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EDUCATIONAL AND PSYCHO-SOCIAL FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE AFRICAN AMERICAN YOUTH'S PREFERENCES FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

presented by

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EDUCATIONAL AND PSYCHO-SOCIAL FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE AFRICAN AMERICAN YOUTH'S PREFERENCES FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

Ву

Kelly Michelle Lewis

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ABSTRACT

EDUCATIONAL AND PSYCHO-SOCIAL FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE AFRICAN AMERICAN YOUTH'S PREFERENCES FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

By

Kelly Michelle Lewis

Both theoretical and empirical literature has documented social change as an important vehicle for combating the effects of racial oppression in the United States. However, little of this research has acknowledged African American adolescents as probable social change agents. Even less research has addressed how different psychosocial factors might influence African American adolescents' preferences for social change strategies. By focusing exclusively on 120 Black adolescents residing in the mid-west, this study examined the mediating effect of racial identity on the relationship between type of education, racial socialization and preferences for social change. The relationships proposed in this study were examined, using path analysis. Results indicated that African American adolescents in emancipatory educational environments were more likely to have higher scores on Internalization and Immersion racial identity attitudes than youth in traditional mainstream schools and were more likely to endorse, through open-ended questions, participation in 2nd order social change activities.

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To my family and the African American Community, with love

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INTRODUCTION

In the United States, African Americans have struggled against racism using both first and second order social change strategies (Brookins, 1996). The first emphasizes individual efforts to address social problems by helping people function more effectively within oppressive systems, and the second emphasizes collective efforts to challenge the status quo and change oppressive systemic structures. While first order change is often the goal within the African American community, this method does little to affect the operational order on which social systems are based. Hence, focusing on second order change will likely lead to more appropriate social change strategies that can advance the political, cultural and economic liberation of Black¹ peoples (Brookins, 1996, Watts, 1996).

Individuals first start becoming aware of their socio-political environment and getting involved in social change activities during adolescence (Education for Liberation, 1999). At this stage of development, Black youth begin to question traditional American aspirations when exposed to cultural, political and social issues that demonstrate the gap between equality and the way society works (Haste & Torney-Purta, 1992). Witnessing this sense of oppression and shared suffering often gives adolescents a collective will to resist (Marable, 1995). However, there has been no empirical research, to date, that has documented or examined the range of Black adolescents' preferences for social change strategies.

¹ Throughout the text, the terms African American and Black will be used interchangeably to describe descendents of Western Africa.



Studies have shown that African American's racial identification attitudes (e.g., beliefs that one has regarding the significance and meaning of race and how one ascribes to membership in one's racial group) consistently impact the type of social change strategies they prefer (Griffith, 1997; Watts, 1996). This relationship is best explained in the psychological literature by the notion that attitudes (beliefs and feelings) directly influence behavior. The psychological research literature has also suggested that African American adolescents' racial identification attitudes are strengthened by: (1) their type of educational environment and (2) increased degrees of racial socialization (the transmission of messages in their environment about race and culture; Stevenson, 1995). For example, emancipatory instructional settings that are largely reflective of traditional African values are more likely to strengthen racial identification attitudes than traditional mainstream instructional settings, which are largely reflective of White cultural standards. Moreover, socialization messages about race from parents are also likely to strengthen racial identification attitudes.

Given the established associations outlined above, it is logical to expect racial identity to mediate the relationship between education type, racial socialization and preferences for social change. However, empirical research is needed to test this mediational relationship. The present study will focus exclusively on African American adolescents and examine the mediating effect of racial identity on the relationship between education type, racial socialization, and preferences for social change.

IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION

Education plays a critical role in molding social attitudes and behavior. By recording, imparting, and transmitting knowledge from generation to generation, the process of educating serves as a powerful medium for shaping values (Karioki, 1979; Shujaa, 1994). All cultures and societies have provided some form of education, whether formal or informal. Education as informal or enculturation, designates learning which people get from society at large, from experiences growing up in homes, in communities, in historical epochs, and in social milieus (Mason, 1960). Education as formal or deliberate refers to those things that people make an effort to deliberately learn. Schools, for example, represent highly organized efforts at formal education. While both informal and formal modes of education are critical to human development (Mason, 1960), the present study is primarily concerned with the latter.

Shujaa (1994) presents a three-fold theoretical definition in which formal education can: (1) foster the development of adequate skills in literacy, numeracy, the humanities, and technologies that are necessary to negotiate economic self-sufficiency in the society; (2) instill citizenship skills, based on a realistic and thorough understanding of the political system which is achieved by promoting critical thinking skills and teaching democratic values; (3) provide historical overviews of the nation, the continent, and the world which accurately represents the contributions of all ethnic groups to human knowledge. He posits that these aspects of formal education can serve the common interests of all members of a society, regardless of their particular cultural background. However, Shujaa (1994) claims that when multiple cultural orientations exist within a nation, it is leaders among adherents of the politically dominant cultural orientation who

exercise the most influence on the "concepts, values, and skills" that schools transmit.

There has been some movement to be culturally inclusive; however, the White middle class typically determines what is socially valued and taught in traditional mainstream education. African Americans have been affected by this social context, dating back to their arrival in the "New World." To place the present-day education of African Americans into perspective, it is important to examine the historical context of education for Blacks in the United States.

EDUCATION FOR BLACKS IN NORTH AMERICA: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

During the fifteenth century, European settlers brought the largest percentage of first-generation Africans to North America from the Western region of Africa (Wood, 1974). They were scattered throughout the "New World" and separated from other Africans speaking similar dialects. To provide and bolster their economic development, European settlers enslaved these Africans² and segregated them from other Africans to prevent communication, which the Europeans feared might result in resistance and possible escape (Higgenbotham, 1978; Wood, 1974).

It has been historically documented that Africans were heirs to oral traditions (Wood, 1974) and worked to retain the significant spoken forms of African history.

Nevertheless, many slaves became motivated to read English because education was a representation of freedom (e.g., Wood, 1974). However, it remained extremely difficult to achieve for most enslaved Africans (Higginbotham, 1987; Wood, 1974; Marable, 1995). Many Blacks were killed trying to achieve it and numerous others lived and died without ever experiencing it (Higginbotham, 1987; Wood, 1974; Marable, 1995).

² Throughout the text, the term African will be used to describe first generation peoples from Africa.

Still 100 years after the end of the Civil War in 1865, belief in the inherent inferiority of African Americans made White Americans reluctant to share public spaces (such as schools) or view Blacks as equals. These philosophical orientations continued well into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries through segregation, Jim Crowism, and racism in the United States. Consistent with these social and cultural mores of the nation, the Supreme Court upheld and promoted legal rulings of separate but equal, which were first rendered in 1896 as a result of the Plessy vs. Ferguson case to uphold Louisiana's separate railroad cars (Fleming, 1976; Tate, Ladson-Billings & Grant, 1993). These legal practices infiltrated the school system, allowing Blacks to be educated, but only in schools separate from Whites.

In the 1950s leaders of the Civil Rights and Black Power movement fought to ignite the beginning of integrated schools. The National Association of Colored People (NAACP), along with the support of lawyers, scientists and psychologists finally went to the Supreme Court in the Brown vs. Board of Education case, to have the court unanimously overturn Plessy vs. Ferguson (Robinson, 1976). With their contention that segregation was damaging to Black children, the NAACP had the court announce that, "separate educational facilities were inherently unequal" (Robinson, 1976). This 1954 decision to integrate schools, marked the beginning of attempted equal access to schooling. However, curriculum and training did not reflect this integration.

At the time of the 1954 *Brown* decision, the cultural ethos and sociopolitical climate had not changed radically from the time of Plessy v. Ferguson and the doctrine of "separate but equal." *Brown* was perceived as a threat to many Whites because of its widespread and social implications (Miller, 1995). Furthermore, the Supreme Court

seemed to view *Brown* as an opportunity to institutionalize the cultural assimilation function of the public schools, according to Tate, Ladson-Billings & Grant (1993). More specifically, the Supreme Court Justices wanted to help African-American and other disenfranchised and undereducated groups fit in to the present sociopolitical structure. By looking at the socio-cultural reality of African American students—consigned to substandard, ill-equipped schools—the Supreme Court proposed that by physically altering the students' school environment, the problems of inequality would be addressed (Miller, 1995; Tate, Ladson-Billings & Grant, 1993). This early example of first order social change was an effort to address social problems by helping people function more effectively within oppressive systems. While this change strategy was instrumental in bringing about significant advances in the social structure for Blacks (e.g., access to educational opportunities), it fell short of achieving the cultural liberation of Black peoples.

PRESENT STATE OF TRADITIONAL MAINSTREAM EDUCATION FOR AFRICAN AMERICANS

In spite of the considerable changes that have occurred in American education over the years, ample evidence suggests that there are unique complications regarding the present state of traditional mainstream education for Black youth in the United States (Banks, Hogue, Timberlake & Liddle, 1996; Beck & Muia, 1980; Freeman, 1997; Sizemore, 1973).

Equating quality schooling for African-Americans with the process of desegregation has led many Blacks and Whites to believe that equal treatment comes only by sharing educational space, taking the same educational classes, and using the same educational materials (Tate, Ladson-Billings & Grant, 1993). However, in this type

of first order social change, Black students often do not experience a curriculum that celebrates their culture, that accurately tells of their ethnic group's deeds and contributions to society, that challenges the status quo or that questions oppressive systemic structures (second order social change). Furthermore, they often do not experience a curriculum that promotes their personal and ethnic group's membership by accepting and affirming Blacks as full members in American society (Simms, 1978; Tate, Ladson-Billings & Grant, 1993; Woodson, 1990).

While some traditional mainstream school textbooks and teachings have incorporated the history of Black slavery, prominent activists who fought for Black freedom, and ethnic holidays, many contemporary curricular offerings still restrict the cultural experiences in the school to a single majority culture (Hilliard, 1990; Woodson, 1990). Despite the reorganization of school textbooks and teachings to include the aforementioned themes, Hilliard, Payton-Stewart and Williams, (1990) argue that culture is not a compilation of ethnic heroes and holidays, nor is it only an awareness of other people's music and dance. Rather, culture is the vast structure of behaviors, ideas, attitudes, values, habits, beliefs, customs, language, rituals, ceremonies, and practices unique to a particular group of people which provides them with a general design for living and patterns for interpreting reality (Shujaa, 1994).

With the frequent exclusion of African and African American culture from traditional mainstream education, Black youth in these environments are often taught little of their cultural past, history, traditions and how they came to be part of present-day United States. This attempt to help Black youth function more effectively within an

oppressive system (1st order social change), has caused them to often experience a segregated curriculum that is largely reflective of mainstream White cultural standards.

A recent report, prepared by the directors of the 10 federally funded

Desegregation Assistance Centers (DACs), explained how the idea of a "good education"

has been lost. The report describes this loss as three generations of failed desegregation

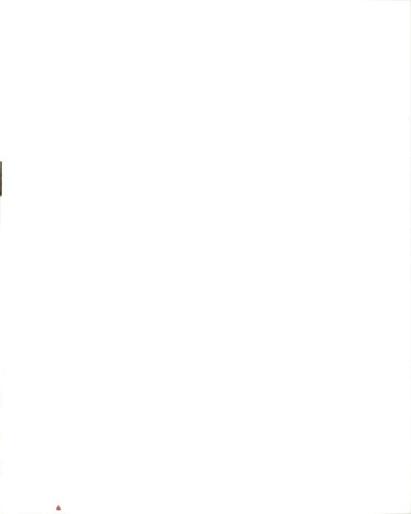
efforts since the Brown vs. Board of Education decision in 1954 (as cited in Tate,

Ladson-Billings & Grant, 1993).

The first generation, in an effort to stop and eliminate physical segregation (e.g., inequality between schools), saw some progress in urban areas, as Blacks began to share educational space with Whites. However, as Whites progressively moved out of these urban areas, the communities have increasingly become segregated with a predominantly Black population at an economic base at or below poverty level and a crumbling infrastructure (Tate, Ladson-Billings & Grant, 1993). These conditions illustrate the existence of inequality between Black and White schools.

The second generation of desegregation efforts attempted to eliminate inequities within schools rather than between schools. However, progress in this area has been slow. For example, in mixed-race, traditional mainstream schools, Black students have been placed in advanced academic tracks less often than White students. Blacks have also been more frequently placed in special/remedial classrooms (U.S. Department of Education, 1999; Tate, Ladson-Billings & Grant, 1993).

The school curricula and practices have often been designed to meet the needs, interests, and lifestyle of the White students (Tate, Ladson-Billings & Grant, 1993). Two studies (Polite,1994; Tettegah, 1997) revealed that Black students are often treated



unequally in traditional mainstream educational environments and given little opportunity to see themselves in the curriculum, textbooks, and school climate. The consequences of exclusion from educational materials often leads to feelings of alienation and chronic school failure (Polite, 1994).

The third generation of desegregation efforts, since the Brown vs. Board of Education decision, attempted to produce equal learning opportunities and outcomes for all students. This has created mixed results. Whereas, more Black students today are going to college, the number of students of color not receiving the necessary resources to do well in school or failing to graduate is alarmingly high compared to Whites (Tate, Ladson-Billings & Grant, 1993). Current research by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) supports these findings. The NCES (1999) study reported that, while the overall percentage of Black high school dropouts has decreased from 1971 to 1999, Blacks still have one of the highest drop out rates (i.e., 5 percent) when compared to Whites (i.e., 3.6 percent) in grades ten through twelve. Furthermore, students (especially Blacks) who drop out of school make fewer attempts to succeed in the work force or to assume a fully functional place in society at large, than do students who complete high school.

In summary, the present state of traditional mainstream education may be less effective for African Americans. Much of this stems from what has taken place in the past. By equating quality schooling with sharing educational space, and failing to provide a verbal interpretation of the desegregation model to the general public, the Supreme Court, in 1954, left individual school districts free to develop educational responses that have often failed to address the needs of African American students. The

striking similarities between the conditions of 1954 and those in the 1990s have resulted in negative consequences for Black youth in traditional mainstream education environments. Black racial identity is one important characteristic that has been affected by traditional mainstream education.

CONSEQUENCES OF TRADITIONAL MAINSTREAM EDUCATION ON BLACK RACIAL IDENTITY

Racial identity refers to the beliefs that one has regarding the significance and meaning of race and how one defines oneself or ascribes (affiliates) to membership in that racial group (Sellars, 1998). To understand the psychological implications and ramifications of racial group membership for Blacks, it is necessary to explore Black racial identity development theory.

Black Racial Identity Development Theory

Kenneth & Mamie Clark (1939a, 1939b) conducted some of the earliest work on racial identity by examining the racial orientation of preschool children using projective techniques. By examining how often African American children associated positive images with a White doll or picture and negative images with Black dolls, the Clarks concluded that racial prejudice and discrimination in the United States affected the ethnic/personal identity of African American children (as cited by Smith & Brookins, 1997). However, these findings did not consider the diversity or complexion among African American children, nor did they take into account the race of the interviewer, which may have elicited socially desirable responses from the children. Moreover, this study did not consider the fact that Black dolls were novel at that time. Hence, findings must be interpreted with caution.



Later work by Banks (1976) found that Blacks did not exhibit high levels of initial self-hatred. As a result of these findings, Banks questioned if African American children had ever rejected their racial group as suggested by Clark and Clark's (1939a, 1939b) findings. She argued that patterns of social choices by African American children did not indicate a preference to favor or be ashamed of any group (e.g. Black or White) at a rate greater than expected by chance. Furthermore, Banks (1976) argued that increases in African American youth racial identity may have resulted from the Civil Rights Movement and the "Black is Beautiful" era (Smith & Brookins, 1997).

Nigrescence. Increasingly, scholars examining racial identity have been moving toward a multidimensional orientation (Cross, 1978; Helms, 1989; Parham, 1989; Sellars, 1998). The Nigrescence theorists have been most often associated with this phenomenon. According to research by Thomas (1970), Cross (1978), Parham (1989), and Helms (1989), Nigrescence refers to the study of Black racial identity, defined as the process of becoming Black. All of these racial identity theorists developed and/or adapted models of psychological Nigrescence, which attempt to depict the various developmental stages Black Americans have traversed in seeking a more authentic identity.

