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## Racial Socialization in Non-Hispanic White American Families: An Exploration of the Role of Parental Racial-Ethnic Socialization

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**RACIAL SOCIALIZATION IN NON-HISPANIC WHITE AMERICAN FAMILIES: AN  
EXPLORATION OF THE ROLE OF PARENTAL RACIAL-ETHNIC SOCIALIZATION**

by

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B.S. May 2018, College of William & Mary

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## ABSTRACT

### RACIAL SOCIALIZATION IN NON-HISPANIC WHITE AMERICAN FAMILIES: AN EXPLORATION OF THE ROLE OF PARENTAL RACIAL-ETHNIC SOCIALIZATION

Julia Carmen Rodil  
Old Dominion University, 2021  
Director: Dr. Alan Meca

Racial-ethnic socialization is a largely unstudied topic for White Americans. Most of the research on racial-ethnic socialization (RES) focuses on minority populations, but more literature is starting to focus on RES in White individuals. However, the mechanisms by which RES messages are transmitted are understudied. This study examined how prior parental RES strategies (i.e., egalitarianism, history of other groups, group differences, preparation for bias, general discrimination, and discrimination against other groups) impacted White college students' own attitudes towards ethnic-racial minorities (i.e., racist, colorblind, and multicultural) and how these attitudes influenced inclusive (and non-inclusive) behavior, psychosocial costs of racism (White empathic reactions towards racism, White guilt, and White fear of others), and implicit biases. Findings showed that group differences and preparation for bias strategies were significantly associated with racist and color-blind attitudes. Results for socialization strategies regarding egalitarian messages and discrimination were mixed. Racist and color-blind attitudes resulted in less inclusive behavior and mixed findings for psychosocial costs (less guilt, less empathy, more fear), whereas multicultural attitudes resulted in less psychosocial costs (less fear and guilt). Results suggest that colorblindness is a particularly dangerous racial attitude, as it is complicit in perpetuating racism by failing to address the reality of racial inequality. The results

of this study can be used to target mechanisms for intervention and provide guidance on how to prevent the intergenerational transmission of racism and promote antiracism.

*Keywords:* Racial-ethnic socialization, White individuals, college students, racism, colorblindness, multiculturalism, implicit bias, racial bias, antiracism

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This thesis is dedicated to the notion by Angela Davis that  
“In a racist society, it is not enough to be non-racist.  
We must be anti-racist.”

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work could not have been accomplished without the guidance and leadership of my mentor, Dr. Alan Meca. I deeply appreciate him along with the faculty and staff of the ODU Health Psychology program. I am also grateful to my friends, family, and partner for their patience and enduring support that encouraged me to complete what I have begun.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The United States has a long, complicated, and continued history with institutional racism. Indeed, racial conflicts have plagued the United States from its very beginnings, specifically driven by racial prejudice against blacks (Allport, 1954; Cashmore et al., 2015). Many people think that Jim Crow segregationism has been eliminated and non-Hispanic White individuals' opinions about racial issues have liberalized in many domains (Bruce et al., 1987). Nevertheless, race is still politically divisive, as seen in examples throughout history. For example, Whites individuals' responses to George H. W. Bush's invocation of the Black criminal, Willie Horton, in 1988 (Mendelberg, 2017); the Proposition 209 campaign in California in 1996 that declared official affirmative action programs illegal; debates about Confederate symbols on state flags (Reingold & Wike, 1998); and Bill Clinton's Initiative on Race, which was based on the premise that racism is a continuing problem in America.

More recently, in one of the most recent public displays of racism, marchers from White supremacist groups chanted statements such as "Whose streets? Our Streets!" and "White lives matter! You will not replace us!" in addition to other denigrating racial epithets in Charlottesville, Virginia (Posner, 2017). Paralleling this event, not only has the number of hate groups been rapidly increasing (Beirich, 2019), but there has also been a marked rise in hate crimes towards individuals from underrepresented racial-ethnic and sexual minority groups (Lloyd & Gaither, 2018). Indeed, data provided by the FBI (2012, 2017) indicated that the number of hate crimes has increased by 23% from 2011 ( $n = 5,790$ ) to 2017 ( $n = 7,106$ ). The election of President Trump further validated this hateful rhetoric from the perspective of perpetrators which, in turn, fueled the surge in hate crimes (Rushin & Edwards, 2018). Most

recently, with the peak of the Black Lives Matter movement in 2020, worldwide protests against police brutality, and continued debates on Confederate symbols on state flags, the issue of racism is far from over (Coddling et al., 2020; Elbaum, 2020; Talbert & Patterson, 2020). Nevertheless, due to the rise of hate crimes against immigrants, there is increased scholarly interest of identifying what influences these surges, and more importantly, why these attitudes of racism and hatred persist.

Although a substantive body of research has examined the aversive effects of racism and discrimination (for a comprehensive review, see Korous et al., 2017), both sides of racism (the oppressor and the oppressed) must be studied to have a more comprehensive understanding of the factors that influence racism in order to reduce racism with evidence-based approaches. Powell and colleagues (2005) posit that viewing racial inequality solely as an outgroup disadvantage only portrays half of the story of intergroup relations, and this obscures the “pervasive yet subtle benefits of ingroup membership” (p. 519). In other words, if the ingroup majority membership of non-Hispanic White (henceforth referred to as White) individuals is not addressed, then the benefits to the ingroup are not addressed either. Looking at inequality from a dominant group membership perspective that addresses these privileges fosters a more complete understanding of the “hierarchical nature of intergroup relations” (Powell et al., 2005). In this way, the focus of inequality is not only about disadvantaged outgroups, it is also about privileged ingroups.

A substantial amount of research focuses on ethnic-racial socialization among ethnic-racial minorities, but the topic of socialization remains unstudied for White individuals (Zucker & Patterson, 2018). Although some studies have begun focusing on the ways in which White parents discuss topics of race and racism to their children (Hagerman, 2014; Pahlke et al., 2012;

Vittrup, 2018), there are several fundamental gaps. Specifically, the past literature has focused on elementary school-aged children and the parents and teachers of these young children. There is little to no research on White socialization in emerging adult populations, on which the current study examined. Moreover, little to no studies have asked participants to retroactively recall how they were socialized on issues of race and ethnicity as the current study did. Addressing these gaps, the objective of the current study was to determine the role that parents' socialization efforts centered around discussion of ethnicity/race played in establishing attitudes towards ethnic-racial minorities (i.e., racist, colorblind, and multicultural) and how these attitudes propelled biases and influenced behavior, and feelings of White guilt, fear, and empathy (henceforth referred to as psychosocial costs).

### **A Framework for Attitudes Towards Ethnic-Racial Minorities**

In order to understand how racism and discrimination develop, it is imperative to understand the different frameworks of attitudes towards ethnic-racial minorities. As a whole, there are three primary ideologies that White youth may develop towards ethnic-racial minorities: racism, colorblindness, multiculturalism (also referred to as color-consciousness) (Zucker & Patterson, 2018).

**Racism.** Racism is the belief that all members of each race possess characteristics or abilities specific to that race, especially so as to differentiate it as inferior or superior to another race or races ("New Oxford American Dictionary," 2011). It is easy to see the negative consequences of this type of ideology especially to the ethnic-racial minority group on the receiving end. As previously noted, an extensive body of research has documented the negative effects of discrimination on ethnic-racial minorities (Bennett et al., 2005; Hwang & Goto, 2008; Juang et al., 2016; Korous et al., 2017; Perez-Rodriguez et al., 2014). For this reason, Parham

(2001) has called for the need to analyze intolerance by examining the psyche of the imposer. Parham and colleagues (1999) asserted that racism is “a White people’s problem” and suggested that if progress is to be made in confronting racism, White individuals need to thoroughly examine their roles regarding the perpetuation of this ideology. At the same time, it should be noted that a handful of researchers have studied the concept of the psychosocial costs of racism to White individuals. Kivel (1996) outlined the “costs of racism to Whites” which included loss of culture, distorted picture of history, loss of relationships, distorted sense of danger and safety, lower self-esteem, and spiritual depletion. This study focused on the psychosocial costs of White guilt, fear of others, and empathic reactions towards racism.

**Colorblindness.** Colorblindness is a concept that emphasizes individual merit over regard for cultural, ethnic, or racial backgrounds (e.g., avoiding the topic or denying the existence of racial inequalities) (Torkelson & Hartmann, 2010) and is a proponent for cultural assimilation as well as minimizing group differences (Plaut et al., 2009). A color-blind approach does nothing to negate racist attitudes towards minorities, it silently acquiesces with the status quo. Whereas racism results in people who are the active agents in discrimination against minorities, colorblindness results in individuals turning a blind eye to this problem and acting as if discrimination based on race/ethnicity is not a relevant issue. Additionally, color-blind messages may allow racial bias to continue by making individuals less likely to attribute race-based inequalities to discrimination (Apfelbaum et al., 2010; Bigler & Wright, 2014). Given this problematic ideology, there is a clear need to understand how White individuals are socialized about issues regarding race and ethnicity.

**Multiculturalism.** Multiculturalism is an ideology that celebrates group differences and highlights unity instead of division (Plaut et al., 2009). As such, a person with a multicultural

approach would exhibit anti-racist attitudes and have less prejudice against members of different racial groups. Previous research has documented the divergent patterns of the relationship between these diversity beliefs (multiculturalism vs. colorblindness) and racial bias (Park & Judd, 2005). In a work environment context, Wolsko et al. (2006) found that multiculturalism promoted inclusive behaviors and policies. Moreover, researchers have found that among dominant group members, multiculturalism predicted lower racial bias whereas color-blindness predicted greater racial bias (Neville et al., 2000; Park & Judd, 2005; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Wolsko et al., 2006). As such, in contrast to color-blind ideology, which does nothing to discourage racist beliefs, a multicultural ideology represents an anti-racist perspective.

### **Socialization and Ethnic-Racial Attitudes**

Generally, socialization refers to the process by which children learn the behaviors, beliefs, and values that are critical to function within a particular society (Maccoby, 1992). For people who live in racially diverse societies, the process of learning about race and ethnicity is an important social, cognitive, and developmental experience (Spencer, 2009). As such, extending on the conceptualization of socialization, Hughes et al. (2007) introduced the concept of parent ethnic-racial socialization (also abbreviated as RES) which outlines the process by which ethnic-racial minority youth are taught to preserve their cultural heritage and prepared to navigate differential treatment based on race in a mainstream White society. More recently, Loyd & Gaither (2018) conceptualized RES as a “dynamic and multifaceted social, cognitive, and developmental process through which ideas, beliefs, values, social norms, and behaviors regarding race and ethnicity are transmitted, interpreted, negotiated, and adopted” (p. 2).

To properly understand how the socialization process occurs, we must be aware of the different socializing agents of race and ethnicity. Drawing from family literature on U.S.

populations, we know that the family context consists of variations in process (mechanisms of communicating about race/ethnicity) and content (the core of the messages) (Hughes et al., 2007; Lesane-Brown et al., 2010; Neblett et al., 2012). For example, the process could include parent's direct/explicit (e.g., conversations with children) and indirect/implicit (e.g., displaying of cultural artifacts, parent's social network) practices through which ideas about race and ethnicity are communicated. The content of the messages could focus on cultural socialization (e.g., promoting values, traditions, and history of the family's country of origin), preparation for dealing with bias (e.g., ways to handle prejudice and discrimination), egalitarianism (the belief that all people are equal), mainstream socialization (e.g., ways to succeed in mainstream American culture), and promotion of mistrust (e.g., avoiding contact with other racial groups), as ways to communicate information about racial-ethnic issues (Hughes et al., 2007).

### **Racial-Ethnic Socialization for Whites**

Racial-ethnic socialization is particularly important for people who live in ethnically and racially diverse societies because people ascribe meaning to their encounters with people who belong to different racial groups (Quintana, 1998; Spencer, 2009). However, RES is qualitatively different for White youth and families because whiteness has been viewed as the cultural norm for the majority of U.S. history (Bonilla-Silva, 2012). Past research found that White individuals often view themselves as the "norm" to which all other racial groups should be compared (Perry, 2001) and are less likely to think of themselves in terms of race (Hamm, 2001). This is one of the reasons why there is not a lot of literature on racial-ethnic socialization for White families. Previous research by Rivas-Drake et al. (2014) showed that White individuals placed less importance on race compared to individuals from other racial groups, and this perspective seems to be reinforced in the early stages of White children's development as parents of young children



often either avoid the topic of race entirely (Hagerman, 2014; Pahlke et al., 2012) or often use color-blind approaches when teaching their children about race (Hagerman, 2014).

From the context of Developmental Intergroup Theory (DIT; Bigler & Liben, 2007), parental RES (or the lack thereof) has significant impacts on youth's attitudes towards ethnic-racial minorities. Indeed, DIT suggests that both implicit and explicit messages affect children's views of social groups. As such, parents' reluctance to discuss issues related to race and racism could serve as an implicit message regarding racial groups (Bigler & Liben, 2007). Thus, without explicit instruction, children tend to construct their own explanations for racial differences that they observe (such as discrepancies in occupational status), and these explanations tend to be biased in favor of their own group (Bigler & Liben, 2007; Bigler & Wright, 2014). In other words, DIT posits that without some understanding of the historical context of institutional racism, White children will often create a narrative that fosters racial bias (Bigler & Wright, 2014; Hughes et al., 2007).

**Current Research on Socialization of Ethnic-Racial Attitudes.** Parents play a strong role in shaping a person's diversity beliefs. Research with children as young as ages 2-3 has shown awareness of ethnic differences (Nesdale, 2013), and some children showed racial bias (i.e., showing preference for dominant group) as early as age 4 (Bigler & Liben, 2007). Additionally, previous research has observed that parents of White elementary school children tend to explain away their children's lack of interracial friendships by implementing a color-blind approach by being reluctant to mention race and racism and instead pointing to differences in social class (Hunter et al., 2012). Similarly, Hamm (2001) found that White parents pointed to differences regarding social class between their own youth and African American youth as a barrier to positive cross-group interactions. On the other end, Edmonds and Killen (2009) found

that parents of White adolescents were more likely to express concerns about cross-race friendships (e.g., naming a specific friend who is Black), rather than making explicit comments about racial groups (Edmonds & Killen, 2009; Hamm, 2001). In addition, there is empirical data which indicated that White children reported lower levels of racial bias in homes where race and racism were addressed (Aboud, 2012; Bigler & Wright, 2014; Degner & Dalege, 2013).

