

Racial Identity, Racial Attitudes, and Race Socialization Among Black Canadian Parents

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The primary aim of this study was to examine the influence of racial identity on the socialization strategies used by Black parents to deal with issues of racism and discrimination. The Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI) was used to capture the complexity of Black identity and to provide a framework for the study of the socialization process. Ninety-one Black Canadian parents responded to measures of *racial identity* (e.g., identity centrality, racial ideologies), *racial appraisals* (e.g., concern for stereotyping), and *socialization practices* (e.g., preparation for bias). Racial identity measures were hypothesized to predict racial appraisals and socialization behaviours, while racial appraisals were expected to predict socialization behaviours. Furthermore, racial salience was expected to moderate the relationship between racial ideologies (e.g., nationalist ideology) and socialization behaviours. Although this latter hypothesis was not supported, the Sellers model did provide a useful theoretical framework for understanding the socialization practices of Black Canadian parents. Parents were more likely to socialize their children when they endorsed a humanist ideology and when they perceived their children as being likely targets of stereotyping and discrimination. These findings underscore the need for multidimensional measures of identity to obtain a more complete picture of the socialization process.

Keywords: racial identity, racial socialization, Blacks in Canada

Although parenting can be a very rewarding experience, it comes with its daily challenges. Black parents may face additional child rearing challenges compared to parents from other racial-cultural groups because of the disadvantaged position they often occupy within their communities. In addition to dealing with the racism and discrimination directed toward them, Black parents may also attempt to sensitise their children to these issues while enabling them to foster a positive social identity (Hughes et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006; Peters, 2002). Given the importance and complexity of this task, we were interested in the possible factor(s) that influence the selection and use of racial socialization strategies. Not all Black parents will face racial challenges in the same way, and a variety of factors, including socioeconomic status, geographic location, and parenting styles, can contribute to

differences between parents in the strategies that they will use. In this article, we focus our attention on the role that Black parents' racial identity plays in the racial socialization of their children. While a growing literature exists on the topic of racial socialization in Black families (see Hughes et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006), most of this research has been conducted in the United States. We will extend this work by focussing on racial socialization in a Canadian context.

The Cultural Context of Blacks in Canada

Much of the research and political focus in Canada is on ethnicity. Race, however, plays an undeniable role in the experiences of Black Canadians. Boatswain and Lalonde (2000), for example, found that "Black" was the preferred group label in comparison to other labels (e.g., African Canadian) in a sample of Black Canadian students: one of the reasons underlying their choice was its explicit reference to race and skin colour. The Canadian politics of race, however, are different than those found in the United States. Although there is a brief history of Black slavery in Canada, slavery was not critical in the development of its economy, and this historical legacy is not central in defining Canadian racial relations. Moreover, the multicultural perspective adopted in Canada tries to reduce racial divisions while maintaining cultural diversity. Although multiculturalism does have its problems and its critics (e.g., Bissoondath, 1994), it is an integral and positively valued aspect of Canadian identity (Lalonde, 2002).

Canada's Black population is an ethnically heterogeneous group. The most frequently reported origins of Blacks in Toronto, for example, are Jamaican, West Indian, Guyanese, African, and Trinidadian/Tobagonian. The majority of Blacks in Canada are first- or second-generation Canadians, and only a small percentage

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We thank Sharyn Costin, who worked on parts of this project as part of her Honours thesis, and Donna Woolverton, whose master's thesis served as the basis for measures developed for this study. We are also grateful to the York University Cooperative Daycare Centre and all of the parents who graciously shared their time and concerns. Finally we acknowledge the financial support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada in the form of a research grant to the Richard N. Lalonde and the reviewers of a draft of this article for their insightful comments and constructive criticism.

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of Black Canadians can trace their roots to English Loyalists or American ex-slaves (see Walker, 1985). The 2001 census indicates that Blacks represent about 2% of the country's population and 17% of its visible minority population. They are the third largest visible minority group after Chinese and South Asians.

Blacks in Canada still deal with considerable discrimination. They continue to have higher rates of unemployment and lower average salaries than do other Canadian immigrants (Milan & Tran, 2004). Black Canadians are also subjected to racial profiling by the police (Friendly, 2003), and continue to be targeted for deportation at a higher rate than other groups (Doucet, 2001). A large survey study in Toronto (Dion & Kawakami, 1996) further revealed that Blacks in Toronto perceived higher levels of discrimination directed at their group and at themselves compared to members of other ethnic groups (e.g., Chinese, South Asians, Jews) across a number of domains (e.g., jobs, pay, promotion).

An important and obvious similarity of the situation of Blacks in Canada and the United States, therefore, is that within their respective countries they are members of a visible minority group that is socially disadvantaged. Given this shared cultural experience, we believe that theoretical models of race that have been developed in the United States do have their place in a Canadian setting. To the authors' knowledge, however, no research has been conducted to explore how Black Canadians socialize their children. Given their different cultural origins (Milan & Tran, 2004), the smaller number of Blacks in Canada compared to the United States (2% vs. 12.8%), and Canada's emphasis on multiculturalism, it is possible that Black Canadian parents do not necessarily identify with being Black in the same way as African Americans, and they may also racialize their children in different ways.

Racial Socialization

Research on Black socialization processes has stressed the importance of examining the unique history and everyday realities of the Black community. Boykin and Toms (1985) have argued that the socialization of Black children is a unique process with its own set of concerns and considerations, rather than an "incomplete version" of euro-centric socialization. This process has thus been described as involving the teaching of cultural pride and preparation for race discrimination to children of all ages (Stevenson, Reed, & Bodison, 1996).