Nigrescence racial identity models attempt to discern those aspects of Black identity development that occur primarily in response to racial oppression from those that occur as a normal part of human self-fulfillment or self-actualization (Thomas, 1970; Cross, 1978; Parham, 1989; Helms, 1989). While each Nigrescence racial identity theorist has his own notion of how the model should be constructed, all of them concur that:



"racial identity development occurs through a sequential movement from stage to stage and this movement is fueled by an individual's reaction to socially oppressive phenomena. They also concluded that developmental progression through the stages represents an attitudinal shift from negative to positive self-perceptions" (Parham & Williams, 1993, p. 9).

Parham & Helms (1981) were the first Nigrescence theorists to make an effort to examine the phenomenon of identity evolution across the lifespan. By adapting Cross's (1971) earlier model of psychological Nigrescence, Parham and Helms (1981) identified four stages of racial identity. The first stage, Pre-encounter is characterized by individuals who view the world as non-Black or anti-Black and have a worldview that is dominated by Euro-American values. Encounter, the second stage, is defined by an encounter or some shocking personal or social event (e.g., the death of Martin Luther King Jr.) that an individual experiences, which temporarily dislodges the person from his/her old worldview, leading to him/her rejecting the previous identification with White culture and identifying with Black culture. The third stage, Immersion-Emersion, is characterized by the vortex of psychological metamorphosis (the period of transition in which the struggle to destroy all vestiges of the "old" perspective occurs simultaneously with an equally intense concern to clarify the personal implications of the "new" frame of reference). It is divided into two phases: (a) immersion into Blackness and (b) emersion from racist, oversimplified aspects of the immersion experience. This stage depicts a person who is completely immersed in Black culture and denigrates White culture. The fourth stage of this model is Internalization, which signals the resolution of conflicts

between the "old" and the "new" worldviews. People are able to transcend racism while fully embracing Black culture. People in this stage are psychologically open, self-confident about their Blackness, and able to renegotiate friendships with Whites.

In adapting this model, Parham & Helms (1981) also suggested that individuals can recycle through the various stages of racial identity development. In proposing extensions of their model, they hypothesized that the process of psychological Nigrescence is a life-long process, which begins with the late-adolescence/early-adulthood period. To quantify the construct of racial identity development within the Nigrescence model, Parham & Helms (1981) operationalized their theory into a measure which they entitled the Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS). The rating scales for this 50-items measure were developed from Hall, Cross, and Freedle's (1972) Q-sort procedure that asked subjects to sort cards that reflected attitudes at the various stages of racial identity.

Nigrescence and Adolescents. Howard Stevenson (1995) was one of the first researchers to recognize and test the view that struggles of racial identity development begin much earlier than late adolescence or young adulthood, as proposed by Parham & Helms (1981). He suggested that adolescence, more so than any developmental period before it, marks when an initial Nigrescence episode becomes possible (Stevenson, 1995). In trying to capture the essence of adolescent racial identity development within the Nigrescence model, Stevenson tested its appropriateness with a younger adolescent population using the RIAS. Factor analytic procedures revealed only three Nigrescence stages: Pre-Encounter, Immersion and Internalization. According to Stevenson (1995), one reason that the Encounter stage was not identified empirically, is that,



"it is a stage that more adequately characterizes an experience as opposed to a fixed developmental struggle. The encounter elements of confusion and challenge can easily be integrated into the immersion stage where the adolescent is literally holding opposing opinions about one's racial identity while deciding to submerge him/herself into a pro-Black lifestyle" (Stevenson, 1995, p.62).

While numerous studies have proven that the current version of the RIAS is valid and reliable with diverse samples of adults (Helms, 1989; Nottingham, Rosen & Parks, 1992; Parham & Helms, 1985; Parham & Williams, 1993), only Stevenson's study has administered the RIAS to adolescents. This is due, in part, to the fact that little research has examined the multidimensionality of developmental racial identity within adolescent populations. Stevenson's work demonstrates that adolescence is an important period for the spawning of Nigrescence, and is a developmental period that warrants further research focus.

Traditional Mainstream Education and Black Racial Identity

Traditional mainstream education has neglected its responsibility of promoting positive Black racial identity development for many African American adolescents (Harvey, 1984; Sellars, 1998; Shujaa, 1994). Knowing one's culture is a necessary foundation for positive racial identity development (Trueba, 1988; Tatum, 1992; Washington, 1989). However, traditional mainstream educational systems have been less active in infusing Black culture into curriculum and instruction, and promoting positive images of Black people (Hilliard, 1990; Tate, Ladson-Billings & Grant, 1993; Woodson, 1990). This has significantly impacted the way many Black youth see themselves as well as how they relate to their Black group, particularly adolescents who are at a stage of



development in which they are searching for identity and acceptance (Nottingham, Rosen and Parks, 1992; Polite, 1994; Swanson & Spencer, 1991).

Very few researchers have studied the relationship between educational environment and racial identity, particularly as it pertains to adolescents. Nottingham, Rosen and Parks (1992) examined educational environment as a predictor of racial identity among college-age students. They found that Black students attending predominantly White universities were less likely to espouse feelings of inner security and self-confidence with being Black, than were Black individuals attending predominantly African American universities. The researcher concluded that these findings may have been attributed to the incongruence reflected in the treatment, real and perceived, that Black students received from teachers and school administrators in predominantly White university settings.

An earlier study by Baldwin, Duncan, and Bell (1987) found similar findings.

They, too, looked at a college-age sample and found that students from predominantly

Black universities exhibited a higher degree of Black identity than did students from

predominantly White universities. They concluded that predominantly Black academic

settings may have a more positive influence on Black identity than do White settings.

While researchers from both of these studies found significant differences in racial identity attitudes for African American students from two different educational environments, their research was limited to school racial make-up and did not take into account how exposure to Black culture in the curriculum can also influence racial identity. Furthermore, both of these studies surveyed college-age students. Their results may not be generalizable to adolescence, one of the most salient periods of racial identity

development (Smith & Brookins, 1997). Addressing the gaps in this research may contribute to our understanding of education models that provide the missing link for African American success. One of these potentially important models is emancipatory education.

EMANCIPATORY EDUCATION: A MISSING LINK

In response to the negative consequences of traditional mainstream education on African American adolescents, alternative forms of education have been developed. According to theorists (Akoto, 1992; Azibo, 1992; Garibaldi, 1992; Lomotey, 1988; Madhubuti, 1994; Shujaa, 1994 & Tafari, 1995), one type of alternative education that is especially salient for African Americans is emancipatory education. Emancipatory education literally means "freedom education" and refers to a process of training that liberates Black people from racist ideologies and social institutions in contemporary society. Emancipatory schools of the 1990s attempt to achieve this goal by connecting African American culture with Africa through the introduction and infusion of Afrocentric cultural approaches into curriculum and training (Azibo, 1992; Akoto, 1992; Shujaa, 1994; Viadero, 1996). Afrocentric approaches are based on an African-centered pedagogy, which places emphasis on *Maat* principles. *Maat* is defined as order, harmony, balance, righteousness, and truth (Karenga, 1982). It represents a historical model of ethical character that is centered in the African experience. Karenga (1980) asserts that cultivation of such a model could lead African Americans to develop skills necessary to resist the political and cultural oppression they experience. The core elements of an African-centered pedagogy involve:

- 1. "Legitimizing African stores of knowledge
- 2. Positively exploiting and scaffolding productive community and cultural practices
- 3. Extending and building upon indigenous language
- 4. Reinforcing community ties and idealizing service to one's family, community, nation, race, and world
- 5. Promoting positive social relationships
- 6. Imparting a world view that idealizes a positive, self-sufficient future for one's people without denying the self-worth and right to self-determination of others
- 7. Supporting cultural continuity while promoting critical consciousness
- 8. Promoting the vision of individuals and communities as producers rather than as simply consumers" (Lee, 1992: 165-166).

Emancipatory schools that implement this African-centered pedagogy promote norms and values different from traditional mainstream schools. In particular, emancipatory schools emphasize collective work and responsibility vs. individuality, cooperative learning vs. competitiveness, and spirituality vs. materialism (Freire, 1983). Emancipatory schools generally have clear philosophical and academic missions grounded in transmitting African American culture by teaching African American youth, as well as other ethnic youth, to think critically and question everything, to understand "true history," and to practice a lifestyle which recognizes the importance of African and African American heritage and tradition (Carol Lee as cited by Shujaa, 1994, p. 306). This is done by teaching traditional African academic subjects as well as the moral, ethical, and cultural values and heritages of their communities (Foster, 1992). Emancipatory educational environments also recognize the inclusion of a truthful view of United States and world history which embraces the cultural acknowledgment, contributions, and perspectives of African Americans, Native Americans, Asian Americans, Hispanic Americans, and those of underrepresented eastern European groups (Lee, 1992). Essentially, schools following these Emancipatory philosophical

orientations, take a proactive stance in defining, within a community context, the possibilities and gifts that Black youth can offer the world (Lee, 1992).

This expressed intention of including Black students in education and encouraging them to become productive citizens in a society that faces global community challenges, has been followed by people of African decent for over 200 years. Within this period of time, Blacks have been creating their own educational establishments in the United States (Ratteray, 1992). The evolution of the African American quest for emancipatory education provides a beginning framework for understanding the importance of culturally sensitive education for Blacks, and how it can meet the needs of the masses of African American youth in the 21st century.

Evolution of Emancipatory Education

The earliest African American emancipatory schools were independent and created in the late 1700s, as a natural response to the revolutionary ideals of the new republic. Prince Hall, a veteran of the Revolutionary War, repeatedly petitioned the city of Boston to establish a separate, tax supported school for Africans because the youth at that time were being harassed (Ratteray, 1992). When this attempt failed in 1798, Prince Hall started an alternative school in his son's home (Ratteray, 1992). Impressed by this new idea, many African Americans began creating schools in the north and south, generally by subterfuge because Blacks were still enslaved. After the Civil War in 1865, over 3 million enslaved African Americans were declared free; however, most of them were unable to read or write (Ratteray, 1992). To address the pressures of containing and controlling such a large number of freed Blacks, public and private funding sources (e.g., organizations and institutions) collaborated in planning the education of African

Americans. However, in this cooperative effort, few African American educators were sought from the widespread system of private, self-supported schools and more emphasis was placed on quantity of education rather than quality. As a result, African Americans separately sought out massive combinations of resources to educate emancipated Black youth (Ratteray, 1992).

Nearly twenty years later, by 1897, African Americans had established 18 colleges, 34 academies, and 51 high schools and seminaries (Ratteray, 1992). By the 20th century, Black men and women (e.g., Lucy Laney, Mary McLeod Bethune, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Nannie Helen Burroughs, Booker T. Washington, W.H. Crogman, Laurence Jones, John Hawkins) began recognizing that the needs of African American youth weren't being met and consequently began developing creative approaches to teaching and learning. Their efforts provided the intellectual foundation for the African American independent education and Free School movements from 1965-1972 (Ratteray, 1992; Pearlstein, 1990).

The Civil Rights Movement, coupled with the increasing feelings of oppression and powerlessness that Blacks were experiencing led to Blacks, in the 1960s, demanding community control of their schools. Many dissatisfied parents, students, and teachers went outside of the public school system to set up alternatives that were sponsored by SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) (Pearlstein, 1990). The private alternative schools established during this period became widely known as "Freedom Schools" or "Liberation Schools" (Arnove & Strout, 1978). These schools had a different within-school culture from the public schools. According to Arnove & Strout (1978), their tenets were shared decision making, disregard for bureaucratic procedures

and standardized curricula, utilization of nonprofessional staff, and, ultimately, ran counter to prevalent norms and practices. Furthermore, the ideology of these schools generally involved a fundamental restructuring of both schools and society to serve the interests of socially and economically marginal groups. Overall, they offered alternative ways of educating youth in accordance with an African American value system (Arnove & Strout, 1978).

Following in the tradition of African American independent schools in the previous decades, contemporary emancipatory schools developed to address social inequalities, serve as examples of institution building, and provide a service to their communities (Ratteray, 1992). Afrocentric schools marked the beginning of emancipatory education since the decline of Freedom schools in 1972 (Woodard, 1977). However, African-centered schools have slowly spread from mostly private academies, under the Council of Independent Black Institutions (CIBI), to nontraditional charter schools like the Nsoroma Institute in Oak Park, Michigan, which is avowedly Afrocentrist (Viadero, 1996). While there is little research that has documented the effects of Emancipatory education on Black youth, many theorists (Akoto, 1992; Azibo, 1992; Freire, 1998; Garibaldi, 1992; Lomotey, 1988; Madhubuti, 1994; Shujaa, 1994; Tafari, 1995) have argued that this alternative form of education can have positive consequences on Black racial identity.

CONSEQUENCES OF EMANCIPATORY EDUCATION ON BLACK RACIAL IDENTITY

Emancipatory education is believed to instill within African American adolescents a positive sense of self and enhanced racial identity development (Lee, 1992).



By infusing Black culture into curriculum and instruction, emancipatory education can develop within Black adolescents a shared sense of Black cultural identity and intra-ethnic solidarity (Hilliard, 1990; Madhubuti, 1994). This unification can also be achieved by the proactive stance of emancipatory education in affirming the strengths that African-American adolescents bring to school, validating their knowledge, helping to shape their vision, inculcating values, and providing the foundation for community stability. Though hardly monolithic, this African American cultural identity can influence the way individuals feel about being Black (Hilliard, 1990). According to Hilliard's (1990) theoretical assertations, emancipatory schools labor to dismantle the built-in dilemma that Dubois (1903) coined "double consciousness." This sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others develops from living in oppressive environments, and often prevents African Americans from merging their two unreconciled ideals—African and American (Dubois, 1903). Positive racial identity development can resolve this dilemma of "two-ness" and help Black adolescents arrive at an informed and inspired new understanding of who they are (Hilliard, 1990).

Many scholars and practitioners have demonstrated that with a strong positive sense of racial identity African Americans can alter the effects of oppression from their environment (Bagley & Copeland, 1994; Carter, 1991; Nottingham, Rosen & Parks, 1992). However, there continues to be little research on the impact of emancipatory education on Black youth. While some researchers (Foster, 1992; Ratteray, 1992) have examined the effects of emancipatory education on academic outcomes and found a significant positive relationship, there have been no studies, to date, looking at the relationship between emancipatory education and racial identity.

African American youth are also influenced by a myriad of other contextual settings outside of the school (e.g., the media, the workplace, health care providers, housing, recreation, transportation, religious/spiritual, law enforcement, peers, the street, and shopping mall subcultures). Hence, the messages that Black adolescents receive from their collective environment about race, can also be a potentially important factor in understanding how racial identity is shaped. Therefore, it is also important to examine racial socialization and its association to racial identity.

RACIAL SOCIALIZATION

Racial socialization describes the process of communicating messages and behaviors to youth about race and culture. These messages are transmitted through numerous environmental contexts, in the form of verbal behaviors (i.e., direct statements regarding race), modeling of behaviors, and exposure to specific objects, contexts, and environments (i.e., artifacts and settings; Thornton, Chatters, Taylor & Allen, 1990). Several studies have attempted to measure racial socialization for African American youth by examining parents' perceptions of how they have socialized their youth (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Jeter, 1994; Peters, 1985; Thornton, Chatters, Taylor & Allen, 1990; and). For the purpose of the present study the focus on racial socialization concentrates on adolescents' perceptions of the importance of racial socialization practices, based on messages and behaviors received from their environment (e.g., peers, family, church, organizations, community, society).

Racial Socialization from African American Adolescent's Perception

While research on racial socialization has increased over the last decade, there has been a limited focus on adolescents. Adolescents are still malleable and influenced by

the messages and practices in their environment and have usually begun to integrate and adopt societal messages into their own philosophical beliefs (Smith & Brookins, 1997). To date, only two studies, (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Stevenson, 1994) have attempted to measure racial socialization from the African American adolescents' perspective.

