Race-Related Stress (Cultural), Individual Race-Related stress (Individual), and Institutional Race-Related Stress (Institutional). *** p<.0001, **p<.05

Summary

Hypothesis 5, which stated that high levels of the three components of critical consciousness, Critical Reflection, Political Efficacy, and Critical Action, would be related to low levels of the three types of race-related stress (Cultural, Individual, and Institutional) was minimally supported. The only finding in support of the hypothesis was the negative relationship between Critical Reflection and Institutional Race-Related Stress. Otherwise, the significant relationships between Political Efficacy and Cultural Race-Related Stress and between Critical Action and Cultural, Individual, and Institutional Race-Related Stress were positive, which did not support the hypothesis. In general, critical consciousness was related to higher rather than to lower levels of race-related stress, which contradicted Hypothesis 5.

Summary of Tests of the Hypotheses

There was some support for the first hypothesis, which stated that youths' perceptions of their parents' racial and cultural practices would influence youths' racial identity beliefs.

Perceived parental messages did seem to achieve the objectives of helping youths to reject

negative racial beliefs and promoting youths' positive racial identity attitudes, but only when the

perceived messages affirmed the Black racial group. High levels of perceived positive racial

messages were also related to ability to youths' thinking analytically about racism and their

belief in their ability to act to make social change. However, such messages did not predict

whether youths took part in social action.

Perceptions of cautionary messages about race were generally not related to racial

identity beliefs (with the exception of being related to higher levels of confusion) and were not

related to any critical consciousness beliefs. Thus, when parental messages were perceived as

encouraging positive feelings about the Black racial group, they seemed to be effective in

helping youths develop the tools to deconstruct and understand topics of race and racism, as well

as helping them to feel confident that they can effectively confront it. In summary, this study's

findings suggest that parents' affirmative racial and cultural practices made a difference in how

youths reportedly navigated race and racism.

The third hypothesis, which stated that advanced racial identity would be related to

advanced critical consciousness was somewhat supported. It appears that, in general, advanced

racial identity prepared youths to make sense of and respond to racism. Youths whose racial

attitudes reflected a positive commitment to their racial group saw themselves as capable of

making social change and taking part in efforts to make social change. These findings allude to

the helpfulness of youths' advanced racial identity beliefs for confronting racism.

There was no support for the fourth hypothesis, which stated that advanced racial identity

would protect youths from stress evoked from exposure to racism. Attitudes that reflected a

combination of strong identification with the Black racial group and anger at Whites appear to

have made youths more, rather than less, vulnerable to race-related stress. Self-actualized racial identity (i.e., Internalization) was not associated with stress. Racial identity attitudes characterized by denial (i.e., Preencounter) were the only aspects of identity that was related to lower levels of any of the types of stress, namely, Cultural Race-Related Stress, but this finding was counter to what was hypothesized.

The only part of the fourth hypothesis that was supported was that internalized racism (i.e., Preencounter) was related to more stress evoked from stress related to systemic racism (Institutional Race-Related Stress). Taken together, it appears that only less developed racial identity protected against only one kind of race-related stress. Overall, there was no support for the hypothesis that advanced racial identity would protect youths from race-related stress.

The fifth hypothesis stated that youths' ability to understand and take action against racism would curb youths' experiences of race-related stress, and was largely unsupported. In fact, all three components of critical consciousness were associated with higher levels of stress when faced with cultural racism, and Critical Action was related to higher levels of all three types of stress. Neither the ability to think analytically about racism or perceived efficacy in making social change were related to experiencing stress when encountering individual racism, and perceived efficacy was not related to stress when experiencing systemic racism. Thinking analytically about race was related to less stress when faced with systemic racism, but this was the only finding that supported the hypothesis that advanced critical consciousness would buffer race-related stress. Thus, critical consciousness did not protect youths from race-related stress.

Chapter 5

Discussion

African American youths are likely to encounter racism throughout their lives and, as a result, race-related stress. Race-related stress encompasses a wide range of stress reactions, including depression (Harrell, 2000), substance abuse (Gerrard et al., 2012; Gibbons, 2012; Stock et al., 2014), and lower levels of well-being (Sellers et al., 2006). To counteract the potential effects of racism, African American parents reportedly engage in ethnic-racial socialization practices to help youths develop racial identity and critical consciousness (Hughes, 2003; Hughes et al., 2006). Racial identity is intended to help youths to understand themselves as members of their racial group and understand the sociopolitical nature of race, whereas critical consciousness is intended to enable them to critically analyze race and racism and to act to combat it. Both may potentially reduce the effects of race-related stress, albeit in different ways.

The current study had two interrelated purposes. The first was to investigate whether two perceived parental ethnic-racial socialization practices, Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias, were related to African American youths' racial identity and critical consciousness. The second purpose was to examine how or whether racial identity and critical consciousness were related to African American youths' race-related stress. Findings with respect to either of these goals might expand the theoretical literature concerning whether perceived parental socialization practices enable African American youths to develop tools needed to confront racism, as well as whether the presumed tools actually do assist in lessening the negative effects of racism.

Five primary research questions were investigated with a sample of African American youths. The two questions pertaining to parental ethnic-racial socialization practices were (a) whether perceived affirmative socialization (i.e., Cultural Socialization) and (b) perceived

warning messages about race (i.e., Preparation for Bias) were related to racial identity and (b) whether perceived parental Cultural Socialization and perceived parental Preparation for Bias were related to youths' critical consciousness. A third question concerned whether racial identity was related to critical consciousness. The final two questions examined how racial identity and critical consciousness were related to race-related stress. In this chapter, results pertaining to these questions, limitations of the study, and implications for research and practice are discussed.

How Are Perceived Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias Related to Racial Identity?

Cultural Socialization is intended to encourage youths' positive feelings about their racial group, and Preparation for Bias is intended to increase youths' awareness of racism and prepare them to respond to it (Hughes et al., 2006). Because both types of socialization messages offer suggestions for how youths might make sense of race and racism, it was inferred that both affect how youths view their racial group and view themselves in relation to their racial group, and how they understand racial dynamics, that is, their racial identity. However, the results of the present study indicated that, for the most part, only perceived Cultural Socialization was related to youths' racial identity. Preparation for Bias was only related to confusion about race (Post-Encounter). The obtained relationships between Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias and racial identity are illustrated in Figure 6.

Cultural Socialization

With one exception, the relationships between Cultural Socialization and racial identity were in line with the hypothesized relationships. Youths' perceptions that their parents provided positive racial socialization (Cultural Socialization) was related to low levels of identification with White culture (i.e., Preencounter) and confusion (i.e., Post-Encounter). Also, Cultural

Socialization was related to higher levels of Internalization or self-actualizing racial tendencies. Thus, when youths perceived that their parents emphasized their group's positive assets, they tended not to define themselves by White racial norms and not to be confused about themselves racially. Instead, they perceived themselves as developing their own racial sense of themselves.

The obtained findings are in line with previous studies, which found that parental Cultural Socialization practices were related to youths' positive identification with and positive view of their racial group. Neblett and colleagues (2009) found that youths who believed that their parents had exposed them to racially affirming messages reported that race was an important part of their identity, and believed in the uniqueness of the Black racial group. The current findings seem to suggest that providing youths with positive cultural messages helped them to avoid confusion and shame about their racial group and to positively identify with their racial group and to feel comfortable in their interactions with other racial groups.

Nevertheless, the relationship between parental Cultural Socialization and immersion into Black culture and denigration of Whites (Immersion/ Emersion) was not significant. This finding was in contrast to previous studies in which seemingly analogous constructs were investigated. Neblett et al. (2009) found that "Racial-Pride Socialization" socialization messages were related to youths' "Centrality and Nationalist Ideology" racial identity attitudes. Racial-Pride Socialization refers to messages that encourage youths to take pride in their racial group, its customs, and history, and is thus analogous to Cultural Socialization in the present study. *Centrality* refers to how important one feels race is as an aspect of their personality and *Nationalist Ideology* refers to beliefs about the uniqueness of Black people's experiences as an oppressed group(s). Thus, Centrality and Nationalist Ideology are somewhat similar to Immersion/Emersion in that they all focus on positive valuation of Blackness. However, the

Immersion/ Emersion status contains an additional component, which is a negative regard for Whiteness. Therefore, it seems possible that the current study's findings about the lack of relationship between Cultural Socialization and Immersion/Emersion attitudes may have occurred because the parental cultural socialization measure did not address youths' anger towards Whites as an aspect of their identity, whereas other studies have not conceptualized or measured Black identity as involving Whiteness.

Preparation for Bias

Youths' perceptions of their parents as engaging in activities intended to prepare them for discrimination (i.e., Preparation for Bias) were related only to those aspects of racial identity that included feelings of confusion about race (i.e., Post-Encounter). Youths reported higher levels of Post-Encounter when they perceived that their parents frequently warned them about racism. This finding is similar to that of a previous study done with Black middle and high-school students, in which youths who reported exposure to Preparation for Bias messages reported negative beliefs about the Black racial group (Demo & Hughes, 1990).

Preparation for Bias socialization messages are intended, in part, to alert youths to the reality and possibility of facing racial discrimination. Such messages may make youths uncomfortable and confused about the subject of race, particularly if these messages do not adequately explain why discrimination is occurring, or do not help them feel prepared to respond to it. If Preparation-for-Bias messages focus solely on talking to youths about how they may experience racism, they may be left feeling unsure about their own value as a member of a devalued racial group, which is a central feature of Post-Encounter (Helms, 1990, 1995, 1996).

In sum, the answer to the question of how parental racial socialization and youths' racial identity development are related is that Cultural Socialization, as measured in the current study,

may matter significantly if it is focused on positive cultural aspects of Black culture. Such a focus may help youths avoid defining themselves in terms of anti-Blackness (Preencounter) and confusion and ambivalence about race and racism (Post-Encounter), while encouraging higher levels of self-actualized racial beliefs and an ability to understand one's self as a racial being (Internalization). Unfortunately, there was only minimal evidence to support Preparation for Bias as a strategy for helping youths to develop positive racial self-concepts, but the findings suggest that it was related to higher levels of youths' confusion about their racial identity.

