View metadata, citation and similar papers at core.ac.uk
brought to you by CORE
provided by Illinois Digital Environment for Access to Learning and Scholarship Repository

SOCIALIZING RACE: PARENTAL BELIEFS AND PRACTICES IN TWO AFRICAN AMERICAN FAMILIES

BY

JEANA R. BRACEY

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology
in the Graduate College of the
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2010

Urbana, Illinois

Doctoral Committee:

Professor Peggy J. Miller, Chair, Director of Research
Associate Professor Mark Aber
Associate Professor Nicole E. Allen
Assistant Professor Jorge I. Ramirez Garcia
Assistant Professor Janet Carter-Black

ABSTRACT

Racial socialization is a complex family process associated with important child outcomes such as positive identity development, healthy self-esteem, academic achievement, and overall adjustment (Coard, Wallace, Stevenson, & Brotman, 2004). Despite the importance of racial socialization in the developmental process—particularly for African American children—little empirical research exists which examines early socialization with young children. In addition, few studies to date have incorporated qualitative or ethnographic methods for in-depth description and analysis of the process of racial socialization in daily life. This longitudinal ethnographic study of young African American children and their families was designed to address these gaps in the existing socialization and parenting literatures by examining the racial socialization process through parental beliefs and practices in their everyday lives. In this study, two African American families participated in a total of 11 interviews and 63 home observations over the course of a six year period, beginning when the focal child in each family was 3 ½ years of age. Data were coded for themes relevant to four domains of racial socialization, including: general references to race, academic achievement, religion/spirituality, and appearance/style.

Observed references to racial socialization were divided into three categories, including: routine or everyday activities, specific observed references to race and the related domains, and indirect socialization practices that occurred in the context of adult conversations with the child observing. Data analysis supported academic achievement and religion/spirituality as important contexts for development, as consistent with previous research (e.g., Boykin & Toms, 1985; Carter, Black, 2005; Coard, Wallace, Stevenson, & Brotman, 2004; Marshall, 1995; Peters, 1985; Thornton et al., 1990), and also indicated the importance of personal style and appearance as an additional domain of particular importance for young African American children.

These findings highlight the subtleties of the socialization process and have implications for examining socialization in the context of everyday family interactions as well as religious and educational contexts for young children in a manner that distinguishes implicit and explicit beliefs and practices.

In loving memory of my biggest fan, my mother
Brenda Kay (Decker) Crouse

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As the popular African proverb states, “It takes a village to raise a child.” This dissertation, lovingly referred to as my fourth child, certainly would not have come to fruition without my own village of supporters.

To the Lewis and Jackson families—your openness, thoughtfulness, steadfast commitment to your families, and solid family values will forever shape the way I raise my own children. I value the friendships we have developed and sincerely hope you find honor and joy in reading this documentation of this period in your lives.

Recognition is due to the Spencer Foundation that funded the data collection and analysis for the original study, from which this work developed. I could not have asked for a kinder, more competent advisor and mentor than Peggy Miller. Your genuine engagement in my professional and personal endeavors went above and beyond the traditional academic relationship and I am grateful for your guidance that fostered my development in so many ways. To my other committee members, Mark, Nicole, Jan, and Jorge, thank you for not giving up on me and for encouraging me to follow my interests. Many thanks are due to Elaine Shpungin and Carla Hunter for your mentorship, personal support, and parenting advice. To my colleagues Natasha, Erica, and Matt—thanks for the memories and for blazing the trail! Lori Hendricks, I can never thank you enough, you are amazing!

I have been blessed with a committed and supportive family who believed in me, encouraged me, sacrificed time and energy along with me, and poured resources into making me the “first doctor” in the family. My parents, in-laws, and Shelby were always there. To Jermyn, my rock and coach, it is only your unwavering support that allowed me to endure and persevere. To Jaden, Jonovan, and Jenaya—you will each go on to do so many great things, this is for you!

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction and Literature Review 1

Chapter 2: Method 33

Chapter 3: Interview Results by Theme: Lewis Family 49

Chapter 4: Observation Results by Theme: Lewis Family 102

Chapter 5: Interview Results by Theme: Jackson Family 128

Chapter 6: Observation Results by Theme: Jackson Family 165

Chapter 7: Discussion 200

References 221

Appendix A: Initial Childrearing and Self-Esteem Parent Interview Protocol 233

Appendix B: Racial Socialization Parent Interview Protocol 239

Appendix C: Consent Form: Racial Socialization Study 244

Appendix D: Interview Schedule 247

Appendix E: Observation Recording Details: Lewis Family 248

Appendix F: Recorded Examples of Themes: Lewis Family 249

Appendix G: Observation Recording Details: Jackson Family 250

Appendix H: Recorded Examples of Themes: Jackson Family 251

Chapter 1

Introduction and Literature Review

Overview of the Study

Socialization within families with respect to race is a complex process related to important child outcomes such as identity development, healthy self-esteem, academic achievement, and overall adjustment (Coard, Wallace, Stevenson, & Brotman, 2004). To date, little research exists which explicitly examines the socialization of race within families with young children in general, and the relationship between racial attitudes of African American parents and their childrearing practices has largely been ignored. In fact, a recent and very thorough review of racial socialization literature (Hughes et al., 2006) found that only four of over 50 empirical studies targeted preschool-age children. Even fewer studies examined early childhood racial socialization by means of interview and naturalistic observation, with qualitative studies comprising only three of the studies represented in the 2006 review by Hughes and colleagues. Most existing studies are, therefore, missing important information regarding the subtleties of the socialization process. In addition, significant details about the interactions between family members, which facilitate the socialization process, are lost when only one person's point of view (i.e., mother, father, or child) is privileged such as in much of the existing research.

This study addresses these omissions by examining the process by which racial socialization occurs. The goal of the study is to explore how racial socialization of young children occurs within two African American families. This is attempted by looking at both explicit parental goals and everyday socializing practices relating to race and ethnicity that occur on a more implicit level.

This work builds on data from a larger sample of parents, which examined general childrearing practices with an emphasis on self-esteem (Miller, Wang, Sandel, & Cho, 2002), by examining ethnographic data collected between the years of 2000-2002. A case-study approach was used to analyze existing data from two African American families, each with a three-year-old focal child, who were observed over the course of one year. This analysis explores racial socialization in the context of everyday activities and practices, specifically in the areas of educational achievement, religion/spirituality, and style/appearance, which have been addressed in existing literature as important domains for African American child development since the early 1980s (e.g., Bowman & Howard, 1985; Hale-Benson, 1982). In addition, this study features a longitudinal approach by collecting follow-up interview data when the focal children were nine years old to directly address racial socialization and parenting goals and practices within these families over time. This longitudinal design addresses a major gap in the extant literature with respect to changes in the content and process of racial socialization across time (Hughes et al., 2006).

Specifically, this study addresses these basic informational questions as informed by the literature: (1) What are parents' goals in respect to racial socialization? (2) What kinds of socialization practices do they engage in with their 3-year-olds, particularly in the areas of educational achievement, religion/spirituality, and style/appearance? (3) To what extent are these socialization practices deliberate or unwitting (or both)? (4) How do young children participate in these practices? (5) Do the two families differ in their beliefs and practices?

Framed by these objectives, this work is situated at the intersection of work on African American parenting and research on socialization practices and a review of these literatures is presented in Chapter 1. But first, a description of terms is offered. In this paper, the terms

African American and *Black* are used interchangeably. While it is the author's preference to use the term African American to acknowledge the unique positioning of people of African descent living in America, the term Black is used when quoted from other works and study participants. Similarly, the author employs the use of *Caucasian American* except when quoting from others who use the term *White*.

Research on African American Parenting

African Americans as a group are uniquely positioned within contemporary American society. While policies such as Affirmative Action and the No Child Left Behind Act[1] have attempted to soften the effects of hundreds of years of slavery, most would agree that obvious marginalization of African Americans remains commonplace. While some contemporary middle and upper class African Americans (e.g., Oprah Winfrey, President Barack Obama, Michael Jordan) have gained increased visibility and some level of acceptance by mainstream America, they provide a shocking contrast to the media portrayals of working-class and poor African Americans, such as the victims of Hurricane Katrina, which devastated the American South in 2005. Media representations of African American families have also changed over the years, from the successful, traditional, and wholesome portrayal of the Huxtables in the "Cosby Show" to the street-savvy, tough-love approach of the "Bernie Mac" sitcom. While these media portrayals represent varying positions along the middle-class/poor, urban/rural, highly educated/street smart continuums along which African American families may be situated; these limited examples provide a distorted view. This distortion is reflected in the research literature on African Americans and their families, which has a generally limited focus on poor, inner city

[1] The No Child Left Behind Act (2002), signed into federal law by President George W. Bush, specifies concrete actions initiated to close the achievement gap, improve standards and performance on state-level standardized tests, and promote accountability for ensuring fair and equal access to high quality education.

African Americans and the problems they face, to the exclusion of strengths-based, positive evaluations of working- and middle-class African American family life (Cunningham & Francois, 2009; Pattillo-McCoy, 1999). This bias forms a basis for the rationale behind the need for real families to be studied in their everyday environments.

A comprehensive bibliography of literature on African American children and families published prior to 1976 showed that virtually no studies existed that directly examined the socialization of African American children (Dunmore, 1976). Further, the bibliography showed that studies that were conducted on African American children and families tended to focus on negative aspects of African American family life such as crises, poverty, and divorce rather than strengths or positive family functioning, and they did not address specific parenting beliefs or socialization practices. A review of articles published in *Child Development* (the American Psychological Association's premier journal for developmental psychologists) between 1930 and 1979 found that "the rate of published articles concerning African American children was extremely low between 1936 and 1965, increased gradually between 1966 and 1970, rose sharply between 1971 and 1975, and declined thereafter" (McLoyd, 2006). This review by McLoyd and Randolph (1985) found fluctuations over time in (a) the amount of studies discussing African Americans in comparison to other (typically White) racial groups; (b) inconsistencies and problems with methodology and interpretation such as confounding race and class or overgeneralizing results; (c) employing deficit models to explain the behavior of African American children; and (d) problems with the validity of the research (McLoyd, 2006). Therefore, as a group, early studies that did examine African American families failed to consistently employ rigorous methodological and ethical standards, resulting in approaches that

unfairly portrayed research participants in a negative light; therefore, their results should be interpreted with caution.

Early research on Black families (e.g., Frazier, 1939; Moynihan, 1965) tended to show them in contrast to Caucasian American families, highlighting the ways in which they were considered to be deficient by comparison. These studies were influential in setting the foundation for later work on African American families, namely by leading to the creation of the Black Caucus of the Society for Research in Child Development. The Black Caucus of the Society for Research in Child Development, founded in 1973, played a vital role in shaping the way Black children and all racially and ethnically diverse children were represented in research, and the manner in which the Caucus promoted ethnic diversity among the organization as a whole (Slaughter-Defoe, Garrett, & Harrison-Hale, 2006). While the establishment of the Black Caucus was a positive outcome of these deficit-based studies, this early research was also responsible for establishing stigmatizing and often inaccurate representations of Black families (e.g., Carter-Black, 2003; Harrison-Hale, 2006; Jarrett, 1994; McAdoo, 2002). Reviews of this literature have questioned the validity of the few studies conducted to specifically address African American children and criticized them for providing a "distorted and pejorative view of these families" (Taylor, 1991, p. 121) due to the prominence of a deficit-based or ethnocentric perspective, the tendency to over-generalize African American families, and the tendency to pathologize and misinterpret cultural norms that influence parenting practices (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Carter-Black, 2003; Dodson, 1995; Gomes & Mabry, 1991). The assumptions of these early theoretical perspectives have been detrimental to the study of African American families in that they have failed to accurately capture the experience of African Americans as holding both traditional African and mainstream American cultural views and traditions. In other words:

> The failure of social and behavioral scientists to go beyond the surface similarities to examine the behavior and life-styles of African Americans in their own right—that is, in their proper ecological and cultural contexts—has resulted in inaccurate assessments of the realities of African American family life, including the distinct socialization agenda for children (Taylor, 1991, p. 124).

As more research on African American families began to appear in the 1970s, researchers began to incorporate studies on the effects of cultural factors and to explore the effects of socio-economic status on parenting practices, using a cultural-difference or cultural relativity model as a promising alternative to previous theoretical perspectives (Dodson, 1995; Taylor, 1991). The cultural-difference perspective, whereby African American families are seen as simply different from other types of families—no better or worse—informed the literature on resilience and strengths-based perspectives of analysis and challenged the deficit model head-on. While the cultural deficit and relativity models shared the assumption that African American and Caucasian American families are "qualitatively different culturally," they diverged "in their interpretation and explanation of the causes of these differences" (Dodson, 1995). The cultural relativity or strengths-based studies also began to use ethnographic methods to interview and observe parents in their natural home environments (e.g., Hill, 1972; Stack, 1974). Ogbu's (1982) cultural-ecological approach, which built upon the strengths-based perspective, has given notice to the multiple environmental contexts in which families operate and assesses family functioning based upon these demands (e.g., Blau, 1981; Boykin & Toms, 1985; Gomes & Mabry, 1991; Taylor, 1991). Subsequent research studies in the 1980s and 1990s turned to the study of poor African American parents, particularly single mothers and teenage parents, to examine the effects of

living in adverse neighborhood environments on "at-risk" children (e.g., Burton & Jarrett, 2000; Jarrett, 1999).

Recently, researchers have again shifted their focus to highlight the adaptive and positive qualities of African American families and to emphasize particular parenting strategies (e.g., Carter-Black, 2005; Hudley, Haight, & Miller, 2003; McAdoo, 2002; Peters, 1997). Unique social pressures experienced by American minority groups have been recognized as motivators for parents to adapt their parenting strategies to meet the needs of their particular group (Bracey, 2003). As a result, parenting practices have been found to differ among ethnic groups (e.g., García Coll & Pachter, 2002; Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan, & Buriel, 1990). As stated by Franklin, Boyd-Franklin, and Draper (2002, p. 121), "Success in raising African American children requires greater knowledge, diligence, and vigilance than are required of parents of other ethnic groups." For example, African Americans have been described as facing a "triple quandary," whereby they must simultaneously negotiate the contexts of the mainstream American society, the context of their oppressed social position as a minority, and their African American cultural context (Boykin & Toms, 1985). Further, Peters (1997) acknowledged that, "The lives of Black parents and their childrearing approaches are embedded in the racial, cultural, and economic situations of Blacks in the United States. Research on parenting in Black families must reflect this reality." This is consistent with the idea of the "developmental niche" (Super & Harkness, 1986) where parenting practices are seen as dependent on the complex combination of being of minority status with a particular ethnic background and a specific social class. This is reflected in an early review of literature on African American childrearing which found that many practices, such as an emphasis on close social and physical interaction between African American children and their caregivers, autonomous behavior, emotional expression,

nonverbal communication, and athleticism carried over from West African traditions or blended with mainstream American methods of childrearing to create a unique blend of practices that serve as strengths in the context of child development (Hale-Benson, 1982).

In sum, research on African American parenting and families has shifted over the past four decades. The few studies conducted prior to the 1970s were primarily from a deficit-based perspective, which assessed African American families as being inadequate compared to Caucasian American mainstream families. While comparisons were still being made between African American and Caucasian American families during the 1970s research literature, the introduction of the cultural-difference model allowed African American families to be viewed on their own terms as different, rather than deficient. In the 1980s and 1990s, researchers again focused on negative aspects of African American parenting and families, but explained them within the context of adverse environmental and social conditions of African Americans. Recent research has again turned to the adaptive and positive qualities of African American families and has begun to address specific childrearing practices used by African American parents.

To date, research examining African American parents has tended to fall within four broad areas, including discipline strategies (e.g., Hill, 1999; Peters, 1997); diversity within African American family structures (e.g., Boykin & Toms, 1985; Hill, 1999; McAdoo, 2002; Stack, 1974; Taylor, 1991); adaptations to unfavorable living conditions (e.g., Harrison et al., 1990; Jarrett, 1997; Murry & Brody, 2002; Stack, 1974); and racial socialization (e.g., Demo & Hughes, 1990; Harrison et al., 1990; Peters, 1985; Phinney & Chavira, 1995; Thornton, Chatters, Taylor, & Allen, 1990). This paper focuses specifically on racial socialization.

Racial Socialization

Socialization processes have been a topic of study for anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, and linguists, as well as developmental researchers. In the recent *Handbook of Child Psychology* (2006) alone, there are at least eleven chapters that attend to some form of socialization. Due to the variety of fields informing this concept, several definitions have been offered. This paper refers to the definition of *socialization* as a process which encompasses a range of specific cultural practices through which individuals learn to value particular thoughts, feelings, and patterns of behavior (Miller & Goodnow, 1995). Because the immediate family is the primary social unit for young children, parents play a crucial role in their socialization. Boykin and Toms (1985) assert "the central, although surely not the exclusive, responsibility for socialization rests with the individual's family" (p. 33), stressing the importance of parental involvement.

As previously stated, the task of socialization is informed by one's positioning in society, which has unique implications for ethnic/racial minorities in the United States. Specifically, "how a Black family views its minority status and orients itself…and the particular ways Black families cope with the exigencies of racism and oppression have crucial and distinct implications for the socialization process" (Boykin & Toms, 1985, pp. 44-45). These pressures lead parents to adopt socialization techniques known as *racial socialization,* with the goal of raising children with a positive racial identity who are able to survive and function within a racist society by navigating obstacles such as discrimination, poverty, and unequal opportunities. To use the classic definition established by Marie Ferguson Peters (1985, p. 61), racial socialization is "the process of raising physically and emotionally healthy children who are Black in a society in which being Black has negative connotations" and preparing them to deal with racism. This term

has evolved over the past twenty years, however, to reflect more contemporary ideas about race relations:

> Although the term *racial socialization* is still used almost exclusively in research with African Americans, reflecting deeply entrenched constructions of U.S. race relations as a Black-versus-White problem, its current conceptualization includes exposure to cultural practices and objects, efforts to instill pride in and knowledge about African Americans, discussions about discrimination and how to cope with it, and strategies for succeeding in mainstream society (Hughes et al., 2006, p. 748).

The term "racial" socialization may also be used to refer specifically to socialization based on racial appearance, in an effort to distinguish it from "ethnic" socialization which more broadly encompasses cultural beliefs and practices (Cunningham & Francois, 2009). Racial/ethnic socialization is considered integral to the lives of African American children (Slaughter-Defoe, Johnson, & Spencer, 2009) and a life-long journey that occurs in various settings such as the home, school, and community (Gomes & Mabry, 1991); therefore, educational achievement and strong spiritual orientation have been recognized as important domains or priorities for meeting these goals, with churches and schools serving as critical contexts for development (e.g., Carter-Black, 2003, 2005; Demo & Hughes, 1990; Hudley et al., 2003; McAdoo, 2002; Wilson, 1991).

How do parents socialize their children? Much of the theoretical framework for understanding the process of racial socialization was originally asserted by Boykin and Toms (1985). In their view, "Black culture typically is not overtly socialized in the sense of conventional teaching of rules and values informed by an overarching belief system" (p. 41). Rather, they argue that parents engage in a "tacit socialization process" (p. 41) whereby the

transmission of cultural styles and values is often done without the parent or child's awareness. Specifically, culture is transmitted to children or learned through everyday interactions between parents and family members through routine activities and consistent styles of behavior "that provide an ambiance so compelling that the child can pick them up through an unarticulated conditioning process…even as parents might belie what they articulate to be their value and child-rearing objectives" (Boykin & Toms, 1985, p. 42). In other words, much of racial socialization occurs as an implicit process often outside the awareness of both parents and children; therefore, observation of these parent-child interactions may provide a more complete understanding into this process compared to parents' own explicit statements about their socialization goals and practices. While much of socialization occurs in a subtle manner, so do many contemporary experiences of discrimination and racism (Marks, Powell, & Garcia Coll, 2009; Sue, Nadal, Capodilupo, Lin, Torino, & Rivera, 2008). Explicit references to race are also important to the task of socializing children and are often modeled through the ways in which African American adults react to racism and cope with oppression.

Socialization may be accomplished proactively, actively, reactively, or passively (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Boykin & Toms, 1985; Coard, Wallace, Stevenson, & Brotman, 2004; Murray & Mandara, 2002; Murray, Stokes, & Peacock, 1999; Stevenson, 1994, 1995). *Proactive* socialization involves acting as a "buffer and filter" to protect children from racist encounters (Marshall, 1995, p. 379) and teaching children how to anticipate, identify, and respond to those experiences with racism that are unavoidable. Parents may engage in *active* socialization by openly communicating with their children around specific racial incidents, through a process known as "truth telling" (Hudley et al., 2003) or by teaching their children to be proud of the accomplishments and heritage of African Americans. *Reactive* socialization

includes responding to racism by providing the child with only the age-appropriate information necessary to process a racist encounter after it has occurred or through defensiveness as a response to racism (Murray & Mandara, 2002). Finally, *passive* socialization involves ignoring or minimizing racial issues while emphasizing "humanistic" values such as educational achievement, religious involvement, or a strong work ethic (e.g., Marshall, 1995; Peters, 1985).

Generally, parents' role in the racial socialization of their children includes instilling personal and group identity values, fostering inter-group interpersonal relationships, modeling appropriate behaviors, and providing a context for and identification of one's place within the broader social hierarchy in an age-appropriate manner (Cunningham & Francois, 2009; Thornton et al., 1990). Stage models of racial awareness in children are useful for understanding this developmental process (Quintana, 1998; Wright, 1998). Although these models begin at three years of age, some argue that racial awareness may actually occur before this (e.g. Katz, 1997; McAdoo, 2002; McKown, 2004). As children progress through these stages of racial awareness and identification, parent involvement is crucial in shaping and influencing children's attitudes about themselves, their racial group, and others around them. Wright (1988) states that, "if a preschooler has negative feelings about her color, the most likely source of those feelings are the people close to her" (p. 37). Children internalize racial group attitudes via direct teachings of parents or through indirect observations including verbal and non-verbal cues. Young children's attitudes are positively correlated with their parents' attitudes and children may even "imitate their parents' attitude because they identify with their parents or want to please them" (Aboud, 1988, p. 18). But it is not until about age seven that children typically knowingly adopt the views of their parents (Aboud, 1988).

On the other hand, research has also provided evidence that parents' explicit messages about race are only effective in shaping preschool children's attitudes when they are directly aligned with the views of the larger society; "in other words, children seem to absorb the society's racial bias and prejudice and seem immune to parent's direct ethnic socialization when it runs counter to the attitudes prevalent within the society" (Quintana, 1998, p. 30). Branche and Newcombe (1986) found this pattern for preschool children, but found no relationship between parental racial socialization and racial attitudes among elementary school children. Spencer (1983) actually found a positive relationship between parents' racial socialization and children's positive attitudes towards African Americans among adolescents. Together, these findings suggest that the impact of parents' racial socialization on children's racial attitudes changes as children mature developmentally. As children reach school age and their development progresses from primarily experiencing affect to perceptions, and then to cognitions; and as awareness progresses from the self to groups to individuals, attitudes have been found to be more consistent with that of their parents and reflective of their immediate environment (Aboud, 1988; Quintana, 1998).

There are several ways in which parents may unconsciously or unintentionally affect their children's racial attitudes in either a negative or positive manner. Language plays a major role in this socialization (e.g., Miller, Fung, & Mintz, 1996; Miller & Hoogstra, 1992) and four basic themes have been identified in regard to the ways in which parents communicated their racial socialization messages (Coard et al., 2004): *oral communication* (e.g., storytelling, conversation, lecturing), *modeling behaviors* (e.g., not speaking negatively about other African Americans or cursing in public), *role-playing* (e.g., practicing submissive responses to police officers to avoid harassment), and *exposure to positive cultural experiences* (e.g., African American books,

museums). Preschoolers pick up on words that gain attention from adults and use them even if they do not understand their meanings. They are also likely to pick up on the use of “Black” as a negative word, especially since “White” is not used in this way (Wright, 1998). For example, a caretaker may direct a child to “Sit your little Black behind down in that chair.” Using racial terms in a negative tone of voice or in the context of punishment, such as this, implicitly sends negative messages to the child and may be damaging to his/her self-esteem. Children may not be able to verbalize differences, but they are able to pick up on parents’ preferences for particular skin tones, hair types, etc., which may negatively impact a child’s self-esteem or invoke prejudice (Wright, 1998). Alternatively, telling a child she is a “beautiful Black girl” may serve to promote positive self-esteem and healthy development in an explicit manner.

An additional way in which parents may negatively or positively affect attitudes and preferences is through their choices of cultural artifacts such as toys, books, movies, games, and music. Preschoolers do not assign as much value to race as adults do, so by being overly selective about the racial attributes in these artifacts, parents may lead the child to be overly racially sensitive and obsessive (Wright, 1998), whereas balanced attention to race may promote the development of a healthy self-concept. A programmatic research study spanning 30 years of data on preschool through middle-school children across the Midwest, Northern, and Southern regions of the United States found “that children’s socializing experiences with books, toys, carelessly used stereotypic labels, text, teaching materials and media images continue to communicate negative images of Blacks and positive images of Whites” (Spencer, 1999, p. 202). Positive racial socialization in the family context may serve as a protective factor in that “Black children who are exposed to explicit messages about race relations are more likely to reject

stereotypic images of their race, exhibit high self-esteem, and experience academic success" (Murry & Brody, 2002, p. 101), particularly when presented in moderate amounts.

Recent research is contradictory regarding the outcomes of explicit versus implicit modes of socialization. For example, a study by Coard and colleagues (2004) suggests that children aged five to six who were exposed to more direct racial socialization practices in the family context showed better psychosocial and behavioral adjustment and higher academic achievement as measured by racial identity development, self-esteem, academic functioning, coping skills, and interpersonal relationships. Marshall (1995) also found that 9-10 year olds exposed to explicit racial socialization at home tended to be at more advanced stages of ethnic identity and were more likely to examine their agreement with the values of the dominant society. Alternatively, Marshall (1995) also found that explicit racial socialization in the home was associated with lower grades in school among her sample of African American children aged 9-10 due to their tendency to be more "sensitive to differential treatment" than those not actively socialized around issues of race (p. 394). Studies have shown that explicit messages about race are less frequent than messages regarding academic achievement, moral/religious values, work ethic, and self-esteem (Marshall, 1995; Thornton et al., 1990); however, little is known about the effects of implicit socialization practices among families. The work by Thornton et al. (1990), Marshall (1995), and Coard (2004) are discussed in more detail in the following section.

In sum, the theoretical literature on racial socialization among African American families suggests that socialization occurs by means of implicit and explicit values and actions. Parents and children both may be unaware that socialization is taking place through their everyday interactions and parents' explicit statements about socialization values may or may not align with their observed practices. Differences between parents' use of explicit versus implicit means of

socialization may also be a function of the child's developmental stage and level of racial awareness; therefore, direct messages regarding race may be more prevalent in families with older children who have higher levels of racial awareness and who may be able to assert their own opinions about racial matters. In the research literature to date, contradictory results have emerged regarding the outcomes of explicit and implicit modes of socialization.

What domains do parents socialize? A review of empirical literature shows that anywhere between 67% and 100% of African American parents consciously socialize their children around issues of race at some point during their development (e.g., Carter-Black, 2005; Coard, Wallace, Stevenson, & Brotman, 2004; Marshall, 1995; Peters, 1985; Thornton et al., 1990). In terms of content, the bulk of parental socializing messages do not address race per se, but instead index domains such as educational achievement, religion/spirituality, and appearance/style as specific contexts for examining both the subtle (or implicit) and obvious (or explicit) ways in which socialization occurs in African American families, particularly with young children.

In a retrospective interview study using data from the National Survey of Black Americans, Thornton and colleagues (1990) found that approximately 2/3 of parents of children of all ages (infant through adult) endorsed racially socializing their children, although variations were noted in the role and context of these socialization messages. Specifically, direct messages about race were reported less frequently than messages regarding academic achievement, moral correctness, and dealing with discrimination in general. Compared with their counterparts, older, married, highly educated, female participants and those living in the northeastern region of the U.S. were more likely to report engaging in racial socialization practices with their children. Common themes indexed by these participants included: work ethic, racial pride and acceptance,

African American heritage and history, limited opportunities, racial equality, moral values, and self-esteem. A small portion of participants also indexed religious principles as important to their socialization practices.

Marshall (1995) conducted a qualitative study of racial socialization of African American children using open-ended questionnaires with 58 middle-class mothers and surveys with their 9-10 year-old children. All of the African American children in the study attended schools with primarily Caucasian American students. Marshall (1995) found that the primary childrearing goals for these mothers included: 1) education, 2) religion, 3) self-esteem, and 4) hard work. When asked directly, 89% of these mothers agreed that race/ethnicity was important to childrearing; however, it was not considered a priority. Parents and children agreed that racial socialization messages taught by the parents included the following six categories: 1) nothing—no explicit messages about race/ethnicity, 2) racial/ethnic pride, 3) equality/colorblindness, 4) ethnic/racial barriers, 5) self-development, and 6) physical attributes. Overall, middle-class mothers tended to stress "humanistic" (e.g., trust, honesty, respect) qualities and parenting goals and, overall, they did not emphasize messages directly related to race. This study found that children who experienced racial socialization at home tended to be at advanced stages of racial identity, and that those children with stronger racial identity tended to have lower grades in school than their counterparts. Marshall's (1995) explanation for this relationship was that children who perform poorly in school have parents who are more aware of racial discrimination and may be more likely to discuss it with their children, although causality could not be determined with this cross-sectional data set.

Carter-Black (2005) conducted an ethnographic study of middle-class African American families in which three generations (elders, parents, and children) spoke of the importance of

racial socialization and identity development, the role of education, and the importance of spirituality as success- or achievement-oriented strategies for raising African American adolescents. The participants in the study exhibited a strong orientation towards achievement and success, which was based on a foundation of formal education and religious support, which served to structure the families' values, beliefs, and activities. Although the elders in this study reported very different backgrounds and experiences with racism throughout their lives, they shared a common value for racial socialization of the younger generations as a necessary role for preparing the children to function in society where racial discrimination was sure to be a factor in their lives. While the youth—all intellectually gifted, economically resourced, and spiritually grounded adolescents and young adults—appeared armed and prepared to counter acts of racism against them in theoretical and abstract terms, their personal and seemingly unavoidable experiences dealing with contested racial authenticity, or being confronted by African American peers as "not being Black enough" proved to be "stressful" at best and "overwhelming" at worst (Carter-Black, 2005).

Further review of the literature examined studies that focused attention specifically on issues around race or one of the three domains of educational achievement, religion/spirituality, and style/appearance identified in previous studies as relevant issues for African Americans. The following sections detail the results of these studies.

Race. A review of over 50 empirical studies on racial and ethnic socialization (Hughes et al., 2006) found that the content of socialization messages could be coded into one of the five following themes: *cultural socialization* (e.g., race pride and positive cultural references); *preparation for bias* (e.g., messages geared toward fostering awareness of racism); *promotion of mistrust* (e.g., messages guarding against trusting Whites); *egalitarianism* (e.g., color-blind

ideologies); and an *other* category. The review indicated that studies focused on preschool-aged children found lower frequency of racial socialization practices in comparison to studies with adolescents and adults, particularly with messages regarding discrimination (Hughes et al., 2006). These findings suggest that parents attempt to tailor their socialization messages to be developmentally appropriate.

Coard and colleagues (2004) conducted a qualitative pilot study of African American parents of five- to six-year-olds, which found that all 15 parents in the sample reported using racial socialization practices with their children. In terms of content, the majority of parents endorsed that they provided their children messages regarding four major themes: racial achievement, racial equality, racial pride, and racism preparation (i.e., preparing children to expect and adapt to future encounters with racism). For example, parents reported encouraging their children to dress conservatively (e.g., not wearing their hair in braids) as one way to "*fit in* with mainstream culture" so that they would not be perceived as threatening in inter-racial interactions (Coard et al., 2004, p. 284). Alternatively, parents emphasized expressing a sense of community and solidarity through practices such as patronizing African American-owned businesses and by celebrating family history and traditions. Parents who endorsed messages of racial equality encouraged a colorblind ideology where moral values were respected among people of all races. Many parents in this study also indexed religious teachings in regard to racial equality as following "God's will." Finally, some parents addressed academic and individual achievement as a way to counter negative racial stereotypes and advance the race as a whole. Parents reported feeling that it was more difficult to parent African American children compared to European American children due to experiences with racism, and many parents reported experiencing racism during their own lives (Coard et al., 2004). Most parents in this sample

reported feeling frustrated or in conflict due to the need to protect their children from the "social injustices and harsh realities of racism" while at the same time promoting achievement and optimism about their futures (Coard et al., 2004, p. 283).

Peters' (1985) early and influential ethnographic study of working-class African American families with children aged one to three found that much of the child's behavior and many parent-child interactions were ultimately related to experiences of racism suffered by a parent or other close family member. For example, during home observations a child would whine or demand attention from her parents who were tired and stressed due to a job loss or inadequate health care, creating negative communication patterns. Peters also found that parents did not typically initiate the topic of race during interviews, but validated its importance to their parenting when directly asked by the researchers. These parents of toddlers were aware of the importance of teaching their children coping skills to deal with racism, and considered a "good education" to be the most important coping strategy. Additionally, pride and self-respect as an African American person were considered valued qualities.

A multi-ethnic (i.e., Japanese American, African American, and Mexican American) sample of high schoolers and their parents participated in Phinney and Chavira's (1995) study of racial socialization, which examined the ways in which socialization related to adolescents' ethnic identity and strategies for coping with discrimination. The results, based on survey and interview data, found that most parents reported explicitly socializing their children around race; over half of the parents reported that they stressed achievement; and many parents reported concerns about future experiences with racism and discrimination for their children (Phinney & Chavira, 1995). African American parents reported engaging in the "most extensive" racial socialization practices, followed by Mexican American parents, with Japanese American parents

reporting the least. African American parents in this sample were also found to stress achievement more so than the other groups and encouraged their children to “work harder and do better than other adolescents in order to be successful” (Phinney & Chavira, 1995, p. 48). While no relationship was found between parental socialization and ethnic identity, results did show that parents who discussed discrimination with their children had adolescents who were more likely to ignore discriminatory remarks rather than respond verbally or violently, in comparison to parents who did not discuss these issues. Overall, ethnicity—particularly for African Americans—was found to be a “crucial factor in parental socialization” whereas other demographic variables (e.g., gender, marital status, SES) played no significant role (Phinney & Chavira, 1995, p. 50).

Some inconsistencies have also been found in the research on racial socialization. For example, Murry and Brody (2002) conducted a study of single mothers of children aged six to nine during two home observations of structured activities (e.g., playing a board game, reading a story, and playing with blocks). The parent and child were also each administered a self-report measure of family and community resources and personality characteristics. Their results showed that positive racial socialization by the mother was related to higher self-esteem of the child. However, psychological well-being of the mother, family resources and support, and clear expectations for the child’s behavior were ultimately found to be more important to healthy child development than race-related messages.

Educational achievement. Academic success and academic achievement have consistently been cited as priorities in the oftentimes overwhelming task of parenting African American children. Educational experiences have been a salient part of African American life since slavery and previous research has well-documented the value of formal education among

African American families (Comer, 1988; Cunningham & Francois, 2009). In fact, Franklin, Boyd-Franklin, and Draper (2002, p. 121) believe that this goal of simultaneously trying to manage everyday caretaking with racial socialization in the context of more subtle and institutionalized forms of racism “can only be achieved by parental advocacy for an effective and relevant education for African American children.” They go on to assert that “to be a responsible parent and advocate, one family member should consistently interact with the educational system to present an accurate profile of the child to pupil personnel within the school system” (p. 122), even in contemporary society where it is often claimed that educational equity is a top priority. It is known from previous research that African American children are capable of learning and excelling in a variety of educational environments, with parental involvement and support serving as a major factor in the process. A primary “dilemma” faced by African American parents, however, is balancing their preferences and choice in terms of educational environments while working toward consensus among African American families regarding educational achievement (Slaughter-Defoe, 1991). An achievement gap between African American students and Caucasian students has been well-documented across the United States for decades, including in the Centerville community, in which this dissertation study was conducted (Aber, Meinrath, Johnston, Rasmussen, & Gonzalez, 2000) and the gap has been attributed to lower expectations and opportunities for African American students as well as negative school experiences based on racial discrimination (Cunningham & Francois, 2009). Extant research has also found a positive relationship between an awareness of these historical challenges faced by African Americans with respect to formal education and the student’s own educational achievement level (Cunningham & Francois, 2009).

A study by Hughes and Johnson (2001) explored racial socialization among third, fourth, and fifth graders as a transactional process influenced by the ethnic identity and experiences with racism of both the child and their parents, rather than a process driven solely by the parents. Data for this study were taken from the Early Adolescent Development Study (EADS) on inter-group relations, which administered self-report questionnaires to middle-class, suburban, elementary and middle school students and their parents. Results from correlational analyses showed that the most common form of racial socialization reported by parents was Cultural Socialization/Pluralism, or proactively educating children about their own and other ethnic groups, and that the frequency with which these messages were relayed were independent of the child's level of ethnic identity or experiences with racism (Hughes & Johnson, 2001). Messages designed to prepare children for experiences with discrimination were also reported, although significantly less often than cultural socialization messages, suggesting that these discussions are important but more difficult for parents to initiate with their children. These *preparation for bias* messages were directly related to the child's level of ethnic identity and their reported experiences with discrimination by other adults. Messages regarding the Promotion of Mistrust, or warnings about other groups of people, were reported by only 21% of the sample and were predicted by children's experiences with unfair treatment by adults as reported by the children and their parents. Despite the study's small, non-representative sample, it provided evidence that the process and content of racial socialization is driven by experiences of both the parent and child.

Academic achievement has frequently been associated with positive racial socialization, since Bowman and Howard first introduced the connection in 1985, particularly for African American families who have been found to regard educational achievement more highly than

most other racial and ethnic groups in the United States (Cunningham & Francois, 2009). As pointed out in an oral history of an elderly African American grandmother, she, like other parents often took drastic measures to ensure the best education for their children by being actively involved in the classroom and school organizations such as PTA, monitoring the child's academic progress through a personal relationship with the child's teachers, and moving from one neighborhood (or in her case, state) to another to gain access to better educational opportunities (Hudley et al., 2003). A 2004 study by Diamond and Gomez suggested that the relationship between parental socialization with respect to education was influenced by parental educational background and socioeconomic status. The study found that middle-class African American parents were more likely to choose the schools their children attended and, therefore, displayed more positive and supportive attitudes toward the schools. However, children of working-class African American parents were found to be more likely assigned to their schools and the parents then often viewed the schools negatively and subsequently worked to promote school reform (Diamond & Gomez, 2004). Annette Lareau's (2003) concept of *concerted cultivation* also addressed the role of social class in orientation to educational success, but attributed more active parenting roles to middle-class parents, resulting in higher achievement levels, in comparison to working-class families. Similar findings regarding middle-class African American families were reported by Jan Carter-Black (2003), who found that an achievement orientation toward formal education was a necessary and expected component of parenting and socialization practices both internalized and vocalized by parents, grandparents, and their children.

Taken together, these studies highlight the importance of educational achievement to African American child development. Academic achievement is a top priority for African

Americans in the post-segregation era and parents' interactions with the educational system are often shaped around cultural differences between them and the mainstream institutions. To navigate these potentially adverse environments, African American parents must incorporate messages about education into their early childhood socialization practices as well as take on the role of advocate for their child's educational rights—tasks which are not typically required of Caucasian American parents.

Religion and spirituality. Research has also found that religious involvement is deemed an important domain of racial socialization and childrearing for African American parents (Carter-Black, 2003; Demo & Hughes, 1990; Haight, 2002; Hale-Benson, 1982; Marshall, 1995), despite the fact that the terms "religion" and "spirituality" are not found in any of the major developmental textbooks and are not mainstream topics of study in the field of developmental psychology (Hudley et al., 2003). As quoted by Hale-Benson (1982, p. 52), African American psychologist Na'im Akbar stated in a 1973 speech that African American women "didn't know nothin' 'bout Dr. Spock, but they did know the Bible—'raise up a child in the way he should go and when he is old he will not depart from it.'" The terms "religion" and "spirituality" are distinguished because while many African American adults regularly attended church or "grew up in the church" as children and continue to hold strong spiritual beliefs as adults, they may not regularly participate in organized religious activities (Boyd-Franklin, 2006).

The church has long been considered a respected and influential cultural establishment in the African American community, which affords the opportunity for African Americans to obtain respected positions of leadership and authority and promote positive self-esteem and group identity (Boyd-Franklin, 2006). This is especially salient in the oral history of the life of Edith V.P. Hudley (Hudley et al., 2003), a respected African American grandmother and

storyteller, who often used religious experiences and events as chronological markers in the sequence of events that she narrated and who told of dependence on her religious faith and support of fellow church members in times of struggle.

Wendy Haight (2002) conducted an ethnographic study of an African American Baptist Church in Salt Lake City, Utah, which validated the role of religion in the socialization of African American children in that particular context. According to the adults interviewed by Haight, positive spiritual socialization in the context of the African American church was necessary for educating and protecting children against racism, promoting strong adult-child interpersonal relationships, and supporting the church as a safe haven for children, particularly through the use of storytelling and biblical texts. Call and response, lively discussion, participation in role play, storytelling, and the direct connection and generalization of biblical events and teachings to the child's everyday experience were relevant child-centered socialization practices observed in the Sunday School setting. Outside of Sunday School, children in church were told stories of prominent African Americans in history, were praised individually for good behavior and school achievement, and were encouraged to participate in holiday celebrations and programs with the broader congregation. Another study using the ethnographic data from this predominantly African American Sunday School found that the church afforded the children spiritual protection, a sense of community, individual worth, and served to promote positive racial identity to counteract negative experiences encountered in formal educational settings (Haight & Carter-Black, 2004). While this work provides insight into how African American children between the ages of 3 and 15 are socialized at church, little research exists which examines the socialization process with respect to religion that occurs within the family home. This important link is missing from the extant literature, given that "for

many African American families, the Black church functions essentially as another extended family" and is often referred to as one's church "home" or "family" across the lifespan (Boyd-Franklin, 2006, p.130).

Style and appearance. Despite the claim that "style is most important in the Black community" (Hale-Benson, 1982), issues of personal style and appearance have generally been neglected in the empirical research on African American child socialization and deserves further attention. This disregard may be due to the implicit way in which personal style indexes race in the African American community that is not obvious to outsiders. Janice Hale-Benson (1982) asserts that physical beauty, which is often judged upon mainstream standards, is less important than unique personal style among African Americans, which is particularly important in the socialization of African American girls. By promoting personal style through overall self-presentation, rather than focusing on distinct physical characteristics, parents may promote positive identity development and socialization.

Although personal style and appearance have been noted to play an important role in racial socialization and identity, few studies to date have explicitly examined this domain within African American families. One exception is a study by Lewis (1999), which promoted the analysis of "hair combing interactions" between African American mothers and daughters (ages 3-14) as a context for naturalistic observation in the study of attachment and racial socialization. The hair combing interaction was described as one that "permits exploration of the emotional and psychological dimensions of racial socialization, and broadens our understanding of the contributions of the mother's individual and generational racial biography to formation of the child's racial self-concept" (p. 507). Lewis (1999) videotaped 11 mother-daughter dyads engaged in hair combing at home then conducted open-ended interviews with the participants.

This study did not analyze the data for content, but results were used to validate the use of hair combing observations as a useful tool for exploring various childrearing and socialization practices among African American families. Examples of practices captured during these interactions, included: 1) amount and nature of physical contact and intimacy; 2) intense emotional responses regarding hair and its role in the mother-daughter relationship; 3) verbal interactions between parent and child; 4) impact of mother's racial identity and socialization on the choice of hairstyle; and 5) opportunities to enhance the child's self-esteem through hairstyle (Lewis, 1999). In addition, Lewis (1999) proposed that hair combing interactions may also be useful for studying contemporary mother-son relationships among African Americans since many boys also wear their hair in long or elaborately braided styles, which are maintained by the mother.

