

EFFECTS OF RACIAL SOCIALIZATION ON RACIAL
ATTITUDES OF AFRICAN
AMERICAN PRE-SCHOOLERS

A Thesis Presented to the
Faculty of the College of Education
University of Houston

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Education

by

Bernasha Anderson

December, 2011

EFFECTS OF RACIAL SOCIALIZATION ON RACIAL
ATTITUDES OF AFRICAN
AMERICAN PRE-SCHOOLERS

An Abstract
of a
Thesis Presented to the
Faculty of the College of Education
University of Houston

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Education

by

Bernasha Anderson

December, 2011

Anderson, Bernasha. "Effects of Racial Socialization on Racial Attitudes of African American Pre-schoolers." Unpublished Master of Education Thesis, University of Houston, December 2011.

Abstract

The purpose of the study was to examine African American pre-schoolers' racial attitudes and African American parents' color-blind racial attitudes and racial socialization experiences. This study explored the relation between parents' racial socialization reception experiences and their color-blind racial attitudes. Additionally, the relation between racial socialization transmission experiences and pre-schoolers' racial attitudes was examined. The average age of parents was 35.7 years old and pre-schoolers was 4.4 years old. There were 71 parent-child dyads recruited from local schools, daycares and after school care programs. Pre-schoolers completed the Preschool Racial Attitudes Measure II (PRAM II). Parents completed the Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS) and the Parent Cultural and Racial Experiences of Socialization (P-CARES) measure. A significant relationship emerged between Affirmation messages that parents transmitted to pre-schoolers and pre-schoolers' racial attitudes ($r = -.275, p < .05$). However, a hierarchical regression analysis revealed that racial socialization practices did not predict pre-schoolers racial attitudes.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Review of Literature	2
The Current Study	22
Research Questions and Hypotheses	24
II. METHODOLOGY	25
Sample	25
Measures	26
Procedures	33
III. RESULTS	35
Descriptive Statistics and Correlations	35
Multiple Regressions	38
Discussion	39
REFERENCES	45

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Proposed Quantitative Measures	42
2	Means, Standard Deviations and Intercorrelations	43
3	Hierarchical Regression Analysis	44

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Racism is a prevalent social issue that affects the lives of African American youth (Nyborg & Curry, 2003). Over the past few decades, racism has made a shift from overt racism to covert racism. One common expression of covert racism that is ubiquitous in American society is color-blind racial attitudes. Color-blind racial attitudes reflect the disbelief that skin color affects the beliefs and attitudes of individuals. Additionally, color-blind racial attitudes are also defined as the denial that racism exists (Thompson & Neville, 1999). In a society where race and racism play a major role, research has shown that African American parents prepare their children for racism by instilling a positive belief system regarding the Black race. Research shows that children recognize race from an early age (Augoustinos & Rosewarne, 2001; Clark & Clark, 1939; Clarke & Clarke, 1940; Branch & Newcombe, 1986). The instillation of a positive belief system by African American parents is called racial socialization (Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002; Barr & Neville, 2008; Brown & Krishnakumar, 2007). When children are not exposed to parental racial socialization they may become racially socialized by American society which endorses messages that have a preference for Whiteness over Blackness (Fulmore, Taylor, Ham & Lyles, 1994). Therefore, the current study sought to examine the effects of African American parental racial socialization messages on African American pre-school aged children's racial attitudes. Additionally, the effects of parental colorblindness on parental racial socialization were explored.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

For 350 years Africans endured the heinous face of slavery by being captured as a result of slave raids (Osabu-Kle, 2000). These slave raids lead to Africans being sold in the Americas and across the Caribbean. During this time period, attempts were made to deny the validity of African culture, erase African history and break the spirits of African slaves (Van Sertima, 1976). African slavery has led to the continuous denigration of blackness in the U.S. (Hill, 1999). Hochschild and Weaver (2007) posit that majority of Americans have a preference for light skin which is representative of White Americans versus dark skin which is representative of African Americans. For instance, the authors cite that dark skin African Americans receive longer prison terms than light skin African Americans. In addition, there is a preference for light skin African Americans in the advertising, film and modeling industries (Hochschild & Weaver, 2007).

Negative views of Africans did not cease when slavery was abolished, instead these depictions have continued into present day. Less than 150 years after the abolishment of slavery, racism continues to be a prevalent issue within the U.S. with the purpose of prohibiting blacks from full participation in American society (Feagin & Vera, 1995). Akbar (1980) suggests that African Americans have been victims to mental, physical and intellectual oppression. He defines intellectual oppression as the act of abusive ideas, labels and concepts used to mentally degrade African American individuals (Akbar, 1980). For example, African slavery resulted in African Americans' adoption of the oppressive idea that African Americans are inferior to whites (Osabu-Kle, 2000). African slavery resulted in the African race being regarded as less than human and

in turn has negatively affected the way in which members of the African race view themselves and the enslaver (Osabu-Kle, 2000). This accepted assumption of black inferiority has resulted in Africans becoming the victims to mental oppression which causes African Americans to view the oppressor as a demigod (Osabu-Kle, 2000). After a long history of oppression, it has become engrained in many African Americans' minds that society values White Americans more than it values African Americans. Additionally, it had been engrained that White Americans hold more power in the U.S. than African Americans. Osabu-Kle proposes that these viewpoints hold present-day African-Americans in mental slavery (2000).

It has become increasingly important to study race as it relates to African American children because of African Americans' experience of mental oppression in the U.S. and society's messages of inferiority of African Americans. There are a number of studies on the topic of the effects of racial discrimination on African American adolescents' self esteem (Davis & Stevenson, 2006; Seaton, 2009) and African American adults' self esteem (Jones, Cross, & Defour, 2007; Utsey, Ponterotto, Reynolds, & Canceli, 2000). For example, Seaton (2009) conducted a study on African American adolescents and found that racial discrimination is a salient stressor and is linked to diminished psychological health. Perceptions of institutional racism were connected to an increase in depressive symptoms and a decrease in self esteem in African American adolescents (Seaton, 2009). Also, Jones et al., conducted a study on African American and Caribbean women and found an inverse relationship between racist stress events and self-esteem (2007). Additionally, researchers exploring life satisfaction of African Americans have consistently found that discrimination negatively affected participants'

self-reported life satisfaction (Broman, 1997; Thomas & Hughes, 1986). However, there are relatively fewer studies examining racial discrimination and African American pre-schoolers.

These previously stated studies are relevant to the current study in that studying a younger population of African Americans may help to contribute to understanding issues related to African Americans' self-esteem and life satisfaction later in life. Thus, information obtained may help to alleviate these issues in future generations.

Children and Racial Differences

Previous research concludes that racial differences are first recognized in early childhood. For instance, Swanson and colleagues (1999) posit that children ages 3 to 4 years old are able to distinguish racial groups based on colors. The researchers report that children in this age group categorize racial groups by describing themselves and others as having "pink skin" or "brown skin". Contrastingly, children ages 5 to 6 years old were able to identify race in terms of definitions constructed by the greater society. For instance, children in this age group classify themselves and others as being "Black" or "White" (Swanson, Cunningham, Youngblood & Spencer, 1999). While studying racial attitudes of children, the question of cognitive readiness relative to the influence that it may have on pre-schoolers' ability to possess racial attitudes can be raised. Pre-schoolers are in the pre-operational stage as defined by Piaget (Spencer, 1982a). The pre-operational stage begins approximately at age two and ends at approximately age 7. In this stage, pre-schoolers are able to form concrete concepts such as using symbols such as drawings, images and words to represent objects. However, their thoughts are largely

influenced by fantasies. Additionally, pre-school age children in this stage of cognitive development and possess egocentric thinking (Spencer, 1982a).

Spencer (1982a) proposes that both African American and White pre-schoolers between the ages of three and six years old have a preference for Whites during the pre-operational stage. Additionally, Spencer (1982a) suggests that children lack the cognitive structures which are necessary in order to make complex associations. In a study of 130 African American pre-school participants ages four to six years old, the relationship of social cognitive ability and racial awareness was assessed (Spencer, 1982a). Social cognition is defined as the child's logical representation of others. Decentration is the ability to take another's perspective. Results indicated that social cognition as measured by decentering ability predicted racial awareness. Therefore, pre-schoolers scoring higher on measures of social cognitions also scored higher on measures of racial awareness. However, the same study found that racial attitudes and social cognition measured by decentration ability were unrelated. Therefore, these results illustrated that cognitive level does not determine racial attitudes in African American pre-school age children (Spencer, 1982a).

However, if cognitive levels were the only determinant of pre-schoolers' racial attitudes, pre-schoolers would possess an egocentric racial identity viewing race from their own personal perspective. Though previous studies report evidence of non-White pre-schoolers' preference for Whites (Clark & Clark, 1947; CNN, 2010; Davis, 2005). Therefore, it is plausible that other factors influence pre-schoolers racial attitudes such as parental racial socialization and influence from the majority culture (Holmes, 1995).