Figure 6. Relationships between Perceived Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias and Racial Identity.
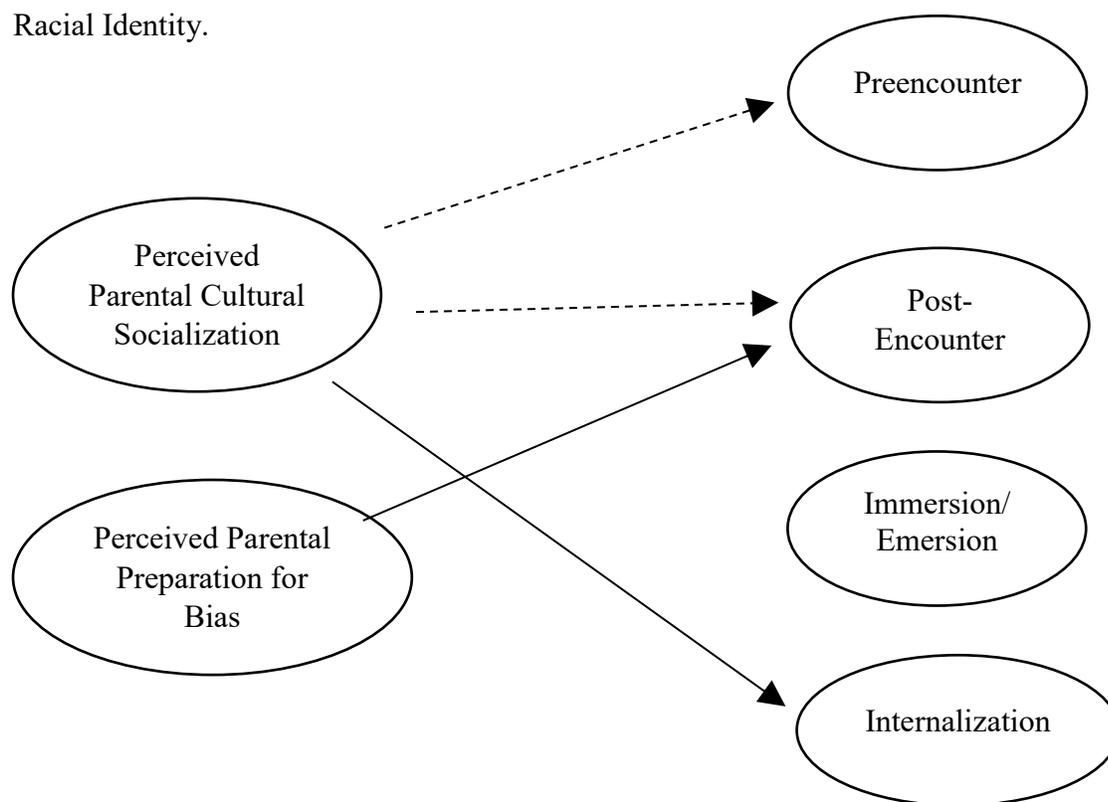
Figure 6. Solid lines denote a positive relationship, while dashed lines denote a negative relationship. Obtained findings were that perceived parental Cultural Socialization was related to lower levels of Preencounter and Post-Encounter, and higher levels of Internalization. Perceived parental Preparation for Bias was related to higher levels of Post-Encounter.

How Are Perceived Preparation for Bias and Cultural Socialization Related to Critical Consciousness?

As previously discussed, Preparation for Bias is intended to help youths identify, understand, and deal with racial discrimination in order to mitigate its effects (Hughes et al., 2006). Although critical consciousness has not traditionally focused on the analysis of racism explicitly, it is intended to help youths to identify, understand, and react to systemic oppression (Freire, 1973, 1993). Therefore, if youths perceive their parents as preparing them to analyze racial bias, then perhaps this awareness helps them develop higher levels of critical consciousness. One would not necessarily expect the parental strategy of Cultural Socialization to be related to critical consciousness because of its greater focus on racial pride.

Preparation for Bias

Preparation for Bias did not predict any component of critical consciousness (i.e., Critical Reflection, Political Efficacy, or Critical Action). This finding suggests that parental messages oriented towards preparation for discrimination did not help African American youths to think critically about race, racism, or making social change. Unfortunately, there are no previous studies of the relationship between Preparation for Bias messages and critical consciousness, making speculation about the lack of relationship difficult.

Perhaps the lack of support for the hypothesis was due to use of a parental socialization measure that did not explicitly address how parents help their youths to respond to racism. It is also possible that neither Political Efficacy nor Critical Action were related to Preparation for Bias messages because the measures for Political Efficacy and Critical Action do not mention racism specifically, but rather ask about social injustice broadly. Also, given that Preparation for Bias was related to high levels of confusion about race (i.e., Post-Encounter), it is possible that

when youths are overwhelmed by questions about their identity, they are unable to analyze and respond to their situations rationally.

Cultural Socialization

Interestingly, emotional preparation for coping with racism seemed to be more predictive of critical consciousness than analytic preparation.   In the current study, parental Cultural Socialization was related to all three components of critical consciousness (i.e., Critical Reflection, Political Efficacy, and Critical Action) as measured. Critical Reflection refers to engagement in analytical thought about racism, and enables youths to understand how and why racism occurs. Political Efficacy refers to youths' confidence that they have the ability to enact sociopolitical change. Critical Action is the involvement in individual and collective actions for the purpose of challenging social injustices (Watts, Diemer, &Voight, 2011).

When African American youths perceived that their parents communicated messages of racial pride, they reported higher levels of ability to engage in a critical analysis of racism (i.e., Critical Reflection) and more confidence in their ability to make social change (i.e., Political Efficacy), but less involvement in social action (i.e., Critical Action). One previously reported finding of the current study was that Cultural Socialization was related to higher levels of racial self-actualization (i.e., Internalization). According to racial identity theory, the information-processing strategy associated with the Internalization racial identity status, is the capacity to analyze racism objectively (Helms, 1996). Perhaps it was the Internalization information-processing strategy associated with Cultural Socialization that allowed youths to report that they think critically about the ways that society's racist messages about their racial group differed from their own beliefs.

With respect to the finding that perceived Cultural Socialization seemed to foster youths' perceptions of Political Efficacy, perhaps youths who received more racial-group affirming messages felt positively about themselves and their abilities and, as a result, saw themselves as capable of working for social change. Thus, messages that affirm the Black racial group and its assets may encourage youths' feelings of empowerment.

Nevertheless, although Cultural Socialization and social action were related, the relationship was negative rather than positive. Thus, perceived exposure to racial pride messages was related to youths' reports of infrequent engagement in social action. This result is counter intuitive, because one might presume that if youths have positive feelings and are connected to their racial group, they would be concerned when members of their racial group are faced with injustice. If so, one might expect that they would feel compelled to act to address such injustices by engaging in social action. To understand this finding, recalling how Cultural Socialization and social action were measured in the current study might be helpful.

The current study used the Ethnic Pride Subscale (ARESS; Brown & Krishnakumar, 2007) to measure youths' perceived parental Cultural Socialization experiences. The measure contained items that identify the Black racial group's positive assets (e.g., My maternal/paternal caregivers encouraged me to be proud of my background") and encouraged pride in response to Blacks racial-group accomplishments (e.g., "My maternal/paternal caregivers encouraged me to be proud of the accomplishments of Blacks"). Yet the measure does not address exposure to cultural artifacts or Black history. Talking to youths about their Black history of social activism and action may be especially important given African Americans' history of activism, but the ARESS does not measure that aspect of Cultural Socialization.

The current study used the Critical Action: Sociopolitical Participation subscale of the Critical Consciousness Scale (Diemer et al., 2014). The measure gauges ways youths might engage in social action (e.g., "How often have you worked on a political campaign?"). It is possible that the Black youths do not frequently participate in the actions that the measure describes, and instead engage in activities such as community service, or political and cultural artistic expression (Ginwright, 2010; Smetana & Metzger, 2005; Watts & Flanagan, 2007).

Summary

In summary, Cultural Socialization appeared to be effective for promoting Critical Reflection and Political Efficacy, but not Critical Action. The relationships between Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias and critical consciousness are illustrated in Figure 7. Therefore, the answer to the question of how parental socialization and critical consciousness are related may be that positive cultural socialization practices may be most useful for developing the cognitive aspects of critical consciousness. However, measures with a more explicit focus on Black youths' experiences may be needed.

Figure 7. Relationships between Perceived Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias and Critical Consciousness.
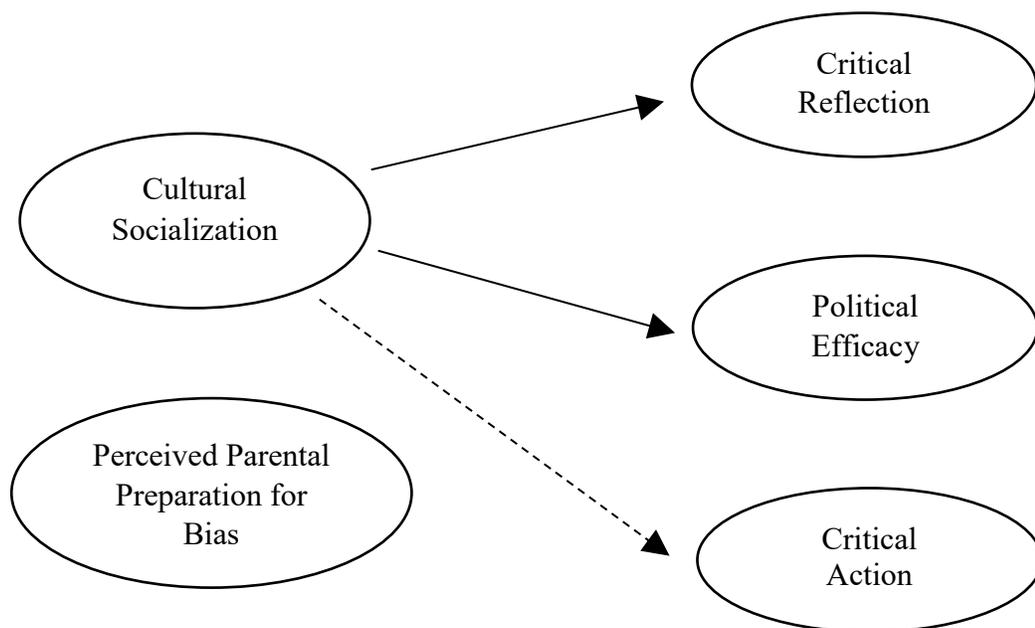
Figure 7. Solid lines denote a positive relationship, while dashed lines denote a negative relationship. Obtained findings were that perceived parental Cultural Socialization was related to higher levels of Critical Reflection and Political Efficacy, and lower levels of Critical Action. Perceived Parental Preparation for Bias was not related to any components of critical consciousness.