Bowman and Howard (1985) found that 68% of Black youth, ages 14 to 24, in a national three-generation family sample, reported that their parents transmitted some messages to them about their racial status. They reported parental emphases on the importance of the following characteristics: racial barrier awareness, characterized by an awareness of blocked opportunities, sense of distrust and proactive racial orientation; self-development, defined by excellence in achievement, initiative, and character building; ethnic pride, identified as pride in Black history and Black unity, and egalitarianism, referring to humanitarianism and peaceful multicultural co-existence. The overall pattern of results suggest that the manner in which Black parents orient their youth toward blocked opportunities is a significant element in their motivation, achievement, and prospects for upward mobility. Bowman and Howard (1985) only viewed racial socialization in terms of preparing adolescents for oppressive circumstances, not in terms of cultural pride.

Later work by Stevenson (1994) similarly examined racial socialization from the adolescents' perspective. Stevenson considered racial socialization in terms of preparing adolescents for oppressive experiences, as well as teaching them how to be proud of their culture. When examined in this way, Stevenson (1994) proposed that racial socialization is more likely to denote attitudes that are more reflective of an individual's whole experience. He (1994) identified four racial socialization classifications that African

American youth reported messages about: (1) Spiritual and Religious Coping, characterized by fostering a worldview that encompasses the values of spiritual essence through ritual and communal activity; (2) Extended Family Caring, defined by raising children with a sense that blood and non-blood kin can influence child development; (3) Cultural Pride Reinforcement, representative of teachings of cultural pride and heritage for the purpose of bolstering a proactive orientation to child rearing; and (4) Racism Awareness Teaching, characterized as protection and preparation of youths for racial hostility from outside. From this framework, Stevenson (1994) developed the Scale of Racial Socialization for Adolescents (SORS-A), a 45-item scale designed to assess adolescents' beliefs about their community or their "people" and the appropriateness of socialization activities with youth in African American families.

RACIAL SOCIALIZATION AND RACIAL IDENTITY

Prior to Stevenson's work the clearest example of an association between racial socialization and racial identity was made by Demo & Hughes (1990). They found that group identity is shaped by the content of parental socialization. Adults who received racism preparation messages from parents while growing up were more likely to have stronger feelings of closeness to Blacks. Stevenson (1995), similarly, suggests that messages and behaviors communicated to Black adolescents about race can bolster their sense of identity by teaching them to be proud of their culture and preparing them to deal with racially hostile encounters. However, when racial socialization messages and practices are not transmitted through the environment, Black adolescents may be less prepared to deal with racially oppressive experiences, which can ultimately impact the formation of their racial identity (Stevenson, 1995). Therefore, racial identity

development cannot be divorced from the broader socio-political climate (Stevenson, 1994).

"One's racial identity is partially trapped within the past, present and hope for the future. It is developed within the surrounding socio-political conundrum which includes family, school, and peer relationships, neighborhood and community resources, safety, economy, and upkeep, neighborhood social capital and social disorganization and the political dynamics of these areas vis-à-vis local government" (Stevenson, 1995, p. 7).

Hence, it is important to examine the effects of racial socialization when examining racial identity.

A review of the literature reveals only one study that has examined the association between racial socialization and racial identity among adolescents (Stevenson, 1995).

This study emphasized the importance of measuring the multidimensionality of how adolescent's think of themselves as well as how they think of themselves in relation to the environment, based on their activities, experiences, and interactions that represent the group. Stevenson (1995) found a relationship between the SORS-A factors and the RIAS stages; however, the magnitude of the relationship was small. Specific findings revealed that later stages of Internalization were most likely to be related to Proactive perspectives of racial socialization for females. For males and females, belief in preparing youth to cope with racial tension and conflict in society resulted in less support of a pro-White cultural orientation. For females only, Immersion attitudes (e.g., withdrawal into Black culture, attitude, and behavior) were more likely to be endorsed with increasing belief in the persistent reinforcement of cultural heritage. Conversely, Immersion attitudes for

females were negatively related to a belief in extended family caring and child rearing within a pro-Black framework. For males and females, greater Internalization attitudes that reflect an integrated and comfortable African American racial identity were related to greater Cultural Pride Reinforcement scores in which the individual believed in the promotion and teaching of pride in cultural and historical Black accomplishments.

Furthermore, Global Racial Socialization for males and females was found to predict Internalization attitudes.

While Stevenson (1995) did find slight gender differences and significant relationships between various factors of racial identity and racial socialization in his study, it is important to note that these findings may have been heavily influenced by his sample. In particular, the sample comprised African American adolescent students from an urban community center-based jobs support program. Because of the voluntary jobrelated nature of the intervention received, youth in this population may have scored very differently than would have youth in mandated educational settings.

To date, several studies have demonstrated that there is an association between racial socialization and racial identity. The present study will contribute to the dearth of empirical literature focusing on this relationship with Black adolescents. With the number of contextual settings outside of the school that influence the significance and meaning of race, it is important to examine the effects of racial socialization on racial identity while exploring the relationship between type of education and racial identity. Assessment of these associations is important to our understanding of Black adolescents and the extent to which their collective environment impacts their psychological functioning and subsequent behavior. One way to better understand the relationship between African



American psychology and behavior is to examine the direct relationship between racial identity attitudes and preferences for social change strategies.

RACIAL IDENTITY AND PREFERENCES FOR SOCIAL CHANGE STRATEGIES

As the racial identity attitudes of African American youth continue to be influenced by their environment, one of the major factors that will be mediated by this relationship is their preferences for social change. Social change can be described as a process for actualizing the ideals and enhancing the quality of life of individuals and communities (Brookins, 1996). A range of strategies have been used by African Americans to effect social change.

First Order Social Change

Second Order Social Change

First order social change is characterized by strategies that attempt to address social problems by reaching a better understanding of how individuals and groups can function more effectively within that system. This type of change does improve individual functioning; however, it does not fundamentally change the system itself. It helps people to adapt to the existing systemic structures that are in place (e.g., racism) and to perpetuate the status quo (Brookins, 1996). An example of a first order change strategy would be diversity training for employees in an organization or business that has a history of racist treatment of African Americans. Such an intervention would not fundamentally change the system, but rather help people within the system to adapt.

Second order change includes strategies that effect the fundamental assumptions and operational order on which social systems are based. Like first order change, second order change also improves individual functioning. However, second order change



involves challenging the status quo and fundamentally changing systemic structures (Brookins, 1996). A second order change strategy that follows the example of racist treatment in the workplace cited above, could be individuals demanding that racism be recognized and addressed as a core issue in the workplace (Brookins, 1996).

Many theorists (e.g., Brookins, 1996; Myer, 1988) advocate the need for second order change, particularly within the Black community. Because oppression and inequality have become a part of the existing cultural ethos, and can often impede the success of African Americans, the need for Blacks to challenge the system and question the status quo is imperative (Brookins, 1996; Myer, 1988). However, first order change is often the goal within the African American community (Brookins, 1996), and many social activities (e.g., diversity training, diverse social gatherings) and institutions are designed to bring African Americans into the mainstream of economic and social activity. Focusing on second order social change will likely lead to more strategies toward Black liberation, and further address what DuBois (1903) prophetically called the problem of the 20th century: the color line (as cited in Brookins, 1996).

Review of Social Change Literature

To date, only three studies have examined the relationship between African American racial identity and social change strategies. However, these studies did not conceptualize these change strategies as either first or second order (Griffith, 1997; Watts, 1992). Watts (1992) directly linked racial identity to general social change strategy preferences among African Americans adults. Watts (1992) used an 11-item scale of strategies for reducing racism, adapted from Barbarin and Gilbert's (1981) earlier study, and the RIAS measure of racial identity (Parham & Helms, 1981). Findings

revealed that African Americans who held strong Immersion and Internalization attitudes favored mobilizing African Americans, picketing, and separate-development strategies for racism reduction. These activities are comparable to second order change strategies (tactics outside of the system). Unlike people who held Pre-Encounter and Immersion attitudes, those high in Internalization attitudes saw the value of all but three of the eleven strategies offered. The three that were unrelated to Internalization attitudes were the same three that were predicted as most likely to be endorsed by individuals high in Pre-Encounter attitudes: racial integration, socializing with Whites, and persuasion efforts with White friends. These activities are comparable to first order change strategies (tactics within the system).

Griffith (1997) similarly examined the direct relationship between racial identity and philosophical orientations of social change preferences among African American college students. An adapted version of Watts (1992) 11-item scale of Strategies for reducing racism (Watts, 1992) and Parham and Helms' (1981) RIAS measure of racial identity were administered. The findings revealed that African American college students holding strong Immersion-Emersion attitudes favored Black Nationalist and Transformationalist strategies for social change. In other words, participants engrossed in African American culture believed that it is necessary for African Americans to either drastically change U.S. society or create separate institutions for change to be effective. These activities are comparable to second order change strategies (tactics outside of the system).

Prior to both of the above studies, Barbarin and Gilbert (1981) conducted the only other empirical investigation looking at social change strategy preferences among African

Americans. However, their study did not link social change to racial identity. Instead, Barbarin and Gilbert (1981) used their original 11-item scale (The Strategies to Reduce Racism Scale) to explore strategies that Blacks and Whites preferred in combating racism. Some of the strategies included, educating Whites, using court action, lobbying for laws, voting, integrating neighborhoods, mobilizing other Blacks, picketing, creating settings where Blacks and Whites can socialize (e.g., these activities are comparable to both first and second order change strategies--tactics within and outside of the system). Their findings revealed that African Americans were more likely than Whites to view these strategies as effective, however, no factor analysis was done on the scale to confirm the dimensions of social change strategies.

While, there is a dearth of research examining the direct relationship between African American racial identity and social change strategies, there is no research that looks at these two constructs with regard to first and second order change ideology. Moreover, there has been no research examining this phenomenon with adolescents. The history of African American oppression in education, and the current state of racism do suggest that research in this area is greatly needed, particularly from an adolescent perspective. It is at the adolescent stage of development that individuals start becoming aware of their socio-political environment (Education for Liberation, 1999), and begin getting involved in change activities. In an attempt to better understand perspectives within the Black adolescent community, the present study will examine how first and second order social change strategies correlate with an individual's racial identity attitudes, based on their educational and socialization environment.



RATIONALE FOR PRESENT STUDY

While there has been an increase in research on African American preferences for social change in the last decade, there is still little work that acknowledges African American adolescents as probable social change agents. The present study attempted to address this deficit by focusing exclusively on African American adolescents while examining their racial identity attitudes and preferences for social change in relation to their type of educational setting, and level of racial socialization.

Racial identity has been found to have a positive relationship with African American adult preferences for social change strategies (Watts, 1992; Griffith,1997; Barbarin and Gilbert, 1981). Because solidarity based on identity has long been a part of social change activities that challenge the status quo in the United States (Watts, 1992), a positive relationship is expected between Internalization racial identity attitudes and second order social change preferences. A positive correlation is also expected between African American adolescents with Immersion racial identity attitudes and second order social change preferences. A negative relationship is expected between Pre-Encounter racial identity attitudes and second order social change preferences.

Researchers have also examined education as a possible factor that affects African Americans' racial identity attitudes. However, findings have failed to explain the effects of traditional mainstream and emancipatory education type on racial identity attitudes. Traditional mainstream education often does not involve the transmission of Black culture, while emancipatory education does. In fact, emancipatory schools have slowly spread throughout the United States transmitting Black culture and teaching small groups of African American youth critical thinking skills and ways of challenging their

oppressive environment. Researchers (Sizemore, 1973 & Washington, 1989) have suggested that Black culture can often bolster racial identity development for African Americans. Thus, a negative relationship is expected between African American adolescents in emancipatory education and Internalized racial identity attitudes. A negative relationship is also expected between African American adolescents in emancipatory education and Immersion racial identity attitudes. A positive relationship is expected between African American adolescents in emancipatory education and Pre-Encounter racial identity attitudes. In all models, education was coded as follows:

(1) = Emancipatory schools (2) = Traditional Mainstream Schools. The present study elucidated the extent to which education type influences racial identity attitudes.

Research in this area could provide evidence for the need to increase emancipatory education programming in multiple domains (e.g., family, school, after-school care, day care, church).

Racial socialization has similarly been found to affect African Americans adolescents' racial identity attitudes (Stevenson, 1994, Stevenson, 1995). However, such research has been largely unexplored in school settings. The present study attempted to understand the relationship between racial socialization and racial identity attitudes in different educational environments. Because messages and behaviors communicated to Black adolescents about race can bolster their sense of identity (Stevenson, 1995), it was expected that racial socialization would show a positive relationship with Internalized racial identity attitudes. It was also expected that racial socialization would show a positive relationship with Immersion racial identity attitudes. Finally, racial socialization was expected to show a negative relationship with Pre-Encounter racial identity attitudes.

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Overall, the purpose of this study was to examine whether type of educational environment (emancipatory vs. traditional mainstream) and level of racial socialization predicts racial identity attitudes and preferences for social change (see Figure 1). To address the relationships proposed in this study, the following hypotheses were examined:

- 1. Youth in emancipatory educational environments will be more likely to have higher scores on the Internalization construct of the RIAS than youth in traditional mainstream educational environments. Youth with high levels of racial socialization will be more likely to have high scores on Internalization. Youth with high scores on Internalization will be more likely to have high scores on 2nd Order Change Preferences (See Figure 2).
- 2. Youth in emancipatory educational environments will be more likely to have higher scores on the Immersion construct of the RIAS than youth in traditional mainstream educational environments. Youth with high levels of racial socialization will be more likely to have high scores on Immersion. Youth with high scores on Immersion will be more likely to have high scores on 2nd Order Change Preferences (See Figure 3).
- 3. Youth in emancipatory educational environments will be more likely to have lower scores on the Pre-Encounter construct of the RIAS than youth in traditional mainstream educational environments. Youth with low levels of racial socialization will be more likely to have high scores on Pre-Encounter. Youth with high scores on Immersion will be more likely to have low scores on 2nd Order Change Preferences (See Figure 4).



METHODS

Participants

Participants included 120 African American adolescent students, ages 13 to 18, residing in several mid-western cities (Lansing, Detroit, Chicago). This sample size was calculated using Cohen's (1992) multiple regression and correlation power analysis tables and was required to detect a medium effect size at power .80 for an alpha of .05. Of the 120 participants, 39% were men and 61% were women (X²=.315). The average age was 14.93 with a standard deviation of 1.74 (t=.261, n.s.). When asked to indicate their race, 98% of the participants reported that they were African American, while 3% (X²=3.08) indicated that they were Multiracial (White, Black and Puerto Rican). Sample participants reported living with the following individuals: 83% lived with mother or stepmother, 36% lived with father or stepfather, 22% lived with grandparents and 96% lived with other relatives. Demographic information is reported in Table 1.

Participants were recruited from various junior high and high schools that teach in either one of the following ways: (1) from an Emancipatory Approach (e.g., private or charter schools that value an African-Centered approach to education and teach from an Afrocentric curriculum); or (2) from a Traditional Mainstream Approach (e.g., public schools that value a Eurocentric approach to education and teach from a Eurocentric curriculum). An equal number of students (sixty) from each educational environment were recruited to participate in the study. The average age of the participants in emancipatory educational environments was 14.88 (SD=1.78; range=13 to 18 years). The average age of the participants in traditional mainstream educational environments

was 14.97 (SD=1.72; range=13 to 18 years). The average number of months that participants spent at emancipatory schools was 55.48 (SD=53.66; range=2-177 months). The average number of months that participants spent at traditional mainstream schools was 31.49 months (SD=25.85; range=2-177 months). Between emancipatory and traditional mainstream schools, the average number of months that participants spent at school was 43.49 months (SD=43.64; range=2-177 months) (t=3.08).

Measures

Table 7 contains the means, standard deviations, and ranges for each measure and subscale.

The Racial Identity Attitude Scale. The 46-item Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (RIAS) is a modified version of the 50-item scale developed by Helms and Parham (1992) to measure racial identity development (see Appendix B). Responses are anchored on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1=Disagree A Lot to 5=Agree A Lot. The RIAS has been shown to be a reliable and valid instrument to use with an African American population (Helms & Parham, 1981; Ponterotto & Wise, 1987). Janet Helms and Thomas Parham (1985) reported evidence of content and construct validity of the Racial Identity Attitude Scale in their findings using racial identity attitudes as a predictor variable of different constructs (e.g., preferences for race of counselor, attitudes and cognitive styles). To identify Nigrescence within the Black adolescent community, Stevenson (1994) factor analyzed the Helms and Parham's (1981) RIAS using both orthogonal and nonorthogonal factor analytic strategies including quatermax and oblimin rotations. These factor analytic procedures yielded a three-factor solution with moderately reliable factors corresponding to the Nigrescence stages of: Pre-encounter,



Immersion and Internalization. The factors demonstrated internal consistency with alpha coefficients of .61, .67, and .77 for Pre-Encounter, Immersion and Internalization, respectively. Pearson product moment correlations between Pre-Encounter, Immersion and Internalization stages displayed that the stages are distinct from each other, even when controlled by gender. In this study, Pre-Encounter, Immersion and Internalization subscales were used. The items were scored by summing the appropriately keyed items such that each respondent obtains three subscale scores—one for each of the three racial identity attitudes.