Grandparents and socialization. The role of grandparents in the racial socialization of young children has also received little attention in the research literature, despite the "parent-like" role of grandparents—particularly grandmothers—in African American families (Hagestad & Uhlenberg, 2009). One exception, a study by McWright (2002), found that the value placed on family connectedness, spirituality, and positive identity by grandparents was transmitted inter-generationally to African American grandchildren (mean age nine years) through their mothers' use of popular African American proverbs.

Hale-Benson (1982) conducted an interview study of African American and Caucasian American grandmothers (of infant through adult grandchildren) regarding childrearing and socialization practices. Significant differences between the African American and Caucasian American grandmothers were found in seven domains. First, African American grandmothers were found to have a more "human orientation" toward their adult children and grandchildren

evidenced by more physical contact and massaging, particularly for the purpose of shaping the appearance of the child's head, nose, and feet. African American grandmothers reported being less likely than their counterparts to suggest abortion, forced marriage, or adoption regarding children born out of wedlock, but more likely to engage in mothering or "informal adoption" of other children in need. African American children were found to have less structured daily activities than Caucasian American children, based on the grandmothers' reports and more emphasis was placed on obedience and physical discipline with African American children. In particular, the use of the "switch" to physically punish children was reported, which is consistent with African-based practices (see Hudley et al., 2003 for an elaborated account of its use). The African American grandmothers were found to be deeply religious and culturally connected to their communities through the church. The physical home environments were found to be different for African American and Caucasian American grandmothers with the former including more pictures of prominent African Americans, political figures, and family members and playing more frequent and more Afrocentric forms of music in the home (i.e., R & B, jazz, gospel). Hale-Benson (1982, p. 146) hypothesized that style or appearance would be a significant difference in her study, based on the idea that African Americans "are very fashion conscious and are oriented toward adornment with clothing, creative hairstyles, jewelry, hats, and scarves." Although this hypothesis was not supported in this particular study, Hale-Benson acknowledged that the issue of style/appearance deserved further study.

Overall, several conclusions may be drawn from this review of empirical research: 1) racial socialization has been found to primarily be an *implicit* process; 2) most existing studies of racial socialization have been conducted with parents of *older* children; 3) the domains of educational achievement, religion/spirituality, and style/appearance have been found to be

important contexts for studying racial socialization among African American families; and 4) grandparents have been largely excluded from analyses of racial socialization in the family, despite the prevalence and importance of extended kinship networks in African American families. These findings support the early assertions of Boykin and Toms (1985) and Taylor (1991) and reinforce the need for further research that utilizes observational methods to explore the interactions between parents, young children, and grandparents in these three domains.

Limitations of Previous Research

Overall, existing studies that focus on socialization and parenting among African American families provide limited insight into the socialization process for young children. First, most existing studies fail to address implicit socialization processes by focusing primarily on self-report and interview data rather than observation or ethnographic methods, despite acknowledging that socialization is primarily an implicit process. Second, most studies have focused on older children or retrospective accounts by adults regarding their own childhood, rather than capturing socialization processes as they occur naturally during parent-child interactions. Finally, studies related to outcomes of African American child socialization have yielded contradictory results. While some researchers have found negative outcomes such as poor academic achievement, delinquent behavior, and low self-esteem due to racial socialization, others have noted positive developmental outcomes (Taylor, 1991). These conclusions have been criticized based on methodological, theoretical, and interpretive grounds, including small and unrepresentative samples, poor construct validity, poor control of extraneous variables, and biased theoretical assumptions regarding the nature of self-concept (Taylor, 1991).

Significance of the Study

Taking these findings into account, this study builds upon a previous study by Miller and colleagues (2002) conducted to recognize self-esteem folk theories as culture- and context-specific in a manner that gives voice to parents—a segment of the population often overlooked in the scholarly debate around parenting goals and practices. Specifically, it seeks to examine the process by which socialization occurs around the issue of race within two African American families from a strengths-based perspective. This is accomplished through the analysis of interviews, which address parents' explicit childrearing goals and values, and through observations of everyday family activities, which highlight the implicit ways in which socialization occurs. The domains of educational achievement, religion/spirituality, and style/appearance are used to structure and guide this analysis.

This work stands to contribute insight into the subtleties of the socialization process, which is currently lacking from the existing literature. Because the data for this study were originally collected to examine general childrearing goals and practices among a diverse sample, parents were not explicitly asked about the ways in which race or their African American identities impacted (or not) their parenting. Analyses show that parents frequently volunteered this information; however, and opportunities to observe the effects of race often arose spontaneously. Therefore, by highlighting the *subtle* ways in which children were socialized through common family practices such as dinnertime rituals, bedtime stories, the ways in which a mother styled her daughter's hair, and other interactions between family members, this work fostered an enhanced understanding of the complexities of African American child development not previously available. As noted by McAdoo (2002), not all parents provide explicit messages to their children about race, but all parents do transmit racial socialization messages, whether

consciously or not, through their own actions. Because these practices often become routine family activities that the children later pass on to their own families, highlighting and celebrating them on their own terms, rather than viewing them as deficient in comparison to the mainstream, will contribute to a culture-sensitive understanding of social development that values multiple perspectives and experiences.

Chapter 2

Method

Data collection for this longitudinal qualitative study involved two phases: (1) Phase 1, which combined structured interviews with ethnographic observation of everyday family interaction in the home and community to explore general childrearing beliefs and practices, and (2) Phase 2, which re-analyzed data collected in Phase 1 and used an additional interview to directly address race and racial socialization practices within the families. Phase 1 was previously conducted as part of a larger investigation of childrearing beliefs and practices among parents and caregivers of young children and data collection took place over a two-year period (Miller et al., 2002). In the current study, a case study approach (Stake, 1996) was used to more closely examine each of the two selected families around issues of racial socialization and included an original interview conducted approximately four years after the end of Phase 1.

The use of interview data allowed for direct questioning of parents' explicit beliefs and practices, while the ethnographic observations captured the implicit and subtle ways in which the socialization of young children occurred within the context of everyday family interactions. This combination of interviews with ethnographic observations produced a uniquely rich set of data that incorporated both implicit and explicit socialization practices across a span of six years in the lives of these young children and their families. A detailed description of the families is presented following details of the research setting.

Centerville: The Setting

The study was conducted in Centerville[2], a large, predominantly Caucasian Midwestern town, which is home to a major university. The surrounding rural farmlands provide a

[2] Names of individuals, cities, and schools have been changed to protect the confidentiality of participants.

significant source of income for many families in the area and agricultural products are primarily responsible for driving the local economy (Miller et al., 2002).

Due to the presence of the university, Centerville attracts a diverse population and offers a considerably wider range of cultural, educational, and religious opportunities than other cities of comparable size (Miller et al., 2002). The first group of African Americans settled in Centerville in 1865 (Carter-Black, 2005), and now African Americans make up the largest ethnic minority group in Centerville, with 15% of the population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). Despite its diversity and the significant minority population; however, the area has a longstanding history of discrimination and inequity towards African Americans (Stack, 1974). The racial tension caused by this marginalization has been documented in housing patterns (e.g., Stack, 1974), public school outcomes (e.g., Aber, Meinrath, Johnston, Rasmussen, & Gonzalez, 2000; Peterkin & Lucey, 1998), and crime statistics (e.g., Dimitriadis, 2001).

Additionally, class differences have served as a source of division both within the Centerville community at large and within the African American community, in particular (Carter-Black, 2005; Dimitriadis, 2001). This conflict is most noticeable in the relationship between university stakeholders and the local community, and this "town-gown" split has even resulted in the death of a Black university student at the hands of community residents (Carter-Black, 2005; Dimitriadis, 2001). Taken together, these details provide a unique backdrop of experience for African Americans living in the Centerville community.

Participants

Two African American families were selected from the larger sample of over 70 caregivers in the original study to participate in this study. The two families represent four of the 14 African American individuals interviewed in the original study and were selected to reflect

the demographic variability of the local context in terms of socioeconomic status (middle-class vs. working-class), family size/composition (married parents with three children vs. unmarried, cohabitating parents of one child), educational background of the parents (master's level degrees vs. high school diploma), and gender of the children (male vs. female). Despite these differences, the families had many similarities—they were both religious Christians, the children were in the same kindergarten classroom, and the maternal grandparents were highly involved in care-giving and routine family activities. More details about each family are presented in the following vignettes.

Procedures

Recruitment. The Jackson family was recruited via another family who participated in the original childrearing study. The Lewis family was recruited for the study through a flyer posted at their apartment complex. Participants were selected in an attempt to reflect the diversity of the local community in terms of ethnicity, religious affiliation, socioeconomic status, and family composition/family size.

The maternal grandparents from both families were incorporated into the study due to their active participation in the children's lives. Although none of these grandparents lived in the homes of the children, they participated in the daily lives of the children by providing child care and other practical resources for the families as is typical in extended kinship networks (e.g., Stack, 1974; Rosier, 2000; Boyd-Franklin, 2006) among African American families.

Phase 1: Interviews and ethnographic observations. The original study unfolded as follows: an initial interview, a one- to two-year period of home observations, and follow-up interviews. The initial interview took place in the participant's home and was audio taped. Each interview was structured, open-ended, and lasted approximately 1-2 hours. Interviews explicitly

addressed general childrearing topics such as parental goals and values, emotions such as praise and shame, and discipline techniques, with a focus on beliefs and practices around self-esteem (see Appendix A). Demographic information was also collected from each participant. Racial socialization was not directly addressed in the initial interview.

Following the initial interview was a one- to two-year period of in-depth home observation with each of the families. During the ethnographic phase, this researcher was assigned to the Jackson family and another researcher, assigned to the Lewis family, each visited the families 2-3 times per month, with a goal of 36 total observations for each family. Observations were audio and/or videotaped and captured everyday routines and interactions of family life including events such as mealtimes, episodes of play, birthday parties, visits with grandparents, and organized activities outside the home (e.g., sporting events, church activities, parent-teacher conferences). A total of 31 home observation sessions, totaling over 47 recorded hours of observation, were conducted with the Jackson family. Of these, 7 observations (over 10 hours) were video-recorded. For the Lewis family, 32 observations were conducted, totaling over 39 hours of recordings. Of these, 15 observations (over 16 hours) were video-recorded. A journal of detailed field notes was kept to record important contextual details not captured on tape, including process comments by the researcher, and to serve as back-up in the case of equipment failure. This prolonged period of engagement and incorporation of multiple points of interaction—both formal and informal—contributed to the trustworthiness of the data and credibility of research findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

The ethnographic portion of this phase also included follow-up interviews with the caregivers. The interviews were conducted near the middle and/or end of the ethnographic phase and focused on specific childrearing beliefs and practices pertaining to self-esteem that were

observed in each family. All follow-up interviews, like the initial interview, were conducted in the family home and were audio-recorded. Each interview served as a member check (Guba & Lincoln, 1985), or way to verify that analyses and interpretations made by the researchers up to that point were accurate by giving the family an explicit opportunity to validate or correct the researcher's assumptions and interpretations about previously stated or observed beliefs and practices in the family. Additionally, the interviews allowed the family to identify any important events or practices that had been ignored that could be incorporated into future interviews or observations. Follow-up interviews were not structured to address racial socialization; however, a few questions regarding race in the context of self-esteem were included in the interview protocols. For example, parents were asked about their concerns over racial stereotypes that their children may face. Inclusion of multiple data collection methods (e.g., semi-structured interviews, unstructured home observations, field notes) and multiple data sources (e.g., parents, grandparents, children) fostered triangulation of the data as another manner of establishing its credibility (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Phase 2: Racial socialization. This study combines a re-analysis of the data from Phase 1 with the collection and analysis of new interview data (see Appendix B for interview protocol, Appendix C for consent form).

Re-analysis of interviews from Phase 1. A total of two interviews were conducted with the Jackson family and seven interviews were conducted with the Lewis family in the first phase of the study, totaling approximately 11 hours of audio-taped interview data (see Appendix D). Audiotapes of each interview were transcribed verbatim and checked by a second transcriber. In parallel with the analyses for the observational data, the transcripts were reviewed for any segments in which the parent or grandparent made explicit references to race (e.g., racial/ethnic

labels, skin-color) or racial socialization, including comments about the child's African American identity, how to raise an African American child, specific concerns of African American caregivers, or experiences of racism or discrimination experienced by the parent/grandparent or anticipated for the child. Specifically, content of messages referring to race were evaluated in a manner consistent with recent racial socialization literature (Hughes et al., 2006) to include the following: *cultural socialization* (e.g., race pride and positive cultural references); *preparation for bias* (e.g., messages geared toward fostering awareness of racism); *promotion of mistrust* (e.g., messages guarding against trusting Whites); and *egalitarianism* (e.g., color-blind ideologies). In addition, the transcripts were examined for talk about other topics deemed important and relevant to racial socialization in the literature and in response to patterns found in preliminary data analyses, including the domains of educational achievement, religion/spirituality, and style/appearance.

Re-analysis of ethnographic observations. All recorded observations from both families were analyzed. Only the segments relevant to race or racial socialization were transcribed and coded from the videotapes. All audiotapes were transcribed verbatim in entirety, except for observations in which there are both audio and video recordings. For this subset of observations, the videotape was coded, not the audiotape. Both audio- and videotape transcripts were checked for accuracy by a second transcriber. For each observation, tape recordings were initially reviewed from start to finish by a transcriber who looked for any explicit references to race in general, educational achievement, religion/spirituality, and appearance/style. A quarter of these transcribed observations, chosen at random, were reviewed by this author for accuracy. This author then conducted a secondary data analysis of all transcribed observations to code for

general themes related to race and themes within the domains of educational achievement, religion/spirituality, and appearance/style.

For all phases of data analysis, coding for general racial content included: racial group terms (e.g., Black, White), ethnic group labels (e.g., African American, Jewish, Mexican), references to skin color (e.g., brown, light-skinned), ethnic or racial identity, and references to experiences with racism or discrimination. Interactions pertaining to educational achievement included interactions related to literacy, schooling, and school-like activities (e.g., mother reading a book to the child; father drilling the child in reciting the alphabet; the child completing a workbook page under a parent's supervision; or the mother talking to the father about where she would like the child to attend kindergarten). Similarly, coded examples of interactions involving religion/spirituality included: parent praying with the child or talking about prayers; parent reading a Bible story to the child; grandparent prompting the child to recite a Bible verse; or a parent talking about or asking the child to recount their experiences in Sunday School. Finally, coded examples of interactions indexing style or appearance included: parent talking with the child about his/her hair; parent styling the child's hair; parent telling a story about looking attractive; parent comments on the outfit a child has chosen to wear or their overall appearance; parent plays music; or parent encourages the child to dance to the music.

Interviews regarding racial socialization. In Phase 2, new interview data (see Appendix B for interview protocol, Appendix C for consent form) was collected with the parents in each family as a longitudinal follow-up interview when the focal children were nine years old. This interview, unlike the previous series of interviews conducted when the children were 3-4 years of age, focused specifically on racial socialization. In particular, racial socialization within the domains of educational achievement, religion/spirituality, and style/appearance were highlighted,

as supported by the literature on African American parenting and socialization and also drawing heavily from literature on racial and ethnic identity development. Interview questions were developed by this researcher, and revised and finalized with the assistance of the larger research team, consisting of the Principal Investigator, graduate research assistants, and undergraduate research assistants. Each member of the team had intimate knowledge of the interview and observation data already collected, either through their role in collecting, transcribing, and/or analyzing data, which allowed for the questions to be tailored and honed to reflect what had been learned about each of the family's level of understanding, parenting beliefs, and comfort with interactions and discussions about race-related topics. Interviews were conducted jointly with each couple (e.g., Mr. and Mrs. Jackson interviewed together, Mr. and Mrs. Lewis interviewed together) in their home.

Role of the researcher

In the tradition of anthropological ethnographic work, it is important to take a moment to discuss the role of the researcher in this project. The issue of a power differential within the relationship between the researcher and the research participant has historically been particularly salient in this type of ethnographic research when so much of the intimate details of the participant's life are observed and recorded. This issue may be further complicated when the researcher and participant are of a different race, gender, and/or social class. The experiences of Peggy Miller and Wendy Haight, two Caucasian ethnographers who co-authored a book with Edith Hudley, an octogenarian African American grandmother (Hudley, Haight, & Miller, 2003), serve as a leading example of how mutual respect and a shared goal of capturing the participant's truth on her own terms not only validated, but celebrated this methodology and the complexities in the role of the researcher as a scholar, student, colleague, observer, participant, and friend.

This process of observing, engaging, recording, reflecting, and disseminating the "ways of being" of another in a manner that embodies integrity, authenticity, objectivity, and credibility is nothing short of a "work of art" (Wolcott, 1995).

An inherent quandary in ethnographic research is whether or not the researcher has the authority to tell the story of the subject, and subsequently, the authenticity of that story. Clifford and Marcus (1986) refer to the self-consciousness of the ethnographer in the process of documenting "partial truths" (p. 7)—truth as observed, experienced, and reported by that researcher. For example, the issues of exploitation and the imposition of values from one culture onto another were issues raised by an American anthropologist in writing the ethnography of a Taiwanese woman, based on encounters that occurred thirty years prior (Wolf, 1992). Another example is the well-written ethnography of a Mexican street peddler living in poverty and abuse, written by a Cuban American anthropologist, which is permeated with feelings of guilt in her self-conscious attempt to capture the life of a woman so different from herself, while simultaneously negotiating the complexities of her role in the woman's life (Behar, 1993). A year later, social psychologist Michelle Fine, urged researchers to collectively make that conscious decision to conduct their work in a manner that is "*against* Othering and *for* social justice" (Fine, 1994, p. 153).

As ethnography continues to advance beyond studying the culturally distinct "Other" to allowing for members of the same group or *insiders* to examine the lives of one another, these issues of authority, authenticity, and exploitation must be looked at through another lens. Specifically, I turn your attention now to the particular questions faced in this study: how could I as a Midwestern, twenty-something, biracial female, with no children, pursuing a graduate degree honestly and effectively capture the beliefs and daily practices of these two African

American families? Did our similarities in terms of ethnicity, culture, and basic values matter? If so, did they matter more or less than our differences—characterized by my status as single, childless, and living in the ambiguous social class typical of graduate students with middle-class values and social circles and a working-class budget? And who would know the difference? Alternatively, a different set of questions evolved throughout our relationships, on the premise of how could I *not* learn something new and contribute new knowledge to the field by virtue of my experiences working so intimately with families similar, in many ways, to my own extended family and who were so eager to share with me their lessons learned in my role of a "younger sister"—at this point married with an infant—yet still to experience all of the joys, frustrations, decisions, and actions that parenting a toddler and school-aged child had to offer? These issues are taken up further below and later in the chapter as each family profile is presented.

Initially, I was selected to work directly with African American families, in particular, in an attempt to provide a comfortable relationship (Sue, 1998) for the families. When introduced to the Jackson family, I was accompanied by the Principal Investigator (Dr. Peggy Miller) for the larger research study, whom the family had already met and at this point in the study, Mrs. Jackson had already completed the initial childrearing interview with another research assistant (a young graduate student from Taiwan). Throughout the observation phase, the Jackson family showed considerable interest in personal details of my life, including my family background as a biracial female, daily activities as a graduate student, and my upcoming wedding was a frequent topic of interest. By the time the racial socialization interviews were conducted, I was married and raising a young child of my own, which provided an additional basis for commonality and interest.

The Lewis family was introduced to me in the role of researcher at a social function for the research assistant (a Korean-American student from the West coast) who conducted the initial phase of the study with them. I had previously met Mr. Lewis and Jordan while attending the school picnic with Charesse Jackson as a part of this study (see ch. 6); however, due to confidentiality as research participants, I did not reveal my connection to the research project (and hence identity Charesse as a participant) at that time. Shortly after meeting, we realized that Mr. Lewis and I had been attendants in the wedding ceremony for our mutual friends a few years prior.

When approached about participating in the racial socialization interview for this study, the Lewis family was eager to participate. Although I only conducted the racial socialization interview with the family, rapport was quickly established with the Lewises, and the family spoke candidly and at length about their experiences as African American parents. Just as Janet Carter-Black experienced in her own data collection with middle-class African American families considered to be "peers," interviews and observations were conducted with me serving as a "*guest* in the home as opposed to someone *doing research*" (2005, p. 81) with almost weekly contact over a prolonged period of time.

Following the completion of the data collection for this project, both families maintained communication with me, my husband, and my children and continued to extend personal invitations to family celebrations, casual game nights at home, church services, school functions for the children, and other social events. This contact has continued, even as my family and I have moved out of state. The quality of the interpersonal relationships between myself in the role of researcher and these two families is considered a strength of this project. Getting to know the families as a unit, as well as forming relationships with each individual family member, allowed

for richer data to emerge. While some may argue that by extending beyond the traditional researcher-subject relationship, objectivity and validity is compromised, because the researcher is always collecting data—even if not intentionally and cannot separate out what was learned as a direct result of interaction during the "official" data collection process versus information gained simply through prolonged exposure to the family and their home environment. An entire chapter in Harry Wolcott's (1995) classic text is dedicated to this very issue and aptly titled "Fieldwork versus (just) being in the field." Rather, we, the research team, consider this a valuable strength and unique bonus that we were fortunate enough to capture.

The Families

The Lewis[1] family. The Lewis family is a middle-class African American family of five. Jason and Tami, both in their late 20's at the start of Phase 1, are the parents of three children: Jordan (focal child), who was 3 years 2 months old when the study began; one-year-old daughter Alya; and a baby boy, Justin, born just prior to Phase 1. At the completion of the study, Jordan was 9 years 4 months old, Alya was 7 and Justin was 6 years one month. Both parents were graduate students in education-related fields and Mrs. Lewis also taught Chemistry at a local college throughout the study. The family rented a townhouse in a middle-class area of Centerville during Phase 1, but had bought their first home in a smaller nearby town before Phase 2. The Lewises were raised in the local area and had relatives in the vicinity. The maternal grandparents of the family lived in a small town approximately 45 minutes from Centerville and provided regular childcare for the children while the parents were working or on weekends. The maternal grandmother, Loretta Samson, actively participated in several of the study's interviews and observations. The maternal grandfather was the pastor of a small

Protestant congregation, which met in his home. External family members on the paternal side lived approximately two hours away in a major city.

Throughout the study, the Lewis family was actively involved in a non-denominational, multicultural church that they had attended for approximately three years. The parents "grew up in the church," (see Boyd-Franklin, 2006, for a description of the use of this phrase) attending predominantly Black churches and even met in Bible study in college. After having children the Lewises began searching for a new church home that was more family-oriented and provided more structured, yet separate, activities for the children through a children's ministry (as opposed to having the children attending general Sunday services geared more towards adults). After a thorough and intensive search, the family joined their current church where they quickly assumed leadership roles.

With the exception of the racial socialization interview, all of the interview and observation data from the Lewis family was collected by another graduate research assistant working on the larger project. This author was introduced to the family through other personal contacts during Phase 1 of the study then later contacted the family to invite them to participate in Phase 2.

The Jackson[1] family. The Jackson family is a working-class family of four. At the start of Phase 1, Victor, Sr. the father, and Jada, the mother, both in their mid 20's, were single and cohabiting. They married during Phase 1 of the study. Charesse, the focal child, was 3 years 5 months old when the study began and Victor, Jr., her younger brother was born midway through Phase 1 of the study. At the conclusion of Phase 2, Charesse was 9 years 2 months old and Victor, Jr. was 4 years 10 months old. Victor, Sr. worked in a service position at the local University and Jada worked in a fast food restaurant until the birth of their second child. After

completing her maternity leave, Mrs. Jackson began working as a pre-school teacher's aide. The Jacksons were raised in the Centerville area and had extended family on the mother's side living nearby, with relatives from the father's side living in two other major cities, each about two hours away. The maternal grandmother of the family, Mrs. Rose Harris, provided regular childcare for the children while the parents worked. Charesse also attended pre-school part-time at Head Start when the study began and had progressed through the fourth grade by the end of the study. Victor, Jr. had progressed through two years of pre-school and was beginning kindergarten by the end of the study. The Jacksons rented a modest duplex in a working-class, racially-diverse residential neighborhood during Phase 1 and had moved to a single-family rental home in a nearby, predominantly African American neighborhood before Phase 2.

While Mrs. Jackson reported being highly religious and a regular church-goer during initial interviews for the study, the family's religious involvement fluctuated significantly throughout the course of the study. Initially, Mrs. Jackson and the children were actively involved in a small, predominantly Black Baptist church, but the father did not attend. During the course of the ethnographic year, Mrs. Jackson also stopped attending for a period of time, started back again, and then began searching for a new church home. At the Phase 2 interview, the Jacksons reported that they were attending a predominantly White church in a nearby town as a family.

Mr. Jackson declined to participate in the interview portions of the original study and while he was present for some of the home observations, his participation in Phase 1 was minimal. Researchers were informed indirectly through Mrs. Jackson that he declined to participate and no specific reasons were provided, although there are several factors that may have impacted his lack of participation. For instance, most of the appointments were scheduled at

a time most convenient for Mrs. Jackson and the children, and tended to be during his work hours. In addition, the Jacksons were experiencing significant marital difficulties throughout the course of Phase 1 and Mr. Jackson did not play a major role in daily childrearing activities or decisions; therefore, he may have felt that he had little to offer by being present. Mrs. Jackson suggested that her husband felt uncomfortable interacting with her friends and that he typically left the house when she had visitors. Mr. Jackson was invited through his wife to participate in the Phase 2 interview and did fully participate in this joint interview with his wife. Mr. Jackson suggested that he felt more confident in his parenting skills during this phase since his children were both school-aged and it was apparent that he had more direct involvement in parenting his son. It is also likely that he felt more comfortable with this researcher after having multiple interactions over the course of the six years working with this family. Throughout the course of this study, a personal relationship was developed between the family members and the researcher. While another graduate student researcher conducted the initial interview with the Jackson family, this author conducted the follow-up interviews and all of the home observations. Since the completion of the data collection phase for the original study in 2002, Mrs. Jackson has telephoned the researcher regularly to provide updates on the growth and development of the children and other family events such as a change in residence and she and Charesse have visited the researcher's home informally on several occasions. Mr. Jackson's active participation in Phase 2 of the study, therefore, is attributed to the manner in which this relationship evolved over time through prolonged engagement in the setting (Guba and Lincoln, 1985) and would likely not have been possible in a study that did not utilize ethnographic data collection methods.

Summary

In sum, the data presented in the following chapters looks at the process of racial socialization in the context of parenting pre-schoolers through their transition into elementary school among two African American families. Ethnographic data collected with the Lewis family, a middle-class family of five and the maternal grandmother, included eight semi-structured interviews and 32 home observations. The Jackson family, a working-class family of four and the maternal grandmother, participated in 3 interviews and 31 home observations. In relation to the Lewis family, the primary researcher grew into the role of family friend, based on commonalities as graduate students from humble backgrounds but oriented toward upward social mobility. To the Jackson family, the researcher took on the role of a fictive “aunt” to the focal child and “sister-friend” to Mrs. Jackson, as a positive support and role model. For both families, sharing their beliefs and their learned experiences about childrearing provided them an opportunity to not only contribute to the scholarly literature and broader understanding of racial socialization among African American families, but also provided them with satisfaction in knowing they were able to pass down their own wisdom to someone who looked like them and, as a new mom, would likely experience similarities in raising her own children. Chapters 3 and 5 present data collected from interviews with the Lewis and Jackson families, respectively, while chapters 4 and 6 present observation data for each family in turn.

Chapter 3

Interview Results by Theme: Lewis Family

Eight interviews were conducted with the Lewis family during the course of the study: each parent and the maternal grandmother individually completed the Initial Childrearing interview; the grandmother completed the Follow-Up and Final Childrearing and Self-Esteem interviews; and the parents completed the Follow-Up, Final, and Racial Socialization interviews together (see Appendix D). Initial interviews were conducted in June 2000 with Mr. and Mrs. Lewis, when the focal child Jordan was 3 years old, and in February 2001 with Mrs. Samson. Follow-up interviews occurred between May and November of 2001 and the racial socialization interview was conducted in August of 2006, when Jordan was 9 years old. Each of the interviews conducted were analyzed for content relevant to racial socialization. Themes analyzed included general racial issues, educational achievement, religion and spirituality, and appearance/style, as consistent with the literature on African American socialization. Results are presented by theme.

Race

Although race was not directly addressed in the initial childrearing interview protocol, participants discussed race in various contexts throughout the interview. Tami Lewis brought up the issue of race when she was asked whether she believed self-esteem plays an important role in young children's development. In her response, Mrs. Lewis took a proactive stance and indicated that children must be taught to think highly of themselves from birth, with her son requiring particular attention in this area, because "just in today's society as a Black male, he has to be raised to think well of himself 'cause he's gonna come against a lot of things that other males would not normally go against, and you have to promote [self-esteem] as early as you

can.” The Lewises elaborated on this reference to racism in a follow-up interview, which was conducted approximately eleven months later.

Promoting self-esteem as a protection against discrimination. During the follow-up interview, the topic of race was spontaneously invoked by Mrs. Lewis during a discussion about self-esteem. Mr. and Mrs. Lewis somewhat disagreed about the impact of racism and the appropriate way to deal with the discrimination that they anticipated their young son would face throughout his life. Of particular interest is how they both incorporated their beliefs about educational achievement, religion, and appearance into the following exchange about racial discrimination and their descriptions of their different approaches to preparing their son for bias:

> Tami: And hopefully his self esteem will be greater than most children. That’s my goal. I mean, he’s a Black male. He’s gonna have to go against more than a lot of people are.
>
> Jason: Well it’s not so much MORE than other people. But just to be enough where he’s independent and he doesn’t let others affect what he believes, what he thinks.
>
> Tami: No, but a lot of people don’t have to deal with that, Jason.
>
> Jason: Everybody has to deal with that.
>
> Tami: No, everybody does not have to deal with that. If you are a White male, you’re not gonna have to deal with…
>
> Jason: Not as much, but everybody has to deal with that. Everybody has to deal with others people’s influence.
>
> Tami: Which means that he should have a higher portion of it [self-esteem]. He just should…..
>
> Researcher: Uh huh, and Tami, you were saying that he hasn’t really; you don’t think that he has to really deal with that right now.

Tami: Oh, he does. He just doesn't notice it.

Researcher: He doesn't notice it. You think it will become more obvious once he gets into school?

Tami: I don't know if it will, but I mean, I figure we'll address it when it does come. Just have to. I believe in preparing him. I'm just not gonna wait for some situation to happen.

Jason: The way your self esteem I think it's…

Tami: Malcolm X (Jason laughs). Shoot, I don't take the passive role. (All laughed) I'm not sayin' you're takin' the passive role. You're just goin' towards the more peaceful way. You're Martin Luther King.

Jason: Like the more Godly way (laughed)

Tami: Right, right. I'm sure God would be pleased with you Jason.

While this lighthearted argument displays the difference of opinion and personality between Mr. and Mrs. Lewis, it also makes the point that race and experiences with racism are definite concerns for these parents and are issues that require thought and action. Mr. Lewis advocated for a more reactive approach, while Mrs. Lewis took a proactive approach to preparing her son for racism. Mrs. Lewis went on to discuss using "positive reinforcement" and complimenting her son's strengths as a way to build his self-esteem and prevent difficulties in dealing with racism in the future.

Racism as a fact of life. In the last follow-up interview, conducted approximately sixteen months from the initial interview, the Lewises continued to vaguely discuss the expectation that their son would experience racism and a general responsibility for preparing him to deal with negative experiences. Mr. and Mrs. Lewis discussed the issue of racial discrimination as a fact of life for African American children and especially for African American males.

Jason: I mean that's going to happen for the rest of their whole lives.

Tami: Of course.

Jason: It's just something that, as an African-American male, you just learn that it's a part of life, it's just something that you have to deal with, um, you know, so, to a certain degree you develop a, not a toughness, but a tough skin about it, cause you have to, if you don't, you go crazy just thinking about all the bad things that did, could, and would happen. Um, because you're Black.

They attempted to prepare Jordan to handle racism by promoting a strong sense of identity and self-esteem at an early age and as a nine-year-old, Mr. Lewis stated that they attempted to ensure that "he's confident in knowing who he is, um, a child of God, an African-American male, uh, and I think if we can instill that in him, he can deal with all the stuff he's going to come up against out there."

Protecting against racism in their own backyard. In a follow-up interview with Mrs. Samson, "out there" proved to be in her own neighborhood. She discussed details regarding her perceptions of a negative racial climate and blatant racist events in her small rural community of Westville, approximately 40 miles south of Centerville. She stated:

> Even out here in this [apartment] complex we keep a close eye on them [the children] when they're outside 'cause this area has a lot of people who have big confederate flags. Yeah, and skinheads. (Researcher: Really, really?) Yeah, right, so we know there some with paramilitary clothing around that come to some of the houses and sometimes they'll do things to your children, so we really watch them. (Researcher: Have they ever done anything here?) No because we're, we always try to be watching. Sometimes people ask if they can take them to the park, you know like older children and we'll say no because

> we always want to be there. Because we know the atmosphere around here. (Researcher: Yeah I didn't realize the atmosphere was like that here.) Yeah, well it is, it is. My husband was walking down the street in Westville and this little boy ran out, I don't know, hit him and called him a name or something. So it is and some people say, "Oh that doesn't go on here," but it does. You know, it hasn't happened to them because they're White, you know, and they can't believe that it happens, but it does happen.

This exchange provides a specific example of how the family remained vigilant regarding racism and specific steps they took to try to keep their grandchildren safe. It was unclear to what extent these messages were directly discussed with the children or their level of awareness of the climate in the town, as this particular conversation occurred while the children were in earshot, but playing on their own.

The racial socialization interview, which focused specifically on issues relevant to childrearing among African American families, was conducted with the Lewis family in 2006, approximately six years and two months following the initial childrearing interview. By this time, the Lewises were able to identify specific instances related to race that had come up with their children and in their own personal lives, and they appeared to be even more articulate and detailed about their strategies for dealing with experiences with racism. They were also able to distinguish between explicit racial experiences and subtle ones, or racial microaggressions (Sue et al., 2008), which influenced their parenting to be more deliberate and proactive around these issues.

Culture-bound discipline practices. Mr. and Mrs. Lewis endorsed their discipline practices as being culture-bound and specific to their experience as middle-class African American Christians. They described differences they noticed between friends of theirs, particularly in relation to issues of parental

respect and noted that, in general, the Caucasian parents they knew allowed their children to talk to the parents in a disrespectful manner or to embarrass their parents in public by misbehaving. As Mrs. Lewis explained, “There are certain things we just don’t do that some of their friends just do, and I know that’s a cultural thing. They’re [the Lewis children] not going to embarrass me. I told them specifically you got a Black mama. I don’t know if they understand…” Mrs. Lewis’s statement implies that something about her experience as a Black woman plays a defining role in her relationship with her children. The Lewises attributed these differences to a combination of factors, including race/culture, socioeconomic status, and generational differences:

> Tami: I think that, we really put in a big effort in making sure that our children understand that they were not… they should be appreciative for everything that they get. And that everything is a huge blessing. And I think that is a cultural thing, simply because we grew up not having, they grow up having, and so they don’t know any different. But for us, we know that everything that we’ve given them…
>
> Jason: …Is more than we could have ever hoped for.
>
> Tami: Yeah, as a child. And we don’t want them growing up thinking that you need to give it to me because you’re my parent. No, absolutely not.

The Lewises discussed not allowing their children to have a “sense of entitlement” that they perceived with some middle-class Caucasian children, even though they struggled with wanting to provide their children with more than they had themselves as children. Jason went on to describe how socioeconomic status, generational status, and even religion intersect with race to form their unique childrearing perspective:

> And now the younger generations nowadays. And you see it a lot more though. You see a lot of parents just getting kids anything they want to. Which obviously you can’t get a

> kid everything, but you can get a kid a lot of stuff, if you balance it with discipline and making sure they appreciate and so on and so forth. I think we get our kids a lot of stuff, but we always make sure they understand first of all whose it is, and that's kind of where religion comes into play to because, you know, I made it clear from the beginning that everything is God's. So we get that whole 'me/mine' stuff out the way from the get go. It's God's, then it's mom and dad's, and then it's yours. That's the order.

Subtle and overt experiences with racism. Mr. and Mrs. Lewis acknowledged a difference between subtle, or indirect, race-related experiences compared to overt, or direct, experiences with racism. They described several examples of family interactions around direct messages about race, such as processing images shown on television together, visiting museums of African American history, and telling stories of personal experiences related to race. One story Mr. Lewis shared with his family involved a traumatic personal experience that he used to prepare his children for experiences with racism. Tami recounted the story of Jason being held "at gunpoint in his mother's house, with pictures of himself on the wall" [indicating that he lived in the home and was not intruding]. According to their story, reported during the racial socialization interview, Jason was sixteen years old at the time and was shirtless as he was dressing to go to work. He had apparently climbed into his house window because he had forgotten his keys, as Jason explained:

> Right, had the cops come for that, no problem. But once they got there, they had me on the kitchen floor; face down, with his foot on my back pointing his gun at me. Talking about how if I move, he'll blow my butt off. He didn't use 'butt' though (Jason laughed). And there were like seven cops in the house, and they didn't leave for about an hour after

> everything was said and done and no apology, so, I had a few experiences when it comes like that. I've been stopped on my bike [bicycle] before. Literally.

Mr. Lewis's emotional description of the incident indicated the traumatic nature of this experience in his youth. He explained that the reason he and Mrs. Lewis discuss these events with their children is that "they definitely need to know and be aware of those things so that when they do come up against it, it's not like a shock; it's not like what is this? They just kind of get the feeling of knowing to expect certain things." The experience was strikingly similar to the well-known incident that occurred in Cambridge, Massachusetts in July 2009, when African American Harvard professor Dr. Henry Louis Gates, Jr. was arrested by Sergeant James Crowley, a Caucasian Cambridge police officer, after Dr. Gates forcibly entered his own home through a jammed front door. According to news reports, Dr. Gates had been reported to the police by a neighbor who believed he was entering the home unlawfully and suspected criminal activity (Goodnough, 2009). The event sparked national media attention and conversations about racial bias and profiling that even involved President Barack Obama as a mediator between the police officer and the scholar. While this incident occurred three years after the Lewis family participated in the racial socialization interview and approximately 15 years following Mr. Lewis's incident with police, the parallels between the examples suggest that overt racially motivated bias still exists, although it may be less accepted or tolerated.

In contrast to these specific experiences of Mr. Lewis and Dr. Gates, the Lewises believed that most racism experienced by children today is "subtle." They believed this to be particularly true for middle-class children, in comparison to working-class children and socioeconomic status was a topic discussed in detail by the Lewises throughout the series of interviews.

Intersections of race and socioeconomic status. At the beginning of the racial socialization interview, Tami Lewis was asked to describe her experience raising African American children in general terms. Mrs. Lewis struggled to answer the question in broad terms and indicated that her experience and her level of awareness to the task of raising African American children specifically, was context-dependent and tended to be less salient in the home or situations limited to only family. Rather, for her, race becomes salient and is compounded when intertwined with issues of social class.

> Tami: Though you're always aware of it [race], just like when you go into a store, you're always aware that you're Black, and that you're being judged based off of that. Off of your ethnic background. So, I'm sure it's always in the back of your mind. You never forget, but ummm, we still try and teach them to be respectful and kind and at this point we probably, well dependent on the setting, we're more concerned with more socio-economic status than race in a lot of situations, and I think that that tends not to be the case more so if you have less [in terms of income and status] than you probably focus more on race. So, I don't know.
>
> Researcher: Ok, can you give me an example of when socio-economic status came into play?
>
> Tami: Well, uh, it's a choice of words. So like being respectful and kind, um, we had a situation at the school where they [elementary school teacher and principal] didn't respond very well to one of our children's actions and I was trying to tell them if they were respectful to him in the way that they present it what they wanted to get done, then he would do it for them. Because we've taught him to respond and direct instruction just doesn't work for our kids anymore, where as if you have lower socio-economic status, at least that's what the research says, it tends to be direct instruction at home, which

> corresponds with direct instruction at school. So our kids don't respond very well to that at all. So, we just tend to raise our kids a lot more like the people that we're around, people from the university, people from the church. I mean race is really important to us because we understand that we're raising Black children. We're not blind to that and we're not gonna assume that they're not going to face different challenges from those people that we're around all the time. And so, they have to be aware that they're Black, whereas most Black children, it's not even a thought. I mean, so we have to make them aware of that because it's going to be a big factor that plays into how they are perceived in the future, and now.

This dynamic described by Mrs. Lewis involves a highly complex level of insight and cognitive awareness that is generally beyond the developmental abilities of young children. For example, she referred to her expectation that her children maintain a conscious awareness of their race as a distinguishing factor among their predominantly Caucasian and middle class social network and a potential source of discrimination for them, which she perceived was not experienced by their peers with more homogeneous social experiences. Mrs. Lewis's reference to scholarly research on classroom instruction and culture reflects the finding that in-class communication patterns tend to be inconsistent with patterns learned and practiced in the home for some low-income and/or African American children (Mehan, 2009), which is a contributing factor to school success. She elaborated on her methods for translating these complexities into her children's daily experiences, such as deliberately enrolling them in schools with sizable African American populations, exposing them to a wide variety of extracurricular activities in the local and university communities, and balancing their predominantly Caucasian church experience with involvement in their grandparents' African American congregation. Despite

these thoughtful and deliberate attempts to promote her children's level of awareness of race and their environment, she reported an ongoing struggle with exposing her children to other African American children and culture through their neighborhood public school, while being unhappy with the education their children received there:

> What we felt really good about was that we brought our children around other Black children, and that's why we haven't left [their neighborhood and elementary school]. They're exposed to a lot of stuff, but they're not exposed to what I feel truly is their own, and they needed that, and they needed some base in that, before we could move onto something different in our life. And so, that's why we stayed.

Mrs. Lewis stated that in their private music and swimming lessons, "They see Asian children, they see White children, they don't see Black children," which she attributed to few middle-class African American children in the area. The decision made by the Lewis family to stay in a school where they were unhappy, given the extreme importance they place on academic achievement (as discussed later in this chapter) exhibits the challenges faced by some middle-class African American parents, in particular, who are attempting to promote positive racial socialization in today's society. While Mrs. Lewis describes it as a temporary compromise, she considers it necessary at this stage of her children's development.

Racial identity development in young children. Later in the racial socialization interview, the Lewises were asked whether they were aware of their children asserting a particular racial or ethnic identity, then at the ages of 10, 8 and 7. Jason's response supports Tami's explanation for staying in a "negative" school environment and again brings in the nuances of being African American and of higher socioeconomic status by comparing it to their own childhood experiences:

Jason: Not yet. And probably because, you know, Tami and I both have different experiences, where I grew up, my first 10 years in an all Black neighborhood, so I was easily able to identify with that. So by the time, well actually even then though I was going to an almost all White school, so I always had a constant duality in terms of where I live versus where I went to school, so I always had a sense of that. Tami got hers more so when she got to college and had this big distinction between growing up in [a nearby predominantly White, small college town]. Our kids brought up here, and the fact that they haven't been the way Tami and I grew up, which is more poor (laughed), which obviously not saying that everything that's poor is Black, but there's a lot of overlap (laughed). So they don't have almost any of those experiences of you know, government cheese, you know, Kool-Aid no sugar, peanut butter no jelly kind of thing (all laughed), you know and we grew up with that constantly! And so at some level, they will never get in part what it meant to be Black in a sense of not having resources and having stuff because they, I mean, playing violin and cello and stuff it's just like (laughed), doesn't happen typically so. That part they miss out on, so in part I don't think they ever will gain that kind of sense of identity of being Black that Tami and I have, I don't that's just possible, based on how they're being raised and how they grew up. You know hopefully we'll change Black experiences where all Blacks can have an experience like that.