How Are Racial Identity and Critical Consciousness Related?

A premise of the current study was that parental racial socialization helps shape both racial identity and critical consciousness. Perhaps the most noteworthy theoretical distinction between racial identity and critical consciousness is racial identity theory's emphasis on how one develops a racialized sense of self in societal contexts in which their racial group is viewed negatively (Helms, 1990. 1995), whereas critical consciousness concerns how youths deconstruct and respond to social inequality (Freire, 1973, 1993). Although critical consciousness and racial identity each focus on external and internal race-related experiences, it might be said that racial identity primarily emphasizes internal experiences, whereas critical consciousness focuses on external experiences.

No studies have investigated whether or how the internalized racial experiences (i.e., racial identity) are related to youths' capacities to analyze race-related experiences (i.e., critical consciousness). In the present study, three aspects of racial identity (Preencounter, Immersion/Emersion, and Internalization) were related to the three components of critical consciousness, but not necessarily as predicted. The relationships between racial identity and critical consciousness are illustrated in Figure 8.

Preencounter. Of the three types of critical consciousness, Preencounter was only related to Critical Reflection. The nature of the relationship was that when conformance to White racial norms was internalized, youths reportedly engaged in less critical analysis about race and racism, as hypothesized. Otherwise, Preencounter was not significantly related to either of the other two components of critical consciousness, Political Efficacy and Critical Action.

Although Hypothesis 3 predicted that Preencounter also would be negatively related to Political Efficacy and Critical Action, the lack of relationships is consistent with theory. Helms (1995) notes that a feature of the Preencounter racial identity status is internalized racism. For African Americans, internalized racism involves the acceptance of society's racial hierarchy, which relegates their racial group to the bottom of the social structure (Bryant, 2011; Hall, 1986; &Pyke, 2010). Youths who have accepted society's racist beliefs that their group is inferior may believe that any differences in racial group status or treatment that exist are a result of innate differences, rather than inequality in treatment or socially constructed status. If they do not critically analyze racism in society and, therefore, do not believe that differences in status are the result of unequal and unfair treatment, they are unlikely to think about engaging in social change. Also, youths who have high levels of Preencounter may feel too negatively about or disconnected from the Black racial group to want to work to improve its conditions.

Immersion/Emersion. In the current sample, Immersion/Emersion was positively related to Critical Reflection and Critical Action, but not significantly related to Political Efficacy. African American youths who were immersed in Black culture and were critical of White culture reported more advanced ability to think analytically about race and engaged in higher frequencies of social action. It is possible that as a result of their strong feelings about both the Black and White racial groups, they devoted considerable time to attempting to

understand race relations, as well as taking action to challenge inequity. Immersion/Emersion was not significantly related to Political Efficacy, a finding that is counterintuitive. Although anger was not measured directly in the present study, according to theory (Helms, 1995), it is a characteristic of Immersion/Emersion that may serve as an impetus for social action. However, youths who feel angry with Whites, who hold the majority of social and political power in U.S. society, may feel as if traditional forms of political involvement are ineffective, perhaps because they are too closely related to the White power structure. Indeed, some research suggests that Black youths' skepticism of the governmental structure and traditional civic engagement prompts them to avoid traditional political action (Ginwright, 2010; Smetana & Metzger, 2005; Watts & Flanagan, 2007).

Internalization. Internalization was positively related to Critical Reflection, when youths felt positively about their own racial group and other racial groups, they engaged in more critical analysis of racism. It may be that youths who feel positively about and comfortable in their interactions with members of other racial groups are committed to understanding and deconstructing racism, and thus engage in more critical analysis. As a result, they may feel invested in understanding racial discord, and thus spend more time thinking about race-relations.

On the other hand, Internalization and Critical Action were negatively, rather than positively related, which was not as predicted and is inconsistent with racial identity theory. Youths with high levels of self-actualizing racial identity beliefs reported low frequencies of involvement in social action. Perhaps when youths' Internalization identity status is dominant, they are inwardly focused or engaged in critically thinking about racism rather than taking action to end it. Youths in the present study may have been focused on developing their own racial self-concepts in a way that prevented them from focusing on others, and as a result, they may

have participated in less social action. Internalization did not predict Political Efficacy. It is

possible that these youths, in their focus on their own racial development, were not thinking

consistently about their role in social change.

Figure 8. Relationships between Racial Identity and Critical Consciousness.
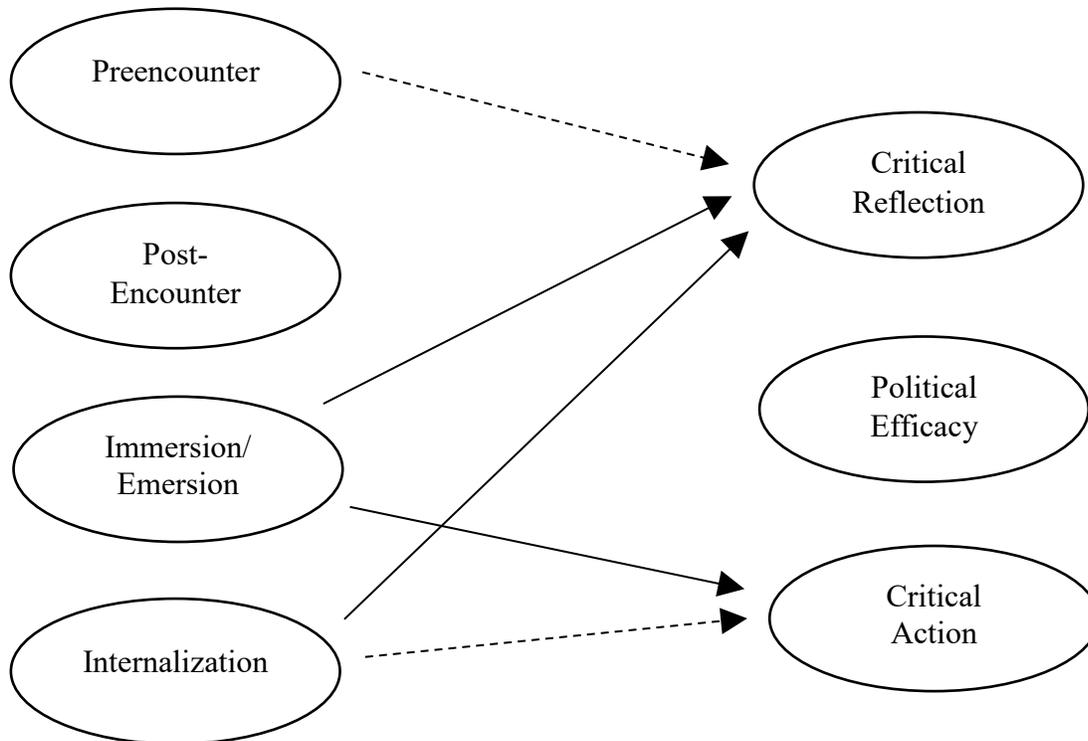
Figure 8. Solid lines denote a positive relationship, while dashed lines denote a negative

relationship. Obtained findings were that Preencounter was related to lower levels of Critical

Reflection, Immersion/ Emersion was related to higher levels of Critical Reflection and Critical

Action, and Internalization was related to higher levels of Critical Reflection and lower levels of

Critical Action.

Is Racial Identity Associated with Lower Race-Related Stress?

Race-related stress, defined as youths' cognitive, emotional, and behavioral responses to experiencing racial discrimination, is one of many harmful outcomes African American youths may experience as a result of experiencing racism (Harrell, 2000). Depending on their racial identity status, which theoretically equips youths with varying degrees of ability to make sense of racial issues, African American youths may be more or less prepared to cope with racism, and thus more or less likely to experience race-related stress. Youths who have more developed, nuanced understanding of racial issues may be able to better deconstruct and externalize racism than those with less advanced understandings.

In the present study, Immersion/Emersion and Internalization were considered to be the more advanced or nuanced statuses and Preencounter and Post-Encounter were the less advanced. Preencounter, Immersion/Emersion, and Internalization each related to at least one type of race-related stress (Cultural, Individual, and Institutional), but not necessarily as expected. Post-Encounter was not related to any of the three types of race-related stress. The relationships between racial identity and race-related stress are illustrated in Figure 9.

Preencounter

Preencounter, which is identification with White culture, was related to lower-levels of race-related stress due to cultural racism, but higher levels of race-related stress due to institutional racism. It was not related to individual racism. Recall that cultural racism, which denigrates non-White groups and their assets, while elevating the White racial group and its assets, is often apparent in mainstream culture, such as the media (Harrell, 2000). Because cultural racism is so pervasive, it may be difficult for youths to recognize. Alternatively, the information processing strategy of denial of and rejection of the Black racial group may help

youths to distance themselves from the effects of cultural racism because they agree with its assumptions.

As for the higher levels of stress when faced with institutional racism when Preencounter was high, a finding that was in support of the hypothesized relationship between Preencounter and race-related stress, perhaps it is harder for youths to disregard the criminal conviction rates (Arrigo, 2014; Vagins, 2006), housing discrimination (Witkowski, 2015), and unequal access to quality healthcare that affect Black people (Norris, 2010) even if they do not believe such policies pertain to them. In addition, the recent media coverage of the deaths of Blacks has often focused on Black youths, such as Tamir Rice, Trayvon Martin, Sandra Bland, and Michael Brown (Botelho, 2013; Graham, 2015; Izadi & Holley, 2014; Montgomery, 2015). Even for youths who deny that racism is a problem, learning about the deaths of youths who are supposedly similar to them may be upsetting.

Individual Race-Related Stress results from personal and day-to-day racial discrimination events. Black youths who use denial as a coping strategy may attribute their own experiences of differential treatment to factors other than racism, which might account for why Preencounter was not significantly related to Individual Race-Related Stress.

Immersion/Emersion

Immersion/Emersion significantly predicted all three types of race-related stress, but not as predicted. Youths who had higher levels of Immersion/Emersion reported higher levels of stress from experiencing racism at the individual, cultural, and institutional levels. Johnson and Arbona (2006) also found that Immersion/Emersion was related to stronger feelings of global race-related stress in their sample of Black adults. One Immersion/Emersion information-processing strategy is hypervigilance about racism evoked by anger towards Whites.