Initially, the alpha coefficients for the RIAS ranged from 0.77 for Pre-Encounter, 0.64 for Immersion, to 0.56 for Internalization (See Table 4). However, there were certain items on the RIAS that did not seem to fit well with the present sample given their low corrected item total correlation. These items were deleted from each RIAS subscale to maximize the coefficient alpha of each subscale (See Table 5). This process revealed final alpha coefficients for the RIAS that ranged from 0.79 for Pre-Encounter, 0.68 for Immersion, to 0.73 for Internalization (See Table 4 and 5).

As suggested by authors Helms and Parham (1992), this scale was called the RIAS Social Attitudes Inventory, so as not to bias the participants.

The Scale of Racial Socialization for Adolescents (SORS-A). The SORS-A, developed by Stevenson (1994), is a 45-item questionnaire designed to measure different aspects of racial socialization (e.g., spirituality, family, culture and heritage, racism). It was developed for adolescents and investigates their personal opinions about the appropriateness of socialization activities with children in African American families (see Appendix A). Responses are anchored on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1=Disagree



A Lot to 5=Agree A Lot. Principal components analysis (using a varimax rotation and squared multiple correlations as initial communality estimates) revealed a five-factor solution; however, a four-factor model was derived to be the most meaningful for interpretation with moderately reliable factors labeled as: (1) Spiritual and Religious Coping, characterized by fostering a worldview that encompasses the values of spiritual essence through ritual and communal activity; (2) Extended Family Caring, defined as raising children with a sense that blood and non-blood kin can influence child development; (3) Cultural Pride Reinforcement, representative of teachings of cultural pride and heritage for the purpose of bolstering a proactive orientation to child rearing; and (4) Racism Awareness Teaching, characterized as protection and preparation of youths for racial hostility from outside (alpha coefficients of .74, .70, .63, .60, respectively; Stevenson, 1994).

Second order principal axis factor analysis was conducted on these four factors to test the hypothesis that the four factors represented both creative and reactive perceptions of racial socialization. Results indicated that two distinct second order factors were underlying the SORS-A, which accounted for 35% of the variance: (1) Proactive Racial Socialization, composed of Family Rearing, Spiritual and Religious Coping, and Cultural Pride Teaching factors; and (2) Protective Racial Socialization, composed of Racism Awareness Teaching. It is also possible to get a total Global Racial Socialization score by summing the proactive and protective aspects of socialization behaviors and communications that African American adolescents receive. The higher the score, the more racial socialization messages the individual received. Stevenson (1994) found that total Global Racial Socialization has adequate internal consistency with an alpha



coefficient of .75 (Stevenson, 1995). A review of the literature (Stevenson, H.C., 1995; Stevenson, H.C., 19954; Stevenson, H.C., 1993a; & Stevenson, H.C., 1993b) on the SORS-A, indicated that the current version of this scale has adequate psychometric properties. More specifically, Stevenson (1995) found validation for the different yet integrated themes indicated above. His research results demonstrated that the factors measured different phenomena that fit comfortably within a multidimensional model of racial socialization. This gave credence to the differential validity between protective and proactive factors of the SORS-A and supported construct validity of the SORS-A as a measure worthy of future consideration in the area of cultural values transmission.

In this study, the Global Racial Socialization Scale was used. Scores for the Global Racial Socialization Scale were obtained by taking the overall frequency of the four racial socialization subscales for each individual. In this study, the alpha coefficient for the SORS was 0.71 for the Global Racial Socialization Subscale (see Table 6 and 7). The title of the scale was changed to the SORS-A Adolescent Awareness Scale, so not to bias the participants.

Measure of Social Change for Adolescents (MOSC-A). The MOSC-A was developed specifically for the present study to measure different aspects of social change preferences (e.g., preferences for change within the system and preferences for change outside of the system). The MOSC-A consists of 30-items developed to characterize the various actions of adolescents that may be effective in enhancing the lives of African Americans in larger society (see Appendix D). Responses are anchored on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1=Not Effective to 4=Extremely Effective. The items were scored by summing the appropriately keyed items such that each respondent obtained two



subscale scores—one for each of the two orders of social change (first order social change and second order social change). The quantitative component of this instrument was followed by an open-ended question, which asks about social change activities that adolescents have actually done to make a difference about racism. This qualitative question was rated by coders who achieved one hundred percent inter-rater reliability on a subset of the data collected. In this study, the title of the scale used was the MOSC-A, so as not to bias the participants.

Exploratory Factor Analysis was conducted in SPSS on the Measure of Social Change (MOSC) questionnaire. The exploratory factor analysis was conducted using a principle components analysis with first orthogonal--varimax rotations, and then oblique-oblimin rotations. The criteria for determining the number of factors to be extracted was based on eigenvalues greater than 1.0 (Guttman, 1954) accounting for 3% or more of the explained variance. The size of the factor loadings and the conceptual meaningfulness of the factors were also considered as suggested by Kachigan (1991). Items with factor loadings of 0.30 or above were deemed as belonging to that particular dimension. However, if an item had a factor loading of 0.30 or above on more than one dimension, then the highest loading was used to determine which factor the item loaded most strongly. Overall, items were generally deleted if the items factor loading was below 0.30; if an item that loaded on two factors had a discrepancy less than 0.30; or if a factor had less than three items that met the above requirements.

A number of different factor solutions were examined with respect to the guidelines explained above; however, only a forced 2-factor solution was viable.



For the two forced factor solution with orthogonal rotations--varimax procedure, illustrated in Table 2, the factor loadings ranged from 0.36 to 0.83 for the first factor and 0.25 to 0.66 for the second factor. The first factor accounted for 28.89% of the explained variance and appeared to be a measure of first order social change. The second factor accounted for 8.17% of the explained variance and appeared to be a measure of second order social change. Initially, both factors contained some, but not all of the pre-identified ordered social change items. However, after (1) deleting double loaded items; (2) deleting items with factor loading below 0.30; and (3) deleting items that were not conceptually meaningful based on what previous research had suggested for these concepts, five pre-identified first order items were left on the first factor, which appeared to be a measure of first order social change, and four pre-identified items were left on the second factor, which appeared to be a measure of second order social change. The factor loadings for these two newly identified factors ranged from 0.63 to 0.83 and 0.52 to 0.66 from factor 1 to factor 2 respectively.

While it is most common to use orthogonal rotation with the varimax procedure in exploratory factor analysis, Floyd & Widaman (1995) suggest that researchers be encouraged to also look at oblique—oblimin solutions, as this structure may be more compelling than the orthogonal solution for the data. Hence, the olique rotation with the oblimin procedure was conducted on the present data set.

For the two forced factor solution with oblique rotations--oblimin procedure, illustrated in Table 3, the factor loadings ranged from 0.41 to 0.83 for the first factor and 0.54 to 0.67 for the second factor. The first factor accounted for 29.25% of the explained variance and appeared to be a measure of first order social change. The second factor



accounted for 8.01% of the explained variance and appeared to be a measure of second order social change. Initially, both factors contained some, but not all of the pre-identified ordered social change items. However, after (1) deleting double loaded items; (2) deleting items with factor loading below 0.30; and (3) deleting items that were not conceptually meaningful based on what previous research had suggested for these concepts, six pre-identified first order items were left on the first factor, which appeared to be a measure of first order social change, and four pre-identified items were left on the second factor, which appeared to be a measure of second order social change. The factor loadings for these two newly identified factors ranged from 0.54 to 0.83 and 0.53 to 0.67 from factor 1 to factor 2 respectively.

Overall, the oblique rotation--oblimin procedure appeared to be more compelling than the orthogonal solution for the data, primarily because it revealed an additional item in factor one, and increased the number of total items that could potentially be included in the scale (for a total of 10 items as compared to the 9 items revealed from the orthogonal-varimax method).

The internal consistency of the final forced two factor scale was assessed by calculating the coefficient alpha values, which are depicted in Table 3 and Table 7. The alpha coefficient for the First Order Social Change subscale (factor 1) was 0.81. The alpha coefficient for the Second Order Social Change subscale (factor 2) was 0.69.

Procedure

The sites of subject participation included emancipatory and traditional mainstream junior high and high schools. The school principal reviewed the project and the measures used. Once the project was approved by the school administrative



personnel, the principal investigator asked the school to send letters of Informed Consent (Appendix F or G--depending on what school the adolescent is from) home with all students between the ages of 13 and 18 who indicated through self-report, that they were Black or African American. Youth of multiracial backgrounds were also included if they met the above criteria and deemed themselves appropriate for the study. In this way, each students' parent/guardian reviewed, signed and approved their child's participation in the study. Letters of informed consent were collected by the principal investigator in collaboration with school personnel. Once the parent/guardian gave informed consent for their child's participation, youth were asked to give their written assent to participate (Appendix E). This occurred after they were informed of their rights as volunteers. reassured of their right to confidentiality, told the general purpose of the study and the length of time it would take to complete the questionnaire (approximately 45 minutes), and informed that they would receive \$5.00 for participating in the study. After discussing the purpose and time duration, students were given the opportunity to ask questions or make comments regarding their participation.

Administration of the questionnaires took place at the school in classroom space designated by the school principal. The measures were read aloud by the principal investigator and trained interviewers (research assistants) to control for any reading difficulties among the youth. Some of the questionnaires from the Emancipatory schools were administered in the participant's home by the principal investigator. This was coordinated with the school and the parents.

Upon completion of the survey, all participants received a cash incentive of five dollars. They were also provided with the primary investigator's name and telephone

number if they had any further questions, concerns, or wanted to obtain information regarding results or publication.

Interviewer Training. In addition to the principal investigator, five undergraduate research assistants, who either volunteered or received undergraduate course credit for their assistance, administered the questionnaires. The principal investigator trained undergraduate assistants. Training consisted of four hours of initial preparation, which familiarized them with the research instruments and gave them experience in administering questionnaires and handling questions. The research assistants also met one hour per week for supervision, which included instruction, discussion, role-plays and/or supervised practice. All interviewers were kept blind to study hypotheses.



RESULTS

Results of Hypotheses and Post Hoc Analyses

This section discusses the results of each hypothesis and the overall fit of each hypothesized model. Also included in this section are the results of post hoc analyses conducted on hypothesized models to improve overall fit. Path analyses were conducted to evaluate the theoretical models, because it has the capacity to examine multiple indicators together while allowing for measurement error in all variables. It also provides a way to test more complex and specific hypotheses by allowing for the examination of direct and indirect effects (Hoyle, 1995). The statistical software used to perform the path analyses was LISREL. To determine the degree of fit for each model (e.g., how well the data fit the hypothesized relationships), several indices were examined: the Goodness of Fit Index (GFI), the Normed Fit Index (NFI), and the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA). The chi-square statistic, degrees of freedom, and level of probability were also examined to determine degree of fit of the models. Finally, post hoc analyses were conducted on the three initial hypothesized structural models to improve their overall fit. In the analyses, type of education was coded as 1 for Emancipatory and 2 for Traditional Mainstream. The significance level was set at p < .05, one tailed test, for all hypotheses.

Before conducting these analyses, normality of the observed variables and the measurement properties of the scales for this sample were examined and decisions made. There was no missing data from the sample collected. To detect outliers, a visual examination was conducted on the box plots of each measured variable. Identified cases that were more than three standard deviations from the mean were considered outliers



and were excluded from the analyses, as outliers can drastically affect the results of path analysis (West, Finch, & Curran, 1995). Thus, the final sample size for analyses was 115, as a total of 5 participants displayed extreme values and were excluded from the analyses. Similarly, excessive kurtosis and skewness can affect the result of path analysis, according to West et al. (1995). Hence, the data was examined to determine if excessive kurtosis and skewness were present. For the entire model, kurtosis and skewness values ranged from –0.61 to +1.00, indicating that excessive skewness and kurtosis were not present in the current data set. Overall, the data was indicative of a relatively normal distribution and was appropriate for the analysis.

Hypothesis 1

As predicted, a significant direct negative relationship between Type of Education and Internalized racial identity was supported (Unstandardized β = -0.74, \underline{t} = -8.82; Path A; Figure 3). These findings suggest that youth respondents in emancipatory school were significantly more likely to have high scores on Internalization racial identity attitudes than youth in traditional mainstream schools.

While a direct, positive relationship was demonstrated between magnitude of Global Racial Socialization and Internalized racial identity attitudes, as predicted, the relationship was not significant (Unstandardized $\beta = 0.27$, t = 1.75; Path B; Figure 3).

While a direct, positive relationship was demonstrated between Internalized racial identity attitudes and 2^{nd} Order Change Strategies, as predicted, the relationship was not significant (Unstandardized $\beta = 0.09$, $\underline{t} = 0.83$; Path C; Figure 3).

Model 1A-Hypothesized Model. The initial hypothesized model described above, yielded a chi-square statistic of 8.52 (df = 2, N=115; Table 8). The fit indices suggested



that the fit of the model was moderate (RMSEA = 0.17, NFI = 0.89, GFI = 0.96). Moreover, only one of the relationships outlined in the proposed model reached statistical significance. Therefore, respecification steps were taken to improve the statistical significance. Only statistically significant respecified models were retained, unless the modification yielded a more parsimonious model.

Model 1B—Final Model. Model 1B was respecified to replace 2nd order change with 1st Order Social Change, in an attempt to improve model significance. The inclusion of 1st Order Social Change in the model yielded a chi-square statistic of 1.35 (df = 2, N = 115; Table 8) with an improvement in model fit (RMSEA=0.0, NFI=0.98, GFI=0.99). These indices indicated that the respecified model was an excellent fit. This respecification also increased the number of statistically significant pathways (Type of Education to Internalization—Path D; and Internalization to 1st Order Social Change—Path E) and produced maintained relationships in the predicted direction (direct negative relationship between Type of Education and Internalization, direct positive relationship between Global Racial Socialization and Internalization). This modification was more consistent with previous literature and more theoretically sound. However, one path, (Path E--Global Racial Socialization to Internalization) remained statistically non significant in this model (Unstandardized $\beta = 0.27$, t = 1.75, Figure 4). Thus, the model was examined again with the inclusion of an indirect path from Global Racial Socialization to Internalization. While the path again revealed a positive relationship, it also remained non-significant. Thus, for statistical and theoretical reasons, model 1B was considered to be the most plausible representation of the data for the sample, given its excellent model fit and two significant pathways.

Overall, this improved final respecified model 1B for Hypothesis 1 (Figure 4) demonstrated statistically significant paths from Type of Education to Internalization (Unstandardized β = -0.74, \underline{t} = -8.82; \underline{p} < .05; one-tailed test; Path D; Figure 4), and from Internalization to 1st Order Social Change (Unstandardized β = 0.41, \underline{t} = 3.92; \underline{p} < .05; one-tailed test; Path F; Figure 4) in the predicted directions.

Hypothesis 2

As predicted, a significant direct negative relationship was demonstrated between Type of Education and Immersion racial identity attitudes (Unstandardized β = -0.44, \underline{t} = 3.57; \underline{p} < .05; one-tailed test; Path G; Figure 6). These findings suggest that youth respondents in emancipatory schools were significantly more likely to have high scores on Immersion racial identity attitudes than youth in traditional mainstream schools.

While the predicted direct, positive relationship was found between Global Racial Socialization and Immersion racial identity attitudes (Unstandardized $\beta = 0.10$, $\underline{t} = 0.43$; Path H; Figure 6), the relationship was not significant. Similarly, the predicted direct positive relationship was found between Immersion racial identity attitudes and 2^{nd} Order Social Change Preferences; however, the relationship was not significant (Unstandardized $\beta = 0.09$, t = 0.98; Path I; Figure 6).