Moreover, in a now classic experiment Clark and Clark (1947) used dolls to determine racial preferences in preschoolers. They found that 59% of Black children selected the Black doll as the doll that “looks bad” and 60% chose the White doll as the one that had a “nice color”. The results of these findings illustrated that African American early childhood children who were living in 1940’s, preferred White dolls to Black dolls and possessed racial beliefs that African Americans were inferior to Whites. This research study has wide spread implications on race and education in America.¹

The Clark and Clark original doll study has been replicated formally and informally since the ‘40s (CNN, 2010; Davis, 2005; Hraba & Grant, 1970; Spencer, 1983). By and large results have consistently corroborated those previously found (CNN, 2010; Davis, 2005). For instance, CNN most recently replicated the doll study in a project designed and supervised by Margaret Beale Spencer (CNN, 2010). Spencer and her team of three other psychologists were asked by CNN to conduct a study in order to find out how children presently view skin color given the recent election of President Barack Obama. CNN conducted a pilot study surveying 133 pre-kindergarteners, kindergarteners and middle childhood-age children located in the Northeast and Southeast regions of the U.S. Results suggested that pre-kindergarteners and kindergarteners who attributed positive characteristics (i.e., good, nice, smart, good looking) with the pictures of light skin children also attributed negative characteristics (i.e., ugly, dumb, bad, mean) with pictures of dark skin children. The early childhood sample consisted of 36 Black and 29 white prekindergarten and kindergarten children.

¹ The Clark doll study was one of the determining factors used in the Brown v. Board of Education trial in 1954 which racially desegregated schools and other public settings (Jordan & Hernandez-Reif, 2009).

For the early childhood sample, the researchers found statistically significant racial differences on scores for the positive attitudes and beliefs subscale, the color preference subscale and the social preferences subscale. Specifically, Black and White early childhood participants attributed positive attitudes and beliefs to lighter complexions. Additionally, Black and White early childhood participants chose lighter complexions on the social preference scale. The social preference scale scores were generated using the mean of participants' choices when they were asked to select the child they would like to have as a classmate, playmate and friend. Black and White childhood participants tended to select darker skin tones on the color rejection subscale. The color rejection subscale was determined by the mean of the participants' scores on four items: the skin color that looks bad on a boy/girl, the skin color that most boys/girls do not want, the skin color that most adults think looks bad on a boy/girl and the color that most teachers think looks bad on a boy/girl. The group means for White children were higher than the group means for Black children on all three scales indicating that White children attributed positive attitudes and beliefs to lighter complexions or White complexions and showed a preference for lighter complexions or White complexions (CNN, 2010).

This experiment has also been reproduced in a less scientifically rigorous setting. For example, Davis conducted a film documentary entitled *A Girl Like Me* which replicated the Clark Doll study. In the film documentary, Davis surveyed 21 African American preschool age children by asking the same questions used in the original Clark doll study (i.e., Can you show me the nice doll? Can you show me the doll that looks bad?). Fifteen out 21 African American children chose the White doll as the doll that they would prefer to play with and that they liked the white doll best (Davis, 2010).

Contrastingly, researchers have used research techniques similar to the original researchers of the Clark doll study and found results that do not support the findings of the original researchers (Hraba & Grant, 1970; Spencer, 1983). Approximately thirty-five years after the original Clark doll study, Spencer conducted a study in the North and South where participants included 384 African American pre-school and primary school age children. The purpose of the studies was to determine if cognitive development of preschoolers was a factor that affected self concept and group identity. Racial attitudes and preferences were assessed using a revised version of the Williams and Roberson (1967) picture-card procedure which consisted of eight 11" x 14" cards illustrating two full length pictures of children identical in all areas with the exception of skin color and hair texture. African American preschool age children were provided stories to accompany the pictures and then asked questions. For example, participants were asked, "Here are two boys playing. Everyone says how ugly one boy is. Which is the ugly boy?" African American preschool age children displayed a preference for Whites and assigned positive attributes to Whites and negative attributes to Blacks. These results were consistent with the previous Clark and Clark (1947) findings. However, Spencer found that despite their preferences for Whites, African American preschoolers were found to have a positive sense of self which was measured utilizing the Thomas Self-Concept Measure. This measure examined data from four references: Self as seen by (1) self, (2) mother, (3) peer, and (4) teacher. Self was evaluated on 14 factors: happiness, sharing, size, ability, sociability, male acceptance, fear of things, strength, health, cleanliness, fear of people, independence, material and attractiveness. Spencer found that African American pre-school and primary school participants possessed positive self-concept at

every age and in both geographical locations. For instance, she found that 87% of pre-schoolers in the North and 81% of pre-schoolers in the South presented positive personal identity/self-concepts. Thus, Spencer (1982) argues that African American children may display White preferences while still possessing a healthy self concept.

Additionally, Hraba and Grant (1970) conducted a study with 160 African American and White children ages 4-8 years old. The researcher attempted to replicate the Clark doll study by utilizing four dolls (two African American and two White) and asking identical questions. The researchers found that the majority of African American children at all age levels preferred the African American doll to the White doll and that this preference increased with age.

The above studies present data that are relevant to the current study. Researchers have replicated the original Clark doll study corroborating previously found results and producing opposing results (CNN, 2010; Davis, 2005; Hraba & Grant, 1970; Spencer, 1983). It appears that some researchers replicate the original Clark doll study in order to contest its reliability and others to prove it as reliable. Additionally, researchers replicate the original Clark doll study in order to determine if the results will be similar in different populations based on socioeconomic statuses, regional differences, or to take into account the effect of various contemporary societal events. These replication studies demonstrate that race remains a prevailing issue affecting the lives of African American parents and pre-school age children. Moreover, these studies provide evidence that race continues to be a relevant issue in early childhood. The findings discussed indicate that there exists mixed data on African American preschoolers' racial attitudes and self concept. Some of

the above studies illustrate that White and African American children in early childhood show a preference for light skin tones and reject dark skin tones. These results shed light on dominant racial attitudes in the U.S. and the struggles that African American parents and children face daily. If African American children show a preference for light skin tones and reject dark skin tones, African American children may possess beliefs that indicate that they and those members of their race are inferior to Whites.

Despite several replications of the original Clark doll study, several questions have been left unanswered. For instance, Did African American parents expose African American pre-schoolers to parental racial socialization? If so, what types of messages were African American children exposed to? What were parents' beliefs regarding race? How did parents' racial beliefs affect their parental racial socialization practices and children's racial attitudes?

Results from the aforementioned studies of children and race have implications for the racial identity and self-esteem of early childhood African American children. If preschool age African American children, view themselves and members of their race as inferior to Whites this can lead to issues related to self esteem, self confidence, academic achievement/education, employment and overall quality of life. For instance, in a study conducted by Steele (Steele 1997), African American and White students who attended Stanford University were given a verbal intelligence test. Half of both groups of students were told that the test measured intelligence while the other half were not. The African American students who were told that the test measured intelligence performed worse on the test than the African American students who were not provided with this information.

Contrastingly, the White students in both groups were not affected by this information. Steele believes that this study demonstrated a term that he calls stereotype threat. As a result, an African American child who believes that she is inferior to Whites may perform poorly in school which has many long-term implications.

Related to race and education, a recent study on Black males found that only 47% of African American males graduated from high school in the 2007-2008 school year compared to 78% of White males (Holzman, 2010). As a result, employment opportunities and overall quality of life will be limited due to a lack of education. Unfortunately, the generational legacy of slavery and Black inferiority seems to repeatedly manifest in the African American community. Finally, race continues to be a significant issue in the U.S. as African Americans continue to experience repeated episodes of covert and overt racism. These experiences of racism affect African Americans racial beliefs regarding their racial group. Moreover, the studies mentioned previously indicate that throughout history, African American children continue to have a preference for lighter skin tone or White people and reject darker skin tones and African Americans. Previous studies have not examined parental racial attitudes in combination with parental racial socialization. Therefore, the current study sought to examine parental color-blind racial attitudes, parental racial socialization messages in the form of messages that parents currently transmit to their pre-schoolers and messages that parents received during their childhood and racial attitudes of African American pre-schoolers. The current study also sought to explore whether transmitted parental racial socialization messages can help pre-schoolers to combat negative beliefs regarding African Americans. In addition, the current study examined current day parental racial

socialization practices in order to determine if pre-schoolers who are exposed to parental racial socialization are benefitting and if pre-schoolers who are not receiving these messages are missing out.