Tami: So we do try to make a concerted effort that they are around certain situations to show them that there are inequities that are very, very prevalent among Black communities.

Although Mr. Lewis invokes humor in his description of his upbringing and his own sense of racial socialization as a child, it is clear that he and Mrs. Lewis felt strongly about consciously

shaping the experiences of their own children in an attempt to encourage a balance between racial socialization as Black children in addition to ethnic socialization as middle-class Americans. Promoting this level of awareness, or "duality" as termed by Mr. Lewis, was a consistent theme addressed by both parents throughout their interviews.

At the end of the interview, Mrs. Lewis was asked to provide advice for other African American parents. Her response focused on developing the children's racial identity and connected the concepts of racial identity and self-esteem as important socializing tasks.

> Tami: I think that you have to work on your child's identity, that they should know who they are, as a Black person, as a person in general. That they're able to be proud of who they are. And that nobody could tell them any differently. That you can be the main voice telling them that they're beautiful. That's key. What else would I tell somebody? Let's see. Um, you have to actively work towards making your child aware of their race. You don't want them just to discover it. Or to discover it by somebody else or something else. That would be the worst thing. We have a friend who, it's a mixed couple, and they're sheltering their children, and I think that's one of the worst things you can do to Black kids. Because I still do consider them to be Black kids. I mean they're White children also, but they're Black. They're going to be perceived as Black. You don't want to shelter them. You want to expose them. To their own, to different. And I'm not just saying exposure just to your own because that can be detrimental too.
>
> Researcher: So are you kind of talking about people who take kind of the 'color blind' approach and really emphasizing that there are no differences, you don't think that's healthy?

Tami: Mhmmm, not at all. Because they're going to be in for a really big shock, when they realize they were treated differently.

From her response, it is clear that Mrs. Lewis took an active and explicit role in teaching her children that their race has meaning, and she believed that children identified as Black (by themselves or by others) would have different experiences based on their race and perceptions by others. In order to prepare their children to deal with these experiences, the Lewises played an active role in promoting awareness of race, social class, and the unique experiences of middle-class African Americans.

Responding to experiences with racism. During the racial socialization interview, Mrs. Lewis indicated that her children had experienced what she perceived to be blatant racism. She recalled the incident as one of her children being called "Black berry" by a White child at the park while Mrs. Lewis and the other child's parents were all observing. Mrs. Lewis's response to the incident was to approach the other child and tell her "Don't talk to my children" because she could see that the incident was visibly upsetting the Lewis children. Mrs. Lewis used the example as a way to teach her children to stand up for each other and that "in Black families, everybody stays together" when they are confronted with obstacles or challenges by others. "In Black families that's still huge," she stated, "even now, I think, in any socioeconomic bracket." While concepts like "sticking together" and "standing up for each other" are certainly not specific to African American families, the perception of the playground incident as racially motivated lead Mrs. Lewis to highlight the importance of the concept among African American siblings.

From these results, it is clear that socioeconomic status also played an important role in the Lewis's parenting beliefs and practices, particularly those related to racial socialization. With

level of education being a primary predictor of socioeconomic status (Lareau, 2003), the focus on a strong educational foundation promoted by the Lewis family presented a clear and consistent theme throughout their interviews. Results from interview data regarding educational achievement are presented in chronological order by interview.

Educational Achievement

In early interviews, Tami's mother, Loretta Samson, expressed worries about the quality of the local public school system. Mrs. Samson was fully involved in the childrearing of the three Lewis children and had experienced sending her own children, including Mrs. Lewis, through the schools as a parent. When asked to describe some of the major challenges she faced as a parent herself, she specifically addressed the issue of racism, particularly on the part of teachers and other adults in the predominantly Caucasian school district her children attended:

> I'll just say maybe one [challenge] was the school system. You know, what they had to face in school. I wanted to always keep my eye on what was going on. Yeah, in the public school systems, they went through the public school system so that they wouldn't be, uh, well, it's hard to keep people from discriminating against you, BUT you can keep some things down if you're there, so that was just one of the things that we dealt with.

Mrs. Samson described choosing to send her children to public schools rather than private or parochial schools in an effort to protect them from experiences with racism. She went on to discuss how growing up with societal disadvantages, or low socioeconomic status, can negatively impact a child's self-esteem and how parents are important in accommodating for those disadvantages by providing positive experiences and promoting self-esteem. Specifically, she explained how a child might develop low self-esteem by making comparisons to others with more resources:

> A lot of times all you need to do is put more time in and you can be smart like somebody else. You know, it's not necessarily that you're intellectually, you know, that your intellect is less than somebody else's, it's just that maybe somebody has not spent the TIME with you. And nobody's really explained it to you, that you're just as smart as the next person, you just didn't get the same benefits, you know, at birth or from the school system, but you can do it if you would apply yourself.

Mrs. Samson's experiences reflect those documented in the literature which have found that African American children tend to be misperceived by Caucasian teachers leading to differential treatment or expectations (Tettegah, 1996).

During the follow-up interviews, the Lewises agreed that Tami's parents were primarily responsible for preparing Jordan to enter kindergarten by teaching him phonics, letter recognition, and tying his shoes. Tami admitted that she did not have the patience to teach young children and felt that she is better at teaching adults and college students. There was also evidence of gender differences, particularly in comparison to Charesse Jackson, whose mother emphasized communication, interdependent relationships, safety, and an opportunity to talk about and process feelings; whereas the focus with Jordan was primarily on a combination of athletic ability and formal education.

Family educational philosophy. As the children aged and worked their way into elementary school, the Lewises turned much of their attention and discussion to educational matters. Mr. and Mrs. Lewis evolved into natural roles as advocates and tutors for their children, as a function of necessity. As they describe throughout their discussions about education, their position as a middle-class African American family that strongly values education and also seeks a connection with the African American community and culture, was difficult to balance and

maintain. While they fully supported formal education across the lifespan, they held little faith in the local public school system to effectively educate their children to their potential, as well as promote holistic development of their children as African American children with varied interests and talents. Mr. and Mrs. Lewis were diligent and purposeful in their efforts to support their children's development and success in school, and they based their methods on biological and philosophical educational theories:

> Jason: Biologically, the earlier kids learn some things, the easier it is later on, that's why little kids learn foreign languages, while you try to wait until you're older, it takes about ten years to fully get it down completely, and even then you might not have it down, so um, you know, I think any kind of head start you can give your kid, the better. So, that's the kind of idea that we're trying to pose there.
>
> Tami: Well, training like Dr. Andrews [referencing an African American mentor/professor of education] said in his speech, training teachable children, we want our kids to be teachable, I mean they may or may not be geniuses, but they can be taught, and we know that our kids can be taught because that's what we're training them to be.

The Lewises agreed on the goal of raising "well-rounded" children with strengths in multiple areas, yet they disagreed to some extent about the importance of extra-curricular activities and how to balance them while maintaining a focus on schoolwork. During the course of the study, it was obvious that they worked toward exposing Jordan to a wide variety of athletic and social activities (e.g., pee-wee basketball, t-ball, Bible bowl, private music lessons), but they allowed him to guide his involvement based on his own interests. Jason explained, "I don't want to limit that realm of options to him, I want to make sure he, he gets a little bit of everything and he can just kind of take it from there."

When asked whether they would allow their son to focus more on sports or another activity as he gets older, rather than on academics, Mrs. Lewis clearly stated, “No that would not be acceptable.” Mr. Lewis agreed: “Yeah, education has to come first.” Despite Jordan’s innate athletic ability and interest in sports, his parents refused to allow him to rely on this skill to make him successful as an adult, unlike many others in his generation who are attracted to careers as sports stars or entertainers.

> Tami: Sports are not going to carry him on through the rest of his life, he needs to, I mean, he has so much potential in education that has to be number one, I’m not sending him to school to go play basketball.
>
> Jason: And I guess, I come from a mentality that too, is that you don’t have to suffer an education to be good at athletics too, you could be good at both. I’ve seen it in other people, I’ve seen in somewhat in myself so, I wouldn’t accept him saying that well, he can’t be good at his academics because he’s so focused on sports. I think, actually, they actually feed on one another. I think the discipline you get in sports actually helps you in education and vice versa.

Mrs. Samson also expressed an opinion about the balance of education and sports, which both, in her opinion, came after a strong religious foundation:

> Oh yes, yes cause even the Bible teaches you that it says um ‘body exercise profit if little but godliness you know is profitable in all things’ so it, it you know sets you on the right track it you know, sports may help your body, but after a while your body is gonna go down you know, no matter how much you exercise its gonna go down. So there are some things in life that are just more important and I feel that education is more important than sports cause you can have one accident and be unable to do a sport but, you know, if you

have education you can maybe find a job in that field where you don't have to be really physically active. And of course we like music, you know music, music can really reach a lot of people they say it's a universal language so it would be nice to you know be proficient in music. So we want him to you know be exposed to these things and we do set priorities you know. (Researcher: What if in the future he wants to pursue sports let's say like gets into school and he decides that's his thing. Would you encourage that?) Well uh personally I probably wouldn't encourage it, I probably wouldn't (Researcher and Mrs. Samson laughed) because I know what being good in a sport can do to a person. (Researcher: What do you mean by that?) Well if, if a person is really good at something, then people begin to pull at them and pull them away from what I consider…to be important, the most important thing and see that pull is there and they're always you know like tugging you know it's like a war there and the Bible teaches that you can't serve two masters. Either you'll love one and hate the other or you know it'll be vice versa so you just can't do both things.

While Mrs. Samson's response contradicted the beliefs of Jason and Tami Lewis, she followed her statements with an acknowledgement that they, as his parents, had the final say on these types of decisions and she intended to support them regardless. This kind of interchange regarding musings about the future and concerns more related to high school or higher education were typical during their children's pre-school years. The Lewis children all excelled in pre-school and the Lewises felt a sense of agency and control over their children's educational experiences during the early years. As Jordan, their oldest child and the focal child for their research participation, was ready to enter kindergarten; however, interview data shows how these

parents turned their attention to a new set of concerns. A primary concern was the issue of school choice.

School choice. In the Centerville community, the public school system operated under a "controlled choice" program. As described on the district website, this program allowed families with children entering kindergarten or sixth grade to rank schools according to the family's preferences, and then be matched through a computer assignment lottery system. Factors taken into consideration in the matching process included: parent ranking, building capacity, socioeconomic status (SES), availability of special services, sibling enrollment, and proximity to the home. Under this system, each school has adopted a "unique learning environment," and children may attend school in neighborhoods outside of their own, both of which were intended to foster diversity. This process was one that the Lewises took very seriously and revisited several times.

The Lewises had significant concerns about the quality of education for African American students, particularly working-class and poor African Americans, in the local public schools. Therefore, they were very deliberate in their attempts to choose a school that best met the needs and preferences of their children. As Jordan was preparing to enter kindergarten, the Lewises explored various educational options. During early interviews, Mr. Lewis referenced a new charter school for African American students in the area, but he and Mrs. Lewis were clearly in disagreement about the potential benefits and challenges associated with this type of educational setting. The following exchange between them illustrates their dilemma:

> Jason: I don't know if it's as soon as next year or not, but I'm, I know that it's [the charter school] going to be focused on African-American children, making sure that they feel that they're in a nurturing environment, that they um, you know, make sure that they

get pride into their culture--things of that nature. And the expectations are the same. You know for them as anybody else too, which I think is the biggest problem in um, Centerville schools now, is that, just by having a big heart, in some cases, or just by ignorance of others, a lot of teachers don't have the same expectations for the "poor Black kids," or the disadvantaged Black kids as they do for the White kids or the minorities even, and I think what that does, it causes a lack of achievement in Black kids, then when they're allowed to, and not achieve as high as you know their counterpart. You know for when it's been set up as if "we're just trying to help these kids out, and we know they got a tough time at home" and all these things, but it's having a repercussion, and then it's also, going up to those White kids that don't have any of those issues, but the teachers still treat those same Black kids the same way, stereotype everybody together, you know all Black kids are from single parents homes, and you know dad's in jail, you know all that kind of good stuff. You know?

Tami: But you don't know how they're going to teach them, like that school that's on Main Street, Main Street and South Avenue, they do drill and practice, and that's not very effective for any child. I want him [Jordan] to be in a school where he can do explorations of his own.

Jason: And I think most of that though, is going to come from home too, I mean, he's going to learn, he's going to learn at school, but I think a lot of education is going to come here at home, in the sense of, especially when it comes to history (laughed). Every kid that goes to school, regular Joe, public schools, get really, a bad set of history lessons as far as knowing the full history of what's going on, or knowing history from other people's perspectives. So, as far as history goes, that's going to be taught a lot here [at

home]. Uh, I'm sure we're going to be reinforcing mathematics and things of that nature here so, I mean you know, the school's going to do what it's going to do, but I mean, we're going to be reinforcing a lot of the education in a lot of areas too, so.

Researcher: So, have you been thinking about, like what school to send him, so you want him to go to the charter school, or?

Tami: No.

Jason: I gotta find out more about it first. You don't even know anything about it yet.

Tami: Well, I mean it doesn't sound like a good idea, from what I've seen, they make it sound like "Oh yeah, we're going to help the Black children," when in fact they're not helping, they're actually putting you in a situation where you are used to taking orders, you're used to going to jobs where you're used to taking orders. I've read articles about this.

Jason: You don't know anything about this charter school.

Tami: I'm not arguing with you right now (laughing). In any case, I'm going into that with a negative view.

This exchange highlights the extent to which the Lewis family was very passionate about the education of their children and how, as African American parents, there are complexities to selecting and monitoring schools that may not be experienced by other groups of people in the Centerville community, or for African Americans more widely, as described in previous research on similar "dilemmas" by Diana Slaughter-Defoe (1991). Both Mr. and Mrs. Lewis expressed doubts about any school being able to effectively educate their children in both academics and cultural issues, and indicated a responsibility to supplement their children's educations at home.

This theme became even more salient as their children entered and progressed through elementary school based on their actual experiences in the public school system.

The Lewises did not elect to enroll Jordan in the African American charter school. Instead, they selected Burlington Elementary, a public magnet school focused on math and science technology. By the time the racial socialization interview was conducted, the Lewis family had moved to a different section of Centerville and Jordan was then attending their neighborhood school. Looking back on the initial school selection of Burlington Elementary, Mrs. Lewis stated, "I don't think we thought too much about racial composition. Although we were very aware of the fact that we were Black and that we were gonna get in" based on the district's attempts to racially balance the schools in the school choice program. While the Lewises described their experiences at Burlington Elementary as positive overall, their experiences at Garfield Elementary, their neighborhood school during the time of the racial socialization interview, were largely negative. Mr. and Mrs. Lewis's perceptions of Garfield Elementary were negative moving into the neighborhood, based on the school's reputation as a failing school based on federal No Child Left Behind benchmarks and failure to meet Annual Yearly Progress (AYP). They decided to enroll their children in the school anyway in an attempt to increase their interaction with other African American children and working-class families that they did not otherwise interact with in church or other outside activities.

Low expectations for African American students. The primary critique of Garfield Elementary School for Mr. and Mrs. Lewis was their perception that the school staff and administration expected less of African American and working-class children than it did of Caucasian or middle-class children. Tami Lewis elaborated on this dynamic:

> Well, I think that we battle against how people perceive our children. And so, I know, that they're going to assume that my children are going to be lower achieving children, and so, I make a point of going in, like when we first got over into this area, although we like the house, which is why we bought it, we do realize that we're coming into a school system that wasn't great, and we do plan on moving as soon as Jordan hits sixth grade, because we just can't deal with the school system over here. But um, we knew how they were going to perceive our children so I went over there and talked to the parents and I talk to the principal anytime I feel there are any issues at school; I make sure that I am very visible and very verbal about any concerns that I have. And I think that's important. The unfortunate thing is that a lot of Black parents, not, in this particular school system they may have other children at home, they may be at work, and so they don't, they aren't able to give their children that voice. And so, the school system will treat them in an incapable way, and I know that my children have been treated differently because I've been there and my parents have been there for us.

Mrs. Lewis's use of the term "battle" highlights the adversarial nature of the family's relationship with the school as an example of differential treatment of African Americans as a group. Her comment also supports the rationale behind their need to play a "very visible and very verbal" role as an advocate for their children, just as Mrs. Samson described doing for Mrs. Lewis as a child.

African American parent involvement in schools. In early interviews prior to Jordan entering kindergarten, both Mr. and Mrs. Lewis addressed the issue of parent involvement in schools. The Lewises believed that parent involvement was critical for African American students, based on their own experiences as young students. As Mr. Lewis stated, they

anticipated being highly involved in their children's schooling in an effort to prevent or address experiences with racism:

> Yeah, I think you do a kid disservice if you don't get involved, and know exactly what's going on, and I mean, I'm going, I plan on making a priority to know, you know what the assignments are, making sure that not only is he doing them, but when he gets a grade back, making sure he understand what grade he got and why he got it, and if it's not justified, making sure I talk to the teacher.

Tami agreed with her husband based on her own experiences with her parents' involvement in her education and their expected involvement with their grandchildren. Mrs. Lewis used her own upbringing as an example of how her parents' involvement in the schools played a role in monitoring or mitigating the effects of racism. Mrs. Lewis stated, "Yeah, I remember some instances. My mom used to always show up at the school and just sit there with her newspaper. Teacher knew. You know, you're not gonna mess with my child." Mrs. Samson echoed this in her own interviews and admitted to serving as a strong educational advocate for her children.

A historical perspective on family involvement in education. In a follow-up interview, Mrs. Samson further elaborated on her role in Jordan's life and in his education from an intergenerational and historical perspective, invoking her experiences with both her own children and her own parents:

> Right, right things are getting worse [in relation to discrimination] and I'm always on guard as to how they're [her grandchildren] treated you know wherever they may go. Um I can't play the same role in Jordan's life that I did in my children's life and I, I really don't want to because he has you know his own parents and I'm just so thankful that

> they're together and, uh, sometimes it takes more than just one person, um, in a child's life to watch every aspect of their lives to guard against you know things that may be influencing them um. My grandparents, uh, weren't too involved in our schooling you know but they were there you know for other things and um, oh it just depends on you know how you were raised they came from uh Mississippi and they were you know uh, excuse me, they came right out of cotton fields and they had just like a different environment. So, um, I won't say that their values were different but just things were different you know for them than they were for me when I had my children.

This glimpse into Mrs. Samson's upbringing sheds light on the foundation for her beliefs about racism and her childrearing practices as they relate to her grandchildren's experiences.

Advocacy and combating racism in schools. Mrs. Samson drew upon her experiences as a parent to advise others about how to appropriately interact with the school system, particularly as an African American parent in a predominantly White school district where discrimination may be an issue. In a follow-up interview, Mrs. Samson discussed a family friend who was attempting to enroll his son in gifted and talented classes in a local public elementary school based on his grades and test scores, but was denied, presumably due to race, as an African American. Mrs. Samson stated:

> Sometimes you know that your child can do something, but others feel that they can't. So you don't want to tear down the boy's self-esteem, especially at a young age like that. 'Cause things like that bother you, it's a mental thing. You go around thinking well I can't do this. When indeed you can do it, but somebody else feels like you can't do it. Those are the things that you really have to guard against. I say as we Blacks have to really guard against, letting somebody else put something in our children's mind that is

> not true. I'm really against it. (Researcher: Is that something you went through with Tami when she was in school?) Well not so much with Tami, it's worse with Black males….You know Tami had an easier time, I believe, than our son…. They treat the men different, they do. So I'm on the lookout for that when Jordan goes to school.

While Jordan had not yet attended school, Mrs. Samson had a clear vision for her involvement in his schooling as an advocate and watchdog to prevent or effectively address experiences with racism. She drew on her experience raising a son and a daughter to tailor her involvement to be particularly vigilant against unfair treatment of African American boys.

Gender differences and the need for parent involvement in schools. Mrs. Samson further described particular strategies for enhancing self-esteem among African Americans in educational settings and stated her high educational standards. In a follow-up interview she provided an example of gender-specific strategies for addressing racism against African American males in school:

> Well I think you should be active in the classroom and if he receives a grade that is not quite right. You know that he can do the work and you wonder why the teacher gave him a C or D. Then I think you should go immediately, that next morning—take off work or whatever if you can. And see what the problem is because that teacher should've told you before they sent the report card that he wasn't doing well. And a C is not doing well; you should know, uh, what's going on especially if you let the teacher know that you want to know how his grades are….But, anything he's having a problem with up to the twelfth grade, we should be able to help him with that. So I want the teachers to know that we want to know how he's doing. C's are not acceptable, not acceptable or a card full of B's. We know that others may not know that we as a race have to be better….We have to be

outstanding sometimes just to be considered average. So, therefore our aim is not for average, average won't do. We have to be better. We know it's going to be harder for the Black male and at one time I didn't know that.

Mrs. Samson acknowledged that differences in the ways African American boys are treated in comparison to the treatment of African American girls is a pattern that starts early on in an African American child's life.

Knowledge as power: Mr. Samson's role. Mr. Samson did not formally participate in childrearing interviews, although he was always present when Mrs. Samson participated and typically kept the children active in another room to keep them from interrupting. In one follow-up interview, Mrs. Samson talked in detail about Mr. Samson's role in the children's educational achievement. While he may not have been actively involved in their formal educations, he was certainly viewed as a respected authority in the family and capable of self-educating in order to pursue his own interests. This is a message he conveyed to the children, as explained by Mrs. Samson:

Mrs. Samson: But, uh, if you want to do something even if you don't have classes in them [formal education] you do it on your own and that's what he does. He plays the uh (laughed) well he may not be an expert but, (Researcher laughed) but he plays the bass guitar, he plays the violin, he plays the banjo…

Researcher: Tami's told me about the trumpet!

Mrs. Samson: Right the trumpet (Researcher laughed)! I mean he believes he can do all of that and he works at it….He gets the books on these different instruments and he'll study it and then he'll perform just like (laughed) he was an expert so…

Researcher: Yeah he, he's already like talking to me in Korean [Researcher was Korean American]. He already knows some phrases.

Mrs. Samson: Right and if he really had the time to study and do these things he would really be something in it because he has a mind to do it you know a lot of people just don't have that desire to learn something to just keep learning….I think that's you know what he wants to put into the children that just because somebody withholds something from you like maybe they won't teach you a foreign language you know because you're Black or they'll say well you know 'This is not for you,' then he wants them to know that they can go to the library. They can, they don't have to stop just because somebody tells them that they can't do something you can get around that, you know anything you wanna do. Before we came here my husband was showing (laughed) me this book on auto body repair…

Researcher: (laughed) Wow he's got a wide range of interests!

Mrs. Samson: I mean WIDE range what he'll do is just sit in the bed and he'll read the book. He'll read it once the whole book then he'll read it twice, then he'll read it three times. And then he's ready to start you know just like he had gone to school….And a lot times even when people go to school they don't read the book three times.

Researcher: That's true, that's true.

Mrs. Samson: And if they did they'd do well. So he really wants to get that into the children that you know you don't let people determine what you can do or who you are.

This striking example not only reinforces the family's commitment to education, but also invokes the role of Mr. Lewis as a wise and respected family elder, and supports the message that racism and discrimination can be overcome through the power of knowledge.

As illustrated above, once Jordan entered elementary school and the family was confronted with perceived differential treatment based on race and/or gender, they employed specific strategies to combat racism. These strategies, as described by Mrs. Lewis, included creating a presence in the classroom on the first day of school, being vigilant in monitoring teachers and teacher-student interactions throughout the year, and asking for the younger children to be assigned to the same teachers as Jordan so that they have already built a relationship.

Racial identity development and intra-racial discrimination. To further complicate the issue of perceived lower expectations for African American students in the local public school system, Mrs. Lewis described a particularly difficult position for African American families committed to education, such as themselves:

> Either you're considered to be completely part of the group and all of you are going to fail, or your considered to be a token, which to me, is just as detrimental to their psychological well-being, simply because you're not one of them. When you are, you're an example of success among them, and so we have to go in there, even if they're considered to be a token, which is what they were considered to be at Burlington School and now what they're considered to be at Garfield Elementary, which is unfortunate there too. But to show that, you know, not one person is succeeding, and the whole race is succeeding, it's just that we haven't had as many opportunities, so yeah, we face those issues on a daily basis. I don't know. It's surprising that even though we have a Black principal she still doesn't seem very sympathetic to the challenges that are faced.

Tami and Jason Lewis attributed part of their interpersonal problems with the school principal to racial identity. Although the principal was an African American woman, the Lewises questioned the

salience of her African American identity and how that played a role in her interactions with the Lewis parents and children. One specific interaction they described involved the Lewises' complaints about the implementation of a Positive Behavior Interventions and Supports (PBIS) system in the school. According to the school district's website, one component of this system is the monitoring of student behavior by the teacher using color-coded cards for each individual student, which is displayed in the classroom. Mrs. Lewis felt the system, as implemented in Jordan's school, perpetuated negative racial connotations:

> Tami: So, if they misbehave, then they turn a card. So, they have like white, green, red and yellow. Yeah, so I had a major issue when I first came in, and I still do. The card system starts off on white. I mean they get bombarded with these issues that white is right, right is good. I mean most of their classmates tend to be White, you know. I thought that the principal would understand this concept, make it a different color. Start off on beige, start off on blue, start off on green, start off on a different color every month or something like that. And I told her if it's a matter of buying paper, colored paper, I will buy it for you. But she did not understand this is just perpetuating this image in children's minds. And so yeah, I do fight for my children, in every situation.
>
> Jason: Here you are with an African American principal; you're thinking "Oh ok, she'll understand. She's going to do things well," but she's maybe even worse in a lot of ways.
>
> Tami: Yeah, I would say so.
>
> Jason: To me she doesn't have any identity whatsoever in terms of being Black.
>
> Tami: Yeah.
>
> Jason: There's nothing there, in terms of, I mean at all, of any sense of what it means to be Black, and she's Black herself (laughed).

Tami: And you need that, you can't, you can't… I don't know, I hang on to that. I don't see myself first as a chemist or as a graduate student. I see myself first as Black. And I hang on to that identity. When I walk into the classroom, I know that's what they see. And so, I use that.

Mr. and Mrs. Lewis's explanation of their difficulties with the school principal illustrate complexities related to the process of racial identity development and the implications one's identity has on interactions with others, including those of the same ethnic background. While they expected some level of discrimination within the school system, they were not prepared for the lack of support and understanding experienced in their relationship with the African American principal.

Parents' expectations for schools. Both families in this study reported a lack of faith in the local public school system's ability to effectively educate their children. They each gave examples of receiving assessments of their children's abilities by the school or classroom teacher that failed to align with the parents' perceptions of the child's abilities based on their performance and interactions at home. The Lewis family attributed much of their difficulties to their experience as middle-class African Americans and expressed a belief that other African American families at their school, particularly working-class or poor families, did not have similar experiences. For example, they reported a belief that the burden they felt of needing to supplement their children's education through paid tutoring or extensive work at home was not a shared experience among the larger African American population locally. Mrs. Lewis described her expectations for the schools as very low and reported a commitment to doing much of the academic preparation for college at home after school, even while the children were in elementary school:

> I want them to be college ready. But, it's going to take a lot of time for us and the challenge is that we don't have time. We just don't have a lot of time, that's the sad thing. We should probably get a private tutor or something like that. Just get one of the students from university who'd be willing to sit down with them for a couple of hours. But that's a shame that they should have to go to school and then come home and go to school again.

Despite these frustrations and obvious criticisms of the school, both Tami and Jason Lewis agreed that they continued to stay at the school because of the children's exposure to other African American children and families. While they were both capable and committed to providing this level of academic preparation at home, in addition to other skills such as music lessons, athletic activities, spiritual involvement, and other social activities, they did rely on the school to provide the interaction with other African American children in a way that the Lewises were unable to foster otherwise. This commitment to racial socialization in light of a powerful dilemma regarding these parents' values is a striking example of the unique challenges experienced by middle-class African American families.

Religion and Spirituality

The Lewis family's level of spirituality and commitment to religious involvement was obvious from the beginning of their participation in this study. Their religious values played a major role in their daily routines, childrearing practices, extended family relationships, and community involvement, as well as served as a protective factor in dealing with stressful experiences such as those described with the school system. Both Jason and Tami Lewis's fathers were pastors and Jason, an assistant pastor himself, was instrumental in organizing several Bible study groups at local schools. Much of their interviews focused on the importance

of faith and spirituality within the family and Mrs. Samson spoke in detail about the influence of religion in her life as a caregiver.

Similar to the Jackson family, one theme that persisted throughout the phases of the study was the family's process of choosing and committing to a church home. In religious African American communities, the concept of a "church home," or central church location of one's religious activity is an important aspect of personal and ethnic identity (Haight, 2002). At the time of the first interview, the Lewis family had recently settled into a nondenominational church that prided itself on a diverse congregation in terms of ethnic and religious backgrounds. While the family remained active members of this church through the end of the study and beyond, they frequently revisited the topic of church selection and the church's ability to meet their needs at various phases of their lives.

Finding a church home. In the initial interview, Jason Lewis portrayed their church as "180 degrees" different from his upbringing in the Church of God in Christ, which he described as "very structured, have a lot of rules…a woman gotta do this and dress this way and, you know, and act this way and not say this and not say that and and just all these rules, you know, and it's very, you know, doctrinated type of denomination."

During follow-up interviews, the Lewises were asked directly about what factors influenced their church home selection. Jason, who served as a minister in the church, indicated that he was most drawn to "humility and ability in the leadership." He elaborated with the following statement:

> Um, I have to go to church where I'm being fed [spiritually], therefore leadership has to have ability in the sense of knowing what they're talking about, being well-learned in scripture, and not just scripture, but just living a Christian life, and applying Christian

> principles to their life, and being experienced where I can learn from them. But also with humility, even though you may be in charge of a whole bunch of people, and responsible for a whole lot of people, that you still have a really humble heart, and you are a servant first, before you are a leader…Then also, just love and, the loving feeling you get, just from the congregation as a whole, is very, um, you know, there are a lot of people there that care for you, and just, you get a whole lot of love, and you feel it when you go there.

Tami's primary reason for selecting their current church home was a practical one: "childcare." The Lewis family was unable to find any predominantly African American church in the area that provided a separate space and activities for children during the services, which made it difficult for Mrs. Lewis, especially, to concentrate and fully participate in the service. The Lewises' current church provided childcare for younger children and Sunday school for school-aged children in separate, age-appropriate classrooms.

During the racial socialization interview, Jason and Tami Lewis provided further insight into their church and reasons for selecting it. Tami and Jason described their church home as predominantly Caucasian and predominantly university-affiliated members with a primary commitment to diversity. What Jason described as the "calling in my life personally to bridge the gap between races" particularly drew him to this church. In addition, the "sense of community" they felt at the church was something they reportedly could not find in local predominantly African American churches, which they described as more "patriarchal." Finally, while they appreciated having a separate children's ministry to engage children, even though their stated preference was to attend a primarily African American church, their church lacked the "Black experience" and socialization that the Lewises wanted for their children. Early on, the children were not highly involved in the church, since they spent the majority of their weekends at their

maternal grandparents' home and church, and Mrs. Lewis described this as a positive arrangement in respect to the children's racial identity development. According to Mrs. Lewis:

> The fact that they have my parents and that church….and that they're around Black people and around Black culture. Because I do think that Black worship is key to the Black experience, and so I want them to have that, because that's basically all I had growing up. Not saying it made me super Black because obviously I wasn't, but I know being exposed was a great asset for me in terms of developing identity.

As discussed in Mrs. Samson's interview, she and her husband were primarily responsible for teaching their young grandchildren bible stories, songs, prayer, and doctrine. In addition, Mr. and Mrs. Lewis provided spiritual guidance, support, and exposure to religious texts and figures and attempted to promote spirituality in a developmentally-appropriate manner.

Intersections between religion and educational achievement. Mrs. Samson's thoughts on religion intersected with her ideas about educational achievement, and the influence of her faith was evident early on in the interview. Specifically, Loretta Samson responded to the question of her particular goals as a grandparent by stating that:

> The MAIN hope I have is for the children to know the Lord…and of course I want them to succeed in their education, but that's secondary or somewhere down the line…We teach them, you know, our beliefs. We want to instill our beliefs into the children because we believe we're right.

Mrs. Samson further elaborated on these goals by describing in detail the motivation behind the socialization practices she and her husband employ with their grandson, Jordan:

> And now is the time to teach him, you know, our moral values. You know, we don't want the school instilling values in him that are not our values…There are certain things

> that we believe and that's what we want IN him. You know, we don't leave it up to society to teach Jordan what's right and wrong, WE teach Jordan what's right and wrong because we're ultimately responsible for what he does and what he becomes.

Religion played a prominent role in the foundation for childrearing beliefs and practices for Mr. and Mrs. Samson as well as Mr. and Mrs. Lewis and provided consistency for the children who split their time between the two households.

Mrs. Samson's advice to new parents regarding children and the Bible. Mrs. Samson was asked in the initial childrearing interview to give advice to new parents. While the question was asked about general childrearing beliefs and practices, Mrs. Samson's response invoked her Christian religion:

> Oh, new parents. I'd say have as many children as you can. That's what I would tell them, right. (Researcher: Why would you tell them that?) To trust the Lord, well the Bible says that children are a blessing, and why wouldn't you want as many blessings as you can have? Although we only had two, we're still trying, so (laughed). So, we wanted a lot of children, but the Lord has only blessed us to have two living children. We lost one, but that was, you know a miscarriage, but I do believe that children are a blessing, they are a blessing, and I would say have children, as many as you can, don't worry about you know how you're going to provide for them. The Lord will make a way; he promised he would, so that's what I would tell them.

Mrs. Samson's response to this basic question again illustrates her level of religiosity and its influence in her daily life and parenting/grandparenting beliefs and practices.

Religious influence on childrearing practices. Mr. and Mrs. Lewis both referenced the importance of religious texts as sources for guidance and advice in raising their children. Mrs.

Lewis cited *Christian Parenting* magazine as the only parenting literature she consulted for advice, and Mr. Lewis referenced the Bible as his main source for advice. Jason Lewis explained that "the Bible has a lot of instructions as how you raise kids." He provided the following example.

> In Proverbs it talks about a father who loves his son doesn't spare the rod. Which is saying if you really love your children you will make sure that you discipline them, you know, in a way whereas they don't grow up to have a hard heart when they get older. You know, to be that spoiled person. And 'cause it's better to give 'em that tough love now, than to, give 'em what's not really love, but it's more of just adhering to whatever they want. (Laughed) And let 'em be rotten when they get older. So, that would definitely be my advice tool.

In terms of age-appropriate messages and expectations, Jason made the following response when asked about encouraging Jordan to have a relationship with God:

> Well there's only so much that a four year old can really understand, I mean right now there's a lot of memorization and stuff like that, and just tryin' to…I just went to this workshop this past Saturday about this. Umm, just try and instill in him some of the basics. You know God loves him, always let him know that. Um, God made this, God made everything, the Veggie Tale lessons "God's Bigger than Any Boogie Man" you know, all those kinda things…I think that, uh, hopefully, you know, mature to something that really gives him, really all he really needs to have the high self-esteem because once he has that relationship with God intact, he won't have to worry about anything else again in that area. I mean it's something that's goin' to develop over time.

Mr. Lewis's example provides an explicit illustration of how his religious beliefs and values directly impact his childrearing practices. He explained that his childrearing beliefs and practices were Christian-based and that he was raising his children to subscribe to Christian beliefs until they were old enough to choose their own belief system, as his mother had allowed him to do, indicating the importance of religious freedom and choice. In terms of an age-appropriate understanding of religion for Jordan as a pre-schooler, Mrs. Lewis simply wanted him to know that "God loves him…is one more person who loves him." Mr. Lewis wanted the Christian faith to serve as a foundation for his son's values and behaviors and that "as a child of God, just in your character, the nature of who you are, um, stems from, things in the Bible, what the Bible characterizes us as Christians, we ought to be." He continued:

> I don't want to teach our children to do what they do for the sake of rewards. I mean, that, that's even, I guess a Christian principle too, you don't become a Christian just to go to Heaven, you don't become a Christian just to receive the blessings God may give you. You become a Christian because that's what you feel is right and you believe that's right. As a byproduct, all these wonderful things are going to happen because of that, but your original motivation is totally an internal thing, it's not based upon results, and then, that's the kind of mentality that I want to, make sure all the kids have too.

Tami Lewis also provided a specific example of how their religious values impacted their childrearing practices, particularly around self-esteem. She expressed a belief that children should not be given too much praise because praise is given to God: "God gave you gifts, and you're to use those to the best of your ability and so, the praise is more to more to God to, for giving you the ability to do things that you can." In addition, their religious values impacted their childrearing practices around holiday celebrations and traditions. For example, Jason and

Tami Lewis denied celebrating Kwanzaa and indicated that they made sure their children knew the religious values inherent in the holidays they do celebrate such as Christmas and Easter by not supporting or teaching the images of Santa Claus or the Easter Bunny. As Jason jokingly added, they do make an effort to "try to make sure they know that Jesus wasn't White though. White, blonde hair, blue eyes." Tami agreed and mentioned that her favorite artistic image of Jesus depicted a "fine" Black man with dreadlocked hair and a "chiseled" physique. These examples highlight ways in which the Lewis family's practices may be unique in comparison to both mainstream middle-class families and African American families in general, and serve as an introduction to the topic of racial pride and identity through physical appearance and style.

Appearance and Style

Appearance/style refers to the ways in which individuals outwardly present themselves and how conscious attention is paid to dressing or looking a certain way, including facial features and body characteristics. Results from previous work using this data found that African Americans were likely to address issues of appearance and/or style, particularly when discussing self-esteem, although it was not directly asked in the interview protocols (Bracey, 2003). Caucasian American participants in the larger study generally did not spontaneously invoke examples of appearance/style in their interviews in this same manner. For the Lewis family, interview content related to this topic is categorized into three general themes: 1) physical characteristics and comparisons among siblings, 2) negative and stereotypical images of African Americans, and 3) personal style and material goods in relation to race and socioeconomic status.

Physical characteristics and differences among siblings. The three children in the Lewis family were phenotypically unique in terms of skin tone, hair texture, and body type, although they shared the same biological mother and father, who both had a darker brown-

skinned complexion. While skin-color variation is common among African American families, it was a relatively frequent topic of conversation within the Lewis family and was introduced in the initial interview.

Tami Lewis first addressed the issue of physical appearance in relation to her attempts to refrain from comparing her children to each other. She discussed how comparisons could be a problem for her oldest son, who "KNOWS he's an attractive little boy" and her daughter who was born with a "big rash on her face" in terms of self-esteem:

> People tell us that our daughter doesn't look like us, and our [oldest] son and our daughter ARE kind of on the opposite spectrums in terms of lip size, color, um, [body] size even. Our daughter, she's 90th percentile in height and weight and our son's probably about 60th. So she's gonna be a full-figured woman (laughed). I don't say BIG, she's gonna be a full-figured woman, beautiful. But, um, they're different. She's beautiful in her own way just because she doesn't look like my son, doesn't mean that she's not gonna be beautiful. And just because my son doesn't look like my daughter doesn't mean that he's not a very attractive, handsome, intelligent person and I think that it's important that you dwell not on the physical appearance, but on the personality, on who they are because THAT'S GONNA determine whether they're beautiful or not.

The statement by Mrs. Lewis illustrates her attempt to promote positive self-esteem for both of her children, despite their differences, which was a theme that continued to emerge during follow-up interviews in relation to all three of the children. From their responses it is clear that the Lewises were very aware of their children's unique physical traits (e.g., Jordan's handsome face, Alya's athletic build, and Justin's lighter skin complexion) and that they encouraged the children to feel confident about themselves and be proud of their differences. They also

discussed the implications of this practice on preparing the children for experiences with racism. For example, regarding Jordan, Mr. Lewis defended this practice with the following:

> You know, the way I see it, the world's gonna give him enough negative stuff to combat it so, you know, all we need to do is give some positive and when the negative stuff start comin', just starting to teach him then, and use those teachable moments to let him know, you know this is how it is, and why it is, and that kind of stuff. You just try and give him a good head start with how he sees himself.

Mr. Lewis's approach with the youngest son, who had the lightest skin color, was slightly different than the way he praised his oldest son. He would occasionally, but lovingly, refer to the younger child as "White baby"; however, Mrs. Lewis was particularly sensitive around this issue and preferred to refer to him as "light brown." In the racial socialization interview, she stated, "I want him to know that he's brown." Mr. and Mrs. Lewis both referred to these skin color differences as a positive asset in knowing that the children were exposed to within-group variability and were learning to value these differences from an early age. However, they also worked diligently to ensure that the differences were not given hierarchical value, a historical cultural practice they considered damaging to a child's self-esteem.

Mr. and Mrs. Lewis reported being particularly aware of telling their only daughter—who was described as having darker skin—that she is "beautiful" and encouraging her to feel good about herself. They also described searching for Black baby dolls as a way of promoting positive identity development with their daughter. Due to the daughter's body type as "muscular" and "athletic," the Lewises reported additional challenges in promoting her self-esteem in light of societal expectations for African American females. Mrs. Lewis explained:

> These images of being rail thin, which is what White society tells her, and then on Black society, it's being fit. She's not really either one of them, but she's still really beautiful just as she is. So I think that's the one that I hone in more so than her skin tone because I know that that's a really big one in terms of her identity as a woman as opposed to her identity as a Black person.

This quote expresses an awareness of differential treatment and expectations for African American women in comparison to Caucasian women, as well as among African American women as a group. Not only does Alya, as an African American female, have to confront stereotypes based on her darker skin tone, she will also face judgment based on her body type, according to Mrs. Lewis. While Jordan, the focal child, also had darker brown skin, his parents did not see this as a potential challenge for him, due to his outgoing personality. This example is an illustration of gender differences evident in the beliefs and practices among the Lewis family, which may have been shaped by the parents' own identity and an attempt to combat negative images and stereotypes of African Americans. Mr. and Mrs. Lewis discussed this more directly in the racial socialization interview and Mrs. Lewis, specifically, provided more context for her beliefs, based on her personal experience:

> Tami: I don't want my kids to desire to be White. That is very, very important to me, and probably because my upbringing, cause I was brought up around, basically, White people, and then I got to school and started hanging around with a lot more Black people. But I just, I mean the stereotypes that run through the Black community, about being dark, you know that being a negative characteristic, I don't want my daughter to have those type of defects, mental defects, that she is less of a person because she's darker. I definitely don't want her to have that, she's beautiful. Um, I don't want my youngest son

to have problems because he's a light-skinned Black man, like, we use to have problems with Jason and Jordan calling him "White boy," and that was not funny. Because he's not White boy, he's a Black man and he's a strong Black man, and that's what we're going to raise him to be.

Jason: (Laughing) It was funny when he was a baby.

Tami: Yeah, but still, those aren't positive comments to make towards him. How do you think he'll remember it? Oh yeah, it's important that my kids are, are proud of being Black, because you know, I went though some issues of my own. I guess I did go through some issues of my own, and I mean, I'm proud of who I am, for all of my characteristics, and I want them to be also.

Negative and stereotypical images of African Americans. Part of Mrs. Lewis's attempts to cultivate positive self-esteem, healthy body image, and strong ethnic identity, particularly with her daughter, appear to be related to her own challenges with self-esteem and balancing her identity as an educated, middle class African American woman with stereotypical images of what society expects of her. For example, she described an acute awareness that people often assumed that her lighter-skinned child had a different father than the other two children based on the difference in appearance, implying promiscuity or poor moral values on her behalf. She also expressed a conscious effort to always wear her wedding ring when in public with the children so that people did not assume she was an unwed mother, invoking the stereotype of Black single mothers receiving public assistance. Tami went on to describe additional challenges being an African American female college instructor at a predominantly White university:

> And so I know that once I step into that classroom, I'm Black, I'm female, I'm a Black female in chemistry, and then also, I look younger than I am. So I have to, on that very first day…make sure that they see a difference between you and them. Because I'm not there to be your friend. I know that sounds harsh, but it's the reality of it. You have to do that, and so, once they know I'm about the business, then you know, I'll dress however I want to. But that very first day, you need to know this is my classroom, I'm not going to allow you to challenge my authority, because I have had that on several occasions in classrooms.

