CrossMark

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

Initial Development of a Gendered-Racial Socialization Scale for African American College Women

Danice L. Brown [1] · Sha'Kema Blackmon [2] · Christopher B. Rosnick [3] ·
Felicia D. Griffin-Fennell [4] · Rhonda L. White-Johnson [5]

Abstract As research exploring the racial-ethnic socialization practices of African American families continues to expand, scholars have argued for a more multidimensional approach in the measurement of racial-ethnic socialization that focuses on the influence that youths' gender may have on the messages families provide. Although studies have used current racial-ethnic socialization measures to examine gender differences in the messages youth receive, these studies are limited in investigating intersectional messages that African American girls and women receive regarding racial and gender identities. The present preliminary study sought to address this inadequacy by developing the Gendered Racial-Ethnic Socialization Scale for Black Women (GRESS-BW), a scale that accounts for the unique messages African American young women receive regarding their intersectional identities. Utilizing a sample of 174 African American college women, Exploratory Factor Analysis indicated that the GRESS-BW consisted of 63 items with a 9-factor solution. There was strong internal consistency for the GRESS-BW factors and the total scale. GRESS-BW construct validity assessment revealed that several of the factors were significantly positively related to a racial-ethnic socialization scale. However, only two components were significantly related to a gender-role socialization measure. Clinical and research implications are discussed.

African American girls and women have simultaneous membership in multiple stigmatized groups based on their racial-ethnic background and gender (Cole 2009; Collins 2000; Edmondson Bell and Nkomo 1998; Greene 1994; Jones and Shorter-Gooden 2003; Thomas et al. 2011; Thomas and King 2007). Being both African American and female, two devalued social groups, places African American women in a "double jeopardy" status in which they must contend with oppressive stereotypes and treatment directed at their race *and* gender (Chisholm and Greene 2008; Lewis et al. 2013; West 1995). Researchers have advocated for a better understanding of African American women's lived experiences resulting from their intersecting racial and gender identities (Cole 2009; Lewis et al. 2013). Although African American women may have varying levels of racial or gender salience, utilizing an intersectional approach in examining aspects of their social identity development, such as socialization, may provide a more comprehensive understanding of their self-concept (Cole 2009; Settles 2006; Thomas et al. 2011).

The qualitative accounts by African American women are ridden with socio-political and economic challenges derived from their intersecting oppressed social identities (Chisholm and Greene 2008; Collins 2000; Greene 1994; Kelly 2001; King 1988). Essed (1991) noted that African American

✉ Danice L. Brown
  dlbrown@towson.edu

[1] Department of Psychology, Towson University, 8000 York Road, Towson, MD 21252-0001, USA

[2] Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis, Indianapolis, IN, USA

[3] Southern Illinois University Edwardsville, Edwardsville, IL, USA

[4] Springfield Technical Community College, Springfield, MA, USA

[5] University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC, USA

women may be subject to *gendered racism* in which they face racist depictions of their gender identity and roles. Stereotypes of African American women have ranged from portrayals of them as oversexed and promiscuous (i.e., Jezebel), to self-sacrificing and nurturing (i.e., Mammy; West 1995). Endorsement of these stereotypic depictions among African American girls and women has been associated with lower levels of self-esteem (Thomas et al. 2004) and risky sexual practices (Townsend et al. 2010). In order for African American girls and young women to develop a healthy sense of self, families must prepare them to cope with the realities of experiencing intersecting oppression (i.e., racism and sexism; Edmondson Bell and Nkomo 1998; Lewis et al. 2013). This may occur through an African American-specific process of *gendered racial socialization*. Gendered racial socialization can be understood as the process through which families provide differing messages to African American girls and boys based on their perceptions of the varied racial climate and landscape for boys and girls.

For African American girls and young women, this process may involve messages about what it means to be both African American and female (Thomas and King 2007), as well as about coping with a society that may not value either social identity. Although scholars have highlighted the need to understand the unique socialization experiences of African American girls and women (Thomas and King 2007; West 1995), no known measure currently exists to assess gendered racial socialization. In an effort to address this gap in the literature, the present investigation described the development of a gendered racial socialization measure designed for African American college women. The following sections will review and critique extant literature on racial-ethnic socialization and gendered socialization.

Racial-Ethnic Socialization

Serving as a catalyst for future identity development (Neblett et al. 2009; Stevenson 1995), *racial-ethnic socialization* is defined as the messages African American families give their youth regarding what it means to be a member of a marginalized racial-ethnic group (Hughes et al. 2006). When done effectively, families provide these messages in an attempt to nurture mentally healthy children and adolescents within a society plagued by historical and present-day racial oppression (Hughes et al. 2006).

According to Hughes et al. (2009), racial-ethnic socialization involves the communication of four major types of messages through verbal, non-verbal, direct, or implicit means: cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism. Regardless of the manner in which racial-ethnic socialization is communicated, the goal is to prepare youth to successfully negotiate interpersonal,

institutional, and intrapersonal oppression (Hughes et al. 2006, 2009; Peters 1985; Stevenson 1995; Stevenson et al. 2002). Numerous studies have noted the benefits of racial-ethnic socialization, linking this practice to increased positive well-being (Frabutt et al. 2002; Stevenson et al. 2002), resilience (Brown and Tylka 2011), positive mental health (Fischer and Shaw 1999), academic persistence, higher grade point average, and college academic adjustment (Anglin and Wade 2007; Brown and Krishnakumar 2007; Neblett et al. 2006) among African American youth and young adults.

Over the past 30 years, the measurement of racial-ethnic socialization has expanded in range and scope. Stevenson and colleagues (2002) were the first known to develop a multidimensional measure of racial-ethnic socialization specifically for African Americans (i.e., Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization; TERS). Their subscales included: cultural coping with antagonism, cultural pride reinforcement, cultural legacy appreciation, cultural alertness to discrimination, and cultural endorsement of the mainstream. Each of the subscales included African American-specific elements of racial-ethnic socialization. Although this scale exhibited strong reliability among samples of African American youth (Constantine and Blackmon 2002) and adults (Brown 2008), the literature highlighted additional dimensions that should be addressed in the examination of racial-ethnic socialization, such as the influence of parental and child gender (Frabutt et al. 2002).