In their review of the research on racial socialization, McLoyd, Cauce, Takeuchi, and Wilson (2000) conclude based on a number of studies that African American parents often convey messages about cultural heritage and racial pride, but much less about racial bias and prejudice. Peters (2002) reports that African American parents emphasize such socialization concerns as self-esteem, survival, education, self-respect, lack of fair treatment from Whites, and parental love, yet very few parents talk of explicit strategies for dealing with racism. Similarly, in their review, Hughes et al. (2006) observe that ethnic pride and appreciation of diversity are the most commonly mentioned ethnic-racial socialization practices.

Sanders-Thompson's (1994) research, however, suggests that more direct coping responses can be taught. She identified four broad socialization themes among African Americans: racial pride, self-development, egalitarianism, and racial barrier awareness. This latter category included strategic coping responses: one-third of her sample reported receiving such messages from their parents or other family members. Hughes and Johnson (2001) also iden-

tified four types of racial socialization: cultural socialization (teaching the group's history and culture), pluralism (focussing on diversity and other groups), promotion of mistrust (cautions about interactions with other races), and preparation for bias (preparing children for the experience of racism). This later category is also referred to as "armouring" (Edmondson-Bell & Nkomo, 1998) and is receiving increasing empirical attention. In their review of recent research about this category, Hughes et al. (2006) noted that while preparation for bias is rarely mentioned spontaneously by parents when responding to open-ended socialization questions, in-depth interviews and more targeted questions reveal that preparation for bias is a common parenting strategy. Lesane-Brown (2006) points out, however, that African American parents seem to display a preference for racial socialization messages that focus on the positive (i.e., ethnic pride) rather than the negative (i.e., discrimination) aspects of being Black.

Racial socialization differs among families and will also differ from one situation to the next. Past research has identified a number of predictors of greater parental racial socialization among African Americans. Among these are more "self-reported" experiences of socialization during the parent's childhood (Hughes & Chen, 1997), greater perceived racial discrimination in the workplace (Hughes & Chen, 1997), and greater centrality of racial identity (Thomas & Speight, 1999). Hughes (2003) also found cultural differences in racial socialization when she compared the practices of African Americans to first-generation Puerto Rican and Dominican immigrants. Both groups of immigrants perceived less discrimination than African Americans. The Dominicans also reported engaging in less cultural socialization and less preparation for bias compared to the African Americans. Finally, the strength of ethnic identity was a better predictor of racial socialization practices for Dominican parents than for the African American parents. These results point to the need for a cultural analysis of racial socialization and to the underlying complexity of identity processes.

Black Racial Identity, Age, and Racial Socialization

The racial identity of Blacks has received considerable attention from psychologists following the pioneering work of Clark and Clark (1939) and the first comprehensive model of Black racial identity put forward by Cross (1971, 1991; Cross & Vandiver, 2001). Branch and Newcombe (1986) conducted one of the first studies examining the link between identity and racial socialization. They found that parents who scored higher on a measure of Black ethnocentrism were more likely to favour fostering a pro-Black attitude in their children. They also looked at the relationship between parents' socialization attitudes and their children's racial identity. It was found that the younger children (4–5 years) of afrocentric parents were less likely to show pro-Black attitudes, while the attitudes of the older children (6–7 years) were in line with their parents' views. This latter result points to the importance of the age of the child as a factor to consider in racial socialization (also see Hughes & Chen, 1997).

Thornton, Chatters, Taylor, and Allan (1990) also found a relationship for age in a national probability sample of African Americans. They reported that older respondents were more likely to racially socialize their children. This age of parent finding, however, should be examined in light of the age of the child: older

respondents are more likely to have older children and older children are more likely to encounter situations of racism (Phinney & Chavira, 1995) that require parental intervention. In reference to the importance of age, Hughes et al. (2006, p. 758) argue that “parents shift their ethnic-racial socialization strategies to align with children’s developmental competencies and experiences” and that younger children are thus more likely to receive messages regarding ethnic pride while older children will learn more about racial bias. Consistent with this view, Hughes and Chen (1997, 1999) found that racial socialization is more frequent for older than younger children and that older children are better equipped to understand the socialization messages that have been imparted to them by their parents (see also Lesane-Brown, 2006).

Other studies have also examined the link between individuals’ racial identity and their socialization experiences as children. Demo and Hughes (1990), for example, found that children reared in families where an integrative-assertive (e.g., racial pride, try to understand Whites) or cautious-defensive attitude (e.g., social distance, white prejudice) was fostered were more likely to have stronger feelings of closeness to Blacks and a stronger commitment to black separatism compared to children raised in families that adopted a more individualistic (e.g., “work hard”) attitude to race relations. Miller and MacIntosh (1999), on the other hand, found no relationship between the racial socialization experiences of African American adolescents and their racial identity, while Sanders-Thompson (1999) found that African American adults who recalled more racial socialization in their families also reported greater racial identity salience. Similarly, Wills et al. (2007) reported that African American children who received positive racial messages were more likely to have positive ethnic esteem. With regard to parents’ racial identification, Hughes and Johnson (2001) found that African American parents who reported stronger racial identification were more likely to promote pluralism and preparation for bias in their children, but there was no relationship between their identity measure and the socialization of mistrust.

Although the above studies do provide valuable information about the relationship between racial identity and socialization, they are difficult to compare because a variety of measures of identity and socialization have been used (Hughes et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006). Furthermore, many of the measures have been unidimensional and may not be tapping the same components of these multidimensional constructs. The current study, therefore, focussed on a model of identity that more fully encompasses the complexity of the Black experience.

The Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI) and Parenting

Sellers and his colleagues (Sellers, Smith et al., 1998) proposed a model of racial identity that is multidimensional and applicable to the African American experience. Their article is also of great importance because it offers a general model for the prediction of race-related behaviours, which we applied to racial socialization. Their approach to identity integrates the mainstream approach of social identity research, which has used models and measures that can be applied to a number of social groups (e.g., Phinney, 1992), with a more contextualized approach to Black racial identity that focuses on the qualitative meaning of being Black in America (e.g., Cross, 1991). The model includes not only the cognitive (i.e.,

centrality) and affective (i.e., private regard) components of social identity that have been identified in mainstream measures (e.g., Cameron, 2004), but also includes an assessment of the ideologies regarding the nature of interactions that Blacks should have within other groups in society (e.g., nationalist ideology). The MMRI identifies four dimensions of identity: racial salience, racial centrality, racial regard (private and public), and racial ideology (assimilationist, humanist, nationalist, oppressed minority). These identity constructs have been integrated into a predictive model of racial behaviour described below.

The first important construct in the model is that of *racial salience*. Salience is influenced by the cognitive centrality of race in the individual and by the situational cues in the environment (e.g., experience of racism). The next two constructs in the model are *racial regard* and *racial ideologies* (i.e., the ways that Blacks should interact with other groups). There are two forms of racial regard: private (how one feels about being Black) and public (the individual’s perception of public attitudes toward Blacks). There are four types of ideologies: assimilationist (stresses the integration of Blacks into mainstream American culture), humanist (emphasises the similarities between all human beings), oppressed minority (describes the similarities between the oppression experienced by Blacks and those of other minority groups), and nationalist (highlights the uniqueness and separateness of African Americans).

All of the above ideologies seem applicable to a Canadian setting. The assimilationist ideology is one of the acculturation strategies that is often associated with the immigrant experience, and the majority of Blacks in Canada are immigrants or the children of immigrants. The humanist ideology fits in well with Canada’s policy of multiculturalism and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The oppressed minority ideology is pertinent in a multicultural context like Canada where many of its citizens are members of visible minorities. Berry and Kalin (1995), for example, provide evidence indicating that both South Asians and Blacks are viewed as among the least preferred groups in a national Canadian survey and such shared experiences are likely to foster an oppressed minority ideology. Finally a measure akin to the nationalist ideology (i.e., the African Self Consciousness Scale, Baldwin & Bell, 1985) has proven to be an effective predictor of racial label preferences for Blacks in Canada (Boatswain & Lalonde, 2000).

In addition to their four dimensions of identity, Sellers and his colleagues (see Figure 2 in Sellers, Smith et al., 1998, p. 29) proposed a process model through which racial identity could influence behaviour. The four dimensions of identity, along with other critical factors, are hypothesised to follow a sequence in the prediction of a racial behaviour (e.g., racial socialization). Racial salience is the variable that is most distal from racial behaviour in the model, although it is seen as a necessary precursor for engagement in a racial behaviour. Racial appraisal or construal is the variable that is most proximal to a racial behaviour; the assumption is that a situation or event that is construed as racial is more likely to evoke a racially focussed behaviour. According to the model, the identity dimensions of racial regard and racial ideologies should interact with racial salience (racial salience is seen as a moderator variable) in predicting the appraisal of a racial situation and the subsequent behavioural responses to that situation. This moderational effect has been found for the prediction of grade point averages of African American undergraduates (Sellers, Chavous, & Cooke, 1998).

Given that this study is among the first to look at racial socialization practices among Black Canadian parents, it relied heavily on an earlier qualitative study by Woolverton (1998) of the socialization behaviours and practices of Black Canadian mothers in Toronto. Her study identified different types of racial appraisals that can be made by Black parents. One was the extent to which they perceived their children as targets of discrimination and the other was their degree of concern that their children would be racially stereotyped. This latter appraisal was identified by Woolverton as being one of the core socialization issues for Black Canadian mothers and it clearly encompasses Steele's (1997) notion of stereotype threat (i.e., the fear of fulfilling negative stereotypes). In line with calls for greater specificity in the types of socialization behaviours that should be addressed by researchers (Hughes et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006), four types of socialization behaviours were examined in our study: cultural socialization, promoting pluralism, preparation for bias, and the frequency with which parents talked with their children about race. The first of these three socialization behaviours were identified by both Woolverton (1998) and Hughes and Johnson (2001), and the latter provided a clear behavioural marker of racial socialization.

Current Study

The goal of this study was to explore the relationship between different dimensions of Black identity with Black Canadian parents' appraisals of racial issues regarding their children (e.g., concern with stereotyping) and their behavioural practices (e.g., frequency of talking about racial issues). Following are the hypotheses that were derived from the model proposed by Sellers and his colleagues and tested in this study.

1. The identity dimensions of racial centrality, racial regard, and racial ideologies will be related to parental appraisals of racism (perceived racial experiences of the child and concern with stereotyping).
2. The identity dimensions of racial centrality, racial regard, and racial ideologies will be related to parental racial behaviours (cultural socialization, promoting pluralism, preparation for bias, and frequency of race talk).
3. Racial appraisals will be related to parental racial socialization behaviours.
4. Racial salience will moderate the extent to which racial ideology and beliefs affect behaviour. For example, the MMRI predicts that the nationalist ideology of parents for whom race is salient will be more predictive of the frequency of talk about racial issues with children than the nationalist ideology of parents for whom race is not salient (i.e., ideology \times salience interaction).