Conversely, Mrs. Lewis described personal experiences where she wasn't considered "Black enough" by other African American women due to her level of education, style of dress, and manner of speech. Taken together, these experiences show the complexities faced by African American women, in particular, and how race, gender, education, and socioeconomic status intertwine in typical daily experiences and mold their childrearing beliefs and practices.

Material goods as an indicator of personal style and social status. For Mr. Lewis, issues of personal style and identity were more connected to material goods and socioeconomic status. Again, this issue was invoked spontaneously during the initial interview when he discussed the way in which style and having the "right" kind of shoes during his own upbringing served as an indicator of social status and impacted his self-esteem as a junior high school student where most of the students were wealthy:

> I had other friends who had more stuff than I did. They had, you know, those more brand name clothes and all that kind of stuff. And this one time my father, uh, prime example, my father convinced me to get these, uh ProWings are known not to be a name brand type of shoe. Yeah, and one year my father, while I was in sixth grade, my father

> convinced me to get two pairs of ProWings, as opposed to one pair of Reeboks! It was the worst mistake I could have ever made in my life, because, for every time I wore them ProWings my friends were always raggin' [teasing] me about wearing ProWings!

The Lewises described a particular "mentality" that they perceived middle class African Americans to have that was different in comparison to Caucasian Americans regarding material goods. Their theory described a manner of living within their financial means and striving to earn monetary things they were denied growing up or in previous generations, due to their shared experience of having progressively raised their socioeconomic status within the family from poor to working class and middle class:

> Tami: You know there's a time for everything, you don't have to have everything right now. So, it's a mentality.
>
> Jason: And most Blacks don't, in my opinion, most Blacks don't have that mentality. And the reason, there's lots of reasons why. Lots of legitimate reasons, we grow up poor often times. So we want to experience things we never got the chance to experience. Where, Whites on the other hand, they have that from day one. You know. So, they don't have to go out and try and do all these things because they grew up with it their whole lives. So, there is not a big special you know, new thing to them. Where for us, we want to experience things that we never got to experience before. You know, when my mom was a case in point to me. You know she grew up "po' po'" [*poor* poor], and you know, as she became a nurse and got more and more money along the way, she's always buying something (laughed)….She's definitely more in debt than what she needs to be, but she does well enough where it's not like, you know she's not scraping to get by, by any means either. But again, it's this idea that you grew up without, and you feel

> like you gotta kind of make up for it. And a lot of Blacks experience that. And I understand that to a large degree.

During the racial socialization interview, the unique combination of race and class again played a role in respect to appearance, but this time in relation to their extended family relationships. Tami and Jason reported being very aware of differences in the amount of materials goods and resources they had compared to others, particularly in their own families, and worked hard to be respectful of those who had less than them by not flaunting these differences. Tami used their recent family reunion as an example when she would not let Jordan wear his skateboard t-shirt because she "wanted to make sure they were dressed Black" and that they fit in with the family in order to combat the negative ways in which "people perceive us because we go to a White church, because we're educated, where both of us working on degrees. I know how they think of us." This was another example of Mrs. Lewis's feelings of alienation, only this time it was from other African Americans, and based on social status rather than race.

In further discussion during the racial socialization interview, Mr. Lewis provided more insight into the origins of his personal sense of style and the rationale for incorporating attention to grooming habits into his childrearing beliefs and practices with his own children.

Importance of personal hygiene and sense of style. Mr. Lewis indicated that his sense of style and commitment to personal hygiene was learned from his father, who put a lot of importance on personal appearance in his roles as a pastor and a used car salesman:

> My dad, he thought he was Adonis. So he spent hours in the bathroom, just looking at himself, getting ready and stuff…. He had a whole drill routine for me and my brother in terms of brushing our teeth. You know up down, top bottom, front and back. And he was like beyond the norm in terms of that kind of stuff, so I learned it pretty early on.

Jason reminisced about his father's intense Sunday morning grooming ritual. Although he considered his father's routine and attention to appearance "beyond the norm," he described a cultural difference between his childhood experiences and the lessons today's generation of children are taught about personal hygiene and appearance:

> Jason: Yeah, Sunday morning, we have to, you know we had 'fros [afros] back in the day. And my dad had this steel pick that he used to use to get our 'fros looking just perfect. You know, he'll hit our skull and pick up the hair. You know, skull picks used to be the worst experience in the world. And then of course we get to church and by the time we get to church it's all messed up again, which I always wondered why we bothered doing it before church. So we had to go and get it done again at church. But yeah, the worst thing was in the car, and don't dare get too far up on dad's seat and dent his 'fro. It's like, you know, look look look out (laughed). He'd spent two hours getting it perfected. So, yeah, he was kind of beyond the norm in that sense…Which is a good thing. I see a lot of kids who don't get taught, you know, how to keep themselves up and keep from stinking.
>
> Tami: I mean my parents do manual labor and my parents still iron their clothes before they go to work. It's like every day, iron your clothes, make sure you look good.
>
> Jason: Yeah for me, it depends on what I'm doing. But yeah, if I'm doing anything where I'm meeting with people, you're definitely gonna iron clothes.

While Jason and Tami were likely to iron their clothes as a way to present a clean and appropriate appearance, they distinguished themselves from people that need to always have their hair or nails professionally styled or those who have expensive rims on their cars. Tami

attempted to further clarify their concept of a particular "mentality" some African Americans have regarding material goods:

> Tami: Yeah, we're just not like that. That nonsense. But see therein lies the problem. If you don't have it, why would you spend it on those things? I saw this car that was like, I don't know, it had to be like a eighty-something, and it had rims on it!
>
> Jason: I mean, we're about cleanliness and I think it is somewhat a culture thing. I remember growing up, had a White friend of mine, I was shocked. He got up, threw his shirt on, ready to leave out the door. I was like "don't you gotta take a shower or something?" you know. "You go out like this?" So I think part of it is a culture thing with that. But then there's basic general hygiene stuff. But then you got the whole "you gotta be pimped out" kind of stuff and we don't go there.

While the Lewises had some difficulty labeling their sense of style, they clearly distinguished themselves from a subset of African Americans that they considered to be more concerned with outward appearance as an attempt to portray a particular image or status that may not accurately reflect their socioeconomic status. They also clearly expressed the ways in which their current values regarding appearance and style were shaped by their personal experiences as children and how they have adapted these values to fit their preferences in order to pass down to their own children.

For example, Jason adapted lessons learned from his father's habits into his own daily life and encouraged them in his children, particularly his oldest son. Mr. and Mrs. Lewis both described how Jordan enjoyed dressing up in church clothes as a boost to his self-esteem because of the compliments he received from others, including Mr. and Mrs. Samson who admitted to encouraging him and his siblings by telling them how "handsome" or "beautiful" they were.

Summary

Interview results indicate that the Lewis family did endorse and value the racial socialization process in rearing their three children. Mr. and Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Samson each spoke at length regarding race and the correlated domains of educational achievement, religion/spirituality, and style/appearance found to be important to African American socialization in the relevant literature. In terms of the types of messages conveyed, the Lewis family incorporated each of the four types described by Hughes and colleagues in 2006, including *cultural socialization* (e.g., celebrating their variation in skin color and body types); *preparation for bias* (e.g., messages directed toward Jordan as a Black male and likely target for discrimination); *promotion of mistrust* (e.g., messages guarding against trusting some Whites, particularly in the public school system); and *egalitarianism* (e.g., valuing all people based on humanistic and Christian principles). The majority of messages conveyed by the Lewises were related to preparing their children for experiences with racism and promoting positive cultural identity, while egalitarian messages were generally only invoked in the context of their experiences as members of a predominantly White church congregation committed to diversity. The manner in which race-related messages were conveyed to the Lewis children, varied among the adult caregivers in the family, with Mrs. Lewis providing mostly proactive messages (e.g., anticipating, identifying, and responding to racist incidents); Mrs. Samson relaying active messages (e.g., ongoing open communication, truth telling); and Mr. Lewis predominantly conveying reactive messages (e.g., age-appropriate responses to racism). Passive responses to instances of racism, a fourth manner of socialization identified in racial socialization literature (e.g., Marshall, 1995; Peters, 1985) was not reported or observed in interviews with the Lewis family. Through age-appropriate verbal communication (e.g., “You got a Black mama.”),

modeling of appropriate behaviors (e.g., Mrs. Lewis's intervention following a child's racial slur on the playground), and exposure to positive cultural experiences (e.g., visiting a museum of African American history), the Lewises worked toward instilling positive personal and group identity, fostering interpersonal relationships, and providing a context for their children's social location within the broader social hierarchy, consistent with influential research by Thornton and colleagues (1990).

Taken together, these interview results show a changing picture of the Lewis family over time in regard to racial socialization around race and related issues, including education, religion/spirituality, and appearance/style. Mr. and Mrs. Lewis exemplified the "triple quandary" defined by Boykin and Toms (1985) with respect to their status as educated, middle class, African American parents. While they maintained a high level of awareness regarding race-related issues and presented as thoughtful and reflective about race and social issues throughout the course of the study, their attitudes and behaviors about specific race-related incidents in their personal lives evolved over time and as Jordan matured, entered school, and encountered more experiences with racism. For example, the Lewises became more articulate in expressing perceived instances of racism against their children and were more concrete about strategies for dealing with racial incidents as the children encountered difficult experiences in their daily lives. This was particularly evident in their interactions with school personnel and other parents as the role of the Lewises shifted from primary educator of their pre-school and toddler-aged children to the role of advocate for their school-aged children in response to challenges the children faced in the public school district. In school, most of the difficulties experienced by Jordan were not academic, but rather problems related to his interactions with other African Americans—including other African American students and even the African American female principal. In

contrast, the Lewises felt most comfortable in a predominantly White church environment, based on their socioeconomic status, yet outside of church, they also expected and prepared their children for experiences with racism from Caucasians. This level of awareness of racial stereotypes and proactive efforts to combat negative experiences with racism led the Lewises to initiate dialogue with their children about race and racial issues from birth and they individualized their messages based on each child's unique appearance and gender. The primary goal of these messages was their attempt to promote positive self-esteem, which remained a consistent theme over time.

A unifying theme that facilitated the Lewis family's ability to reflect and build upon their experiences was their tendency to draw upon their personal history as well as the broader history of the African American experience. For example, Mr. and Mrs. Lewis compared themselves to iconic African American figures Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X to distinguish their own dissimilar approaches to handling experiences with discrimination, with Mr. Lewis taking a "more peaceful" or "godly role" and Mrs. Lewis being more assertive. In addition, they engaged in discussion about both the material goods and opportunities that the Lewis children were afforded by nature of their privileged upbringing in comparison to what they had during their own childhoods growing up in working-class families. The Lewises drew upon Mr. Lewis's traumatic teenage experience with racial profiling by police in his home as an example of overt racism. They contrasted this experience to what they perceived as primarily subtle modern-day experiences of racism to show generational differences more likely encountered by their children. Finally, Mr. Lewis's statement regarding the need to teach history to his children at home because he considered what was taught in the public schools to be "a bad set of history lessons" served as an explicit example of the salience of history and the importance of building

upon historical knowledge and experience to instill in his children a sense of cultural belonging. Together, these examples lend support to findings from previous research indicating that the process and content of racial socialization is driven by past experiences of both the parent and child (Hughes & Johnson, 2001).

The richness of this qualitative data, made possible by incorporating the beliefs and practices of all primary caregivers in the Lewis family (i.e., Mr. Lewis, Mrs. Lewis, and Mrs. Samson) through a series of interviews at different points in the focal child's development, stand to make important contributions to the existing literature on the racial socialization process among African American families. The specific ways in which these themes, derived from interview data, were observed and experienced in the home observations with the Lewis family are reported in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

Observation Results by Theme: Lewis Family

Thirty-two home observations were conducted with the Lewis family between 10/08/00 and 10/29/01 (see Appendix E). Of these, 18 were conducted at the Lewis family home, 6 were conducted at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Samson, 7 were conducted elsewhere in the community (e.g., Jordan's sporting events, mall) and one was conducted partially in the Lewis home and partially in a park. Home observations were unstructured by the researcher and occurred at various times of the day and different days of the week to capture a variety of family routines and activities. Observations were coded for the same four themes related to racial socialization as were the interviews: race, educational achievement, religion/spirituality, and appearance/style (see Appendix F).

Observation results are organized into categories depending on whether the events occurred as part of the family's daily routine, were specific observed events, or were recorded in the context of adult conversation. Using the classic piece by Boykin and Toms (1985) as a theoretical framework, this organization serves to distinguish those practices that are "overtly socialized" (p. 41) compared to those that are fostered through a "tacit socialization process" (p. 41). This method highlights and examines the everyday interactions among family members, which fosters the transmission of cultural values "through an unarticulated conditioning process" (p. 42). As asserted by Boykin and Toms (1985), lessons learned through daily routines and the "ambiance" (p.42) of the home, the primary mode of cultural teaching, are particularly powerful in their ability to infuse socialization messages in a taken-for-granted manner as well as through explicit content. Socialization occurring in the context of adult conversations, which happen in

the presence of children but not directed toward them, is not largely recognized in the literature, but also provides a forum for implicit racial socialization in families.

Activities Observed in the Daily Routine

Many activities observed with the Lewis family occurred on a daily or ongoing basis throughout the observation period, but varied slightly depending on the timing in the study (e.g., early, mid-way, or late in the observation phase) and the context of the observation (e.g., Lewis home, Samson home, elsewhere in the community). Early home observations captured basic developmental skills of the children—learning to play video games, Jordan spelling his name out loud or counting, playing with toys, demonstrating motor skills (flexing muscles, running, jumping, kicking), and building with blocks. Early observations of Jordan also included playing one-on-one basketball, which he considered his favorite sport, with his father or grandfather. While video game-playing was frequently observed during home observations, the Lewises limited it to 30 minutes at a time for Jordan. Instances of moral education were also frequently observed in the Lewis home. Mrs. Lewis, in particular, was consistently observed modeling and prompting the children to use good manners (e.g., saying please, thank you, excuse me).

In naturalistic home observations, Jordan gravitated mostly towards video games and sporting activities inside and outside of the house. These were alternated with educational tasks and activities, such as playing with an electronic spelling toy, or reading and discussing books together, and also with imaginative play. Daily routines and chores were also a part of their typical days.

Observations outside the home were typically recorded at Jordan's sporting events (e.g., t-ball, micro-football, mini-basketball) where both Lewis parents and both younger siblings attended and provided support for Jordan by watching, cheering, and giving high fives. Jason

regularly video-taped the games and also spent extra time with Jordan after practices and games to teach him further skills individually. Informal sports were a regular part of observations at home and at the grandparents' home, with all adults engaging Jordan in a variety of sports—basketball, baseball, soccer, golf, football, and swimming.

Mr. and Mrs. Lewis were frequently seen multi-tasking school/work responsibilities with family leisure time, as well as balancing time between multiple children (e.g., reading to one child while playing catch with another child; shooting baskets with one child during the down time of another child's game; engaging the children in a song while cleaning the house).

Race

No direct or obvious references to race were observed and recorded on a daily basis. While in interviews the Lewises referred to race and their identity as African Americans as being something they were always consciously aware of, this was not something that was discussed or processed aloud during daily family interactions.

Educational Achievement

While in interviews Tami described having little patience with Jordan, then pre-school age, to review and teach him letters, shapes, colors, numbers, and other basic knowledge, this was not reflected in the home observations. All adults were observed engaging in educational activities and routines with the children over the course of the study. In fact, educational activities and interactions were observed in 18 of the 32 (56.25%) observations.

Mrs. Samson played a primary role in fostering educational achievement in the home as part of the daily routine. For example, she regularly drilled Jordan on basic knowledge of letters, numbers, and words while she was caring for him. A globe was a frequently used educational tool at the grandparents' home, and math skills were frequently practiced by adults and children

together when playing basketball and board games at both homes. The children all helped to keep score by adding points aloud together with adults. Interactive book reading was another common occurrence in nearly every home observation. Often the children asked for books to be read to them—either by their parents, grandparents, or even the researcher—and other times reading was initiated by an adult. The children were very comfortable asking questions throughout the stories and adults frequently engaged the children in answering questions related to the book's content.

In interviews, Tami Lewis expressed a belief that "praise" was "given more to God" rather than to children, yet behaviors captured during home observations reflected an abundance of self-esteem related behaviors directed towards the children by all adults in the family. Behaviors that are considered praise in childrearing literature, representing verbal encouragement (e.g., "good job," "way to go," "hit it [the ball] like Sammy Sosa") and non-verbal encouragement (e.g., high fives, hugs, head nodding) were evident in every home observation, primarily in the context of reading and educational activities or sports activities, but also during everyday routines such as bathing and eating.

Religion and Spirituality

Just as the high level of spirituality and religious values shared by the Lewis family were immediately evident in their interviews, the family's religious practices were of obvious importance from the beginning of the observation phase of the study. Religious practices were incorporated into the children's daily routines at both the Lewis home and the home of their grandparents.

The Lewis children were observed praying before each meal and during their bedtime routine. The meal time prayer consisted of the children reciting the following prayer as directed

by an adult: “God is great. God is good, and we thank Him for our food. In His name, Amen.” Although Alya was generally encouraged to lead the family in prayer, Jordan typically recited it for her. Each of the children was led through their own bedtime prayer by the adult tucking them in for the night, from the time they were able to talk. In addition to prayer and Bible verses, the Lewis children also watched Veggie-Tales movies on a regular basis. The videos depicted popular Bible stories (e.g., David and Goliath), but also taught Christian principles such as sharing, kindness, and love.

The influence of religion was especially salient in observations conducted at the home of Mrs. Lewis’s parents, the Samsons. Mr. Samson was a minister and they held weekly church services in their living room. An altar, organ, and sound system were part of the everyday set up of the room. The Samsons considered these services with the grandchildren as “doctrine—that’s extra,” according to Mrs. Samson, in addition to the regular weekly services. Four church services were offered at the Samson home for the community every Sunday, including a morning service at 10am, morning worship at noon, a youth service at 6pm, and an evening service at 7pm. Prayer and worship were also held on Tuesday evenings, and services were held again on Wednesday and Friday evenings. Attendance at the services varied, but Mrs. Samson reported (in observation #5) that the family was frequently present, and that services were not cancelled even with low turnout:

> Sometimes we have like five, sometimes 10, it just varies, sometimes it’s just my husband and I. You know, just, we just keep going, keep going, like ‘cause you know, we need it. You know? So it, uh, sometimes if we have a larger number, we’ll move out of the house and go someplace else, if we’re expecting people.

The Samsons felt it was important to include their grandchildren in the daily religious activities and services at the home and indicated that the children behaved “more or less” during these

extensive activities. Mr. and Mrs. Lewis's beliefs and practices regarding children's involvement in church services varied from the Samsons and were discussed by Mrs. Lewis later in this chapter.

Appearance and Style

During interviews with Mr. and Mrs. Lewis, skin color comparisons among their three children were frequently discussed as a way to promote positive self-esteem around individual differences. This practice was also observed in home observations. For example, professional and candid portraits of each child were prominently displayed on the walls and in photo albums and Jordan, particularly, enjoyed viewing and discussing photos of himself as a baby. Mr. and Mrs. Lewis also enjoying viewing photos and making general comparisons between children, such as who was the biggest at various stages and who had the most hair of the three babies. Jordan was skilled at pointing out developmental differences between the children, such as noting that he was good at playing video games, but that Alya and Justin were too young to understand or physically compete with him on the games.

Specific Observed Instances of Socialization

In this section, specific examples and quoted speech regarding particular observed instances of socialization practices are described in detail. As indicated in Appendix F, 6 specific instances of racial socialization were captured, 19 examples of socialization regarding academic achievement, 18 instances of socialization related to religion/spirituality, and 11 specific examples related to appearance/style were recorded and analyzed. These numbers indicate that direct references to race were present in 18.75% of the 32 total home observations, academic achievement was brought up in 59.37%, religion/spirituality was referenced in 56.25%, and

references to appearance/style were observed in 34.37% of naturalistic observations. Results are presented by theme.

Race

Compared to the vast amount of talk regarding race and preparation for dealing with racism among the Lewis family during interviews, relatively few examples were captured during the home observations of the family.

Race and popular culture. Race was brought up several times during observations in the context of popular culture. All of the adults in the Lewis family encouraged Jordan to hit the ball "like Sammy Sosa" (observations #9, 14, 17, 30) and they often compared his basketball dribbling skills to that of Michael Jordan. These and other African American athletes were considered role models for Jordan and he was not encouraged to emulate any specific White athletes. In observation #17, Jordan was even observed referring to himself as Sammy Sosa and chanting "So-sa! So-sa!" as he pretended to run bases.

Movies and music were also used to promote positive self-esteem and ethnic pride as African Americans among the Lewis family. In more than one home observation, the family was observed watching "The Wiz," the African American film version of "The Wizard of Oz" produced in the late 1970s, starring Diana Ross and Michael Jackson. Mrs. Lewis described it as a "classic" and the family had memorized much of the dialogue and music, which was evidenced by their singing and dancing along, observed in Observation #8. Mr. and Mrs. Lewis indicated that they related more to the African American version than the traditional version and they used it as an entertaining cultural lesson for the children.

Spanking children as a cultural childrearing practice. Mrs. Samson reported spanking her children to discipline them when they were younger and also discussed spanking Jordan as a

means to get him out of a negative mood or behavior pattern. She explained in observation #9 that "he realizes that he's not acting right, and sometimes he just needs a little help to get out of it." Speaking for herself and her husband, Mrs. Samson acknowledged that spanking was used as a last resort technique. She stated, "if he can snap out of it himself, that's fine, that's best. But if he just continues to act you-know-what, then we have to do something to get him out of it." Mr. Samson added, "Immediately." The Samsons acknowledged that spanking was an accepted family practice, but also considered it a valued cultural childrearing practice used particularly by working-class African Americans. While Mr. and Mrs. Lewis were not completely opposed to spanking, they reported using it less than the Samsons. Spanking of the Lewis children was not observed throughout the study, nor were specific instances reported, although the threat of spanking was occasionally heard and some discipline practices happened in private. Overall, spanking appeared to happen rarely to almost never in this family, despite the acceptance of it as a valued discipline strategy.

Educational Achievement

Educational activities and environment in the home. The Lewis family's focus on education and pre-school preparation were evident both in the home environment as well as specific activities captured during home observations throughout the duration of the study. In the first home observation, it was noted that Jordan's bedroom was sparsely furnished with a bed and a dresser, but contained numerous toys and books on the floor, including trucks, Lego's, building blocks, balls, and other developmentally-appropriate items. Across one wall in his room, Jordan proudly pointed out that the alphabet had been written very largely with marker by his Daddy, with each individual letter on a sheet of printer paper. Labeled pictures representing each letter

were hand-drawn all around the letter (e.g. alligator, apple, a picture of a little girl representing Alya, etc. for the letter "A").

Educational books, games, and toys were also prominent in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Samson. For example, a popular toy at the grandparents' home was an electronic spelling toy. Jordan enjoyed asking his grandmother how to spell various words and names and then would type the letters into the toy to hear it say the word aloud, and he also made up his own words to spell. In observation #12 Mrs. Samson also used the toy to promote math skills by counting the batteries together with the children as they needed replaced:

> Mrs. Samson: You hold these [batteries] for me, count these for me. How many did I take out?
>
> Jordan: Two.
>
> Mrs. Samson: No, I only took this one out.
>
> Jordan: One.
>
> Mrs. Samson: Okay now we gotta take this one out. Now how many did I take out?
>
> Jordan: One, two.
>
> Mrs. Samson: One, two, that's right. Okay now I'm gonna put it in, wait am I doing the right one? Now I'm going to take another one out. Okay how many did I take out now?
>
> Jordan: One, two, three, four.
>
> Mrs. Samson: No you don't see four there, count.
>
> Jordan: One, two. One, two, three.
>
> Mrs. Samson: You got three.

Along with prayer, reading a bedtime story together was part of the nightly bedtime ritual for the Lewis family. During one particular observation (observation #4), both parents were involved in

leading the children through the prayer, but only Mr. Lewis read the bedtime story ("Are You My Mother?") with the children. He asked questions throughout the book for Jordan to answer (Mr. Lewis: You think that's his mother? Jordan: No.) and encouraged him to follow along (Mr. Lewis: See he can't fly yet, see.). Mr. Lewis also quizzed Jordan on the alphabet, letter recognition, and picture naming as part of the bedtime routine:

Mr. Lewis: Let's do this first.

Jordan: A, B, C, D, E, S,

Mr. Lewis: F

Jordan: F, G H, I

Mr. Lewis: Mm-hmm.

Jordan: H, I, J

Mr. Lewis: Very good.

Jordan: K, L, N

Mr. Lewis: The other one. That's N. M. (pronounces forcefully)

Jordan: M, N

Mr. Lewis: Very good.

Jordan: Ode.

Mr. Lewis: O

Jordan: O, P, Q, R, S

Mr. Lewis: Very good.

Jordan: T, U, V, W, X, Y, Z.

Mr. Lewis: Good job. (gives high five) That would be the first five today. What's this one?

Jordan: Let's do this first.

Mr. Lewis: No, we just did that. What's this?

Jordan: A.

Mr. Lewis: Big or little?

Jordan: Big. Little.

Mr. Lewis: What's this?

Jordan: Little A.

Mr. Lewis: That's that?

Jordan: X.

Mr. Lewis: And what's this big thing here?

Jordan: It's a apple; it's a big, big apple.

Mr. Lewis: It sure is. Ok, what letter is this?

Jordan: B.

Mr. Lewis: Very good, big or little? (continues for several more minutes)

Mr. Lewis corrected his son's mistakes, but responded with high fives and "good job" after correct responses. Jordan appeared to enjoy this activity, as demonstrated through his active engagement and praise-seeking behaviors.

Praise and opportunities to experience success. As mentioned previously, children were praised for following through with daily routines as well as in the context of educational or athletic activities in every home observation. For example, in observation #14, during the middle of the study, Jason was helping Jordan put together a puzzle. He was teaching Jordan to distinguish "corner" pieces from "side" pieces and encouraged and praised him for correctly

putting pieces together. Praise and encouragement often took the form of high-fives and statements such as "good job," "there you go," and "excellent!"

Mr. and Mrs. Samson also encouraged Jordan to learn new things and created opportunities for him to experience success and earn praise. With his grandparents, moral and spiritual education were emphasized and Jordan was instructed to repeatedly recite Bible doctrine and also to interact with others using proper manners; however, he was also praised often for his compliance and his correct answers (Observation #5: Jordan: I got it, I got it, I got it!! Mrs. Samson: You got it? You're good Jordan!).

Promoting positive self-esteem, particularly around academic achievements, was something that Mrs. Samson remembered doing with her own children. During one early observation at the Samson home (observation #5), Mrs. Samson recalled one of her "great moments" as a parent, which was during a recognition ceremony for Tami as an undergraduate student earning straight A's. She proudly displayed a plaque given to Tami at a Mother's Day brunch during her sophomore year, while others not making straight A's received paper certificates. Mrs. Samson recalled, "Of course you know I was real proud!"

Religion and Spirituality

Religious routines in daily life. In one early home observation (observation #4), one-year-old Alya was encouraged to "bless" each of the family members in the home, as well as the researcher, as part of the regular bedtime routine. Alya's prayer was first so that she could go to sleep first. Jordan's bedtime prayer was more extensive as a three and a half year old, compared to his toddler sister's. In addition to praying for each individual in the home, he prayed for extended family members, including "Godparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, friends of the family that come enough where he knows him, stuff like that. Sometimes they get the title Aunt/Uncle"

reported Mr. Lewis. Jordan also recited the Lord's Prayer and Bible verses together with his father. Mr. Lewis indicated that repetition helped him to learn and "get them in his head." In this particular example from observation #4, Mr. Lewis led Jordan through his prayers:

> Mr. Lewis: Time for your prayers.
> Jordan: Every but word I can have my sword (referring to a toy sword he wanted to sleep with).
> Mr. Lewis: Let's start with, say, Our Father…
> Jordan: Can you turn that light off and get that one on?
> Mr. Lewis: We'll do that when we're done. Our Father…
> Jordan: Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done. On Earth. As is in heaven. Give us this day our daily (yawn) bread and all our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptations but deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory, Amen.
> Mr. Lewis: Amen. Very good. Now what's your verse? For God…
> Jordan: I want to do my new Bible verse.
> Mr. Lewis: We'll do both of 'em. Do the first one. For God…
> Jordan: For God, for God so loved the world that He gave his only begotten son, for whosoever believeth in him shall not perish but everlasting life. St. John 3:16.
> Mr. Lewis: Excellent, excellent. Ok, now do your other one.
> Jordan: My new one?
> Mr. Lewis: Mm-hmm.
> Jordan: And I know how to do it all by myself.
> Mr. Lewis: Ok, let's hear it.
> Jordan: In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was God, and the Word was with God.
> Mr. Lewis: Close enough.
> Jordan: Where's it at?
> Mr. Lewis: St. John.
> Jordan: St. John 1:1
> Mr. Lewis: Very good. Alright, let's finish up. God Bless Mommy…
> Jordan: God Bless Mommy
> Mr. Lewis: And God Bless Alya
> Jordan: God Bless Alya
> Mr. Lewis: And God Bless Justin
> Jordan: God Bless Justin
> Mr. Lewis: God Bless Jordan…
> Jordan: Jordan
> Mr. Lewis: God Bless Daddy
> Jordan: Daddy
> Mr. Lewis: And God Bless Grandpa and Grandma Samson… You ok?
> Jordan: Daddy, watch

Mr. Lewis: Come on let's say your prayers. God Bless Grandma and Grandpa Samson… Jordan, you get that sword out of the bed. The sooner we get this done, the sooner we go to bed.
Jordan: Ok, God Bless mommy.
Mr. Lewis: No, God Bless Grandma and Grandpa Samson…
Jordan: God Bless Grandpa Samson
Mr. Lewis: God Bless Grandma and Grandpa Smith
Jordan: Grandma and Grandpa Smith
Mr. Lewis: God Bless Grandma and Grandpa Lewis
Jordan: Grandma and Grandpa Lewis
Mr. Lewis: And God Bless Great Grandma and Great Grandpa Lewis
Jordan: Great Grandma and Great Grandpa Lewis
Mr. Lewis: And God Bless Uncle Robbie
Jordan: Uncle Robbie
Mr. Lewis: God Bless Uncle Larry
Jordan: Uncle Larry
Mr. Lewis: God Bless Aunt Susan
Jordan: Aunt Susan
Mr. Lewis: God Bless Cousin Christina
Jordan: Cousin Christina
Mr. Lewis: And God Bless Aunt Barbara
Jordan: (yawn) Aunt Barbara
Mr. Lewis: And God Bless Aunt Tamika
Jordan: (yawn)
Mr. Lewis: God Bless Aunt Tamika
Jordan: I did it for me, I did like, like that.
Mr. Lewis: Say it again. God Bless Aunt Tamika.
Jordan: Aunt Tamika
Mr. Lewis: God Bless Uncle Julian
Jordan: Uncle Julian
Mr. Lewis: God Bless Uncle Mike
Jordan: Uncle Mike
Mr. Lewis: God Bless Kiana
Jordan: Kiana
Mr. Lewis: Stop, stop, stop. God Bless Thomas and Andrew and Caleb
Jordan: Thomas and Andrew and Caleb
Mr. Lewis: Stop it, Jordan. God Bless everyone in the whole wide world.
Jordan: Everyone in the whole wide world.
Mr. Lewis: In Jesus' name
Jordan: In Jesus' name
Mr. Lewis: We pray
Jordan: We pray
Mr. Lewis: Amen
Jordan: Amen
Mr. Lewis: Good job.

Mr. Lewis could not remember how long Jordan had been reciting the alphabet and Bible verses as part of his bedtime routine, but estimated it to be since Jordan was one year old. Mr. Lewis expected it to be easier for Alya to learn since she would have the benefit of her older brother reciting them along with her.

Religion as the primary context for development at the grandparents' home. Prominently displayed on one room of the wall was a photo montage Mrs. Samson created of Jordan in his "church clothes" (i.e., a suit and tie) at 18 months old, complete with captions for each picture. When asked in observation #5 to describe the context for the montage, Mrs. Samson proudly replied, "Oh, I just decided I'd do that, 'cause I want him to be a preacher, so I think that's the greatest thing he can do…to preach the gospel."

Mr. and Mrs. Samson talked in observation #3 about an international Bible competition their church competed in annually with approximately 30,000-50,000 people. The team picture hung on the wall in the home. They proudly showed off the trophies on display won by Tami as a child in the Bible competitions and stated their expectation that Jordan would win even more because "of course Jordan is smarter," according to his grandmother. In fact, he had already won a large trophy at age four as a participant on the team. To practice, Mrs. Samson encouraged Jordan to recite his favorite Bible verses (St. John 3:16), prayers (the Lord's Prayer), and stories (David and Goliath was his favorite) to the researcher and questioned him about the events in the story to help him along:

Mrs. Samson: Let's see. This one, this is your favorite one.

Researcher: That's a big book, you have a favorite story?

Jordan: Yeah. Look at this. This is Samson beating that Lion.

Researcher: That's Samson, huh?

Jordan: Uh huh

Researcher: Is this your favorite one, Samson?

Mrs. Samson: No that's not your favorite one, is it? Today it is.

Researcher: Today (laughed).

Jordan: Look, this is Goliath.

Researcher: That's Goliath?

Mrs. Samson: What did he say, what did Goliath say?

Jordan: There's David.

Researcher: He's the small one, right?

Jordan: Yeah. And he grabbed this big skull up there. Yeah, he got a lot of gas.

Researcher: That's a stone right there?

Jordan: Yeah a big one. Look at this, it's his head. Drop it.

Researcher: (laughed)

Mrs. Samson: What did Goliath say, don't you remember? Yes you do.

Alya: (babbles unintelligibly in the background)

Mrs. Samson: Jordan, no. No.

Jordan: See, and look at that.

Researcher: Who's that?

Jordan: David.

Researcher: Why is he climbing up the side of the house there?

Jordan: 'Cause, 'cause his wife got killed down there.

Researcher: Oh that's his wife?

Mrs. Samson: That's when Cain was trying to kill him.

Jordan: Who's this again?

Researcher: I don't know, who is it?

Jordan: Who is it?

Mrs. Samson: Which one? (Alya babbles). That's Jonathon shooting the arrow.

Researcher: That's Jonathon shooting the arrow?

Jordan: Yeah, shoot all of these arrows.

Mrs. Samson: What did we name that little boy? Jordan, we named that little boy Jordan, since we didn't, he didn't have a name so we gave him Jordan's name.

Researcher: This boy right here, this boy? (Alya babbling)

Mrs. Samson: Yeah, the one that's running to get the arrows. (The three continue to read the story to the end.)

Mrs. Samson's comprehensive approach to promoting spiritual and educational development utilized stories, scriptures, songs, and repetition by memory to reinforce religious principles and values important to the family in a manner that supported the activities of their daily routine.

Home Church at the Samsons' Home. Complete church services were observed in two observations at the Samsons' home, led by Mr. Samson and attended by Mrs. Samson, all three of the Lewis children, and the researcher. Services included prayer, hymns, scripture, and questions and answers about "doctrine," as illustrated by this example from observation #5:

Mr. Samson: Alright, let's go, say Amen, let's bow our heads. Father in Heaven we ask you to bless us as we going through your Holy and Righteous word. Thank you Lord for helping us going through our scriptures. We thank you Lord for sister Grace [calls

Researcher by name] being here, and for Jordan, Alya, Sweet, Justin, God may you bless us oh God in Jesus name we pray. Alright. We are going today into the study of what?

Jordan: Doctrine.

Mr. Samson: Doctrine. Correct. Going into doctrine. Alya, what is doctrine? Jordan, put that book up, put it up. Alya, Alya, what is doctrine? Jordan, what is doctrine? Justin, what is doctrine? Grace, what is doctrine?

Grace [Researcher]: (laughed).

Mr. Samson: Sweet [referring to Mrs. Samson], what is doctrine?

Mrs. Samson: Teaching or instruction.

Mr. Samson: Correct. Teaching or instruction. That is doctrine. What do you know about the doctrine of the church? Or the "what" of the church? Jordan, what do we study today, the doctrine of the church, or the "what" of the church? Alya, we are studying the doctrine of the church, or the "what" of the church? Huh? Justin, we are studying the doctrine of the church, or the "what" of the church? Grace, we are studying the doctrine of the church, or the "what" of the church?

Grace [Researcher]: (laughed).

Mr. Samson: Sweet, we are studying the doctrine of the church, or the "what" of the church? Teaching of the church.

Mrs. Samson: Oh, teaching of the church.

Grace [Researcher]: (laughed)

Mr. Samson: Isn't that what doctrine means?

Mrs. Samson: Yes.

Mr. Samson: Alright, we got a long way to go. What is the doctrine of the church called?

This excerpt is just a portion of the thirty minute service, which began with the song "Deep and Wide" and ended with a prayer.

Appearance and Style

Pride in physical appearance. With the exception of the photo montage depicting Jordan as a preacher in his "church clothes" described above from observation #5, little attention was paid to clothing or material goods in home observations. Rather, much of the focus for Jordan was on validating his praise-seeking behaviors regarding his physical appearance. In the first home observation, Jordan was not shy about showing off his arm muscles to the researcher: "I've got big muscles! Feel my muscles!" In observation #3, Jason showed off his basketball skills while his grandmother and the researcher looked on. Again, he sought out praise and Mrs. Samson willingly supported him:

> Jordan: I can win. I am stronger. Feel my – feel my muscles. (Mrs. Samson laughed.)
>
> Researcher: Wow! Those are some big muscles.
>
> Mrs. Samson: A superhero needs muscles.

In observation #6, Mr. and Mrs. Lewis joined in the self-esteem promoting behavior with Jordan with respect to his appearance and body image:

> Mrs. Lewis: Hey cutie-pa-tooty.
>
> Mr. Lewis: Oh-wee look at that strong man.
>
> Mrs. Lewis: Too much man.
>
> Mr. Lewis: He a strong man.

Siblings and Physical Appearance. In observation #2, as Mrs. Lewis was playing on the floor with Justin, playfully interacting with him in motherese ("Now DO we handsome? DO we handsome?") The researcher commented to Mrs. Lewis on how big Justin had grown and how

much hair he had, which were frequent topics of conversation related to Justin, the baby of the family. Jordan interrupted by exclaiming, “And look at mine!” while tugging on the researcher’s arm, seeking praise and attention. Mrs. Lewis responded by stating that “Jordan definitely had the most hair out of all three of ‘em,” making him feel included.

In interviews, Mrs. Lewis described Alya, the middle child and only girl in the family, as having a “solid” or “athletic” build to her body, even as a very young toddler. The focus on Alya’s appearance during observations was around encouraging her femininity. In observations #5 and #12, Mrs. Samson braided Alya’s hair, but in a manner that it was not a focus of the observation or dialogue. Mrs. Samson took primary responsibility for styling Alya’s hair in braids that would last several days and Mrs. Lewis was not observed styling Alya’s hair in any of the recorded interactions. In observation #6, Mrs. Lewis encouraged Alya to use lip gloss and helped her learn to apply it, although it was an activity that Mr. Lewis discouraged because she was only two years old at the time:

> Mrs. Lewis: (To Alya) Ooh, you looking pretty. Don’t let daddy see you with that Alya. (To Mr. Lewis) Alya has some lipstick. (To Alya) Ooh, Alya, you looking real pretty. Put some on mommy. You going to try? (To Mr. Lewis) Daddy, you do it. (To Alya) Like this. Thank you, more. Not on my nose, on my lips. Ooh, Alya, you’re good.

Observations Made in the Context of Adult Conversation

Race

Towards the end of the study (observation #29), Tami Lewis brought up her own personal experience with contested racial authenticity that she was currently experiencing as an African American woman teaching an undergraduate class. She initiated the topic with Mr. Lewis:

Tami: You know Jason?

Jason: Hmm?

Tami: I think she does not consider me Black enough?

Jason: Who?

Tami: That girl…She has given me so much attitude.

Jason: What do you mean not “Black enough”?

Tami: That, not being Black enough...typical personality...

Although this exchange was brief and only addressed the topic of contested racial authenticity on a surface level, it referenced Tami’s experience of having her own racial identity challenged by a student in her class. Further, this example provided contextual information regarding the motivation behind her sensitivity and awareness of racial issues related to her children’s experiences and her efforts to consciously and deliberately prepare them for discrimination. Mrs. Lewis’s non-descript reference to “that girl” indicated that she and Mr. Lewis had discussed her before in a similar context. Unlike common experiences described in the literature, particularly with high-achieving middle-class adolescents (Carter-Black, 2005), this occurrence described by Mrs. Lewis was subtle and non-direct. This exchange between Mr. and Mrs. Lewis arose while they were observing Jordan’s micro-football practice. Jordan was on the field with his team, while Alya and Justin were on the sidelines with their parents. While they were present during this interaction, the children were not part of the conversation; hence, this example demonstrates implicit socialization and promotion of racial awareness through their role as observer in the exchange between their parents.

Educational Achievement

Educational Achievement was not something directly addressed in adult conversations without the children being present, in the context of home observations. The bulk of *talk* about educational values and specific experiences in the educational system were addressed in interviews. Activities geared toward putting those practices into action were discussed in the context of specific observed instances earlier in this chapter.

Religion and Spirituality

In further conversation with the researcher, following the home church service in observation #5, the Samsons indicated that this routine practice was an effort to teach Jordan the Bible and prepare him "for life" as this excerpt indicates:

> Mr. Samson: Yeah, it's for the kids. But I'm saying it's for everybody, but um, Jordan, we do that with him all the time, then, with Jordan and Alya, and then Jordan and Alya and Justin. It's a daily thing.
>
> Mrs. Samson: We try to do it twice a day 'cause we want him to know all of that by the time he's five…it's really, it's getting into his head, just hearing it. And by the time he's five, he should know that whole book…We want him ready for competition.
>
> Mr. Samson: We want him ready for life. It's for life, before you can go out into the world.

During interviews, Mrs. Lewis indicated that having a separate service and activities for children during the regular church services was a primary reason for her choosing her current church as her church home, rather than a traditional African American church. As indicated by her daily religious routines and incorporation of the children into home church services, Mrs. Samson alternatively indicated a belief that children should be involved in the general service rather than being separated into a children's service. The following excerpt was taken from observation #5, during a conversation between Mrs. Samson and the researcher following the home-based church service. Mrs. Samson stated the following:

> They really need to be at the services so they can learn how to act [behave appropriately]. You know a lot of times people put 'em in children's church, but we believe in having them right there in the service. So same thing that we get, they can get. They can learn the songs, learn the scriptures, and learn how to act, that's very important….So we don't believe that you should have to take them someplace else in order for you to enjoy the service, but you need to train them from babies, you know how to act. So, so they'll know that when you look at 'em a certain way, that means you know, "Be still," (laughed) you shouldn't have to always get up and take them out, but they'll know from you just looking at them that they're not doing something right.

As illustrated in this example, Mrs. Samson supported including the entire family in the same church service as a way to not only socialize the children to the teachings and values of the religion, but also to model appropriate behavior for children in the context of formal church activities. While the Samsons did not directly discuss the routines at the Lewises' selected church home, they clearly disagreed on the issue of children's involvement in church services.

Appearance and Style

As the youngest child and the one with the lightest-colored skin, Justin's appearance was frequently a topic of conversation in the family. In observation #16, midway through the observation phase of the study, Mr. and Mrs. Lewis discussed how Justin's appearance had changed since he was born. Justin was not present for the conversation, but his parents reminisced about his appearance as a baby:

> Tami: Look at Justin's hair, where it's brown. Remember when he first came out he had red hair, reddish brown hair.
>
> Jason: Yeah. He was also lot lighter than he is now.
>
> Tami: He really didn't look like us. Got reddish brown hair and was really light; big curls.