Brown and Krishnakumar (2007) attempted to address previous limitations of earlier measures by distinguishing whether specific types of messages were racial or ethnic in origin, as well as including a subscale that explored implicit messages. Additionally, the authors attempted to address the role of parents' gender in racial-ethnic socialization by asking participants to indicate the types of messages each parental caregiver (i.e., maternal and paternal) provided. Their work resulted in subscales with messages related to: (a) learning how to cope with racism, (b) having positive interracial interactions, (c) being aware of racism (i.e., racial socialization subscales), (d) engaging in implicit ethnic socialization (i.e., the presence of African American artifacts in the home), (e) appreciating African American history, (f) participating in African American cultural activities, (g) understanding African American cultural values, and (h) feeling positive about one's African American identity. Brown and Krishnakumar's (2007) expansion of the dimensions examined in the TERS (Stevenson et al. 2002) provided further knowledge regarding the complexity of racial-ethnic socialization. In a more recent investigation, Bentley-Edwards and Stevenson (2016) developed another scale with newer subscales addressing issues, such as biculturalism and racial stereotypes.

Although we have deepened our understanding of racial-ethnic socialization, scholars have noted that a variety of factors (e.g., social, developmental, and parental) may influence racial-ethnic socialization, particularly the gender of the child

(Hughes and Chen 1997; Landor 2012; Thomas and Blackmon 2015; Thornton et al. 1990). Because we attempt to expand understanding of the components involved in racial-ethnic socialization, an exploration of gender differences in the messages conveyed to African American youth is warranted (Thomas and Blackmon 2015). One limitation of current racial-ethnic socialization scholarship is the lack of specific measures that account for the intersection of gender and race among African American girls and women (Thomas and King 2007).

Among a sample of African American adolescents, Brown et al. (2009) found that girls reported higher levels of racial and ethnic socialization from their parents than African American boys did. Further, research suggests that the content of the messages provided to girls may differ from that provided to boys (Thomas and Speight 1999). In addition to providing their daughters with common racial-ethnic socialization messages related to racial pride, Thomas and Speight (1999) found that African American parents may specifically provide daughters with messages encouraging acceptance of their physical beauty, maintaining their independence, and avoiding pre-marital sex. In more recent work, Thomas and Blackmon (2015) found that, following the events surrounding the shooting death of Trayvon Martin (a Black adolescent walking through a predominately White neighborhood), African American parents reported beliefs that African American girls were less likely to be the targets of racism. Thus, rather than focusing socialization for African American girls on racism, those parents sampled were more likely to focus on providing socialization for girls that addressed aspects of their self-esteem, dating options, and the importance of maintaining independence (Thomas and Blackmon 2015).

In spite of possible perceptions that African American girls and women may not experience the same level of racial discrimination experienced by boys and men, Crenshaw et al. (2015) highlighted the complexity of the intersecting racial and gender inequality faced by African American girls and the importance of examining the psychological ramifications of negotiating these intersecting identities. Further exploration of the gendered racial-ethnic socialization experiences of African American women and girls may contribute to our knowledge of the messages they receive about negotiating their complex cultural identities (Thomas and King 2007). Understanding this process is important because such messages not only inform African American women about the way they are perceived by others, but also may serve as a foundation for how they feel about themselves as African American women. Given the research suggesting that socialization messages received by African American girls and women may focus on aspects of academic and career achievement, self-image, romantic relationships, and independence (Hughes et al. 2009; Thomas and Blackmon 2015; Thomas and Speight 1999), improved knowledge of their gendered

racial socialization experiences may have implications for understanding how such messages impact or relate to their psychological well-being, academic outcomes, and healthy negotiation of intimate partnerships.

Gender-Role Socialization Among African American Women

Although racial-ethnic socialization measures account for the unique socialization experiences of African Americans, mainstream measures of gender-role attitudes have not accounted for the experiences of African American women. *Gender roles* are behaviors or attitudes based on socially constructed ideas of femininity and masculinity (Pleck 1995). Women and men largely learn and develop their gender-role attitudes through the process of gender-role socialization, which includes direct, indirect, verbal, or nonverbal messages regarding appropriate behaviors for women and men (Bronstein 2006).

Typically, gender-role attitudes have been examined through a Eurocentric lens. For example, the Bem Sex Roles (Bem 1977) and the Conformity to Feminine Norms (Mahalik et al. 2005) Inventories examine gender roles by way of European American perceptions of masculinity and femininity, or androgyny. Though African Americans are frequently exposed to European American gender norms, the sociopolitical history of African Americans has created a dynamic in which the survival of African American families hinged on the flexibility of traditional gender roles (Harris 1996). As slaves, many African American women were treated the same as their male counterparts, facing similar labor expectations and violent punishments. Following the end of slavery, it was necessary for many African American women to work because their income may have been essential in ensuring that the family's basic needs were met, or in some cases, they served as the sole economic provider for their family (Collins 2000). Thus, in addition to placing a high value on nurturing and caregiving, African American women may place great emphasis on economic independence and their ability to make substantial financial contributions to the household (Malson 1983). Indeed, numerous studies have noted that traits, such as economic independence, assertiveness, strength, self-reliance, community leadership, and nurturance, have been found to be characteristic of the gender roles emphasized among African American women (Buckley and Carter 2005; Cole and Zucker 2007; Collins 2000; Harris 1996). Still, aspects of femininity, particularly those related to physical appearance and beauty, may also be encouraged among African American women (Cole and Zucker 2007; Jones and Shorter-Gooden 2003).

Numerous research studies suggest that African American women have been socialized to adopt more androgynous

gender roles (Hill 2002). Thus, their gender roles differ from more Eurocentric expectations for women (Littlefield 2004). Examining racial differences in gender identities, Harris (1996) found that African American women and men tended to identify masculine traits as more self-descriptive than European American women did. Harris (1996) also noted that much of the variation in the scores could be accounted for by African American women in the sample tending to score significantly higher than European American women did on measures of masculinity. Studies of African American women and adolescent girls have found positive relationships between aspects of psychological well-being and androgynous or masculine gender-role characteristics (Buckley and Carter 2005; Cooper et al. 2011).

In understanding their gender identity development, Walker (1983) noted that it was important for African American women to develop a holistic form of acceptance for their varied and complex gender-role attitudes, a perspective she referred to as *womanism*. Womanist identity attitudes may include stages ranging from complying with customary gender roles (i.e., pre-encounter), interrogating and or being "confused" about traditional gender roles (i.e., encounter), a superficial value of feminism (i.e., immersion-emersion), to an internalized acceptance of one's gender identity (i.e., internalization; Ossana et al. 1992). Womanism and womanist models of gender identity allow for the integration and intersection of the multiple sociocultural identities of African American women in understanding their gender experiences (Williams 2005).