Hypervigilance about racism may result in youths' interpreting situations as racist, even when other explanations are more appropriate. Thus, Immersion/ Emersion does not appear to help youths avoid race-related stress, rather it seems to make them more vulnerable or, alternatively, when youths feel overwhelmed by racial stress, Immersion/Emersion may become the status through which they manage it.

Summary

In sum, only two racial identity statuses, Preencounter and Immersion/Emersion, were significantly related to any form of racism stress. Preencounter seemed to serve a protective function when racism was focused only on the cultural aspects of Black people, but an accentuating function when racism was focused on laws and social policies. When Immersion/ Emersion was high, so were all forms of race-related stress. Perhaps it should be noted that neither of the parental racial socialization strategies (Preparation for Bias or Cultural Socialization) was related to Immersion/Emersion.

Figure 9. Relationships between Racial Identity and Race-Related Stress.
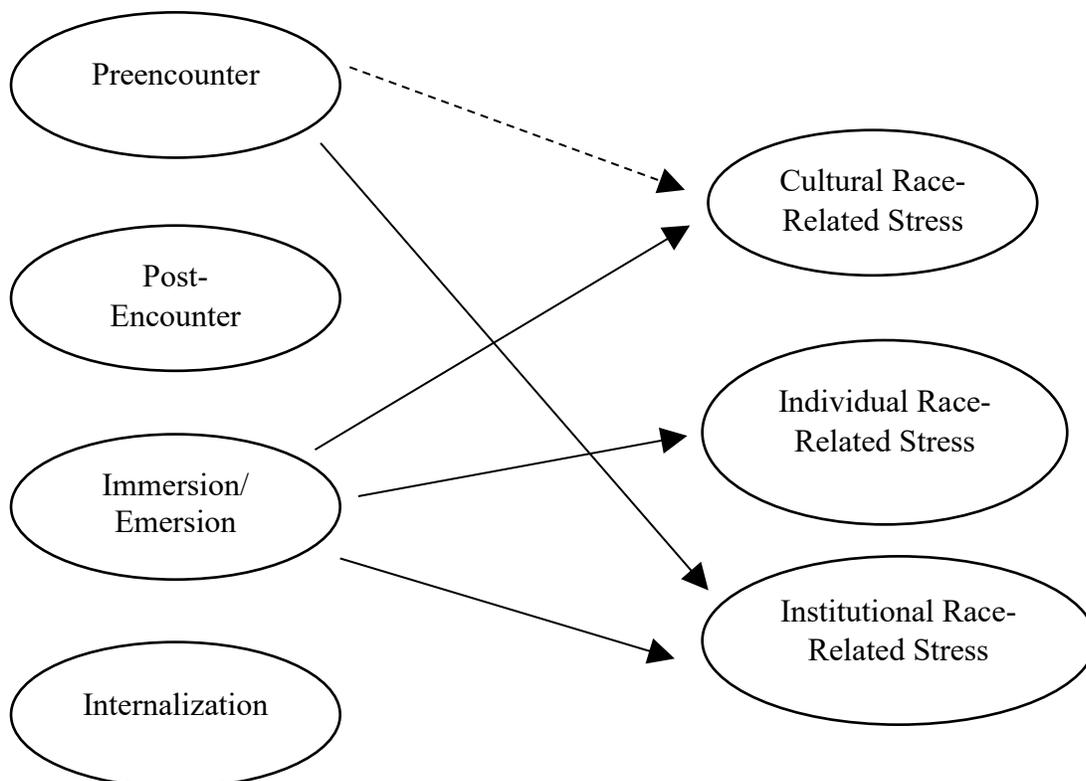
Figure 9. Solid lines denote a positive relationship, while dashed lines denote a negative relationship. Obtained findings were that Preencounter was related to lower levels of Cultural race-related stress and higher levels of Institutional Race-Related Stress, and Immersion/ Emersion was related to higher levels of Cultural, Individual, and Institutional Race-Related Stress. Post-Encounter and Internalization were not related to any of the three types of race-related stress.

Is Critical Consciousness Associated with Lower Race-Related Stress?

Critical consciousness may enable youths to understand and act against racism in a way that helps mitigate the stress potentially associated with experiencing racism. Theoretically, higher levels of Critical Reflection, Political Efficacy, and Critical Action, may help reduce youths' stress when faced with racism. However, in the current study, each of the three critical consciousness components was positively related to at least one type of race-related stress. The relationships between critical consciousness and race-related stress are illustrated in Figure 10.

Critical Reflection

Critical Reflection was positively related to Cultural Race-Related Stress, and negatively related to Institutional Race-Related Stress. There was no relationship between Critical Reflection and Individual Race-Related Stress. Previous studies on experiences of race-related stress suggest that African Americans may be especially sensitive to Cultural Race-Related Stress (Carter & Reynolds, 2011; Hunter & Joseph, 2010). As hypothesized, Critical Reflection was related to less stress from institutional racism. Perhaps youths who thought more analytically about racism were better able to understand the nature of institutional racism and that racial inequality occurs as a means of controlling resources and power, rather than because

of actual differences between groups. A nuanced understanding of institutional racism may have helped youths to feel more in control in their dealings with racism and less overwhelmed as a result.

Experiences with individual racism were not related to stress. It may be that youths who were able to think analytically about racism were less concerned with interpersonal racism than they were with other forms of racism, such as cultural racism. Perhaps they were more concerned about systemic racism against their racial group, rather than racism against them individually.

Political Efficacy

Political Efficacy was associated with higher levels of Cultural Race-Related Stress, but was not related to individual or Institutional Race-Related Stress. As mentioned, cultural racism might be especially upsetting for African Americans (Carter & Reynolds, 2011; Hunter & Joseph, 2010) because it devalues their entire racial group (Hunter & Joseph, 2010; Jones, 1970). The prospect of addressing cultural racism may be especially stressful, because cultural racism is so ingrained in American culture and ideals (Jones, 2003; Utsey, 1999; Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996). Its pervasiveness may make it difficult to identify (Jones, 1970) and, thus, challenge. Youths who feel confident about making social change may find the task of challenging cultural racism daunting, and as a result, experience distress when they encounter it.

Critical Action

Critical Action was related to higher levels of all three types of race-related stress. Thus, youths who engaged in more social action experienced Cultural, Individual, and Institutional Race-Related Stress. Although this finding was counter to what was hypothesized, it is conceivable. Perhaps by virtue of their involvement in action, youths who engage in social action are directly exposed to higher amounts of all forms of racism. It might be speculated that

having to manage multiple forms of racism may be particularly challenging and elicit more stress responses. Alternatively, youths' experiences of stress may prompt them to engage in action, in hopes of addressing the source of their stress. Unfortunately, there is no research on the relationship between youths' participation in social action and stress responses or emotional responses in general, making further speculation difficult.

Summary

The associations between the critical consciousness and race-related stress variables were complex, and often not as predicted. Critical Reflection was related to more cultural stress, less institutional stress, and was not related to individual stress. Thus, whether Critical Reflection protected youths from race-related stress depends upon the kind of racism they reported facing. Political Efficacy was related to higher stress from cultural racism only. Political Efficacy, then, did not appear to buffer the effects of racism. Critical Action was related to higher levels of all three types of race-related stress. Therefore, Critical Action did not protect youths from stress.

Figure 10. Relationships between Critical Consciousness and Race-Related Stress.
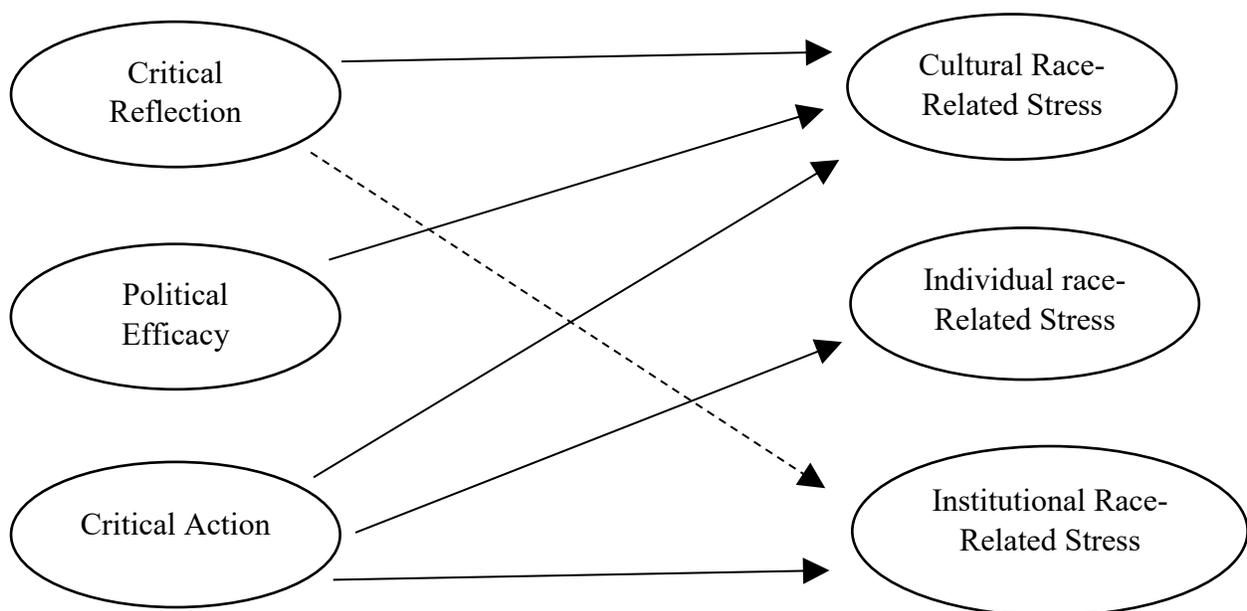
Figure 10. Solid lines denote a positive relationship, while dashed lines denote a negative relationship. Obtained findings were that Critical Reflection was related to higher levels of Cultural Race-Related stress and lower levels of Individual Race-Related stress, Political Efficacy was related to higher levels of Cultural Race-Related Stress, and Critical Action was related to higher levels of Cultural, Individual, and Institutional Race-Related Stress.

Gender Differences in Parental Socialization, Racial Identity, Critical Consciousness, and Race-Related Stress

Although possible gender differences were not included in the current study's hypotheses, gender differences in racial identity, critical consciousness, and race-related stress were investigated. Gender differences were found for racial identity and critical consciousness, but not for parental practices or race-related stress.