Justin's long curly hair was also a joke between Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Samson regarding the African American tradition of waiting until a child's first birthday to cut their hair for the first time. Mrs. Samson was committed to the tradition and felt it was necessary for the integrity of the hair, but Mrs. Lewis often jokingly threatened to cut it, stating it was too difficult to manage.

Summary

Observations of the Lewis family captured instances of racial socialization in each domain, including direct references to race, educational achievement, religion/spirituality, and appearance/style. While many of the themes observed occurred on a daily or ongoing basis in the family (particularly mealtime and bedtime prayer, video games, and athletic activities), several examples were observed less frequently and often in relation to contextual factors, such as the setting for the observation (e.g., family home, grandparent's home, community) or who was present (e.g., parents, grandchildren, focal child, siblings). Examples of such practices included participation in home-based church services, learning the alphabet and spelling, and promoting Jordan's self-esteem through team sports.

Mr. and Mrs. Lewis and Mr. and Mrs. Samson worked to fill the roles identified in the literature (Cunningham & Francois, 2009; Thornton et al, 1990) as important for promoting racial socialization among children. Namely, they sought to instill personal and group identity values as African Americans (e.g., by comparing Jordan to Sammy Sosa and Michael Jordan); fostered interpersonal relationships with peers from different backgrounds (e.g., by choosing elementary schools partially based on racial and socioeconomic makeup of the student body, and by supplementing this experience with middle-class afterschool activities); modeled appropriate behaviors in the home (e.g., by incorporating reading and prayer into daily family routines); and

provided a context for the children's place in society-at-large (e.g., by grooming Jordan for a career as a "preacher").

Direct race-related socialization practices were relatively infrequently observed in the home, compared to the amount of talk devoted to these topics in interviews. In fact race was only directly addressed in 6 of the 32 observations; however, the values and principles expressed in interviews were validated through their actions in home observations. Of the four primary strategies or forms of racial socialization proposed in the literature (Hughes et al., 2006), the Lewis family primarily employed *cultural socialization* and *preparation for bias* in their everyday practices, and did not actively engage in the *promotion of mistrust* of other groups or instill *egalitarianism*. Specifically, they promoted positive identity development and self-esteem for Jordan by comparing him with popular Black athletes, portraying him in the respected role of preacher, and by acknowledging each family member in nightly prayers. In addition, the Lewises exposed their children to their own challenges with contested racial authenticity, a form of bias, and used Bible stories such as the story of David and Goliath to encourage ways to overcome discrimination.

The relative lack of recorded instances of race-related socialization in the family could be due to the family's self-proclaimed focus on subtle examples of racial experiences, while focusing on domains of racial socialization, such as educational achievement, religion/spirituality and appearance/style in a more "tacit socialization process" (Boykin & Toms, 1985) referred to in the racial socialization literature. Alternatively, the young age and developmental stage of the children as being relatively unaware of racial issues and inexperienced with racial discrimination were likely primary factors in the dearth of explicit references to race. For example, the period when explicit references to race were observed (between observations #8 and #30) started just

prior to Jordan's (the oldest and focal child) fourth birthday through age 4 ½. While this suggests a change in practices between the ages of three and four for Jordan, it may also be reflective of more sensitive or difficult content emerging as the relationship and rapport between the researcher and the family developed.

Chapter 5

Interview Results by Theme: Jackson Family

Three interviews (i.e., Initial Childrearing, Follow-up Childrearing and Self-Esteem, and Racial Socialization interviews) were conducted with the Jackson family. The initial childrearing interview was conducted in November of 2000, the follow-up interview was conducted one year later in November 2001, and the racial socialization interview was conducted in August of 2006. Charesse, the focal child in the Jackson family was age 3 ½, 4 ½, and 9, respectively (see Appendix D). Only Jada Jackson participated in the initial and follow-up interviews, and both Victor, Sr. and Jada Jackson participated in the racial socialization interview. Each of the interviews conducted was analyzed for content relevant to racial socialization. Themes analyzed included general racial issues, educational achievement, religion and spirituality, and appearance/style, as consistent with the literature on African American socialization. Results are presented by theme.

Race

Race was not directly addressed in the initial childrearing interview protocol, and unlike in the Lewis family, it was not referenced directly by Mrs. Jackson in either the initial interview or follow-up interview. When asked directly about race in relation to their childrearing practices in the racial socialization interview, the Jacksons spoke in detail about their childrearing values and how their experience as African Americans was associated with their religious and educational values.

The racial socialization interview was conducted in August of 2006 when Charesse was nine years old, nearly six years after the initial interview. The interview began by asking the parents to describe, in general, the process of raising an African American child. Mr. Jackson

responded first to this question and tended to be the first to respond to each subsequent question during the interview. Although Mr. Jackson did not participate in the initial set of interviews for this study, he was actively engaged during the racial socialization interview and expressed worries about the future consistent with Mrs. Jackson and other African American parents (Bracey, 2003).

According to Mr. Jackson, “challenging” was the word he used to describe childrearing in terms of discipline. In his opinion, this was due to children in his daughter’s generation being exposed to more at an earlier age, in comparison to his own generation. He also referenced gender differences between raising a son and a daughter and reported feeling that raising a daughter was more challenging as she grew older. Specifically, Mr. Jackson’s worries centered around issues his daughter may face as a teenager, including dating relationships, exposure to negative influences in the media, and the effects of “growing up too fast.” To help prevent these issues, Mr. Jackson reported working proactively to instill a sense of respect for elders and to closely monitor his children to ensure that they have “a good head on their shoulders.” He also discussed shaping Charesse to be able to handle the responsibility of caring for her brother should something happen to Mr. and Mrs. Jackson:

> So I tend like to give him a little leeway, he’s only four, you know I let him get a little loose for a while, not too wild, but her I try to establish and let her know she’s the oldest big sister, you know she’s gotta look out for her little brother in case something happens to me or her Mama she can be able to take care of her brother.

His sense of family values and “looking out for each other” resonated throughout his interview. Later, he discussed his expectation that his children take care of him and Mrs. Jackson when they are older, just as they take care of the children now. As Mr. Jackson expanded upon this idea, he

discussed his goal of having an "all American family….where we care about each other. We do what we gotta' do with everybody looking about for each other. 'Cause I be trying to tell my daughter you know, you know what I'm saying? The way her life is going, it reflects on us." One example of this from his own family was where his aunt took in her ill father and cared for him until his death, rather than putting him in a nursing home. Mr. Jackson indicated wanting the same reciprocal relationship with his children: "Take care of me. I took care of you so take care of me."

Difficulties of raising African American children—past and present. In terms of particular challenges to raising African American children, Mr. Jackson invoked challenges faced historically by African Americans, while Mrs. Jackson referenced her personal experiences in the education field. Mr. Jackson first described the challenges from his perspective:

> 'Bout being Black, you know what I'm saying, the road can be a little bumpy. It ain't as smooth as, you know what I'm saying, as you might think it would be for the other races I guess…. I guess in my past history, you know, Black history, you know all that stuff, segregation and all that other stuff. Now it get to where you know it seems like everybody's pretty equal, but it's still got it's barrier up in there, the Black and White barrier.

While Victor talked broadly about difficulties such as segregation and racial barriers for African Americans, he did not specifically relate his response to his role as a father or provide specific examples of how childrearing is challenging for African American parents. However, his metaphor of a bumpy road suggests a belief that African Americans have the same opportunities as Whites, but with obstacles along the way.

Mrs. Jackson related her response to her personal parenting experiences with her daughter and her experience as a teacher's aide in a Head Start pre-school classroom:

> With me on that question, I just, I feel like, you know, there's really no color type of thing involved. But at the same time, um, Black people we think, use a certain type of slang or language and you know, towards with our children and stuff, sometimes. And so as a teacher, working in this teacher aide field, um I noticed that it was certain tests that was required and the way that a White person would speak and represent it, the Black children would pick up on it because even though they knew the answers and stuff to it, they couldn't really just right off relate to whatever language, you know, vocabulary that the White people was using because um, of a teaching them different, you know, on a lower level of English and vocabulary. And so, that's the little comment I just wanted to throw in there because I noticed that if one teacher would do a ASQ [Ages and Stages Questionnaire] or test on the child, um which was White and then the points and the grade level would be kind of lower, but then when I do one and talk to that child, I would see progress and stuff and achievement in that child and we would see a difference and it's like ok so is this child just not relating to the way I'm representing this, you know, stuff to this child or what you know, so, I just noticed that too and so.… sometimes a lot of Black families that's low income or just ain't been the families that have been on the college level or you know, schooling and education and stuff we tend to always talk to them and playing or whatever, but at the same time they can relate to us teaching them, but um, certain you know, races, groups, or whatever, go about it teaching 'em a different way with bigger words that they quite ain't used to and so it's like ok so, you need to

> break it down because you know, our children ain't on that level yet of knowing their vocabulary you know, so.

In this elaborate response, Jada first indicated a belief that race does not play a role in parenting, and that social class and education level played more of a role in a parent's ability to teach his/her child. At the same time she distanced herself from other African American parents—particularly other working-class parents or those with less education. While she expressed a belief that all children are capable of learning, she believed that different methods are required, based on cultural differences in early literacy practices in the home. Her observations of testing and evaluation practices in schools highlight ways in which African American children may be unfairly or subjectively assessed and eludes to biases in testing instruments. Similar issues are addressed again later in the section on educational achievement.

When asked if she had personally experienced any of these types of problems with Charesse or Victor, Jr. in school, Mrs. Jackson reported a past experience with Charesse's teacher who indicated academic difficulties, which contradicted Jada's experiences working independently with Charesse at home. Mrs. Jackson's ongoing work with Charesse around educational issues at home on a regular basis, from pre-school throughout the early elementary school years, allowed her to be confident about her child's abilities, even when teachers may have reported conflicting information. Jada did not directly correlate this experience to racial discrimination, yet it is consistent with her description of discriminatory practices by her own colleagues at the pre-school.

Color-blind ideology. Mr. and Mrs. Jackson both expressed a color-blind racial ideology in terms of their socialization practices regarding talking to their children about race. The Jacksons' goal of avoiding direct conversation about race with their children was associated with

this color-blind ideology and likely the reason for their own limited talk about race in previous interviews, as previous research on parental racial socialization and color-blind racial ideology suggests (Barr & Neville, 2008). In fact, the Jackson's did not directly address race until asked in the racial socialization interview. While they did not appear uncomfortable talking about it with the researcher, their comments suggested that they were less comfortable discussing race and racial issues with their children. For example, Mr. Jackson reported being embarrassed when his children referred to others by race or ethnicity in public, such as "look at that Chinese man" or "that Mexican girl." According to Mr. Jackson, his typical response to his children was "No, it's just a man. It's just a man of a different race." Or, "why don't you just call her a girl?" They also encouraged their children to be friends with children of other races/ethnicities.

Racial/ethnic background of friends. When asked if Charesse had a racial/ethnic mixture of friends, Victor quickly answered affirmatively; however Jada surprisingly turned to pose the question directly to Charesse and stated that she was unsure of the composition of her group of friends, even though she had met her friends at Charesse's birthday parties and monitored Charesse's activities closely. This response was unexpected given Mrs. Jackson's previous comments about the importance of open communication between Charesse and her parents, specifically in order to maintain a close relationship that overrides friendships, and also given her frequent talk of egalitarian socialization messages promoting respect for diversity and encouraging inter-ethnic/racial relationships. Charesse indicated that she did have a variety of friends and Mr. Jackson went on to report that Charesse also had a mixture of friends in terms of gender, which he supported since they monitored her closely.

Gender and religion as a basis for dealing with discrimination. Mr. and Mrs. Jackson were asked whether they communicated with their children about racism or discrimination. Mr.

Jackson's message to Charesse was: "Your best bet is to try to get along with everybody as best as you can, but everybody you can't get along with, you just turn the other cheek, don't even worry about it. Don't let them get under your skin. As long as you feel good about yourself, then everything else, don't even worry about it." Victor's response advocated taking a less active role against bias and invoked his Christian religious values. He also supported maintaining positive self-esteem by not focusing on negative interactions with others. Victor went on to again invoke gender socialization noting, "So when she get older…I try to tell her, you know, 'Be a lady.' That's like making people around you feel comfortable every time they're around you so I try to tell her just act like a lady and people will respect you and look up to you." Mrs. Jackson agreed and added, "But don't try to get in where you don't fit in," acknowledging a sense of concerns over safety around issues of racial discrimination. As these comments indicate, avoidance of negative interactions around race was emphasized by the Jacksons.

Effective parent-child communication as a way to manage experiences with racism. One striking similarity between Mrs. Jackson's initial childrearing interview and the final racial socialization interview involved structuring a positive environment for Charesse and the importance of communication between parents and children. For example, in response to questions about experiences with racism and discrimination, Mrs. Jackson expressed the importance of keeping Charesse in a positive environment and attempting to proactively prevent negative experiences through awareness of her internal thoughts and feelings:

> Having her around positive people and you know, try to watch, you know, where she go and you know, just really communicating with your child to really see how they feel on whatever it is. You know just listen to their point of view because we as parents really don't, even though we feel like we grown and we been there and done that, you know,

kids have a point of view too and they have feelings too so we have to take in what they feel and all that also you know, because we don't know how really challenging it is for a child in school because we're not walking in their shoes right now to know what they really face and stuff. So, it's always good to listen to your child and see how they feel on this and stuff.

Mr. Jackson agreed and added, "You gotta talk to your kid and see where they is, you know what I'm saying, cause some kids they could be depressed and you don't even know it cause you don't even talk to them they just mope around they done killed theyself, took some pills or something. You know did something or got in trouble." This response invoked some of Victor's worries as a parent and connected issues of positive parent-child interactions with children's mental health and self-esteem.

Racial identity development based on environmental and peer-group exposure. The Jacksons were asked whether they had ever heard their children directly refer to themselves as Black and whether they expressed any sense of racial identity. Mr. Jackson reported that "They know they Black and stuff, but they don't really say anything, like mention it or nothing." One of the most striking examples of the parents' thoughts on influences on racial identity was provided by Mrs. Jackson who again responded with an educational example of how their identity as African Americans affected their school choice process, the resources available to them, as well as their experiences around other African Americans in the community:

> I totally agree with that because, um, I can think of a term where it was like choosin' what school I wanted her to go to. And um, I know she puts up with eczema, asthma and allergies and um, we're a low-income family where sometimes we have financial needs and other needs, you know, to get help at times, and so, um, when I was looking for her

> school I was hearing that Summerfield Elementary School would provide all this type of stuff to families, to low-income families that kinda fit the needs, you know, of us. But I also was hearing a lot of negativity towards, “Oh a majority of that school is Black and low-income” and they come from a lot of families who, you know, even though I’m not racist against my own color or nothing like that, um I have a strong, you know, belief that I would rather for my child be in a mixed type of atmosphere at all times. So if I see or hear that it’s a majority of Black, um that go to that type of school, even though they was willing to support us, you know socially and all that and even with her health and stuff, I chose for her to be in a mixed school. And um, it was just hearsay or whatever, but I know that you know, statistic-wise that it was a more majority of Blacks being in that school.

This example illustrates Jada’s preference for sending Charesse to a racially diverse environment, rather than one that is predominantly African American. Her comments indicate the value placed on multiculturalism, as well as her reliance on word of mouth. Even though this particular school could have provided a variety of resources needed by the family due to financial and medical needs, she was willing to reject the school based on its racial/ethnic composition and reputation in the community.

Mrs. Jackson described a similar experience with a local community center that provided after-school programming for children, which Charesse had asked to attend. The center had a poor reputation in the community, according to Mrs. Jackson, based on the predominantly low-income African American population it served and she struggled with her decision to allow Charesse to attend:

And that was even with trying to place her in the Recreation Center, you know, five-dollar membership fee. And I was like, man you know, if I wanted to work over-time and work later, I could go ahead and put her in that, but just by the hearsay of what I was hearing negative about it, I didn't. I went ahead and tried it, but I tried it for like two weeks and then I went ahead and just gave up on taking her out 'cause I felt like I was seeing some attitude changing in her right off, and so what I was hearing had to not have been just you know, no talk. It had to been true, so I went ahead and took her out of it, but um... [Researcher: What was the talk about the Recreation Center? There were mostly Black kids or low-income kids?] It was just not that, it was stuff happening with our people towards um, a little boy bringing a gun in, um just different little rumors like that, fights breaking out there you know, and I was like man, but um, just so happened, I had a friend that was working there and she was like ok um, it has changed cause we got more staff, we got more mentors and university students over here and, so I thought I'd give it a try, but I-I still felt like just for those two weeks and her starting to get a little sassiness and attitude and wanting to be choosy in picking on what she wanna wear and stuff. It was more you know, up-to-date fashions and stuff that was coming up that she was seeing other children wearing stuff, but at the same time I felt like, ok I would bring my child into this if I knew her personality was stronger to be more of a leader than a follower.

In these extensive excerpts, Jada Jackson revealed an internal struggle to assert an African American identity and choose to be in a school and community center that predominantly served African American families, or to risk not being offered basic resources that the family needed and activities that Charesse requested in order to offer her child the experience of a more diverse

environment. Mrs. Jackson attempted to supplement Charesse's exposure to African American and low-income families by allowing her to attend the Recreation Center after school for a brief period of time, but was uncomfortable having Charesse in that environment and around peers she considered to be negative influences. Mrs. Jackson went on to suggest that Charesse may have been vulnerable in that community setting due to shyness or self-esteem issues that lead her to "change her attitude towards whoever she admire or whatever and not just be herself around certain people at times." In order to protect her against this vulnerability, Mrs. Jackson invited other children over to their home for social interactions that she could monitor as an alternative to the Recreation Center or other community settings. She justified her choice with the following statement:

> So I felt like my child's personality wasn't strong enough to put her in that kinda atmosphere and all that, but if her personality was to where she was more of a leader than a follower, I would let her fall into that, but even though as a parent how you try to um, direct them into positive places and everything, they're gonna face some negative along the way no matter what. But it's the- more of the good things that you feed your child that builds their character up. To know that when they do come to that negativity, they know how to stand on what they believe in and say, you know, "No, this is what I was taught, and this is what you know, I don't feel comfortable with and so I'm not gonna agree to fall into whatever it is that you trying to pressure me at." And so I always felt like you know, if I see it in her that she's ready to be around something, then I'll go ahead and let her, but right now I don't feel that she up to being around it right now. Right now is the time to really get her going into mixed groups. To where she can get a feel of, I feel like those are the more positive type of things, when you have a mixture of

> people and not just so, a majority of Black or a majority of Whites, you know, and I'm not racist or nothing, but I just feel like you know, that that's how I felt about it.

Mrs. Jackson felt confident in her decision, based on her assessment of Charesse's vulnerable nature and unstable self-esteem. Interestingly, Mrs. Jackson did not voice any concerns about potential experiences with racism or threats to Charesse's self-esteem by being in "mixed groups" with people different from her, which suggests a level of denial or may be interpreted as a naïve quality to her beliefs.

Preference for White baby dolls. Jada Jackson again referenced her take on color-blind values and acceptance with an example involving baby dolls. She stated:

> I remember her [Charesse's] uncle coming over to the house and he was like, "Why she got a White baby doll?" You know, and I was like, "Because I try to teach my child that it's nothing about color at all." I said, "She has more White baby dolls than Black," and so I tell him, "I mixed it up, you know…to let her know it's never nothing about color." You know, it's just what's in the heart and what's on the inside of people's personalities and you know, the beauty of people…There's always some kind of good gift that that person can give you or show you, you know, or teach you.

Mr. Jackson echoed Mrs. Jackson's sentiments and added, "Never judge a book by its cover… It could the best book of your life, you never know. That person might stay in your life one day. You never know. Just like I say, you know, it's always, like it's always gonna be racism, that's always gonna be around. I mean it's just up to you to just overlook that and be a bigger person."

Later in the racial socialization interview, conversation returned to the issue of the baby dolls because Charesse happened to be playing with a Black doll during the interview. Mr. Jackson then provided his perspective on the issue. He, like Mrs. Jackson, denied any concerns

about Charesse playing with White dolls more than Black ones. In fact, he referenced how access to Black dolls is another generational difference from when he was a child: “That’s all they had when I was growing up was White dolls. That’s all they knew. They just really started getting Black dolls so, pretty much that’s all my sister and all them had was White dolls. I try to tell them now that’s a privilege right there.” He compared this “privilege” to having high-tech video games and reported encouraging his children to take advantage of them.

Taken together, these results regarding racial beliefs and experiences related to racial socialization reflect the color-blind racial ideology of the Jacksons. Race was not spontaneously brought up during the initial and follow-up interviews, but was discussed extensively in the racial socialization interview. Interview content centered around instilling strong moral and family values such as respect for diversity, healthy parent-child communication as a buffer for negative experiences, and historical challenges of African Americans such as segregation and differential treatment in schools—topics that are elaborated upon in subsequent sections.

Educational Achievement

A focus on in-home educational achievement and preparation for formal schooling were primary areas of focus throughout all three interviews with the Jackson family and nearly every home observation, as described in the next chapter. In the initial interview, Mrs. Jackson discussed the importance of instilling values around education at an early age by taking her child to the library and spending three hours each day coloring, doing educational activities with her, and reading books together. Jada Jackson was especially proud of her daughter’s educational accomplishments, even at the age of three, and she described her process of seeking out formal pre-school education for Charesse:

> Even though she's not in preschool right now, she has been, um, learning really well at home. I took her to the [private pre-school] screening, and you could only like score a 14, and she scored a 17, and the lady talked to me and her father and she's like, "I don't feel that, even though she's not qualified for this program here, I don't feel that y'all should rush and put her in school." 'Cause we told her about how attached she is, and um, she told us because the way, her ability is, she's like advanced, you know for her age, she's tying her shoe already, she know how to trace in her little tracing book, we do activities in this book together too, and um different stuff she be doin' and it's just amazing, it really is. 'Cause I mean, I thought one day, I was so surprised, I came home from work, and she was, I was like, "Let's color," and so I'm scribbling in the book, and she told me, "Mommy, that's scribbling." She was like, um, "This is coloring," and showed me that she knew how to stay in the lines, and I was so pleased with her on that, and I'm, it's a lot of things that go on every day that I learn, you know, from her. And her growing experience has been so amazing, it really has.

Mrs. Jackson's description of Charesse exceeding entrance requirements for this particular pre-school details her commitment to fostering and supporting her daughter's development. When asked what kind of person she wanted her daughter to become, Jada Jackson indicated that she and her husband were considering sending Charesse to a private elementary school in order to keep her in a "positive" environment and to promote holistic development. According to Mrs. Jackson, a school based on Christian principles would provide the best combination of values, atmosphere, and quality education that she desired for her daughter, indicating one of the ways in which education and religion played an integral and complementary role in her childrearing and socialization practices.

School choice and discrimination by school staff. The Jackson family put significant effort into choosing[3] an appropriate elementary school for Charesse when she began kindergarten. Charesse remained at Burlington Elementary School, the family's first choice school, through third grade when she transferred to Summerfield Elementary School after the family moved to a new neighborhood. When asked to reflect about the process of choosing Burlington Elementary School, Mrs. Jackson again described egalitarian thinking:

> I mean I've heard rumors about it that it was totally for White people or stuff like that… But, I didn't go by that, I just went by how my child was doing and feeling there over the years that she's been there, so, and I know with me I could just call there and just by the sound of my voice that they'd know who I am. So I mean I never felt like they was racist or anything like that.

This is just one example of proactive measures the Jacksons took toward preparing Charesse for academic success prior to starting school, the Jacksons expanded on these messages of support by invoking a sense of connectedness to African American ancestors that fought for educational rights.

Current educational opportunities in light of historical challenges. Instilling a sense of heritage and knowledge about African American history was important to the Jacksons, particularly as an attempt to combat racial stereotypes. For example, in the racial socialization interview, Mr. Jackson reported explaining racial segregation to Charesse as an indication of how "rough" or difficult things were for African Americans in the past and how "Black folks came a long way." These messages were particularly salient with respect to education, as Mr. Jackson explained, "Just trying to let her know, you know, that things can't be taken for granted

[3] The Centerville public school district operated under a school choice program, where families were able to select and rank their preferred schools, rather than automatically being assigned to their local neighborhood school.

on what you got, 'cause back then you didn't have nothing. It's rough. It's much easier now you know, they have more opportunities now you know, they pay you to go to school these days sometimes, you know what I mean," he described, referring to college scholarships offered to minorities. He continued, "Back then you couldn't do that, you know. Now more African American kids you know, going to co-college, that's one of my dreams is for my kids to go to college." Mr. Jackson believed that a college degree was a necessity to secure a good job. To encourage his children to take advantage of these opportunities and to be successful, Victor Jackson acknowledged promoting a sense that there are no limits to their potential achievements, that they can overcome any obstacle, and to "Put your mind to it and you can do it. They can always try, that's all I tell them." These messages were consistent with those expressed by the majority of parents in our previous research (Miller et al., 2002) who endorsed the dominant folk theory of self-esteem.

Cultural values in the educational setting. Centerville has a history of documented racial disparities, particularly in the public school system where African American children were found to be overrepresented in special education classes, have disproportionately higher numbers of discipline referrals, and have higher drop-out rates, in comparison to their Caucasian counterparts (Aber et al., 2000). In fact, Mrs. Jackson reported being placed into special education speech classes as a child without justification, other than her race. When asked whether they were aware of these disparities and what the impact of these trends were in their own lives, Mrs. Jackson's reply drew upon her experience as a teacher's aide in a low-income, predominantly African American preschool. In her experience, most of the children who were disciplined for inappropriate behavior—including poor manners or social skills and violent

behaviors such as hitting, biting, and cursing—were African American children and she attributed the behavior problems to patterns learned or socialized in the homes of the children:

> I also wanted to say that you know, some parents you know, even though like I said we're grown and stuff, this is stuff that our parents before our turn had been teaching us things and we thought was the right way that they was teaching us, but, ended up that they was never teaching us you know, the right way, you know, to go about things and some of their educations levels was low, to where you know, we didn't know that when you finish high school you go straight off into college or whatever because it was a family type of generational thing or just something repeatedly that we thought was always right and it wasn't, you know. And so that makes it hard, you know, for the other, you know, Black people or whatever, so, you know I look at it, but um, I always feel like you know, you don't have to stay where you're at you can always grow and accomplish something in life other than just staying in a routine basis where you feel, feeling just low self-esteem or low or whatever.

Jada connected this theme about moral education and socialization in the home to broader socialization practices she had observed across African American families regarding education and how the pursuit of education intersected with self-esteem. Again, Mrs. Jackson also invoked a color-blind racial ideology where she expressed a belief that racial background, poverty, and a generational history of low education were not the sole determining factors in a young African American child's ability to succeed. She viewed her own motivation to learn, promotion of positive self-esteem, and her commitment to exposing her daughter to a supportive environment as necessary and sufficient for improving the course of Charesse's life over her own.

Positive self-esteem based on educational practices. During the follow-up interview, Mrs. Jackson expanded on this connection between her commitment to education and her childrearing goal of fostering positive self-esteem in Charesse. Despite some concerns of low self-esteem in other areas, Mrs. Jackson described Charesse as confident in her academic abilities and exhibiting good self-esteem, based on Charesse's goals of attending college and having a job as a young adult. Mrs. Jackson also cited reading to her child as one activity that contributed to self-esteem development, "Because when you read to your child, it shows how much you care about them and love them and stuff." According to Jada, children who feel loved feel better about themselves.

Effective parent-child communication and relationship with teachers. Despite his insistence that effective parent-child communication was critical to raising a healthy child, Mr. Jackson provided one example in which he would privilege other adults' interpretations over his child's explanations. This example, regarding discipline problems at school, also contradicted Mrs. Jackson's earlier statements regarding being skeptical of teachers' comments that counter what she as a parent knows to be true about her child. Victor Jackson suggested that children's behaviors may vary at school and at home and stated the following:

> Kids can be tricky… they know how to get you. They can butter you up, but I'll tell in a minute that the teacher come and tell me something, you [the child is] wrong. I mean 'cause obviously if you doing something wrong, they [teachers] ain't just what, they picking on you or something? I know my child, so I know she be real sneaky so most of the time, I'm-I'm pretty much on their [the teachers'] side and she [Charesse] gotta pretty much prove to me that they was wronging her. Other than that, she wrong. That's the way I look at it, 'cause when I got sent home, something sent home, I was always in the

> wrong. So, there was nothing I could say about it…. They ain't there to, you know what I'm saying, to like you, I mean they like you, but they gotta teach you, you know what I'm saying? You're supposed to be there to learn, they supposed to be there to teach you, you supposed to listen and learn and move on up to the next grade.

Mr. Jackson's comment reflects a level of respect for school staff and a sense of trust in them to appropriately evaluate his child's behavior and address it. With a predominantly White school staff and experiences with mostly White teachers, Mr. Jackson's comment infers a trust in the educational system as a whole and Charesse's Caucasian teachers in specific. While this belief is consistent with his color-blind perspectives, it stands in direct contrast to the beliefs of the Lewis family. To better understand the basis for these beliefs, attention is turned back to the Jackson family's descriptions of their daily routines and home environment regarding educational achievement.

Education in the daily home routine. Mrs. Jackson's daily commitment to one-on-one educational activities with her daughter throughout the study has been alluded to previously and is discussed in more detail in the next chapter in the context of the home observations. Here, the rationale and logistics of how the process works are presented as discussed by the Jacksons in the racial socialization interview. According to Mrs. Jackson, she attempted to keep a regular daily schedule throughout the school year, although she was more flexible during the summers. The racial socialization interview was conducted in August when Charesse was a third-grader and Victor Jr. was in kindergarten, requiring more discipline in following the schedule:

> And so now I gotta prepare myself again where we do like a daily devotion. I don't allow them just to watch TV all day. So when they come home from school, it's a schedule where they eat and then they do their homework and then you know, they can go ahead

> and watch TV for two hours, but after that, by that time I'm done with dinner, but I have a time where I'm doing some one-on-one with them to where they can tell me how their day is or we can play a game together and sit down and play our game or do an activity together or read together and that's where we spend our little devotion or one-on-one time together. And then we eat dinner together and then by that time it's time to get ready for bed and start another day.

Mrs. Jackson's reference to this routine as a "daily devotion" clearly connects her spirituality and commitment to education as something she does religiously on a regular basis. She also voiced disapproval towards other parents that "allow their kids to be in a room all day everyday and that's it" with no parental interaction or monitoring.

In previous interviews and throughout the majority of home observations, Mr. Jackson's role in daily childrearing and household activities was limited by his work schedule as a second shift worker in the food-service industry, but during this interview he added that he asked the children daily, "What she learned. You go to school to learn, to learn something. You gonna learn something new every day." He also expressed taking on a relatively new role as Charesse progressed through elementary school as being the primary adult to assist her with her homework, a surprising shift in responsibility given Mrs. Jackson's level of involvement to this point. She explained:

> I slacked up with the um, schooling. I was running into some problems where she was learning a different way than I was teaching her when she would come home. So I kinda like backed away from that, but I at least go over her homework and correct her when you know, to say, "Ok, what you need to do to this answer since it's wrong," you know, and kinda watch her, but as far as trying to teach her and really, you know, sit down and

> spend that time with her, I'm trying to um, either give that job over to her dad or either I've been letting the tutor or the mentor or whatever come in at school and deal with it. Because the teachers, see, they love, we love parent involvement with kids at the school, but they don't realize that these parents ain't taught to do the curriculum like what ya'll doing and going about it at the schools. So, parents can have the education and they're ready and stuff, to know how to do multiplication, division, algebra, or whatever, but they don't know how to go about it teaching it to their children the right way that they're teaching it. So I found that me and Charesse was kinda not bonding on how I was trying to tell her to do it. And we would actually sometimes, get into it [argue] over it so I was like, I was like man, I was like what is the problem? So I kinda gave it over to her dad and he worked it out with her pretty well and the people at school, but I still correct her.

Mrs. Jackson's statement suggests that she had not completely relegated her responsibility in shaping and supporting Charesse's education, yet again indicates deference towards school staff in attempting to reinforce concepts Charesse learned in school.

Bullying/teasing due to high academic achievement. Research by Carter-Black (2005) found that middle-class African American students who performed well academically while living in predominantly Caucasian neighborhoods were often teased by other African American peers for "acting White," a process known as contested racial authenticity. Mr. Jackson responded to these findings in agreement that these interactions take place and he voiced an expectation that his daughter Charesse would experience this sort of bullying in the future based on her academic skills. He encouraged her to ignore the teasing and to persist in attaining her goals, except in the event that the bullying became physically violent:

> That's just the way it works, you know, kids can be cruel…She comes home and will say the kids picked on her sometimes and all that and I told her that's their problem you know what I'm saying? Turn the other cheek as long as they don't put their hands on you, 'cause there's always gonna be talk.

Victor again made a biblical reference in encouraging his daughter to ignore bullying based on academic achievement and expressed a desire to not let anything stand in the way of her pursuing her education. In fact, later in the interview, he addressed the issue of dating relationships as a potential barrier to education.

Dating as a potential threat to completing an education. Although Charesse was just over nine years old during the racial socialization interview, it was clear that Mr. Jackson was already concerned about the impact of dating relationships in the future and the potential negative impact they could have on her completing her education. The following exchange among the family and the researcher exhibits the family's values around this issue:

> Victor, Sr.: So, I want you to go to school, finish school. If I got anything to do with it she's gonna finish school…the only thing I'm worried about is calling dates.
>
> Researcher: Already huh? You're already thinking about that? (laughed)
>
> Victor, Sr.: That's it. (Researcher and Jada laughed).
>
> Victor, Sr.: Yes, I try to tell them, you know what I'm saying? Boys and girls, they gonna always be there. Get your education. Then get your boyfriend. It got a way of working itself out. Don't rush it. That's what happens with a lot of young teenage girls and whatever; you know what I'm saying? I don't know that they choose to, but they you know they, they have families starting young and don't get a chance to finish school. And the boy, he young himself, so he don't know, he'll run off. So that's why I want my

daughter, you know what I'm saying, to finish school then when you meet that person that you, know what I'm saying, you all can settle down and start your family. You won't have to worry about it.

Charesse: Daddy! (in an irritated and slightly embarrassed voice)

Victor, Sr.: Finish school first. That's the main thing. You can't get nowhere without no education. You can't. I mean, the jobs that are out here now for people without an education ain't even really worth it so and then the people with education, it's hard to find a job for them so, you can at least have that in your background so when you write down your resume or something you can say I went to college, I did this and it's kinda like open doors for you.

While it may seem premature for Victor to present worries about dating and pregnancy at such an early age, the tendency to talk about worries about the future, particularly adolescence, was a common finding in our previous research with the larger sample of African American parents (Bracey, 2003).

In sum, it was clear that preparation for educational success and building a strong foundation for academic achievement were primary goals in the Jackson family. Mrs. Jackson, particularly, was deliberate in her attempts to provide the best educational settings and outcomes for her child both at home and at the schools of their choice. Despite historical educational barriers for African Americans such as segregated schools and documented racial disparities, in addition to personal experiences with special education and limited educational opportunities, the Jacksons reinforced a belief that Charesse would excel academically with their support, communication, and positive self-esteem. Their Christian faith was one asset that supported to the Jacksons' goals of building a solid educational foundation for Charesse.

Religion and Spirituality

Religion was a frequent topic of conversation with the Jackson family, although it was also a source of tension in the marital relationship between Jada and Victor. While they both reported growing up with a Christian religious influence, regular church attendance or other religious activities were not a part of their relationship together when they started dating and when Charesse was a baby. As the study began with the Jackson family, they had just married and Jada was pregnant with their second child, Victor, Jr. She explained that she felt a need to reconnect with her Baptist faith and she began attending a small local church. She encouraged Victor to attend with her, but he refused, which became an issue of contention between the couple. As discussed in the next chapter, Victor did start to attend church with Jada and the children during the observation phase of the study and he also referenced religion in the racial socialization interview. In fact, just prior to the racial socialization interview, the Jackson family attended a predominantly Caucasian Methodist church in a small, rural, outlying town after being invited by their landlord. Mr. Jackson stated that they were "the only Black family there" and that he initially felt "scared" due to "rumors" about racism in the town. After attending, both he and Mrs. Jackson reported feeling comfortable and welcome and they reported having an enjoyable time. Their comparisons of this church to the predominantly African American Baptist churches they attended as children and Mrs. Jackson attended sporadically throughout the study, served as a basis for discussing their religious values and practices throughout the racial socialization interview.

Religious-based childrearing practices. Mrs. Jackson referenced religion throughout her interviews as an important foundation for her childrearing strategies. In particular, the power of prayer was a recurrent theme. In the initial interview, Mrs. Jackson explained that she prayed

for her children regularly, rather than seeking advice from others, and that she also taught Charesse to pray along with her:

> All I do is pray for her because prayer does work, and I try to always stay positive. And me and her have this thing where we um, pray at night together and bless the food….I think when we pray, a lot of the stuff comes out too, 'cause without, with us prayin' together and stuff, she didn't start to where she know how to pray by herself. Sometimes at night she'll be beside me and just say her little words herself, and I be like, "And you ask God to forgive you…"

Jada's example explicitly illustrates how she bridges her childrearing goals and practices. She expressed a desire to teach her child how to take responsibility for her own actions and to acknowledge her transgressions by "asking God to forgive her" as part of the discipline strategy she employed. Mrs. Jackson also endorsed praying and attending Bible study as important factors in influencing children's self-esteem. She indicated that her role models for good parents were Christian parents who "raised their children in the church."

During the follow-up interview, Mrs. Jackson's talk about religion focused on church as a positive environment and foundation for her children. By maintaining open communication with Charesse, Jada felt she was able to shape her family and cultural values, as well as improve her self-esteem:

> I think that your kids should just by you, you know, always putting them in a positive mode of training and thought, you know, that they gonna be ok, to where you ain't gotta worry about them being in jail, doing different things, and so that's basically why I take her to church, you know we sit down and have dinner together to show her a family feeling, you know, that goes on with her so she know when she get older to respect us as

> parents….By us doing all this with them and not just sticking them in a room and saying go play with your toys and ignoring them, you know, not showing them any attention, I think that's gonna help, all of this is helping build her self-esteem and for her to do good in life.

Children's involvement in church. One striking difference between the Methodist church visited by the Jacksons and the African American churches they had attended was the level of integration (or separation) of children into the general services and activities. Mr. Jackson described the church as being different from the Baptist church he grew up in because they had separate services for children downstairs. Mrs. Jackson echoed her husband and expressed a preference for children's church activities to be separated from adult services:

> Because, um, from the church that I came from, it was small and it didn't give opportunities for the children to branch off into the children's church. We only had that one setting where the children had to sit in with the adults. A child cannot get on an adult level of knowing where that adult is really coming from. So to them it felt like they was being antsy in the church, they was getting bored and they couldn't really pick up on what the pastor was saying to them because they're not an adult. They're a child and what he was- basically when he was talking, he was talking on a higher level, which the children could not understand. And that's why when I was brought up, I felt like okay we go to church on Sunday and that's it, that's all to it you know, but there's more behind then just going to church you know, you have to have that relationship with God and know how to get to know God and know how to, spiritually know how to pray and all this other stuff that come along with it, to be able to um, deal with the negativity or whatever that comes your way. Um, to know how to you know, turn the other cheek and

> do something positive. You know, a lot of us react on just self and not have God in our life and it's harder for us to you know, deal with it in a positive manner and we end up in jail or whatever, which you know, that's why I want my child to have those values and beliefs and all that you know with getting to know who God is…..The children's church that we're going to now and the you know, branches that this church is providing, they have that to where they get a lesson out of the Bible and know how to talk about it and know what they get out of it towards knowing how to relate to whatever that teacher was teaching them in that Bible study.

While the Jackson parents both agreed that religion and spirituality were important in their lives and evident in their daily childrearing practices, they also believed it was important to allow children to explore religion on their own and to play a role in identifying their own religious values for themselves. Mrs. Jackson explained:

> And so it's important to know how your child feels. I take Charesse to church, true enough, but no I don't force her into getting baptized and doing things in the church. I feel like that will come later when she feels comfortable and knows what is going on. I only take her to church to teach her more about you know, respect and, you know how to be more nicer and how to talk better and know that there is a God, you know I don't really, um, try to take her to church for her to chose you know that religion because I feel like she'll chose what she want to do when she get older once she research into things and find out later.

As discussed in the next chapter, on occasions when Charesse did assert herself in church by choosing to sing in the choir or answering the call for individual prayer, Mrs. Jackson supported her and encouraged her decisions.

Parents' personal experiences growing up in the church. Mrs. Jackson went on to relate her preferences for separate children's services to her experiences as a child in church. According to Mrs. Jackson, who attended a small predominantly African American Baptist church as a child and at the beginning the study, she felt "forced" to get baptized and participate in services on a level that she could not relate to or understand, and she did not want her children to have the same experience:

> Yeah, cause when I was coming up, I just thought church was church on Sunday. But I didn't never know the inner healing or none of that spiritual stuff that was really being a part of it also. I never knew so, I felt like I got forced and didn't really know the baptism meaning all about because of a grown person wanting me, pressuring me to go get baptized. And then, as I got older and could relate to what the pastor was saying and knew what it really was all about, then I was like okay, now I wanna get re-baptized cause I didn't know back then the real reasons behind it. And so I want them to know that when they make a decision you know, it's because they really know why they making the decision and all that comes with it, you know? So, um, I am putting that into my children that they should have this and stuff, but I'm never gonna pressure them to do this to do that. That's their own decision I feel like, but I'm at least letting them you know, be aware of their surroundings and be able to know that you know, this is what I was brought up with. And this is what Mama fed me so, whatever the good that comes out of it you know.

Despite growing up in a major Midwestern city in the 1970s-80s, Mr. Jackson reported living in a largely segregated community, where he attended an "all-Black school" and church until his teenage years. He stated the importance of raising his children with a religious foundation,

because “everybody needs God in their life” although he admitted it is not as strict as his upbringing, where he “went to Sunday school a lot. I mean we went to church. We got to go [leave] when Grandma told us to go home!” He described his experience more positively than Mrs. Jackson’s, but talked about the difficulties of sitting through a full day of church activities as a young child:

> So we had to be up at like seven or eight o’clock. And that was Sunday school for the kids. Then when the old folks come, you know, we got to sit there and be quiet. Yeah, so we had, actually we was there for a long period of time ‘cause you know, we had to go to Sunday school. And you thought it was over after Sunday school, but it wasn’t. You had to stay the whole service. You know, that, that was good for the kids though ‘cause it was totally different from what they was talking about. It was the same message, but it was just a totally different way. So it was like we had a little bit more games and stuff, it made it kinda fun. So actually a lot of people kinda looked forward to going to church. We really didn’t like going to the second part. But Sunday school was cool. That was their way of keeping kids interested in church or whatever. They give ‘em a little Sunday school so they won’t get bored or whatever. And if you got bored, it made no difference ‘cause your Mama would’ve still made you go. You didn’t have no choice so I mean, but they made it to where it was better for kids. So, other than that, it was pretty cool.

In addition, Victor described feeling as if the African American minister in his childhood church was “talking directly towards you…it almost seems like you being singled out sort like, you know, how they start the service.” He did not have this same “judgmental” feeling at the predominantly Caucasian Methodist church, which was “a totally different experience” for him.

He also observed that predominantly African American churches tend to place more emphasis on money and "sending the collection plate around" than the Caucasian church he attended:

> Coming up, they send the collection plate around, several times…They [White churches] got sponsors…People starting all these events, charity events and all this, throwing money into the church and building it, make it better, and you know you got some churches, you know, Black churches, you know preacher riding around in a Rolls Royce and the church smaller than a little thing. I mean I ain't saying he's taking the money for his pocket, but you know you would think like where is all the money going? That comes from our history like I said, you know…grew up without a lot of stuff, you know?