Model 2A-Hypothesized Model. The initial hypothesized model described above yielded a chi-square statistic of 7.90 (df = 2, N=115; Table 8). The fit indices suggested a poor fit (RMSEA = 0.16, NFI = 0.66, GFI = 0.97). While all of the path relationships outlined in the hypothesized model 2A were in the predicted direction, only one of the relationships reached statistical significance (Type of Education to Immersion—Path G). Therefore, respecification steps were taken (Figure 7) to improve the statistical



significance and overall fit of the model. Only statistically significant respecified models were retained, unless the modification yielded a more parsimonious model.

Model 2B. Model 2B was respecified to replace 2nd Order Social Change with 1st Order Social Change, in an attempt to improve path significance and overall model fit. The inclusion of 1st Order Social Change in the model yielded a chi-square statistic of 7.55 (df = 2, N = 115; Table 8) with a slight improvement in model fit (RMSEA=0.16, NFI=0.69, GFI=0.97). While all paths remained in the predicted direction, the model fit remained poor with no additional paths that reached significance.

Model 2C—Final Model. In an attempt to improve model fit, Model 2C was then respecified to replace 1st Order Social Change with 2nd Order Social Change while including an indirect path (Path L, Figure 7) from Global Racial Socialization to 2nd Order Social Change Preferences. The inclusion of path N yielded a chi-square statistic of 1.48 (df=2, N=115; Table 8) and was an excellent improvement in model fit (RMSEA=0.0, NFI=0.94, GFI=0.99). Path N also yielded the predicted direct positive relationship from Global Racial Socialization to 2nd Order Social Change Preferences (Unstandardized β =0.61, \underline{t} =2.65; Path L; Figure 7), and showed a trend toward significance (p < .05; one-tailed). However the relationship was not significant.

Also, in this respecified model, a significant direct negative relationship was found, as predicted, between Type of Education and Immersion (Unstandardized $\beta = -0.44$, \underline{t} =-3.66; $\underline{p} < .05$; one-tailed; Path J, Figure 7), indicating that youth respondents in emancipatory schools were significantly more likely to have high Immersion racial identity scores than were youth in mainstream schools. While, the predicted direct,



positive relationship was found between Immersion and 2^{nd} Order Change, the relationship remained insignificant (Unstandardized $\beta = 0.07$, t=0.79; Path K, Figure 7).

Overall, this improved final respecified model demonstrated one statistically significant path from Type of Education to Immersion (Unstandardized β = -0.44, <u>t</u>=3.66; p < .05; one-tailed; Path J, Figure 7) in the predicted direction. Though not significant, the other paths (Racial Socialization to 2nd Order Social Change—Path L; and Immersion to 2nd Order Social Change—Path K) were also in the predicted direction.

This model respecification was more consistent with previous literature and more theoretically sound. Thus, for statistical and theoretical reasons, model 2C was considered to be the most plausible representation of the data for the sample, given its excellent model fit.

Hypothesis 3

As predicted, a significant direct negative relationship was demonstrated between Type of Education and Pre-Encounter racial identity attitudes (Unstandardized β = 0.84, \underline{t} =10.04; Path M; Figure 9). These findings suggest that youth respondents in emanciptory schools were more likely to have low scores on Pre-Encounter racial identity attitudes than were youth in traditional mainstream schools.

While the relationship between Global Racial Socialization and Pre-Encounter racial identity attitudes was found to be significant, the relationship was not in the predicted negative direction (Unstandardized $\beta = 0.48$, $\underline{t} = 3.21$; Path N; Figure 9). While the predicted direct, negative relationship was found between Pre-Encounter racial identity attitudes and 2^{nd} Order Social Change Preferences (Unstandardized $\beta = -0.20$, t = -0.91; Path O; Figure 9), the relationship was not significant.



Model 3A-Hypothesized Model. The initial hypothesized model described above, yielded a chi-square statistic of 8.15 (df = 2, N=115; Table 8). Although two of the relationships outlined in the proposed model were significant (Type of Education to Pre-Encounter—Path M; and Racial Socialization to Pre-Encounter—Path N), and two of the relationships were in the predicted direction (Type of Education to Pre-Encounter—Path M; and Pre-Encounter to 2nd Order Social Change Preferences—Path O), the fit indices suggested only a moderate fit (GFI = 0.97, NFI = 0.90, RMSEA = 0.17). Therefore, respecification steps were taken (Figure 10) to improve the model fit. Only models with statistically significant relationships were maintained.

Model 3A was examined again with the inclusion of an indirect path from Global Racial Socialization to Pre-Encounter. While the path again revealed significance, it failed to reveal a path in the predicted negative direction, suggesting that youth respondents high on racial socialization were significantly more likely to have high scores on Pre-Encounter racial identity attitudes. Because inclusion of this path did not yield an improvement in model fit, additional modifications to the structural model were made.

Model 3B—Final Model. Model 3B was respecified to reinstate the direct path between Global Racial Socialization and Pre-Encounter racial identity attitudes (Path Q). Model 3B was also respecified to replace 2nd Order Social Change with 1st Order Social Change. These inclusions, yielded a chi-square statistic of 5.42 (df=2, N=115, Table 8) with an improvement in model fit (RMSEA=0.12, NFI=0.94, GFI=0.98), indicating that the model fit was good. As predicted, these inclusions also yielded a significant direct positive relationships between Type of Education and Pre-Encounter racial identity



attitudes (Unstandardized β = 0.84, \underline{t} = 10.04; \underline{p} < .05; one-tailed test; Path P; Figure 10). These findings indicate that youth respondents in emancipatory schools were significantly more likely to have low Pre-Encounter racial identity scores than youth in mainstream schools.

Also, in this respecified model, a significant direct relationship was found between Global Racial Socialization and Pre-Encounter racial identity (Unstandardized $\beta = 0.48$, $\underline{t} = 3.21$; $\underline{p} < .05$; one-tailed test; Path Q; Figure 10), though not in the predicted negative direction. These findings suggest that youth respondents high in racial socialization were significantly more likely to have high scores on Pre-Encounter racial identity attitudes.

While, the predicted direct, positive relationship was found between Pre-Encounter racial identity attitudes and 1st Order Social Change, the relationship remained insignificant (Unstandardized β = -0.27, \underline{t} = -2.55; Path R; Figure 10). However, a trend toward significance was demonstrated (p < .05; one-tailed).

Overall, this improved final respecified model 3B for hypothesis 3 (Figure 10) demonstrated two statistically significant paths from Type of Education to Pre-Encounter (Unstandardized β = 0.84, t = 10.04; p < .05; one-tailed test; Path P; Figure 10) and from Global Racial Socialization to Pre-Encounter (Unstandardized β = 0.48, t = 3.21; p < .05; one-tailed test; Path Q; Figure 10).

This model respecification demonstrated good fit, was more consistent with previous literature, and was more theoretically sound. Thus, for statistical and theoretical reasons, model 3B was considered to be the most plausible representation of the data for the sample.



Finally in order to examine relationships between all variables, Pearson Product Moment correlations were conducted. Table 10 indicates this correlation matrix.

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine whether type of educational environment (emancipatory vs. traditional mainstream) and level of racial socialization predicted racial identity attitudes and preferences for social change. While previous research has examined similar relationships independently (e.g., the influence of educational racial makeup on college students' racial identity, the influence of racial socialization on racial identity, the influence of adult racial identity on social change preferences), few studies have examined these relationships with adolescents, and no studies have examined them jointly. Hence, the goal of the current investigation was to examine the aforementioned psycho-social relationships together while focusing exclusively on African American adolescents. In the following sections, the major findings, limitations, and implications for future research are discussed.

Major Findings

The results of this study support many of the predicted relationships and emphasize the importance of social factors (particularly education type) in the development of African American identity and preferences for social change.

Black Racial Identity

Education. The present study showed that African American adolescents in emancipatory education differed from those in traditional mainstream education in terms of the way they identified with being Black. Specifically, African American adolescents in emancipatory educational environments were significantly more likely to have higher



scores on Internalization and Immersion racial identity attitudes than youth in traditional mainstream schools. In contrast, African American adolescents in traditional mainstream educational environments were significantly more likely to have higher scores on Pre-Encounter racial identity attitudes than youth in emancipatory schools. These findings support the predicted relationships and are consistent with previous theoretical literature as indicated below.

According to Lee (1992), emancipatory education is believed to instill within African American adolescents a positive sense of self and enhanced racial identity development. By infusing Black culture into the curriculum and instruction, emancipatory education can develop a shared sense of Black cultural identity and intraethnic solidarity (Hilliard, 1990; Madhubuti, 1994). Conversely, traditional mainstream education is believed to have neglected its responsibility of promoting positive Black racial identity development for many African American adolescents (Harvey, 1984; Sellars et al., 1998; Shujaa, 1994). By frequently excluding African and African American culture from the curriculum and instruction, the racial identity of Black youth in traditional mainstream educational environments is often compromised. These theoretical assertions are consistent with the present empirical findings and support the need to increase emanciptory education programming in traditional mainstream educational environments, where more than 70% of African American youth in the United States receive an education.

<u>Racial Socialization</u>. Contrary to what was predicted, the results of this study showed that African American adolescents high in racial socialization attitudes were significantly more likely to have high scores on Pre-Encounter racial identity attitudes.



The results of this study also showed that racial identity attitudes of Internalization and Immersion were not related to racial socialization attitudes. Again, these findings are contrary to what was predicted and inconsistent with the results of previous studies, which have demonstrated that there is a significant association between racial socialization and racial identity at all levels, including Internalization, Immersion and Pre-Encounter. More specifically, previous literature has indicated that higher levels of racial socialization attitudes are significantly more likely to influence high levels of Internalization and Immersion and low levels of Pre-Encounter racial identity attitudes (Stevenson, 1994, 1995). Several important differences exist between this study and previous ones, which may help to explain the inconsistencies in the findings.

First, most previous research involved samples of African American adolescents from community center-based job support programs. Because of the voluntary job-related nature of the intervention received, youth in this population may have scored very differently than youth in mandated educational settings. More specifically, with youth having self-selected themselves to participate in the community center job support program, it can be concluded that they were also active in their career development and may have been encouraged, through previous socialization environments, to uphold values of self-identification.

Additionally, differences in Black racial identity attitudes may have been influenced, in part, by the people with whom the adolescent lives. Thornton, Chatters, Taylor, & Allen (1990) suggest that the mechanism by which racial socialization messages are transmitted differs between members of the family. More specifically, they found that age and education level positively affects the probability of racial socialization



for both mothers and fathers. In other words, the influences of racial socialization was especially pronounced among older parents and parents that possessed higher levels of education. Furthermore, parents who were never married were less likely to socialize their offspring to racial dictums. Although the reasons for this later relationship are unclear, general research suggests that never-married parents provide less parental supervision than married couples (Thornton, Chatters, Taylor, & Allen, 1990). Single female parents are often found to reduce the time involved in active child rearing because of excessive demands placed upon them by outside employment and housekeeping (Thornton, Chatters, Taylor, & Allen, 1990). This may further affect the probability of and extent to which racial socialization messages are imparted onto an adolescent (Thornton, Chatters, Taylor, & Allen, 1990; Boykin, A.W. & Toms, F., 1985). Although the present study did not examine demographic variables such as parent/guardian age or education level, information was obtained regarding with whom the adolescent lives.

This is particularly important in the present study because the majority of the adolescents sampled came from single parent/guardian homes. Hence, inconsistencies between the findings of the current study and previous studies exploring the effects of racial socialization on racial identity may be due, in part, to the sample composition and characteristics. Future research should investigate this relationship further.

The current study focused exclusively on African American adolescents in different educational environments, living primarily with single female parents or guardians. Therefore, these findings can be considered more representative of the effects of racial socialization on racial identity attitudes among African American adolescents in different educational environments, living in single female parent/guardian households.



African American Preferences for Social Change

Racial Identity and Education. Based on the quantitative findings from the current investigation, (1) level of racial identity did not significantly predict preferences for 2nd Order Social Change; (2) Internalized racial identity did significantly predict preferences for 1st Order Social Change; (3) Internalized racial identity did mediate the relationship between education type and 1st Order Social Change--indicating that sometimes racial identity is a mediator. These findings are contrary to what was predicted and inconsistent with both the qualitative results of the present study and the quantitative results of previous studies.

Watts (1992) examined the effects of racial identity attitudes on general social change strategy preferences among African American adults using a different scale of strategies for reducing racism. He found that African Americans who held strong Internalization and Immersion attitudes preferred activities comparable to 2nd Order Social Change Strategies. In addition, he found that African Americans who held strong Pre-Encounter attitudes favored activities comparable to 1st Order Social Change.

Griffith (1997) similarly found that African American college students holding strong Immersion attitudes preferred activities comparable to 2nd order change strategies.

These previous findings are consistent with the qualitative, not the quantitative, results of the present study on African American adolescents.

As predicted, African American adolescents with high levels of Internalization and Immersion racial identity were significantly more likely to endorse, through an openended question, a preference for and participation in activities of a 2nd order nature (Table 9). Conversely, African American adolescents with high levels of Pre-Encounter racial



identity were significantly more likely to endorse, through an open-ended question, a preference for and participation in activities of a 1st order nature (Table 9). The open-ended question was stated as such: "What are some of the things you have actually done to make a difference about racism?" Based on this question, it was also found that African American adolescents in emancipatory educational environments were more likely to participate in 2nd Order Change strategies (58.3%) over 1st Order Change strategies (41.7%). Conversely, African American adolescents in traditional mainstream educational environments were more likely to participate in 1st Order Change strategies (98.3%) over 2nd Order Change strategies (1.7%). One very important factor may account for inconsistencies between the quantitative and qualitative findings in the current investigation.

The present research utilized a social change assessment instrument for African American adolescents' (MOSC) that was created specifically for the present research. Because this new measure has not undergone extensive evaluation and has not been tested previously with African American adolescents, it is possible that the Measure of Social Change (MOSC) questionnaire did not tap into 1st and 2nd Order Social Change for adolescents in the manner predicted. Perhaps the items have more face validity than content validity. This is particularly salient because: (1) a large number of the items (N=20) on the quantitative measure were deleted during the exploratory factor analysis stage; and (2) the qualitative information uncovered was very different from the quantitative direct and indirect findings discussed previously. Hence, future research should continue to examine the psychometrical soundness of the MOSC while further examining qualitative research in the assessment of 1st and 2nd Order Social Change



involvement. Unfortunately the manner in which the quantitative and qualitative data were coded make direct comparison between these two measure difficult.

Other important factors may account for the inconsistencies in quantitative findings between the current investigation and previous studies. First, the present study is the only attempt to examine the construct of social change with regard to first and second order change ideology. While previous studies have examined the concept of social change preferences, they have not conceptualized this construct in terms of first and second order change. Instead researchers have examined general social change in terms of individual vs. collective behaviors (Barbarin & Gilbert, 1981) and organized-collective vs. social contact strategies to reduce racism (Watts, 1992; Griffith, 1997). This new and un-tested concept of first and second order change ideology, may have contributed to inconsistencies in the findings between studies.

Lastly, the present study is the first to examine the phenomenon of social change with adolescents. While previous studies have directly linked racial identity to general social change strategy preferences among African American adults and college students (Watts, 1992; Griffith, 1997; Barbarin & Gilbert (1981), there have been no prior studies that have examined this relationship with adolescents. Perhaps, because of their developmental stage, adolescents are better able to express their *involvement in* 1st and 2nd order social change through open-ended qualitative questions than their *preferences for* 2nd order social change (an abstract concept) through a closed-ended quantitative format. It is possible that both the way the questions are phased on the MOSC and the likert scale asking participants to rate *effectiveness* of each social change method are too abstract for the adolescent developmental stage and may be inhibiting their endorsement for second



order change preferences. This is especially salient given the fact that adolescent participants did indicate involvement in 2nd order change strategies when asked in openended question format.

Racial Socialization. There have been no previous studies examining the direct effect of racial socialization on preferences for social change. However, all of the existing research suggests that racial socialization directly impacts racial identity attitudes and not attitudinal behaviors (e.g., preferences for social change strategies) (Stevenson, 1994/1995). Consistent with this previous research, findings from the current investigation indicated that racial socialization did not have a significant direct effect on preferences for 2nd Order Social Change as indicated in Figure 7.