Despite this, the number of studies examining the mechanisms by which White parents transmit their views to children about ethnic-racial minorities has been limited (Cabrera et al., 2016). Towards this end, Zucker and Patterson (2018) drew on Hughes & Chen's (1997) RES paradigm which posits six socialization strategies: egalitarianism (i.e., the belief that all people are equal), history of other groups (i.e., important people in the history of other racial-ethnic groups), group differences (i.e., the belief that emphasizes avoiding relationships with members of different ethnic-racial groups), and messages regarding preparation for bias (i.e., possible unfair treatment due to the child's race/ethnicity), racial discrimination in general (i.e., American society is not always fair to all races/ethnicities), and discrimination against members of other racial groups (i.e., White individuals have better opportunities than ethnic-racial minorities). Utilizing a mixed-methods approach, Zucker and Patterson's (2018) study indicated important relationships between parents' racial attitudes and which socializing strategies they implemented. Specifically, parents with biased attitudes toward racial outgroup members were less likely to engage in socialization practices that emphasized egalitarianism messages, the importance of learning about the history of other ethnic-racial groups, the continued prevalence of bias against other groups, and general messages about racial discrimination. At the same time, these parents were more likely to emphasize the existence of group differences. Preparation for bias was not significantly associated with parental racial attitudes.

Despite the important contribution by Zucker and Patterson (2018), it is important to note that the focus on attitudes toward ethnic-racial outgroup members is unable to differentiate color-blind and multicultural ideologies. Indeed, Egalitarianism socialization messages for example, could result in either color-blind or multicultural ideology, depending on the specific content and framing of the message (Zucker & Patterson, 2018). For example, color-blind Egalitarianism messages would be “there is only one race, the human race” or “it does not matter if you are Black, White, or purple, what matters is what is on the inside.” Although these statements are well-intentioned, they ignore the real consequences of systemic racism and the ways in which people from different races and ethnicities experience the world differently. On the other hand, a multicultural message acknowledges the real consequences of racial inequality. An example of this would be the statement “people of all races should be treated equally, but unfortunately this often does not happen.”

### **Current Gaps in the Literature**

These studies have shown the strong influence that parents have over their children’s views and exposure to diversity, but there are significant limitations. To begin with, the majority of studies that address how White parents socialize have utilized parent reports to support their findings. As previously noted, parents’ reluctance to discuss issues related to race/racism may still impact White youths’ views on ethnic-racial minorities (Bigler & Liben, 2007). Moreover, given that the success of socializing efforts is contingent on how youth interpret these messages, it is important for research to attend to youths’ perspectives of their parents’ socializing efforts. Prior research has indicated that neither children nor their caregivers are able to accurately predict the others’ views (Pahlke et al., 2012), suggesting a disconnect between parents’ views and their children’s views on ethnicity and race. Furthermore, these studies have largely utilized

qualitative data and failed to examine the specific mechanism by which White parents transmit their views to children about ethnic-racial minorities (Cabrera et al., 2016). This limits the generalizability and utility of these research findings. Although the study by Zucker and Patterson (2018) represents an important step towards the operationalization of White parents' RES strategies, the relationship between these strategies and children's ethnic-racial attitudes was never examined and it was impossible to examine how these strategies differentially lead to color-blind and multicultural ideology.

Finally, these studies have also largely focused on younger children (elementary school age). Although research focused on childhood is important, it is also important for research to attend to adolescents and emerging adults. During young adulthood, personal agency and individualization influence a person's development as social networks expand and deindividuation from family beliefs occurs (Schwartz et al., 2005). If an individual chooses to pursue a college education, this stage also marks a time where youth might be reassessing their own identity in relation to others. Researchers have also marked this developmental stage as an important period for increased racial identity development, even among White young adults (Cicetti-Turro, 2011). Helms (1990, 1995) documented how the college environment can directly (e.g., lessons and dialogue) and indirectly (through contact or exposure) trigger racial identity exploration among White young adults (Helms, 1990, 1995). Therefore, this stage of development is worthwhile to study and captures individuals as they are reflecting on what they were taught as children.

### **The Current Study**

Addressing these gaps in the current literature, the current study sought to examine how prior parental RES (i.e., Egalitarianism, History of Other Groups, Group Differences, and

messages regarding preparation for bias, racial discrimination in general, and discrimination against members of other racial groups) impacted White emerging adult students' own attitudes towards ethnic-racial minorities (i.e., racist, colorblind, and multicultural) and how these attitudes influenced inclusive (and non-inclusive) behavior, psychosocial costs of racism, and implicit biases (see Figure 1). The focus on examining these three distinct outcomes is driven by existing research. Implicit biases, captured by the Implicit Association Task (IAT), have been shown to be particularly effective in predicting children's behavior towards ethnic-racial minorities (Pahlke et al., 2012). Previous research has raised concerns about the utility of the IAT, arguing that the hypothetical exercises depend on untested assumptions (Oswald et al., 2015). The current study sought to offer more evidence for the utility, or lack thereof, regarding the IAT. Additionally, a burgeoning body of research found clear links between psychosocial costs of racism to Whites and non-inclusive behavior in the form of behavioral costs of racism to Whites (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). Specifically, lack of White guilt, fear of minorities, and lack of empathic reactions towards racism can result in White individuals refusing to engage in intimate relationships with people of color, refusing to have meaningful relationships with people of other races, or in some cases, refusing to have non-White acquaintances (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). Thus, by examining psychosocial costs of racism to Whites, inclusive and non-inclusive behaviors, and biases, the current study sought to provide a comprehensive conceptualization of White emerging adults' inclusive and non-inclusive behaviors.

Specific aims and hypotheses are as follows:

**Aim 1:** Examine how parent RES relates to individuals' ethnic-racial attitudes. This aim is to determine if a relationship exists between parental RES behavior and the person's ethnic-racial attitude.

**H1<sub>a</sub>:** Egalitarianism will be negatively related to racism and positively related to multiculturalism. Additionally, as previously noted, because egalitarianism RES also focuses on equality, egalitarianism may be weakly and positively associated with color-blindness as well (see Figure 2).

**H1<sub>b</sub>:** History of other groups will be negatively related to racism and color-blindness and positively related to multiculturalism (see Figure 3).

**H1<sub>c</sub>:** Group differences, given its emphasis on avoiding relationships with members of different ethnic-racial groups, will be positively related to racism and negatively related to color-blindness and multiculturalism (see Figure 4).

**H1<sub>d</sub>:** Preparation for bias will be negatively related to color-blindness. Given prior findings indicated no significant relationship between preparation for bias and racial attitudes, no a priori hypothesis was made regarding the relationship between preparation for bias and racism and multiculturalism (see Figure 5).

**H1<sub>e</sub>:** Discrimination against other groups will be negatively related to racism and color-blindness and positively related to multiculturalism (see Figure 6).

**H1<sub>f</sub>:** General discrimination will be negatively related to racism and color-blindness and positively related to multiculturalism (see Figure 7).

**Aim 2:** Examine how White emerging adults' ethnic-racial attitudes impact behavior, psychosocial costs, and implicit biases towards ethnic-racial minorities.

**H2<sub>a</sub>:** Racism approach will significantly relate to less inclusive behavior, more psychosocial costs (less White guilt, more fear of others, less empathic reactions towards racism), and more implicit bias (see Figure 1).

**H2<sub>b</sub>:** Color-blind approach will significantly relate to less inclusive behavior, more psychosocial costs (less White guilt, more fear of others, less empathic reactions towards racism), and more implicit bias (see Figure 1).

**H2<sub>c</sub>:** Multicultural approach will significantly relate to more inclusive behavior, less psychosocial costs (more White guilt, less fear of others, more empathic reactions towards racism), and less implicit bias (see Figure 1).

**Aim 3:** Examine how parents' RES indirectly relates to, through ethnic-racial attitudes, White emerging adults' behavior, psychosocial costs, and biases.

**H3<sub>a</sub>:** Egalitarianism will indirectly relate to more inclusive behavior and less psychosocial costs and implicit bias through racism and multiculturalism. Additionally, egalitarianism may relate to lower inclusive behavior and more psychosocial costs and implicit bias through color-blind ideology, but we expect a weaker indirect effect (see Figure 2).

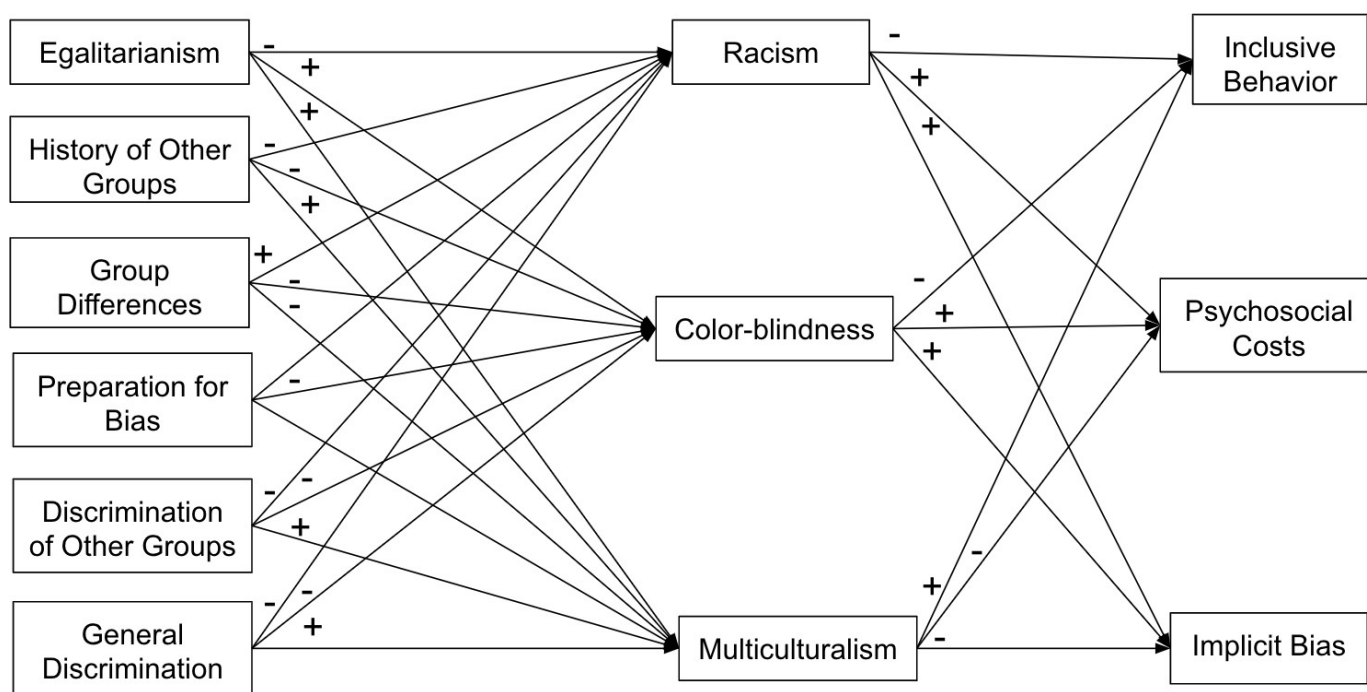
**H3<sub>b</sub>:** History of other groups will indirectly relate to more inclusive behavior and less psychosocial costs and implicit bias through racism, color-blindness, and multiculturalism (see Figure 3).

**H3<sub>c</sub>:** Group differences will indirectly relate to less inclusive behavior and more psychosocial costs and implicit bias through racism and multiculturalism. At the same time, Group differences may relate to more inclusive behavior and lower psychosocial costs and implicit bias through color-blind ideology (see Figure 4).

**H3<sub>a</sub>:** Preparation for bias will indirectly relate to less inclusive behavior and more psychosocial costs and implicit bias through color-blindness. Given lack of previous findings, no a priori hypothesis was made regarding the indirect relationship between preparation for bias and the outcomes through racism and multiculturalism (see Figure 5).

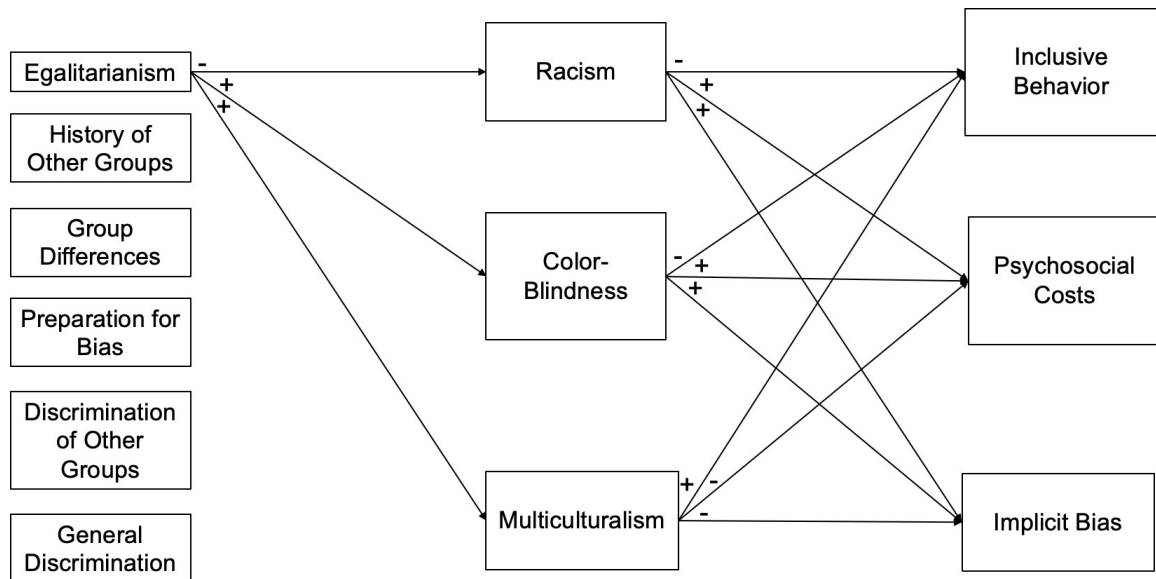
**H3<sub>e</sub>:** Discrimination against other groups will indirectly relate to more inclusive behavior and less psychosocial costs and implicit bias through racism, color-blindness, and multiculturalism (see Figure 6).

**H3<sub>f</sub>:** General discrimination will indirectly relate to more inclusive behavior and less psychosocial costs and implicit bias through racism, color-blindness, and multiculturalism (see Figure 7).