Young men had higher levels of conformity to White racial norms than young women (Preencounter) and lower levels of positive racial group identification (Internalization). Previous studies have found that Black males endorsed more Preencounter attitudes (Munford, 1994) and that Black females endorsed more group identification attitudes (Martinez & Dukes, 1997). Rowley et al. (2003) has proposed that gender differences in racial identity attitudes may be due to males and females' experiences of race in different contexts. Indeed, African American males may have less developed racial identity attitudes because of the kinds of racism they encounter, an idea that has been proposed in other research (Munford, 1994). In American society, African American males are viewed as dangerous and threatening (Richeson & Bean, 2011; Dixon & Maddox, 2005). Perhaps in some ways, African American males experience racism in a way that leaves them feeling more vulnerable to racism, and thus more negatively about their racial group.

Female adolescents had higher levels of Political Efficacy. As mentioned, Black males may face racism in a way that leaves them feeling disempowered, and as a result, feeling that they have less ability to challenge racism than do females. It is also possible that parents socialize their daughters to be more critically conscious. Perhaps parents believe, erroneously or not, that their sons are too disempowered to address racism, and thus encourage their daughters to address it instead. Alternately, because young Black men have higher levels of conformance to White racial norms, they may not feel that challenging racism is necessary. Young women also had higher levels of Critical Reflection when compared to young men. It may be that males feel less prepared to make social change, because they are forced to devote their resources to thinking about how to survive the overt racism they personally encounter.

Unfortunately, the limited research on Black youths' Political Efficacy makes more in-depth hypothesizing about gender differences difficult. Diemer and Li's (2011) study of Black youths' Political Efficacy found that parental socialization increased youths' efficacy beliefs, but their study did not examine gender differences in Political Efficacy. However, Hope and Jagers (2014) found no gender differences in Political Efficacy. The relationship between gender and Political Efficacy warrants further research. No gender differences were found in perceived exposure to either of the parental practices, or types of race-related stress.

Limitations

It is important to consider the results of the current study within the context of events that were taking place at the time of data collection. Data were collected from the fall of 2015 through the spring of 2016. During and immediately prior to this time, a number of young Black men and women were killed by police or died while in police custody, or were killed by private citizens (Botelho, 2013; Graham, 2015; Izadi & Holley, 2014; Montgomery, 2015).

Overwhelmingly, the perpetrators were found not guilty, if they were charged with a crime. The lack of convictions after the deaths of Black youths, such as Tamir Rice, Sandra Bland, and Freddie Gray, outraged many people, particularly those in the Black community. In response to perceived institutional racism in the legal system, protests and demonstrations were held throughout the US. Media coverage of these events showed that many of the individuals involved were Black youths (Healy, 2014; Merton, 2015; Shadwick, 2016). "Black Lives Matter," a movement dedicated to Black civil and human rights and initiated by young Black women, became nationally recognized. Conversation and debate about race came to the forefront of current events in American society.

Therefore, youths who participated in this study did so at a time of increasing racial strife. Although it is impossible to know definitively to what extent these youths were directly or indirectly involved in action or conversation surrounding the aforementioned events, they were likely affected by the tense racial climate. It is possible that they were experiencing heightened anger, fear, and confusion, or, alternatively, empowerment. It is also possible that their parents were more or less engaged with them in discussions about race and racism. The youths in the present study may have been particularly aware of and sensitive to issues of racism, which might have affected several aspects of the research design, including the characteristics of those who participated in the study, as well as their responses to the survey questions. Consequently, the current study has several limitations that may affect its generalizability to other samples of African American youths.

Sample Concerns

The sample used in the study was a web-based sample, which was collected through social media, online message boards, and solicitations to college and university and community

organizations. Because the study was primarily advertised online and all participants completed it online, the sample does not include participants who did not have internet access. Thus, the sample may not be representative of the larger African American population of young people who do not have access to such resources or use other forms of social media.

In addition, many of the recruitment efforts focused on historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) because these settings have large numbers of Black youths. It is not clear to what extent students from these campuses were engaged in the types of social activism previously described.   Yet it is likely that youths attending HBCUs were over represented in the sample and, consequently, whatever racial attitudes were prevalent on such campuses may have been overrepresented. Moreover, these youths may have had racial parental socialization experiences different from those of African American youths in other contexts. If this observation is accurate, then the current sample's racial identity and critical consciousness development and race-related stress might not adequately represent the types of responses that would have been found with African American youths who attend predominately White institutions or do not attend a college or university.

Also, female identified participants made up nearly 70% of the sample, and were thus over represented. Given that their responses to the measures suggests that their racial identity and critical consciousness were more highly developed than was the case for their male counterparts according to the relevant theories (Diemer et al., 2011; Helms, 1995), it is possible that the African American male adolescent perspective was not adequately represented in the current study. Though neither perceived parental socialization practices differed by gender in the present study, future studies, with larger samples of young men, should investigate whether young women and men's perceptions of parental socialization practices differ.

Moreover, researchers should make efforts to collect a sample that better represents the African American youth population more generally. This includes increasing efforts to recruit participants who are not connected to university and college settings, do not have internet access, and/or do not utilize the forums through which data were collected for the current study (i.e., social media, Craigslist, message boards).

Measures

Preparation for Bias.   An unexpected finding in the present study was that adolescents' scores on the Preparation for Bias measure were only significantly related to higher levels of confusion about their racial identity. A possible explanation for this finding is that Tran and Lee's (2010) Preparation for Bias Subscale, which was used to measure youths' perceptions of receiving preparation-for-bias socialization, did not assess the construct adequately. Preparation for Bias has two primary goals, to (a) educate youths about the existence of racial discrimination and help them to identify ways it happens and (b) help youths develop strategies for navigating and responding to racial discrimination (Hughes et al., 2006).

In the current study, the Cronbach alpha reliability analysis revealed high internal consistency of the youths' item responses, but the measure was not significantly related to any of the other measures, except the Post-Encounter subscale. An examination of the items suggests that the measure primarily consists of messages warning that racism does/will occur (e.g., "How frequently has one or more of your parents ever talked to you about racial/ethnic stereotypes, prejudice, and/or discrimination against people of your racial/ethnic group?"). Such messages suggest the existence of racism, but may not help youths to understand how to react to it. Moreover, they do not address the types of violent racism that were occurring when the data were collected.

Lastly, the measure contains seven items and thus is quite brief. It is possible that Preparation for Bias is a multi-dimensional construct that requires more extensive measurement. The measure does not assess whether parents educate their youths about Blacks' anti-racism activism. Much of Black history involves the efforts of countless civil rights groups and movements, such as The Black Liberation Movement, The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and The Black Panthers, all of which played critical roles in the struggle for human and civil rights for Blacks (Dierenfield, 2004; Lang, 2015; Lawson, 2015, Lee & Verney, 2009; Skrentny, 2002). Of particular relevance to the current study are student-led organizations, such as the Southern Negro Youth Congress, the Student Organization for Black Unity, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (Franklin, 2014). Preparation- for-bias practices are incomplete without mention of Black history and activism. Thus, future research on Preparation for Bias parental socialization should assess exposure to historical information.

Political Efficacy. Political Efficacy was not related to racial identity or race-related stress as predicted.   None of the racial identity statuses was related to Political Efficacy and it was related to higher levels of race-related stress rather than lower levels. The Sociopolitical Control Scale for Youth (SPC-Y; Peterson et al., 2011) was used to measure Political Efficacy. An examination its items (e.g., "I can usually organize people to get things done.") suggests that it is appropriate for assessing youths' beliefs in their ability to create change. However, none of the items mention racism or racial injustice. So, though the instrument may be appropriate for assessing general political efficacy or leadership skills, it may not be appropriate for assessing political efficacy specifically related to racism.

Critical Action. Critical Action was generally not related to the other constructs as hypothesized. Cultural Socialization was related to less Critical Action, was generally not related to racial identity, and was related to higher levels of all three types of race-related stress. The Critical Action subscale of the Critical Consciousness Scale (Diemer et al., 2014) was used to assess Critical Action. The items (e.g., "How often have you participated in a political party, club, or organization?") suggest that the measure does indeed assess involvement in social action, but none of the items explicitly mention race or racism. Thus, Critical Action may not have been related to the other constructs as predicted because its content is not specific to social action related to racism. Also, as mentioned, Black youths may engage in types of social action that aren't included in the measure (Ginwright, 2010; Smetana & Metzger, 2005; Watts & Flanagan, 2007).

Implications for Research

The current study was designed to add to the literature concerning the ways that perceived parental ethnic-racial socialization practices, Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias, are related to African American youths' racial identity and critical consciousness development. The study was based on the premise that racial identity and critical consciousness development would affect youth's levels of race-related stress. Prior to the present study, few studies had directly examined the relationship between parental ethnic-socialization practices and racial identity or critical consciousness. None had examined whether critical consciousness contributed to reduced racial stress, whereas only a few had examined links between racial identity statuses and racial stress (Carter & Reynolds, 2011; Johnson & Arbona, 2006; Pieterse & Carter, 2010). The obtained results suggest some directions for future research.

Future Research

Future research should further explore the current study's findings, and address the current study's limitations. With regard to the current findings, this study is the first to investigate how parental ethnic-racial socialization practices are differentially related to African American youths' critical consciousness development, and the first to investigate how critical consciousness is related to youths' race-related stress. Because researchers have only very recently begun to empirically investigate youths' critical consciousness development, future research should determine whether the current study's findings generalize to other samples of African American youths and, if so, attempt to understand the mechanisms by which these associations occur. Research should also identify factors that influence how and whether youths perceive their parents' messages, and how and whether their reports of their parent's messages differ from their parents' reports of their intended parental socialization messages.

The current study adds to the emerging body of literature that examines the relationships between parental practices and youths' racial identity development. The existing body of literature contains equivocal findings on how and whether parental socialization and racial identity are associated. To clarify how parental practices and racial identity are related, researchers should continue to investigate the relationship, and should use consistent, established measures and conceptualizations of parental practices and racial identity. To better understand the mechanisms by which youths' perceptions of parental messages impact their racial identity beliefs and related information processing capabilities, researchers should consider employing qualitative research designs.