Racial Socialization

Due to the disparagement that African slavery left behind, African American parents engage in racial socialization with their children in order to prepare them for racism in the U.S. (Hill, 1999; Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002). Racial socialization is an integral factor of parenting within minorities families (Brown & Krishnakumar, 2007; Hughes, Witherspoon, Rivas-Drake & West-Bey, 2009). The definition of racial socialization varies throughout research. Hughes and Chen (1999) define racial socialization as messages that parents transmit about race or ethnicity to their children. Categories for these messages include: (a) Cultural socialization, emphasis on cultural heritage and pride; (b) preparation for bias, preparation for future encounters with racial discrimination and prejudice; (c) promoting racial mistrust, emphasis on need for distrust and caution during interracial communication; and (d) equalitarianism, emphasis on the similarities and equalities of members of all races/ethnicities.

Additionally, Hughes and Chen (1999) define racial socialization as messages that are synergistic, verbal/nonverbal, proactive/reactive and deliberate/unintended. Hill (1999) defines racial socialization as "black parents' efforts to help children to redefine beauty or at least question why they consider the characteristics of Europeans to be more physically attractive than those of blacks" (p. 96). Similarly, Thornton, Chatters, Taylor and Allen (1990) posit that racial socialization consists of "specific messages and

practices that are relevant to and provide information concerning the nature of race status as it relates to: (1) personal and group identity; (2) intergroup and interindividual relationships; and (3) position in the social hierarchy” (p. 401). For the purposes of this study, a synthesis of the ideas represented in each of the aforementioned construct definitions was used to develop a composite definition of racial socialization. Hence, racial socialization is defined as the set of verbal and nonverbal messages that create an ethnic and racial identity in which African American parents transmit to their children including: (a) Emphasis on cultural heritage and pride; (b) preparation for bias, preparation for future racial discriminatory encounters; (c) promotion of racial mistrust; and (d) emphasis on equality of members of all races/ethnicities (Hughes & Chen, 1999).

Boykin and Toms (1985) suggest that African American parents’ child rearing practices exists on three levels: mainstream culture, minority culture and African American culture. They posit that socialization at these three levels represent a “triple quandary” or “triple consciousness” (p. 46). Socialization at the mainstream level relates to what is taking place in the dominant culture. Meaning that White American society enforces a standard that African American children are expected to follow. This standard represents what is considered normal and anything outside of this standard is deemed as abnormal. The second form of consciousness—minority culture, represents degradation for all who do not represent the majority culture. The researchers propose that the minority status is the result of the invisible racial hierarchy that exists in the U. S. For African American children it is the notion that individuals who belong to a minority group are inferior to those who belong to the majority group. The minority culture consciousness also means that an African American child will be informed repeatedly

that his/her ranking is lower than that of a White child. Lastly, African American consciousness represents the link that African Americans have with West African culture. It consists of African American children gaining knowledge regarding the history, heritage, music etc. of their ancestors (Boykin & Toms, 1985). Additionally, triple quandary means that African American parents are forced to teach their children how and when to maneuver in these three different cultures: mainstream, minority and African American culture throughout their lives. African American parents prepare their children for experiences at all of these levels by informing their children of socially appropriate responses, and by teaching them how to interact with others in which they encounter at all of these levels. African American parents recognize that how their children interact in all of these levels will determine their children's overall quality of life.

Moreover, all three of the levels of African American child rearing practices developed by Boykin and Toms (1985) impact the racial identity development of African American children. However, the second level, minority culture will be explored in the current study. The minority culture experience has had the most relevance as it relates to racial attitudes and racial identity. For example, knowledge of others and self takes place concurrently (Lewis & Brooks-Gunn, 1979). The two cannot take place without the other because of one's social settings or circumstances. That is to say they form from interactions with the African American community and other racial and ethnic communities outside of the African American community. Therefore, racial identity is affected by the amount of interactions that a child has with the racial group that they belong to and racial groups that differ from their own (Amir, 1969). Through these interactions with different racial groups, the child gains knowledge about her/himself and

others. Moreover, Western culture highly values the color white and White people which can be seen in the fact that more positive attributes are associated with the color white and White people versus the color black and African Americans. Contrastingly, African American children are faced with the dilemma of wanting to be proud of their race and ethnic group yet they are slapped in the face by North American's society that informs them that their race and ethnic group is inferior to the White race.

Sellers et al. (1998) developed the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity and posit that African American's racial identity is comprised of four dimensions: (1) racial salience, (2) racial centrality, (3) racial regard, and (4) racial ideology. This dilemma, suggested by Boykin and Toms, triple quandary, can be understood in the context of this theory as it relates to the concept of racial regard. Racial regard is divided into two categories: (1) private and (2) public. Private regard is defined as "the extent to which individuals feel positively or negatively about Blacks as well as how positively or negatively they feel about being Black" (p. 283). Public regard is defined as "the individual's assessment of how African Americans are viewed (or valued) by the broader society" (p. 284). Consequently, African Americans experience the quandary of balancing public and private regard. An African American individual is influenced by their personal beliefs and society's beliefs regarding their race. Regardless of if an African American feels positively about her/his race, the reality is that African Americans are still affected by the views of the larger society. Thus, racial socialization can be beneficial in helping to stimulate positive growth of private regard which can be beneficial in shielding one from the negative effects of public regard.

Effects of Racial Socialization on Racial Identity. A universal factor that African American parents are faced with is raising African American children in a society that possesses a negative racial orientation towards African Americans. African Americans are one of the few racial groups that have the challenge of racially socializing their children with positive messages that are in direct opposition with the beliefs of the nation in which they reside (Peters, 1999). Stevenson (1995) posits that African American parents are more likely to racially socialize their children than parents from other ethnic groups. Overall, the literature on racial socialization indicates that African American families cushion the effects of racism and endorse racial pride for African American children via racial socialization practices (White-Johnson, Ford, & Sellers, 2010).

For instance, in a study that investigated parental racial socialization in African American parents, Hill (1999) found that parents first spoke with their children regarding race after their children had become knowledgeable about issues surrounding race. Although, these parents state that they actively present environments to their children that illustrate a positive view of African Americans (Hill, 1999). Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph and Nickerson found that 90% of African American parents of preschoolers racially socialized their children using messages that promote racial pride. The researchers also found that 64% of these parents exposed their children to messages that promoted mistrust towards Whites. Results also indicated that experiences of racial socialization related to racial pride yielded less behavioral problems in African American male preschoolers (2002). Moreover, in a longitudinal study conducted over a two year period with African American infant and toddlers, researchers found that African American mothers expressed a strong responsibility to instruct their young children on

how to survive in an environment plagued by prejudice and racism (Peters, 1999).

Murray and Brody (1999) conducted a study with 156 African American single mothers whose first born children were between the ages of 6 years old-9 years old. This study was a component of a longitudinal project called the Rural African American Program for the Study of Competence in Children and Single-Mother families. The researchers found a correlation between children that were exposed to messages that centered on African American culture and self worth (Murray & Brody, 1999).

Lastly, Margaret Beale Spencer (1983) in a follow-up to her first Clark and Clark replication conducted an additional revision of the Clark doll (1947) study using African American parents and three groups of African American children: 3-5 years old, 4-6 years old and 3, 5, 7, and 9 years old. Spencer displayed postcards illustrating Black and White children in order to determine racial preferences and attitudes. Results illustrated that parental racial socialization influenced behaviors and racial attitudes of preschoolers. For instance, children whose parents reported that their children possessed a substantial knowledge of Black history data were found to have Afro centric preferences and attributes. Children whose parents reported that their children did not possess a substantial amount of information on Black history were found to have Eurocentric preferences and attributes (Spencer, 1983). These studies indicate that the installation of racial pride within African American children yields positive results specifically as it relates to pro-social behavior and self worth.

In total these findings present evidence that issues related to race and parental racial socialization have a major impact on African American children. Taken together

these findings indicate that African American parents actively use racial socialization as a child-rearing practice aimed at buffering their children from the negative effects of racism.

However, these results appear contradictory. There are several possibilities for these contradictory findings. For instance, the studies were impacted by the time period in which they were conducted. The original Clark and Clark (1947) doll study took place in the pre-Civil Rights era in comparison to the Hraba and Grant (1970) study which took place in the post Civil Rights era where the Black Pride Campaign was launched and phrases such as "Black is beautiful" were coined. In addition, African Americans were fighting for equality and integration with White Americans. Additionally, the measures and means of analysis that were used in the previous studies may account for the variability in the results. For instance, Hraba and Grant (1970) used the original questions that were asked during the Clark doll study, utilized teacher reports and a chi square in their analysis while Clark and Clark (1947) used a coloring test, pre-schoolers' responses from a questionnaire and percentages and ratios in their analysis. In addition, Hraba and Grant (1970) conducted their studying employing African American and White interviewers while the original Clark and Clark doll study does not make mention as to what the race of the interviewers were. Moreover, another difference that may account for the variability is that Clark and Clark's (1947) sample included 134 African American pre-school age children who attended racially segregated schools in Arkansas and 119 pre-school age children who attended integrated schools in Massachusetts. In contrast, Hraba and Grant sample consisted of 89 African American pre-schoolers and 71 White pre-schoolers in Nebraska who were attending predominantly White schools.