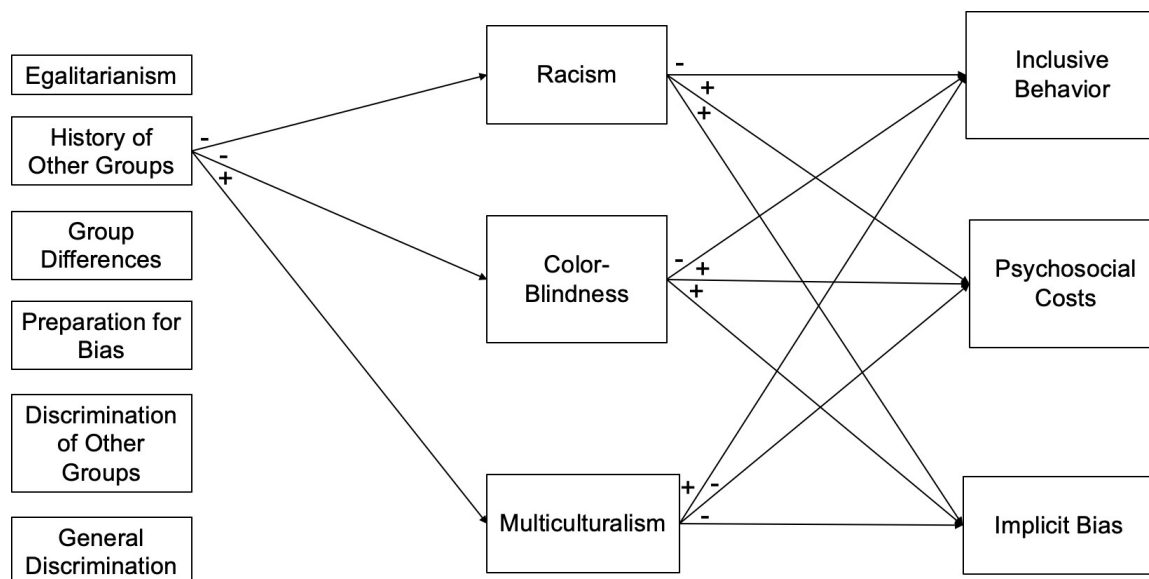


*Figure 1.* A conceptual model in which the indirect relationships between parental RES strategies and inclusive behavior, psychosocial costs, and implicit bias are mediated by attitudinal mediators (racism, colorblindness, and multiculturalism).

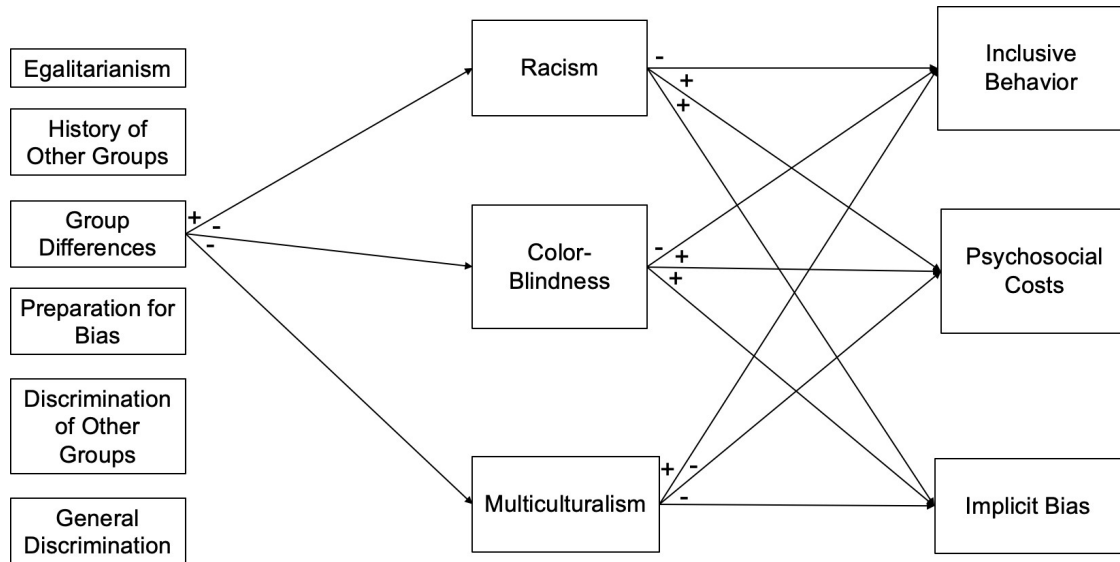




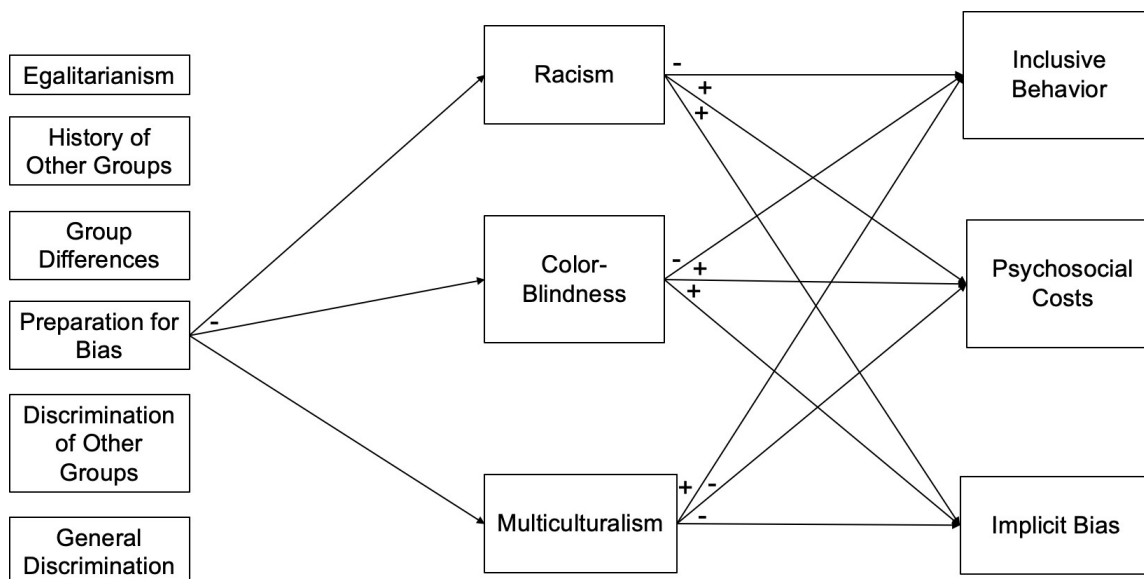
*Figure 2.* A conceptual model in which the indirect relationships between egalitarianism and inclusive behavior, psychosocial costs, and implicit bias are mediated by attitudinal mediators (racism, colorblindness, and multiculturalism).



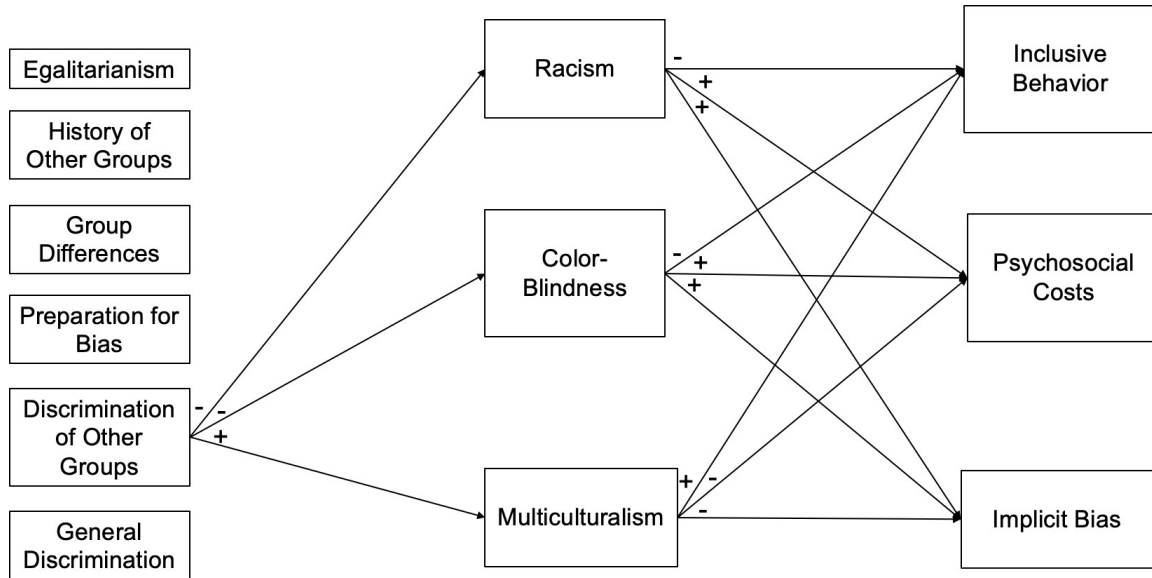
*Figure 3.* A conceptual model in which the indirect relationships between history of other groups and inclusive behavior, psychosocial costs, and implicit bias are mediated by attitudinal mediators (racism, colorblindness, and multiculturalism).



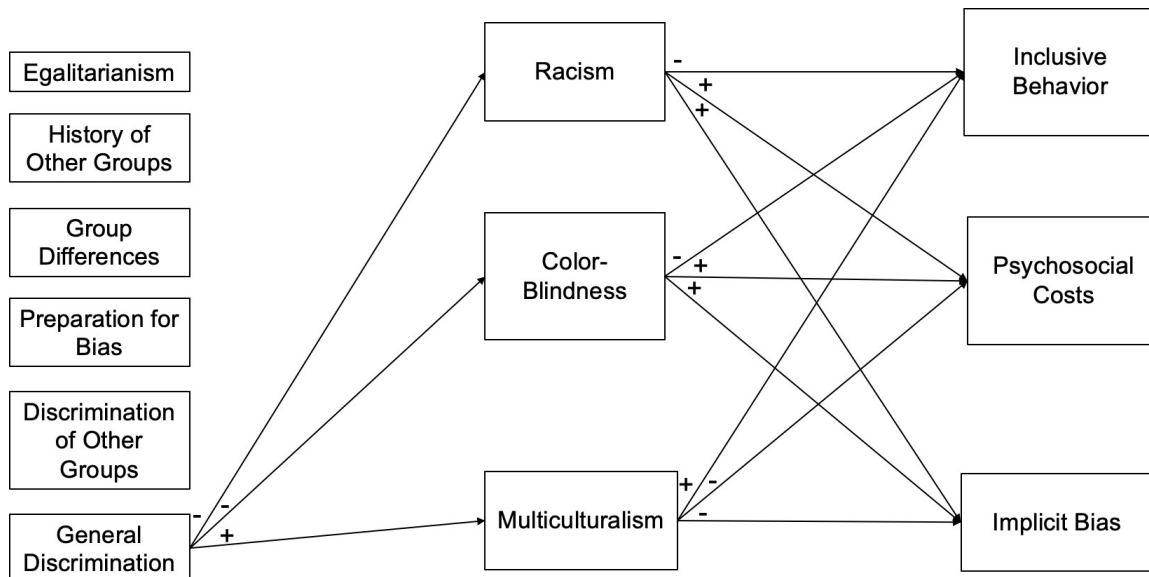
*Figure 4.* A conceptual model in which the indirect relationships between group differences and inclusive behavior, psychosocial costs, and implicit bias are mediated by attitudinal mediators (racism, colorblindness, and multiculturalism).



*Figure 5.* A conceptual model in which the indirect relationships between preparation for bias and inclusive behavior, psychosocial costs, and implicit bias are mediated by attitudinal mediators (racism, colorblindness, and multiculturalism).



*Figure 6.* A conceptual model in which the indirect relationships between discrimination of other groups and inclusive behavior, psychosocial costs, and implicit bias are mediated by attitudinal mediators (racism, colorblindness, and multiculturalism).



*Figure 7.* A conceptual model in which the indirect relationships between general discrimination and inclusive behavior, psychosocial costs, and implicit bias are mediated by attitudinal mediators (racism, colorblindness, and multiculturalism).

## CHAPTER II

### METHODOLOGY

#### Participants and Recruitment

The sample was drawn from the Psychology Department subject pool at Old Dominion University. The sample consisted of individuals who identify White as this study aimed to examine individuals of the White population ( $n = 288$ , 74.9% female,  $M_{age} = 20.58$ ,  $SD = 2.37$ ). Course credit was administered in exchange for completing the survey. Participants were at least 18 years old and provided informed consent prior to completing the survey. The study was submitted to and approved by the College of Sciences Human Subjects Review Board prior to data collection and followed APA guidelines (American Psychological Association, 2010).

**Power analysis.** Using guidelines provided by Kyriazos (2018), sample size for a path analysis model was determined using the N:q ratio, such that 10 participants were needed for each parameter. The present study had 39 parameters of interest (27 direct effects, 6 correlations, and 6 residual variances). A target sample of 390 participants was the resulting goal. Unfortunately, due to multiple factors such as the COVID-19 pandemic and the online nature of this study, the target sample was not met. Thus, the findings from this study should be interpreted with some caution. However, some scholars have suggested a range of 5 to 10 regarding the N:q ratio. Using the lower range of 5, a sample of 195 participants would suffice the requirements. Moreover, other scholars have proposed general rule of thumb such as a minimum sample size of 100 or 200 (Boomsma, 1982, 1985). G\*Power software was not used for the power analysis as Hayes (2018) expressed uncertainty about power analyses for mediation and moderation. He asserted that these methods are “a semi-formed game that we play, given that in order to conduct a power analyses (at least an *a priori* power analysis), you

need more information than you are likely to have or be in a position to know before data collection” (p. 141) (Hayes, 2018).

### **Procedure**

Participants were recruited through the psychology department’s SONA participant pool in the Fall 2019, Spring 2020, and Summer 2020 semesters. Participants completed an anonymous online survey hosted on Qualtrics. The survey consisted of self-report measures capturing participants’ own recollection of their parents’ efforts to discuss race and ethnicity, their attitudes towards ethnic-racial minorities, and indicators of anti-racist behaviors. Additionally, we utilized an Implicit Association Test (IAT) to capture implicit biases towards ethnic-racial minorities (more information presented in Measures). To ensure measurement order did not influence responses, measures were presented in random order. No evidence of order effects was found in this sample. Additionally, we included four attention checks throughout the survey to ensure accurate responses. The data of participants who failed to accurately respond to more than two attention checks were dropped from the study prior to estimating the models. A total of 14 participants failed two or more attention checks, so their data were dropped. The survey took approximately 60 minutes to complete, so participants who completed the study received 1 SONA credit for their participation.

### **Measures**

**Parental RES Behaviors – Modified (see Appendix A).** The current study utilized a modified version of Pahlke et al.’s (2012) Parental Racial-Ethnic Socialization Behaviors measure to assess how a person was socialized to view issues of race. The original measure by Pahlke et al. (2012), which is a modified version of Hughes & Chen’s (1997) measure for ethnic-racial minorities, asked White parents to rate how frequently they discuss various messages of



race with their child (i.e., *“How often do you tell your child\_?”*). This questionnaire contained six subscales. The first subscale, egalitarianism, represents socialization practices that emphasize all people are equal (five items, e.g., *“How often do you tell your child that people are equal, regardless of their skin color”*). The next scale, history of other groups, reflects messaging from parents that conveys information about other ethnic/racial groups (four items, e.g., *“How often do you tell your child about important people of other racial-ethnic groups”*). Group differences captures the degree to which parents emphasize avoiding relationships with members of different ethnic-racial groups (three items, e.g., *“How often do you tell your child that it is best to have friends who are the same race or ethnic group as we are”*). Next, preparation for bias, captures the degree to which participants felt their parents prepared them for experiencing discrimination and prejudice themselves from other ethnic/racial groups (two items, e.g., *“How often do you tell your child that there is a possibility someone may treat them badly based on their racial or ethnic background”*). In contrast, discrimination against other groups represents the degree to which parents discussed with participants that other ethnic/racial groups may experience discrimination or prejudice (seven items, e.g., *“How often do you tell your child about discrimination or prejudice against other ethnic or racial groups”*). Finally, general discrimination focus on parental messaging that recognizes the overall presence of the possible experience of discrimination (four items, e.g., *“How often do you tell your child that American society is not always fair to all races/ethnicities”*). Higher scores on each of these subscales conveys perception by participants that their parents engaged in frequent messaging surrounding the specific ethnic/racial socialization theme.