The current study also adds to what researchers know about the relationship between racial identity and race-related stress. In general, the current study suggested that racial identity

attitudes may not protect against race-related stress, and in the case of Immersion/Emersion, may actually be associated with more stress. Because the body of literature of the relationship between these two constructs is small, and seemingly inconclusive, researchers should continue to study the relationship. Researchers should also clarify how racial identity buffers or puts youths at risk for race-related stress by investigating what variables, such as gender, moderate the relationship between racial identity and race-related stress.

Although the current study found relationships between racial identity and critical consciousness and race-related stress, it did not directly investigate how parental practices influence youths' race-related stress. Youths' perceptions of their parent's socialization practices, especially Cultural Socialization, were related to racial identity and critical consciousness, both of which affected youths' race-related stress. Therefore, research should be done to determine whether and how parent's messages directly affect their youths' race-related stress. Also, given that in many instances advanced racial identity and critical consciousness were related to higher, rather than lower levels of race-related stress, researchers should investigate parental practices that are associated with lower levels of stress. With respect to limitations, in addition to the previously discussed recommendations regarding sampling and sample characteristics, it is important to consider measurement issues and the statistical analyses.

Statistical Analyses. Multivariate multiple regression analyses were used to analyze the data in the present study. Although this was not a limitation as such, it should be noted that each predictor variable was tested as a separate predictor of the sets of dependent variables (e.g., types of race-related stress). Consequently, it is not known how hypothesized predictor variables, such as parental ethnic-racial socialization strategies, interacted with each other. The correlational analyses indicated that Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias were moderately

positively correlated, which suggests that the two practices might be related. It is possible that the two practices may occur together or that youths might perceive them similarly. Thus, research should further examine the interactive nature of Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias.

Also, gender may have interacted with the other predictors in ways that were not anticipated. Future research might explore how gender moderates the relationships between parental socialization, racial identity, critical consciousness, and race-related stress.

Implications for Practice

The current study provided some empirical information about how perceived racial messages from parents may affect African American youths' ability to make sense of racial issues and potentially act against racism. The study also provided information about how the ways in which youths respond to racism relates to the stress they experience in response to various types of racism. The present study's findings may have implications for African American parents' socialization practices, as well as for clinicians working with African American families.

Cultural Socialization

The findings suggested that youths who believed that their parents had said and done things to instill racial pride and more actualized racial identity development had lower levels of confusion and disconnection from their racial group. Perhaps clinicians working with African American families should encourage parents to talk to their youths in ways that increase their youths' racial pride and engage them in activities that help them to embrace their racial group. African American parents should make efforts to speak positively to their children about their racial group, make their youths aware of their group's achievements and assets, talk to them

about their group's history, and expose them to cultural artifacts. It is especially important for parents to instill racial pride in their male youths, given that compared to female youths they may experience more denial about race and racism.

In addition to promoting adaptive racial identity development, Cultural Socialization messages may promote critical consciousness development, enabling youths to engage in critical analysis of issues related to race and racism, and increasing their confidence that they can enact social change. Thus, in order to help their youths navigate issues of race and racism, African American parents should socialize their youths in ways that help them to feel positively about their racial group. Clinicians working with African American families should help facilitate youths' positive regard for their racial group. Youths who perceived that their parents had communicated Cultural Socialization messages had higher Critical Reflection and Political Efficacy, but lower levels of Critical Action. Thus, African Americans parents should provide their youths with additional encouragement to participate in action, perhaps by talking to   them about the value of social action and helping them to identify and gain access to opportunities and by educating them about the role of social action in obtaining rights for Blacks. Clinicians can support families in having discussions about Critical Action.

Preparation for Bias

Also, the study's findings suggest that, with the exception of confusion about race, perceived parental messages (as measured in the present study) warning African American youths about the existence and danger of racism are not related to the way youths think about race. Discussions about racism should go beyond simply alerting youths about its existence and include conversations that help them understand how and why racism occurs and offer strategies for coping with and responding to it.

Racial Identity

Racial identity was generally not related to lower levels of race-related stress. Since racial identity attitudes alone may not attenuate the effects of stress, it may be necessary for parents, regardless of their youths' racial identity beliefs, to help their children devise stress management techniques for coping with racism. Although racial identity was not associated with race-related stress, it was associated with Critical Reflection. Because Immersion/Emersion was related to ability to critically analyze racism, it is important that parents encourage attitudes characteristic of Immersion/Emersion. As stated earlier, youths using higher levels of Immersion/Emersion may be hypervigilant about identifying racism. Parents can help youths to think more broadly about situations that they deem racist, and where appropriate, help them to think of other interpretations. They can also provide additional information about racial dynamics in order to encourage youths' adoption of Internalization attitudes, something a clinician can assist them with.

Critical Consciousness

African American youths with higher levels of Critical Reflection may have lower levels of stress when faced with events associated with cultural and institutional bias, so parents should engage their youths in discussions that promote critical thinking about race. Given that the current study found that perceived Cultural Socialization messages may be associated with Critical Reflection, parents can use Cultural Socialization messages to foster Critical Reflection. The current study also found that Immersion/Emersion and Internalization racial identity attitudes were related to high levels of Critical Reflection, thus, parents can promote Critical Reflection by supporting their youths' racial identity development.

Youths who had higher levels of Political Efficacy had higher stress levels when faced with cultural racism, and youths who were engaged in more social action had higher levels of stress when faced with individual and institutional racism. To help their youths cope with race-related cultural stress, parents might expose their youths to cultural artifacts, and engage them in discussions about culture and racism.

Parents of male youths might promote Political Efficacy by talking to them about ways that they can challenge racism, and providing examples of African American males who have made social change. Parents of youths who feel confident in their ability to make social change, as well parents of youths involved in social action, should be aware of their youths' risk of stress, and help them develop ways of managing stress. Given that, in the current study, youths who had more developed critical thinking skills about race had lower levels of stress related to institutional and individual racism parents can make efforts to promote their youths' critical consciousness development.

Conclusion

Despite the abovementioned limitations, the current study's findings add to what is known about how perceived parental socialization practices are related to African American youths' beliefs about race and racism, and how their beliefs are related to the stress they experience when encountering racism. These findings may be useful for researchers interested in uncovering factors that help African American youths attain healthy development, and for clinicians and families interested in helping African American youths negotiate the difficult task of contending with race and racism.

Appendix A: Recruitment Letter

Hello,

My name is Dana L. Collins and I am a doctoral student in Counseling Psychology at Boston College. I am currently collecting data for my dissertation, which focuses on the ways that African American parents/caregivers talk to their youths about race and racism impacts their youths' racial identity, thoughts about race and racism, and thoughts and involvement in social action. The researchers in charge of this study (Protocol Number 16.086.01) are Dana L. Collins and Dr. Janet E. Helms. This study is being conducted online and through Boston College. I invite you take a few minutes to complete the survey (takes about 25-35 minutes).

The following criteria are required for **eligible** participation:

1. You must identify as African American. This means that at least one of your parents/caregivers is of African descent and was born in the United States. Please note that just one of your parents/ caregivers must meet these criteria.
2. You must be between 18 to 24 years old.

This message is also for people who are not eligible to participate. **Please forward it widely** amongst your peer and professional circle. As a token of your participation, you will have the opportunity to enter a raffle to win one of **ten** electronic gift cards to Amazon.com, worth **$20.00 each**. Your participation is anonymous. Please note that you may be responding to questions about some sensitive topics, but I will certainly not be able to connect your responses to you in any way.

You may open the survey consisting of the informed consent and measures in your web browser by clicking the link below:

(https://bclynch.az1.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_9p03aC69y0r5D13)

If the link above does not work, try copying the link below into your web browser:

(https://bclynch.az1.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_9p03aC69y0r5D13)

Thank you very much for your time and consideration.

Warmly,

Dana L. Collins, M.S.
American Psychological Association Minority Fellowship Program Fellow
Doctoral Student
Boston College
Lynch School of Education
Department of Counseling Psychology

Appendix B: Recruitment Flier

Boston College

Volunteers Needed for Study!!!

Study Title: Perceived Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization as a Predictor of African American Youths' Racial Identity, Critical Consciousness, and Race-related stress.

Principal Investigator: Dana L. Collins, M.S.

Purpose of the Study: We are interested in understanding how the ways that African American parents and guardians talk to their youths about race affects how youths understand and feel about race and racism, and how they feel about and participate in social action related to racism.

To Participate:

-You must identity as African American (meaning that you have at least one parent/guardian who is of African descent and was born in the United States).

-You must be between 18-24 years old

-Be willing to answer questions about how your parents/ guardians talked to you about race and racism, your thoughts, feelings, and experiences related to race and racism, and your feels about and participation in social action.

What does the study involve?

-We will NOT ask you to give any identifying information

-You will complete an online survey

-Your responses will be completely anonymous, meaning that no one will be able to link your background, experiences, or status to your responses to the survey

How long does it take?

-The survey takes about 25-35 minutes to complete, and is online

What will participants receive?

As a small token of our appreciation, for your participation, if you'd like, you will be placed in a raffle to win one of ten $20 amazon.com gift cards!

To participate in this study, please follow this anonymous survey link:

https://bclynch.az1.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_9p03aC69y0r5D13

For questions or to learn about the results of the study, please email:

collindq@xxxxxxx

Dana L. Collins, M.S.
Doctoral Candidate
American Psychological Association Minority Fellow
Boston College
Lynch School of Education
Department of Counseling Psychology

Appendix C: Informed Consent

Informed Consent to be in study: *Perceived Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization as a Predictor of African American Youths' Racial Identity, Critical Consciousness, and Race-related stress*

Principal Investigator: Dana L. Collins, M.S.

Invitation to Participate and Description of the Study
 You are being invited to participate in a research study that looks at how African American parents and guardians affect their youths' thoughts and feelings about race and racism, and their attitudes towards and participation in socio-political activities. The purpose of this study is understand how the ways that African American parents and guardians talk to their youths about race affects how they understand and feel about race and racism, and how they feel about and participate in social action related to racism.

You are being invited to participate if you:

-Are between 18 and 24 years of age and

-Identify as African American (This means that at least one of your parents must be of African descent and have been born in the United States. Participants who were born outside of the United States, or whose parents were both born out of the United States, should not participate) and

-Are willing to answer questions about the ways that your parents/ guardians talked to you about race and racism, your thoughts and feelings about race and racism, and your thoughts and feelings and participation in socio-political activities.