While the Jacksons clearly preferred some elements of the Methodist church they visited, compared to their experiences in Black Baptist churches, it was unclear at the end of the study whether they intended to continue attending church regularly and, if so, whether it would be at that church or they would seek out another church home. The similarities between the Jackson and Lewis families regarding their church experiences related to race were striking and are taken up more in later chapters.

Appearance and Style

Shoes, clothes, and other material goods such as toys and books were a focal point of Charesse's room and a topic of interest throughout the study. During the first interaction with the Jackson family in their home, it was noted that Charesse had a large amount of shoes, books, and toys, and that each item was organized neatly in a designated space in her room. During the racial socialization interview, the family had moved into another home and Charesse and Victor, Jr. were sharing a divided bedroom, yet both parents jokingly reported that she still had "everything in all of her closets." While her room was smaller and more crowded than her room

in their previous home, it was still neatly organized by category and her clothes and shoes were also neatly hung and organized. Despite the amount of material belongings Charesse owned, Mrs. Jackson reported in the initial interview that much of her items were passed down from family members or given to them by friends, although she also was clear that she did not need outside community assistance such as charities:

> My daughter has no need for a charity as far, as far as toys and clothes giveaways or all that, you know, a lot of times I go and give to others 'cause, not that I just be the one you know buyin' and doin' for her all the time, but by her bein' the only child um my family is really, really big and his family is, and so, when I'm thinkin' that I'm in need for her some new shoes or somethin' it's always a blessin' where some body's comin' along, givin' her somethin'….Sometimes I tell her when she's bad that I could, that I'm gonna' give away somethin' but she do understand.

In this statement, Mrs. Jackson suggested that she threatened to give away some of Charesse's belongings when she misbehaved, indicating Charesse's positive regard for these items. During the racial socialization interview, Mrs. Jackson elaborated on her thoughts about style and appearance, particularly regarding name brand clothing using an example from her work in a low-income, predominantly African American pre-school classroom:

> I was seeing that um, the parents was like, dressing their kids with high-expensive clothing like name brand and stuff, and then when it came time to you know, eat at the table with family style they didn't even know how to hold a spoon, hold a fork, they just messing up the clothes, I mean just different stuff. And I'm like, how can you be you know, a parent and letting your child wear these expensive clothes and buying these things for your children and you're not even teaching them how to sit at the table

> properly and eat right you know, and so um, I didn't, through just being a teacher's aide I just have seen a lot of different stuff through the children. That um, kinda just tells that you know, these parents is not doing their job toward assuring their children you know, a lot of manners and respect and responsibility, you know, and it was just kinda upsetting to me.

In this quote, Jada clearly expressed negative judgment towards parents who placed more emphasis on the child's image rather than educating and nurturing the child. The Jacksons prided themselves on maintaining a good balance between grooming and dressing Charesse, as well as providing her with a solid moral and educational background in the home, despite their limited income and resources.

Importance of grooming/personal hygiene. When asked why they think personal style and appearance are important, Mr. Jackson was the first to respond and stated:

> I think it's 'cause uh, first impression is everything. I been trying to tell her you know what I'm saying? You know, you keep yourself up, keep yourself clean and everything. That shows what kind of upbringing you had. They taught you good….Appearance is everything. First impression? You always wanna be presentable. No matter what. You never know who you gonna run into or whatever. You could probably run into someone that can get opportunities for you and you looking all raggedy you know what I'm saying? You know, I like my kids to be matching from head to toe. I don't even let them go outside unless they're matching. It ain't about being like conceited or nothing like that. I just like my kids to be you know, presentable. You know what I'm saying? 'Cause it shows on us…You wanna keep your personal hygiene up. You never know when you might get sick, have to go to the doctor. You just always wanna do that.

Mr. Jackson's response suggests that the key to being taken seriously or being presented with unique opportunities is a positive first impression, as defined by outward appearance. His comments suggest that "presentable" appearance and attention to grooming promotes a positive "first impression" and may counter negative or stereotypical initial reactions commonly experienced by African Americans based on skin color. For Charesse, in particular, extra attention was paid to grooming and hygiene due to eczema (i.e., atopic dermatitis). She regularly had dry and itchy rashes on her face and body that required prescription steroids and heavy moisturizer to treat. While eczema is a common childhood condition affecting nearly one out of five children (Barrio & Eichenfield, 2009), Charesse was self-conscious about her condition and was teased by other young children who thought it was contagious or caused by poor hygiene. As a girl, hairstyling was also a significant grooming and appearance issue, as discussed by Mrs. Jackson.

Racial identity expressed through appearance/style. When asked directly whether she attempted to promote a Black or African American identity with her daughter, Mrs. Jackson stated that she did not. Rather, she endorsed promoting egalitarian socialization messages: "I really don't try to teach them that 'Oh, this is your color so you need to stick to how we dress, how we um, you know do our hair or whatever,' you know." She did mention hair as a particular issue for her daughter, however. She explained:

> The hair thing, ours, that's just come natural from our color that we got more difficult hair to deal with than White. And so, it's to the point where, ok, we gotta perm [chemically relax] our hair you know, hot comb it, brush it out, keep it washed…I mean you know, then the washing every two weeks, grease it, whatever…But, you know, that's

> just something she knows, as far as our culture. She never really kinda bring up comparisons like that, but she always say she wish she had White people hair.

Interestingly, in this response Mrs. Jackson admitted Charesse's preference for Caucasian hair, but she attributed it to the difficulties of managing and maintaining African American hair. She acknowledged Charesse's awareness of being African American through this example about hair, but described it as a topic they did not directly discuss.

Impact of appearance/style on peer relationships. Mrs. Jackson described how style and appearance, particularly hairstyles, played a role in Charesse's peer relationships and provided an interesting perspective on the point made by Mr. Lewis in his initial interview. While Mr. Lewis described being picked on and teased for not having the "right" type of athletic shoes, Mrs. Jackson described how Charesse's "cute" hairstyles were the basis for her relationships with girls who would not have otherwise talked to or played with her. In Mrs. Jackson's words:

> I had to tell her about a time where she came home and was saying that one of the girls at school was not um, being her friend and stuff and she was having a hard time with making friendships and stuff. But um, she'd get her new outfits, her hair done and new book bag or something and go to school and they wanna be all in her face you know, playing with her and showing her love and she came home bragging on how they played with her and stuff and I just had to let her know those are really not your friends…And I had to kinda you know, talk to her about that and so she can distinguish you know, between who is a friend and who is not. You know, if they ain't gonna be around you all the time and show love then, they're not you know, any good.

In both examples—Mr. Lewis and the ProWings and Charesse and her hairstyles—the primary message that the parents were relaying was that personal style are often the basis for youth's peer relationships, but true friendships are not formed solely on the basis of style and appearance or material goods.

Summary

These interview results present a consistent picture of the Jacksons as committed to their primary childrearing goals of maintaining open communication with Charesse, promoting positive self-esteem, and instilling "all-American" family values. Victor and Jada Jackson acknowledged some general childrearing difficulties due to race and racism, but were cautious to attribute them to individual differences and low socioeconomic status rather than solely to race. Mr. Jackson did not participate in the first two childrearing interviews in this study and Mrs. Jackson did not spontaneously discuss race in those interviews. These findings are consistent with influential ethnographic work by Peters (1985), which found that African American parents typically did not initiate the topic of race during interviews, but validated its salience in parenting young African American children when directly asked. The Jacksons did respond to direct questions about race and experiences as an African American family in the racial socialization interview. They also discussed related topics such as a strong work ethic, African American heritage, limited opportunities for African Americans, the importance of moral values, and positive self-esteem (Thornton et al., 1990). At the same time, Mr. and Mrs. Jackson expressed an avoidance of discussing race, racial identity, and racial discrimination with their daughter, and, therefore, did not promote mistrust or impart proactive messages intended to prepare Charesse for bias and discrimination as an African American. Instead, they focused more on messages of equality and acceptance, invoking a color-blind racial ideology. These results were

consistent with previous research that found parents of pre-school aged children to focus more on egalitarian messages than direct messages about discrimination, in an attempt to be age-appropriate in their socialization messages (Hughes et al., 2006). The Jacksons advocated an active form of communication with their daughter, in general, characterized by open communication and "truth telling" (Hudley et al., 2003) regarding difficult subject matter. They expected to continue this form of communication with Charesse as she matured and potentially experienced more discrimination. This willingness to talk about race in the final interview in a way that was not discussed in the earlier interviews may have been due to being directly asked, may have been impacted by Mr. Jackson's participation in the racial socialization interview, or may have been due to an increased level of comfort addressing race with the biracial researcher who conducted the final interview and home observations compared with the Taiwanese researcher who conducted the first two interviews.

While their childrearing practices related to racial socialization in the domains of educational achievement, religion and spirituality, and appearance and style, evolved over time according to interview data, Mr. and Mrs. Jackson were able to justify and describe how these changes remained consistent with their values and goals. For example, during Charesse's preschool years, Mrs. Jackson spent an immense amount of time establishing educational activities as part of the daily home routine, working one-on-one with her daughter around educational tasks, and selecting appropriate elementary school and after-school settings to meet Charesse's needs. By the time Charesse had reached third grade, however, Mrs. Jackson had turned over the task of helping Charesse with homework to Mr. Jackson and deferred to Charesse's teachers to accurately evaluate and maintain her progress, despite continuing to encourage higher education and expectations for Charesse to earn a college degree. In terms of

religion/spirituality, the Jacksons expressed a strong Christian faith throughout the study, yet their religious practices shifted over time from sporadic church attendance in African American Baptist churches where both Victor and Jada grew up, to exploring a predominantly Caucasian Methodist church as a family, partially due to their beliefs that children should have religious freedom and also have developmentally-appropriate services separately from adults. Appearance and style were consistently valued across the three interviews with the Jackson family, but attention to these matters was carefully balanced with holistic development of the children. Rather than asserting an African American identity through style or material goods, the Jacksons focused on maintaining a "presentable" appearance and positive "first impressions." Details about how these beliefs translated into daily childrearing practices, as captured in the home observations, are presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 6

Observation Results by Theme: Jackson Family

Thirty-one home observations were conducted with the Jackson family between 4/28/01 and 11/13/02 (see Appendix G). Of these, 18 were conducted at the Jackson family home, one was conducted at the home of Rose Harris (Mrs. Jackson's mother), 8 were conducted a location in the community (e.g., public library, shopping mall, elementary school), and 4 were conducted at multiple locations during the same observation. Home observations were unstructured by the researcher and occurred on various days of the week to capture a variety of family routines and activities. Most observations occurred on weekdays in the late afternoon and evening hours to accommodate the family's preferences and availability. As discussed with the interviews, Mr. Jackson generally did not participate in home observations, either because he was working second shift or otherwise out of the house, or he simply chose not to engage by avoiding the room and activity being recorded. He first appeared in observation #13, nearly halfway through the observation phase of the study, although he was not an active participant in the session. Observations were coded for the same four themes related to racial socialization as were the interviews: race, educational achievement, religion/spirituality, and appearance/style (see Appendix H). Observation results are organized into categories depending on whether the events occurred as part of the family's daily routine, were specific observed events, or were recorded in the context of adult conversation with the researcher, as a way to distinguish explicit and implicit forms of socialization, as discussed in chapter 4.

Activities Observed in the Daily Routine

Observations in the Jackson family typically centered around Mrs. Jackson and Charesse and their one-on-one activities together. While educational activities were the primary focus of

the majority of home observations, pretend play including primarily feminine activities such as dress-up and house play was also observed. Interestingly, extensive dialogue between Mrs. Jackson and the researcher were a regular part of home observations. Mrs. Jackson reported being somewhat socially isolated and felt comfortable engaging the researcher as a positive social support and listener to her relationship difficulties, parenting challenges, and dilemmas over her religious activities. Mr. Jackson did not play an active role in any home observations and was typically out of the house during recordings. Victor, Jr. was present for all home observations after his birth (between observations #10 and #11), but was typically sleeping or involved in other activities in the background. Family members, friends, and neighbors frequently dropped by the house when observations were being conducted, but participation in recordings was limited to those individuals who had provided written consent to participation in the research study. Because Mrs. Jackson preferred to schedule home observations during the late afternoon or evening after work and school during weekdays, a wide variety of daily routines were not captured throughout the study (e.g., bedtime routines, breakfast, bath time).

Observations outside the home were conducted at Rose Harris's home (Charesse's maternal grandmother) and a variety of other community locations such as the public library, skating rink, a shopping mall, local park, and Charesse's school. These observations supported the interview results by providing examples of parent-child communication and relationship-building as critical, the importance of educational achievement and preparation for academic success, as well as the family's attention to appearance and style.

Race

Black and White Barbie dolls. Barbie dolls were a staple in Charesse's daily pretend play and interactive play with her mother and the researcher throughout the home observations.

Charesse owned a Barbie doll carrying case with a picture of Barbie dolls on the front. She pointed out that there was a White Barbie and a Black Barbie depicted on the case, and Charesse had both Black and White dolls inside. Charesse said she liked the White Barbie better because she was “pretty” and she liked to comb her hair. Charesse’s collection included approximately 12 Barbie dolls and one Ken doll. Most of the dolls were dressed in formal gowns with boots. Charesse made sure that all of the girl dolls had purses to match their outfits. She had braided some of the dolls’ hair and styled them with plastic barrettes that she used in her own hair. She also had a Barbie van for them to ride in. Charesse often engaged the researcher in dressing and naming the dolls.

Promoting positive racial/ethnic identity. Mrs. Jackson attempted to counteract stereotypes and preferences, such as those driving Charesse’s preferences for White Barbie dolls, by promoting positive self-esteem and celebrating family heritage as a way to foster healthy identity development and sense of self. For example, the family took pictures of all family gatherings and milestones and often looked back at family albums together. In addition, photos were proudly displayed and albums were shared openly with the researcher. Family reunions were an annual tradition for both sides of the family and the Jacksons often drove several hours to participate in the yearly picnics and gatherings. Mrs. Jackson, in particular, encouraged Charesse’s exposure to African American culture and role models.

Educational Achievement

Educational achievement and preparation for educational success were predominant themes throughout home observations, consistent with interview content from the Jackson family. In fact, activities or references to education were observed in approximately 74% of recorded home observations (see Appendix H). In the very first home observation Mrs. Jackson

presented the researcher with preschool workbooks she had recently purchased for Charesse at a local discount department store. She indicated that they had started working in them a few days prior and that she was teaching Charesse to write numbers. She indicated a plan to practice writing a different number every day until she completed the books. This first home observation set the tone for the importance of educational achievement and parental involvement in education in the Jackson household.

Religion and Spirituality

Christian religious faith served as a foundation for the Jackson family's values, influencing many of the family's important decisions, childrearing beliefs, social interactions, and family celebrations. For example, in the first home observation, Mrs. Jackson talked about having their wedding ceremony in a church just weeks prior, discussed church as a place where Charesse could "learn right from wrong," and cited prayer as a coping skill to manage the stress of her low-paying job at a fast-food restaurant during her pregnancy with Victor, Jr. She also described receiving special prayer during the altar call at church prior to the caesarian-section delivery of Victor Jr. While both Jada and Victor Sr. reported "growing up in the church" and being actively involved in African American churches throughout their childhoods, the frequency of religious practices and commitment to a "church home," or place of church membership (Haight, 2002), wavered throughout this phase of the study.

Appearance and Style

Talk or activities involving hair, clothing, shoes, or general style and appearance were present in the majority (approximately 58%, see Appendix H) of recorded home observations. Gender played a factor in the frequency and content of themes related to appearance and style, with the Jackson family (focal child Charesse) having significantly more examples of appearance

and style occurring in their daily routines than did the Lewis family (focal child Jordan). In addition, the Jackson family often interacted with and engaged the researcher around issues of style and appearance by showing interest in and asking about her own clothing, shoes, and hairstyles. As a working-class family with limited disposable income, the Jackson family was unable to spend excessive money on designer clothes and shoes; however, they were more than able to meet their basic needs and were committed to handing down their used items to others in need.

An abundance of clothing and shoes. Clothing and shoes were often a focal point in home observations, particularly towards the beginning of the study as the Jacksons spent considerable time sorting through and decreasing Charesse's wardrobe of clothes and shoes to make room for the arrival of Victor, Jr. Sorting through Charesse's clothing to make more room for the new baby became a family bonding activity between three generations, including Charesse, Mrs. Jackson, and Mrs. Harris. Rose and Jada remembered who bought each outfit, what store and/or city it came from, and to whom they already donated certain outfits. They all commented about the volume of clothes they had to sort through and joked that Victor Jr. had nearly three large garbage bags full of clothes a full month before his birth, taken from Charesse's outgrown baby clothes and other used clothing they had accumulated. Charesse's favorite outfits that she outgrown were kept for her life-size doll, Casey (which was a Caucasian doll).

African American hairstyling. Hair and hairstyling was a frequent topic of conversation throughout the home observation phase. Hair was a focal point in identifying others in family photos and albums, for example Charesse pointed out one cousin by stating "That is Keisha, with a weave in her hair." The way Mrs. Jackson styled Charesse's hair on any given day was also

used as an indicator of her mood. For example, if she failed to finish a hairstyle or put Charesse's hair into a simple ponytail, Mrs. Jackson typically attributed it to being tired or too busy. Jada and Rose also typically used hair as the opening topic of conversation with the biracial researcher at the start of each observation (e.g., "So who be doing your hair? That's your *hair* hair though right?" from observation #4), and commenting on the texture and color of her hair and making note of whether it was styled in braids, straightened, or left naturally curly that day.

Specific Observed Instances of Socialization

In this section, specific examples and quoted speech regarding particular observed instances of socialization practices are described in detail. As indicated in Appendix H, 13 specific instances of racial socialization were captured, 23 examples of socialization regarding academic achievement, 11 instances of socialization related to religion/spirituality, and 18 specific examples related to appearance/style were recorded and analyzed. These numbers indicate that direct references to race were present in 41.93% of the 31 total home observations, academic achievement was brought up in 74.19%, religion/spirituality was referenced in 35.48%, and references to appearance/style were observed in 58.06% of naturalistic observations. Results are presented by theme.

Race

Racial/ethnic comparisons. By making comparisons to people of other races or ethnicities, the Jacksons defined an informal hierarchy of value with some aspects of Caucasian appearance being more valuable than African American, but African American culture being favored over African. For example, in observation #3 at her grandmother's house, Charesse saw a little girl on television that was White with long blonde hair and wearing a pretty white dress. She stated, "I want to be a little girl like her." Mrs. Harris questioned her statement and

Charesse indicated that she wanted a dress like the little girl. Mrs. Harris told her she could wear the dress, but she still would not look like her—implying that she could not be White. In three other observations, comparisons were made to "Africans," first with distinguishing African children who lived in the neighborhood from the other African American children (observation #2), then referring to Charesse's appearance as looking "like an African" in a particular dress she was wearing (observation #20), and finally, referring to an African woman Jada met and asked to braid her hair based on the woman's own intricately braided hairstyle (observation #28). While the first two examples suggested negative judgment and low value placed on African appearance, in comparison to African American and Caucasian appearance and style, the last example highlights a strength of African women in braiding hair that Mrs. Jackson acknowledged. These implications suggest how Charesse—and African American children in general—was susceptible to media images portraying Caucasians as beautiful and how these images were at least partly responsible for Charesse and adults in her life to feel the need to distinguish themselves as more attractive or somewhat superior to African people. Other racial comparisons were made using Barbie dolls.

Preference for White Barbie dolls. During an observation late in the study, Jada attributed Charesse's preference for White Barbie dolls over Black ones to teachings by Jada's Muslim uncle. In observation #25, Jada indicated that Charesse had started "paying more attention to race" after spending more time with the uncle and his Caucasian girlfriend. According to Jada, the uncle talked frequently about race and expressed opinions that she did not agree with. Jada expressed her concerns about the situation and sought opinions from the researcher about how to handle it. In the final home observation, Charesse told the researcher that her mother was going to redecorate her room with a Barbie doll theme, "Only if she find a

Black Barbie. And if she don't find me one, she gon' get me Tweety Bird." This example illustrates Mrs. Jackson persistence in attempting to promote positive self-esteem and racial/ethnic identity by directly confronting Charesse's preferences and her openness in discussing race with her daughter, even as a five-year-old kindergartener.

Black popular culture and racial identity. References to African American popular culture were made in several observations. For example in the first home observation, Charesse indicated that her favorite musical artists were the rapper Bow Wow and an R&B singer, Sisqo. She had a poster of Sisqo in her room, as typical for adolescent girls, although she was only 3 ½ years of age at the time. Movies and television shows with African American characters were also frequently watched in the Jackson household. Charesse often recited lines from the movie "Big Momma's House" (observation #3), her favorite movie, and frequently quoted character Steve Urkel's line "Did I do that?" from the popular 1990s sitcom "Family Matters" about an African American family (observation #4). In an observation toward the end of the study (observation #27), Charesse was observed dancing the "Harlem shake," a contemporary dance from hip hop videos. Together, these examples portrayed a level of identification with African American culture expressed by the Jackson family.

Educational Achievement

Parent guided early-literacy practices. In the first home observation, Jada invited Charesse to sit on her lap and read a book together. Charesse quickly got into position for what was clearly a regular activity for this mother and daughter. Charesse appeared comfortable with the activity, but was somewhat distracted by the researcher during this first meeting and shyly responded to her mother's questions:

Mrs. Jackson: Okay, this one [book] is called "Snuggles Saves the Day." And Snuggle is a what? What does it look like Snuggle is? What is Snuggle?

Charesse: (quietly mumbles an unintelligible answer)

Mrs. Jackson: He's furry. What is Snuggle? Look at the picture.

Charesse: (again mumbles an unintelligible answer)

Mrs. Jackson: What is he?

Charesse: A teddy bear.

Mrs. Jackson: Ok. And it say he saves the day and Snuggle is his what? His what?

Charesse: (again mumbles an unintelligible answer)

Mrs. Jackson: His what? If I called him Snuggle, what is that [referring to his *name*]?

Charesse: Teddy bear.

Although Mrs. Jackson had been referring to Snuggles' name, rather than what type of animal he was, she did not correct Charesse or indicate to her that her response was incorrect. Jada continued to check for Charesse's understanding throughout the story.

Mrs. Jackson: And Larry is who? The what? Which one is Larry? (Charesse pointed to the book.) No. He's the scruffle looking one right? Which one is the scruffly looking one in the picture? So what is that?

Charesse: A lion?

Mrs. Jackson: Right! Good girl. You paying real good attention to the book, ain't you? [Reading continues for several minutes.]

Mrs. Jackson: Ok. [Reading] But Larry should be excited, Snuggle pointed out. Birthdays only come once a year. [Continues to engage Charesse.] Ok. What do you think? Do you think Larry the lion should be happy or sad on his birthday?

Charesse: Sad

Mrs. Jackson: Sad on his birthday or happy?

Charesse: Sad?

Mrs. Jackson: He's sad on his birthday but do you think he should be happy? What do people do on their birthdays? Do they have fun? Or do they get beat up?

Charesse: Happy

Mrs. Jackson: But do they have fun or do they get beat up on their birthday?

Charesse: Happy, fun

Mrs. Jackson: They have fun. Are you paying attention to me?

This interaction incorporated literacy development, socio-emotional awareness, self-esteem promotion, and served as an opportunity for positive one-on-one interaction between Charesse and her mother.

After completing the story, Jada continued to engage Charesse in educational activities. Overall, in observation #1, Jada engaged Charesse in seven different educational activities, including reading a book and checking for comprehension, tracing and writing numbers, using an educational electronic toy to learn animal facts, and using workbooks to promote word pronunciation and phonics. The amount of time and the breadth of educational activities were consistent throughout the majority of observations in this phase of the study as Charesse progressed from pre-school, through kindergarten, and into her early elementary school years.

Daily educational "activity time." Mrs. Jackson's "daily devotion" routine of educational activities with Charesse cited in interviews and highlighted in observation #1 were documented in the average daily routine even on days that were not considered typical, such as days when guests were at the home or observations that occurred outside the home. For

example, in observation #7, Mrs. Jackson was babysitting Charesse's cousin and a neighbor child was also visiting. Even with playmates over on a summer day, Jada continued with the daily routine of "activity time" and led the children in a cutting and pasting activity with scissors and glue. In observation #26, Mrs. Jackson used a "Brain Quest" activity book to quiz Charesse and her young cousin for over twenty minutes about general kindergarten knowledge and kept score for each question they answer correctly. The girls enjoyed the activity and helped each other by giving clues to the answers. They spent another twenty minutes playing hangman and charades. Two observations were conducted at a public library and two observations were conducted at Charesse's school events during her kindergarten year, each of which was primarily focused on direct educational activities.

Family educational style. Beyond the incorporation of educational activities designed to promote achievement in the Jackson family, of particular interest is the manner in which Mrs. Jackson interacted with Charesse during their one-on-one interactions. As the following example illustrates, Mrs. Jackson's style of interacting with Charesse around educational activities was patient, thorough, and confident, despite her own history of special education and lack of self-esteem in her academic abilities in community college. In this example from observation #8, Jada patiently attempts to teach her daughter the difference between colors and about healthy foods, including a pear:

> Mrs. Jackson: What color is a pear?
> Charesse: Mmmmm.
> Mrs. Jackson: Like a yellow or green color. Here, color the pear green. Ok, color the pear green.
> Charesse: The color. What color this? Color this?
> Mrs. Jackson: No, the pear.
> Charesse: The parrot, the parrot, Mom?
> Mrs. Jackson: Mmm hmmm.
> Charesse: Parrots be green (she questioned excitedly)?

Mrs. Jackson: A pear.
Charesse: A parrot.
Mrs. Jackson: It's a fruit. It's a pear.
Charesse: A parrot?
Mrs. Jackson: A parrot is a bird.
Charesse: A parrot?
Mrs. Jackson: It's a fruit, a pear. Can you say pear?
Charesse: Pear.
Mrs. Jackson: Yeah.
Charesse: That birds eat.
Mrs. Jackson: I'm going to take you to the grocery store and get you one and let you taste it. And see if you like it.

Nearly 30 minutes later in the observation, after coloring several food items, cutting them out, and gluing them onto construction paper, they again return to learning about the pear:

Mrs. Jackson: What is that?
Charesse: This?
Mrs. Jackson: What is that green thing?
Charesse: This.
Mrs. Jackson: Is it a fruit or is it a piece of bread? Or is it a…?
Charesse: It's a fruit.
Mrs. Jackson: Is it something you drink?
Charesse: Eat.
Mrs. Jackson: And what is it called?
Charesse: It's called….
Mrs. Jackson: What did I tell you it was called?
Charesse: I don't know.
Mrs. Jackson: Do you remember?
Charesse: No.
Mrs. Jackson: You don't?
Charesse: No. What's it called, Mommy?
Mrs. Jackson: It starts with a "P."
Charesse: A "P"? A "P"?
Mrs. Jackson: What is it? You said "parrot."
Charesse: Parrot. It's a parrot.
Mrs. Jackson: What's the real word for it? It's not a bird so it's called what? I told you not a parrot. But a…. what? You don't remember? It's a PEAR.
Charesse: A pear.
Mrs. Jackson: Yeah, like you have a pair of socks.
Charesse: Like you have a pair of shoes, too!
Mrs. Jackson: Right! So, a pear, think about a pair of socks or a pair of shoes. Then you will know that that is a pear.
Charesse: A parrot or a pear.

Mrs. Jackson: A parrot is a bird.
Charesse: Yesssss.

This extensive example illustrates Mrs. Jackson's level of patience and commitment to teaching her child in the home. Despite Charesse's difficulty in distinguishing between a "parrot" and a "pear," and given Mrs. Jackson's level of exhaustion during this observation that occurred on a work day in the ninth month of her pregnancy with Victor, Jr., Mrs. Jackson worked diligently with Charesse on the vocabulary words to complete the activity. In another observation at the end of her pregnancy, Jada described reading ten books in one night to Charesse. These actions support her beliefs expressed in interviews that her actions as a parent are a primary way of showing her love for her child.

First pre-school experiences. A third of the way into the observation phase of the study (observation #9), Charesse was preparing to enter pre-school at Head Start. Jada was offered a teacher's aide position at the school and Victor, Jr. was registered to begin daycare there at six weeks of age. Charesse excitedly shared details with the researcher about her first experiences with half-day Head Start pre-school. She talked about "playing puzzles and paint" and "playing housekeeping" (in the play house) as well as making friends on the school bus. She proudly shared artwork she made at school with Jada and the researcher and sought praise for her work.

While Charesse did very well academically in pre-school, she experienced some difficulties in social adjustment and Mrs. Jackson reported in her childrearing diary that Charesse's teachers had called to report that Charesse struggled in school with attachment issues and crying for her parents. This had been an ongoing problem at Rose's house as well, with Charesse crying for her mother and her pacifier, which was gradually taken away when she started school. Crying at school was particularly troublesome for Charesse because the tears

exacerbated the eczema on her face and caused her to itch and become uncomfortable. Jada addressed this by encouraging Charesse to keep open communication with her and to tell someone when she felt sad rather than crying and becoming upset.

Despite these difficulties, Mrs. Jackson also reported on Charesse's strengths and positive adjustments made in the early months of pre-school. In observation #11, Mrs. Jackson described a visit she and Mr. Jackson made to the school:

> Mrs. Jackson: Yeah, we went in there, in her school…She was the one on the computer with four kids around her.
>
> Charesse: They're my friends!
>
> Mrs. Jackson: When she first went they laughed at her and was showing her how to work the computer and now ….
>
> Researcher: She's showing them (laughed)!
>
> Mrs. Jackson: Yeah. That's what she want for Christmas.
>
> Researcher: Oh, a computer.
>
> Mrs. Jackson: And I don't know if I can afford it.
>
> Charesse: I want a Barbie computer.
>
> Researcher: Oh a Barbie computer.
>
> Mrs. Jackson: We'll probably get a used one.

This example shows how proud Mrs. Jackson was of Charesse's accomplishments and also Mrs. Jackson's challenges as a working-class parent to provide experiences and items that Charesse wanted and needed to fit in with her peers, promote academic achievement, and support her preferences and self-esteem.

Observations of kindergarten school activities. Two observations were conducted at Charesse's school during her kindergarten year. In observation #29, the researcher attended the family and friends' picnic at Burlington Elementary School as Charesse's invited guest. The researcher was asked by Mrs. Jackson a few days prior to the event to accompany Charesse to the picnic since neither of the Jacksons could take time off of work to go, and Jada wanted Charesse's teacher to know that they were involved in Charesse's education. In addition, the Jacksons did not want Charesse to be alone during the event. Charesse and the researcher ate a picnic lunch together on a blanket in the school yard and read a book, as did all of the other children and guests, per the teacher's instructions. Jordan Lewis was also a student in this classroom and he was at the picnic with Mr. Lewis, although they were not formally observed since another researcher worked with the family at that time. In observation #30, the researcher accompanied Mrs. Jackson to Charesse's parent-teacher conference. Charesse's teacher explained each grade on her report card. Academically, Charesse did very well, and the teacher praised her for her strengths. She also explained areas in which Charesse received an "NI" for "needs improvement." One such area was Charesse's self-confidence. The teacher encouraged Charesse to be more confident when talking in front of her peers and indicated a need to overcome her shyness.

Together, these school observations provided an alternate view of Charesse than the home observations. While at home, Charesse happily engaged in educational activities with her mother on a daily basis and progressed from tracing letters and number recognition to beginning reading skills and writing abilities beyond her age-level. While she demonstrated some shyness around the researcher in early observations, rapport was quickly established and Charesse became very comfortable in the researcher's presence. According to Charesse's teacher, she had

more difficulty overcoming her shyness around her peers and exhibited signs of low self-esteem, particularly in group settings. As previously discussed in the racial socialization interview, the Jacksons continued to struggle with different reports and perceptions of Charesse's strengths and challenges throughout elementary school, with teachers reporting different abilities than the Jacksons observed at home. The Jacksons attempted to counteract this by keeping open communication with Charesse and with her teachers, and they did not tend to attribute these differences in perception to racism or discriminatory experiences. In addition, Mrs. Jackson in particular drew upon her Christian faith to provide structure, support, and discipline for these and other childrearing challenges.

Religion and Spirituality

Observation of church involvement. Jada's "work" or "calling" in the church was also an important decision in facilitating her membership and engagement in the church. She was asked directly by the church pastor about the work she would do in the church, and after praying about it, she had a dream she was singing in the church choir, as described in observation #10. Subsequently, she did join the choir and Charesse joined the children's choir. Observation #18 was conducted at the church as the researcher attended the service with Jada and Charesse and observed them each singing in the choir. The service lasted from 10:45am to 2:45pm and approximately 25 people were in attendance. The children's choir sang the first two songs. Charesse knew all of the words to her songs, but looked embarrassed to perform in front of the researcher. There were four other children in the choir and they all wore purple choir robes as they rocked back and forth to "Amazing Grace." Following the children's performance was the reading of the announcements by the First Lady (i.e., the pastor's wife), who was also a minister. Of particular interest, was her announcement that AmeriCorps was looking for women

volunteers to help other women raise children "the godly way, not Dr. Spock's way." The pastor followed with the morning message titled, "Judge not, that you be judged," also of particular interest given Jada's experiences feeling judged in that particular church. The adult choir, including Jada, two other women, and the director performed one song in red choir robes. Following the service Jada and Charesse used the church bus transportation home, as they had taken the bus to the service since Jada shared a car with her husband during the majority of the study. Overall, the observation of the church service was consistent with expectations of any small, African American Baptist congregation and did not capture the negative experiences and social difficulties experienced by Mrs. Jackson.

Religious values and discipline practices. As Mrs. Jackson and Charesse began to attend church more regularly, Mrs. Jackson talked in observation #10 about wanting to involve Charesse more deeply in the church and to use the church to improve Charesse's discipline, which Jada was having difficulty managing at the end of her pregnancy due to her exhaustion. Mrs. Jackson was concerned that Charesse started to require more frequent discipline as she turned four years old, from once weekly to every other day. Mrs. Jackson intended to address it by having the pastor and church leadership "pray over her" and anoint her with "blessing oil." Mrs. Jackson also began praying nightly with Charesse and reading the Bible together at home.

In the middle of the observation phase (observation #16), Charesse chose to be baptized. Jada used this as an opportunity to encourage Charesse to improve her behavior by encouraging her to be "a good Christian" and warning her that "God sees everything that you do that's bad. And that's who gonna really punish you. 'Cause you supposed to be doing what I tell you to do." In observation #16, Mrs. Jackson was observed incorporating these beliefs into practice as she disciplined Charesse for inappropriate behavior. She began by asking Charesse why she got

baptized and what she is not supposed to do. Charesse replied, "To wash my sins away" and to "not lie." Then Jada read a passage from the Bible with Charesse. She explained that by her misbehaving, Charesse was "letting the devil in" and that was also used as the rationale for Charesse's nightmares. Charesse was playing with toys then asked if she could eat or watch cartoons because she didn't want to pay attention. Mrs. Jackson refused her request and instead, read and explained the Ten Commandments to Charesse, with the exception of adultery, which Jada thought was inappropriate for Charesse's age. Next, Jada read to Charesse from the church covenant. Charesse scratched herself and whined for her pacifier during the reading, but Jada denied her the pacifier until she finished "studying the word." Near the end of the observation phase, Charesse began to protest going to church, indicating she did not like it, even though she enjoyed her involvement in the choir and spending time with friends at church. Jada attributed her refusal to attend church to negative influences by Charesse's older cousins who did not attend church.

Appearance and Style

Hand-me-downs. Although Charesse was the oldest child in the family and did not have to wear many "hand-me-downs" or used clothing that an older child had outgrown as typical in many working-class or poor families, she did have to pass some of her own clothing and shoes to younger cousins or donate them to thrift stores. While Mrs. Jackson attempted to instill positive moral values in Charesse through this activity, the actual process of sorting through clothing and shoes to donate was not one Charesse enjoyed, particularly when it came to sorting shoes. In observation #7, she repeatedly tried on every pair of shoes in the three large plastic bins they were stored in and begged to keep all of them, claiming they still fit her and she liked them:

Charesse: I can, I can try to fit in em. Watch this.

Mrs. Jackson: Charesse you just not being of help is you? Huh?

Charesse: I can fit. I can fit these shoes though. I can fit THESE shoes.

Mrs. Jackson: I was gonna put them shoes up.

Charesse: I want these shoes.

Mrs. Jackson: Well I just don't know about today.

Charesse: I can fit these shoes. No mommy, no (whining).

Charesse was clearly attached to her belongings and adored different types of shoes, which was demonstrated by the various types she tried on in this example, including: white and black patent leather "church" shoes, pink "jelly" sandals, blue "jelly" sandals with flowers, white K-Swiss tennis shoes, Barney house shoes, Tweety Bird house shoes, rollerblades, blue sandals, plastic sandals, and gym shoes.

In one observation (observation #6), the researcher drove Mrs. Jackson and Charesse to the mall to buy Charesse new shoes. Charesse was so excited that she made up the following song in the car: "Walk to Payless and get me some shoes. Oh, oh, oh. And get me some shoe-oe-oe-oes!" Jada did not find anything she liked at the first store, but bought a blue pair of "jelly" sandals at the second store. Charesse whined and became insistent that she wear her new shoes in the car or when she got home, but Jada insisted that she not wear them until she bought a blue outfit that matched, since she was wearing a red outfit at the time. This instance alluded to the value the Jackson family placed on needing to look "put together."

Family pictures and markers of identification. As previously mentioned, family pictures and photo albums were prominently displayed in the home and were reviewed in multiple home observations. In observation #3, conducted at Mrs. Harris's home, Charesse

showed off the pictures in her own small photo album and pointed out each person pictured by name:

Charesse: This is my friend Rhonda when she came over my house.

Researcher: Oh.

Charesse: She gave, she got weaves in her hair.

Researcher: She does? Can you come over here so I can see? A little closer?

Charesse: Mmm-hmm.

Researcher: Ok. And how do you know her? She's just your friend?

Charesse: She's my friend, her name is Cecilia, and this is me and this is Mommy, this is Jenny, this Sam and this is me. This is my mommy and this is me, with my sh-, and I got my shoes on and this is me with my shoes on.

Researcher: Mmm-hmm.

Charesse: And this is me on my shoes on. And this is Sam and her brother sitting on Santa Claus lap.

Researcher: Yeah.

Charesse: And this is my friend Rhonda teachers, and this is Tyrone.

Researcher: Who's that?

Charesse: Um, my cousin. That's Tyrone and I don't know who's that. And this is Rhonda class, that's Rhonda.

Researcher: Mmm-hmm.

Charesse: Now, want me to do it again?

Researcher: Ok.

Charesse: This is Momma, (sigh) this is me and this is my mom.

Researcher: Mmm-hmm.

Charesse: This is me and this, this is my mom and this is me. Here she got her hair in pony tail…Santa Claus, Sam, Jenny, her brother, Rhonda. Here, take this! Ah. I think I forgot to read this one. I already did that one so this my cousin, her baby, and this is Tyrone, and this is, this is Tyrone. This is Rhonda, this is Rhonda's cousin friend, this is Rhonda cousin, little boys, and this is Rhonda's school where I play with her. Now, no more pages.

Particularly interesting in this example are the features she chooses to point out to distinguish each person, including shoes and hairstyles. She specifically repeated the fact that she had her "shoes on" in the photos, showing that this was particularly salient for her.

Family style and grooming habits. Attention to grooming and coordinated outfits were particularly important to Mr. Jackson, as discussed in the racial socialization interview and observed in several home observations. For example, he purchased Victor Jr. a pair of Air Jordan sneakers and a Chicago Bulls outfit for his first Christmas, at just two months of age. He also put together matching or color-coordinating outfits for the family to wear on holidays and to family reunions to show family unity, which was documented in family photo albums. In one observation (#31), Jada, Charesse, and Victor Jr. even dressed in matching red and denim outfits for an outing to the local dollar store and McDonald's. In another example from observation #26, Charesse was observed whining to Jada to change her outfit from capri pants to shorts like her friend was wearing. Jada refused to change her for a second time that day, which she rationalized by stating that the outfit Charesse was wearing matched the accessories in her elaborately styled hair:

Charesse: I wanna wear some shorts. (whining)

Mrs. Jackson: That's short enough [referring to capri pants Charesse was wearing], it's cool out today.

Friend: Charesse, you should be happy.

Mrs. Jackson: I will not be changing you two and three times a day.

Charesse: I don't care.

Mrs. Jackson: You changed one time, and that's it!

Charesse: (whining)

Mrs. Jackson: I don't wanna hear it.

Friend: Charesse, I wanna wear capris, but I'm not, I'm wearing shorts. 'Cause you gotta match your clothes.

Mrs. Jackson: That outfit matches her hair.

The importance of well-groomed and styled hair was also discussed and observed in several home observations with the Jackson family.

African American hairstyling. Jada and Charesse frequently braided hair extensions, or weave, into their hair, which was the source of one particularly embarrassing moment for Mrs. Jackson early in the study (observation #6). The researcher had accompanied Jada and Charesse on a trip to the mall to purchase a pair of shoes for Charesse when one of Jada's braids slipped out and fell onto the floor in the mall. While the situation was humorous, Charesse found it particularly funny and her comments embarrassed Mrs. Jackson:

Charesse: Oh your weave fell out! (Mrs. Jackson and the researcher both laughed.)

Charesse: You got the real hair.

Mrs. Jackson: Charesse stop, that's embarrassing Mom.

Charesse: Ok.

Mrs. Jackson: Ok wait a minute (as she stopped to pick up the braid).

Charesse: (continued to laugh).

Mrs. Jackson: No, I'll throw the paci [pacifier] away. Look, you got weaves too.

Charesse: You got weaves too.

Mrs. Jackson indicated that she spent approximately four hours once or twice per week on Charesse's elaborately braided hairstyles, which she decorated with barrettes and beads. Having her first weave or extensions braided into her hair at the age of four was a rite of passage for Charesse as it allowed her more styling options. Charesse started each school week with a new hairstyle and often wore a different style on the weekends and to church. The importance and consistency of this routine was even addressed by Charesse's kindergarten teacher at Charesse's first parent-teacher conference of the year, captured in observation #30. Mrs. Jackson initiated the topic by asking the teacher if Charesse's school picture could be re-taken because she had forgotten to re-style her hair that day. The teacher indicated that she had realized Charesse's hair was not done and she had already taken another picture of Charesse in the classroom the next time Jada had styled her hair. Mrs. Jackson appreciated this gesture by the teacher, which was unexpected because the teacher was an older Caucasian woman, but it also served to confirm the Jackson's idea that grooming and appearance are important and are noticed by others.

Appearance and pretend play. The importance of appearance and grooming was also internalized by Charesse and incorporated into her pretend play. She enjoyed dressing her Barbie dolls and made sure that each doll had matching shoes and a purse (observation #15). She also enjoyed dressing her life-sized Casey doll in her own outgrown clothing favorites. In observation #11, Charesse demonstrated how she styled Casey's hair for the researcher:

Charesse: Yeah, you can sit right there. And watch me do her hair.

Researcher: Ok. You know how to do your own hair?

Charesse: Yeah.

Researcher: You do?

Charesse: Yeah. I braid two in the front. Her hair is long and pretty.

Researcher: Uh-huh.

Charesse: And it's kind of hard to do. I made my other doll hair. Um, I made my other doll hair thick. Real thick. I made my other doll hair um soft. Real soft.

Researcher: You did?

Charesse: Yeah.

Researcher: How'd you do that?

Charesse: I mixed it with grease [oil-based hair product]. I put, I um, um, um, I washed her hair.

Researcher: Mmm-hmm.

Charesse: And her hair got all thick. 'Cause, and I put some um. I put some lotion in it and her hair got thick.

Researcher: Oh, you put lotion in it?

Charesse: Yeah my um, thing. She had on her little pretty dress.

Researcher: Oh.

Charesse: Can you go and get my, uh, barrette out the bathroom?

Researcher: Here, I'll hold it, you go get one.

Charesse: Ok. (Leaves the room and quickly returns with a barrette.)We got two braid in the front.