Helms (1990) noted that womanism involves a desertion from societal ideas regarding womanhood to adopt a personally salient definition of one's womanhood. Emphasis is placed on a woman valuing herself in whatever role she has chosen, lending to the development of a positive gender identity (Boisnier 2003; Helms 1990). Various authors have argued that womanist models may be more appropriate and relevant in understanding the experiences of African American women, accounting for their race and gender (Boisnier 2003; Walker 1983; Williams 2005). In a study examining the racial identity and womanist identity attitudes of a sample of African American college women, Watt (2006) found that women who had positive womanist attitudes also had positive attitudes about being Black. This correlation suggests that, for African American women, attitudes regarding their gender identity may be highly related to aspects of racial-ethnic identity. Overall, research suggests that the gender-identity development of African American girls and young women may be complex when accounting for aspects of racial-ethnic identity and the historical influences of intersecting racial and gender oppression. Still, these aspects must be accounted for in the lived experiences of this population (Williams 2005). Thus, a measure

of gendered racial-ethnic socialization may be a better assessment of the socialization process for this group.

Gendered Racial-ethnic Socialization Research

African American families have a crucial role in protecting their daughters from the deleterious impact of the multiple oppressions they face (Edmondson Bell and Nkomo 1998; Greene 1994; Jones and Shorter-Gooden 2003). Families may incorporate various cognitive and behavioral strategies to promote self-protection and self-care for African American women facing gendered racism (Edmondson Bell and Nkomo 1998). Gendered racial-ethnic socialization serves as a form of dual socialization designed to address the realities of the African American female experience and teach them how to cope with the gendered racism (e.g., racialized sexual stereotyping) they may encounter.

An earlier study conducted by Edmondson Bell and Nkomo (1998) used semi-structured interviews with a sample of African American women to identify socialization message themes. The authors identified messages from families expressing the importance of respectability with regard to sexuality and intimate relationships. They also identified messages focused around the themes of courage and self-reliance. Additionally, the theme of being strong, as a necessity for an African American woman's survival, was found. The authors noted that although there may be many benefits to incorporating such socialization practices for African American girls, there may also be potential liabilities. For example, numerous authors have associated the self-belief of the Strong Black Woman (SBW) with increased distress, binge eating, and emotion dysregulation among African American women (Harrington et al. 2010; Watson and Hunter 2015; Woods-Giscombé 2010).

Thomas and King (2007) explored the types of gendered racial socialization messages that mothers conveyed to their African American daughters in a sample of 36 African American mother-daughter dyads. Mothers expressed the importance of their daughters not allowing negative stereotypes and perceptions associated with their race or gender to serve as barriers to their accomplishments. Mothers also incorporated messages of self-determination, self-pride, racial pride, spirituality, and acceptable behaviors in male-female relationships.

Gendered racial-ethnic socialization practices may have a crucial role in helping African American women understand the meaning of their racial and gender identity and how the intersection of these two identities may influence their perception of the world. These types of messages may aide African American women in developing a sense of pride and positive gendered-racial identity (Thomas et al. 2011). However, the qualitative study conducted by Thomas and King (2007) is the only known published work that has examined the gendered

racial-ethnic socialization process among young African American women.

The Present Study

The present preliminary study sought to expand the African American socialization literature by utilizing an intersectional approach in the initial development of a retrospective measure of gendered racial-ethnic socialization for African American women. The inability of current measures to fully capture the gendered racial-ethnic socialization experiences of African American women contributes to an ongoing, yet limited understanding of this population. With previous research demonstrating that ethnic-racial socialization may have an impact on various psychological outcomes for African Americans (Hughes et al. 2006), better understanding of such intersectional socialization experiences among African American women may be useful in further exploring how cultural socialization impacts their mental and physical health outcomes.

Our preliminary examination of the gendered racial-ethnic messages African American women receive may be an initial step in understanding how families prepare them for the realities of having two devalued sociocultural identities. We developed the Gendered Racial-Ethnic Socialization Scale for Black Women (GRESS-BW) to provide items and factors that reflect the intersectional racial and gender messages young African American women receive. These messages may inform their self-concept, cultural identity, and perceptions of other African American women. Previous literature highlights the perceptions that African American families may have regarding the differing racial experiences of African American men and women and regarding ways to prepare them for a society that continues to struggle with oppression (Thomas and Blackmon 2015). Although advances have been made in understanding the influence of gender in the measurement of racial-ethnic socialization (Brown and Krishnakumar 2007), the GRESS-BW may provide additional insight regarding the complex interaction of multiple cultural identities (i.e., race and gender).

Additionally, current measures of racial-ethnic socialization among African Americans were developed using adolescent samples. The present study differs in its use of a sample of young African American women attending college. Although childhood and adolescence are pinnacle times for socialization, individuals may continue to receive similar socialization messages into adulthood because aspects of racial-ethnic and gender identity remain important (Parham 1989; Thomas et al. 2011). There may be some additional benefits to inquiring about the earlier socialization experiences of young adults because they may have formed a better understanding of the messages received and are able to comprehend the implications of these experiences (Blackmon and Thomas 2013).

Thus, this preliminary study sought to construct a gendered racial-ethnic socialization scale that could be utilized with emerging adult African American women.

Similar to the various dimensions found among previous measures of racial-ethnic socialization, we hypothesized that the GRESS-BW would comprise multiple factors. Specifically, we proposed the following dimensions: education and career success, sexuality and sexual practices, internalized gendered racial oppression, self-image and standards of beauty, religion/spirituality, discrimination and oppression challenges, family responsibilities, independence and strength, gendered racial pride, and gendered racial history and heritage. We conducted an Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) to examine the underlying factor structure of our drafted items. The psychometric properties of the resulting scale were analyzed using inter-factor correlations, as well as assessment of the reliability of the GRESS-BW and its factors. Additionally, we assessed the construct validity of the measure by examining the relationship between the GRESS-BW, a measure of racial-ethnic socialization (i.e., Adolescent Racial and Ethnic Socialization Scale; Brown and Krishnakumar 2007), and a measure of gender-role socialization (i.e., Gender Role Socialization Scale; Toner et al. 2012).