Limitations

One of the major limitations of this study involves the measure used to assess preferences for social change. Because this area of research is new, few psychometrically sound measures have been developed for this social change construct, and none have been operationalized in the way presented in this study (1st and 2nd Order Change). Finally, none have been developed for African American adolescents.

Similarly, the Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS) was only recently adapted for use with an adolescent population, although it did undergo some evaluation with an adolescent sample prior to this study. The Scale of Racial Socialization (SORS) is the only measure that had undergone extensive evaluation and had been used many times previously with African American adolescents. Hence, more psychometrically sound measures are greatly needed for African American adolescents regarding the constructs in this study. Future research should incorporate this suggestion.



Another limitation of this study involved problems with several direct relationships between variables in the three initial models. These problems became evident when testing the overall fit of the three initial models. Specifically, few of the correlations between variables were statistically significant (p<.05) and thus, respecified models were explored and adopted, in an effort to maximize significance. While the three final respecified models had more significant correlations between variables, none of the models had universally significant correlations. Future research examining these models should explore the latent constructs of racial socialization and the global construct of social change (combined 1st and 2nd order) to provide a stronger explanation and support for the pathways in this model and the overall models. This may also help to increase the reliability and validity of the findings.

The relatively small sample size was yet another limitation of the present study. According to Chou & Bentler (1995), small sample sizes are more likely to yield unreliable results, particularly with path analysis. Furthermore, path test statistics and fit indices may also be underestimated with a small sample size (Hu & Bentler, 1995). The sample size in this study was relatively small (N=120), which may have contributed partly to the poor fit indices of the initial models. Future research examining these models should include a larger sample size.

While the Measure of Social Change did incorporate quantitative and qualitative measures to assess the social change construct, the use of such multiple data collection methods (e.g., semi-structured interviews or open-ended questions) may have also been helpful in providing more specific information on racial identity development and racial socialization. In addition, this use of multiple data collection methods may have also

been valuable in explaining the relationships between the different constructs while providing stronger empirical support for the validity of the different models. Future research should consider multiple approaches to data collection for each variable examined.

Finally, the generalizability of the results of this study are limited to African American adolescents in the mid-western region of the United States. African American adolescents in the southern, northern, eastern and/or western regions of the United States may react very different to the examined constructs in this study. For example, previous research (Thornton, Chatters, Taylor, & Allen, 1990) indicates that African American parents socialize their children differently depending on what region of the United States they reside. Specifically, parents residing in the Northeast were found to be more likely than Southerners to instruct their children about race. Living in the Northeast enhanced the importance of race in the socialization process, while parents in other regions showed no difference from the comparison group of Southerners in the probability of imparting racial messages. Thus, future research should examine this model using other African American populations in other geographical regions of the United States to improve the generalizability of the results.

Implications for Future Research

The three psycho-social models were proposed and evaluated in the present study to: (1) address the deficit in current work acknowledging African American adolescents as probable social change agents and, (2) explore how different psycho-social factors influence African American adolescents' conceptualization of social change.



As evidenced by the present research, many traditional mainstream schools in the Midwestern United States continue to neglect their responsibility of promoting positive Black racial identity among African American adolescent students. Hence, traditional mainstream school-based intervention programs are needed to help develop strong racial identity among African American adolescents. Strong Black racial identity development can be achieved through the infusion of emancipatory education in the curriculum, as found in the results of the present study. These findings underscore the importance of incorporating culturally appropriate and sensitive information into the curriculum when working with African Americans youth. Thus, traditional mainstream school-based intervention programs should incorporate an emancipatory education framework to improve racial identity development. This attempt to develop internalized racial identity attitudes among African American youth can contribute to the growth of their involvement in 2nd order social change activities, while possibly influencing the way they conceptualize social change (1st vs. 2nd order), as indicated by the quantitative and qualitative findings of the present research.



FIGURES



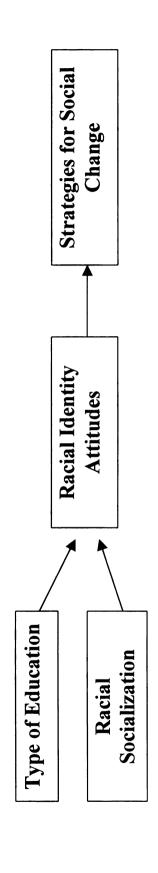
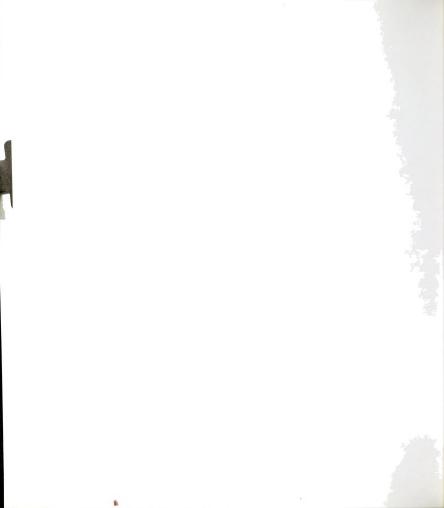
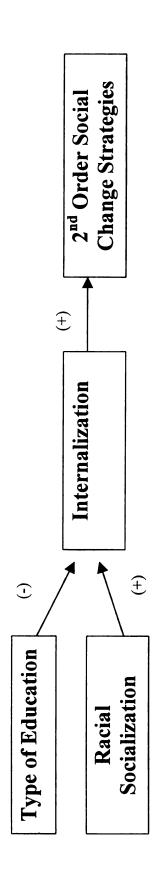


Figure 1. (General Conceptual Model): The potential effects of education type and racial socialization on racial identity attitudes and preferences for social change strategies.





the Internalization construct of the RIAS than youth in traditional mainstream educational environments. Youth with high Figure 2. (Hypothesis I): Youth in emancipatory educational environments will be more likely to have higher scores on levels of racial socialization will be more likely to have high scores on Internalization. Youth with high scores on Internalization will be more likely to have high scores on 2nd Order Change Preferences.



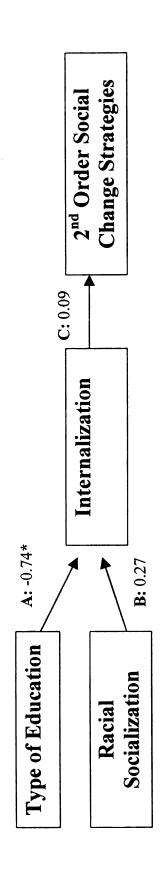


Figure 3: Hypothesized Model Results for Hypothesis I.



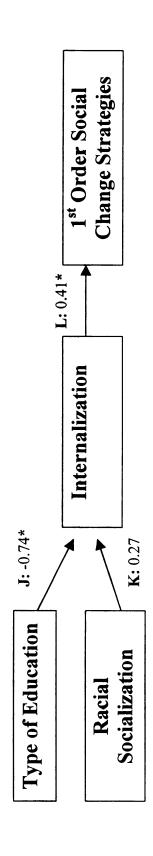
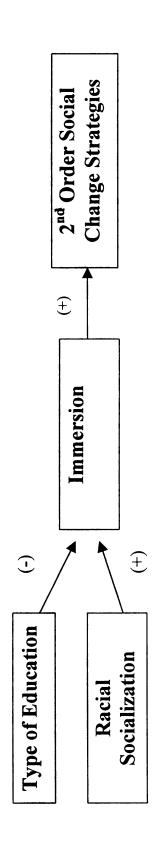


Figure 4: Final Respecified Model Results for Hypothesis I.





levels of racial socialization will be more likely to have high scores on Immersion. Youth with high scores on Immersion will be more likely to have high scores on 2nd Order Change Preferences. Figure 5. (Hypothesis II): Youth in emancipatory educational environments will be more likely to have higher scores on the Immersion construct of the RIAS than youth in traditional mainstream educational environments. Youth with high



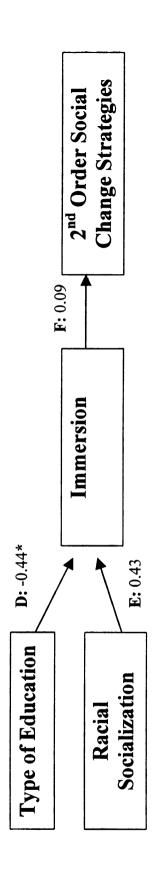


Figure 6: Hypothesized Model Results for Hypothesis II.



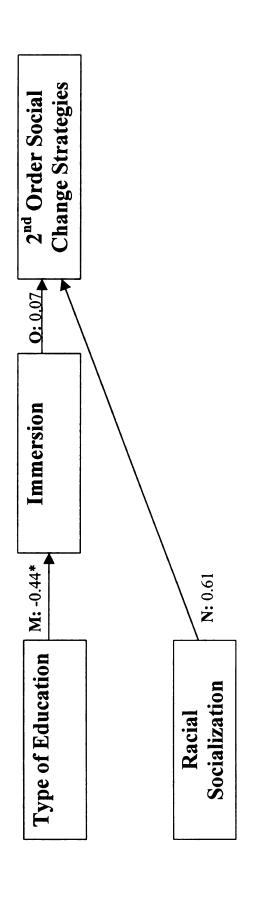


Figure 7: Final Respecified Model Results for Hypothesis II.



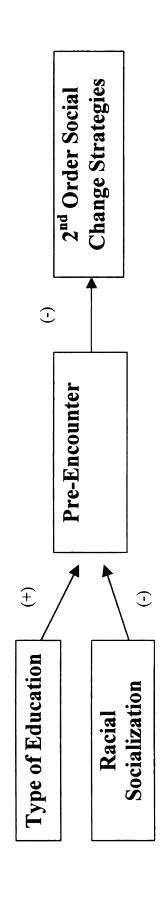


Figure 8. (Hypothesis III): Youth in emancipatory educational environments will be more likely to have lower scores on the Pre-Encounter construct of the RIAS than youth in traditional mainstream educational environments. Youth with low levels of racial socialization will be more likely to have high scores on Pre-Encounter. Youth with high scores on Immersion will be more likely to have low scores on 2nd Order Change Preferences.



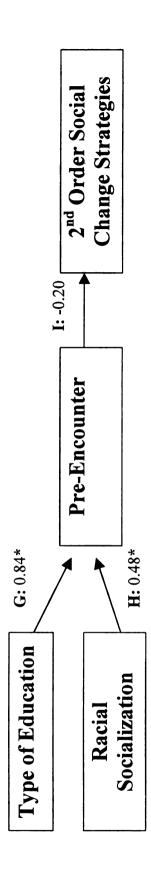


Figure 9: Hypothesized Model Results for Hypothesis III.



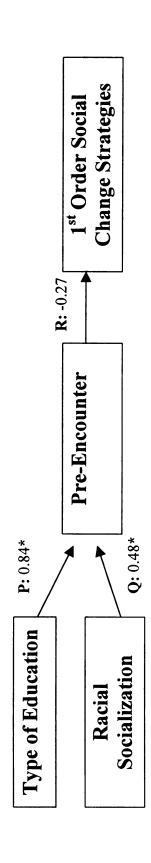


Figure 10: Final Respecified Model Results for Hypothesis III.



TABLES



Table 1. <u>Demographic Information (N=120) (60=Emancipatory, 60=Traditional Mainstream)</u>

Variables	Total M (SD) Range	Emancipatory M (SD) Range	Mainstream M (SD) Range	<u>t</u>
Age	14.93 (1.74) 13-18	14.88 (1.78) 13-18	14.97 (1.72) 13-18	.261
Months at school	43.49 (43.64) 2-177	55.48 (53.66) 2-177	31.49 (25.85) 2-177	3.08

Variables		Percent		
Gender				
a.	Male	39%		
b.	Female	61%		
Race				
a.	African American	97%		
b.	Multiracial (White, Black, Puerto Rican)	3%		
Live v	vith (Multiple Options)			
a.	Mother/Stepmother	83%		
b.	Father/Stepfather	36%		
c.	Grandparents	22%		
d.	Other Relatives	96%		
Live v	vith single female parent			
a.	Yes	58%		
b.	No	43%		



Table 2. Varimax Rotated Factor Matrix Forcing 2 Factors on MOSC

	: First Order Social Change		
SC122	Create a student newsletter that encourages your peers to		
	become Black leaders	0.83	0.11
SC124	Start a web page to show positive images of Blacks	0.74	0.15
SC119	Volunteer to help tutor Black kids	0.70	0.14
SC120	Encourage students to vote for Black student government		
	officers	0.64	-0.05
SC127	Start a web page to inform Blacks of racism in the U.S.	0.63	0.18
	00 (51		
Alpha =	= .82 (5 items)		
Items D	eleted:		
-	Get involved with the activities of a national Black	0.70	0.39
	organization		
SC121	Organize people in your neighborhood to speak out against		
	Racial discrimination	0.67	0.01
SC126	Protest against ancient African artifacts being harmed	0.64	0.15
	Organize people in your community to stop spending money		
	In stores that refuse to carry products made for Blacks	0.50	0.18
SC123	Get a group of Blacks and Whites together to discuss the		
	problems of racism	0.54	0.36
SC111	Start a web page and organize Blacks to do something	0.0.	0.20
50111	About racism	0.43	0.38
SC100	Run for government office yourself in order to organize	0.15	0.50
50100	Black students	0.36	0.26
	Diack students	0.50	0.20

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	: Second Order Social Change	Factor I	oadings
SC108	Lead a demonstration against political leaders who ignore	0.00	0.66
SC107	the needs of Blacks Start a petition against hyginages that discriminate against	-0.02	0.66
30107	Start a petition against businesses that discriminate against Black youth	0.14	0.64
SC110	Gather people in your community to speak out against the		
	local police who harass Black youth	0.15	0.57
SC102	Organize a protest against racist groups	0.23	0.52
Alpha =	.69 (4 items)		
Items D	eleted:		
SC109	Talk to someone your age who you think might be racist		
	about how he/she treats Black teens unfairly	-0.06	0.59
SC114	Organize a neighborhood party where people from different		
00115	racial/ethnic backgrounds can get together to socialize	0.09	0.59
SC115	Work on the campaign of a Black politician (e.g., state		
	legislature, mayor, governor) who makes or will make positive	0.42	0.55
SC106	changes in the Black community Work with kids in the community to help them become	0.42	0.55
50100	Black leaders	0.48	0.52
SC101	Talk to a teacher about ways that he/she treats Black	0.40	0.52
	students unfairly	0.28	0.52
SC105	Talk to someone your age who you think might be racist		
	about why being racist is bad	0.07	0.51
SC112	Donate money to a national Black organization	0.43	0.49
SC103	Start a student group that helps Blacks to become leaders	0.44	0.46
SC113	Show by your behavior that negative stereotypes about		
	Blacks are not true	0.19	0.43
SC116	Write a letter and collect signatures supporting the importance		
	of teaching Black history all year instead of one month in the	0.22	0.41
0,000	year, and give the petition to the school board	0.32	0.41
SC99	Encourage the principal to have more all school assemblies	0.24	0.27
SC104	about racial diversity Invite semana your age who deem't usually hang with	0.34	0.37
30104	Invite someone your age who doesn't usually hang with Black folks, to hang with you	0.22	0.36
SC98	Tell a store manager that they should not follow their Black	0.22	0.50
2070	customers around the store just because they're Black	-0.25	0.29
SC117	When you and your friends are called a racial slur by another	Ų. 2 3	7. —/
	group of teens, talk to the teens about their attitudes and try		
	to change them	0.16	0.25