Method

Participants

The 91 participants in this study consisted of 77 mothers and 13 fathers (1 gender unspecified) having a mean age of 37 ($SD = 9.51$; range = 21–58 years). The average number of children in

each family was 2.33 ($SD = 1.17$; range = 1–8) and the mean age of children within families was 10.32 ($SD = 6.60$; range = 1–26.75). The mean age of the eldest child was 12.84 ($SD = 7.88$; range = 1–33). None of the age distributions showed signs of skewness. The most frequent ethnic/cultural affiliations of these respondents were Jamaican ($n = 40$) and Trinidadian ($n = 20$); the remaining participants indicated 18 other ethnic backgrounds. In keeping with the relatively recent history of Caribbean migration to Canada (Henry, 1994), the majority of the sample was not born in Canada ($n = 75$), although the majority were Canadian citizens ($n = 74$), and the average number of years living in Canada for the foreign born was 18.2 years.¹ In terms of education, 25% had a high school diploma, 32% had a college or trade school degree, and 41% had a university degree or were attending university. Fifty participants were recruited through a cooperative multicultural day care centre at a university and 41 through an ad in a Black community newspaper.² Day care participants received \$10 (with an additional \$10 being donated to the centre). Newspaper ad participants were paid \$20.

Procedure and Measures

Participants were provided with an informed consent form and a self-administered questionnaire that they either returned to the day care facility or by mail. After providing background information such as the ages of their children, participants completed three sections of items that contained the primary measures. All measures that were developed for this study and that demonstrated adequate reliabilities are presented in the Appendix. Means, SD s, and reliabilities for the following measures are reported in Table 1.

Parenting beliefs and behaviours. The first section consisted of items that were developed for this study and that assessed the

¹ Correlations between the number of years in Canada and our primary measures were calculated for foreign born respondents. Only one significant correlation was found. Respondents who had been living in Canada longer were more likely to prepare their children for bias ($r = .30, p = .012$).

² t tests were conducted to compare the responses of participants from the day care to those recruited from the ad. A number of significant differences emerged. Parents recruited through the ad scored lower on public regard ($M = 2.33$ vs. $M = 2.71, t(87) = 2.55, p = .012$), higher on nationalist ideology ($M = 3.32$ vs. $M = 2.94, t(88) = 2.79, p = .007$), higher on parent experience of racism ($M = 3.54$ vs. $M = 3.16, t(88) = 2.08, p = .041$), higher on children's experience of racism ($M = 2.57$ vs. $M = 2.14, t(88) = 2.87, p = .005$), higher on concern with stereotyping ($M = 4.26$ vs. $M = 3.79, t(88) = 3.39, p = .001$), and higher on the frequency of race talk ($M = 3.19$ vs. $M = 2.69, t(88) = 2.80, p = .006$) compared to parents recruited through the daycare. Various interpretations can help account for these differences. For example, participants reading a Black community newspaper can be symbolic of having a more nationalist ideology. Also, given that more effort was required to respond to the ad (it involved contacting the researchers & mailing in the questionnaire) compared to the daycare (questionnaires given out & returned through the main office), it is likely that issues of race were more important for the ad respondents. Finally, the age of the eldest child was greater for ad participants compared to day care participants ($M = 15.20$ vs. $M = 10.90, t(89) = 2.68, p = .009$). This age difference helps explain why the ad group was more likely to report racism encountered by their children, to have greater concern that their children would be stereotyped, and to talk more about racial issues with their children. Although the above differences are interesting, they are not central to the study, but they do provide evidence that our two-prong approach to sampling led to greater variability in responses.

Table 1
Descriptive Statistics for All Measures

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Number of items	Reliability
MIBI scales				
Centrality	3.59	.69	8	.68
Private regard			6	.46
Public regard	2.55	.72	6	.71
Nationalist ideology	3.13	.61	9	.69
Oppressed minority ideology	3.61	.62	9	.69
Assimilation ideology			9	.44
Humanist ideology	4.00	.57	9	.68
Parental experiences and attitudes				
Parent's experience of racism	3.34	.89	6	.81
Intraracial dating	2.53	.94	4 (1 neg)	.81
Parenting beliefs and behaviours				
Children's experience of racism	2.33	.73	5	.82
Concern with stereotyping	4.00	.69	9 (1 neg)	.85
Cultural socialization	4.23	.65	4	.65
Promoting pluralism	4.25	.54	5 (1 neg)	.53
Preparation for bias	4.08	.62	6	.65
Frequency of race talk	2.91	.88	6	.89

Note. MIBI = Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity; neg = negatively keyed.

following six aspects of participants' beliefs and behaviours relating to racism and parenting. The items were largely based on Woolverton's (1998) interviews with Black mothers in Toronto and many of the items paraphrased the words of her participants (see Appendix). (1) Children's experience of racism, whereby parents reported the frequency with which their children had experienced, witnessed, or asked about racism. (2) Concern with stereotypes whereby parents indicated the extent to which they worried about the negative impact of stereotypes on their children in areas such as schooling, policing, and the broader social context. (3) Cultural socialization, whereby parents indicated the importance of cultural socialization in parenting. (4) Promoting pluralism, whereby parents indicated the extent to which they taught their children about a variety of cultures and focussed on the positive aspects of difference. (5) Preparation for bias, whereby parents indicated the extent to which they encouraged their children to be aware of their race and to actively and positively respond to potential situations of discrimination. (6) Frequency of race talk, whereby parents indicated the frequency with which they talked with their children about issues relating to discrimination, stereotyping, and skin colour. All items for the above measures were associated with 5-point Likert scales (*strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*), except for the children's experiences of racism and frequency of race talk measures (4-item scale: *never, seldom, sometimes, often*).