We hypothesized that some of the identified GRESS-BW factors, particularly those that involved aspects of gendered racial pride and heritage, would be positively related to aspects of racial-ethnic socialization. However, given the limited quantitative research focused solely on the gender-role socialization of African American women, it was unclear how some of the factors may be related to a traditional measure of gender-role socialization. Thus, no a priori hypothesis was created for this association. Additionally, although not the focus of the present study, demographic factors (i.e., age and family income) were included in the correlational analysis to examine the relationship between these variables and dimensions of gendered racial-ethnic socialization.

Method

Participants

The study sample included 174 college female participants; all participants identified as Black or African American. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 28 years ($M = 20.33$, $SD = 1.83$, $mdn = 20.00$). Regarding school rank, most participants identified as undergraduate first years ($n = 52$, 29.9 %), sophomores ($n = 36$, 20.7 %), juniors ($n = 38$, 21.8 %), or seniors ($n = 37$, 21.3 %). A few participants identified as graduate students ($n = 9$, 5.2 %) or post-baccalaureate students ($n = 1$, .6 %). Most participants identified as heterosexual ($n = 156$, 89.7 %), with others identifying as bisexual ($n = 9$, 5.2 %), questioning ($n = 5$, 2.9 %), and lesbian ($n = 4$, 2.3 %).

Participants reported that their current relationship status was single ($n = 114$, 65.5 %) or in a committed relationship ($n = 60$, 34.5 %). Annual family income ranged from 1 (*less than $10,000 per year*) to 10 (*$200,000 or more per year*). The median reported annual family income was $35,000 to $49,999.

Procedure and Measures

Following approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB), an email solicitation was sent to a university listserv of Black undergraduate and graduate students on a mid-sized, U.S. Midwestern university campus. Respondents were informed that the study was examining the racial and gender experiences of Black women ages 18 and older. Eligible participants were asked to click on a link directing to them to the web-based survey hosted by Qualtrics, a survey and data collection software package. For their participation, respondents were entered in a raffle for one of four $25 Visa gift cards. A total of 174 women were recruited through this method. However, 28 participants completed only parts of the demographic form before withdrawing from the study. Thus, they were eliminated from the final dataset.

In an attempt to increase the sample size, the researches sought to collect data from a mid-sized, U.S. Southern university. Upon IRB approval, the same email solicitation was sent to a random sample of 500 students. From this sample, 48 students participated in our study. Of those 48 students, participants who identified as male ($n = 3$) or who did not identify as Black or African American ($n = 17$) were eliminated. Additionally, in order to insure that the data were missing at random, Little's (1988) MCAR was conducted. The Little's MCAR test obtained for the sample data resulted in a Chi-square = 15469.34 ($df = 16,189$, $p = 1.0$), indicating that the data were missing completely at random.

Gendered Racial-Ethnic Socialization

Gendered racial-ethnic socialization was assessed using the Gendered Racial-Ethnic Socialization Scale for Black Women (GRESS-BW). This scale was developed to measure the gendered racial-ethnic socialization messages African American women have received from parents or caregivers regarding their identities as Black women. The GRESS-BW was created using the guidelines suggested by DeVellis (2003). We generated an initial pool of items using the qualitative study conducted by Thomas and King (2007) involving African American mother-daughter dyads. In Thomas and King's study, mothers were asked which messages they provided to their daughters regarding their race and gender. Additionally, daughters were asked what messages they received from their mothers regarding race and gender. We used the qualitative responses provided to generate an initial pool

of 50 items. Additional items were generated based on the qualitative study conducted by Thomas and colleagues (2011), which involved focus groups with young African American women. The women were asked "What it meant to be an African American woman?" A review of the responses in this study resulted in the creation of another 35 items. Further, we reviewed additional literature (Edmondson Bell and Nkomo 1998; Greene 1994; Jones and Shorter-Gooden 2003; Thomas and King 2007; Thomas et al. 2011) regarding the intersecting racial and gender identities of African American women and the influence of these identities on their lived experiences to create an additional 15 items. A final 10 items were created based on literature suggesting that African American parents may more often provide certain racial-ethnic socialization messages to their daughters as opposed to their sons (i.e., physical beauty and educational success; Brown and Krishnakumar 2007; Thomas and Speight 1999).

This pool of 110 items was reviewed by four psychologists whose research backgrounds include the psychological well-being of African American women and racial-ethnic socialization practices among African American families. Five items were eliminated as a result of similarity to other items in the pool. Additionally, two African American women serving as undergraduate research assistants were asked to review the items for relevance to their lived experiences and clarity. Two additional items were eliminated upon further assessment by the two undergraduate assistants and because of concerns regarding clarity by the four psychologist. The final pool comprised 103 items.

Participants were asked about the frequency with which they received various socialization messages regarding their identity as Black women from parents or caregivers. The method of assessing the frequency with which participants receive socialization messages is similar to existing measures of racial-ethnic socialization (e.g., Brown and Krishnakumar 2007; Stevenson et al. 2002). Participants responded to each item using a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Never*) to 4 (*Always*).

Racial-Ethnic Socialization

Racial-ethnic socialization was assessed using the Adolescent Racial and Ethnic Socialization Scale (ARESS; Brown and Krishnakumar 2007). The ARESS is a 35-item scale designed to measure behavioral examples of racial and ethnic socialization messages received from maternal and paternal caregivers. The ARESS uses a 4-point Likert response scale, ranging from 1 (*Never*) to 4 (*Always*). In contrast to the original directions asking participants to respond to each item for maternal caregivers and then again for paternal caregivers, we asked participants in the present study to respond once using the stem "My parents or caregivers…" There are three racial

socialization subscales (i.e., coping with racism and discrimination, promoting cross-racial relationships, and racial barrier awareness) and five ethnic socialization subscales (i.e., cultural embeddedness, African American history, African American heritage, African American cultural values, and ethnic pride). The present study used the mean total scores for racial and ethnic socialization subscales, with higher scores indicating more racial or ethnic socialization messages received from parents or caregivers. Sample items included "My parents or caregivers taught me to never be ashamed of my skin color" (Ethnic Socialization subscale) and "My parents or caregivers taught me that racism is present in America" (Racial Socialization subscale).

Brown and Krishnakumar (2007) reported that the subscales for the racial socialization (αs = .63–.86) and the ethnic socialization dimensions (αs = .66–.94) exhibited adequate reliability. Although this measure was developed for use with adolescents, Blackmon and Thomas (2013) utilized the ARESS with an African American adult population and found reliabilities (αs) ranging from .66 to .91. In the present study the Racial Socialization subscale had a reliability coefficient of .84 and the Ethnic Socialization subscale had a reliability of .95.