To decide whether or not you want to participate in this research study, you should know enough about its risks and benefits to make an informed judgment. Information about the study is given in this consent form. The description below explains all parts of this study: its purpose, what will be done, and any risks and benefits of the procedures. Once you have read about the study, you will be asked if you wish to participate; if so, you will be asked to provide an electronic signature (click the "yes, I accept" button at the bottom of this form).

Description of Procedures
 If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to complete questionnaires online. The questions will be related to how your parents have talked to you about race and racism, your feelings and attitudes about race and racism, and how you feel about and whether you take part in social action. Some of the questions may have sensitive content. If you choose not to answer a question, you may skip the question.

The entire survey should take about 15-25 minutes to finish. You will only be asked to complete the survey once, you will not be asked to complete a follow up survey later. If at any point you would like to quit the survey, you may simply close the browser and you will not be penalized.

Risks and Inconveniences

You should not experience any risk from being a part of this study, but there may be unknown risks. Some of the survey questions may have sensitive content. If the content of any of the questionnaire items is overly stressful and you would like to speak with a professional about any concerns you have, please contact one of the following for a referral: For health referrals, contact 1-800-DOCTORS for the name of a provider in your area; for mental health referrals, contact the American Psychological Association National Referral Service at 1-800-964-2000.

Benefits

You are not expected to benefit directly from being a part of this study. However, your participation may help science by helping researchers to better understand how different ways African American parents talk to their youths about race and racism can help their youths to cope with and challenge racism.

Economic Considerations

In exchange for your participation, if you would like, you will be placed in a raffle to receive one of ten $20 electronic amazon.com gift card. It is not necessary to complete the entire survey in order to be eligible to enter the raffle. If you would like to be in the raffle, you must provide an email address. After you have completed the questionnaire, if you choose to be placed in the raffle to receive a gift card, you will be directed to another brief survey where you will provide your email address. Your contact information (email address) will not be linked to your survey responses in any way. Please note that in order to be placed in the raffle to receive a gift card, you must provide your email address. Only those participants who provide an email address will be placed in the raffle.

Confidentiality

No information that identifies you as a participant will be linked to your survey responses. Your responses will not be traceable back to you. However, if you would like to be placed in the raffle for a gift card, you will be directed to another survey, where you can enter your email address. Your contact information (email address) will be collected ONLY so that you can be part of the raffle for a gift card. Identifying information will not be connected to your responses in any way. Any identifiable information collected in this study will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission, or as required by U.S. or State law.

Your responses will be grouped with other participants' responses; all participants' responses will be stored in password-protected data files. It is expected that the results of the survey will be published
or discussed in scientific conferences, but no information that would reveal your identity will be included in these presentations.

Please note that regulatory agencies, the Boston College Institutional Review Board, and Boston College internal auditors may review research records. Please note that it is not possible to guarantee complete security while your answers are being sent from your own computer to the secured server. In order to be sure that your responses are kept private, PLEASE BE SURE TO CLOSE THE BROWSER when you are finished. In this way someone using the computer after you have finished will not be able to see your responses.

For additional information about data security, please see the privacy and security policy at Qualtrics security:

http://www.qualtrics.com/security-statement
http://www.qualtrics.com/privacy-statement

<u>Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal</u>
 You are free to stop participating in the study or to stop responding to the survey at any time. You are free to choose to not participate and if you do become a participant, and you are free to quit the study at any time. You may skip any questions that you do not want to answer. If you choose not to participate or if you quit, you will not experience any negative effects.

<u>Authorization & Statement of Consent</u>
 I have read this form and understand the possible risks and benefits of the study. I know that being in this study is voluntary and have decided to participate in the study described above. I know I can stop being in the study at any time. Its general purposes, the details of my involvement, and possible risks and inconveniences have been explained to my satisfaction.

My checking the "Yes, I provide consent" box indicates that I have read (or have had read to me) the contents of this consent and understand this form. I have had the opportunity to print a copy of this form.

If you have questions about this study or if you have a research-related problem, such as problems related to confidentiality, you may contact the Principal Investigator, Dana L. Collins (collindq@bc.edu) at 510-812-6780. If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Boston College Institutional Review Board Office of Research Protection at (617)552-4778 or irb@bc.edu.

<u>Copy of Consent Form</u>
 If you would like a copy of this form to keep for your records and future reference, please print this document.

This study was reviewed by the Boston College Institutional Review Board and its approval was granted on [insert approval date]. If you agree to the statements above and agree to participate in this study, please press the "Consent Given" button below.

Appendix D: Raffle Page

To enter the drawing, please follow the link below and enter your email into the form. Your email address will NOT be linked to your responses, and will NOT be seen by other participants. When you are finished, please click "Finished".

https://docs.google.com/a/bc.edu/forms/d/130x5eYQbt9SMDhyOWCU2J6COu8n4x-H-zR9075C4qyw/viewform?usp=send_form

Appendix E: Demographic Questionnaire

1) What is your age?

2) What is your gender?

  a) Female   b) Male   c) Transgender   d) Other _____

3) What is your race? (Choose as many as apply)

a) African American b) Black   b) White/European   c) Asian/Pacific Islander

e) White Latino/Hispanic   f) Latino/Hispanic of Color

g) Native American   h) other

4) Who *primarily* raised you?

a) Biological parent(s)   b) Adoptive or foster parent(s)   c) Grandparent(s)

d) Aunt and/or Uncle   e) Sibling   (f) Other guardian

5) What is your first parent/guardian's race?

a) African American/Black   b) White/ European   c) Asian/Pacific Islander

d) White Latino/Hispanic   e) Latino/Hispanic of Color

6) What is your second parent/guardian's race?

a) African American/Black   b) White/Caucasian   c) Asian/Pacific Islander

d) White Latino/Hispanic   e) Latino/Hispanic of Color (f) I don't know my second parent/ guardians' race.

7) What is your first parent/guardian's gender?

  a) Female   b) Male   c) Transgender   d) Other _____

8) What is your second parent/guardian's gender?

   a) Female   b) Male   c) Transgender   d) Other _____

   e) I don't know my second parent/ guardian

9) What is the highest level of education you have completed?

   a) Some high school   b) High School graduate   c) Some College

   d) Associates Degree   e) BA/BS Degree   f) Some Graduate School

   g) Advanced Degree (MA, PhD, PsyD, JD, MD)

10) If you are a student, what kind of school do you attend?

a) High school   b) Two- year college c) Technical/vocational school?

d) Four-year college   5) Professional school

Appendix F: Adolescent Racial and Ethnic Socialization Scale (ARESS): Ethnic Pride

Instructions: Please respond to the following statements.

		Never	A few times	Lots of times	Always
1	My maternal/paternal caregivers taught me to never be ashamed of my skin color	1	2	2	3
2	My maternal/paternal caregivers taught me to have pride in my Black culture	1	2	2	3
3	My maternal/paternal caregivers maternal/paternal caregivers encouraged me to be proud of my background	1	2	2	3
4	My maternal/paternal caregivers caregiver taught me that my skin color is beautiful	1	2	2	3
5	My maternal/paternal caregivers caregiver encouraged me to be proud of the accomplishments of Blacks	1	2	2	3

Appendix G: Perceived Ethnic-Racial Socialization Measure: Preparation for Bias

How frequently has one or more of your parents ever:

		Never				Very often
1	Talked to you about racial/ethnic stereotypes, prejudice, and/or discrimination against people of your racial/ethnic group?	1	2	3	4	5
2	Talked to you about others who may try to limit you because of race/ethnicity?	1	2	3	4	5
3	Talked to you about unfair treatment that occurs due to race/ethnicity?	1	2	3	4	5
4	Talked to someone else about racial/ethnic discrimination when you could hear them?	1	2	3	4	5
5	Talked to you about expectations others might have about your abilities based on your race/ethnicity?	1	2	3	4	5
6	Told you that you must be better in order to get the same rewards given to others because of race/ethnicity?	1	2	3	4	5
7	Explained something on TV to you that showed discrimination against your racial/ethnic group?	1	2	3	4	5
8	Talked to you about discrimination against people of a racial/ethnic group other than your own?	1	2	3	4	5

<u>Appendix H: Black Racial Identity Attitudes Scale</u>

This questionnaire is designed to measure people's social and political attitudes. There are no right or wrong answers. Use the scale to respond to the items below by circling the number that best describes how you feel.

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Neutral	Agree Some-what
1	I believe that being Black is a positive experience.	1	2	3	4	5
2	I know through my personal experiences what being Black in America means.	1	2	3	4	5
3	I am increasing my involvement in Black activities because I don't feel comfortable in White environments.	1	2	3	4	5
4	I believe that large numbers of Blacks are untrustworthy.	1	2	3	4	5
5	I feel an overwhelming attachment to Black people.	1	2	3	4	5
6	I involve myself in causes that will help all oppressed people.	1	2	3	4	5
7	A person's race does not influence how comfortable I feel when I am with her or him.	1	2	3	4	5

8	I believe that White people look and express themselves better than Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5
9	I feel uncomfortable when I am around Black people.	1	2	3	4	5
10	I feel good about being Black, but do not limit myself to Black activities.	1	2	3	4	5
11	When I am with people I trust, I often find myself referring to Whites as "honkies", "devils", "pigs", "white boys", and so forth.	1	2	3	4	5
12	I believe that being Black is a negative experience.	1	2	3	4	5
13	I believe that certain aspects of "the Black experience" apply to me, and others do not.	1	2	3	4	5
14	I frequently confront the system and the (White) man.	1	2	3	4	5
15	I constantly involve myself in Black political and social activities (such as art shows, political meetings, Black theater, and so forth).	1	2	3	4	5
16	I involve myself in social action and political groups even if there are no other Blacks involved.	1	2	3	4	5

17	I believe that Black people should learn to think and experience life in ways that are similar to White people's ways.	1	2	3	4	5
18	I believe that the world should be interpreted from a Black or Afrocentric perspective.	1	2	3	4	5
19	I am changing my style of life to fit my new beliefs about Black people.	1	2	3	4	5
20	I feel excitement and joy in Black surroundings.	1	2	3	4	5
21	I believe that Black people came from a strange, dark, and uncivilized continent.	1	2	3	4	5
22	People, regardless of their race, have strengths and limitations.	1	2	3	4	5
23	I find myself reading a lot of Black literature and thinking about being Black.	1	2	3	4	5
24	I feel guilty or anxious about some of the things I believe about Black people.	1	2	3	4	5
25	I believe that a Black person's most effective weapon for solving problems is to become part of the White person's world.	1	2	3	4	5