Coefficient alphas for this scale ranged from .76 to .79 in Pahlke et al.’s (2012) validation of the Racial-Ethnic Socialization Behaviors measure among White parents. Participants

indicated how frequently they used each strategy on a scale from *never* (1) to *very often* (5). In the current study, the questions were modified to capture emerging adults' own reports of their parents' socializing efforts (i.e., "*How often did your parents tell you?*"). A confirmatory factor analysis was conducted on this measure and indicated adequate model fit after model trimming was conducted (CFI = 0.913, RMSEA = 0.070, SRMR = 0.064).

**Racist Attitudes (see Appendix B).** Racial prejudice was measured using the Symbolic Racism Scale (SRS; Henry & Sears, 2002). The SRS captured the extent to which a person believes that racial bias is no longer an issue and that racial differences in outcomes are due to choice instead of systemic bias. The eight-item measure was rated on a 4-point Likert scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 4 (*strongly agree*). The SRS consisted of eight items addressing four different themes (work ethic and responsibility for outcomes, excessive demands, denial of continuing discrimination, and undeserved advantage). Sample items included "*It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if Black people would only try harder they could be just as well off as White people*" and "*Black leaders have pushed too much and too quickly for social changes.*" Higher scores indicated greater racial bias, as defined as denial of continuing discrimination and systemic bias. Cronbach's alpha for this sample was .85.

**Color-Blind Attitudes (see Appendix C).** Color-blind ideology was measured utilizing the Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS), a conceptually grounded scale to assess cognitive aspects of color-blind racial attitudes. Sample items included "*White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin*" and "*Race is very important in determining who is successful and who is not.*" The CoBRAS was positively related to other indexes of racial attitudes as well as two measures of belief in a just world, indicating that greater endorsement of color-blind racial attitudes was related to greater levels of racial prejudice and a

belief that society is just and fair (Neville et al., 2000). Cronbach's alpha for each of the factors and the total score were acceptable and ranged from .70 (Blatant Racial Issues) to .86 (CoBRAS total) (Neville et al., 2000). Cronbach's alpha for this sample was .87.

**Multicultural Attitudes (see Appendix D).** Multicultural attitudes were captured utilizing the SMC Ideology subscale from the Subjective Multiculturalism Scale (SMS; Stuart & Ward, 2012). The SMC Ideology subscale consisted of seven items (e.g., “*Most people think that it is good to have different groups with distinct cultural backgrounds living in the country*”) and measured perceptions that most people residing in society believe that cultural diversity is beneficial. This subscale was used on its own because it captured perceptions that the individual has in contrast to the other two subscales of SMC Diversity which measured perceptions that the population of the country in which one lives is culturally diverse, and SMC Equity which measured perceptions that there is equitable participation and accommodation of diverse groups in society. Responses were measured on a 5-point Likert Scale, *Strongly Disagree* (1) to *Strongly Agree* (5). In the initial formulation of this measure, the SMC was found to have an acceptable level of reliability ( $\alpha = .75 - .83$ ) in New Zealand and U.S. samples which demonstrated that it can be used in different contexts (Stuart & Ward, 2015). Cronbach's alpha for the SMC Ideology subscale in this sample was .86.

**Inclusive Behavior (see Appendix E).** To assess inclusive behavior, participants provided the initials of up to 20 close friends and subsequently identified the race of those individuals. This measure was previously used to covertly identify close friendships with individuals of different races (Greenwald et al., 1998). Proportions were computed for Black friends by dividing this by the total number of Black and White friends (Dickter et al., 2015).

This was asked in the beginning of the survey and included in the demographics section to avoid social desirability bias.

Inclusive behavior was also captured using the Willingness to Engage in Close Intergroup Contact Measure. In this measure, participants rated the extent to which they were interested in forming close personal relationships with Black individuals using five self-report items adapted from previous research (Esses & Dovidio, 2002; Tropp & Bianchi, 2006). On a scale of 1 (*not at all willing*) to 7 (*extremely willing*), participants indicated the extent to which they would be willing or unwilling to “*Marry a Black person,*” “*Have an intimate relationship with a Black person,*” “*accept a Black person as a family member through marriage,*” “*have a Black person as a close friend,*” and “*confide in a Black person.*” These items formed an index where higher numbers indicate a greater interest in close intergroup contact ( $\alpha = .90$ ) (Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014). Cronbach’s alpha for this sample was .83.

**Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites (see Appendix F).** The Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites (PCRW) scale operationalized the idea that racism has psychosocial costs for White individuals. This scale has three subscales that measure levels of White empathic reactions toward racism (e.g., “*I become sad when I think about racial injustice*”), White guilt (e.g., “*Being White makes me feel personally responsible for racism*”), and White fear of others (e.g., “*I often find myself fearful of people of other races*”). The initial validation of the PCRW study reported Cronbach’s coefficient alphas, which were as follows: White empathic reactions toward racism (.78), White guilt (.73), and White fear of others (.63) (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). Cronbach’s alpha for this sample were as follows: White empathic reactions toward racism (.72), White guilt (.84), and White fear of others (.65).

**Implicit Bias.** To capture implicit biases, participants were asked to complete an Implicit Association Test (IAT; Greenwald et al., 1998) which is a psychological research tool for measuring mental associations between target pairs (e.g., competing brands, self vs. others, different races or genders, etc.) and a category dimension (e.g., positive-negative, healthy-unhealthy, etc.). The Implicit Association Test (IAT) measures attitudes and beliefs that people may be unwilling or unable to report. Project Implicit was founded in 1998 by three scientists: Tony Greenwald (University of Washington), Mahzarin Banaji (Harvard University), and Brian Nosek (University of Virginia). The current study utilized the Race IAT which has been used in previous research (Nosek et al., 2005; Oswald et al., 2015; Sabin et al., 2009). The main idea is that making a response is easier when closely related items share the same response key.

To facilitate implementation, I administered the IAT online via Qualtrics. Not only indicated good psychometric properties for the online IAT and expected correlations with explicit measures, but also found nearly identical results and intercorrelations between IATs administered utilizing the online-survey iatgen and in-person IATs conducted via Inquisit (by Carpenter et al., 2017). I used the iatgen tool which is available for researchers to use for administering tests of implicit bias provided by Project Implicit. Project Implicit is a non-profit organization collaboration between researchers who are interested in implicit social cognition (thoughts and feelings outside of conscious awareness and control). All materials for administering and scoring the IAT are available online on the Project Implicit website and the Center for Open Science.

Specifically, participants were asked to complete an IAT with White faces and Black faces and associate them with “good” and “bad” words. To minimize participant burden, and avoid social desirability bias, the IAT was completed online utilizing Carpenter et al.’s (2017)

iatgen tool. The IAT consisted of seven “blocks” (sets of trials). In each trial, a participant viewed a stimulus (e.g., a word or image) on the screen. Stimuli represented “targets” (e.g., White and Black faces) or the category (e.g., pleasant-unpleasant). When stimuli appeared, the participant “sorted” the stimulus as fast as possible by pressing with either their left or right hands on the keyboard (in iatgen, the “E” and “I” keys). The sides with which one should press were indicated in the upper left and right corners of the screen. The response speed was measured in milliseconds. For example, in some sections, a participant might have pressed with the left hand for all White faces + pleasant stimuli and with their right hand for all Black faces + unpleasant stimuli.

The idea behind the IAT is that this task is easier (and therefore someone will be faster) when sorting in a manner consistent with one’s associations. For example, someone could be faster when asked to sort all White faces + pleasant stimuli with one hand and Black faces + unpleasant with the other, as this is (most likely) consistent with some people’s implicit mental associations. On the other hand, when the category pairings are reversed, people should have to work to override their mental associations, and the task should be slower. Participants completed the sorting task in both combined formats, and the degree to which one is faster in one section or the other is a measure of one’s implicit bias.

I downloaded the same images for stimuli and used the same words from the Race IAT (e.g., Joy", "Happy", "Laughter", and "Wonderful" for pleasant; "Evil", "Agony", and "Awful" for unpleasant) that have been used in previous studies (Oswald et al., 2015; Sabin et al., 2009). I used the iatgen tool by importing the visual stimuli as well as the words to create the IAT. Then, I downloaded the IAT from the iatgen site and imported it into Qualtrics. To analyze the results of the IAT, I downloaded the results from Qualtrics, converted the data into a .csv file for

compatibility, then I imported the .csv file into the iatgen website to be scored using a d-score. After the results were scored, I downloaded the .csv file, converted it back into an SPSS file, and then merged the results with the original SPSS file using the participant ID. Higher IAT scores were generally interpreted as revealing relatively more negative implicit evaluations of Blacks relative to Whites (Hilgard et al., 2013).

**Demographic Information.** Participants were asked to indicate their age, gender, and political ideology. More demographic information is displayed in Table 1.

Table 1

*Demographic Information*

		Frequency	Percent
Age	18	74	21.4
	19	65	18.8
	20	45	13.0
	21	49	14.2
	22	28	8.1
	23	18	5.2
	24	15	4.3
	25	15	4.3
Gender Identity	Male	81	23.4
	Female	259	74.9
	Female to Male	4	1.2
	Other	2	0.6
Sexual Orientation	Heterosexual	279	80.6
	Gay	6	1.7
	Lesbian	16	4.6
	Bisexual	29	8.4
	Other	7	2.0
	Questioning	5	1.4
	Prefer not to Respond	4	1.2
Class Year	First Year	116	33.5
	Second Year	72	20.8
	Third Year	75	21.7
	Fourth Year	63	18.2
	Fifth Year	14	4.0
	Other	6	1.7
Political Ideology	Republican	107	30.9
	Democrat	101	29.2
	Independent	100	28.9



Table 1 Continued

		Frequency	Percent
Religious Beliefs	Other	38	11.0
	No Religion	60	17.3
	Agnostic	14	4.0
	Atheist	9	2.6
	Protestant	106	30.6
	Charismatic Christian	32	9.2
	Born-Again Christian	37	10.7
	Roman Catholic	53	15.3
	Orthodox	4	1.2
	Mormon	1	0.3
	Jewish	5	1.4
	Islam, Muslim	1	0.3
	Buddhist	3	0.9
Other	19	5.5	

### Analytic Plan

The current research study was carried out across two phases. In the first phase, I conducted preliminary analysis and verification of all statistical assumptions. Because a path analysis is an extension of a multiple regression model, the six regression assumptions must be met in order to have useful results. The first assumption is linearity which requires that the relationship between the predictors and the criterion variables is linear. Scatterplots of the unstandardized residuals were examined to check for a linear relationship between the IVs (i.e., racism) and the DVs (i.e., inclusive behavior). The second assumption is that all relevant predictors are included in the model. Based on the theory and prior research discussed above, the present investigation included predictors in the model which best represented the necessary predictors.

The third assumption is that variables measurements are error free. To meet this assumption, measures with high reliability and validity were used to minimize measurement error. Additionally, because the modified version of Pahlke's Parental RES Behavioral measure had not been utilized with White college students, I conducted a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) in Mplus v8.0 with a robust maximum likelihood estimator (MLR). Model fit was evaluated using the comparative fit index (CFI), the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA), and the standardized root mean square residual (SRMR). According to values suggested by Little (2013), good fit is represented as  $CFI \geq .95$ ,  $RMSEA \leq .06$ , and  $SRMR \leq .06$ ; adequate fit is represented as  $CFI = .90-.95$ ,  $RMSEA = .06-.08$ , and  $SRMR = .06-.08$ ; and mediocre fit is represented  $CFI = .85-.90$ ,  $RMSEA = .08-.10$ , and  $SRMR = .08-.10$ . I did not use the  $\chi^2$  value to gauge model fit because it tests a null hypothesis of perfect fit, which is rarely plausible with large samples or complex models (Davey & Savla, 2009).

The fourth assumption is that the variance of residuals is constant. To test this assumption, scatterplots of the unstandardized residuals for each predictor were assessed for homoscedasticity. The fifth assumption is that predictor variables are not highly correlated and that residuals are independent and were checked with zero-order bivariate correlations, to ensure none of the predictor variables were not too highly correlated with each other, and scatterplots for evidence of potential clumping, which would suggest a failure of independence. The sixth and final assumption is that the residuals are normally distributed. Q-Q were utilized to assess this assumption.

In the second phase and drawing on the conceptual model (see Figure 1), I examined the effect parental RES has on ethnic-racial attitudes, and in turn, on implicit biases, inclusive behavior, and psychosocial costs. Path modeling was utilized in Mplus v8.0 to examine the direct

effects of parents' messaging centered around egalitarianism, history of other groups, group differences, preparation for bias, discrimination against other groups, and general discrimination on youths' attitudes towards ethnic-racial minorities, and inclusive behavior and feelings of guilt, fear, and empathy. Once again, model fit was evaluated using the comparative fit index (CFI), the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA), and the standardized root mean square residual (SRMR). Good fit is represented as  $CFI \geq .95$ ,  $RMSEA \leq .06$ , and  $SRMR \leq .06$ ; adequate fit is represented as  $CFI = .90-.95$ ,  $RMSEA = .06-.08$ , and  $SRMR = .06-.08$ ; and mediocre fit is represented  $CFI = .85-.90$ ,  $RMSEA = .08-.10$ , and  $SRMR = .08-.10$ . Third, indirect effects were estimated in Mplus utilizing the delta method (Muthén & Muthén, 1998–2012) within a single model to avoid Type I error inflation.

## CHAPTER III

### RESULTS

#### Assumptions and Preliminary Analysis

Prior to estimating the main model, the data were examined to ensure that assumption checks were met. The first assumption of linearity was examined by looking at scatterplots of the unstandardized residuals between the IVs (i.e., racism) and the DVs (i.e., inclusive behavior). Scatterplots indicated a linear relationship between the IVs and the DVs for all of the relationships. The second assumption that all relevant predictors are included in the model was based on the theory and prior research discussed above. To meet the third assumption that variables measurements are error free, I used measures with high reliability and validity to minimize measurement error. The Cronbach's alpha values for all measures except for one (White Fear of Others) were above .70 indicating that reliability was acceptable (Cortina, 1993). Cronbach's alphas are shown in Table 2.

Table 2

#### *Cronbach's Alphas*

Measure	Cronbach's Alpha	Standardized Cronbach's Alpha
Symbolic Racism Scale	0.845	0.719
Color-blind Racial Attitudes Scale	0.865	0.816
Subjective Multiculturalism Scale – SMC Ideology	0.855	0.851
White Empathic Reactions Toward Racism	0.722	0.728
White Guilt	0.841	0.842
White Fear of Others	0.652	0.672
Willingness to Engage in Close Intergroup Contact	0.826	0.850

Additionally, I conducted a CFA on the modified version of Pahlke's Parental RES Behavioral measure because it had not been utilized with White college students. In the first

round, model fit was below mediocre (CFI = 0.792, RMSEA = 0.094, SRMR = 0.127). To improve model fit, I looked at the standardized factor loadings and trimmed paths that were below 0.4 since they did not contribute significant information to the model. I trimmed factor loadings one at a time and examined model fit each time until there were no factor loadings below 0.4. After model trimming, model fit was adequate, and the third assumption check was met (CFI = 0.913, RMSEA = 0.070, SRMR = 0.064).