Experience of racism and dating attitude. The next set of items were also developed for this study (see Appendix) and assessed parental experiences and attitudes relating to race using a 5-point Likert scale (*strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*). (1) Parents' self-reported experiences with racism were assessed by having them indicate their experiences with exclusion at work and in society on the basis of their race. This measure was used as an indicator of Seller's construct of racial salience. Our assumption was that participants who believe they have experienced more racism will be more likely to have race as a salient social category

when making decisions regarding racial socialization. (2) Parents' preference for intraracial dating was assessed by having them indicate their degree of concern about their children dating someone from another race or their preference for dating within their own race.

Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI). The final section of the questionnaire was a slightly Canadianized version of the MIBI, which was developed to measure the dimensions of identity as defined by Sellers and Smith et al. (1998) in the MMRI and which has been found to have good psychometric properties (Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997). Seven items were modified such that the words "America" or "American" were replaced with "Canada" or "Canadian." All items were associated with a 5-point Likert scale (*strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*). The MIBI consists of the following seven subscales. For each subscale, a higher mean score was indicative of greater agreement with the sample items provided. (1) The Centrality subscale taps into the salience and stability of the conceptual category of race in the person's sense of self (e.g., "Being Black is an important reflection of who I am"). (2) The Private Regard subscale assesses the degree to which individuals feel positively about Blacks and about being Black (e.g., "I feel that Blacks have made major accomplishments and advancements"). (3) The Public Regard subscale assesses how positively or negatively individuals believe Blacks are perceived by others (e.g., "Overall, Blacks are considered good by others"). (4) The Assimilation Ideology subscale emphasises the similarities between Blacks and the majority culture (e.g., "Blacks should strive to integrate all institutions which are segregated"). (5) The Humanist Ideology subscale stresses the importance of recognising the similarities among all human beings (e.g., "Blacks should judge Whites as individuals and not as members of the White race"). (6) The Nationalist Ideology subscale emphasises the theme of Blacks taking control of their own destiny (e.g., "Black

students are better off going to schools that are controlled and organised by Blacks”). (7) The Oppressed Minority Ideology subscale emphasises the similarity of oppression experienced by Blacks to oppression experienced by other groups (e.g., “The same forces which have led to the oppression of Blacks have also led to the oppression of other groups”).

Results

Preliminary Assessment of Measures

It can be seen in Table 1 that two of the MIBI scales, Private Regard and Assimilation Ideology, and one of the socialization measures, promoting pluralism, had quite poor levels of reliability (α 's < .53). These measures were therefore excluded from subsequent analyses. In order to provide a preliminary assessment of the validity of the MIBI scales (outside of their relationships with indices of socialization), the remaining MIBI scales were examined in relation to personal experiences of racism and preference for intraracial dating. From a construct validity perspective, we expected and found that more experienced racial discrimination was related to greater racial centrality ($r = .52; p < .01$), less public regard ($r = -.38; p < .001$), and a stronger nationalist ideology ($r = .40; p < .001$). Racial discrimination was not significantly related to an oppressed minority ideology ($r = .07; ns$) or to a humanist ideology ($r = -.15; ns$). We also expected and found that a preference for exclusive intraracial dating was related to greater racial identity centrality ($r = .28; p < .01$) and a stronger nationalist ideology ($r = .40; p < .001$). Support for exclusive intraracial dating was also negatively related to a humanist ideology ($r = -.36; p < .001$) as would be expected.

Examining Dimensions of Identity in Relation to Parental Appraisals and Racial Socialization

In order to test the central hypotheses of this study, correlations were computed between the MIBI scales and the parenting measures. It was first necessary, however, to assess the relationship of the age of the eldest child on parental appraisals and behaviours: these correlations are presented in the first column of Table 2. It can be seen that the older the child, the more likely parents believed that their children had experienced racism and the greater their concern with stereotyping. Moreover, the older the child, the

more likely parents were to prepare their children for bias and to talk about racial issues. Mindful of the documented influence of the age of the child on parenting practices, we tested the hypothesised relations between dimensions of racial identity and socialization behaviours using partial correlations that controlled for the age of the eldest child. These partial correlations are presented in Table 2.

The first hypothesis relating to the MMRI was that racial centrality, racial regard, and racial ideologies would be related to the parental appraisals of racism (children's experience of racism and concern with stereotyping). This hypothesis received considerable support, particularly with regard to the parents' concern with stereotyping, which was related to all MIBI scales except for the oppressed minority ideology. A greater concern with stereotyping was associated with greater identity centrality, a stronger nationalist ideology, less perceived public regard, and a weaker humanist ideology. A stronger nationalist ideology and a weaker perceived public regard also were associated with perceptions of children experiencing more discrimination.

The second hypothesis was that racial centrality, racial regard, and racial ideologies would be related to parental socialization behaviours. While identity centrality and perceived public regard did not correlate with parental socialization behaviours, identity ideologies did play a significant role. Greater cultural socialization was related to a stronger nationalist ideology. Moreover, a stronger oppressed minority ideology was positively related to preparing for bias and the frequency of race talk. The strongest correlate of parental behaviours, however, was the humanist ideology measure, which was significantly related to 2 of the 3 behaviours: specifically, this ideology was negatively related to cultural socialization and positively related to promoting pluralism and preparation for bias.