Gender Socialization

Gender socialization was assessed using the Gender Role Socialization Scale (GRSS; Toner et al. 2012). This is a 30-item scale designed to measure the degree to which women have internalized prescribed (traditional) gender roles. The GRSS uses a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*). Sample items from the GRSS included "If I take time for myself, I feel guilty" and "No matter how I feel I must always try to look my best." The present study used the mean total, with higher scores indicating a higher degree of internalized traditional gender socialization. Toner and colleagues (2012) reported an alpha of .93 for the overall GRSS with a sample of women that included college students, individuals from the community, and a clinical sample. Although this scale is not known to have been used with a solely African American sample, it exhibited excellent reliability in the present study sample (α = .90).

Results

Exploratory Factor Analysis

Given the relatively small sample size (i.e., less than 2:1 ratio of participant to scale items) and the exploratory nature of the current preliminary study, an Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) was conducted with all 103 items of the GRESS-BW. An EFA can be used to detect any underlying factors or constructs that may be present in a scale (Thompson 2004). To

evaluate the structure of the GRESS-BW, an EFA was used with principal axis factoring and promax rotation. The number of factors was determined by factor eigenvalues above 1.0 and a noticeable change in the slope within the scree plot (Tabachnick and Fidell 1996). Whereas 25 factors exhibited eigenvalues greater than 1.0, an examination of the scree plot suggested a 10 factor solution. A second EFA with forced 10-factor extraction was conducted. The structure matrix was examined to pinpoint items that exhibited the largest loading on each factors. Items with factor loadings at .40 or higher with a loading difference of .10 or higher between factors were retained. Finally, items in each factor were reviewed to ensure they were also conceptually cohesive. This process yielded a nine factor solution with 63 items (available as a ready-to-use Online Supplement). The nine factors accounted for 57.63 % of the variance in the data. The total 63-item scale exhibited excellent overall reliability (α = .94).

As shown in Table 1, the first factor, labeled Gendered Racial Pride and Empowerment (eigenvalue = 27.13), accounted for 26.34 % of the variance and consisted of 19 items (α = .96). An examination of the descriptives for the 19 items included in the factor indicated that the mean responses ranged from 2.95 (item #40)–3.66 (#16) on a 4-point Likert scale. The second factor, Family Expectations and Responsibilities (eigenvalue = 7.49), accounted for 7.27 % of the variance (α = .89). Factor 2 consisted of 11 items with mean responses ranging from 1.33 (#86)–2.73 (#64). Factor 3, Internalized Gendered Racial Oppression (eigenvalue = 5.30), accounted for 5.15 % of the variance (α = .94). Factor 3 consisted of four items with means ranging from 3.02 (#103)–3.43 (#93). Factor 4, Independence, Career, and Educational Success, (eigenvalue = 4.41), accounted for 4.28 % of the variance (α = .84). This factor consisted eight items with means ranging from 2.71 (#60)–3.58 (#71).

Factor 5, Sexual Behavior, (eigenvalue = 4.12), accounted for 4.00 % of the variance (α = .83). Factor 5 consisted of five items with mean responses ranging from 1.85 (#27)–3.19 (#28), on a 4-point Likert scale. Factor 6, Oppression Awareness (eigenvalue = 3.02), accounted for 2.93 % of the variance (α = .72). This factor consisted of 5 items. One item (#35) was reverse scored based on its negative loading. Mean responses for the items within this factor ranged from 2.16 (#35)–3.77 (#45). Factor 7, Sisterhood (eigenvalue = 2.81), accounted for 2.72 % of the variance (α = .75). Factor 7 consisted of four items with means ranging from 2.85 (#88)–3.56 (#63). Factor 8, Religious Faith and Spirituality (eigenvalue = 2.62), accounted for 2.55 % of the variance (α = .77). Factor 8 consisted of three items with means ranging from 3.18 (#25)–3.54 (#24). The final factor, Gendered Racial Hardship (eigenvalue = 2.46), accounted for 2.39 % of the variance (α = .72). Factor 9 consisted of four items with mean responses ranging from 1.67 (#22)–3.03 (#50), on a 4-point Likert scale. All factors and the total 63-item scale

Table 1 Summary of the exploratory factor analysis principal axis factoring and promax rotation results