Moreover, African American parents are faced with the difficult task of rearing children in a society that devalues their existence. African American parents prepare their children for this rejection through racial socialization. Previous studies illustrate that experiences of racial socialization have produced positive outcomes related to self esteem, academic performance, and behavior. Furthermore, the original Clark doll study was beneficial in shedding light upon major issues related to race and African American pre-school children. However, there continues to be several questions that have not been addressed by previous researchers. These questions may be able to allow researchers to determine several factors that influence African American pre-schoolers racial attitudes.

Color-Blind Racial Attitudes

Another major construct of this study is color-blind racial attitudes. As mentioned previously color-blind racial attitudes are beliefs that deny that racism exists and/or that skin color effects the beliefs and attitudes of individuals (Thompson & Neville, 1999). This definition will be used to characterize color-blind racial attitudes throughout this study.

There are several factors that contribute to parental racial socialization practices as it relates to African American parents. Racial attitudes of African American parents are a major factor affecting parental racial socialization practices. As such, historical and present day considerations affect African American parents' beliefs regarding race. Historical considerations include African slavery which resulted in a vicious deracination of several African cultures which resulted in feelings of powerlessness. Present day considerations include racial discrimination and injustice for people of African descent

within American society as a result of African slavery (McAdoo, 1999). These heinous experiences have shaped African American families ideologies (Wilkinson, 1997). Parents' actions within the home setting are more influential than the time that children spend in school (Luster & McAdoo, 1996). One approach to parental racial socialization for African American parents is avoiding speaking about race in its entirety and allowing society to instruct children on how to maneuver as an African American in American culture. African American parents who take this approach feel that introducing the topic of race to their children will cause them to feel inferior to Whites and that by not talking about race, their children will never become hurt over issues related to race. Other African American parents view Whites as having more power than African Americans thus enact the method of using a defensive attitude towards Whites and thus pass their own prejudices to their children. McAdoo posits that children who are parentally socialized by these racial views may become alienated by community members in the future (2002). Some African American parents whom do not feel a strong connection to the African American community racially socialization their children by not discussing race on the belief that if individuals work hard and abide by laws they will find success in American culture. Peters (1985) proposes that this form of parental racial socialization will not be successful in preparing African American children on how to effectively adjudicate within society.

Although there have been several studies conducted on racial socialization (Barr & Neville, 2008; Davis & Stevenson, 2006; Thornton, Chatters, Taylor & Allen, 1990; Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph & Nickerson, 2002; Hughes et al., 2009) the majority of these studies have been conducted on adolescents. For example, Barr and Neville found

that African American college age students whose parents implemented racial socialization messages that prepared African American college age children for racial bias, showed lower color blindness beliefs than African American children who had not received these same messages from parents (Barr & Neville, 2008).

In total, these findings present evidence that parental racial beliefs influence parental racial socialization practices. Thus, parental racial socialization affects racial beliefs of children as there is evidence that parental racial socialization beliefs can be passed down to African American parents' offspring. Additionally, these findings present evidence that African American children will experience consequences depending on what messages they are exposed to. Moreover, the aforementioned studies indicate that if an African American child inherits beliefs that view Whites as possessing more power than African Americans, this may result in a child's cultural community distancing themselves from him. In addition, if an African American parent is dismissing all communication related to race this child is likely to not be able to successfully maneuver in American culture which possesses a preference for Whites versus African Americans.

Additionally, there is no research that has examined parental color-blind racial attitudes and racial socialization and how these two constructs affect racial attitudes in pre-school age children. Therefore, there is a need for a study which examines parental racial socialization and parental color-blind racial attitudes and how each affects racial attitudes in pre-school aged children. It is important to examine the link between parental racial socialization and color-blind racial attitudes in parents because color-blind racial attitudes will affect the parental socialization practices. Parents who possess color-blind

racial attitudes do not believe that racism exists. Therefore, if they do not believe that racism exists, they in turn will not provide children with messages that bolster the effects of racism. Previous studies have not examined parents' racial attitudes and how they affect parental racial socialization attitudes in children. It is important to examine if color-blind racial attitudes affect parental racial socialization practices and thus affect African American children's racial attitudes because if the researchers find that this is true then this information can be provided to parents to help children navigate in a society where racism continues to thrive.

The Current Study

The current study sought to explore racial attitudes of present day African American pre-schoolers and to examine if experiences of parental racial socialization impact pre-schoolers' racial attitudes. Additionally, parents' experiences of racial socialization during their childhood were explored to determine if these experiences predicted color-blind racial attitudes. Parents' color-blind racial attitudes were also examined to determine if color-blind racial attitudes impacted parental racial socialization practices. The current study will add to the literature in that it explored racial attitudes of African American pre-schoolers in the 21st century. It was beneficial to examine racial attitudes in the current time period in order to determine how the current time period has affected African American pre-schoolers' racial attitudes. Furthermore, it was beneficial to explore African American pre-schoolers' racial attitudes in the current American society where the sociopolitical climate has changed. The change in the sociopolitical climate can be seen in the fact that for the first time in history an African American man

currently governs as the president of the United States. With the United States of America's history of oppression to those of African descent by slavery, an African American male in the presidential office has produced conversations related to race which have been in the forefront of the media (Sanneh, 2009). Additionally, change in the current political climate can be seen in the fact that the most recent presidential term where an African American man governs as the President of the United States, has shed light to overt and covert acts of racism (Chan & Peters, 2009). For example, there have been several acts of blatant racism towards President Barack Obama, First lady Michelle Obama and their daughters in the form of cartoons, paintings, stories, and news articles (Chan & Peters, 2009). These acts of racism present evidence that it was beneficial to explore African American parents' color-blind racial attitudes as they are affected by experiences of racism, and in turn effect African American pre-schoolers' racial attitudes. Finally, it was beneficial to study how present day issues related to race and racism were affecting African American pre-schoolers and parents.

Children begin learning about race from their environment at an early age (Swanson, Cunningham, Youngblood & Spencer, 1999). The purpose of this study was to determine African American preschoolers' views regarding their racial group and the White racial group. This was done by exploring preschoolers' racial attitudes, parental racial socialization messages and parental color-blind racial attitudes. Parental color-blind racial attitudes were examined as a predictor of transmitted racial socialization messages. Moreover, how racial socialization messages effect African American pre-schoolers' racial attitudes was explored. Given the purpose of the study, the following research questions and hypotheses were posited.

RQ₁: Does racial socialization experiences of African American parents during their childhood predict current parental color-blind racial attitudes?

RQ₂: After controlling for parental color-blind racial attitudes, does transmitted racial socialization predict racial attitudes in African American preschoolers?

Hyp₁: Current parental color-blind racial attitudes will be significantly correlated with parental reception of racial socialization.

Hyp₂: African American preschoolers who experience lower levels of racial socialization will exhibit racial attitudes that view African Americans as inferior to Whites.

CHAPTER TWO

Methods

Participants. Seventy-one self-identified African American parents and preschoolers residing in the Southwest of the U.S. participated in the study. Data collection took place over the course of 6 months. The age range for pre-school participants in the sample was 3 to 6 years ($M = 4.43$, $SD = 1.15$). The majority of the pre-school age sample was female ($N = 43$, 60.6%). In terms of the types of environments that pre-schoolers were recruited from there were three different types of sites--local daycares, a private Christian school, and after-school care programs. The daycares included: Texas Southern University's Center on the Family ($n = 7$, 9.9%), A Step Above ($n = 8$, 11.3%), and Wheeler Avenue Baptist Church Day Camp ($n = 15$, 21.1%). The private Christian school was Wheeler Avenue Christian Academy ($n = 17$, 23.9%). Lastly, the after-school care program included: Sisterhood Creations ($n = 13$, 18.3%), Blue Triangle ($n = 4$, 5.6%), and Cuney Homes YMCA ($n = 7$, 9.9%). Thirteen (18.3%) of the pre-school and parent participants were recruited from an African centered facility while fifty-eight (81.7%) were recruited from non-African centered facilities. In terms of parent participants, the age range for parent participants in the sample was 23 to 72 years ($M = 35.74$, $SD = 8.70$). The majority of the parent sample was female ($n = 58$, 81.7%). Regarding parents' household income level, 26.8% ($n = 19$) of parent participants reported an annual household income of \$0-\$25,000, 32.4% ($n = 23$) reported an annual household income of \$25,001-\$75,000, 36.6% ($n = 26$) reported an annual household income of

\$75,000 or higher. In terms of parent participants' marital status, 31.0% (n=22) of parent participants reported that they had never been married, 52.1% (n=37) of parent participants reported that they were currently married, and 15.5% (n=11) of participants reported that they were separated or divorced.