Table 3

*CFA for Parental RES*

Subscale	Item	Standardized Factor Loading	<i>p</i> -value	Cronbach's Alpha
Egalitarianism	1	0.712	<0.001	0.858
	4	0.532	<0.001	
	6	0.869	<0.001	
	8	0.877	<0.001	
	17	0.737	<0.001	
History of Other Groups	2	0.760	<0.001	0.888
	10	0.825	<0.001	
	13	0.850	<0.001	
	15	0.824	<0.001	
Group Differences	12	0.780	<0.001	0.707
	20	0.702	<0.001	
Preparation for Bias	3	0.640	<0.001	0.618
	5	0.700	<0.001	
Discrimination	25	0.701	<0.001	0.554
	7	0.698	<0.001	
	14	0.856	<0.001	
	18	0.833	<0.001	
	19	0.668	<0.001	
	22	0.731	<0.001	

The final factor structure, standardized factor loadings, and alpha levels are reported in Table 3. The five-factor structure consisted of five subscales (i.e., egalitarianism, history of other groups, group differences, preparation for bias, and discrimination) instead of six subscales with general discrimination and discrimination of other groups being combined into one subscale called “discrimination.” Standardized factor loadings ranged from 0.532 to 0.877. Cronbach’s alpha for each factor was 0.858 for egalitarianism, 0.888 for history of other groups, 0.707 for group differences, 0.618 for preparation for bias, and 0.554 for discrimination. I did not have to perform any model building since model fit was adequate after model trimming. If I had to perform model building, I would have examined the modification indices with a value above 10 and started with the highest modification index value. I then would have examined what the modification indices were suggesting and added any paths if they made theoretical sense.

The fourth assumption that the residuals have a constant variance (homoscedasticity) was checked using scatterplots of the unstandardized residuals for each predictor. The scatterplots looked random with no funnel shape which indicated homoscedasticity. The fifth assumption that predictor variables were not highly correlated and that residuals are independent was checked by estimating a zero-order bivariate correlation and looking at scatterplots for clustering. As indicated in Table 4, bivariate correlations ranged between weak to moderate (-.03 to .60), indicating minimal concerns for multicollinearity. Scatter plots showed no clustering, which indicated that the residuals were independent across participants. The sixth assumption that the residuals are normally distributed was checked with Q-Q plots. The majority of datapoints were on the line which indicated that the observed standardized residuals were normally distributed. The data were examined to determine if there were any univariate outliers

Table 4

*Zero-Order Bivariate Correlations*

Variable Name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Egalitarianism													
History of Other Groups	.60**												
Group Differences	-.03	.20**											
Preparation for Bias	.29**	.46**	.34**										
Discrimination	-.06	-.14*	.04	.05									
Color-blindness	-.09	.021	.16**	.17**	-.12*								
Racism	-.01	-.01	.22**	.18**	.05	.34**							
Multiculturalism	.20**	.08	-.01	.01	.23**	-.11	.05						
IAT score	.16**	.02	-.04	-.02	.02	.03	-.03	.06					
White Empathic Reactions	.10	.05	-.10	-.15**	-.27**	.11	-.02	.01	.06				
White Guilt	-.10	.01	.10	-.02	-.30**	.20**	.07	-.31**	-.03	.25**			
White Fear of Others	-.18**	-.03	.27**	.21**	.11	.27**	.31**	-.07	-.01	-.23**	.01		
Willingness to Engage	.14*	.05	-.16**	-.16**	-.19**	-.01	-.15**	.04	.08	.46**	.27**	-.29**	
Friendship Ratio	-.10	.02	.08	-.02	-.03	.01	-.07	-.06	.012	-.05	.08	-.16**	.08

Note. \*  $p < .050$ , \*\*  $p < .010$

using Histograms in SPSS. There were 5 total univariate outliers, and these outliers were winsorized one by one, as suggested by Ruppert (2006). Specifically, outliers were replaced with a new value 1 unit above or below the next highest or lowest value. A new histogram was plotted each time to determine if there were remaining outliers. This process was repeated until there were no more univariate outliers. Finally, I conducted analyses in SPSS to determine if there were any multivariate outliers using Mahalanobis distance. Results indicated that there were no multivariate outliers as the Mahalanobis distance fell under all critical values.

### Primary Analysis

Next, I estimated the conceptual model (see Figure 1) utilizing a path modeling in Mplus v8.0 to examine the effect parent RES had on ethnic-racial attitudes, and in turn, on implicit biases, inclusive behavior, and psychosocial costs. I started with a fully saturated model. Next, in order to obtain model fit, I trimmed non-significant covariates (i.e., age, gender, political beliefs) from the model. After doing so, model fit indices indicated good model fit (CFI = 1.000, RMSEA = 0.000, SRMR = 0.025). Since model fit was good, no additional changes were made to the model. For the purpose of simplification, I report direct effects and indirect effects separately below.

**Direct Effects.** Starting with the direct effects on the mediators, as reported in Table 5, results indicated group differences was significantly associated with greater racist attitudes ( $\beta = 0.262, p < .001$ ) and color-blind attitudes ( $\beta = 0.233, p < .001$ ). Preparation for bias also significantly associated with greater racist attitudes ( $\beta = 0.241, p < .001$ ) and color-blind attitudes ( $\beta = 0.233, p < .001$ ). Discrimination significantly associated with greater color-blind attitudes ( $\beta = -0.115, p = .028$ ) and lower multicultural attitudes ( $\beta = -0.124, p = .027$ ). Egalitarianism significantly associated with greater color-blind ( $\beta = 0.145, p = .027$ ) and



multicultural attitudes ( $\beta = 0.251, p = .002$ ). Additionally, gender significantly associated with racist ( $\beta = -0.185, p < .001$ ), color-blind ( $\beta = -0.223, p < .001$ ), and multicultural attitudes ( $\beta = -0.155, p = .008$ ).

Table 5

*Direct Effect*

Outcome	Predictor	Estimate	p-value
Racism	Egalitarian	0.072	0.291
	History of Other Groups	0.045	0.568
	Group Differences	0.262	<0.001
	Preparation for Bias	0.241	<0.001
	Discrimination	-0.079	0.119
Color-blind	Egalitarian	0.145	0.027
	History of Other Groups	-0.020	0.770
	Group Differences	0.233	<0.001
	Preparation for Bias	0.242	<0.001
	Discrimination	-0.115	0.028
Multicultural	Egalitarian	0.251	0.002
	History of Other Groups	-0.004	0.965
	Group Differences	-0.007	0.917
	Preparation for Bias	-0.075	0.237
	Discrimination	-0.124	0.027
Friendship Ratio	Egalitarian	-0.146	0.053
	History of Other Groups	0.151	0.048
	Group Differences	0.131	0.093
	Preparation for Bias	-0.051	0.432
	Discrimination	-0.038	0.523
	Racism	-0.229	0.054
	Color-blind	0.135	0.300
	Multicultural	-0.001	0.991

Outcome	Predictor	Estimate	p-value
Willingness to Engage in Close	Egalitarian	0.176	0.007
	History of Other Groups	0.007	0.915
	Group Differences	-0.021	0.744
	Preparation for Bias	-0.037	0.522
	Discrimination	-0.053	0.299
	Racism	-0.235	0.022
	Color-blind	-0.277	0.006
	Multicultural	0.194	<0.001
White Empathic Reactions	Egalitarian	0.221	0.002
	History of Other Groups	0.005	0.944
	Group Differences	0.041	0.561
	Preparation for Bias	-0.019	0.761
	Discrimination	-0.001	0.980
	Racism	-0.113	0.330
	Color-blind	-0.372	0.001
	Multicultural	0.114	0.077
White Guilt	Egalitarian	-0.044	0.522
	History of Other Groups	0.080	0.189
	Group Differences	0.251	<0.001
	Preparation for Bias	0.096	0.107
	Discrimination	-0.013	0.781
	Racism	-0.166	0.050
	Color-blind	-0.413	<0.001
	Multicultural	-0.104	0.049
White Fear of Others	Egalitarian	-0.173	0.013
	History of Other Groups	-0.011	0.873
	Group Differences	0.158	0.026
	Preparation for Bias	0.133	0.033
	Discrimination	0.068	0.179
	Racism	0.332	0.001

Outcome	Predictor	Estimate	p-value
IAT	Color-blind	0.049	0.634
	Multicultural	-0.115	0.037
	Egalitarian	-0.001	0.986
	History of Other Groups	-0.003	0.970
	Group Differences	0.065	0.291
	Preparation for Bias	0.042	0.536
	Discrimination	-0.005	0.926
	Racism	0.044	0.692
	Color-blind	0.222	0.069
	Multicultural	-0.100	0.123

The mediators were also significantly associated with the outcome variables. Racist attitudes significantly associated with lower willingness to engage in close intergroup contact ( $\beta = -0.235, p = .022$ ), lower White guilt ( $\beta = -0.166, p = .050$ ), and greater White fear of others ( $\beta = 0.331, p = .001$ ). Color-blind attitudes significantly associated with lower willingness to engage in close intergroup contact ( $\beta = -0.277, p = .006$ ), lower White empathic reactions toward racism ( $\beta = -0.372, p = .001$ ), and lower White guilt ( $\beta = -0.413, p < .001$ ). Finally, multicultural attitudes significantly associated with greater willingness to engage in close intergroup contact ( $\beta = 0.194, p < .001$ ), lower White guilt ( $\beta = -0.104, p = .049$ ), and lower White fear of others ( $\beta = -0.115, p = .037$ ).

Finally, because I started with a fully saturated model, RES also directly influenced the distal outcomes. History of other groups significantly related to greater friendship ratio ( $\beta = 0.151, p = .048$ ). Egalitarianism significantly related to greater willingness to engage in close intergroup contact ( $\beta = 0.176, p = .007$ ), greater White empathic reactions toward racism ( $\beta = 0.221, p = .002$ ), and lower White fear of others ( $\beta = -0.173, p = .013$ ). Group differences significantly related to greater White guilt ( $\beta = 0.251, p < .001$ ) and White fear of others ( $\beta =$

0.158,  $p = .026$ ). Preparation for bias significantly related to greater White fear of others ( $\beta = 0.133, p = .033$ ). Gender was significantly related to White guilt ( $\beta = 0.105, p = .013$ ) and White fear of others ( $\beta = 0.163, p = .002$ ).

**Indirect Effects.** Next, tests of the indirect effects were conducted using the delta method (Muthén & Muthén, 1998–2012). Indirect effects are reported in Table 6. Specifically, I estimated the same model with the MODEL INDIRECT command in *MPlus*. Results indicated a significant indirect effect such that egalitarianism related to lower White guilt through color-blind attitudes ( $\beta = -0.060, p = .042$ ) and related to greater willingness to engage in close intergroup contact through multicultural attitudes ( $\beta = 0.049, p = .016$ ). Group differences related to lower White empathy ( $\beta = -0.087, p = .014$ ), White Guilt ( $\beta = -0.096, p = .006$ ), and willingness to engage in close intergroup contact ( $\beta = -0.065, p = .023$ ) through color-blind attitudes. There was also indirect effect of group differences associating with greater White fear of others through racist attitudes ( $\beta = 0.087, p = .005$ ). Preparation for bias related to lower White empathy ( $\beta = -0.009, p = .009$ ), lower White guilt ( $\beta = -0.100, p = .003$ ), and lower willingness to engage in close intergroup contact ( $\beta = -0.067, p = .028$ ) through color-blind attitudes. Preparation for bias related to greater white fear of others ( $\beta = 0.080, p = .013$ ) and lower willingness to engage in close intergroup contact ( $\beta = -0.056, p = .046$ ) through racist attitudes. Discrimination related to greater White Guilt ( $\beta = 0.048, p = .040$ ) through color-blind attitudes. A finalized model with all significant paths is reported below (Figure 8).

Table 6

*Indirect Effects*

Outcome	Predictor	Mediator	Estimate	p-value	95% CI
IAT score	Egalitarianism	Color-blindness	0.032	0.180	[-0.015, 0.080]
		Racism	0.003	0.700	[0.013, 0.020]
		Multiculturalism	-0.025	0.156	[-0.060, 0.010]
	History of Other Groups	Color-blindness	-0.005	0.774	[-0.035, 0.026]
		Racism	0.002	0.757	[-0.011, 0.015]
		Multiculturalism	0.000	0.965	[-0.016, 0.017]
	Group Differences	Color-blindness	0.052	0.111	[-0.012, 0.116]
		Racism	0.012	0.692	[-0.046, 0.069]
		Multiculturalism	0.001	0.917	[-0.012, 0.014]
	Preparation for Bias	Color-blindness	0.054	0.088	[-0.008, 0.116]
		Racism	0.011	0.694	[-0.043, 0.064]
		Multiculturalism	0.007	0.346	[-0.008, 0.023]
	Discrimination	Color-blindness	-0.026	0.145	[-0.060, 0.009]
		Racism	-0.004	0.701	[-0.022, 0.014]
		Multiculturalism	0.012	0.177	[-0.006, 0.030]
White Empathic Reactions	Egalitarianism	Color-blindness	-0.054	0.076	[-0.114, 0.006]
		Racism	-0.008	0.489	[-0.031, 0.015]
		Multiculturalism	0.029	0.106	[-0.006, 0.063]
	History of Other Groups	Color-blindness	0.008	0.772	[-0.044, 0.059]
		Racism	-0.005	0.601	[-0.024, 0.014]
		Multiculturalism	0.000	0.965	[-0.020, 0.019]
	Group Differences	Color-blindness	-0.087	0.014	[-0.156, -0.018]
		Racism	-0.030	0.342	[-0.091, 0.031]
		Multiculturalism	-0.001	0.917	[-0.016, 0.014]
	Preparation for Bias	Color-blindness	-0.090	0.009	[-0.158, -0.023]
		Racism	-0.027	0.339	[-0.083, 0.029]
		Multiculturalism	-0.009	0.302	[-0.030, 0.008]
	Discrimination	Color-blindness	0.043	0.060	[-0.002, 0.088]