Items by factor	Factors								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Factor 1: Gendered Racial Pride and Empowerment (α = .96)									
I should be proud to be a Black woman. (1)	.80	.25	.01	.26	.05	.27	.24	.32	.14
Black women are beautiful. (2)	.80	.27	–.03	.21	.05	.23	.28	.36	.03
Black woman is an important part of my identity (of who I am). (4)	.84	.34	.05	.25	.16	.30	.45	.18	.30
I should feel good about being a Black woman. (5)	.89	.27	.003	.26	.09	.29	.32	.33	.23
Black women can accomplish goals on our own. (9)	.59	.34	–.003	.38	.02	.38	.20	–.03	.07
Black women should not be limited by their race or gender. (10)	.66	.26	.12	.29	.16	.35	.30	.01	–.08
Black women should be assertive. (12)	.52	.33	–.01	.22	.11	.35	.33	–.05	.33
Black women should not let other people define what it means to be a Black woman. (13)	.64	.37	–.03	.27	.12	.24	.30	.02	.30
Black women are strong. (15)	.84	.22	.09	.19	.14	.20	.38	.23	.26
Black women should have self-respect. (16)	.87	.25	.09	.28	.16	.34	.37	.21	.24
Black women can accomplish anything. (17)	.89	.24	.05	.28	.11	.32	.36	.24	.12
I should know my self-worth as a Black woman. (18)	.81	.21	.05	.23	.25	.44	.48	.12	.29
I should love my skin color. (37)	.87	.16	–.03	.27	.29	.35	.38	.30	.18
I should accept myself and the features with which I was born. (38)	.73	.07	.48	.22	.06	.27	.28	.12	.03
Black women should accept and love their hair texture. (40)	.60	.45	–.02	.12	.33	.43	.25	–.14	–.12
Over the centuries, Black women have survived many challenges (e.g., slavery, civil rights, and discrimination). (42)	.71	.29	–.03	.26	.18	.51	.44	.13	.14
Black women today are survivors. (43)	.75	.40	–.04	.32	.05	.37	.49	.24	.34
Black women should have self-confidence. (51)	.80	.08	.10	.35	.23	.43	.41	.31	.22
Black women are intelligent. (61)	.70	.26	.02	.26	.15	.44	.44	–.05	.13
Factor 2: Family Expectations and Responsibilities (α = .89)									
Having a family is more important than having a successful career. (59)	.24	.71	–.11	–.05	.22	.20	.21	.–02	.21
Black women are responsible for maintaining the family. (62)	.20	.68	–.10	.20	.12	.19	.35	.08	.21
Black women must always consider family in everything we do. (64)	.24	.70	–.18	.01	.20	.28	.43	.18	.15
I always need to take care of family before anything else. (68)	.37	.73	–.14	.09	.30	.19	.34	.04	.19
I need to let a man be a man. (72)	.19	.62	–.04	.21	.24	.32	.43	.02	.20
Black women should never show our emotions. (79)	.29	.54	–.12	.22	.09	.17	.29	–.07	.22
Taking care of the family is the most important job that a Black woman has. (80)	.35	.84	–.19	.11	.28	.28	.29	–.08	.09
It is a Black woman's job to keep the family together. (83)	.41	.76	–.14	.14	.36	.22	.42	–.002	.19
Black women should not talk openly about sex. (84)	.18	.50	–.11	.19	.38	.01	.05	.13	.18
Black women must always cater to men with regard to sex. (86)	.18	.54	–.10	–.07	.36	.06	.04	–.03	.14
Black men have it tough so I should support them no matter what. (90)	.29	.71	–.20	.20	.18	.32	.38	-.05	.29
Factor 3: Internalized Gendered Racial Oppression (α = .94)									
Lighter skin is more attractive than dark skin. (93)	.12	–.09	.93	.02	–.08	.06	–.02	–.09	.15
Black women with natural hairstyles (e.g., afro, braids, and dreads) are unattractive. (94)	.11	–.14	.90	.06	–.06	.04	–.01	–.02	.06
Black women typically have bad attitudes. (95)	.11	–.08	.87	.07	–.03	.15	–.001	–.08	.11
Spoke negatively about Black women. (103)	.11	–.05	.81	–.02	.02	.15	.05	–.14	–.02
Factor 4: Independence, Career, and Educational Success (α = .84)									
Black women shouldn't consider settling down until we have a successful career. (58)	.31	.31	.10	.57	.15	.24	.34	–.15	.01
For Black women establishing a career comes first, everything else is secondary. (60)	.09	.30	.002	.68	.09	.14	.38	–.07	.09
I should never depend on a man for anything. (69)	.38	.003	.08	.62	.06	.23	.21	–.03	.25
I have to get my education first, and worry about men later. (71)	.28	–.10	–.02	.70	.17	.38	.25	.08	.25
I can never depend on anyone else for anything. (75)	.13	.25	.06	.59	–.05	.04	.20	–.08	.28
I must always be able to support myself. (76)	.30	.08	.002	.62	.09	.39	.50	.24	.11
Education is more valuable than relationships with men. (77)	.17	.08	–.19	.73	.13	.22	.09	.01	.09
Black women should be independent. (87)	.32	.01	.10	.73	.09	.13	.11	.16	.12

Table 1 (continued)

Items by factor	Factors								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Factor 5: Sexual Behavior (α = .83)									
Getting pregnant before I am married will bring shame on my family and community. (27)	.24	.34	−.001	.13	.63	.16	.15	−.01	.43
Black women should not be promiscuous or "fast." (28)	.17	.01	−.13	.16	.68	.04	.19	.21	.16
A good Black woman does not have children before being married. (81)	.21	.32	−.07	.12	.77	.23	.25	.12	.03
A good Black woman does not live with a man without being married to that man. (82)	.04	.32	−.16	.00	.71	.28	.22	.09	−.07
Black women should avoid sex before marriage. (85)	.05	.29	−.06	.16	.70	.11	.23	.22	−.03
Factor 6: Oppression Awareness (α = .72)									
Black women must work hard for a good education. (32)	.41	.16	.04	.37	.18	.54	.35	.43	.22
I may experience sexism in certain environments (e.g., school and work). (35) (R)	−.18	−.08	−.17	−.08	−.03	−.53	−.13	−.01	.08
I may experience racism in certain environments (e.g., school and work). (36)	.48	.23	−.05	.19	.32	.67	.24	−.12	.32
I should choose a romantic partner who will respect me. (45)	.18	.14	.13	.07	.18	.63	.22	.20	.12
I should not allow anyone to disrespect me. (55)	.20	.14	−.09	.19	.06	.57	.37	.14	.01
Factor 7: Sisterhood (α = .75)									
A mother's love and support is important for Black women. (48)	.49	.26	−.10	.31	.20	.29	.73	.43	.15
As a Black woman, I should treat others as I wish to be treated. (63)	.37	.20	−.19	.31	.36	.44	.70	.34	.02
I come from a long legacy of strong women. (65)	.41	.37	.07	.14	.27	.40	.59	−.06	.15
Black women should be supportive of Black men. (88)	.48	.51	−.12	.10	.20	.35	.72	.06	.17
Factor 8: Religious Faith and Spirituality (α = .77)									
God will not give you more than you can handle. (24)	.36	.23	−.18	.10	.24	.37	.28	.60	.11
The church is a source of strength for Black women. (25)	.34	.32	.01	−.02	.40	.21	.22	.58	.05
Black women should have faith in God. (26)	.43	.31	−.18	.05	.21	−.01	.36	.67	.07
Factor 9: Gendered Racial Hardship (α = .72)									
Black women should only marry Black men. (22)	.30	.41	−.06	.03	.22	.15	.33	−.04	.59
There are more opportunities for White women, so, as a Black woman, I have to work twice as hard. (44)	.42	.39	−.14	.32	.03	.38	.17	.04	.68
Being both Black and a woman, I will have to work harder than most people to reach my dreams/goals. (50)	.47	.33	−.02	.48	.16	.45	.49	−.02	.63
A good Black man is hard to find. (92)	.22	.16	−.04	.14	−.06	.09	.07	.25	.47

demonstrated adequate internal consistency based on Walsh and Betz's (1995) criteria for the minimum level of internal consistency reliability necessary for research purposes.

Convergent Validity

Table 2 presents the correlations between the nine factors and well-established racial, ethnic, and gender socialization scales. Results indicated that eight of the nine factors positively correlated with measures of ethnic and racial socialization. Factor 3 (Internalized Gendered Racial Oppression) was not associated with either measure. In contrast, gender socialization was inversely associated with Factor 1 (Gendered Racial Pride and Empowerment; $r = -.16$, $p = .04$) and positively associated with Factor 2 (Family Expectations and Responsibilities).