The third hypothesis was that racial appraisals would be related to socialization behaviours. Partial correlations between appraisals (children's experience of racism and concern with stereotyping) and the three parental behaviours were computed, controlling for the age of the eldest child. Considerable support was found for this hypothesis when the degree of perceived racism experienced by the child was used as the predictor variable. It was found that parents who perceived their children as experiencing more racism were more likely to promote their culture ($r = .36; p < .001$) and to talk about race ($r = .69; p < .001$); perceptions of children

Table 2

Correlations and Partial Correlations Among Age of Eldest Child, Parenting Appraisals and Behaviours, and the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI) Scales

Parenting beliefs and behaviours	MIBI scales (identity dimensions)					
	Age of eldest child	Centrality	Public regard	Nationalist ideology	Oppressed minority ideology	Humanist ideology
Children's experience of racism	.55***	.19	-.29**	.21*	.05	-.14
Concern with stereotyping	.31**	.49***	-.53***	.45***	.20†	-.29**
Cultural socialization	.05	.16	-.01	.31**	.16	-.27***
Preparation for bias	.34***	-.02	.08	-.10	.26*	.33***
Frequency of race talk	.55***	-.03	-.16	.08	.21*	.17

Note. Correlations are shown between age of eldest child and parenting beliefs and behaviours. Partial correlations controlling for age of eldest child are shown between the MIBI scales and parenting beliefs and behaviours.

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$. † $p < .07$.

experiencing racism, however, was unrelated to preparation for bias ($r = .07$; ns). A weaker degree of support for the third hypothesis was found when concern with stereotyping was used as the predictor. It was strongly positively correlated with the frequency of race talk ($r = .43$; $p < .001$), but it did not correlate with the promotion of culture ($r = .12$; ns) or with preparation for bias ($r = .14$; ns).

Examination of the Sellers Model Using Regression Analyses

The fourth hypothesis was that racial salience would moderate the extent to which racial ideology and beliefs affected behaviour (i.e., ideology \times salience interactions). To test this hypothesis, a series of hierarchical regression analyses were conducted for each of the three parental behaviours. All of the variables identified by Sellers and Smith et al. (1998) were centered and entered, following the age of the eldest child (Step 1), according to their order in the model: racial salience (centrality & experience of racism) in Step 2, regard & ideologies (public regard, nationalist, oppressed minority, & humanist ideologies) in Step 3, racial appraisals (children's experience of racism & concern with stereotyping) in Step 4, and interaction effects (all salience \times regard & ideology interactions) in Step 5. None of the interaction effects approached significance and the moderational hypothesis was not supported. The results pertaining to the first 4 steps of the regression analyses are presented in Table 3.

As seen in Table 3, different dimensions of identity are related to different socialization behaviours. Cultural socialization is related to all three constructs in the Sellers et al. model, although racial ideologies and racial appraisals seem to be playing the larger roles. The preparation for bias, on the other hand, was only predicted by racial ideologies and racial appraisals. Finally, the frequency of race talk was predicted by racial salience and racial appraisals. It is clear from looking at Table 3 that the appraisal process is an important step in racial socialization; it was predictive of all three behaviours. In terms of the most proactive behaviours (preparation for bias and talking about race), a consideration

of the age of the child also appears to be an important part of the appraisal process.

Discussion

Many studies looking at the link between racial identity and racial socialization have focussed on African Americans using a unidimensional conceptualization of identity that fails to capture the Black minority experience (e.g., Bowman & Howard, 1985). This study aimed to understand the influence of various dimensions of racial identity in the appraisals of racial issues and the racial socialization practices engaged in by Black Canadian parents. Results indicated that this more complex model of identity, which encompasses not only the concept of racial centrality, but also identity ideologies, has the advantage of delineating different dimensions of identity that relate differently to parenting behaviours.

In line with our first hypothesis, racial centrality, regard, and ideologies were related to parental appraisals, particularly parents' concern with stereotyping. Parents were more concerned with stereotyping if their Black identity was important to them (high centrality), if they believed that others perceived Blacks in a negative light (low public regard), if they felt that the Black experience was qualitatively different from that of other ethnic groups (high nationalist ideology), and if they believed that human beings are not quite the same (low humanist ideology). Parents high on racial centrality and nationalism were also more likely to believe that their children had experienced racism. This suggests that the more aware parents are of the plight of being Black, and the more they identify with being Black, the more salient racial stereotyping and discrimination becomes. Unfortunately, it is unclear whether this awareness represents a hypersensitivity to discrimination (see Pinel, 2002) or a realistic evaluation of the individual's environment. It is possible that parents for whom race is not a central self-concept may choose to ignore issues of racism and discrimination. Nonetheless, it is the *perception of discrimination* that undoubtedly influences how parents socialize their children (Murry & Brody, 2002), and while it may be informative

Table 3
Multiple Regression Results for the Prediction of Socialization Behaviours From Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI) Variables

	Cultural socialization			Preparation for bias			Frequency of race talk		
	R^2	ΔR^2	β	R^2	ΔR^2	β	R^2	ΔR^2	β
1. Age of eldest child	.00		.06	.12***		.34***	.29***		.54***
2. Racial salience	.07	.07 [†]		.12***	.00		.35***	.07**	
Centrality			.04			-.04			-.16
Experience of racism			.23 [†]			.05			.31**
3. Regard-ideologies	.20***	.14**		.25***	.14**		.41***	.05	
Public regard			.16			.04			-.10
Nationalist			.16			-.05			.06
Oppressed minority			.22 [†]			.14			.14
Humanist			-.31*			.30*			.15
4. Appraisals	.34***	.14***		.32***	.07*		.71***	.30***	
Child racism experience			.54***			.00			.69***
Concern stereotyping			-.46**			.43**			.12

*** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$. [†] $p < .08$.

to consider perceived and actual discrimination, the latter assessment is often very difficult given the ambiguity involved in attributions of racism (e.g., Inman, 2001).