Researcher: Uh-huh.

> Charesse: Oh, I keep…somewhere and I can't find it. Her hair look pretty. And it's gonna look pretty. I just don't want to make my baby's hair thick! Her hair grow long 'cause I keep it in pony tails. I'm gonna put her hair in pony tails.

In this exchange, Charesse clearly enjoyed playing with the doll's hair and showing off her hairstyling skills to the researcher. In another observation (#7) where Charesse was playing with an 8-year-old family friend in her room, beauty routines were the subject of their pretend play as well as minor conflicts between the friends. Together the girls had fun trying on lip gloss and were heard telling each other, "Give me some of that lipstick, girl!" They also enjoyed trying on and modeling Charesse's shoes, until Charesse decided she did not want the girl wearing her shoes and told her, "Don't put your feet in my shoes!" The play was ended when Charesse refused to share her shoes with the girl and Mrs. Jackson had to separate them into different activities, again revealing Charesse's emotional connection to her shoes and clothing as a four-year-old.

Observations Made in the Context of Adult Conversation

Race

Throughout interviews and observations Jada shared some information regarding her own childhood, including her reasons for being against corporal punishment, which she considered to be a traditional and accepted practice among the African American community. This excerpt is from observation #10:

> I don't think hitting a child is right 'cause, I mean when we got disciplined, we got whoopings with a belt and struck by the hand like when we got a teenager and would talk back or something….It almost make you feel really bad when your parents is really using they hand on you, it feel even worse but, you know, getting struck with the belt or

> whatever, it just made you know that you was in the wrong and whatever else. But I was always the type to notice that I did wrong and go hand my mom and dad the belt to whoop me and um they would feel so, you know, sorry or felt so funny cause I guess I was being honest about it and they wouldn't even whoop me cause I was knowing that I'm in the wrong and telling them I know I did wrong and I would always get out of it.

While Mrs. Jackson avoided spanking her children, Mr. Jackson admitted to threatening the children with spanking as a punishment and using it on occasion as a disciplinary method.

Educational Achievement

One source of Mrs. Jackson's beliefs about parental involvement in academic achievement was her own personal experience. Jada explained her motivation for going back to community college to become a teacher's aide after taking time off using examples from her own childhood. In one observation (#6) she explained that her father abused drugs throughout her childhood and that her parents divorced when she was very young. She believed that her father's substance abuse limited his career potential:

> My dad was on drugs, but he got skills in different areas. He, uh, he could build things, he know how to do body work, he's been working as a mechanic. Well he do body work but he, um, also knows how to take a car apart and put it back together. And he been doing that work for like all his life…he could weld real good, carpenter, construction, all that. He could, he gots trades for all, a lot of stuff and to see his life just go down the drain. I live my life and pray that I have a better life and go to college. I'm going back to school.

Jada struggled somewhat in adjusting to community college and often asked the researcher for academic advice and basic instructional support. For example, she solicited help operating her

computer and editing the grammar in her reports, and she discussed a need for classes or resources to help her with public speaking and "understanding big words" due to her low self-esteem.

Although Jada's mother, Rose, did not complete her high school education, Mrs. Jackson painted a different picture of her in terms of academic ability and interest. In one observation (#10), Jada, Rose, and Charesse were sorting through clothes to give away, and Jada stated that she did not give away or throw away books, but kept all books they acquired. Mrs. Jackson had accepted two boxes of books from a friend shortly before that observation because she did not want to see them thrown away. In a later observation (#11) she mentioned that, as a child, she and Mrs. Harris would salvage the used textbooks out of the school dumpster that were being discarded at the end of the year and take them home to play school, indicating a respect for books and a high level of value placed on education.

Religion and Spirituality

Finding a church home. At the beginning of the observation phase, Mrs. Jackson and Charesse were attending a very small, African American Baptist church with a very close-knit congregation—most of whom were related to each other. On several occasions, Mrs. Jackson reported feeling uncomfortable at the church because she felt a lack of privacy and felt judged about her personal life and choices from issues like the clothing she wore to church to her marital relationship. In observation #2, she described how she struggled with the decision to commit to the church as her church home and the level of involvement she wanted in the church:

> I feel like a lot of pressure being in that small church, so basically, I don't, I don't really feel like that would be my church home…. But I prayed and I think God gonna work it out to where he'll show me if it really ain't the church for me. But um, I just kept

> thinking maybe once the [holy] spirit get within me, then, and start working with me, that maybe um, I could have a work in the church…. When God was dealing with me, it had me feeling real light, like I was just floating some days with a float and so now I feel back heavy and not doing nothing wrong but not giving him the praise everyday like I should be and not putting in my life like I should be and so that feeling is not coming back to me like it was.… I just want to find the right church. I don't want to just be in these churches where they just judge you for everything that you do…

Mrs. Jackson's desire to settle into a church home was something she struggled with since she started to search for a stable church home following the birth of Charesse. Mrs. Jackson felt a need to reconnect with her spirituality and to improve her relationship with God once she became a mother and she wanted her daughter to grow up with a strong religious foundation. She described in detail (later in observation #2) the difference in her general sense of self and well-being as connected to her relationship with God and described one example at a similar small African American Baptist church that had prevented her from establishing the kind of spiritual relationship and sense of religious community that she desired:

> I went into this Baptist church one day and here I am with her [Charesse] and she a newborn crying and I looked around, didn't see nobody but me in the church looking all young, but I had her at twenty years old, but um, do you know that preacher got to preaching about the teenager having babies and the man not being in church with the, uh, lady being there with that child and all this stuff, do you know I got up, felt like I was being talked about and left out the church early 'cause I felt like the preacher not doing nothing but talking about me. And here she is crying for a bottle in the church and I'm looking all like a teenager, young, and um right off I said that's why, um, these people

> that are sinners that come to serve God, they don't come back because they feel talked about and it's not right to go in a church and um, instead of the preacher singing we all do [wrong], they use one individual as to talking about somebody and I said that's what turns a lot of sinners away.

It was precisely this type of ongoing negative experience that perpetuated Mrs. Jackson's difficulties committing to a church home and contributed to her fluctuating church attendance throughout this phase of the study, despite her and Charesse's involvement with church activities, including Bible study and participating in the choir. Specifically, she described the small African American Baptist church as being too "judgmental" and "hypocritical," in her opinion. For example, one distant relative of Jada's who attended the church made comments to her about Victor and Rose being negative influences on Jada and impacting her church attendance because of their negative behaviors such as cigarette smoking and alcohol use. These comments upset Jada, but also contributed to her own internal conflicts about her level of spirituality and its impact on her closest relationships.

Religious and family values in conflict. As early as the second home observation, Mrs. Jackson revealed significant details about the personal challenges she experienced in trying to live a more religious lifestyle, while maintaining relationships with her husband, mother, and friends, who each exhibited different levels of religiosity. According to Mrs. Jackson, she had a particularly difficult time managing her relationship with her husband as she began to change her own behaviors:

> It started uh, changing my life in ways where it was causing problems with me and my relationship. 'Cause here I am not drinking or anything and me and my child going to church, going to Bible study and getting around Christian folk um, I come home and see

> Victor watching the game with a can of beer laying around beside him, and it's like I go in the other room and it start causing problems where I was just lacking sex and just, just, start messing with my personal life. So I was like how can I come home frustrated looking at him when I used to sit down and do the same thing. That's how we met each other, drinking and partying and stuff and so um, it just got to the point where I was like, man, I didn't know this was gonna cause problems. One day I got, gave him a party for his birthday, my husband, and so um, it was to the point where everybody was smoking and drinking and here I am with a cup of pop. Why did I wake up the next morning feeling like I had a hangover when I hadn't did anything. And so I asked the pastor that I was going to church with and they was like that's because um God is changing, coming into your life changing, and I was like well I didn't ask for all this, all I asked was to study the word of the Bible, then going to Bible study and church every Sunday, but as far as, you know, things just starting to change and me feeling like a rag doll being pulled one way towards goodness and one way towards badness when I was doing nothing but taking care of my child, living a righteous life, going to work every day and trying to get out [with friends] when I could get a break from my child…

Jada's level of insight and her openness and willingness to discuss these issues with her pastor and with the researcher in this example are notable. Even in the presence of Charesse who was playing in the same room during this observation, Jada exemplified her belief in open communication and candor by revealing her internal dilemma of working on spiritual growth by changing her behaviors and lifestyle, while working to refrain from negatively judging her husband's behaviors. Jada's example also alluded to her challenges of being the primary caregiver for her child and needing a break to do something for herself, such as spending time

with her friends. She explained that she had stopped doing activities she used to enjoy such as frequenting nightclubs with friends, and while she thought church activities could fulfill that part of her life, she found that she did not connect with friends in the church.

Mrs. Jackson's feelings of inadequacy, guilt, and shame in relation to her Christianity were not only a recurring theme throughout this study, but were connected to her search for an appropriate church home that she had revisited throughout her relationship with Mr. Jackson. In the second home observation, Mrs. Jackson continued to elaborate on this theme as she talked about earlier dilemmas with the church after Charesse's birth, but prior to her marriage to Mr. Jackson. At that time, she felt obligated to make a choice to commit fully to the church or to accept her husband and his behaviors that the church did not find acceptable, a choice initiated by the church because Mr. Jackson was not a member:

> I was scared right off because it was making me say, "Do you wanna choose man or God?" And I chose my husband, because I felt like we bared a child together. When the Christian folks in the small church was running around saying, "You can't be shacking [living together], you need to separate from him and that's why you lacking this and that's why you um, feeling," 'cause God's saying come to him and forget about that man, and I said "Well that's wrong," with just saying, "Take your bedrooms [bedroom furniture set] that you bought me, take your washer and dryer, whatever we done made together, take that" and just and um leave him with nothing, you know, no place to stay… just to say "I'm separating from you" 'cause here I am having premarital sex when I'm confessing this every day in church, I'm going home to premarital sex. I got to give in to the word, start learning about it, start reading it to myself, having prayer every night, and when you do that you bring God closer in your life and build a relationship with God and

> so I was feeling like, it's not right for me to go home to premarital sex and pray to God. So either I'm gonna be real with God or, or not go towards it at all so I just told people, "I'm gonna wait 'til I get married"….This was a small church, and when you in a small church they pressure you into, uh, doing something…they come down on you more and so I was like man, I don't want to have a church home and I don't think I'm ready for this and so….

Again, this was an ongoing dilemma for Mrs. Jackson and while she did continue to attend the same church throughout this phase of the study, her level of engagement in the church and sense of being a full member of the church community was inconsistent as she attempted to find the best fit for her interests.

Appearance and Style

From the first home observation, Charesse's chronic eczema became a common theme throughout the study related to appearance and style, as well as socioeconomic status, due to treatment costs. In observation #3, Jada revealed the economic challenges she faced in trying to maintain Charesse's treatment regimen without health insurance:

> Right now um, the medical card ain't went through yet, and I had to go get her prescription yesterday. Come to find out me and her father would have to pay a fortune for all her medicine, they gave her six different things--Shampoo for her hair, a certain type of ointment to use on her face only, uh, uh, um, ointment to use for her eczema spots on her arms and legs, then they gave her some Benadryl to take out at night to sleep well, and they gave her uh, some lotion like type stuff to use after she get out of the [bath] tub. And I went and I'm thinking that I could afford to pay for this, and I'm like we gonna have to go to the bank and so he [Victor] told me he was going today and he would bring

> her her prescriptions. I was like man. I mean each jar was like twenty-eight dollars. And I was like, that medical card gotta come through. I, I'm not used to, I mean but when it come to her being itchy and irritated and putting me up through the night, at three [o'clock], she be waking me up at three and five and whatever times just scratching. And so, and by me being pregnant my stomach just get to turning like a sick feeling, like uh you woke me up. And so, I'm like, I gotta do something.

Not only did the physical irritation and discomfort of her dry, itchy skin prevent Charesse from sleeping well, impacted her self-esteem due to the discolored patches of skin on her face, caused patches of her hair to fall out due to her dry and itchy scalp, and required her to keep strict hygiene routines, this condition also served as a source of economic stress for the family and caused physical discomfort for Mrs. Jackson during her pregnancy with Victor, Jr. Charesse continued to suffer from eczema throughout this study.

Summary

Observations of the Jackson family captured instances of racial socialization in each domain, including direct references to race, educational achievement, religion/spirituality, and appearance/style. Observations tended to have the same general "feel," as they typically only included Mrs. Jackson, the children, and the researcher and were primarily centered around one-on-one interactions between Mrs. Jackson and Charesse. While several themes observed occurred on a daily basis (most notably educational activities, hairstyling), many specific examples were observed less frequently, based on contextual factors, including what was happening personally in their lives (e.g., preparing for the birth of Victor, Jr., transitioning into a new job or school). Mrs. Jackson frequently shared stories of past and present personal experiences and confided in the researcher during lengthy conversation regarding personal

challenges (e.g., feelings of guilt and shame in relation to church membership, marital problems, doubts about parenting skills). While discussions about church membership, dilemmas of balancing church and family commitments, and promoting a religious foundation for the children were frequent, relatively few instances of formal religious activities (e.g., prayer, Bible study, singing hymns) were observed in the home.

Despite obvious fatigue and stress experienced by Mrs. Jackson, particularly while working full-time during her pregnancy with Victor, Jr., she prioritized open and effective communication between her and Charesse, as discussed in interviews. For example, she talked with Charesse about her preference for White Barbie dolls, explained the family's financial difficulties, and involved her in conversations about church membership, with an effort to be developmentally-appropriate. She also encouraged Charesse to initiate conversation with her, particularly when she was upset. These results contradicted an early ethnographic study of working-class African American families by Peters (1985) which found that parents overwhelmed by stressful working conditions and inadequate health care lead to negative parent-child communication patterns.

The ongoing focus on clothing, hairstyles, and overall appearance was striking and unique to this family, in comparison to the Lewis family. While gender certainly played a role in these differences, with more attention paid to Charesse's hair and clothing than with Jordan Lewis, socioeconomic status also proved to be a factor. For example, the care and attention put into maintaining clothing in good condition, being sensitive to labels and brands, and engaging in the practice of donating and receiving donated clothing all speak to the issue of limited income and its impact on the family's style and image.

The literature on racial socialization proposes four primary strategies or forms of socialization to race (Hughes et al., 2006). Of the four, the methods employed by the Jacksons primarily targeted *cultural socialization* and *egalitarianism*, and did not support the *promotion of mistrust* of White people or attempt *preparation for bias* and discrimination. Specifically, the Jacksons promoted color-blind ideologies or equal rights among all people, and they promoted racial and cultural pride with Charesse by prioritizing Black Barbie dolls, surrounding her with Black popular culture in the form of music and movies, by fostering involvement in the Black church, promoting family heritage and unity, and by celebrating African American hairstyles as a form of cultural pride and bonding among women and girls. The Jacksons accomplished this primarily through *instilling personal and group identity values* as an African American and a Christian, and by *providing a context for their position in society* through formal education as a means to overcome poverty and a family history of drug abuse and broken relationships, both identified as important parental roles in the literature (Cunningham & Francois, 2009; Thornton et al., 1990).

Chapter 7

Discussion

On January 20, 2009 Barack Obama was inaugurated as the 44th President of the United States of America, whereby the "First Family" and "African American family" became synonymous. Despite holding this most prestigious office in the country and serving as a world leader, social class and economic status have not been able to transcend the effects of race in the daily experiences of the Obama family. Many of the experiences observed by the world as experienced by the Obama family since taking office in 2009 are parallel to experiences captured among the Lewis and Jackson families in the course of this study. As the Obama family was scrutinized in relation to their personal style and choice of clothing (particularly the First Lady) and their former religious affiliations, they also publicly grappled with the process of finding a church home in Washington D.C. and the task of selecting an appropriate school for their young daughters. President Obama's multi-ethnic identity became an issue of national attention, as did the maternal grandmother's role in living at the White House to help raise the Obama girls. What is it about these shared experiences—if anything—that necessarily points to racial and/or ethnic identity as African Americans as the common thread? How does one know or teach (i.e., socialize) what it means to be an African American? How does identification as an African American family shape the experiences of the individual family members—particularly the children? It was these types of epistemological questions, grounded in personal experiences as a biracial child raised in a multi-generational Caucasian household that led to the conception of this study on racial socialization among African American families. Further, personal experiences of this researcher starting her own family during the course of this study played a dual role both shaping and being influenced by the interactions with the Lewis and Jackson

families. This shared status of being college/graduate students raising young African American children resonated with each family's charge and commitment to general childrearing and socialization beliefs and practices as a source of common ground.

Research Questions

This study sought to address five specific research questions: (1) What are parents' goals with respect to racial socialization? (2) What kinds of socialization practices did parents engage in with their 3-year-olds, particularly in the areas of educational achievement, religion/spirituality, and style/appearance? (3) To what extent are these socialization practices deliberate or unwitting (or both)? (4) How do young children participate in these practices? (5) Do the two families differ in their beliefs and practices? Imbedded in these questions are queries concerning whether socioeconomic status or child gender plays a role in socialization; whether socialization practices are perceived as overt or subtle; what role grandparents play in the racial socialization process; and if parental goals and socialization practices change over time as children mature, transition into elementary school, and are potentially exposed to discrimination outside the home.

This study was designed in a manner to address these questions as well as to fill gaps in the existing racial socialization literature. First, this study focused on racial socialization during *early* childhood. Second, qualitative methods were used to attain an *in-depth* description of racial socialization beliefs and practices through a series of interviews and a year-long succession of home observations. Next, parental beliefs and practices, or talk and actions, as observed in their *everyday* lives were captured and analyzed. Finally, the observation results were divided into three categories, which emerged from the data: (1) implicit and explicit ongoing daily practices, (2) specific examples of observed references to race and the related domains of educational

achievement, religion/spirituality, and appearance/style, and (3) socialization practices that happened indirectly through the child's observation of adult conversation in which racial socialization content was invoked.

Parents' Racial Socialization Goals

Parents' goals with respect to racial socialization were presented and examined primarily through the context of semi-structured interviews with the Lewis and Jackson families. The Lewis family is a middle-class family including Jason, his wife Tami, and their three children—Jordan (focal child), Alya, and Justin. Mr. and Mrs. Samson, Tami's parents, also participated in the study as regular caregivers for the children. The adults in the Lewis family participated in a total of eight interviews. The Jackson family is a working-class family including Victor, Sr., his wife Jada, and their two children—Charesse (focal child) and Victor, Jr. Mrs. Jackson participated in three interviews, while Mr. Jackson participated only in the racial socialization interview, together with his wife.

Results from these interviews presented a picture of these families as highly involved parents committed to instilling a sense of strong family values in their children and integrating each of the four identified domains important to racial socialization—race, educational achievement, religion/spirituality and appearance/style—as identified and expected from previous research on parenting and racial socialization (e.g., Boykin & Toms, 1985; Carter, Black, 2005; Coard, Wallace, Stevenson, & Brotman, 2004; Marshall, 1995; Peters, 1985; Thornton et al., 1990). Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Samson each invoked race in the initial childrearing interview, even though it was not directly asked by interviewers. This was similar to previous findings that older, married, highly educated parents were more likely to report engaging in racial socialization practices (Thornton et al., 1990). Mr. Jackson did not participate in initial

interviews and Mrs. Jackson did not spontaneously address race, although they both discussed racial matters in detail when asked during the racial socialization interview. These findings are consistent with early and influential ethnographic work which found that African American parents typically did not initiate the topic of race during interviews, but validated its salience in parenting young African American children when directly asked or observed (Marshall, 1995; Peters, 1985).

According to both families, parenting African American children was perceived to be more difficult than for other racial and/or ethnic groups, consistent with parents in previous research reportedly burdened with the task of teaching their children to anticipate and process negative racial experiences (Coard et al., 2004). This was particularly salient with Mrs. Lewis, who experienced alienation from some people in her social circle due to race and even some family members due to social class, and therefore, exhibited a high level of vigilance and conscious attention to the perceptions of others. For Mrs. Lewis, building self-esteem and racial pride from infancy was a primary attempt to proactively combat stereotypes and negative images, while simultaneously being realistic about expectations for negative experiences and interactions.

Advancing Educational Achievement

The quest for access to quality education has historically been a source of struggle in the African American community (e.g., Carter-Black, 2003, 2005; Comer, 1988; Cunningham & Francois, 2009; Demo & Hughes, 1990; Hudley et al., 2003; McAdoo, 2002; Slaughter-Defoe, 1991; Wilson, 1991). The local African American community in Centerville is no exception, where struggles with educational equity have been an ongoing source of tension (Aber et al., 2000; Carter-Black, 2003, 2005). Despite historical educational barriers for African Americans

such as segregated schools and documented racial disparities, in addition to personal experiences with special education and limited educational opportunities, in the case of the Jacksons, and experiences with racial discrimination and contested racial authenticity with the Lewises, each family reinforced a belief that their children would excel academically with the family's support, communication, and positive self-esteem. The importance of a quality education became evident early on with both the Lewis and Jackson families. Both Tami and Jason Lewis were pursuing graduate degrees and Tami taught college classes in the local community. Jada Jackson was also taking classes at a local community college during a portion of the study. In addition, each family member referenced their children's education in some form in the initial childrearing interviews, although it would be at least two years before the focal children in the study would begin kindergarten. Both families reported a lack of faith in the local public school system's ability to effectively educate their children prior to enrolling their children. Once enrolled, they each gave examples of receiving assessments of their children's abilities by the school or classroom teacher that failed to align with the parents' perceptions of the child's abilities based on their performance and interactions at home.

Both families struggled with the "dilemma" described by Diana Slaughter-Defoe (1991) with respect to selecting a school based on achievement orientation and maintaining a strong, African American identity and sense of community. This dilemma played out in different ways, however, with the Jackson family selecting an elementary school that offered the best educational opportunities, although it meant compromising access to needed resources offered by other school who served more African American and working-class families. The Lewis family originally chose the same school that Charesse Jackson attended, but later opted to move to a racially-mixed neighborhood and elementary school with a large population of working-class

African American students to balance out their children's exposure to racially and economically diverse peers, even at the expense of a strong academic curriculum. Both Jordan Lewis and Charesse Jackson were exceptional students and did not face academic challenges, but both families did report interpersonal challenges with school staff based on racially-based expectations with their children. The finding by Diamond and Gomez (2004) that middle-class African American parents are more likely to choose their children's schools and to be satisfied with them and supportive, while working-class African American parents were more likely to be assigned to a school and have more negative attitudes about the school that they attempted to change through school reform, did not hold up in this study. In fact, the Lewises (the middle-class family) were the ones to challenge the school principal about school policies, but, interestingly did not feel heard or respected even though the principal was an African American woman herself. Mrs. Jackson disagreed with the teacher's assessments of Charesse's strengths, but did not assert this to the teacher.

Building on the Foundation of Religion/Spirituality

The church has played a prominent role in African American history as a second home or extended family (Boyd-Franklin, 2006) and important context for childrearing and development (Carter-Black, 2003; Demo & Hughes, 1990; Haight, 2002; Hale-Benson, 1982; Marshall, 1995). Interview data from the Lewis and Jackson families confirmed the importance of religion and spirituality and its continual influence in their daily lives. Each of the caregivers expressed a desire to instill in their children a strong moral value system based on the principles of Christianity. The themes in regard to religion and spirituality were the same for the families—the church home as a defining feature, the integration of principles from the Bible into childrearing practices as a common parenting task, and shaping the participation of the children in religious

practices as a primary goal. The role that each caregiver played varied, however. In the Lewis family, the grandparents played a primary role in providing a daily religious structure and expectation that religion come before everything else in the children's lives—even education. Mr. and Mrs. Lewis respected the values instilled in them during their own childhoods growing up in African American churches, but sought to raise their own children in church environments that met their unique needs as an educated, middle-class family. In the Jackson family, adherence to religious beliefs and balancing religion with the marital relationship was a continual challenge during the study. Mrs. Jackson attempted to raise her children in the church and promote active involvement in church activities, but lacked the support of her husband who did not attend church and of fellow church members that she felt negatively judged her.

Celebrating African American Style and Appearance

African American style and appearance has not largely been taken up as a relevant topic in racial socialization and parenting literatures with young children (Bracey, 2003), yet parents in this study each acknowledged these issues as important to raising African American children. Each family discussed the importance of personal hygiene, grooming, and overall physical presentation as a reflection on the family as a whole and important factor in the development of the children's self-esteem. Although both families were mainstream in their personal style—falling somewhere in between the modest dress of "sanctified" African-American churchgoers and the baggy pants and midriffs of hip-hop culture—they celebrated their physical features in a manner that promoted cultural pride. For example, the Lewises found the beauty in each of their children's different skin tones and body types and the Jacksons encouraged Charesse to value her natural African American hair.

Observed Practices of Racial Socialization and Related Domains

In conjunction with the interviews, a series of ethnographic observations over a two-year period sought to address the assertion made by a premier study on racial socialization, that culture is transmitted to children or learned through everyday interactions between parents and family members through routine activities and consistent styles of behavior “that provide an ambiance so compelling that the child can pick them up through an unarticulated conditioning process…even as parents might belie what they articulate to be their value and child-rearing objectives” (Boykin & Toms, 1985, p. 42). Results were consistent with a 1995 study by Phinney and Chavira, which found that most African American parents actively socialized their children with respect to race; they focused on academic achievement as a way to transcend racial barriers; and many parents anticipated negative experiences with discrimination in their children’s future. As such, each of the families in this study worked to foster a strong connection to the church and school as socializing contexts; however, in both families, the primary responsibility for racial socialization remained with the family, as opposed to other contexts outside the home, as consistent with seminal research by Boykin and Toms (1985).

The literature on racial socialization proposes four primary strategies or forms of socialization to race, including: *cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust*, and *egalitarianism* (Hughes et al., 2006). Both the Lewis and Jackson families promoted cultural socialization, or cultivating racial pride and positive group identity. Specifically, attention to issues of appearance and style served to provide a context for these messages through the Lewis family’s positive valuation of the various skin color, body and hair types among the children, and the Jackson family’s prioritizing of Black Barbie dolls and engaging in interactions around hair braiding and styling (Lewis, 1999). However, the Lewises primarily expressed socialization messages targeting the preparation for bias (e.g., messages

geared toward fostering awareness of racism) and the promotion of mistrust of Whites, in contrast to the Jacksons who did not endorse these beliefs, but expressed messages of egalitarianism (e.g., color-blind ideologies).

The Lewises took an active and explicit role in teaching their children that race has meaning in American society and to prepare them for the differential treatment they would experience based on the perceptions of others, particularly in the school system. For Jordan, especially, the idea of the "triple quandary" (Boykin & Toms, 1985) took the form of race, gender, and class negotiations and necessitated that the Lewises prepare him for discrimination and bias as a middle-class African American male. On the other hand, the Jacksons expressed an avoidance of discussing race, racial identity, and racial discrimination with their daughter, and, therefore, did not directly promote mistrust or impart proactive messages intended to prepare Charesse for bias and discrimination. Instead, they focused more on messages of equality and acceptance, invoking a color-blind racial ideology. These results were consistent with previous research that found parents of pre-school aged children tend to focus more on egalitarian messages than direct messages about discrimination, in an attempt to be age-appropriate in their socialization messages (Hughes et al., 2006). Mrs. Jackson continued this role; however, and by the time Charesse had reached third grade, the task of helping Charesse with homework had been relegated to Mr. Jackson while Mrs. Jackson deferred to Charesse's teachers regarding evaluation of her work and abilities. In contrast, the Lewis parents evolved into the roles of advocate and tutor for Jordan throughout elementary school. While they enjoyed these roles and were naturally comfortable and successful in them, they acknowledged the burden of being forced into these roles as a function of their race and class.

Each of the caregivers in the study worked to fill the four major roles identified in the literature (Cunningham & Francois, 2009; Thornton et al, 1990) as important for promoting racial socialization among children. Namely, they sought to *instill personal and group identity values* as African Americans (e.g., comparing Jordan to Sammy Sosa and Michael Jordan; regular attendance and matching outfits at family reunions); *foster inter-group interpersonal relations* with peers from different backgrounds (e.g., choosing elementary schools partially based on racial and socioeconomic makeup of the student body); *model appropriate behaviors* in the home (e.g., incorporating reading and prayer into daily family routines); and *provide a context for the children's place in society-at-large* (e.g., by grooming Jordan for a career as a "preacher;" instilling mainstream values in Charesse with expectations for excelling beyond her parents).

Overt vs. Subtle Socialization Messages

Racial socialization research has demonstrated that socialization may be accomplished proactively, actively, reactively, or passively (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Boykin & Toms, 1985; Coard, Wallace, Stevenson, & Brotman, 2004; Marshall, 1995; Murray & Mandara, 2002; Murray, Stokes, & Peacock, 1999; Peters, 1985; Stevenson, 1994, 1995). In interviews conducted in this study, the manner in which race-related messages were conveyed to the Lewis children varied among the adult caregivers in the family, with Mrs. Lewis providing mostly proactive messages (e.g., anticipating, identifying, and responding to racism that Jordan would face "as a Black male"); Mrs. Samson relaying active messages (e.g., ongoing open communication, truth telling about past experiences with her own children); and Mr. Lewis predominantly conveying reactive messages (e.g., age-appropriate responses in response to specific instances). Passive responses to instances of racism were not reported or observed in

interviews with the Lewis family, but were more frequently observed in the Jackson family, who expressed messages aimed at avoiding discrimination and negative situations.

In the extant research, explicit messages about race were found to be less frequent than messages regarding race-related concepts such as academic achievement, moral/religious values, work ethic, and self-esteem (Marshall, 1995; Thornton et al., 1990). In this study, parents became more concrete over time about their goals and practices regarding racial socialization. This was partly due to the child's developmental stage and cognitive abilities to understand these complex issues, but also partly due to reactions or responses to actual experiences with racism by the children and/or parents themselves. The latest data was collected when the focal children were nine-year-old third graders and had each experienced racial bias, such as other children not wanting to play with them because of discrimination, or experiencing negative expectations of teachers, perceived to be based on their race. Still, they were relatively inexperienced with instances of racial discrimination in a manner than impacted them directly by the end of this study. Direct race-related socialization practices were relatively infrequently observed in the home, compared to the amount of talk devoted to these topics in interviews. In fact, race was only directly addressed in 6 of the 32 observations with the Lewis family and 13 of the 31 observations in the Jackson family. Despite these relatively small numbers, given the amount of talk explicitly about race in interviews, the values and principles expressed in interviews were validated through their actions in home observations.

Determining whether these *direct* references to race also constitute *overt* racial socialization practices, however, is a rather complex issue. For example in the Lewis family, four observations included each of the four adults and Jordan, himself, comparing Jordan's basketball skills to Michael Jordan or encouraging him to "hit like Sammy Sosa" when playing baseball.

Given that these were arguably the two greatest sports stars in the local area at the time for these particular professional sports, it is not clear whether Jordan was compared to them for his athletic ability alone or because they were Black. This direct connection was never made. In the Jackson family, use of the term “African” was observed in three separate observations—once to distinguish African neighborhood children from African American children (“Grace, the African, won’t let me play”); once to describe Charesse’s appearance in a cotton dress with her hair undone (“Charesse looks like an African”); and once to identify a woman who was skilled at braiding hair (“…this African girl…had braided her hair to death”). In the first two examples, the reference implied a negative connotation, yet the third example highlighted a strength and asset that Jada Jackson valued. These examples, which all occurred in the child’s presence, constituted some level of racial socialization.

The relative lack of recorded instances of race-related socialization in the Lewis family was somewhat surprising, given their thoughtful and comprehension attention to these matters in interviews. This discrepancy may reflect the family’s self-proclaimed focus on subtle examples of racial experiences, and routine focus on domains of racial socialization, such as educational achievement, religion/spirituality and appearance/style in a more “tacit socialization process” (Boykin & Toms, 1985) referred to in the racial socialization literature. Alternatively, the young age and developmental stage of the children as being relatively unaware of racial issues and inexperienced with racial discrimination were likely primary factors in the dearth of explicit references to race. The Jacksons discussed race directly less often in initial interviews, but did discuss related topics such as a strong work ethic, African American heritage, limited opportunities for African Americans, the importance of moral values, and positive self-esteem (Thornton et al., 1990). Their willingness to talk about race in the final interview in a way that

was not discussed in the earlier interviews may have been due to being directly asked, may have been impacted by Mr. Jackson's participation in the racial socialization interview, or may have been due to an increased level of comfort addressing race with the interviewer at the end of the study.

Young Children's Participation in Socialization Practices

Both focal children in the study exhibited racial awareness from the beginning of the study as 3 ½ year old preschoolers, as supported by previous research (e.g., Katz,1997; McAdoo, 2002; McKown, 2004; Quintana, 1998; Wright, 1998). They also expressed racial attitudes similar to that of their parents, as expected (Aboud, 1988), as evidenced by their participation in conversations about differences in skin color and hair texture, awareness of African American popular culture, and their participation in culture-based family activities.

The primary daily activities observed with Jordan Lewis differed dramatically from the routine activities of Charesse Jackson. For example, primary ongoing activities for Jordan Lewis included promoting basic developmental skills such as learning to play video games, spelling his name out loud or counting, playing with educational toys, demonstrating motor skills (flexing muscles, running, jumping, kicking), and building with blocks. Interactive activities included sports instruction with family members or as part of organized teams, family board games, family prayers at mealtimes and bedtime, and a nightly bedtime story. Typical daily activities for Charesse Jackson included extensive one-on-one academic instruction with her mother, significant attention to grooming (e.g., changing clothes, trying on shoes, styling hair), pretend play with Barbie dolls or pretend food items, and neatly organizing her toys and books onto the shelves lining her room. Participation in family events such as weddings, baby showers,

reunions, and holiday meals were also highly important regular family activities discussed, although not observed directly.

Differences in children's participation as observed in each family were largely attributed to differences in social class and gender of the focal children, but also impacted by the limited scope of observations conducted with the Jackson family due to the absence of Mr. Jackson and consistent time frame for observations (e.g., weekday afternoons), based on the family's requested schedule.

Differences Between the Lewis and Jackson Families

Other significant differences, besides the obvious social class and gender of focal child, emerged in examining the Lewis and Jackson families. Of particular interest is the number of observations in which specific instances of racial socialization occurred, including in the domains of academic achievement, religion/spirituality, and appearance/style. Specifically, for the Lewis family, academic achievement was brought up in 59.37% of home observations, religion/spirituality was referenced in 56.25%, references to appearance/style were observed in 34.37% of observations, and direct references to race were present in 18.75% of the 32 total home observations. Numbers for the Jackson family indicate that academic achievement was brought up in 74.19% of observations, references to appearance/style were observed in 58.06% of observations, direct references to race were present in 41.93% of observations, and religion/spirituality was referenced in 35.48% of the total 31 ethnographic observations.

In comparison, both families invoked educational achievement more than any other domain, and the Jackson family referenced race directly in over twice as many observations than did the Lewises. Differences regarding the timing of when racially-related socialization messages and practices began were also noted, with the Lewis family reporting starting these messages

from birth and the Jackson family taking more of a "color-blind" approach until actual encounters with discrimination occurred, which was not expected until later adolescence and early adulthood. Academic achievement and appearance/style were also observed more frequently in the Jackson family, while the Lewises more frequently addressed religion and spirituality.

The role of the grandparents was important in this distinction between the Lewis family's attention to explicit references to race compared to the Jackson family's adherence to a color-blind ideology. Mrs. Samson was a strong advocate for her own children in the educational context, specifically, and she was highly aware of racism in her own community. Her level of support and her expectation that Mr. and Mrs. Lewis address race with their children helped shape the Lewises' practices and ran counter to the less active role played by Mrs. Harris. Mrs. Jackson described her home environment during her school years as chaotic and it was evident that Mrs. Harris did not play a prominent role in Jada's education, even when she was put into speech classes where she felt she did not belong. Similarly, Mrs. Harris did not play an active role in Charesse's formal education and did not encourage or support Mrs. Jackson in making educational decisions or challenging the school system in any way. The different roles played by the grandparents in raising their own children and instilling cultural and educational values in their grandchildren appeared to be a factor in the different approaches taken by each family.

When both interviews and observations are taken into account, the results contradict previous research with respect to differences among socioeconomic status groups. For example, Phinney and Chavira (1995) found no significant differences based on socioeconomic status, while the current study found more frequent explicit racial socialization *messages* in the middle-class Lewis family, as evidenced by interview data, compared to more frequent racial

socialization *practices* in the working-class Jackson family, as indicated in observations. Although the Jacksons discussed race and race-related socialization relatively infrequently in interviews, and only when directly asked, they invoked race in observations twice as frequently as the Lewis family. In contrast, Mrs. Jackson spoke extensively about socialization with respect to religion and spirituality in interviews, but significantly more instances of religious practices and socialization messages were observed in the Lewis family.

Finally, the role of the grandparents in the daily routines of the families and the lives of the focal children was strikingly different. Mrs. Samson, the mother of Tami Lewis, shared the role of primary caregiver while the Lewis children were young, and fit the profile of the deeply religious (Hale-Benson, 1982) “parent-like” figure (Hagestad & Uhlenberg, 2009) of African American grandmothers presented in parenting literature (Hudley et al., 2003). She was very aware of their daily activities and confident about her role in their development, as exhibited by her active participation in interviews and observations, yet she was very clear about her position as second to Mr. and Mrs. Lewis in terms of decision-making regarding childrearing goals and theory. Mr. Samson, equally as visible in the Lewis children’s lives, held the primary role of respected elder and spiritual teacher, evidenced by his drill and practice style of Christian education in the home.

Mrs. Harris’s involvement in the Jackson family was quite different. While she was involved as the primary childcare provider while her daughter, Jada Jackson, worked at the beginning of the study, her role was less pronounced in Charesse’s daily development. As a child of divorce in a home with substance abuse and teenage pregnancy, Mrs. Jackson acknowledged a somewhat strained relationship with her mother while growing up and indicated an ongoing lack of practical and emotional support. While Mrs. Harris shared similar values with respect to

education and religion for Charesse, her capacity and commitment to serve as a role model for Charesse in these areas was diminished and was evidenced by her minimal participation in interviews and observations.

Implications

This ethnographic study stands to make important contributions to existing research on African American parenting and racial socialization by providing insight into the subtleties of the racial socialization process among families with young children as captured through in-depth observation and analysis of socialization practices in daily life over an extended period of time. This study may be used to expand on previous work on self-esteem conducted by this research team (e.g., Bracey, 2003; Bracey, Bámaca, & Umaña-Taylor, 2004; Miller et al., 2002; Miller, Cho, & Bracey, 2009) to further explore the positive relationship between racial socialization, racial/ethnic identity, and self-esteem for African American children.

By conceptualizing positive identity and high self-esteem as protective factors, racial socialization processes may be incorporated into prevention work for at-risk youth and clinical interventions for children with mental health challenges to promote positive outcomes. Additionally, these results may be used to inform strengths-based parent training curricula for ethnic minority parents and may also be incorporated into teacher training regarding culture-based expectations of students and interactions with African American parents.

Strengths

Beyond the findings themselves that fill gaps in the extant literature as inherent strengths of this study, there are several methodological issues that deserve to be addressed. First, the research design as a combination of semi-structured, open-ended interviews with naturalistic ethnographic observations of daily routines in the home, supplemented with detailed field notes

to capture content and process notes, produced a uniquely rich set of data. By utilizing initial interviews based on general childrearing topics without explicit questions regarding race, then by developing follow-up interviews based on emerging themes unique to each family, and finally by incorporating a racial socialization interview protocol based partly on scholarly research and part personal experience, both implicit and explicit socialization beliefs and practices emerged from this data. Looking at interview data alone would have led to the conclusion that the Lewis family's childrearing practices centered heavily on explicit race-related messages very early in childhood and that the Jackson family was oblivious to or relatively unaffected by racial matters. Analyzing only observation data would have given the impression that the Lewis family did not think much about race or work diligently to provide a strong orientation to education, and that the Jackson family held more elitist beliefs with respect to race and did not place significant value on a religious foundation in raising their children. Only by merging these pieces of data does the privilege of a fuller, richer, and more complete portrait of these families emerge.

Second, the manner in which the research was conducted was a positive feature of this research. This study was conceptualized and carried out from a strengths-based, family-driven perspective, which sought to examine families on their own terms and in their own familiar contexts. Quoted speech by family members reproduced in this document was left largely unedited, allowing for their verbatim wording and manner of speaking to be maintained.

Third, the quality of the interpersonal relationships built and maintained between the researcher and the Lewis and Jackson families are a notable strength of this study. Through prolonged engagement of one researcher across a span of six years with Charesse Jackson and her family, a special relationship was formed, that has persisted for a total of 9 years now outside of the research setting. The development of this relationship is noteworthy since relationship-

building with working-class families in research can be challenging and without this sustained interaction and rapport, Mr. Jackson's trust would certainly have not been earned and his engagement and participation in the study would not have been possible. Although this researcher only collected the racial socialization interview data with the Lewis family, a bond was created through a level of shared values, interests, and experiences, which has also stood the test of time. This prolonged engagement and multiple contexts of interaction (e.g., formal, informal, home, community) each contributed to the trustworthiness of this data and the credibility of these research findings. Inclusion of multiple data collection methods (e.g., semi-structured interviews, unstructured home observations, field notes) and multiple data sources (e.g., parents, grandparents, children) supported triangulation of the data as another manner of establishing its credibility (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Limitations

As an exploratory ethnographic project on racial socialization, with a sample size of two families, this study was not able to make definitive statements regarding correlation or establish causation in respect to the relationship of racial socialization and beliefs and activities in related domains. Previous research has established that "Black children who are exposed to explicit messages about race relations are more likely to reject stereotypic images of their race, exhibit high self-esteem, and experience academic success" (Murry & Brody, 2002, p. 101), particularly when presented in moderate amounts. While both Jordan and Charesse were exposed to explicit racial socialization and excelled to similarly high achievements academically, their levels of self-esteem were not comparable (as established in previous research by Bracey, 2003) and the data collected from this study is not able to address their abilities to reject stereotypes.

In addition, the few notable instances of a child's personal experiences with racism that were discussed during the racial socialization interview (e.g., being called "Black berry" by a White child on the playground, being expected to perform or behave poorly in school by White teachers) happened while Jordan and Charesse were in elementary school, after the family had completed the observation portion of the study; therefore, these events were not captured or discussed during observations. While these examples indicate that the families were preparing for acts of racial discrimination and ways to address it, one limitation of conducting the racial socialization interview after the observation data collection is that these events were not acknowledged and processed with the research team as they happened.

Finally, this data is limited in its ability to report measurable outcomes for the children and families with respect to racial socialization. Children did not participate in interviews and were not administered any form of questionnaires to determine outcomes such as: whether their attitudes are similar to or different from their parents; what the impact is of explicit versus subtle means of socialization on the child's level of racial awareness; or ways in which children process racially-related incidents.

Future Directions

There are several recommendations for pursuing further work in this area. First, expanding the analysis of inter-generational racial socialization messages and practices within families through interviews and observations with relatives in multiple generations of the same family would provide further insight into the racial socialization process as a family-centered and culturally-based phenomenon. Secondly, expanding to include more families would strengthen the generalizability of results. Third, the inclusion of biracial or multi-ethnic families with some level of African American cultural identity would serve to more effectively link research on

ethnic identity development, biracial identity development, and racial/ethnic socialization and further illuminate the complexities of these processes. Next, looking more closely at the relationship between racial socialization and transition periods in the life of children (e.g., beginning elementary or middle school, transferring to a new church, puberty, birth of new siblings, divorce, loss of a family member) would provide a stronger connection to the literature on resilience and prevention science. Finally, expanding the lens developmentally to include even younger children and older children would continue to build the bridge between young children and adolescence, where the bulk of racial socialization and identity work has been done to date.

References

Aber, M., Meinrath, S., Johnston, J., Rasmussen, A., & Gonzalez, A. (2000). *School Climate Survey.* Unpublished Manuscript.

Aboud, F. (1988). *Children and Prejudice*. Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell.