Additional Correlations

As shown in Table 2, age was inversely related to Factor 3 (Internalized Gendered Racial Oppression; $r = -.30$, $p = .001$), suggesting that older individuals reported receiving fewer messages that expressed internalized gendered racial oppression. Age was positively related to Factors 8 (Religious Faith and Spirituality; $r = .23$, $p = .006$) and 9 (Gendered Racial Hardship; $r = .17$, $p = .04$). This suggests that older college women reported receiving more messages regarding the importance of God and faith in their lives and hardships that they may experience as African American women. Family income was positively correlated with Factors 7 (Sisterhood; $r = .20$, $p = .01$). This suggested the individuals who reported a higher family income also reported receiving more messages containing elements of sisterhood.

Table 2 Correlations among age, family income, the GRESS-BW factors, racial, ethnic, and gender roles socialization

Variables	Correlations												
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Age	–												
2. Family Income	–.12	–											
3. Gendered Racial Pride and Empowerment (Factor 1)	.13	.08	(.96)										
4. Family Expectations and Responsibilities (Factor 2)	.16	.03	.32**	(.89)									
5. Internalized Gendered Racial Oppression (Factor 3)	–.30**	.15	.05	–.13	(.94)								
6. Independence, Career, and Educational Success (Factor 4)	–.002	–.04	.42**	.35**	.05	(.84)							
7. Sexual Behavior (Factor 5)	.13	.07	.24**	.47**	–.10	.30**	(.83)						
8. Oppression Awareness (Factor 6)	.03	.1[4]	.62**	.30**	.14	.34**	.34**	(.72)					
9. Sisterhood (Factor 7)	.14	.20*	.67**	.49**	–.04	.41**	.43**	.54**	(.75)				
10. Religious Faith and Spirituality (Factor 8)	.23**	.09	.46**	.32**	–.08	.21**	.31**	.32**	.41**	(.77)			
11. Gendered Racial Hardship (Factor 9)	.17*	–.04	.50**	.50**	–.04	.40**	.34**	.46**	.48**	.30**	(.72)		
12. Racial Socialization subscale	.16	.08	.46**	.36**	.07	.37**	.28**	.44**	.40**	.26**	.28**	–	
13. Ethnic Socialization subscale	.15	.20*	.57**	.37**	.04	.41**	.22**	.46**	.49**	.27**	.27**	.78**	–
14. Gender Role Socialization Scale	–.01	–.09	–.16*	.21**	–.09	.03	.02	–.04	–.14	–.11	.14	.02	–.02

Note. Cronbach's alphas are reported in parentheses along the diagonal

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

Discussion

African American women face a unique set of social challenges that require them to be resilient in the face of adversity. Although resilience is a necessity for negotiating their marginalized status, some African American women will experience less than optimal mental health outcomes, in part, as a function of this marginalized status. Taking this aspect of African American women's lives into account, scholars have called for the development of intersectional (i.e., race and gender) measures that address their unique experiences (Cole 2009; Constantine 2002; Lewis et al. 2013). In an effort to fill this gap in the literature, we sought to develop a gendered racial-ethnic socialization scale for young adult African American women. We believe such a measure is critical for understanding how socialization experiences may impact social, interpersonal, sexual, and mental health outcomes.

After conducting an exploratory factor analysis involving 103 items, we retained 63 items and identified nine factors. Based on prior qualitative research, we originally proposed the possibility of finding 10 dimensions (i.e., education and career success, sexuality and sexual practices, internalized gendered racial oppression, self-image and standards of beauty, religion, discrimination and oppression challenges, family responsibilities, independence and strength, gendered racial pride, gendered racial history and heritage). Of the proposed dimensions, nine were identified. Although the EFA did not indicate a factor focused on self-image and standards of beauty, items reflecting this dimension did appear in the first factor (i.e., Gendered Racial Pride and Empowerment).

In general, the number of factors we documented is consistent with previous measures of racial-ethnic socialization. For example, Brown and Krishnakumar (2007) identified eight factors in the development of the Adolescent Racial Ethnic Socialization Scale, and Stevenson, and colleagues (2002) identified five factors for the Teenager Experiences of Racial Socialization Scale. The identification of multiple domains of gendered racial-ethnic socialization in our scale is critical because the identification of multiple domains speaks to the differing types of gendered racial-ethnic socialization messages that occur. Although the global reliability estimate of our overall instrument was strong, gendered racial-ethnic socialization is a complex concept with various dimensions. Researchers who use our scale in the future are advised to utilize this measure as a multidimensional instrument as opposed to a global measure of gendered racial-ethnic socialization.

The first factor labeled Gendered Racial Pride and Empowerment consisted of messages that encouraged African American women to feel good about themselves as well as feel empowered. It consisted of 19 items. The messages encourage African American women and girls not only to have positive internal self-worth, but also to feel good about their hair texture and skin color. These messages speak to the concerns that African American families have regarding the self-image that African American girls and women may develop in light of the realities that their skin color, hair texture, and physical features are inconsistent with mainstream American beauty norms (Thomas and King 2007). This subscale is most similar to previous ethnic pride subscales (Brown and Krishnakumar 2007; Stevenson et al. 2002).

Family Expectations and Responsibilities (Factor 2), which consisted of 11items, focused on family expectations for Black women. Messages about family responsibility speak to the central role African American women play in their families. Although family is important, receiving such high levels of gender- and family–oriented messages may contribute to Black girls and women placing unhealthy expectations on themselves, as well as other Black girls and women. In some ways, such a substantial focus on family responsibilities may put Black girls and women at risk for developing high levels of "Mammy" attitudes—sacrificing oneself for the family and denying one's own basic human needs and only focusing on the needs of others (Thomas et al. 2004; West 1995).

A second and related category of messages within Factor 2 includes messages related to intimate relationships with men. The messages subtly address giving men the opportunity to enact traditional gender roles (e.g., "I need to let a man be a man."). Such messages further allude to the marginalization Black men experience in the United States and perhaps the perceived responsibility of African American women to be supportive in response to such marginalization. Other messages within this factor suggest that Black women should cater to men in regard to sex. Finally, another message encourages Black women to not speak openly about sex. When considering these messages in the context of the other gender/family-focused messages, Black girls and women who receive high levels of these messages are not only at risk for developing unhealthy, self-sacrificial behaviors, but also for practicing unsafe sexual behaviors in order to maintain consistency with their socialization experiences. That is, being told to only focus on the family, and in particular focus on the needs of Black men, disempowers Black girls and women. Excessive concern about others to the exclusion of oneself has been described as unmitigated communion, which may be linked to negative views of self and lead to psychological distress (Helgeson and Fritz 1998).