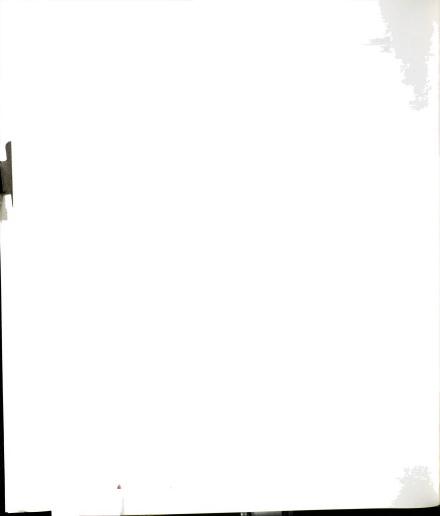


Table 3. Oblimin Rotated Factor Matrix Forcing 2 Factors on MOSC

	: First Order Social Change	Factor I	Loadings
SC122	Create a student newsletter that encourages your peers to	0.02	0.10
CC124	become Black leaders Stort a way mage to show positive images of Blacks	0.83	0.19 0.23
	Start a web page to show positive images of Blacks	0.76	
	Volunteer to help tutor Black kids	0.71	0.21
SC127	1 &	0.65	0.25
SC120	Encourage students to vote for Black student government officers	0.59	0.02
SC123		0.59	0.02
SC123	Get a group of Blacks and Whites together to discuss the	0.54	0.36
	problems of racism	0.54	0.30
Alpha =	= 0.81 (6 items)		
_			
T. 15			
Items D		0.70	0.47
SC125		0.78	0.47
00101	organization		
SC121	Organize people in your neighborhood to speak out against	0.67	0.16
00106	Racial discrimination	0.67	0.16
	Protest against ancient African artifacts being harmed	0.67	0.24
SC106	Work with kids in the community to help them become	0.60	0.50
22100	Black leaders	0.62	0.53
	Start a student group that helps Blacks to become leaders	0.58	0.46
SC115	Work on the campaign of a Black politician (e.g., state		
	legislature, mayor, governor) who makes or will make positive		
	changes in the Black community	0.57	0.56
SC112	Donate money to a national Black organization	0.54	0.52
SC111	Start a web page and organize Blacks to do something		
	About racism	0.53	0.39
SC118	Organize people in your community to stop spending money		
	In stores that refuse to carry products made for Blacks	0.53	0.23
SC99	Encourage the principal to have more all school assemblies		
	about racial diversity	0.45	0.37
SC100	Run for government office yourself in order to organize		
	Black students	0.41	0.29

Total Control of the Control of the

Factor 2	: Second Order Social Change	Factor I	Loadings	
SC108	Lead a demonstration against political leaders who ignore			
	the needs of Blacks	0.16	0.67	
SC107	Start a petition against businesses that discriminate against			
	Black youth	0.29	0.66	
SC110	Gather people in your community to speak out against the			
	local police who harass Black youth	0.32	0.58	
SC102	Organize a protest against racist groups	0.35	0.53	
Alpha = 0.69 (4 items) Items Deleted:				
SC101	Talk to a teacher about ways that he/she treats Black	0.00	0.61	
00114	students unfairly	0.09	0.61	
SC114	Organize a neighborhood party where people from different racial/ethnic backgrounds can get together to socialize	0.25	0.60	
SC101	Talk to a teacher about ways that he/she treats Black students unfairly	0.40	0.54	
SC105	Talk to someone your age who you think might be racist about why being racist is bad	0.35	0.54	



Table 4. The Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS)—With Initial Alphas

Pre-Encounter

- RI10 I believe that large numbers of Blacks are untrustworthy
- RI14 I believe that White people look and express themselves better than Blacks
- RI15 I feel very uncomfortable around Black people
- RI18 I believe that to be Black in not necessarily good
- RI27 I believe that Black people came from a strange, dark, and uncivilized continent
- RI32 I believe that White people are intellectually superior to Blacks
- RI34 I feel that Black people do not have as much to be proud of as White people do
- RI35 Most Black people I know are failures
- RI42 Sometimes, I wish I belonged to the White race
- RI43 The people I respect most are White
- RI46 I can't fee comfortable with either Black people or White people
- RI48 When I am with Black people, I pretend to enjoy things they enjoy
- RI49 When a stranger who is Black does something embarrassing in public, I get embarrassed

Alpha = 0.77 (13 items)

Immersion

- RI9 I believe that certain aspects of the Black experience apply to me, and other do not
- RI17 I often find myself referring to White people as honkies, devils, pigs, etc.
- RI24 I believe that the world should be interpreted from a Black perspective
- RI25 I have changed my style of life to fit my beliefs about Black people
- RI30 I speak my mind regardless of the consequences (e.g., being kicked out of school, being imprisoned, being exposed to danger)
- RI31 I believe that everything Black is good, and consequently, I limit myself to Black activities
- RI36 White people can't be trusted
- RI38 The most important thing about me is that I am Black
- RI41 Black people who have any White people's blood should feel ashamed of it

Alpha = 0.64 (9 items)

Internalization

- RI7 I believe that being Black is a positive experience
- RI8 I know through experience what being Black in America means
- RI11 I feel an overwhelming attachment to Black people
- RI16 I feel good about being Black, but do not limit myself to Black activities
- RI26 I feel excitement and joy in Black surroundings
- RI28 People, regardless of their race, have strengths and limitations
- RI33 I believe that because I am Black, I have many strengths
- RI39 Being Black just feels natural to me
- RI44 A person's race usually is not important to me
- RI47 A person's race has little to do with whether or not he/she is a good person
- RI51 I am satisfied with myself
- RI52 I have a positive attitude about myself because I am Black

Alpha = 0.56 (12 items)



Table 5. The Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS)—With Maximized Alphas

Pre-Encounter

- RI10 I believe that large numbers of Blacks are untrustworthy
- RI14 I believe that White people look and express themselves better than Blacks
- RI15 I feel very uncomfortable around Black people
- RI18 I believe that to be Black in not necessarily good
- RI27 I believe that Black people came from a strange, dark, and uncivilized continent
- RI32 I believe that White people are intellectually superior to Blacks
- RI34 I feel that Black people do not have as much to be proud of as White people do
- RI35 Most Black people I know are failures
- RI42 Sometimes, I wish I belonged to the White race
- RI43 The people I respect most are White
- RI46 I can't fee comfortable with either Black people or White people
- RI48 When I am with Black people, I pretend to enjoy things they enjoy

Alpha = 0.79 (12 items)

Items Deleted

RI49 When a stranger who is Black does something embarrassing in public, I get embarrassed

Immersion

- RI9 I believe that certain aspects of the Black experience apply to me, and other do
- RI17 I often find myself referring to White people as honkies, devils, pigs, etc.
- RI24 I believe that the world should be interpreted from a Black perspective
- RI25 I have changed my style of life to fit my beliefs about Black people
- RI31 I believe that everything Black is good, and consequently, I limit myself to Black activities
- RI36 White people can't be trusted
- RI38 The most important thing about me is that I am Black
- RI41 Black people who have any White people's blood should feel ashamed of it

Alpha = 0.68 (8 items)

Items Deleted

RI30 I speak my mind regardless of the consequences (e.g., being kicked out of school, being imprisoned, being exposed to danger)

Total of the country of the country

Internalization

- RI7 I believe that being Black is a positive experience
- RI8 I know through experience what being Black in America means
- RI11 I feel an overwhelming attachment to Black people
- RI26 I feel excitement and joy in Black surroundings and limitations
- RI33 I believe that because I am Black, I have many strengths
- RI39 Being Black just feels natural to me
- RI51 I am satisfied with myself
- RI52 I have a positive attitude about myself because I am Black

Alpha = 0.73 (8 items)

Items Deleted

- RI16 I feel good about being Black, but do not limit myself to Black activities
- RI28 People, regardless of their race, have strengths
- RI44 A person's race usually is not important to me
- RI47 A person's race has little to do with whether or not he/she is a good person

Table 6. The Scale of Racial Socialization (SORS)—With Alpha

Global Racial Socialization

- SO53 Our society is fair toward Black people
- SO54 Grandparents help parents to make decisions
- SO55 Black children will fee good about being Black in a school with mostly White children
- SO56 It is important for families to go to church or mosque where spiritual growth can happen
- SO57 Families should talk about Black slavery with their children
- SO58 Relatives can help Black parents raise their children
- SO59 Religion is an important part of a person's life
- SO60 Racism and discrimination are the hardest things a Black child has to face
- SO61 Having large families can help many Black families survive life struggles
- SO62 Families of Black children should teach them to be proud to be Black
- SO63 Children should be taught that all races are equal
- SO64 Children who have good times with their relatives become better people
- SO65 A belief in God can help a person deal with tough life struggles
- SO66 A mostly Black school will help Black children learn more than a mostly White school
- SO67 Spending good time with relatives is just as important for parents as it is for their children
- SO68 Black parents should teach their children about racism
- SO69 Black parents should talk about their roots of African culture to their children
- SO70 Relatives can teach children things that parents may not know
- SO71 Families who talk about racism to their children will lead them to doubt themselves
- SO72 Schools should be required to teach all children about Black history
- SO73 Depending on religion and God can help a person make good life decisions
- SO74 Families who talk openly about religion or God are helping their children grow
- SO75 Teachers should make it so Black children can see signs of Black culture in the classroom
- SO76 Only people who are blood-related to you should be called your "family"
- SO77 Getting a good education is still the best way for a Black child to survive racism
- SO78 "Don't forget who your people are because you may need them someday"
- SO79 When children are younger than five, racism doesn't bother them
- SO80 Spiritual battles that people fight are more important than the physical battles
- SO81 Teaching children about Black history will help them to survive a hostile world
- SO82 "Train up a child in the way he should go, and he will not turn away from it"
- SO83 A Black child has to work twice as hard in order to get ahead in this world
- SO84 Watching parents struggle to find work can make many Black children wonder if it is worth it to try and succeed in the world
- SO85 Parents can teach children to be proud to be Black without saying a word
- SO86 Black children at a mostly Black school will fee better about themselves than those who go to a mostly White school



- SO87 Black parents need to teach their children how to live in two worlds: one Black and one White
- SO88 Light skin Black persons often think that are better than darker skinned Blacks
- SO89 Whites do not have more opportunities than Blacks
- SO90 A Black child or teenager will not be harassed simply because s/he is Black
- SO91 More job opportunities would be open to African Americans if people were not racist
- SO92 Black children should be taught early that God can protect them from racial hatred
- SO93 Whites do not think of Black people as lazy or aggressive today like they used to believe 30 or more years ago
- SO94 Black parents should not teach their children to speak their mind because they could be attacked by others in society
- SO95 If Black parents teach their children that Blacks don't always have the same opportunities as Whites, they may help them to survive racism and be successful
- SO96 Black children don't have to know about Africa in order to survive life in America
- SO97 My family taught me very little about racism

Alpha = 0.71 (45 items)

Table 7. Psychometric Properties of Measures: Means, SD's, Ranges and Alpha's

Measu	ires	Mean	SD	Range	Alpha
RAIS					
14 11	Pre-Encounter	1.86	0.64	1-4	0.79
	Immersion	2.68	0.70	1-4	0.68
	Internalization	4.15	0.59	2-5	0.73
SORS	Global Racial Socialization	3.69	0.30	3-5	0.71
MOSC	First Order Social Change	2.84	0.72	1-4	0.81
	Second Order Social Change	2.95	0.69	1-4	0.69



Table 8. Summary of Respecification Steps in Post Hoc Model-Fitting Process

Models	X²	P-Value	df	GFI	NFI	RMSEA
Hypothesis 1:						
1A—Hypothesized Model	8.52	0.01	2	0.96	0.89	0.17
1B—Final Respecified Model	1.35	0.51	2	0.99	0.98	0.0
Hypothesis 2:						
2A—Hypothesized Model	7.90	0.01	2	0.97	0.66	0.16
2B—Respecified Model	7.55	0.02	2	0.97	0.69	0.16
2C—Final Respecified Model	1.48	0.48	2	0.99	0.94	0.00
Hypothesis 3:						
3A—Hypothesized Model	8.15	0.01	2	0.97	0.90	0.17
3B—Final Respecified Model	5.42	0.06	2	0.98	0.94	0.12

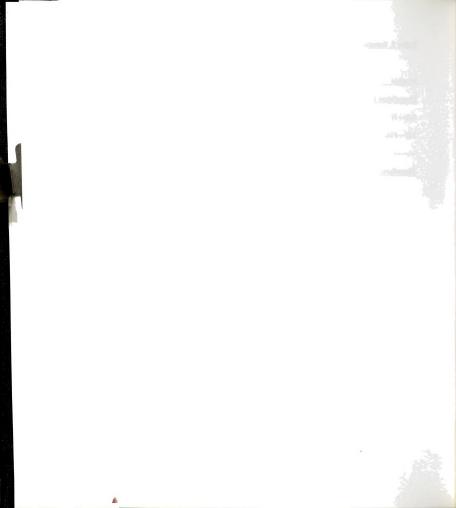


Table 9. Correlation Matrix for 1st and 2nd Order Social Change Qualitative Data

		Change Strategy	Significance Level
Pre-Encounter	Pearson Correlation	0.46**	0.000
Immersion	Pearson Correlation	-0.20*	0.033
Internalization	Pearson Correlation	-0.58**	0.000

N=120

¹⁼First Order Social Change

⁰⁼Second Order Social Change

^{**}Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed)

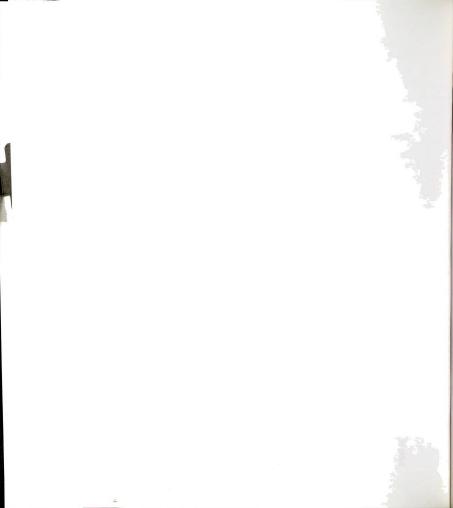
^{*}Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (1-tailed)



Table 10. Correlation Matrix Between Major Variables

Variables		2	3	4	5	9	7	8
1. School Type	1.00	i	:	ŀ	ł	1	1	
Live with Single Female Parent	-0.12	1.00	1	ł	ŀ	;	1	:
3. Pre-Encounter	**99.0	0.02	1.00	;	1	1	1	1
4. Immersion	-0.33**	-0.04	-0.07	1.00	ŀ	1	;	ŀ
5. Internalization	-0.65**	0.14	-0.56**	0.36**	1.00	ı	1	ŀ
Global Racial Socialization	-0.13	0.34**	0.14	0.20*	0.26**	1.00	ŀ	I
7. MOSCFirst Order Change	-0.28**	-0.06	-0.24**	0.13	0.35**	0.12	1.00	1
8. MOSCSecond Order Change	-0.13	-0.12	-0.05	0.05	0.05	0.18*	0.32**	1.00

Note. *p < .05**p < .01



APPENDICES



APPENDIX A



APPENDIX A

Instructions:

ase	answer the fo	ollowing ques	stions about yo	ourself.
1.	Today's date	e:		_
2.	Your birthda	ay:		_
3.	What is you	r gender?	Male	Female
4.	Your race (check all that	apply):	
		Black or A	African Americ	an
		Multiracia	1	
		What races	s:	
5	What school	l do you atten	d?	
	onth)		(year)	ing this school?
6.	Who do you	ı live with? (c	heck all that ap	oply):
		Mother/Sto	ep-Mother	
		Father/Ste	p-Father	
		Grandmot		
		Grandfath	er	
		Auntie		
		Uncle		
		Brother(s)		
		Sister(s)		
		Conging		
		Cousins Other (spe		



APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

RIAS Social Attitudes Inventory

<u>Instructions:</u> This section is designed to measure different social attitudes. There are no right or wrong answers. Use the scale below to respond to each statement. Using the blank, write in the number that describes how you feel. Answer based on your own opinion. Thank You.

Disagree A Lot 1	Disagree A Little 2	Not Sure 3	Agree A Little 4	Agree A Lot 5
1.	I believe that being Black	is a positive ex	perience.	
2.	I know through experience	ce what being B	lack in America me	ans.
3.	I feel unable to involve more increasing my involveme	•	-	m
4.	I believe that large number	ers of Blacks are	e untrustworthy.	
5.	I feel overwhelming attac	hment to Black	people.	
6.	I involve myself in cause	s that will help	all oppressed people) .
7.	I feel comfortable wherev	er I am.		
8.	I believe that White peop Blacks.	le look and exp	ress themselves bett	er than
9.	I feel very uncomfortable	around Black p	people	
10.	I feel good about being B activities.	lack, but do not	limit myself to Bla	ck
11.	I often find myself referri	ing to White peo	ople as honkies, dev	ils, pigs,
12.	I believe that to be Black	is not necessari	ly good.	