The majority of the sample in this study reported that they had experienced racist acts against them in the past (n=49, 69%). On average parent participants reported that they speak to their pre-school age children about race (M=2.25, SD= 1.30). On average parent participants reported that it was "Not at all stressful" to speak with their children about race (M= 1.43, SD= .74).

Measures

Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS; Neville et al., 2000). Parent participants completed the Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale a self-report measure of explicit racial attitudes, or color-blind racial ideology. Color-blind racism is an ultramodern form of racism which distorts and minimizes the existence and impact of racism in contemporary American society (Neville et al., 2005). The CoBRAS consists of 20 items rated on a 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree) which load onto three factors: Unawareness of Racial Privilege (e.g., "Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich"); Unawareness of Institutional Discrimination (e.g., "Racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin"); and Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues (e.g., "Racism may have been a problem in the past, but it is not an important problem today"). Higher scores in each factor indicate greater levels of color-

blindness, denial, or unawareness. The alpha coefficients for each of the three factors as well as the total score were .83, .81, .76, and .91, respectively in the original study. In the current study, only total scores on the CoBRAS were included in the analyses. A Cronbach's alpha of .73 was found for the CoBRAS total score in the current study.

Parental Cultural and Racial Experiences of Socialization (P-CARES; Stevenson & Bentley, unpublished). The P-CARES is a self-report multidimensional measure of parental racial socialization transmission and reception practices. Racial socialization is defined as the set of verbal and nonverbal messages that create an ethnic and racial identity including: (a) emphasis on cultural heritage and pride; (b) preparation for bias, preparation for future racial discriminatory encounters; (c) promotion of racial mistrust; and (d) emphasis on equality of members of all races/ethnicities (Hughes & Chen, 1999). The P-CARES is a 53-item multidimensional scale of racial/ethnic socialization (R/ES) that measures message frequency, subject endorsement and message source. The P-CARES has a reception scale that measures the racial socialization messages parents/guardians received from their parents/guardians during childhood. In addition, there is a transmission scale that measures the racial socialization messages parents/guardians report for their current childrearing practices. The P-CARES utilizes clear and direct statements of R/ES that seek to grasp the cadence and connotation of what parents/guardians might actually say to their children. The P-CARES consists of three subscales, one that assesses the frequency that participants provide their children with a particular message, another that asks parents/guardians to identify the differences in the messages that they provide their children based on their children's gender, and the final inquires about how often parents/guardians were provided that same message while

they were growing up. Lastly, the P-CARES inquires about the identity of the source of each message/item (Mother, Father, Grandparent, Teacher/Professor, Sibling, Other Adult, Peers, Media, or No one told me this). The P-CARES's use of source identification for each item is an innovative construct to R/ES measurement. Included in the source options is "No one told me this," which is provided so that if a person cites that they never heard a message.

The items are rated in two different ways. There are two different Likert-type scales and one categorical scale. The first of the Likert-type scales range from 1 (never) to 3 (lots of times) and refers to how often the parent tells their child(ren) a specific message (e.g., "You can learn a lot from being around important White people."). The scores are summed to measure the frequency of transmission of socialization messages. Higher scores indicate higher levels of transmission of messages from parents to pre-schoolers. The second of the Likert-type scales ranges from 1 (never) to 3 (lots of times) and refers to how often parents/guardians were given a particular message when they were children. The scores are summed to measure the frequency of reception of racial socialization messages. Higher scores indicate higher levels for reception of messages. The categorical scale targets parenting techniques that may vary depending on gender of child and the discrete options included: S (Sons More), B (Same for Both), D (Daughters More), or N (I would not give this message at all). This scoring refers to gendered items. The scores for each category are summed. Higher scores in any category indicate that parents transmit specific messages to pre-schoolers based on pre-schoolers' gender.

All subscales have two components: (1) transmission messages-specific messages from each subscale that parents currently transmit to their pre-schoolers and (2) reception messages-specific messages that parents received during their childhood. The P-CARES subscales related to transmission messages are: Affirmation-transmission subscale, Stereotyping-transmission subscale, Racism-transmission subscale, Protection-transmission subscale, and Coping-transmission subscale. The Affirmation-transmission subscale refers to parents' endorsement of attitudes that promote cultural heritage teachings and cultural pride within their pre-schoolers (11 items; scores range from 11-33). The Stereotyping-transmission subscale relates to parents' transmission of messages related to internalized oppression reflected by broad generalizations and/or negative attitudes regarding African Americans (12 items; scores range from 12-36). The Racism-transmission subscale pertains to parents' transmission of ideas regarding White privilege and restricted views of how to interact with Whites to pre-schoolers (8 items; scores range from 8-24). The Protection-transmission subscale refers to parents' transmission of messages to pre-schoolers that reflect awareness of barriers caused by racism in society (11 items; scores range from 11-33). Finally, the Coping-transmission subscale pertains to parents' transmission of strategies in dealing with racial hostilities to pre-schoolers (11 items; scores range from 11-33).

The P-CARES subscales related to reception messages are: Affirmation-reception subscale, Stereotyping-reception subscale, Racism-reception subscale, Protection-reception subscale, and Coping-reception subscale. The Affirmation-reception subscale refers to parents' reception of messages from their parents regarding attitudes that endorse cultural heritage and pride (11 items; scores range from 11-33). The

Stereotyping-reception subscale relates to parents reception of messages that reflected internalized oppression, broad generalizations and/or negative attitudes regarding African Americans (12 items; scores range from 12-36). The Racialism-reception subscale pertains to ideas that parents' received during childhood regarding White privilege and restricted views of how to interact with Whites (8 items; scores range 8-24). The Protection-reception subscale refers to messages of awareness of barriers caused by racism in society that parents received from their parents in childhood (11 items; scores range 11-33). Lastly the Coping-reception subscale pertains to messages that parents received from their parents regarding strategies in dealing with racial hostilities (11 items; scores range 11-33). In the current study the following subscales were examined: Affirmation-transmission subscale, Stereotyping-transmission subscale, Racialism-transmission subscale, Affirmation-reception subscale, Stereotyping-reception subscale and Racialism-reception subscale. These subscales were used because the age range of pre-school participants was ages three to six years old. In that pre-schoolers' environments and experiences are limited, parents may have had experience in engaging in messages of Affirmation, Racialism, and Stereotyping more frequently than messages of Coping and Protection. In the current study, a Cronbach's alpha of .92 was found for the P-CARES Affirmation transmission subscale, a Cronbach's alpha of .79 was found for the P-CARES Racial-transmission subscale, a Cronbach's alpha of .84 was found for the P-CARES Stereotyping-transmission subscale. Furthermore, a Cronbach's alpha of .82 was found for the P-CARES Affirmation-reception subscale, a Cronbach's alpha of .72 was found for the P-CARES Racialism-reception subscale, and a Cronbach's alpha of .83 was found for the P-CARES Stereotyping –reception subscale.

Preschool Racial Attitude Measure II (PRAM II; Williams & Best, 1975). Pre-school age participants completed the PRAM II. The PRAM II is a bifurcated measure of racial attitudes. Though the PRAM II has been under used in recent years, it was developed for children ages 3 to 9 years old. The measure consists of 36 forced-choice items that are presented in the form of pictorial stimuli and stories. The PRAM II consists of one scale, the Racial Attitudes scale; however, it also contains 9 items that may be used to evaluate sex role awareness. However, for the current study only the 24 pictures and accompanying stories that examine racial attitudes were used. Twenty-four of the pictures and accompanying stories were used to determine racial attitudes in preschool aged children. The pictorial stimuli's standard display size is 8 x 10; however, pictorial stimuli can be illustrated on 5 x 7 paper. The 24 pictures used to assess racial attitudes in pre-school age participants illustrate two pictures of people who are identical in all aspects except for skin tone. Moreover, one picture contains a person with a light skin tone who represents a White person and the other depicts a person with dark skin tone and represents an African American person. The figures in these pictures are displayed in a variety of poses including standing, sitting and walking. Additionally, figures' range in age from young to old. Positive (e.g., good, clean) and negative (e.g., bad, dirty) adjectives are intertwined into stories that accompany pictures and were used to evaluate participants' responses. For example, one of the items includes two pictures indicating two boys, one African American and the other White both in running position. The accompanying questions states, "Here are two boys. One of them is a kind little boy. Once he saw a kitten fall into a lake and he picked up the kitten to save it from drowning. Which is the kind little boy?" Additionally, an item includes two pictures, one of a White

girl and the other of an African American girl both in a standing pose with a question that reads, “Here are two little girls. One of them is an ugly little girl. People do not like to look at her. Which is the ugly little girl?”