Outcome	Predictor	Mediator	Estimate	p-value	95% CI
White Guilt		Racism	0.009	0.397	[-0.012, 0.030]
		Multiculturalism	-0.014	0.186	[-0.035, 0.007]
	Egalitarianism	Color-blindness	-0.060	0.042	[-0.118, -0.002]
		Racism	-0.012	0.385	[-0.039, 0.015]
		Multiculturalism	-0.026	0.094	[-0.056, 0.004]
		Color-blindness	0.008	0.770	[-0.048, 0.065]
	History of	Racism	-0.007	0.568	[-0.033, 0.018]
		Multiculturalism	0.000	0.965	[-0.017, 0.018]
	Group	Color-blindness	-0.096	0.006	[-0.164, -0.028]
		Racism	-0.043	0.090	[-0.094, 0.007]
	Differences	Multiculturalism	0.001	0.916	[-0.013, 0.014]
		Color-blindness	-0.100	0.003	[-0.165, -0.035]
	Preparation for	Racism	-0.040	0.079	[-0.084, 0.005]
		Multiculturalism	0.008	0.324	[-0.008, 0.023]
Bias	Color-blindness	0.048	0.040	[0.002, 0.093]	
	Racism	0.013	0.202	[-0.007, 0.033]	
White Fear of Others	Egalitarianism	Multiculturalism	0.013	0.117	[-0.003, 0.029]
		Color-blindness	0.007	0.648	[-0.023, 0.037]
		Racism	0.024	0.313	[-0.023, 0.071]
		Multiculturalism	-0.029	0.082	[-0.072, 0.004]
	History of	Color-blindness	-0.001	0.791	[-0.008, 0.006]
		Racism	0.015	0.564	[-0.036, 0.066]
	Other Groups	Multiculturalism	0.000	0.965	[-0.019, 0.020]
		Color-blindness	0.011	0.640	[-0.036, 0.059]
	Group	Racism	0.087	0.005	[0.026, 0.148]
		Multiculturalism	0.001	0.916	[-0.014, 0.015]
	Differences	Color-blindness	0.012	0.633	[-0.037, 0.060]
		Racism	0.080	0.013	[0.017, 0.143]
	Preparation for	Multiculturalism	0.009	0.297	[-0.008, 0.025]
		Color-blindness	-0.006	0.641	[-0.029, 0.018]
Bias					

Outcome	Predictor	Mediator	Estimate	p-value	95% CI	
Willingness to Engage in Close Intergroup Contact	History of Other Groups	Racism	- 0.026	0.155	[-0.063, 0.010]	
		Multiculturalism	0.014	0.121	[-0.004, 0.032]	
		Color-blindness	- 0.040	0.080	[-0.085, 0.005]	
		Racism	- 0.017	0.347	[-0.052, 0.018]	
		Multiculturalism	0.049	0.016	[0.009, 0.088]	
		Color-blindness	0.006	0.770	[-0.032, 0.043]	
	Group Differences	Preparation for Bias	Racism	- 0.011	0.583	[-0.048, 0.027]
			Multiculturalism	- 0.001	0.965	[-0.033, 0.032]
			Color-blindness	- 0.065	0.023	[-0.120, -0.009]
		Discrimination	Racism	- 0.062	0.055	[-0.124, 0.001]
			Multiculturalism	-0.001	0.917	[-0.026, 0.020]
			Color-blindness	- 0.067	0.028	[-0.127, -0.007]
Friendship Ratio	History of Other Groups	Racism	- 0.056	0.046	[-0.112, -0.001]	
		Multiculturalism	- 0.015	0.233	[-0.038, 0.009]	
		Color-blindness	0.032	0.079	[-0.004, 0.067]	
		Racism	0.019	0.195	[-0.010, 0.042]	
		Multiculturalism	-0.024	0.061	[-0.049, 0.001]	
		Color-blindness	0.020	0.354	[-0.022, 0.061]	
	Group Differences	Preparation for Bias	Racism	-0.017	0.376	[-0.053, 0.020]
			Multiculturalism	0.000	0.991	[-0.037, 0.037]
			Color-blindness	-0.003	0.783	[-0.022, 0.017]
		Discrimination	Racism	-0.010	0.580	[-0.047, 0.026]
			Multiculturalism	0.000	0.991	[-0.001, 0.001]
			Color-blindness	0.031	0.316	[-0.030, 0.093]
Group Differences	Preparation for Bias	Racism	-0.060	0.089	[-0.129, 0.009]	
		Multiculturalism	0.000	0.991	[-0.001, 0.001]	
		Color-blindness	0.033	0.316	[-0.031, 0.096]	
	Discrimination	Racism	-0.055	0.077	[-0.116, 0.006]	
		Multiculturalism	0.000	0.991	[-0.011, 0.011]	
		Color-blindness	-0.016	0.347	[-0.048, 0.017]	

Outcome	Predictor	Mediator	Estimate	p-value	95% CI
		Racism	0.018	0.202	[-0.010, 0.046]
		Multiculturalism	0.000	0.991	[-0.018, 0.018]



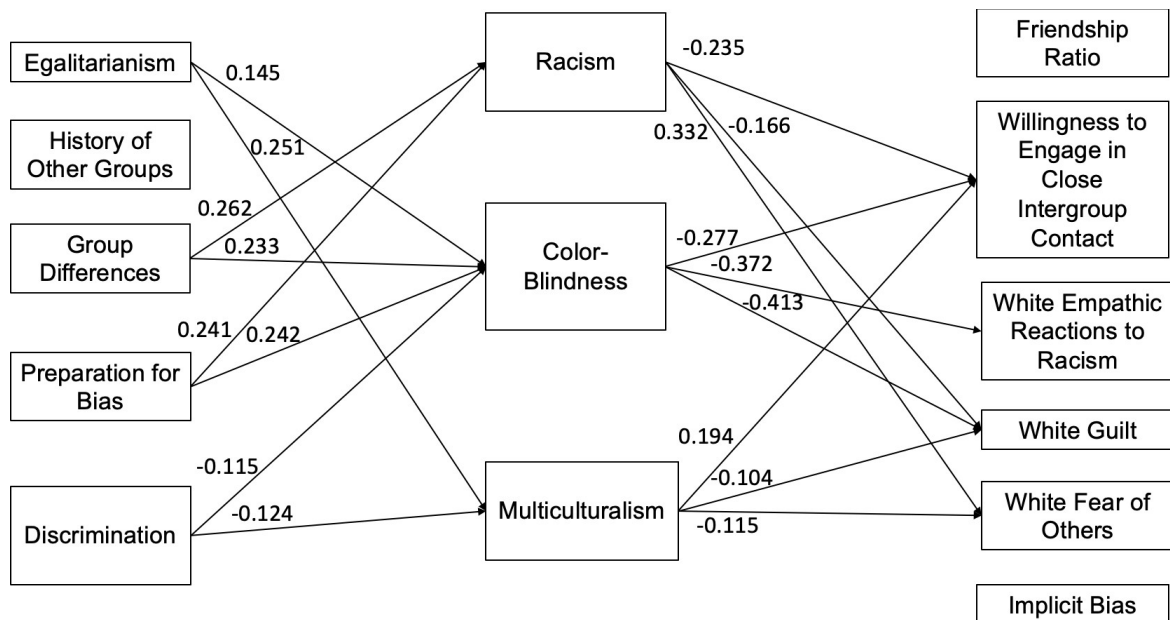


Figure 8. A finalized model with all significant paths.

## CHAPTER V

### DISCUSSION

The purpose of the current study was to examine how prior parental racial-ethnic socialization (RES; i.e., egalitarianism, history of other groups, group differences, and messages regarding preparation for bias, racial discrimination in general, and discrimination against members of other racial groups) impacted White emerging adults students' own attitudes towards ethnic-racial minorities (i.e., racist, colorblind, and multicultural) and how these attitudes propelled inclusive (and non-inclusive) behavior, psychosocial costs of racism, and implicit biases. There are significant gaps in the literature including the majority of existing studies have used parent reports, qualitative data, and data from elementary age children. Moreover, prior research has indicated that neither children nor their caregivers were able to accurately predict the others' views (Pahlke et al., 2012) which suggests a gap between parents' views and their children's views on ethnicity and race. Finally, previous research has also characterized emerging adulthood as an important period for increased racial identity development, even among White young adults (Cicetti-Turro, 2011). I hypothesized that the six different strategies of parental RES would be differentially associated with White emerging adult students' own attitudes towards ethnic-racial minorities (i.e., racist, colorblind, and multicultural). Additionally, I hypothesized that racist and color-blind attitudes would be negatively associated with inclusive behavior and increased biases while multicultural attitudes would be positively associated with inclusive behavior and decreased biases. Through examining psychosocial costs of racism to Whites, inclusive and non-inclusive behaviors, and biases, the current study aimed to provide a comprehensive conceptualization of White emerging adults' inclusive and non-inclusive behaviors.

## **The Effect of Racial Socialization on Cultural Ideologies**

One of the primary goals of the current study was to establish links between the parental RES strategies and attitudes towards ethnic-racial minorities. I hypothesized that egalitarianism would be negatively related to racism and positively related to multiculturalism. Additionally, as previously noted, because egalitarianism RES also focuses on equality (J. M. Hughes et al., 2007), I hypothesized that egalitarianism would be weakly and positively associated with color-blindness as well. Consistently, results indicated that egalitarianism was positively associated with both color-blind attitudes and multicultural attitudes. This finding suggests that egalitarianism can be complicit in the continuation of racism through color-blind ideology, but it can also combat racism through adoption of multicultural ideology. Recent research highlighted the possibility that color-blind messages allow for the continuation of racial bias by making individuals less likely to attribute race-based inequalities to racial discrimination (Apfelbaum et al., 2010; Bigler & Wright, 2014). However, a multicultural ideology recognizes the value in different races and is associated with less racial bias (Plaut et al., 2009; Wolsko et al., 2006). Given the dual associations, the association between egalitarianism and both color-blind and multicultural ideology may depend on the framing of egalitarianism (Zucker & Patterson, 2018). For example, expressing the view that “all people are equal” by following up with “and society treats them as such” is very different than following up with “yet systemic racism still exists.” The former perpetuates color-blindness, while the latter addresses racial inequality in today’s world (Bigler & Wright, 2014; Park & Judd, 2005).

I also hypothesized that parental RES focusing on group differences would be positively related to racism and negatively related to color-blindness and multiculturalism due to its emphasis on avoiding relationships with members of different ethnic-racial groups. The group

differences RES strategy highlights how different racial groups are not as valuable as one's own racial group (Hughes & Chen, 1997). Previous research has found that parents with more biased racial attitudes (i.e., scored higher on the Symbolic Racism Scale) are more likely to highlight group differences among races to their children (Zucker & Patterson, 2018). Consistent with this prior research on parents' report of their socialization practices, results indicated that college students who reported that their parents engaged in greater RES focused on group differences had higher levels of racist attitudes themselves. As such, these results triangulate prior findings focused on parents' reporting on RES practices and implies that parental RES strategy focused on group differences may be a key mechanism that serves to transmit racism and negative ethnic-racial attitudes.

At the same time, parental RES focused on group differences was also positively associated with color-blind attitudes. Color-blind attitudes are attitudes that embrace a view that race and ethnicity are not factors in how people are treated (Torkelson & Hartmann, 2010). As such, the positive association between an RES focused on group differences and color-blind ideology is surprising and contrasts my initial hypothesis. Such findings suggest that color-blind ideology may nonetheless represent a racist ideology. Indeed, color-blind ideology is a breeding ground for ignorance regarding White privilege and structural White supremacy (Mueller, 2017). In this way, color-blind ideology furthers the idea that racism is over so individuals with color-blind attitudes may be more likely to victim-blame (e.g., Blacks are poor because they are lazy and don't try hard enough) since there is no such thing as systemic barriers. While color-blind ideology is not an active participant in racist behaviors, it allows for racism to perpetuate by failing to address racism (Kendi, 2019).

In contrast to the original current measurement for the parental RES (Zucker & Patterson, 2018), preliminary psychometric analysis indicated that the two discrimination subscales failed to differentiate. Specifically, general discrimination and discrimination of other groups were conflated to represent a single factor of discrimination. This could be due to an issue with the modified version of the parental RES such that there is no distinction between the two subscales in a population of college students. It could be that parents think they talked about discrimination differently in terms of discrimination among minorities and more broadly, but youth don't actually interpret it differently. This is consistent with previous research that demonstrated a failure between children and their caregivers' ability to accurately predict the others' views (Pahlke et al., 2012). The original measure was used with a sample of parents, so perhaps the distinction between general discrimination and discrimination of other groups does not exist in a sample of White college students. The combined discrimination RES strategy essentially captures the idea that parents talked to them about the existence of discrimination broadly within the United States. I originally hypothesized that the parental RES strategies of discrimination against other groups and general discrimination would be negatively related to racism and color-blindness and positively related to multiculturalism. Consistent with my hypothesis, discrimination was negatively associated color-blind attitudes. The discrimination RES strategy being negatively associated with color-blindness reaffirms that all races have an equal chance of being discriminated against, so there is not enough of a valuable distinction between races (Torkelson & Hartmann, 2010). In other words, being discriminated against because of White skin is the same as being discriminated against because of Black skin.

In contrast to my original hypothesis, discrimination was also negatively associated with multicultural attitudes. This could be due to the fact that the multicultural subscale didn't capture

individual's own views on multiculturalism but rather individuals' perceptions of society's views on multiculturalism (Stuart & Ward, 2012). For example, a sample item of the multicultural subscale is "*Most people think that it is good to have different groups with distinct cultural backgrounds living in the country.*" This statement captures how an individual perceives most people think, not how the individual thinks. A person who has been taught that discrimination exists and has a high level of racial awareness would be less likely to agree that most people believe in the value of diversity. This contradicts what the person has been taught. The parental RES strategy that teaches about the depths of discrimination would likely lead a person to agree with a statement that captures how different groups with distinct cultural backgrounds are treated unfairly due to racial bias. Unfortunately, there were limited measures to capture multicultural attitudes, so future research could explore the development of a measure with wording such as "*I think that it is good to have different groups with distinct cultural backgrounds living in the country.*"

Finally, the parental RES strategy preparation for bias was significantly associated with racist and color-blind attitudes. I hypothesized no directionality for the association with racist attitudes because the literature was unclear about any association with preparation for bias. Specifically, because preparation for bias was not significantly associated with parental racial attitudes in previous research, I left this hypothesis without directionality (Zucker & Patterson, 2018). Interestingly, results indicated a significant positive association with racist attitudes. This finding comports with previous research if the individual was taught to expect different treatment based on race, and in turn, held negative views about other races. Such findings may be interpreted through the lens of Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). SIT posits that individuals derive their sense of self from perceived membership in relevant social groups

and predicts intergroup behaviors on the basis of perceived group status differences (Ellemers & Haslam, 2012). Although ethnic-racial identity is not very salient for White youth (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014), RES focused on preparation for bias may create a clear distinction between members of the in-group (White) and members of the out-group (non-White). This distinction could lead White individuals to anticipate being marginalized by out-group members in the future, which can lead to holding more racist attitudes. Indeed, previous research predicted that White Americans would view ethnic-racial minorities' cultural traditions, values, and practices as a threat to the American national prototype, which is defined in terms of European American values and traditions (Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014).