13.		I believe that certain aspects of the Black experience apply to me, and others do not.
14.		I frequently confront the system and the man.
15.		I constantly involve myself in Black political and social activities (art shows, political meetings, Black theater, etc.).
16.		I involve myself in social action and political groups even if there are no other Blacks involved.
17.		I believe that Black people should learn to think and experience life in ways which are similar to White people.
18.		I believe that the world should be interpreted from a Black perspective
19.		I have changed my style of life to fit my beliefs about Black people.
20.	.	I feel excitement and joy in Black surroundings.
21.		I believe that Black people came from a strange, dark, and uncivilized continent.
22.		People, regardless of their race, have strengths and limitations.
23.		I believe that a Black person's most effective weapon for solving problems is to become a part of the White person's world.
24.		I speak my mind regardless of the consequences (e.g., being kicked our of school, being imprisoned, being exposed to danger.)
25.		I believe that everything Black is good, and consequently, I limit myself to Black activities.
26.		I believe that White people are intellectually superior to Blacks.
27.		I believe that because I am Black, I have many strengths.
28.		I feel that Black people do not have as much to be proud of as White people do.
29.		Most Black people I know are failures.
30.		White people can't be trusted.



31.	 In today's society if Black people don't achieve, they have only themselves to blame.
32.	 The most important thing about me is that I am Black.
33.	 Being Black just feels natural to me.
34.	 Other Black people have trouble accepting me because my life experiences have been so different from their experiences.
35.	 Black people who have any White people's blood should feel ashamed of it.
36.	 Sometimes, I wish I belonged to the White race.
37.	 The people I respect most are White.
38.	 A person's race usually is not important to me.
39.	 I feel anxious when White people compare me to other members of my race.
40.	 I can't feel comfortable with either Black people or White people.
41.	 A person's race has little to do with whether or not he/she is a good person.
42.	 When I am with Black people, I pretend to enjoy things they enjoy.
43.	 When a stranger who is Black does something embarrassing in public, I get embarrassed.
44.	 I believe that a Black person can be close friends with a White person.
45.	 I am satisfied with myself.
46.	I have a positive attitude about myself because I am Black.



APPENDIX C



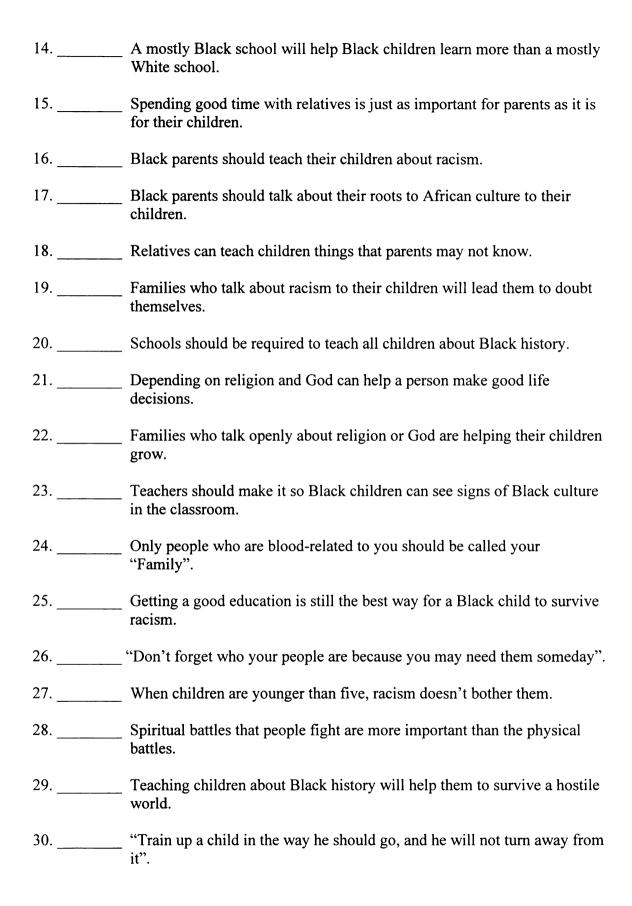
APPENDIX C

SORS-A Adolescent Awareness Scale

<u>Instructions:</u> This section is designed to measure awareness. There are no right or wrong answers. Use the scale below to respond to each statement. Using the blank, write in the number that describes how you feel. Answer based on your own opinion. Thank You.

Disagree A Lot 1	Disagree A Little 2	Not Sure 3	Agree A Little 4	Agree A Lot 5
1	Our Society is fair to	ward Black peop	le.	
2	_ Grandparents help pa	rents to make de	cisions.	
3.	Black children will feel good about being Black in a school with mostly White children.			
4.	It is important for families to go to church or mosque where spiritual growth can happen.			
5	_ Families should talk	about Black slav	ery with their child	ren.
6	_ Relatives can help Bl	ack parents raise	their children.	
7	_ Religion is an import	ant part of a pers	son's life.	
8.	_ Racism and discrimin face.	nation are the har	dest things a Black	child has to
9	_ Having large families	s can help many	Black families surv	ive life struggles.
10	_ Families of Black ch	ildren should tea	ch them to be proud	l to be Black.
11	_ Children should be ta	aught that all race	es are equal.	
12	_ Children who have g	ood times with th	neir relatives becom	ne better people.
13	_ A belief in God can l	nelp a person dea	l with trough life st	ruggles.



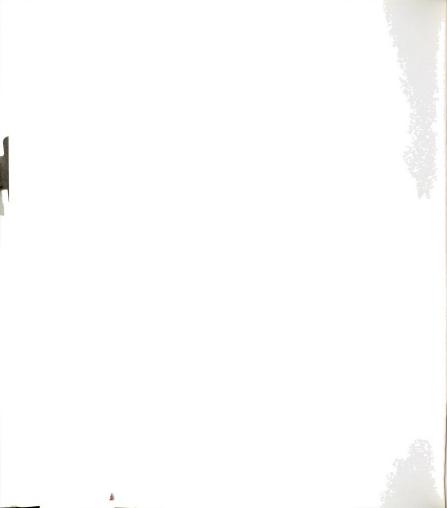




31	A Black child has to work twice as hard in order to get ahead in this world.
32	Watching parents struggle to find work can make many Black children wonder if it is worth it to try and succeed in the world.
33	Parents can teach children to be proud to be Black without saying a word.
34	Black children at a mostly Black school will feel better about themselves than those who go to a mostly White school.
35	Black parents need to teach their children how to live in two worlds: one Black and one White.
36	Light skin Black persons often think they are better than darker skinned Blacks.
37	Whites do not have more opportunities than Blacks.
38	A Black child or teenager will not be harassed simply because s/he is Black.
39	More job opportunities would be open to African Americans if people were not racist.
40	Black children should be taught early that God can protect them from racial hatred.
41	Whites do not think of Black people as laze or aggressive today like they used to believe 30 or more years ago.
42	Black parents should not teach their children to speak their mind because they could be attacked by others in society.
43	If Black parents teach their children that Blacks don't always have the same opportunities as Whites, they may help them to survive racism and be successful.
44	Black children don't have to know about Africa in order to survive life in America.
45	My family taught me very little about racism in America.



APPENDIX D

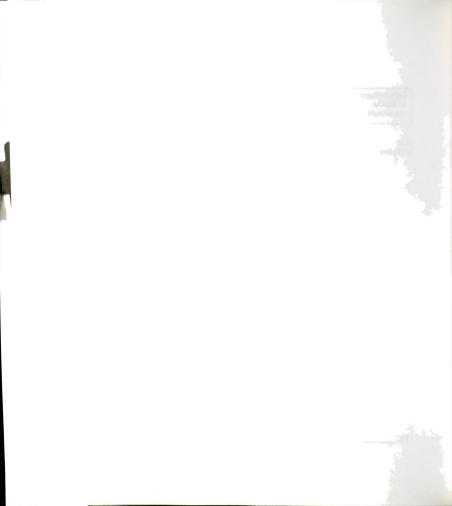


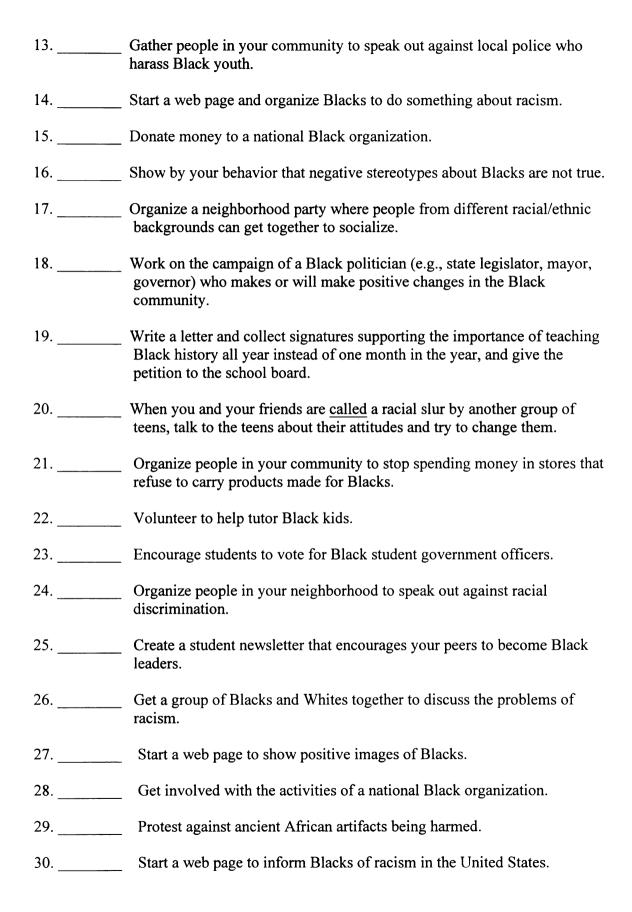
APPENDIX D

MOSC-A

<u>Instructions:</u> Below is a list of methods that might be effective in **bettering the lives of Blacks**. Use the scale below to rate how effective you think each method is. There are no right or wrong answers. We want to know your opinion. Thank You.

Not Effective 1	Sort of Effective 2	Effective 3	Extremely Effective 4	
1	Tell a store manager that they should not follow their Black customers around the store just because they're Black.			
2	Encourage the principal to have more all-school assemblies about racial diversity.			
3.	Run for student government office yourself, in order to organize Black students.			
4	Talk to a teacher about ways	that he/she treats Black studen	ts unfairly.	
5	Organize a protest against rac	ist groups.		
6	Start a student group that help	os Blacks to become leaders.		
7	Invite someone your age who hang with you.	doesn't usually hang with Bla	ack folks, to	
8	Talk to someone your age whereacist is bad.	o you think might be racist ab	out why being	
9	Work with kids in the commu	unity to help them become Bla	ck leaders.	
10	Start a petition against busine	esses that discriminate against	Black youth.	
11	Lead a demonstration against Blacks.	political leaders who ignore the	he needs of	
12	Talk to someone your age who treats Black teens unfairly.	o you think might be racist abo	out how he/she	







Instructions:

There are lots of things that youth can do to make a difference about racism in society. You were just asked several questions about effective ways that you can create change to better the lives of Blacks. What are some things you have actually done to make a difference about racism? Write your answer in the space below. There are no right or wrong answers.



APPENDIX E



APPENDIX E

Youth Informed Assent

Dear Student,

I am an African American graduate student at Michigan State University, and I am conducting a study on youth of African descent, as part of my master's thesis research. This project is interested in understanding attitudes about the lives of African American youth. Your parent has given me permission to ask you to fill out the attached questionnaire if you identify yourself as Black or African American. If you are of multiracial background, you can also participate if you meet the above criteria and consider yourself appropriate for the study. I therefore ask your cooperation in filling out this form.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. You have the right to stop your participation at any time and you also have the right to not answer any of the questions. I will ask you to fill out a questionnaire with items that describe attitudes and behavior found in many African American youth. The questionnaire will take about 45 minutes to complete.

All the information you provide is confidential, which means that no one will be able to link it to you. You will not be asked to put your name on the questionnaire. No one, including your teachers or principals will see any of the information that you provide. You will not be punished or penalized for refusing to do the study, or because of any information you provide. Your participation/non-participation in the study will not have any effect on your grades. Upon completion of the survey, you will receive a \$5 cash incentive for participation in the study.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Kelly M. Lewis, B.A. Michigan State University

I have read this form and I agree to participate in the study. If I have any questions about being a participant in this research, I know that I can contact Kelly Lewis (57 Snyder Hall East Lansing, Michigan 48824, 517-887-2517 or in Chicago at 708-386-2966). If I have questions or concerns about my rights in research, I know that I can contact David Wright, PhD (246 Administration Building, East Lansing, Michigan, 517-355-2180).

Signed		



APPENDIX F



APPENDIX F

Parent Guardian Informed Consent—Traditional Mainstream Schools

Dear Parent Guardian,

I am an African American graduate student at Michigan State University, and I am conducting a study on youth of African descent, as part of my master's thesis research. This project is interested in understanding attitudes about the lives of African American youth. I ask your permission to allow your child to participate in the study if he/she selfidentifies as being Black or African American. If your child is of multiracial background, he/she can also participate if they meet the above criteria and deem themselves appropriate for the study. As a participant, your child will be asked to complete several questionnaires, which will take approximately 45 minutes to complete at school during class time. All of the information provided is confidential, which means that your child will not be asked to put his/her name on the questionnaire. Furthermore, I will not include your name or your child's name in any of the information obtained from the questionnaire. Participation/non-participation in the study will not have any effect on your child's grades. No information from your child will be given to teachers or principals. I will request separate assent from your child, however, you or your child have the right to stop his/her participation at any time and/or not answer any of the questions. Your child's privacy will be protected to the maximum extent allowable by law. Upon completion of the survey, your child will receive a \$5 cash incentive for participating in the study.

I have read this form and I agree to allow my child to participate in the study. If I have any questions about being a participant in this research, I know that I can contact Kelly Lewis (57 Snyder Hall East Lansing, Michigan 48824, 517-887-2517 or in Chicago at 708-386-2966). If I have questions or concerns about my rights in research, I know that I can contact David Wright, PhD (246 Administration
Kelly M. Lewis, B.A. Michigan State University
Sincerely,
I appreciate your assistance.

Building, East Lansing, Michigan, 517-355-2180).

Signed



APPENDIX G



APPENDIX G

Parent Guardian Informed Consent—Emancipatory Schools

Dear Parent Guardian,

I am an African American graduate student at Michigan State University, and I am conducting a study on youth of African descent, as part of my master's thesis research. This project is interested in understanding attitudes about the lives of African American youth. I ask your permission to allow your child to participate in the study if he/she selfidentifies as being Black or African American. If your child is of multiracial background, he/she can also participate if they meet the above criteria and deem themselves appropriate for the study. As a participant, your child will be asked to complete several questionnaires, which will take approximately 45 minutes to complete at school during class time or at your house (if you consent) during the summer. This will be coordinated under the auspices of the school and yourself. All of the information provided is confidential, which means that no one will be able to link it to you or your child. Your child will not be asked to put his/her name on the questionnaire. Furthermore, I will not include your name or your child's name in any of the information obtained from the questionnaire. Participation/non-participation in the study will not have any effect on your child's grades. No information from your child will be given to teachers or principals. I will request separate assent from your child, however, you or your child have the right to stop his/her participation at any time and/or not answer any of the questions. Your child's privacy will be protected to the maximum extent allowable by law. Upon completion of the survey, your child will receive a \$5 cash incentive for participating in the study.

I appreciate your assistance.

Sincerely,

Kelly M. Lewis, B.A. Michigan State University

I have read this form and I agree to allow my child to participate in the study. If I have any questions about being a participant in this research, I know that I can contact Kelly Lewis (57 Snyder Hall East Lansing, Michigan 48824, 517-887-2517 or in Chicago at 708-386-2966). If I have questions or concerns about my rights in research, I know that I can contact David Wright, PhD (246 Administration Building, East Lansing, Michigan, 517-355-2180).

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Signed		

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