Scores on the PRAM II range from 0-24 and scores were tabulated on a scoring sheet included with the measure. The racial attitudes score was computed by indicating one point for the selection of the light skin figure in response to a positive adjective and one point for the selection of a dark skin figure in response to a negative adjective. For the current study item number eighteen was omitted. Therefore, scores ranged from 0-23 for the purposes of this study. Moreover, in the present study higher scores (scores: 16-23) indicated a pro-European American/anti-African American bias, lower scores (scores: 0-6) indicated a pro-African American/anti-European bias, middle range scores (scores: 9-13) indicated no bias. Additionally scores 14-15 indicated a probable pro-European American/anti-African American bias and scores 7-8 indicated a probable pro-African American/anti-European bias. When pre-schoolers’ responded to an answer with either a “don’t know” or “no response” these answers were recorded, instead pre-school participants were asked to try again. Two hundred and seventy two children ranging in age from 37 months-85 months from Winston-Salem, North Carolina participated in the second validation of the measure. The alpha coefficient for the Racial Attitudes scale in the second validation of the measure was .80. In the current study, a Cronbach’s alpha of .71 was found for the PRAM II.

Procedures

Participants were recruited from local daycares: Texas Southern University's Center on the Family, A Step Above and Wheeler Avenue Baptist Church Day Camp, a private Christian school: Wheeler Avenue Christian Academy and after-school care programs: Sisterhood Creations, Blue Triangle and Cuney Homes YMCA. First, the primary investigator met with the directors of the sites in order to request the sites participation. After receiving approval to conduct the study, informational letters requesting participation in the study were provided to parents/guardians at the individual sites. The informational letters included the informed consent form, parental permission form, sample pictures from the PRAM II. Those parents/guardians who provide consent for themselves and permission for their child to participate were contacted by the primary investigator in person or via phone to confirm the date and time of the data collection. At the time of data collection, parent/guardian-child dyads first arrived in the registration room where a research assistant ask each parent-child dyad for their name in order to verify and retrieve parent-child dyads' informed consent and parental permission form. If an informed consent and parental permission form was not on file, the research assistant provided parents with a copy of the informed consent and parental permission form and obtained their signature. Next, all parent/guardian-child dyads were given a randomly assigned ID code that allowed the parent/guardian and child data to be linked but identity remain anonymous (e.g., 01, 01a, 02, 02a, 03, 03a).

When the interviewer arrived to interview the preschooler and escort the parent to the parent/guardian room, the research assistant provided the interviewer with the following: (1) parental/guardian informed consent; (2) child informed consent; (3) PRAM II answer sheet; (4) CoBRAS questionnaire; (5) P-CARES questionnaire; and (6) child assent form. All of the above forms will be coded with the parent-child dyad code number. Once the dyad was checked in for the interview for the day, an interviewer approached the preschooler and parent and introduced herself. Next, while in the parent/guardian's presence the interviewer asked the parent the age of the child and whether or not they identified themselves and the preschooler as African American and asked the parent/guardian to indicate this on the verification form. Next, while in the parent/guardian's presence the interviewer asked the child whether or not he/she assented to participate in the study by reading the child assent form verbatim. Parent/guardian participants then completed the paper version of the CoBRAS and the P-CARES while pre-schoolers completed the PRAM II along with the assistance of an interviewer. Pre-schoolers engaged in story time until parents complete the CoBRAS and P-CARES. During story time 3-5 pre-schoolers met in a separate room where a research assistant read an age appropriate story. Pre-schoolers remained in story time until parents retrieved them after they had completed the CoBRAS and P-CARES. All parent/guardian participants who completed the study were entered into a \$25.00 Toys R' US gift card raffle.

CHAPTER THREE

Results

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations

The means and standard deviations for each of the variables were analyzed. They are presented in Table 2. The CoBRAS total score, indicated moderate color-blind racial attitudes for parent participants ($M=59.62$, $S=15.07$).

The means and standard deviations for the P-CARES subscales (Affirmation-transmission subscale, Stereotyping-transmission subscale, Racialism-transmission subscale, Affirmation –reception subscale, Stereotyping-reception subscale, and Racialism-reception subscale) indicate that the data was normally distributed. The P-CARES Affirmation-transmission subscale, indicated a moderate to high endorsement of the teachings of cultural heritage that promote pride in being Black ($M=21.15$, $SD=6.81$). The P-CARES Affirmation-reception subscale, indicated a moderate to high endorsement of the teachings of cultural heritage that promote pride in being Black ($M=23.16$, $SD=5.26$). The P-CARES Racialism-transmission subscale, indicated a low inclusion of ideas of White privilege and restrictive interactions with Whites ($M=10.05$, $SD=2.82$). The P-CARES Racialism-reception subscale, indicated a moderate inclusion of ideas of White privilege and restrictive interactions with Whites ($M=13.99$, $SD=3.45$). The P-CARES Stereotyping-transmission subscale, indicated low internalized oppression reflected by negative attitudes, miseducation or broad generalizations about Blacks ($M=13.47$, $SD=2.96$). The P-CARES Stereotyping-reception subscale, indicated a low to moderate internalized oppression reflected by negative attitudes, miseducation or broad

generalizations about Blacks ($M=19.48$, $SD=5.14$). Lastly, the PRAM II total score indicated midrange scores and no overall racial bias for pre-school participants ($M=12.77$, $S=4.19$). These means and standard deviations are presented in Table 2.

Bivariate correlations were computed between variables including CoBRAS total score, PRAM II total score, P-CARES Affirmation-transmission subscale, P-CARES Affirmation-reception subscale, P-CARES Racism-transmission subscale, P-CARES Racism-reception subscale, P-CARES Stereotyping transmission subscale, and P-CARES Stereotyping-reception subscale. The correlations are presented in Table 2. Several significant relationships emerged. The P-CARES Affirmation transmission subscale was significantly negatively correlated with parents' color-blind racial attitudes ($r = -.65$, $p < .01$) indicating that parents with lower color-blind racial attitudes provided messages that endorsed cultural pride. The P-CARES Affirmation reception subscale was significantly correlated with the P-CARES Affirmation transmission subscale ($r = .44$, $p < .01$). Results reveal that parents' who received messages that endorsed cultural pride during their childhood provided messages to their pre-schoolers that endorsed cultural pride. The P-CARES Stereotyping reception subscale and the P-CARES Affirmation reception subscale ($r = .28$, $p < .05$) were significantly correlated. These results reveal that parents' who received messages of negative attitudes towards African Americans during their childhood also received messages that endorsed cultural pride during their childhood. The P-CARES Stereotyping transmission subscale & the P-CARES Affirmation transmission were significantly correlated ($r = .29$, $p < .05$). Results suggest that parents who provided messages that promoted negative attitudes towards African Americans also provided messages that endorsed cultural pride.

The P-CARES Racism reception subscale was significantly correlated with the P-CARES Affirmation reception subscale ($r = .42, p < .01$). Findings indicate that parents who received messages preparing them for White privilege also received messages that promoted cultural pride. The P-CARES Racism reception and P-CARES Stereotyping reception were significantly correlated ($r = .71, p < .01$). These results illustrated that parents who received messages in their childhood preparing them for White privilege also received messages that endorsed negative attitudes towards African Americans. The P-CARES Racism transmission subscale was significantly correlated with the P-CARES Affirmation reception subscale ($r = .28, p < .05$) suggesting that parents who provide messages of White privilege received messages that promoted cultural pride during their childhood. The P-CARES Racism transmission subscale & P-CARES Affirmation transmission subscale were significantly correlated ($r = .58, p < .01$) revealing that parents who provided messages about White privilege also provided messages that promoted cultural pride. The P-CARES Racism transmission subscale was significantly correlated with the P-CARES Stereotyping transmission subscale ($r = .78, p < .01$) revealing that parents who provided messages preparing pre-schoolers for White privilege also provided messages that depicted negative attitudes towards African Americans. The pre-schoolers' racial attitudes and parents' color-blind racial attitudes were significantly correlated ($r = .28, p < .05$). The findings indicate that for parents who had higher scores of color-blind racial attitudes their pre-schoolers possessed a pro-European/anti African American bias. Lastly, pre-schoolers' racial attitudes were significantly negatively correlated with P-CARES Affirmation transmission subscale ($r = -.28, p < .05$). Results suggest that for parents who transmit messages to their pre-schoolers

that promote cultural pride, their pre-schoolers possessed racial attitudes that viewed African Americans positively. Moreover, findings indicate that pre-schoolers who received these messages illustrated a pro-Black preference.