Additionally, and surprisingly, preparation for bias was also positively associated with color-blind attitudes. Whereas in some, preparation for bias may trigger an in-/out-group response, in others, preparation for bias may provide a sense of egalitarianism associated with color-blindness. In essence, if White youth are taught that they may experience discrimination and bias, they may come to believe we are in a post-racial world (Neville et al., 2000). Previous research noted that greater color-blind attitudes were associated with stronger beliefs that we live in a just world that is fair, that people are rewarded based on merit, and that ethnic/racial minorities' circumstances have nothing to do with social structures or systemic racism (Mueller, 2017; Neville et al., 2000). This is problematic because the idea that racism is "of the past" and irrelevant reinforces the notion that racism is not worth addressing anymore. But this is clearly not the case, as racism is now viewed as a public health crisis (García & Sharif, 2015). Given that White individuals place less importance on race compared to individuals from other racial groups (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014), and as individuals age and have families of their own, the notion that racism is irrelevant and therefore unimportant could be passed down. This is

consistent with the literature which shows that parents of young children often either avoid the topic of race entirely (Hagerman, 2014; Pahlke et al., 2012) or use color-blind approaches when teaching their children about race (Hagerman, 2014).

### **Association Between Cultural Ideologies and Psychosocial Costs, Implicit Basis, and Inclusive Behavior**

Another one of the primary goals of the current study was to examine how White emerging adults' ethnic-racial attitudes impact behavior, psychosocial costs, and implicit biases towards ethnic-racial minorities. I hypothesized that racist attitudes would significantly associate with less inclusive behavior, more psychosocial costs (less White guilt, more fear of others, less empathic reactions towards racism), and more implicit bias. It was hypothesized that color-blind attitudes would significantly associate with less inclusive behavior, more psychosocial costs (less White guilt, more fear of others, less empathic reactions towards racism), and more implicit bias. Finally, I hypothesized that multicultural attitudes would significantly associate with more inclusive behavior, less psychosocial costs (more White guilt, less fear of others, more empathic reactions towards racism), and less implicit bias.

Consistent with the hypotheses, results indicated that racism was negatively associated with willingness to engage in close intergroup contact. This finding is fitting as the more individuals adopt racist beliefs, the less likely they would be to seek out closeness in people who are a different race. Since racism is the idea that Whites are superior to other races, there is no need to seek closeness with people in a different race which Kivel (1996) outlined as "loss of relationships." Racist attitudes were also negatively associated with White guilt and White fear of others. these findings were consistent with my hypotheses as racist ideology embraces the belief that Whites are superior to other races, considered the "norm", and that there is something



inherently bad about other races (Gillborn, 2006). In essence, a person who believes that White is the superior race would have no reason to experience guilt and exhibit fear and distrust of people from other races. Researchers suggested that irrational levels of fear of others are due to the influences of racial segregation and lack of racial awareness (John & Healdmoore, 1995; Vander Ven, 1998).

Color-blind attitudes were negatively associated with willingness to engage in close intergroup contact and with white empathic reactions toward racism, both consistent with hypotheses. This finding is particularly interesting because according to color-blind ideology, race is “unseen” and therefore should not influence close relationships (Plaut et al., 2009). This finding suggests otherwise. Perhaps color-blind ideology should be understood more as “complicit with racism” instead of “doesn’t see race” (Rosino, 2020). Indeed, color-blind ideology is not actively anti-racist, it is merely ignorant to the fact that racism still exists (Bigler & Wright, 2014). As a result, individuals may feel that there is no need to explore outside of one’s own ethnic-racial group (Plaut et al., 2009). Moreover, previous research found White empathic reaction to racism was associated with higher levels of racial awareness, and colorblindness is essentially the lack of racial awareness (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). As such, individuals who don’t believe racism is still a problem, would have less empathy for racism (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). In essence, color-blind ideology is not an effective strategy for recognizing racial inequality or eliciting empathy for racism.

Multicultural attitudes were positively associated with willingness to engage in close intergroup contact, which followed the hypotheses. This finding is consistent with the literature because if a person values multiculturalism, the individual would have little issue embracing relationships with people who are from a different race (i.e., Black) (Richeson & Nussbaum,

2004). Interestingly, multicultural attitudes were also negatively associated with White guilt which contrasted the hypotheses. Individual who believes that most people value diversity could think that there is little to feel guilty for. Indeed, previous research found that individuals who had more guilt had an understanding of institutional racism (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). As stated earlier, the multicultural ideology subscale measures an individual's perception of what society thinks (Stuart & Ward, 2012). If an individual thinks that most people value diversity and most people believe that there is value in all ethnic-racial groups, the person might think that racism is no longer an issue because most people are not racist. If most people are not racist, then there may be less to feel guilty about. Multicultural attitudes were also negatively associated White fear, which was also consistent with the hypotheses, as well as with the association of multicultural attitudes and inclusive behavior. This finding also aligns with the association of multicultural attitudes and lower White guilt. This is fitting as there would be lower levels of fear and distrust of others when a person sees the value in people from other races. Additionally, if a person sees value in people from other races, there is little to feel guilty about. Previous research found that White fear of others was negatively associated with racial awareness and sensitivity as well as ethnocultural empathy (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004).

### **Association Between Parental RES and Psychosocial Costs, Implicit Basis, and Inclusive Behavior**

Over and above the effects of ethnic-racial attitudes, results also indicated several important direct effects between RES strategies and psychosocial costs, implicit basis, and inclusive behavior. To begin with, history of other groups significantly related to greater friendship ratio. Perhaps being taught about the history and traditions of different ethnic-racial groups influences an individual to maintain a diverse social group. Moreover, it could be that the

parents who taught their children about the history and traditions of different ethnic-racial groups had diverse social connections to begin with which influenced their children to do the same. Previous research showed that children whose mothers had a higher percentage of non-European American friends exhibited less racial bias compared to children whose mothers had a lower percentage of non-European American friends (Pahlke et al., 2012). More research has observed that parents of White elementary school children tend to explain away their children's lack of interracial friendships by being reluctant to mention race and instead pointing to differences in social class (Hunter et al., 2012). Willingness to discuss the history of other ethnic-racial groups has implications for the diversity of one's social connections.

Egalitarianism significantly related to greater willingness to engage in close intergroup contact, greater white empathic reactions toward racism, and lower White fear of others. egalitarianism referred to messages that emphasize the importance of each individual's unique qualities over their racial group membership and is fitting for increasing diversity in one's social group (Zucker & Patterson, 2018). Similarly, valuing unique qualities of an individual can foster more empathy in the relationships as well as decrease fear of others. Though the individual who was socialized with egalitarian values may not realize it, he or she can use the inclusive behavior and decreased psychosocial costs to help combat racism.

Controlling for cultural ideologies, and consistent with prior research (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004), Group differences significantly related to greater White guilt and White fear of others. Parents who used this socialization strategy also showed higher levels of racial bias, so lacking guilt and having more fear of different ethnic-racial groups is not surprising (Zucker & Patterson, 2018). Finally, preparation for bias significantly related to greater White fear of others which fits the literature as this strategy is a parental effort to make children aware of

experiencing racial discrimination (Zucker & Patterson, 2018). Thus, if the individual anticipates discrimination, the more fear the individual could anticipate too.

### **Indirect Effects**

The final goal of the study was to examine how parents' RES indirectly related to, through ethnic-racial attitudes, White emerging adults' behavior, psychosocial costs, and biases. To begin with, I predicted that egalitarianism would indirectly relate to more inclusive behavior and less psychosocial costs and implicit bias through racism and multiculturalism. Additionally, I hypothesized that egalitarianism would relate to lower inclusive behavior and more psychosocial costs and implicit bias through color-blind ideology, but I expected a weaker indirect effect. Consistent with what was hypothesized, there was a significant indirect effect such that egalitarianism related to lower White guilt through color-blind attitudes. This indicates that the egalitarianism socialization strategy can be associated with being blind to racial discrimination which decreases a person's sense of White guilt. Indeed, previous literature has highlighted the link between White guilt and unawareness of institutional racism and White privilege which is basically colorblindness (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). As previously noted, it is important to be cognizant that egalitarianism, while it sounds harmless, can perpetuate racist ideology by failing to address racial inequality (Pahlke et al., 2012). In contrast, and consistent with hypotheses, results indicated a significant indirect effect such that egalitarianism related to greater willingness to engage in close intergroup contact through multicultural attitudes. Egalitarianism highlights the idea that all people are equal, so through multicultural attitudes which value different cultures, an individual would be more likely to embrace close relationships with people from other cultures which is consistent with the literature (Wolsko et al., 2006).

I hypothesized that group differences would indirectly relate to less inclusive behavior and more psychosocial costs and implicit bias through racism and multiculturalism. I also hypothesized that group differences would relate to more inclusive behavior and lower psychosocial costs and implicit bias through color-blind ideology. Results indicated a significant indirect effect such that group differences related to color-blind attitudes, which in turn related to lower White guilt. This finding is consistent with hypotheses since individuals who think that racism does not exist shouldn't have anything to feel guilty about. Group differences highlights how different racial groups are not as valuable as one's own racial group (Zucker & Patterson, 2018), and color-blind ideology does not believe that racism exists, so the individual should have no reason to have empathy for something that does not exist.

Results also indicated a significant indirect effect such that group differences related to greater White fear of others through racist attitudes which is consistent with hypotheses. Since group differences highlight the value of one's own race and racist attitudes believe that there is something inherently wrong with other races, there is more reason to fear races different than one's own. This finding is consistent with the literature, though the fear of others is irrational (John & Healdmoore, 1995). Finally, results indicated a significant indirect effect such that group differences related to lower willingness to engage in close intergroup contact through color-blind attitudes which was contrary to what was expected. I hypothesized that group differences would indirectly relate to greater willingness to engage in close intergroup contact through color-blind attitudes since race should not play a factor in who an individual seeks close relationships with. However, as previously discussed, colorblindness serves as more as an accomplice to racism which leads to more racial bias (Park & Judd, 2005).

I hypothesized that preparation for bias would indirectly relate to less inclusive behavior and more psychosocial costs and implicit bias through color-blindness. Given lack of previous findings, no a priori hypothesis was made regarding the indirect relationship between Preparation for Bias and the outcomes through racism and multiculturalism. Results indicated a significant indirect effect such that preparation for bias related to lower White empathy through color-blind attitudes which was consistent with the hypotheses. This finding is fitting because a person who believes that he or she will be discriminated against due to race would probably have less empathy for racism. Additionally, a White person could think that racism against minority groups is just as bad if not better than racism against Whites. Some White individuals could think that the current racial climate is one in which reverse racism and reverse discrimination plague the White population (Frey, 2020). Results indicated a significant indirect effect such that preparation for bias related to lower White guilt through color-blind attitudes. This finding is consistent with the literature as a person who thinks that racial discrimination affects groups in the same manner would not feel guilty about racism. Results indicated a significant indirect effect such that Preparation for bias related to lower willingness to engage in close intergroup contact through color-blind attitudes. Through color-blind ideology, the parental RES strategy preparation for bias was significantly associated with lower White empathy, lower White guilt, and lower willingness to engage in close intergroup contact. As previously stated, colorblindness serves as more as an accomplice to racism which leads to more racial bias (Park & Judd, 2005).

Interestingly, results indicated a significant indirect effect such that preparation for bias related to greater White fear of others through racist attitudes. No hypotheses were made about this relationship due to the gaps in the literature. Drawing from Social Identity Theory, there is a clear in-group and out-group dynamic between all ethnic-racial groups (Ellemers & Haslam,

2012). This distinction between ethnic-racial groups could influence White individuals to expect marginalization by out-group members, which can lead to holding more racist attitudes, as well as lead to more fear. Similarly, results indicated a significant indirect effect such that preparation for bias related to lower willingness to engage in close intergroup contact through racist attitudes which supports the idea that expected marginalization decreases the level of embracing people from different ethnic-racial backgrounds.

Finally, I hypothesized that discrimination against other groups and general discrimination would indirectly relate to more inclusive behavior and less psychosocial costs and implicit bias through racism, color-blindness, and multiculturalism. Results also indicated a significant indirect effect such that discrimination related to greater color-blind attitudes, which in turn related to White guilt. This finding is particularly interesting because some parental RES strategies related to lower White guilt through colorblindness. Lower levels of color-blind ideology recognize that institutional racism is still in existence, and this racial awareness being associated with higher levels of guilt is consistent with the literature (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). Indeed, this finding offers support to previous research which found that White individuals who experienced moderate to high levels of guilt and shame had some understanding of institutional racism, which is consistent with Swim and Miller's (1999) findings, and perhaps even felt a sense of personal accountability (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). Thus, the parental RES strategy of teaching children about discrimination in general and discrimination of other groups seems particularly well-suited to fostering racial awareness and appropriate levels of White empathy and White guilt.

### **Limitations and Future Direction**

The current study should be interpreted in light of some limitations. Firstly, this study was conducted in a sample of college students. This limits the generalizability to different populations such as non-college attending emerging adults or any population that is not in emerging adulthood. However, given that emerging adulthood is a time for youth to deindividuate from their families and develop their racial identity (Cicetti-Turro, 2011; Schwartz et al., 2005), this population was of particular interest. Secondly, the majority of the data came from female participants. This limits the generalizability of the findings to those who identify as female, but nevertheless, these findings are still valuable to understanding how racial ideologies are passed down. Future research should aim to expand the participant demographics to capture a more representative population. Another limitation was that the subscale that measured multicultural ideology captured participants' views of whether society valued diversity, rather than the participant's own view. Future studies should utilize a different measure, or work on developing a new one. Additionally, it is important to note that Pahlke et al.'s (2012) Parental Racial-Ethnic Socialization Behaviors measure is simply an adapted version of the Racial-Ethnic Socialization Behaviors measure developed by Hughes & Chen's (1997) for use with ethnic/racial minorities. It is entirely possible that the meaning of these socialization practices may not be comparable to that of ethnic/racial minorities and that there may be additional socialization messages conveyed by White parents. Finally, the data collected was cross-sectional and offers limited conclusions regarding the causality of racial ideologies. Future studies should aim to collect longitudinal data so more accurate conclusions about parental RES strategies and racial ideologies can be made.