Partial support also was found for our second hypothesis. Racial ideologies played a consistent role in predicting racial socialization practices. Parents were more likely to teach their children about their history, traditions, and customs (cultural socialization) when they believed in the uniqueness of the Black experience (high nationalist ideology), and if they believed that there were meaningful differences between racial groups (low humanist ideology). Parents were also more likely to discuss discrimination, stereotyping, and skin colour with their children (preparation for bias) when they believed that other ethnic groups also experienced the same type of oppression as did Blacks (high oppressed minority ideology) and when they endorsed the humanist ideology. Finally, parents were more likely to discuss race (race talk) when they endorsed the oppressed minority ideology. In summary, parents who held more egalitarian views of the experience of Blacks and others (i.e., humanist and oppressed minority ideologies) were more likely to racially socialize their children.

Although it was somewhat surprising that racial centrality did not reliably predict the socialization practices of parents, it should be recalled that racial centrality is a more distal predictor in the Sellers and Smith et al. (1998, Figure 2, p. 29) process model in contrast to racial ideologies, which are viewed as more proximal predictors of a racial behaviour. Moreover, we are not suggesting that racial centrality and nationalism are not important in the socialization process. Centrality was very important in predicting a parent's racial appraisals (i.e., concern that their child might be stereotyped). It should be added that the socialization behaviours examined in this study (i.e., preparation for bias items in particular) involved predominantly positive ways of discussing and conceptualizing race. Had we asked parents whether they stressed the disadvantages of being Black to their children or to "mistrust" Whites (see Hughes & Johnson, 2001), nationalism and racial centrality might have emerged as more important correlates of such socialization behaviours.

The strong positive relationship between the humanist ideology of parents and the extent to which they prepare their children for racism, may appear to be somewhat counterintuitive given that the humanist ideology measure emphasises overlooking racial differences and focussing on all people as individuals. It should be recalled, however, that our preparation for bias measure emphasised parents encouraging positive responses when facing racism. Focussing on the positive is one of the hallmarks of humanism and this result would clearly need to be replicated in subsequent studies using alternative measures of preparation for bias.

Partial support was found for the hypothesised relationship between racial appraisals (perceived racism and concern with stereotyping) and socialization. Parents who believed that their children had experienced racism were more likely to culturally socialize their children and to prepare their children for bias. Moreover, a greater concern with stereotyping was strongly correlated with the discussion of racial issues with children. Parents, therefore, appear to be monitoring their children's experiences when it comes to their racial socialization: parents who are more likely to appraise their child's situation as involving racism and stereotyping, are also more likely to become active in their racial socialization. It has been suggested that there is a reluctance to

discuss and instruct children with regard to racial issues before an incident occurs (see Ferguson, 1999): parents may want to put off such discussions because they feel their children may not be able to fully understand issues of racism until they have experienced them first-hand (e.g., Brown-Smith, 2001). Also, parents must gauge whether their children are cognitively ready to discuss incidents of racism (Hughes & Chen, 1997, 1999) and they may not broach the subject until they feel it is necessary to do so. It is clear from the results of our study that the age of the eldest child was a strong correlate of parents' appraisals and socialization behaviours, suggesting that parents take into account the age of their children and are more likely to become more active in the socialization process as their children get older. A particular strength of the Sellers and Smith et al. (1998) process model for predicting racial behaviour is its inclusion of a racial appraisal process, which seems particularly important for matters of socialization.

Measuring Black Racial Identity and Socialization in a Canadian Context

The Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI, Sellers, Smith et al., 1998) provided a reasonable, but not optimal, set of measures of dimensions of racial identity for Black Canadian parents in this study. Most of its subscales proved to be both reliable and valid. As would be expected, parents for whom being Black was central to the self (high centrality), who believed others perceived Blacks negatively in general (low public regard), or who felt that the Black experience was unique (high nationalism) tended to report that their children were more likely to have experienced, witnessed, or been asked about racism. Furthermore, parents with high racial centrality and nationalism were more likely to be opposed to interracial dating, whereas parents who endorsed the humanist ideology were more likely to be in favour of interracial dating. It was somewhat surprising, however, to find no significant relationship between parents' racial centrality and nationalism with socialization behaviours related to racism such as the preparation for bias since past research has found such relationships (e.g., Hughes & Johnson, 2001). It is possible that race may not be as central for Canadian parents as for American parents, but it is also possible that the role of centrality and nationalism may have been diluted because of the wide age range of the children of our parent sample. Clearly more research is warranted on the nature and role of these variables in a Canadian context.

The private regard and assimilationist ideology scales of the MIBI did not demonstrate adequate scale reliabilities. The private regard scale, which centres on the affective component of racial identity, may have proven to be unreliable because it combines items that are group-focussed (e.g., "I feel good about Black people") with others that are self-focussed (e.g., "I am happy that I am Black"). Self and group experiences can often be different (e.g., Taylor, Wright, Moghaddam, & Lalonde, 1990), and so it may be advisable to dissociate these two levels of experience in future research. The assimilationist ideology scale, on the other hand, may simply not be ideal with an adult sample of first generation Canadians. Our sample consisted primarily of Caribbean immigrants, and their experiences of racism will be different from those who have a historical legacy in North America (i.e.,

African Americans or Black Nova-Scotians with Loyalist roots). Future research may want to consider the experiences of immigrant and established groups separately in order to provide better insight into the variability in socialization practices within the Black Canadian community (see Hughes, 2003; Hughes et al., 2006). It is also quite possible that the MIBI is better suited to younger samples. Sellers and his colleagues have done much of their research with student samples (e.g., Sellers et al., 1997), and Outten (2005) found much higher indices of internal consistency for all of the scales in the MIBI with a Black Canadian student sample (alphas ranged from .68 to .83).