Multiple Regression

First, a multiple regression analysis was conducted to determine if P-CARES (a) Affirmation-reception subscale, (b) Racialism-reception subscale, and (c) Stereotyping-reception subscale predicted parent participants' CoBRAS total score. The overall equation was not significant in predicting parent participants' CoBRAS scores. Next, a hierarchical multiple regression analysis was conducted to determine if the six subscales of the P-CARES including (a) Affirmation reception subscale, (b) Racialism-reception subscale (c) Stereotyping-reception subscale , (d) Affirmation-transmission subscale, (e) Racialism-transmission subscale, and (f) Stereotyping- transmission subscale and the CoBRAS total score predicted pre-school participants' scores on the PRAM II. Parents' income level and child's age was controlled for and entered in the first step of the regression equation in that there was a large range of variability in the income level and pre-schoolers age range. The P-CARES subscales (a) Affirmation-reception subscale, (b) Racialism-reception subscale and (c) Stereotyping-reception subscale and the CoBRAS total score were entered in the second step. Finally, the P-CARES subscales (a) Affirmation-transmission subscale, (b) Racialism-transmission subscale , and (c) Stereotyping-transmission subscale were entered in the third step. Neither of the steps nor the overall equation was significant in predicting pre-school age children's scores on the PRAM II.

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to determine African American preschoolers' racial views towards African Americans and Whites. This was done by examining preschoolers' racial attitudes and their parents' racial socialization experiences and color-blind racial attitudes. Results provided evidence that pre-schoolers' racial attitudes were influenced by racial socialization messages that pre-schoolers' received from parents/guardians. Moreover, for pre-schoolers who possessed racial attitudes that did not view African Americans as inferior to Whites their parents reported that they provided messages that endorsed cultural pride. As such, the research findings are consistent with studies in the extant literature that have found that African American parents engage in racial socialization in the form of racial pride (Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002; Constantine & Blackmon, 2002). Moreover, the research findings are consistent with a study that found that African American parents of pre-schoolers racially socialize their pre-schoolers by transmitting message of cultural and racial pride (Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002). Additionally, the sample mean and standard deviation of the pre-schoolers PRAM II scores indicate no racial bias for pre-school participants. Moreover, the current findings provide valuable information for understanding the relations between parental racial socialization experiences, color-blind racial attitudes and pre-schoolers' racial attitudes of African Americans. Unexpectedly, African American parents' racial socialization experiences in the form of reception messages from their childhood did not predict color-blind racial attitudes. In addition, the hierarchal multiple regression was not significant in predicting pre-schoolers racial attitudes. These nonstatistically significant associations suggest that there was a lack of

variability in the predictor variables as a function of a small sample size. Additionally, in that pre-schoolers' racial attitude scores did not indicate a racial bias for either race, the regressions were not able to predict a bias in pre-schoolers' racial attitudes.

Limitations

A significant limitation of the study concerned the small sample size. There may not have been sufficient variability among P-CARES scores to significantly predict the measured outcomes. Another limitation of the study is that the language of the PRAM II may have been above the reading comprehension level of some of the younger pre-school participants. Though the measure has been normed on three-six year olds, the majority of our sample included participants on the younger end of that range. For instance, some words such as, "healthy", "naughty", and "cruel" may have been difficult to comprehend for some three and/or four year old participants. Additionally, the external validity is limited because the present study's sample of Houston pre-schoolers may not be representative of other pre-schoolers outside of this sample. Lastly, the data collection relied heavily on self-report measures for both of the independent variables: racial socialization practices and colorblind racial attitudes. Despite these limitations, the findings in this study are important in their contribution to the literature on the influence of African American parents' color-blind racial attitudes on racial socialization practices thus racial attitudes of African American pre-schoolers.

Future research may want to consider a larger sample size in order to ensure that there will be sufficient variability due to the amount of P-CARES subscales. The current study's small sample size may have contributed to the lack of significance in the multiple and hierarchal regressions. As well, future research should explore differences in the messages that parents provide to their children based on their children's gender and parents' gender. The current study did not explore these variables. Exploring parents' racial socialization experiences and parental color-blind racial

attitudes in conjunction with older African American children's (e.g. ages 7-8) racial attitude should also be considered. Lastly, upcoming research may also want to consider limiting the age of pre-schoolers to ages 5-6. In the current study, some of the younger pre-schoolers (ages 3-4) had a difficult time comprehending the language of the PRAM II.

Table 1

Table of Proposed Quantitative Measures

Predictor Variables		Descriptions
	<i>Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS; Neville et al., 2000)</i>	The total score will be used from this instrument. The CoBRAS consists of 20 items rated on a 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree) which load onto three factors: Unawareness of Racial Privilege, Unawareness of Institutional Discrimination, and Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues. Higher scores in each factor indicate greater levels of color-blindness, denial, or unawareness.
	<i>Parental Cultural and Racial Experiences of Socialization-Parental Transmission (P-CARES; Stevenson & Bentley, unpub)</i>	The P-CARES is a self-report measure of parental racial socialization practices. The three subscales that we will utilize in this study are the Affirmation, Racialism, and Stereotyping subscales. This component of the P-CARES explores the messages that parents' transmit to their pre-school age children.
	<i>Parental Cultural and Racial Experiences of Socialization-Parental Reception (P-CARES; Stevenson & Bentley, unpub)</i>	The P-CARES is a self-report measure of parental racial socialization practices. The three subscales that we will utilize in this study are the Affirmation, Racialism, and Stereotyping subscales. This component of the P-CARES explores the messages that parents' received from their parents.
Criterion Variable		
	<i>Preschool Racial Attitude Measure II (PRAM II; Williams & Best, 1975)</i>	The PRAM II contains 36 forced choice items which are presented in the form of pictorial stimuli and stories. The PRAM II consists of one scale, the Racial Attitudes scale; however, it also contains 9 items that may be used to evaluate sex role awareness. However, for the current study only the 24 pictures and accompanying stories that examine racial attitudes will be used.

Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations and Intercorrelations for parental color-blind racial attitudes, parental racial socialization transmission and reception experiences and pre-schoolers racial attitudes.

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Parental color-blind racial attitudes	59.62	15.05	--							
2. Affirmation-Parental reception messages	23.16	5.26	-.25	--						
3. Affirmation-Parental transmission messages	21.12	6.81	-.65**	.44**	--					
4. Stereotyping- Parental reception messages	19.48	5.14	-.14	.28*	.001	--				
5. Stereotyping- Parental transmission messages	13.47	2.96	-.10	.19	.29*	.06	--			
6. Racialism-Parental reception messages	13.99	3.45	-.16	.42**	.19	.71**	.09	--		
7. Racialism- Parental transmission messages	10.05	2.82	-.24	.28*	.58**	-.04	.78**	.05	--	
8. Preschool Racial Attitudes Measure II	12.77	4.19	.28*	-.17	-.28*	-.12	.047	-.04	-.21	--

*p < .05 **p < .01

Table 3

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Pre-Schoolers Racial Attitudes (N=71)

Variable	B	SE B	β
Step 1			
Parental income	-.311	.426	-.130
Child's age	.032	.670	.008
Step 2			
Affirmation- reception subscale	-.065	.166	-.078
Stereotyping- reception subscale	-.188	.232	-.218
Racialism- reception subscale	.256	.383	.189
CoBRAS Total Score	.040	.071	.148
Step 3			
Affirmation- transmission messages	-.018	.178	-.028
Stereotyping- transmission messages	.723	.420	.511
Racialism- transmission messages	-.942	.632	-.511

* $p < .05$

References

- Akbar, N. (1980). Mental disorders of African Americans. In N. Akbar (Ed.) *Akbar papers in African Psychology* (pp. 160-178). Tallahassee, FL: Mind Productions & Associates, Inc.
- Amir, Y. (1969). Contact hypothesis in ethnic relations. *Psychological Bulletin*, 11, 319-342.
- Augoustinos, M. & Rosewarne, D. L. (2001). Stereotype knowledge and prejudice in children. *British Journal of Development Psychology*, 19, 143-156.
- Barr, S. C. & Neville, H. A. (2008). Examination of the link between parental racial socialization messages and racial ideology among black college students. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 34, 131-155.
- Bentley, K. L. & Stevenson, H. C. (2010). *The parent cultural and racial experiences of socialization*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Branch, C. W., & Newcombe, N. (1986). Racial attitude development among young Black children as a function of parental attitudes: A longitudinal and cross-sectional study. *Child Development*, 57, 712-721.
- Boykin, A. W., & Toms, F. D. (1985). Black child socialization: A conceptual framework. In H.P. McAdoo & J. L. McAdoo (Eds.), *Black Children: Social educational and parental environments* (Vol. 72, pp. 33-51). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Broman, C. L. (1997). Race-related factors and life satisfaction among African Americans. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 23(1), 36-49.
- Brown, T. L., & Krishnakumar, A. (2007). Development and validation of the adolescent

racial and ethnic socialization scale (ARESS) in African American families. *J Youth Adolescence*, 36, 1072-1085.

Cable News Network. (2010, April 28). CNN pilot study. Retrieved from

http://i2.cdn.turner.com/cnn/2010/images/05/13/expanded_results_methods_cnn.pdf

Cancelli, A. A. (2000). Racial discrimination, coping, life satisfaction, and self esteem among African Americans. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 78(1), 72-80.