Barr, S. C., & Neville, H. A. (2008). Examination of the link between parental racial socialization messages and racial ideology among Black college students. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *34*(2), 131-155. doi: 10.1177/0095798408314138

Barrio, V.R., & Eichenfield, L.F. (2009). Skin disorders and diseases. In R. Shweder, T. Bidell, A. Dailey, S. Dixon, P. Miller, & J. Modell (Eds.), *The Child: An Encyclopedic Companion* (pp. 909-911). Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Behar, R. (1993). *Translated Woman: Crossing the Border with Esperanza's Story.* Boston: Beacon Press.

Blau, Z.S. (1981). *Black Children/White Children: Competence, Socialization, and Social Structure*. New York, NY: The Free Press.

Bowman, P.J., & Howard, C. (1985). Race-related socialization, motivation, and academic achievement: A study of Black youths in three-generational families. *Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry, 24*, 134-141. doi: 10.1016/S0002-7138(09)60438-6

Boyd-Franklin, N. (2006). *Black Families in Therapy: Understanding the African American Experience*, 2nd edition. New York: The Guilford Press.

Boykin, A.W., & Toms, F.D. (1985). Black child socialization: A conceptual framework. In H.P. McAdoo & J. L. McAdoo (Eds.), *Black Children: Social, Environmental, and Parental Environments* (pp. 35-51). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Bracey, J.R. (2003). *"It's not the Brady Bunch": African American parents' folk-theories of self-esteem* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Bracey, J.R., Bámaca, M.Y., & Umaña-Taylor, A.J. (2004). Examining ethnic identity and self-esteem among biracial and monoracial adolescents. *Journal of Youth & Adolescence.* 2004*,* 33: 123-132. doi: 10.1023/B:JOYO.0000013424.93635.68

Burton, L.M. & Jarrett, R.L. (2000). In the mix, yet on the margins: The place of families in urban neighborhood and child development research. *Journal of Marriage & the Family, 62*(4), 1114-1135. doi: 10.1111/j.1741-3737.2000.01114.x

Carter-Black, J. (2003). The Myth of "The Tangle of Pathology": Resilience Strategies Employed by Middle-Class African American Families. *Journal of Family Social Work, 6*(4), 75-100. doi: 10.1300/J039v06n04_06

Carter-Black, J.D. (2005). *Success oriented strategies employed by middle-class African American families: A focus on positive racial identity development and socialization.* (Doctoral dissertation).Retrieved from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses (UMI number 3202070).

Coard, S.I., Wallace, S.A., Stevenson, Jr., H.C., & Brotman, L.M. (2004). Towards culturally relevant preventive interventions: The consideration of racial socialization in parent training with African American families. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 13* (3), 277-293. doi: 10.1023/B:JCFS.0000022035.07171.f8

Comer, J. (1988). *Maggie's American Dream: The Life and Times of a Black Family*. New York: New American Library

Clifford, J., & Marcus, G.E. (Eds.). (1986). *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Cunningham, M. & Francois, S. (2009). African American children. In R. Shweder, T. Bidell, A. Dailey, S. Dixon, P. Miller, & J. Modell (Eds.), *The Child: An Encyclopedic Companion* (pp. 41-43). Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Demo, D.H. & Hughes, M. (1990). Socialization and racial identity among Black Americans. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 53* (4), 364-374.

Diamond, J.B. & Gomez, K. (2004). African American parents' educational orientations: The importance of social class and parents' perceptions of schools. *Education and Urban Society, 36* (4), pp. 383-427. doi: 10.1177/0013124504266827

Dimitriadis, G. (2001). *Performing Identity/ Performing Culture: Hip Hop as Text, Pedagogy, and Lived Practice.* New York: Peter Lang.

Dodson, J. E. (1995). Conceptualizations of Black Families. In N.R. Goldberger, and J.B. Veroff (Eds.), *The Culture and Psychology Reader* (pp. 276-291). New York, NY: New York University Press.

Dunmore, C.J. (1976). *Black Children and Their Families: A Bibliography*. San Francisco, CA: R and E Research Associates.

Fine, M. (1994). Working the hyphens: Reinventing self and other in qualitative research. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Franklin, A.J., Boyd-Franklin, N., & Draper, C.V. (2002). A psychological and educational perspective on Black parenting. In H.P. McAdoo (Ed.), *Black Children: Social, Educational, and Parental Environments* (2nd ed., pp. 119-140). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Frazier, E.F. (1939). *The Negro family in the United States*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

García Coll, C., & Pachter, L.M. (2002). Ethnic and minority parenting. In M.H. Bornstein (Ed.), *Handbook of parenting: Vol. 4.* (2nd ed., pp. 1-20). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Gomes, P.G. & Mabry, C.A. (1991). Negotiating the world: The developmental journey of African American children. In J.E. Everett, S.S. Chipungu, and B.R. Leashore (Eds.), *Child Welfare: An Africentric Perspective* (pp. 156-182). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Goodnough, A. (2009, July 20). Harvard professor jailed; Officer accused of bias. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com.

Guba, E. & Lincoln, Y. (1985). Establishing Trustworthiness. In E. Guba and Y. Lincoln, *Naturalistic Inquiry* (pp. 289-311). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Hagestad, G.O., & Uhlenberg, P.R. (2009). Grandparents. In R. Shweder, T. Bidell, A. Dailey, S. Dixon, P. Miller, & J. Modell (Eds.), *The Child: An Encyclopedic Companion* (pp. 419-420). Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Haight, W.L. (2002). *African-American Children at Church: A Sociocultural Perspective.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Haight, W. L. & Carter-Black, J. (2004). His eye is on the sparrow: Teaching and learning in an African-American church. In E. Gregory, S. Long, & D. Volk (Eds.), *Many Pathways to Literacy*. London: Routledge/Falmer of the Taylor & Francis Group.

Hale-Benson, J.E. (1982). *Black Children: Their Roots, Culture, and Learning Styles*. Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press.

Damon, W. & Lerner, R. M. (Eds.). (2006). *Handbook of Child Psychology* (Vols. 1-4). New York, NY: Wiley.

Harrison, A.O., Wilson, M.N., Pine, C.J., Chan, S.O., & Buriel, R. (1990). Family ecologies of ethnic minority children. *Child Development, 61,* 347-362. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8624.1990.tb02782.x

Harrison-Hale, A.O. (2006). Letters from Mary: Achieving stature within SRCD. In Slaughter-Defoe, D., Garrett, A., & Harrison-Hale, A. (Eds.). (2006). Our children too: A history of the Black Caucus of the Society for Research in Child Development, 1973-1997. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, Serial No. 283, 71 (1).

Hill, R.B. (1972). *The Strengths of Black Families*. New York, NY: Emerson Hall.

Hill, S.A. (1999). *African American Children: Socialization and Development in Families*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Hudley, E.V.P., Haight, W., & Miller, P.J. (2003). *Raise Up a Child: Human Development in an African-American Family*. Chicago, IL: Lyceum Books.

Hughes, D., Rodriguez, J., Smith, E.P., Johnson, D.J., Stevenson, H.C., & Spicer, P. (2006). Parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices: A review of research and directions for future study. *Developmental Psychology, 42*, 747-770. doi: 10.1037/0012-1649.42.5.747

Hughes, D. & Johnson, D. (2001). Correlates in children's experiences of parents' racial socialization behaviors. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 63,* 981-995. doi: 10.1111/j.1741-3737.2001.00981.x

Jarrett, R.L. (1994). Living poor: Family life among single parent, African American women. *Social Problems, 41*, 30-49. doi: 10.1525/sp.1994.41.1.03x0423g

Jarrett, R.L. (1997). African American family and parenting strategies in impoverished neighborhoods. *Qualitative Sociology, 20,* 275-288.

Jarrett, R.L. (1999). Making a way: Successful parenting in high-risk neighborhoods. In M.B. Larner (Ed.), *The Future of Children: When School is Out 9* (2). (pp. 45-50). pub

Katz, P.A. (1997). Race, gender, and young children. In S.S. Luthar, J.A. Burack, D. Cicchetti, & J.R. Weisz (Eds.), *Developmental Psychopathology: Perspectives on Adjustment, Risk, and Disorder* (pp. 51-74). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Lareau, Annette. (2003). *Unequal Childhoods: Race, Class, and Family Life.* Berkely, CA: University of California Press.

Lewis, M.L. (1999). Hair combing interactions: A new paradigm for research with African-American mothers. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 69* (4), 504-514. doi: 10.1037/h0080398

McAdoo, H.P. (2002). The village talks: Racial socialization of our children. In H.P. McAdoo (Ed.), *Black Children: Social, Environmental, and Parental Environments* (2nd Ed., pp. 47-56). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

McLoyd, V.C. (2006). The role of African American scholars in research on African American children: Historical perspectives and personal reflections. In Slaughter-Defoe, D., Garrett, A., & Harrison-Hale, A. (Eds.), Our children too: A history of the Black Caucus of the Society for Research in Child Development, 1973-1997. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, Serial No. 283, 71 (1).

McLoyd, V.C., & Randolph, S. (1985). Secular trends in the study of Afro-American children: A review of Child Development, 1936-1980. In A.B. Smuts & J.W. Hagen (Eds.), History and research in child development: In celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Society. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, 50* (4-5), 78-92.

McKown, C. (2004). Age and ethnic variation in children's thinking about the nature of racism. *Applied Developmental Psychology, 25*, 597 - 617. doi: 10.1016/j.appdev.2004.08.001

McWright, L. (2002). African American grandmothers' and grandfathers' influence in the value socialization of grandchildren. In H.P. McAdoo (Ed.), *Black Children: Social, Environmental, and Parental Environments* (2nd Ed., pp. 27-46). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Marks, A.K., Powell, K.K., & Garcia Coll, C. (2009). Ethnic identity. In R. Shweder, T. Bidell, A. Dailey, S. Dixon, P. Miller, & J. Modell (Eds.), *The Child: An Encyclopedic Companion* (pp. 321-324). Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Marshall, S. (1995). Ethnic socialization of African American children: Implications for parenting, identity development, and academic achievement. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 24,* 377-396. doi: 10.1007/BF01537187

Mehan, H. (2009). Classroom culture. In R. Shweder, T. Bidell, A. Dailey, S. Dixon, P. Miller, & J. Modell (Eds.), *The Child: An Encyclopedic Companion* (pp. 174-177). Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Miller, P.J., Cho, G.E., & Bracey, J.R. (2009). Self-esteem. In R. Shweder, T. Bidell, A. Dailey, S. Dixon, P. Miller, & J. Modell (Eds.), *The Child: An Encyclopedic Companion* (pp. 876-877). Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Miller, P., Fung, H., & Mintz, J. (1996). Self construction through narrative practices: A Chinese and American comparison. *Ethos, 24*, 1-44. doi: 10.1525/eth.1996.24.2.02a00020

Miller, P.J. & Goodnow, J.J. (1995). Cultural practices: Toward an integration of culture and development. In J.J. Goodnow, P.J. Miller, & F. Kessel (Eds.), *Cultural Practices as Contexts for Development* (pp. 5-16). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Miller, P.J. & Hoogstra, L. (1992). Language as tool in the socialization and apprehension of cultural meanings. In T. Schwartz, G.M. White, & C.A. Lutz (Eds.), *New Directions in Psychological Anthropology* (pp. 83-101). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Miller, P.J., Wang, S., Sandel, T., & Cho, G.E. (2002). Self-esteem as folk theory: A comparison of European American and Taiwanese mothers' beliefs. *Parenting: Science and Practice, 2,* 209-239. doi: 10.1207/S15327922PAR0203_02

Moynihan, D.P. (1965). *The Negro family: A case for national action.* Washington, D.C.: Department of Labor.

Murray, C.B. & Mandara, J. (2002). Racial identity development in African American children: Cognitive and experiential antecedents. In H.P. McAdoo (Ed.), *Black Children: Social, Environmental, and Parental Environments* (2nd Ed, pp. 73-96.). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Murray, C.B., Stokes, J.E., & Peacock, M.J. (1999). Racial socialization of African American children: A review. In R.L. Jones (Ed.), *African American Children, Youth, and Parenting* (pp. 209-229). Hampton, VA: Cobb & Henry.

Murry, V.M. & Brody, G.H. (2002). Racial socialization processes in single-mother families: Linking maternal racial identity, parenting, and racial socialization in rural, single-mother families with child self-worth and self-regulation. In H.P. McAdoo (Ed.), *Black Children:*

Social, Environmental, and Parental Environments (2nd Ed., pp. 97-115). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Pattillo-McCoy, M. (1999). *Black Picket Fences: Privilege and Peril Among the Black Middle Class.* Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Peterkin, R., & Lucey, J. (1998). *Education equity audit: Findings and recommendations*. Report submitted to Champaign Community Schools Unit 4, June 30, 1998.

Peters, M.F. (1985). Racial socialization of young Black children. In H.P. McAdoo and J. L. McAdoo (Eds.), *Black Children: Social, Environmental, and Parental Environments* (pp. 159-175). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Peters, M.F. (1997). Historical note: Parenting of young children in Black families. In H.P. McAdoo (Ed.), *Black families* (3rd ed., pp. 167-182). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Phinney, J.S., & Chavira, V. (1995). Parental ethnic socialization and adolescent coping with problems related to ethnicity. *Journal of Research on Adolescence,* 5, 31-53. doi: 10.1207/s15327795jra0501_2

Quintana, S.M. (1998). Children's developmental understanding of ethnicity and race. *Applied & Preventive Psychology, 7*, 27-45. doi: 10.1016/S0962-1849(98)80020-6

Rosier, K.B. (2000). *Mothering Inner-City Children: The Early School Years*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Slaughter-Defoe, D.T. (1991). Parental education choice: Some African American dilemmas. Reprinted from *The Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 60, No. 3, Summer, 1991, pp. 354-360.

Slaughter-Defoe, D., Garrett, A., & Harrison-Hale, A. (Eds.). (2006). Our children too: A history of the Black Caucus of the Society for Research in Child Development, 1973-1997. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, Serial No. 283, 71 (1).

Slaughter-Defoe, D.T., Johnson, D.J., and Spencer, M.B. (2009). Race and children's development. In R. Shweder, T. Bidell, A. Dailey, S. Dixon, P. Miller, & J. Modell (Eds.), *The Child: An Encyclopedic Companion* (pp. 801-806). Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Spencer, M.B. (1999). Transitions and continuities in cultural values: Kenneth Clark revisited. In R.L. Jones (Ed.), *African American Children, Youth, and Parenting* (pp. 183-207). Hampton, VA: Cobb & Henry Publishers.

Stack, C.B. (1974). *All Our Kin: Strategies for Survival in a Black Community.* New York: Harper Torchbook.

Stake, R.E. (1996). *The Art of Case Study Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Stevenson, H.C. (1994). Validation of the Scale of Racial Socialization for African American adolescents: Steps toward multidimensionality. *Journal of Black Psychology, 20*(4), 445-468. doi: 10.1177/00957984940204005

Stevenson, H.C. (1995). Relationship of adolescent perceptions of racial socialization to racial identity. *Journal of Black Psychology, 21*(1), 49-70. doi: 10.1177/00957984950211005

Sue, D.W., Nadal, K.L., Capodilupo, C.M., Lin, A.I., Torino, G.C., & Rivera D.P. (2008). Racial microaggressions against Black Americans: Implications for counseling. *Journal of Counseling and Development (86)*, 3, 330-338. doi: 10.1037/1099-9809.13.1.72

Sue, S. (1988). Psychotherapeutic services for ethnic minorities: Two decades of research findings. *American Psychologist*, *43,* 301-308. doi: 10.1146/annurev.psych.60.110707.163651

Super, C.M., & Harkness, S. (1986). The developmental niche: A conceptualization at the interface of child and culture. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 9*, 545-569. doi: 10.1177/016502548600900409

Taylor, R.L. (1991). Child rearing in African American families. In J.E. Everett, S.S. Chipungu, and B.R. Leashore (Eds.), *Child Welfare: An Africentric Perspective* (pp. 119-155). New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.

Tettegah, S. (1996). The racial consciousness attitudes of White prospective teachers and their perceptions of the teachability of students from different racial/ethnic backgrounds: Findings from a California study. *Journal of Negro Education, 65*(2), 151-163.

Thornton, M.C., Chatters, L.M., Taylor, R.J., & Allen, W.R. (1990). Sociodemographic correlates of racial socialization by Black parents. *Child Development, 61*, 401-409. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8624.1990.tb02786.x

U.S. Census Bureau (2000). *Race, Hispanic or Latino, and age*. [On-line]. Available: http://factfinder.census.gov/bf/_lang=en_vt_name=DEC_2000_PL_U_QTPL_geo_id=16000US1712385.html

Wilson, M.N. (1991). The context of the African American family. In J.E. Everett, S.S. Chipungu, and B.R. Leashore (Eds.), *Child Welfare: An Africentric Perspective* (pp. 85-118). New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.

Wilson, M.N., Greene-Bates, C., McKim, L., Simmons, F., Askew, T., Curry-El, J., & Hinton, I.D. (1995). African American family life: The dynamics of interactions, relationships, and roles. In M.N. Wilson (Ed.), *African American Family Life: Its Structural and Ecological Aspects* (pp. 5-23). New Directions in Child Development, no. 68. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Wolcott, H.F. (1995). *The Art of Field Work*. Alta Mira Press.

Wolf, M. (1992). *A Thrice Told Tale: Feminism, Postmodernism, and Ethnographic Responsibility.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Wright, M.A. (1998). *I'm Chocolate, You're Vanilla: Raising Healthy Black and Biracial Children in a Race-Conscious World*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Appendix A

Initial Childrearing and Self-Esteem Parent Interview Protocol

I'm going to start with some very general questions about your child and your experiences and goals as a parent but first just a couple of points of information:
birthdate of child:

- *who lives in your household:*
- *who takes care of the child:*

General questions about goals, hopes, and values

1.Would you begin by describing X (the focal child). What kind of child is he or she?

2. What do you enjoy most about X?

3. What was X like as a baby?

4. What kind of person do you want X to grow up to be? What sorts of qualities would you like him/her to possess as he/she grows older? (Adapted from Miller, Harwood & Irizzary, 1995, p.50)

5. What sorts of qualities would you NOT want X to possess as he/she grows older? (Adapted from Miller, Harwood & Irizaary, 1995, p.50)

6. What are your goals as a parent?

7. What are your worries as a parent?

8. Could you give me an example of someone you know who is a good parent. [Probe: what makes him or her a good parent? What do you admire about him/her as a parent?]

9. How much influence do you feel parents have in shaping a child's personality?

10. What do you remember about your own upbringing that has a bearing on how you raise X?

11. How would you say those experiences influenced you in terms of your style of parenting?

12. How would you compare your own parenting style with that of your parents? Are there ways that you've tried to be like your parents? Are there ways that you try to be different?

13. Where do you go for childrearing advice?
[Probe: peers, own parents, other family members, books about childrearing (which ones??), magazines (which ones??), pediatrician, other]

Storytelling

14. Do people in your family tell stories to one another?
[Probe: some families like to sit around and tell stories when they have time: at dinner time or at family gatherings. Some families have favorite stories they like to tell over and over again. Some families like to do bedtime stories. Can you give me some examples? How does your child participate when adults tell stories?]

15. Do you tell X (or your other children) stories about things that happened to you when you were growing up? Can you give me an example?

16. Do you tell stories about the wild and crazy things that you did when you were young? What about your husband/wife? Other people in your extended family? Can you give me an example?

17. Why do you think people tell these kinds of stories? How do your children respond to these stories?

18. Does X tell stories about his or her experiences? [Probe: sometimes a child will tell a story about some fun thing that he/she did or something interesting that he/she did or saw. Or sometimes kids will talk about a squabble with another child or some scary or upsetting experience] Can you give me an example?

Discipline

19. How do you handle discipline in your familiy? Can you give me an example?
(Probe each kind of technique, beginning with the ones endorsed by parent, using 21, 22 as models. Other techniques: time out, privilege withdrawn)

20. Do you think that 3 year olds should be punished for wrongdoing? How?

If parent endorses: What impact do you hope the punishment will have?
If parent endorses: What would happen to a child if his or her parent didn't punish him?
If parent does NOT endorse punishment: What impact do you think punishment has?

21. Do you think parents should talk to their 3 year old about what he/she did wrong? How? How important is it to explain?

If parent endorses: What effect does talking to/explaining have on children?
If parent endorses: What would happen to a child if his or her parent didn't talk to/explain?
If parent does NOT endorse talking to/explaining: What is talking to/explaing not a good idea?

22. Is there anything that you specifically try to AVOID in terms of discipline? In other words, are there methods of discipline that you try NOT to use?

23. If your child does something wrong unintentionally--if he/she does something bad but didn't mean to--does that make a difference? How?

[Follow up probe if necessary: What if they physically hurt one of their brothers or sisters but they were just having fun? They didn't mean it, they didn't mean to knock into somebody but they were kind of out of control and it happened anyway. How would you think about something like that?]

24. Some parents believe that it is important, when disciplining their children, to make a distinction between the child and the child's behavior. They might say to the child, "I love you but I don't like what you just did." What is your opinion of this? Is this something you do?

[Probe: If parent endorses this distinction, ask why he or she feels this is important. If parent does not endorse, ask why he or she thinks this is misguided.]

25. When is a disciplinary incident over?

[Probes will depend on what the parent has said in response to the preceding questions. Possible probes are: when child stops misbehaving, after being punished, after time-out, after child apologizes]

26. Some parents believe that it's important to keep reminding their children of what they did wrong in the past so that they will not continue to misbehave. Other parents believe that it is best not to dwell on a child's past misdeeds. What do you think?

[Probe: Refer to a misdeed that the parent described. When X does something like this, do you think it's a good idea to keep reminding him/her of that event as a way of discouraging him/her from misbehaving again?]

27. Who usually disciplines X? You, your spouse, the babysitter, others?

28. How do you feel when X misbehaves in public?

[Probe: Do you scold X in public? Why or why not? Do you spank X in public? Why or why not?]

29. X is still pretty young but as he/she gets older, how do you expect your discipline will change?

30. Some parents believe that it is important for children to make their own mistakes so that they can learn from them. Other parents believe that they should tell their children very clearly what is right and what is wrong because a parent's guidance is crucial in choosing the right path in life. Which comes closer to your approach? Why?

31. What are some of the most important rules in your family?

32. Is there anything else that you would like to add about discipline? Any issues or concerns that you feel are important that we've missed?

Emotion

33. Do you talk with X about emotions/feelings? Which emotions? Probe: happiness, sadness, anger, fear. For each: Can you give me an eample?

34. Why do you think it's important to talk about his/her emotions?

35. How do you show affection for X? What are the kinds of situations in which you show affection?

36. Which is worse for children: when parents show too little affection or too much?

37. Are there times when you feel proud of X? What are the kinds of situations that make you feel proud? Do you communicate those feelings to him/her?

38. How do you feel about praising children? Can you give me an example of a recent time when you praised your child?

39. What impact does praise have on children?

40. Do you use stories as a way of letting your child know that you are pleased/proud? For example, if your child does something that pleases or amuses you or makes you proud (use example provided by parent, if posible), do you help him to tell others about what he did? Do you tell other family members about those good things? Can you give me an example?

41. What would happen to a child who is not praised enough? What would happen to a child who is praised too much?

42. Are there times when you feel ashamed of your children? What are the kinds of situations that make you feel ashamed of your children? Do you communicate those feelings to them?

43. How can you tell if he/she feels ashamed?

44. Some parents feel that shaming children is an effective way of teaching the difference between right and wrong. What is your opinion? Do you shame your child?

[Probe ONLY for those who endorse shaming: What would happen to a child if his/her parent never shamed him/her? Is it possible to shame a child too much?]

45. Are there certain kinds of thing that X does that make you laugh? Can you give me an example? Are there certain things that you do, that make X laugh?

Self-esteem

46. Do you think self-esteem plays an important role in young children's development? Why or why not?

47. What does the term self-esteem mean to you?

48. Do you believe that self-esteem is something that children are born with? Or does it develop later? If later, when would you say they have self-esteem?

49. What role do parents play in helping children to develop self-esteem?

50. Are there other factors that contributes to the development of self-esteem?

51. Are sisters and brothers important to the development of self-esteem? How so?

52. What do you think of the practice of comparing a child to other children? For example, a parent might say, "Your brother is a much better sharer than you are." Do you think that these kinds of comparisons affect children's self-esteem? How so?

53. Do you encourage or discourage these kinds of comparisons?

54. How do you think high or positive self-esteem could benefit your child? Can you say more about that?

55. Do you ever use stories to boost X's self-esteem? Do you think that the way that parents tell stories with their children affects children's self-esteem? When X is telling a story about something that happened to her, do you try to get her to tell the story in a way that emphasizes the positive?

56. How do you gauge X's self-esteem? How do you know if it's high or low?

57. If you thought X had low self-esteem, what would concern you about this? What would you be worried about?

[Probe: Does low self-esteem lead children to misbehave? How do you think that happens?]

58. What would you try to do to enhance X's self-esteem if you were concerned?

59. Do you think that scolding/reprimanding children in public has a negative effect on self-esteem?

60. Does a feeling of shame lower a child's self-esteem?

61. Do you think that self-esteem is related to children's mental health?

62. How do you think self-esteem affects behavior?

63. Can you think of an example (like that) in which somebody might be doing something that seems hard to explain but underneath low self-esteem is the source of this behavior?

64. Do you think a person's self-esteem could ever be too high? Would this be a problem? How?

65. How would you rate your children's self-esteem now?

66. Do you think there are any areas in which your child feels ashamed of himself/herself?

67. In terms of yourself, what parts of your life provide feelings of self-esteem and self-worth for you?

68. How important do you think the idea of self-esteem was to your parents when they were raising you? Do you think they tried to cultivate your self-esteem?

69. Is there anything else about self-esteem or about any of the other topics that we've covered that you would like to say more about? Are there other childrearing issues that we've missed that you would like to talk about?

Appendix B

Racial Socialization Parent Interview Protocol

Introduction

This interview is a chance for parents to really talk in detail about issues you may face in raising young children—particularly African American children. While I will raise some questions, I want this to be a collaborative process and am also very interested in learning about your thoughts on other issues that I may not directly address. Therefore, if there are topics that you feel are important to childrearing I encourage you to bring them up. I want to stress that there are no right or wrong answers to these questions and I encourage you to speak openly and honestly about your thoughts and feelings. This interview is expected to take about 1 ½ to 2 hours, but I am happy to talk with you for whatever length of time is convenient (shorter or longer) or may even come back to finish the interview at another time if necessary. Before we begin do you have any questions for me? First, I would like to ask how you identify yourself (and your family) racially or ethnically—do you prefer the term African American, Black, or something else? I will use the label you are comfortable with throughout the interview.

General Parenting Questions About Race (Probe for specific examples.)

1. What has it been like raising an African American boy/girl?

2. What challenges have you faced?

3. Do you think that African American parents face particular challenges raising their children that other groups may not face?
   a. Have you faced any of these challenges?
   b. Do you feel the challenges that you face are different from those your parents faced?
   c. Did you notice a turning point where things were different (e.g., like during the transition to elementary school)?

4. What sort of problems do you anticipate in the future? (Do you think it is likely that your child will face racism or discrimination in the future? From who or in what settings?)

5. In what ways do you attempt to protect your child from racism or discrimination?

Racial/Ethnic Identity

6. How often do you and your spouse find yourself talking to your child about race, racism, or about being African American/Black?

   a. Can you give me some examples of what you might talk about?

7. What kind of stories do you tell your children about what it means to be African American—either about you, other family members, or well-known African Americans? (Probe for personal stories about self, ancestors, friends.)
    a. Do you educate your child about Black history or encourage them to learn about the history?
    b. Does your child ever tell you stories about experiences he/she has had related to race? Can you give me some examples?

8. Are there particular holidays that you celebrate or family traditions that you have in which you celebrate your culture and heritage as an African American?
    a. In what ways do your children participate in these practices?
    b. How did you come to adopt your current practices (i.e., are these traditions passed on from you or your spouse's family, are they blended practices, have they changed over time)?
    c. Is there anything you would like to change in the future in terms of how your family honors or celebrates its heritage (i.e., add or remove pieces, make it more inclusive [multicultural] or exclusive [Afro-centric], increase or decrease in frequency or amount of resources devoted)?

9. What is your understanding of your child's current level (i.e., high/low, shallow/deep) of racial awareness? (Do you think your child knows he/she is "African American" or "Black"—or some other label? How does the child feel about this or what does it mean for him/her?
    a. Where do you think this level of understanding has come from—you, teachers, peers, church, other relatives?
    b. When did you first see evidence of this?
    c. Does your child ask questions about race? (For example, I remember Mrs. Lewis talking about skin color differences in the earlier interviews and saying that Jason, Jr. questioned whether James was really his brother because his skin was lighter than his and Alya's.)
    d. Are things any different for you now that your child is in elementary school?
    e. Do you notice or anticipate any differences compared to his/her younger brother/sister?

10. I have this idea from looking at this data and from my own experiences as a parent that there are subtle things that you do that get at racial identity and what it means to be an African American person that shape who you and your children are. Can you help me list some of those?
    a. Are there things that have to do with how the child looks/dresses (hair, clothes, shoes)? (For example, I know you [Mrs. Lewis] tend to keep your daughter's hair braided or in natural styles. I know you [Mrs. Jackson] like to style Charesse's hair with braided designs and lots of beads.)
        i. Who styles the children's hair?
        ii. Who chooses their clothes?
    b. Are there certain books, songs, movies that you promote? Are there any that you regulate or restrict? (For example, I remember Charesse reciting many of the lines

to her favorite movie at the time ["Big Mama's House"], but also telling me that she went to the movies with her parents and that she had to cover her eyes for certain parts that she was not allowed to see.)

c. Are there certain things in your home that you use to reflect African American culture or people (e.g., artwork, magazines, style).
d. Are there things that you (or your pastor, congregation…) do at church to encourage them to look or act a certain way as African American children?
e. Do you encourage certain African American role models for your child (more so than other role models)? (For example, we have several instances where Jason Jr. is encouraged to "hit like Sammy Sosa" or play like Michael Jordan.)

Three Domains

Preface: Now I'm going to talk about a few different areas or domains that I (and previous researchers in this area) think are especially relevant or important to these subtle practices. Besides race in general, there are three others that I'd like to address and we've already touched on them earlier in the interview—they are: educational achievement, religion/spirituality, and appearance/style. There may be others that you can think of, so feel free to add them as we go along.

11. Can you remember back to when we were observing you in the previous study—were there certain things you tried to do then in terms of …

    a. Race?
    b. Educational achievement?
    c. Religion/spirituality?
    d. Appearance/style?

Educational Achievement

Preface: I now want to talk specifically about your child's experiences at school, both academically and socially—so I'm interested in how and what your child is learning and also how he/she has related to his/her teachers and peers.

12. I know that your child started kindergarten at Bottenfield Elementary School, based on your research and choice.
    a. Can you say a little bit about why you made that choice?
    b. Why did you (or not) find the school to be a good choice?
    c. Is your child still there?

13. What are your aspirations for your child in school? (What do you hope they accomplish? What would "success" mean for your child?)

14. When we (Grace or I) interviewed you for the very first time and in our interactions since then it was obvious that your family has been very proactive in anticipating challenges that your child may face in school such as racism or discrimination. Has your child experienced any of these challenges yet?

a. If so, how did you handle them?
b. If not, what do you think has protected your child?

15. I was also involved in research a few years ago about the racial climate for the local public schools. In the study we were able to validate and document the claims that African Americans (and other minority students) were treated unfairly compared to European American children in many different ways—which had been reported by local African Americans for decades. I know that you grew up in the area and have family in the area who attended these schools. What do you think about these inequities? (Are they accurate? Do you have any stories about your experiences or others that you know? Are they representative of most African Americans' experiences? Do you think they still exist today for your children?)

16. I recently read a study conducted here in town that found that African American adolescents who do well in school reported being bullied by their African American peers. What are your reactions to this?
    a. I know that education has always been important to you and your family—have you ever been bullied or treated differently by your peers or family members around issues related to school?
    b. Do you expect this to be an issue for your child?
    c. How would you handle it?
    d. Are there things you do now to prevent it or to prepare them for how to react?

Religion/spirituality

Preface: I now want to talk specifically about your family's religious and spiritual beliefs and how they relate to your parenting beliefs and practices. Your faith as a Christian was apparent throughout the previous interviews and observations and appeared to be an integral part of your everyday lives.

17. Religion and spirituality are terms that are often used interchangeably. Could you (a) tell me how you define "religion" and "spirituality" and (b) say where you consider your family to be in relation to these terms?

18. What do you think about your religious faith's impact on how you raise your children? (Do you think there is an impact? In what areas? Examples?)

19. Tell me about the church you attend and how you chose it.
    a. What do you like about your church?
    b. Is there anything you would change?
    c. In what church activities do your children actively participate?

20. Wendy Haight, a professor at the U of I, has done extensive research on the African American church. She collaborated with Peggy Miller to publish the life history of one

African American grandmother who was deeply religious throughout her life and she conducted another study on children's experiences in the church—particularly in Sunday School. In both of these studies, religious faith was found to provide a way to combat racism and discrimination and children were even taught specific strategies to deal with racism in Sunday School.

a. Are racism or discrimination referenced in your church?
b. How are coping skills taught within the church?
c. Could you provide some examples about how this works for you?

Appearance/style

Preface: Finally, I want to talk about issues of appearance or personal style. This is an area that other psychologists have not paid much attention to, but I found these things to be important in my master's research with the larger sample of African Americans in our study and we have found several references to these issues in the data we collected from you in the earlier study.

21. For example, looking nice/being well-groomed seemed to be important for you and your children as evidenced in the way you styled the children's hair, the clothes and shoes they wore, and even by telling them they are "beautiful" or "handsome". Is this something you do partly because you want your child to feel proud to be an African American boy/girl?

22. Are there certain clothing or hair styles associated with the African American community (e.g., wearing loud suits and hats to church, braids or natural hairstyles vs. chemically processed, etc.) that you really like? Ones that you dislike?

Conclusion

23. What kind of advice would you give other African American parents, such as myself, raising young children?

24. Before we end, is there anything you would like to add?

Thank you so much for participating in this interview and study!!!

Appendix C

Consent Form: Racial Socialization Study

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

Department of Psychology

College of Liberal Arts and Sciences
603 East Daniel Street
Champaign, IL 61820

Consent Form A: Racial Socialization Study

Dear Parent,

You are invited to participate in a research project concerning African American parents' beliefs and values about childrearing. This project is a follow-up to a previous study in which you participated. This project will be conducted by Jeana Bracey, under the supervision of Professor Peggy Miller, both associates of the Department of Psychology at the University of Illinois.

This project involves basic research in child development and culture. This study involves (1) a review and re-analysis of the interview and observation data collected during the previous study and (2) your participation in one additional interview. This interview will last one to two hours and will be audio-recorded. The interview will be conducted in your home or other location of your choice at a time that is convenient for you. We are interested in understanding your values, experiences, and practices as a parent, with particular interest in how your experience as an African American impacts your parenting. There are no right or wrong answers. As a token of our appreciation, you will receive $20 for your participation in this interview.

We want to emphasize that your participation in this project is completely voluntary. You may refuse to participate and you are free to withdraw at any time and for any reason without penalty. You may also chose to skip any questions you do not wish to answer or to have the recording equipment turned off at any time during the interview. The only foreseeable risk of your participation in this project is a risk to your privacy. To protect against this risk and to ensure

confidentiality, participants will not be referred to by their own names in reports or publications; instead each participant will be assigned a pseudonym. Tapes will be stored in locked filing cabinets, and they will not be played at public meetings unless written permission is obtained in advance.

We hope that you will find this study interesting and informative. In our past research, participants have often found it enjoyable and interesting to reflect on their childrearing beliefs with an attentive listener. In the long run, we hope that this project will enhance understanding of childrearing by providing access to the variety of different perspectives that African American parents bring to the parenting task. The results of this study will be presented as a dissertation thesis and may be disseminated in conference presentations and academic journal articles.

If you have any questions about this research project, please contact Jeana Bracey [Department of Psychology, 603 E. Daniel St., Champaign, IL 61820; phone: (217) 333-0041; e-mail: jrdecker@uiuc.edu] or Prof. Peggy Miller [Department of Psychology, 603 E. Daniel St., Champaign, IL 61820; phone: (217) 333-2683; e-mail: pjm@uiuc.edu]. If you have any questions about the rights of research participants, please contact the Institutional Review Board Office at: (217) 333-2670; e-mail: irb@uiuc.edu. You may call any of these numbers collect if you identify yourself as a research participant. You will receive a copy of this form.

Sincerely,

_________________________ _________________________

Peggy J. Miller, Ph.D. Jeana R. Bracey, M.A.
Professor Research Assistant

I ___________________________________have read and understand the above information.
Printed Name

____I will ____I will not participate in the racial socialization study as described.

____

Signature Date

Please answer the following questions by checking off the yes/no responses and by signing your initials:

I grant the investigator permission to audiotape this interview.

______Initials YES   _______Initials NO

I grant the investigator permission to use excerpts of the **audio** recordings at professional meetings and professional publications. Any name or place references will be changed.

______Initials YES   _______Initials NO

I grant the investigator to use excerpts of the **video** recordings at professional meetings and professional publications. Any name or place references will be changed.

_____Initials YES   ______Initials NO

Appendix D

Interview Schedule

	Lewis Family			Jackson Family	
Interviews	Mother	Father	Grandmother	Mother	Father
Initial Interview	06/06/00	06/29/00	02/23/01	11/19/00	N/A
Follow-up Interviews	05/6/01; 10/31/01[a]	10/31/01[a]	05/24/01; 10/29/01	11/29/01	N/A
Racial Socialization Interview	08/11/06[a]	08/11/06[a]	N/A	08/27/06[a]	08/27/06[a]
Total	8 interviews			3 interviews	

[a] Joint interview conducted with mother and father together.

Appendix E

Observation Recording Details: Lewis Family

Obs #	Date	Location	Audio/Video Tapes	Length
1	10/08/00	Lewis Home	1 audio	1 hr 30 mins
2	12/8/00	Lewis Home	1 audio	1 hr 30 mins
3	1/6/01	Samson Home	2 audio	2 hrs
4	1/25/01	Lewis Home	1 audio	1 hr 30 mins
5	1/26/01	Samson Home	1 audio	1 hr 30 mins
6	2/11/01	Lewis Home and Car	1 audio	1 hr 15 mins
7	2/23/01	Lewis Home	1 audio	1 hr 30 mins
8	3/2/01	Lewis Home	1 audio	57 mins
9	3/15/01	Samson Home	2 audio	1 hr 48 mins
10	3/25/01	Lewis Home	2 audio	1 hr 30 mins
11	4/4/01	Lewis Home	2 audio, 1 video	1 hr 6 mins
12	4/12/01	Samson Home	2 video	1 hr 8 mins
13	5/6/01	Lewis Home	1 audio, 1 video	53 mins
14	5/16/01	Lewis Home	1 audio, 2 video	51 mins
15		Lewis Home	1 audio	1 hr
16	5/30/01	Park	1 video	54 mins
17	6/5/01	Lewis Home	1 audio, 1 video	1 hr 19 mins
18	6/6/01	Lewis Home	1 audio, 1 video	54 mins
19	7/1/01	Lewis Home and Park	1 audio	51 mins
20	7/11/01	Park	2 video	1 hr 10 mins
21		Lewis Home	1 audio	1 hr 7 mins
22	7/22/01	Church	1 audio	25 mins
23	7/25/01	Park	1 video	55 mins
24	8/8/01	Lewis Home	2 audio, 1 video	1 hr 41 mins
25		Lewis Home	1 audio, 1 video	34 mins
26	8/27/01	Lewis Home	1 audio	1 hr 30 mins
27	9/9/03	Samson Home	2 audio	2 hrs
28	9/9/01	Park	1 audio, 1 video	1 hr 3 mins
29	9/15/01	Park	1 audio, 1 video	52 mins
30	10/3/01	Samson Home	1 audio, 2 video	1 hr 19 mins
31	10/31/01	Mall and Gym	1 audio, 2 video	1 hr 33 mins
32	10/29/01	Lewis Home	1 audio	1 hr
Total			32 observations	39hr 5min

Appendix F

Recorded Examples of Themes: Lewis Family

Observation Number	Race	Educational Achievement	Religion/ Spirituality	Appearance/ Style
1			X	X
2		X	X	X
3		X	X	X
4		X	X	
5		X	X	X
6		X	X	X
7		X	X	X
8	X	X	X	
9	X	X	X	
10		X		X
11		X	X	
12		X	X	X
13			X	
14	X	X		
15				
16				X
17	X	X	X	
18			X	X
19		X		X
20				
21				
22		X	X	
23				
24		X	X	
25				
26			X	
27		X	X	
28				
29	X			
30	X	X		
31		X		
32				

Appendix G

Observation Recording Details: Jackson Family

Obs #	Date	Location	Audio/Video Tapes	Length
1	04/28/01	Jackson Home	2 audio	2 hrs 13 mins
2	06/10/01	Jackson Home	1 audio	1 hr 10 mins
3	6/20/01	Rose Harris' Home	1 audio	1 hr 27 mins
4	7/12/01	Jackson and Rose Harris' Homes, Park	2 audio	1 hr 55 mins
5	7/16/01	Public Library	2 audio	2 hrs 6 mins
6	7/26/01	Mall, Local Stores	2 audio	1 hr 57 mins
7	8/26/01	Jackson Home	2 audio	1 hr 56 mins
8	8/30/01	Jackson Home	2 video	1 hr 14 mins
9	9/7/01	Jackson Home	2 audio	1 hr 52 mins
10	9/27/01	Jackson Home	2 audio	1 hr 55 mins
11	10/26/01	Jackson Home	2 audio	2 hr 3 mins
12	11/11/01`	Jackson Home	0 – field notes only	1 hr 30 mins
13	11/19/01	Jackson Home	2 video	1 hr 41 mins
14	11/25/01	Jackson Home	2 audio	1 hr 43 mins
15	1/3/02	Jackson Home	1 audio	1 hr 14 mins
16	1/8/02	Jackson Home	2 video	1 hr 25 mins
17	1/11/02	Jackson Home	1 audio	1 hr 25 mins
18	1/13/02	Church	1 audio	1 hr 30 mins
19	4/3/02	Public Library and Rose Harris' Home	2 audio	1 hr 41 mins
20	4/11/02	Jackson Home	2 video	1 hr 19 mins
21	5/8/02	Jackson Home	2 audio	1 hr 39 mins
22	5/24/02	Jackson Home	2 audio; 2 video	1 hr 42 mins
23	6/25/02	Doctor's Office	1 audio	1 hr 15 mins
24	7/16/01	Park	1 audio	53 mins
25	7/3/02	Skating Rink	1 audio	15 mins
26	7/11/02	Jackson Home	1 audio; 2 video	1 hr 34 mins
27	8/2/02	Jackson Home	2 audio; 2 video	1 hr 57 mins
28	8/22/02	Community Pool	1 audio	1 hr 2 mins
29	9/27/02	School Picnic	0 – field notes only	1 hr 30 mins
30	11/7/02	School Conference	0 – field notes only	1 hr 30 mins
31	11/13/02	McDonald's and Car	1 audio	1 hr 9 mins
Total			31 observations	47hr 42mins

Appendix H

Recorded Examples of Themes: Jackson Family

Observation Number	Race	Educational Achievement	Religion/ Spirituality	Appearance/ Style
1	X	X	X	X
2	X	X	X	X
3	X	X		X
4	X	X	X	X
5	X	X		
6		X		X
7		X		X
8		X		X
9		X		X
10	X	X	X	X
11		X	X	X
12				
13		X		
14	X	X		
15			X	X
16			X	
17		X		X
18			X	
19		X		
20	X	X	X	X
21				
22	X	X	X	
23				X
24				
25	X	X		
26		X		X
27	X	X	X	X
28	X			X
29		X		
30		X		X
31	X	X		