Although the measures of racial socialization that were used in this study were adequate for an exploratory study, future research could certainly improve the assessment of different types of strategies. The “promotion of pluralism” as a socialization measure did not prove to be reliable in the current study, and the development of a similar measure in the American context has also proven to be psychometrically elusive. Hughes and Johnson (2001) found that the items that they developed to tap pluralism loaded on the same factor as items used to assess cultural socialization. It is perhaps too much to expect that the full complexity of racial socialization can be captured in a single study. The recent and exhaustive review on ethnic and racial socialization by Hughes et al. (2006) indicates that the four most pertinent dimensions to examine are cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism and silence about race. Their review offers an excellent starting point for researchers looking to develop measures of racial socialization. Also, from the perspective of older children, Lesane-Brown, Brown, Caldwell, and Sellers (2005), have recently developed a retrospective measure on racial socialization experiences. Given the strong relationships between age and socialization behaviours in the current study, future research may also want to focus on particular age cohorts of children and how socialization differs for different age groups. It is possible, for example, that a parent’s racial ideologies will be more important predictors of racial socialization behaviours for cohorts of older children.

Conclusion

The results of the current study are certainly preliminary given the relatively small sample size and the considerable age range of the children of the parents that we sampled. Notwithstanding the limitations of the current study with regard to sampling and measurement, our results underscores the importance of using a multidimensional measure of identity in predicting the different dimensions of racial socialization. Different cultural, social, and political environments affect how Black parents see themselves and interpret the Black experience for themselves and their children, and more research is needed to unpack the complexity of these differences.

Résumé

Le but principal de la présente étude était d’examiner l’influence de l’identité raciale sur les stratégies de socialisation utilisées par les parents de race noire pour faire face aux questions de racisme et de discrimination. Le modèle multidimensionnel d’identité raciale (MMRI) a été utilisé pour saisir la complexité de l’identité

noire et pour établir un cadre appuyant l’étude du processus de socialisation. Quatre-vingt-dix parents canadiens de race noire ont répondu aux mesures de l’identité raciale (par ex. centralité de l’identité, idéologies raciales), l’évaluation raciale (par ex. préoccupation relative aux stéréotypes) et des pratiques de socialisation (par ex. préparation aux préjugés). Nous avons avancé comme hypothèse que les mesures de l’identité raciale seraient des prédicteurs des évaluations raciales et des comportements de socialisation, et les évaluations raciales, des prédicteurs des comportements de socialisation. En outre, nous prédisions que l’importance accordée à la race amoindrirait le lien entre idéologies raciales (par ex. idéologie nationaliste) et comportements de socialisation. Même si la dernière hypothèse n’a pas été retenue, le modèle de Sellers a fourni un cadre théorique utile pour comprendre les pratiques de socialisation des parents canadiens de race noire. Les parents étaient plus susceptibles de favoriser la socialisation de leurs enfants s’ils appuyaient une idéologie humaniste et lorsqu’ils percevaient que leurs enfants étaient des victimes possibles des stéréotypes et de la discrimination. Ces conclusions soulignent l’importance des mesures multidimensionnelles de l’identité pour obtenir un portrait plus complet du processus de socialisation.

Mots-clés : identité raciale, socialisation raciale, les Noirs au Canada.

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Appendix Measures Developed for This Study

Children's Experience of Racism

My children have experienced racial prejudice from other children at their school.

My children have been unfairly evaluated at school because of their race.

My children have experienced racial prejudice outside of school.

My children have witnessed racial prejudice.

My children have asked me about racism.

Concern With Stereotyping

Young men of my race are often unfairly targeted by the police.

Racial Stereotypes may limit my children's future employment opportunities.

My children's teachers could be affected by racial stereotypes when evaluating their academic performance.

My children are likely to be stereotyped as less competent than children of other races.

I don't think my children have been treated differently at school because of their race. (neg)

My children are aware that they might be treated differently because of their race.

My children will have to work harder than other children in order to overcome negative stereotypes.

I fear that my children might someday be in physical danger because of their race.

Male youth of my race are stereotyped as being violent and aggressive.

Cultural Socialization

I have raised my children to feel a part of their ethnic community.

I am trying hard to teach my children about their cultural heritage.

My children appreciate our culture's unique clothing, music, and food.

I take my children to our culture's community events.

Preparation for Bias

I have advised my children to confront, in a positive manner, the other children who were teasing them about a racial feature.

I have taught my children that it is up to them to control how much they will be affected by racial prejudice or discrimination.

I have told my children that a good strategy for dealing with racial stereotypes is to make an effort to prove that the stereotype is wrong.

I teach my children to not let instances of racial discrimination get in their way of succeeding in life.

I have taught my children to consider the possible outcomes before reacting to a negative racial situation.

I am teaching my children that a good education is the key to overcoming discrimination.

Frequency of Race Talk

I talk about skin colour with my children.

I discuss negative racial stereotypes with my children.

I tell my children not to focus on the physical characteristics of others.

I discuss racial discrimination with my children.

I tell my children that a good education will help them overcome the societal barriers placed on our race.

I tell my children to rise above racial discrimination.

Parent's Experience of Racism

My race is a source of discomfort for those I work with.

I find that I am often overlooked to take on more responsibilities in my work because of my race.

I have been the target of racial prejudice by others in the community.

I have been discriminated against in the workplace because of my race.

I am often in a position where I must decide if I am being treated by someone in a particular way because of my race or because the person is just rude.

I feel that co-workers from other racial groups only react to me on a very superficial basis.

Intraracial Dating

I worry that an interracial marriage would cause problems for both families.

I would prefer my children married people of the same race because it would be easier for their children.

I would not allow my children to date interracially.

I will let my children make their own choices about interracial dating. (neg)

Received March 12, 2007

Revision received November 1, 2007

Accepted February 19, 2008 ■