Future research should also explore the framing of the egalitarian parental RES messages. Findings suggested that egalitarianism can be complicit in the continuation of racism through



color-blind ideology, but it can also combat racism through the multicultural ideology. Indeed, egalitarian socialization messages could be either color-blind or multicultural, depending on the specific content and framing of the message (Zucker & Patterson, 2018). For example, expressing the view that “all people are equal” by following up with “and society treats them as such” is very different than following up with “and systemic racism still exists.” The former perpetuates color-blindness while the latter addresses racial inequality in today’s world (Vittrup, 2018). This is a potential important avenue of future research because it seems there are “two types” of egalitarianism messages that likely conflated in current measure, and more research is necessary to differentiate the two types of egalitarian messages. Indeed, the conflicting findings centered around egalitarianism further emphasize the need for the development of a measure that can capture racist and anti-racist socialization practices utilizing an emic (bottom up) approach as opposed to the etic (top down) approach that has been traditionally utilized. Future studies could also explore the links between the parental RES strategies and outcomes of aggression or willingness to commit hate crimes. Additionally, future studies could examine the impact of socializing agents other than parents (i.e., friends, extended family, school, media). The current study focused mainly on how the parental RES strategies impact racial ideologies and how those ideologies impact implicit bias, inclusive behavior, and psychosocial costs. Future research can examine different outcomes with various impacts.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

The current study offers insight into the impacts of parental RES strategies on racial ideologies and how those ideologies influence implicit bias, inclusive behavior, and psychosocial costs. Results show promising evidence for the utility of using the discrimination RES strategy to influence more anti-racist behavior. There was also evidence for perpetuating racist behavior by using the parental RES strategies (group differences and preparation for bias) which focus on anticipating discrimination and maintaining racism. Teaching egalitarian ideals can result in both racist and anti-racist behaviors depending on the specific framing of the message. Color-blind ideology may perpetuate racial biases and should not be considered a harmless attitude (Bigler & Liben, 2006). The current study offers more information on how ethnic-racial attitudes are affected by specific parental RES strategies and which specific mechanisms influence inclusive behavior directly, and indirectly through specific ethnic-racial attitudes. Results of this study may be useful to researchers who focus on antiracism as well as counseling psychologists and educators who design and implement programs and policies to enhance diversity education. The hope is that results from this study can aid in the process to dismantle racism by understanding which mechanisms perpetuate discrimination and which mechanisms further anti-racism.

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**APPENDIX A**  
**PARENTAL RES BEHAVIORS SCALE — MODIFIED**

Please indicate how often your parents \_\_\_\_\_.

5-point Likert scale: 1 (never), 2 (rarely), 3 (sometimes), 4 (often) and 5 (very often).

**Egalitarianism (5)**

1. told you that you should try to make friends with people of all races and ethnic backgrounds.
2. told you about the importance of getting along with people of all races and ethnicities.
3. told you people of all races have an equal chance in life.
4. told you it is important to appreciate people of all racial and ethnic backgrounds.
5. told you people are equal, regardless of their racial or ethnic background.

**History of Other Groups (4)**

1. told you about important people in the history of other racial or ethnic groups.
2. told you about the history of other racial or ethnic groups in our country.
3. taught you about the history or traditions of other racial or ethnic groups.
4. read books about the history or traditions of different ethnic and racial groups, other than your own.

**Group Difference (3)**

1. told you it is best to have friends who are the same race or ethnic group as you are.
2. told you people of different races and ethnicities have different values and beliefs.
3. told you it is a bad idea to marry someone who is of a different ethnic background or race than yours.

**Preparation for Bias (2)**

1. told you about the possibility that some people might treat you badly or unfairly because of your race or ethnicity.

2. told you about discrimination or prejudice against your ethnic or racial group.

#### **General Discrimination (4)**

1. told you American society is fair to all races and ethnicities.
2. told you sometimes people are treated badly just because of their race or ethnicity.
3. told you American society is not always fair to all races and ethnicities. (Reverse Coded)
4. told you other racial or ethnic groups are just as trustworthy as people of your own ethnic or racial group. (Reverse Coded)

#### **Discrimination Against Other Groups (7)**

1. told you about the discrimination people from other racial or ethnic groups have experienced in the past.
2. told you about discrimination or prejudice against other ethnic or racial groups.
3. told you that people from other racial or ethnic groups are sometimes still discriminated against because of their race or ethnicity.
4. told you that in the past, people from other racial or ethnic groups were discriminated against because of their race or ethnicity.
5. told you that people of your race or ethnic group have better opportunities than people of other racial or ethnic groups.
6. told you about something unfair that he/she witnessed that was due to racial or ethnic discrimination against another ethnic or racial group.
7. told you about something he/she saw that showed poor treatment of different ethnic or racial groups, other than your own.

## APPENDIX B

### SYMBOLIC RACISM SCALE

Instructions: Please indicate your agreement with the following statements.

4-point Likert scale: 1 (strongly disagree), 2 (disagree), 3 (agree) and 4 (strongly agree).

1. It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if Black people would only try harder they could be just as well off as White people.
2. Black leaders have pushed too much and too quickly for social changes.
3. Discrimination against Black people exists in the United States today, limiting their chances to get ahead.
4. Over the past few years, Black people have gotten less than they deserve.
5. Irish, Italian, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Black people should do the same.
6. Black people are responsible for creating the racial tension that exists in the United States today.
7. Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for Black individuals to work their way out of the lower class.
8. Over the past few years, Black people have gotten more economically than they deserve.

**APPENDIX C**  
**COLOR-BLIND RACIAL ATTITUDES SCALE (CoBRAS)**

Instructions: Please indicate your agreement with the following statements.

6-point Likert scale: 1 (strongly disagree), 2 (disagree), 3 (somewhat disagree), 4 (somewhat agree), 5 (agree) and 6 (strongly agree).

1. Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich.
2. Race plays a major role in the type of social services (such as type of health care or day care) that people receive in the U.S.
3. It is important that people begin to think of themselves as American and not African American, Mexican American or Italian American.
4. Due to racial discrimination, programs such as affirmative action are necessary to help create equality.
5. Racism is a major problem in the U.S.
6. Race is very important in determining who is successful and who is not.
7. Racism may have been a problem in the past, but it is not an important problem today.
8. Racial and ethnic minorities do not have the same opportunities as White people in the U.S.
9. White people in the U.S. are discriminated against because of the color their skin.
10. Talking about racial issues causes unnecessary tension.
11. It is important for political leaders to talk about racism to help work through or solve society's problems.
12. White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.
13. Immigrants should try to fit into the culture and adopt the values of the U.S.
14. English should be the only official language in the U.S.
15. White people are more to blame for racial discrimination in the U.S. than racial and ethnic minorities.
16. Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against White people.



17. It is important for public schools to teach about the history and contributions of racial and ethnic minorities.
18. Racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.
19. Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations.
20. Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison.

## APPENDIX D

### SUBJECTIVE MULTICULTURALISM SCALE - SMC IDEOLOGY SUBSCALE

Instructions: Please indicate your agreement with the following statements in reference to the United States.

5-point Likert scale: 1 (strongly disagree), 2 (somewhat disagree), 3 (neither agree nor disagree), 4 (somewhat agree), 5 (strongly agree).

In the United States . . .

1. Most people think that it is a bad thing that there are so many people of different ethnic backgrounds living in the country (Reverse Coded)
2. Most people believe that the country's unity is weakened by people from different cultural backgrounds sticking to their old ways (Reverse Coded)
3. Most people think that multiculturalism is a bad thing (Reverse Coded)
4. Most people think it would be better if everyone living here had the same customs and traditions (Reverse Coded)
5. Most people think that it is good to have different groups with distinct cultural backgrounds living in the country
6. Most people think it is important for people from different ethnic backgrounds to get along with each other
7. We are more able to tackle new problems as they occur because we have a variety of cultural groups

**APPENDIX E****WILLINGNESS TO ENGAGE IN CLOSE INTERGROUP CONTACT MEASURE**

On a scale of 1 (not at all willing) to 7 (extremely willing), indicate the extent to which you would be willing or unwilling to:

1. Marry a Black person
2. Have an intimate relationship with a Black person
3. Accept a Black person as a family member through marriage
4. Have a Black person as a close friend
5. Confide in a Black person

**Diversity of Friendships**

1. Please list the initials of 20 of your friends
2. Please indicate the race of each of those friends

**APPENDIX F**  
**PSYCHOSOCIAL COST OF RACISM TO WHITE SCALE (PCRW)**

Instructions: Please indicate your agreement with the following statements.

6-point Likert scale: 1 (strongly disagree), 2 (moderately disagree), 3 (somewhat disagree), 4 (somewhat agree), 5 (moderately agree) and 6 (strongly agree).

**White Empathic Reactions Toward Racism**

1. I am angry that racism exists.
2. I become sad when I think about racial injustice.
3. It disturbs me when people express racist views.
4. When I hear about acts of racial violence, I become angry or depressed.
5. Racism is dehumanizing to people of all races, including Whites.
6. I feel helpless about not being able to eliminate racism.

**White Guilt**

7. Being White makes me feel personally responsible for racism.
8. I never feel ashamed about being White. (Reverse Coded)
9. Sometimes I feel guilty about being White.
10. I am afraid that I abuse my power and privilege as a White person.
11. I feel good about being White. (Reverse Coded)

**White Fear of Others**

12. I often find myself fearful of people of other races.
13. I am distrustful of people of other races.
14. I have very few friends of other races.
15. I feel safe in most neighborhoods, regardless of the racial composition. (Reverse Coded)
16. I am fearful that racial minority populations are rapidly increasing in the U.S., and my group will no longer be the numerical majority.
17. I feel helpless about not being able to eliminate racism.
18. I am angry that racism exists.

**APPENDIX G**  
**IMPLICIT ASSOCIATION TEST**

**White**

**Black**

+

Instructions: Place your left and right index fingers on the E and I keys. At the top of the screen are 2 categories. In the task, words and/or images appear in the middle of the screen.

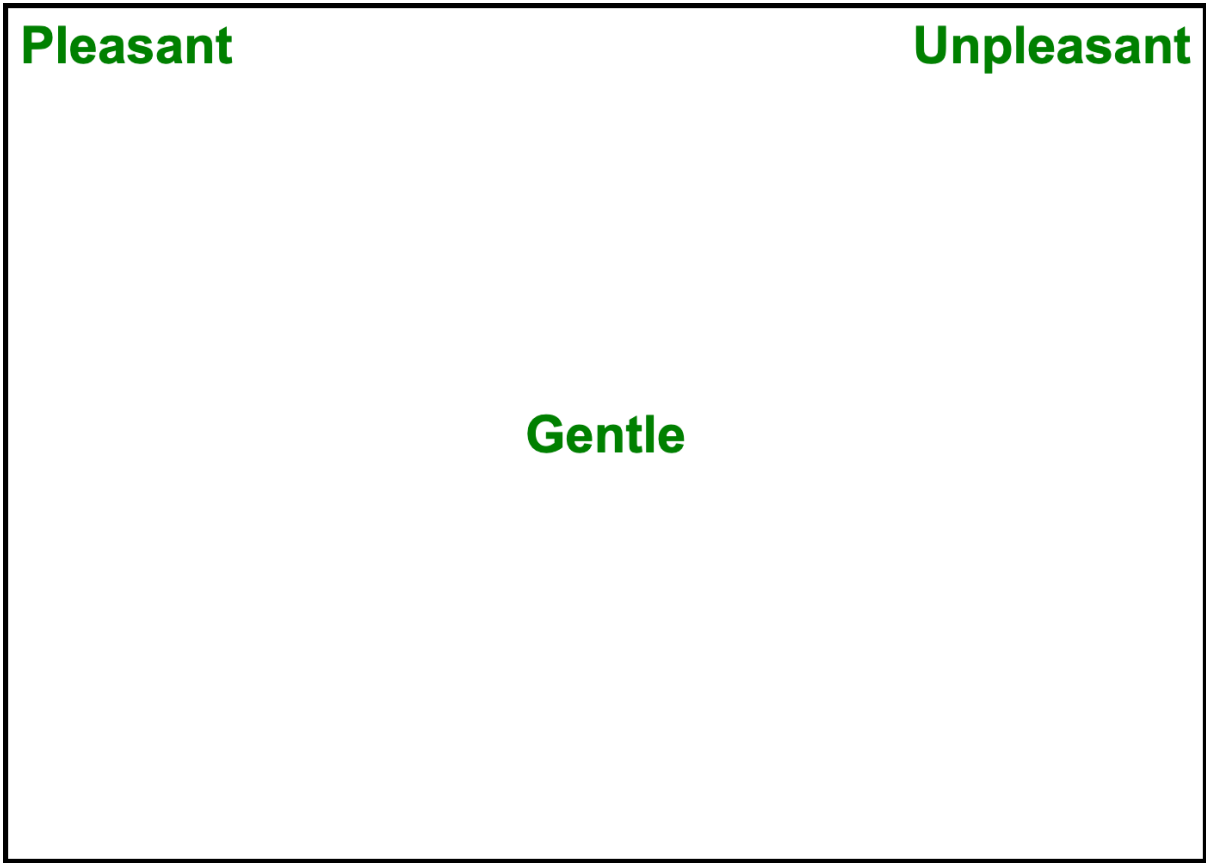
When the word/image belongs to the category on the left, press the **E** key as fast as you can. When it belongs to the category on the right, press the **I** key as fast as you can. If you make an error, a red **X** will appear. Correct errors by hitting the other key.

Please try to go as *fast as you can* while making as few errors as possible.

When you are ready, please press the [Space] bar to begin.

Part 1 of 7

**White****Black**



**White**  
or  
**Pleasant**

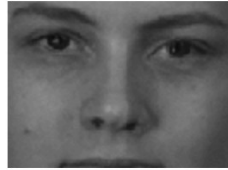
**Black**  
or  
**Unpleasant**





**White**  
or  
**Unpleasant**

**Black**  
or  
**Pleasant**



## VITA

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**EDUCATION**

Doctor of Philosophy    **Old Dominion University, Norfolk, VA**  
2018 – 2021                Health Psychology

Bachelor of Science    **College of William & Mary, Williamsburg, VA**  
2014 – 2018                Major: Psychological Sciences // Minor: Public Health

**HONORS AND AWARDS**

2020                        Graduate Summer Award (\$3000)  
2015                        Dean's Honor List, College of William and Mary

**RESEARCH EXPERIENCE**

2018 – 2021                **Laboratory of Dr. Alan Meca, Old Dominion University, Norfolk, VA**  
*Graduate Research Assistant*  
Member of the Team on Acculturation, Risk, and the Development of Identity and Self (TARDIS) lab directed by Dr. Alan Meca. TARDIS is focused on investigating identity development and acculturation among adolescents and emerging adults, and their respective impacts on health risk behaviors (e.g., alcohol use, risk-sex taking behavior, etc.), psychosocial functioning (e.g., well-being, internalizing and externalizing symptoms, etc.), and educational achievement.  
*Mentor: Alan Meca, Ph.D.*

**PEER-REVIEWED JOURNAL PUBLICATIONS**

- Meca, A., Paulson, J. F., Webb, T., N., Kelley, M., & **Rodil, J. C.** (*in press*). Examining the relationship between parenting identity processes and internalizing Problems. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research*, 20, 92-106. doi: 10.1080/15283488.2020.1737070.
- Meca, A., Gonzales-Backen, M., Davis, R., **Rodil, J.**, Soto, D. W., & Unger, J. B. (2020). Discrimination and ethnic identity: Establishing directionality among Latino/a Youth. *Developmental Psychology*, 56, 982-992. doi: 10.1037/dev0000908
- Meca, A., **Rodil, J.**, Paulson, J. F., Kelley, M., Schwartz, S. J., Unger, J. B., ... Zamboanga, B. L. (2019). Examining the Directionality Between Identity Development and Depressive Symptoms Among Recently Immigrated Hispanic Adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*.
- Meca, A., Gonzales-Backen, M., Davis, R., Hassell, T. & **Rodil, J.** (2019). Development of the United States Identity Scale: Unpacking affirmation and commitment. *Journal of Latinx Psychology*.