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

Chan, S. & Peters, J. (2009, February 18). Chimp-Stimulus cartoon raises racism concerns. The New York Times Retrieved from <http://cityroom.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/02/18/chimp-stimulus-cartoon-raises-racism-concerns/?scp=1&sq=obama%20racist%20cartoons&st=cse>

Clark, K. B., & Clark, M. K. (1939). The development of consciousness of self and the emergence of racial identification in negro preschool children. *The Journal of Social Psychology, S.P.S.S.I. Bulletin*, 10, 591-599.

Clark, K. B., & Clark, M. K. (1940). Skin color as a factor in racial identification of negro preschool children. *The Journal of Social Psychology, S.P.S.S.I. Bulletin*, 11, 159-169.

Clark, K. B., & Clark, M.K. Racial identification and preference in Negro children. In T. Newcomb & E. Hartley (Eds.), *Readings in social psychology* (pp.602-611). New York: Holt, 1947.

- Constantine, M.G., & Blackmon, S. M. (2002). Black adolescents' racial socialization experiences: Their relations to home, school and peer self esteem. *Journal of Black Studies*, 32, 322-335.
- Davis, G. Y. & Stevenson, H. C. (2006). Racial socialization experiences and symptoms of depression among black youth. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 15(3), 303-317.
- Davis, K. (2005). A girl like me. Retrieved June 27, 2010, from http://www.kiridavis.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=17&Itemid=88888953
- Feagin J.R., & Vera, H. (1995). *White racism: The basics*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Fulmore, C., Taylor, T., Ham, D., & Lyles, B. (1994). Psychological consequences of internalized racism. *Psych Discourse*, 24(10), 12-15.
- Harris, A. R. & Stokes, R. (1978). Race, Self Evaluation and the Protestant Ethic. *Social Problems* 26(1), 71-85.
- Hill, S. (1999). *African American Children: Socialization and Development in Families*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Hochschild, J., & Weaver, V. (2007). The Skin Color Paradox and the American Racial Order. *Social Forces*, 86(2), 643-670.
- Holmes, R. M. (1995). *How young children perceive race* (Race and Ethnic Relations, Vol. 12). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Holzman, M. (2010). The Schott 50 state report on public education and black males 2010. Retrieved from <http://www.blackboysreport.org/bbreport.pdf>

- Hraba, J. & Grant, G. (1970). Black is beautiful: A reexamination of racial preference and Identification. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 16(3), 398-402.
- Hughes, D., & Chen, L. (1999). The nature of parents' racial related communications to children: A developmmmental perspective. In L. Balter & C. S. Tamis-LeMonda (Eds.), *Child psychology: A handbook of contemporary issues* (pp.467-490). Philadelphia, PA: Psychology Press/Taylor & Francis.
- Hughes, D., Witherspoon,D., Rivas-Drake, D. West-Bay, N. (2009). Received ethnic-racial socialization messages and youth's academic and behavioral outcomes: Examining the mediating identity and self esteem. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*,15(2), 112-124.
- Johnson, D. J. (1988). Racial socialization strategies of parents in three Black private schools. In D. T. Slaughter&D. J. Johnson (Eds.), *Visible now: Blacks in private schools* pp.251-267). New York: Greenwood.
- Jones, H. L., Cross W. E., DeFour, D. C. (2007). Race-related stress, racial identity attitudes and mental health among Black women. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 33,208-231.
- Jordan, P. & Hernandez-Reif, M. (2009). Reexamination of young children's racial attitudes and skin tone preferences. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 35(3), 388-403.
- Lewis, M. & Brooks-Gunn, J. Social cognition and the acquisition of self. New York: Plenum Press, 1979.
- Luster, T., & McAdoo, H. P. (1996). Family and child influences on educational

attainment: A secondary analysis of the High/Scope Perry Preschool data.

Developmental Psychology,

32(1), 26-39.

Lukwago, S. N., Kreuter, M.W., Bucholtz, D. C., Holt, C. L., & Clark, E. M. (2001).

Development and validation of brief scales to measure collectivism, religiosity,

racial pride and time orientation in urban African American women. *Farm*

Community Health, 24(3), 63-71.

McAdoo, H. P. (2002). The village talks: racial socialization of our children. In H. P.

McAdoo (Ed.), *Black Children: Social, educational, and parental environments*

(pp. 47-55). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Murray, V. M., & Brody, G. H. (2002). Racial socialization processes in single-mother

families. In H. P. McAdoo (Ed.), *Black Children: Social, educational, and*

parental environments (pp. 97-115). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Neville, H. A., Coleman, M. N., Falconer, J. W. & Holmes, D. (2005). Color-Blind

Racial Ideology and Psychological False Consciousness Among African

Americans. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 31(1), 27-45.

Neville, H. A., Lilly, R. L., Duran, G., Lee, R., & Browne, L. (2000). Construction and

Initial Validation of the Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS). *Journal of*

Counseling Psychology, (1), 59-70.

Nyborg, V. M., & Curry, J. F. (2003). The impact of perceived racism: Psychological

symptoms of African American boys. *Journal of Clinical Child & Adolescent*

Psychology, 32, 258-266.

Osabu-Kle, D. T. (2000). The African Reparation Cry: Rationale, Estimate, Prospects,

- and Strategies. *Journal of Black Studies*, 30(3), 331-350.
- Pallas, A. M., Entwisle, D. R., Alexander, K. L. & Weinstein, P. (1990). Social structure and the development of self-esteem in young children. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, (53)4, 302-315.
- Peters, M. F. (1985). Racial socialization of young Black children. In H. P. McAdoo & J. L. McAdoo (Eds.), *Black children* (pp. 159-173). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Peters, M. F. (2002) Racial socialization of young Black children. In H. P. McAdoo (Ed.), *Black Children: Social, educational, and parental environments* (pp. 57-72). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Pieterse A. L & Carter, R.T. (2007). An Examination of the Relationship Between General Life Stress, Racism-Related Stress, and Psychological Health Among Black Men. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 54(1), 101-109.
- Sanneh, K. (2009, August 10). Discriminating tastes. *The New Yorker*. Retrieved from http://www.newyorker.com/talk/comment/2009/08/10/090810taco_talk_sanneh
- Seaton, E. K. (2009). Perceived racial discrimination and racial identity profiles among African American adolescents. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 15(2), 137-144.
- Sellers, R. M. Shelton, J. N., Cooke, D. Y., Chavous, T. M., Rowley, S. A. J., & Smith, M. A. (1998). Multidimensional model of racial identity: A reconceptualization of African American racial identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 2(1), 18-39.
- Spencer, M.B. (1982a). Personal and group identity of black children: An alternative synthesis. *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, 106, 59-84.
- Spencer, M.B. (1982b). Preschool children's social cognition and cultural cognition: A

- cognitive development interpretation of race dissonance findings. *The Journal of Psychology*, 112, 275-286.
- Spencer, M. B. (1983). Children's cultural values and parental child rearing strategies. *Developmental Review*, 3, 351-370.
- Steele, C. M. (1997). A threat in the air: How stereotypes shape intellectual identity and performance. *American Psychologist*, 52, 613-629.
- Stevenson, H. C. (1995). Relationship of adolescent perceptions of racial socialization to racial identity. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 21, 49-70.
- Swanson, D. P., Cunningham, M., Youngblood, J., Spencer, M. B. (1999). Racial identity development during childhood. In Shirley A. Hill (Eds.), *African American Children: Socialization and Development in Families* (pp. 269-281). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Thomas, M.E. & Hughes, M. (1986). The continuing significance of race: A study of race, class, and the quality of life in America, 1972-1985. *American Sociological Review*, 51, 830-841.
- Thompson, C. E. & Neville, H. A. (1999). Racism, mental health, and mental health practice. *Counseling Psychologist*, 27, 155-223.
- Thornton, M. C., Chatters, L. M., Taylor, R. J. & Allen, W. R. (1990). Sociodemographic and environmental correlates of racial socialization by Black parents. *Child Development*, 61, 401-409.
- Van Sertima, I. (1976). *They came before Columbus*. New York, NY: Random House.
- White-Johnson, R. L., Ford, K. R. & Sellers, R. M. (2010). Parental racial socialization profiles: Association with demographic factors, racial discrimination, childhood

socialization and racial identity. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 16(2), 237-247.

Williams, J., & Roberson, J. (1967). A method of assessing racial attitudes in preschool children. *Educational & Psychological Measurement*, 27, 671-689.

Williams, J. E. & Best, D. (1975). Preschool racial attitudes measure II and color meaning test II general information and manuals of directions. Winston-Salem: NC.

Wilkinson, D. (1997). American families of African descent. In M. DeGenova (Ed.), *Families in cultural context: Strengths and challenges in diversity* (pp. 335-360). London: Mayfield.

Yang, R. & Blodgett, B. (2000). Effects of Race and Adolescent Decision-Making on Status Attainment and Self Esteem. *Journal of Ethnic & Cultural Diversity on Social Work*, 9(1/2), 135-153.