26	I speak my mind about injustices to Black people regardless of the consequences (such as being kicked out of school, disappointing my parents, being exposed to danger).	1	2	3	4	5
27	I limit myself to Black activities as much as I can.	1	2	3	4	5
28	I am determined to find my Black identity.	1	2	3	4	5
29	I believe that White people are more intelligent than Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5
30	I believe that I have many strengths because I am Black.	1	2	3	4	5
31	I feel that Black people do not have as much to be proud of as White people.	1	2	3	4	5
32	Most Black people I know are failures.	1	2	3	4	5
33	I believe that most White people should feel guilty about the way they have treated Blacks in the past.	1	2	3	4	5
34	White people can't be trusted.	1	2	3	4	5
35	In today's society if Black people don't achieve, they have only themselves to blame.	1	2	3	4	5

36	The most important thing about me is that I am Black.	1	2	3	4	5
37	Being Black just feels natural to me.	1	2	3	4	5
38	Other Black people have trouble accepting me because my life experiences have been so different from their experiences.	1	2	3	4	5
39	Black people who have any White people's blood should feel ashamed of it.	1	2	3	4	5
40	Sometimes, I wish I belonged to the White race.	1	2	3	4	5
41	The people I respect most are White.	1	2	3	4	5
42	A person's race usually is not important to me.	1	2	3	4	5
43	I feel anxious when White people compare me to other members of my race.	1	2	3	4	5
44	I can't feel comfortable with either Black people or White people.	1	2	3	4	5
45	A person's race has little to do with whether or not he/she is a good person.	1	2	3	4	5

46	When I am with Black people, I pretend to enjoy things they enjoy.	1	2	3	4	5
47	When a stranger who is Black does something embarrassing in public, I get embarrassed.	1	2	3	4	5
48	I believe that a Black person can be close friends with a White person.	1	2	3	4	5
49	I am satisfied with myself.	1	2	3	4	5
50	I have a positive attitude about myself because I am Black.	1	2	3	4	5
51	I participate in Black culture.	1	2	3	4	5
52	I am not sure where I belong racially.	1	2	3	4	5
53	I believe that White people are more intelligent than Blacks.	1	2	3	4	5
54	I speak my mind regardless of the consequences (e.g. being kicked out of school, being imprisoned, being exposed to danger).	1	2	3	4	5
55	I can't feel comfortable with either Black people or White people.	1	2	3	4	5
56	I often feel that I belong to the Black racial group.	1	2	3	4	5

57	I am embarrassed about some of the things I feel about my racial group	1	2	3	4	5
58	Most Blacks I know are failures.	1	2	3	4	5
59	I am changing my style of life to fit my new beliefs about Black people.	1	2	3	4	5
60	I am satisfied with myself.	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix I: Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale

Instructions: Below is a set of questions that deal with social issues <u>in the United States</u> (U.S.). Using the 6-point scale, 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   Strongly Agree

	1	2	3	4	5	6

		1	2	3	4	5	6
1	White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin	1	2	3	4	5	6
2	White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3	Race is very important in determining who is successful and who is not.	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Race plays an important role in determining who gets sent to prison	1	2	3	4	5	6
5	Race plays a major role in the types of social services (such as type of health care or daycare) that people receive in the U.S.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6	Racial and ethnic minorities do not have the same opportunities	1	2	3	4	5	6

	as White people in the U.S.						
7	Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8	White people are more to blame for racial discrimination than ethnic and racial minorities.	1	2	3	4	*5*	6
9	Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against White people.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10	White people in the U.S. are discriminated unfairly against because of the color of their skin.	1	2	3	4	*5*	6
11	English should be the official language of the U.S.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12	Due to racial discrimination, programs such as affirmative action are necessary to create equality.	1	2	3	4	*5*	6
13	Racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14	It is important that people begin to think of themselves as	1	2	3	4	5	6

	American, and not African American, Mexican American, Italian American, etc.						
15	Immigrants should try to fit into the culture and values of the U.S.	1	2	3	4	5	6
16	Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated incidents.	1	2	3	4	5	6
17	Talking about racial incidents creates unnecessary tension.	1	2	3	4	5	6
18	Racism is a major problem in the U.S.	1	2	3	4	5	6
19	It is important for public schools to teach about the history and contributions of ethnic and racial minorities.	1	2	3	4	5	6
20	Racism may have been a problem in the past, it is not an important problem today.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Appendix J: Sociopolitical Control Scale for Youth

Below are a set of statements about your involvement in school and community activities. Please indicate the extent to which you disagree or agree with these statements by placing a check mark in the appropriate box.

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Agree
1	I am often the leader in groups.	1	2	3	4	5
2	I would prefer to be a leader rather than a follower.	1	2	3	4	5
3	I would rather have a leadership role when I'm involved in a group project.	1	2	3	4	5
4	I can usually organize people to get things done.	1	2	3	4	5
5	Other people usually follow my ideas.	1	2	3	4	5
6	I find it very easy to talk in front of a group.	1	2	3	4	5
7	I like to work on solving a problem myself rather than wait and see if someone else will deal with it	1	2	3	4	5
8	I like trying new things that are challenging to me.	1	2	3	4	5
9	I enjoy participation because I want to have as much say in my community or school as possible.	1	2	3	4	5
10	Youth like me can really understand what's going on with my community or school.	1	2	3	4	5
11	I feel like I have a pretty good understanding of the important issues	1	2	3	4	5

	which confront my community or school.					
12	Youth like me have the ability to participate effectively in community or school activities and decision making.	1	2	3	4	5
13	My opinion is important because it could someday make a difference in my community or school.	1	2	3	4	5
14	There are plenty of ways for youth like me to have a say in what our community or school does.	1	2	3	4	5
15	It is important to me that I actively participate in local teen issues.	1	2	3	4	5
16	Most community or school leaders would listen to me.	1	2	3	4	5
17	Many local activities are important to participate in.	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix K: Critical Consciousness: Critical Action

Instructions: Please respond to the following statements by circling how often you were involved in each activity in the last year. For each statement, choose "Never did this," "Once or twice last year," "Once every few months," "At least once a month," or "At least once a week."

		Never did this	Once or twice last year	Once every few months	At least once a month	At least once a week
1	Participated in a civil rights group or organization	1	2	3	4	5
2	Participated in a political party, club, or organization	1	2	3	4	5
3	Wrote a letter to a school or community newspaper or publication about a social or political issue	1	2	3	4	5
4	Contacted a public official by phone, mail, or email to tell him/her how you felt about a particular social or political issue	1	2	3	4	5
5	Joined in a protest march, political demonstration, or political meeting	1	2	3	4	5
6	Worked on a political campaign.	1	2	3	4	5
7	Participated in a discussion about a social or political issue.	1	2	3	4	5
8	Signed an email or written petition about a social or political issue.	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix L: The Index of Race-Related Stress- Brief Version

Instructions: This survey is intended to sample some of the experiences that Black people have in the U.S. because of their "blackness". Some experiences happen just once, others more often, and others might happen more frequently. Below is a list some of these experiences. Please circle the number on the scale (0 to 4) that indicates the reaction you had to the experience at when it happened. If an event has happened more than once, refer to the first time it happened.

0= This never happened to me.

1=This event happened, but did not bother me.

2=This event happened & I was slightly upset.

3=This event happened & I was upset.

4= This event happened & I was *extremely* upset.

1	You notice that crimes committed by White people tend to be romanticized, whereas the same crime committed by a Black person is a portrayed as savagery, and the Black person who committed it, as an animal	0	1	2	3	4
2	Sales people/clerks did not say thank you or show other forms of courtesy and respect (e.g., put your things in a bag) when you shopped at some White/non-Black owned businesses.	0	1	2	3	4
3	You notice that when Black people are killed by the police, the media informs the public of the victim's criminal record or negative information in their background, suggesting they got what they deserved.	0	1	2	3	4

4	You have been threatened with physical violence by an individual or group of Whites/non-Blacks.	0	1	2	3	4
5	You have observed that White kids who commit violent crimes are portrayed as "boys being boys", while Black kids who commit similar crimes are wild animals.	0	1	2	3	4
6	You seldom hear or read anything positive a out Black people on radio, TV, in newspaper, or history books.	0	1	2	3	4
7	While shopping at a store the sales clerk assumed that you couldn't afford certain items (i.e. you were directed toward the items on sale).	0	1	2	3	4
8	You were the victim of a crime and the police treated you as if you should just accept it as part of being Black.	0	1	2	3	4
9	You were treated with less respect and courtesy than Whites and other non-Blacks while in a store, restaurant, or other business establishment.	0	1	2	3	4
10	You were passed over for an important project although you were more qualified and competent than the White/non-Black person given the task.	0	1	2	3	4
11	Whites/non-Blacks have stared at you as if you didn't belong in the same place with them; whether it was at restaurant, theatre, or other place of business.	0	1	2	3	4
12	You have observed the police treat White/non-Blacks with more respect and dignity than they do Blacks.	0	1	2	3	4

13	You have been subjected to racist jokes by Whites/non-Blacks in positions of authority and you did not protest for fear they might have held it against you.	0	1	2	3	4
14	While shopping at a store, or when attempting to make a purchase, you were ignored as if you were not a serious customer or didn't have any money.	0	1	2	3	4
15	You have observed situations where other Blacks were treated harshly or unfairly by Whites/non-Blacks due to their race.	0	1	2	3	4
16	You have heard reports of Whites/non-Blacks who have committed crimes, and in an effort to cover up their deeds falsely reported that a Black man was responsible for the crime.	0	1	2	3	4
17	You notice that the media plays up those stories that cast Blacks in negative ways (child abusers, rapists, muggers, etc.), usually accompanied by a large picture of a Black person looking angry or disturbed.	0	1	2	3	4
18	You have heard racist remarks or comments about Black people spoken with impunity by White public officials or other influential Black people.	0	1	2	3	4
19	You have been given more work, or the most undesirable jobs at your place of employment while the White/non-Black of equal or less seniority and credentials is given less work, and more desirable tasks.	0	1	2	3	4
20	You have heard or seen other Black people express a desire to be White or to have	0	1	2	3	4

	White physical characteristics because they disliked being Black or thought it was ugly.					
21	White people or other non-Blacks have treated you as if you were unintelligent and needed things explained to you slowly or numerous times.	0	1	2	3	4
22	You or your family was refused an apartment of other housing, you suspect it was because you're Black.	0	1	2	3	4

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