Consisting of four items, Internalized Gendered Racial Oppression (Factor 3) includes items that involve Black girls and women receiving negative racial and gender messages (i.e., internalized oppression). *Internalized racial oppression* is defined as endorsing negative stereotypical beliefs about one's minority group (Speight 2007). In the case of our factor for the GRESS-BW, these messages involve participants self-reporting that they heard family members speak negatively about Black women (e.g., Black women having a bad attitudes). Another message speaks to natural hairstyles (i.e., unstraightened or unprocessed African American hair styles such as an Afro or dreadlocks) being unattractive. This particular message conflicts with several items in the Gendered Racial Pride factor (Factor 1). This subscale differs from other measures of internalized oppression in that it incorporates the raced and gendered experiences of African American women. Conceptually, the lack of correlation between this factor and the remaining factors is not surprising. The remaining eight factors focus on messages that empower, encourage, and support the gendered racial identities of Black women whereas the Internalized Gendered Racial Oppression factor does not. Still, it is important to account for the reality that some Black girls and women may receive such messages and these messages may have an impact on their lives (Jones and Shorter-Gooden 2003).

Independence, Career, and Educational Success (Factor 4) consisted of items suggesting that Black women should be self-sufficient. Some of the messages were quite direct and specific whereas others spoke to educational and career choices that promote independence. Another item specifically suggested that African American women should not depend on men. For Black women, independence incorporates aspects of feminism and includes the socioeconomic challenges faced by some African American women (Sullivan et al. 2015). The emphasis on independence in this factor also relates to previous research indicating that African American women endorse androgynous gender-role attitudes (Buckley and Carter 2005; Cole and Zucker 2007; Collins 2000; Harris 1996).

Sexual Behavior (Factor 5) speaks to socialization messages related to premarital sex, pregnancy, and cohabitation, while also reflecting conservative religious values. This factor parallels the Family Expectations and Responsibilities factor (Factor 2) in that such conservative attitudes speak to how Black women should operate within their families. In addition to conservative values playing a role in such messages, it is also critical to consider that African American parents may be attempting to discourage girls from becoming sexually promiscuous (Edmondson Bell and Nkomo 1998).

Oppression Awareness (Factor 6) consists of items that involve messages about racism and sexism, working hard for one's education, having a respectful romantic partner, and not allowing others to disrespect her. These address the general experiences of racism and sexism, potential barriers within the educational system, and the potential for not being respected in interpersonal or romantic relationships. These messages speak to a long history of oppression that Black women have experienced inside and outside African American culture. This factor parallels Stevenson et al.'s (2002) cultural alertness to discrimination subscales and Brown and Krishnakumar's (2007) racial barrier awareness subscale.

Sisterhood (Factor 7) consists of items that speak to the strength and survival of African American women, the importance of African American mothers' support, and positive interpersonal behavior. Furthermore one message discusses the importance of being supportive of Black men. Being supportive of Black men may allude to hardships experienced by African American men and African American women's perceived role in being supportive.

Religious Faith and Spirituality (Factor 8) consists of messages regarding spirituality and a belief in God. Messages about spirituality are consistent with West African Cultural values (Daly et al. 1995). This factor is also consistent with Stevenson et al.'s (2002) Teenagers Experiences of Racial Socialization Scale, which includes items related to spirituality. It is further important to note that spiritual beliefs are an important factor in gendered racial socialization because spirituality is crucial for the negotiation of racial and gender oppression (Daly et al. 1995), two factors that represent uncontrollable stressors in the lives of African American women.

Gendered Racial Hardship (Factor 9) consists of items that speak to hardships in regard to not having the same opportunities as White women, having to work harder due to being a double minority, and hardships around mate selection. Interestingly, in addition to suggesting that suitable African American male partners are difficult to meet, this factor included an item indicating that African American women were still encouraged to seek only African American male partners. Messages about hardship address a general awareness of inequities experienced by African Americans and African American women in particular.

It is noteworthy to mention that several of the subscales contained items directly related to African American men. Whereas some items encourage African American girls and women to have a partner who respects them, other items directly speak to how African American women should treat or view African American men. Nash (2005) noted that, as a result of the racial oppression experienced by African American men, African American women may receive socialization messages emphasizing the importance of protecting the masculinity of African American men, regardless of any risk to themselves. Thus, some African American families may emphasize messages about disregarding a man's social status, respecting, and being supportive of African American men. These messages are critical among African American women because they may contribute to disempowerment in romantic relationships. For instance, Nash (2005) found that such attitudes contribute to African American women tolerating intimate partner violence. Other research suggests that such attitudes are associated with African American women self-reporting greater justification of domestic violence toward other African American women (Blackmon et al. 2015).

It is additionally important to note that the gendered racial-ethnic socialization practices of African American parents may be influenced by their own Black racial identity attitudes and internalized oppression, two factors known to play a role in parenting (see Halgunseth et al. 2005; Thomas and Speight 1999) and mental health (Speight 2007). For instance, when taking into account the stereotypical archetypes of superwoman (i.e., a woman who does all things for all people in all situations), Mammy (i.e., the selfless caretaker), Sapphire (i.e., the back-talking, disrespectful African American woman), and

Jezebel (i.e., the sexually promiscuous African American woman), many African American parents may either intentionally or unintentionally encourage or discourage behaviors related to each stereotype through their socialization practices.

For example, suggesting that African American women should be "prim and proper" or "not live with a man before marriage" may be linked to the avoidance of the Jezebel stereotype. Recommending that African American girls respect African American men may allude to parents discouraging the Sapphire stereotype. Attending to the family or being strong speak to the encouragement of the Mammy and superwoman stereotypes. Taken together, the gendered racial-ethnic socialization experiences of African American women may provide protection for African American girls, but also place them at risk in other ways. Given this vulnerability, it becomes critical for African American women to determine what messages received during the socialization process are appropriate for their individually lived experiences and mental health. It should further be noted that the GRESS-BW reflects a range and variety of heterosexual norms and expectations, while silencing same-sex experiences or worldviews. It is possible that, along with the general role strain experienced by African American heterosexual girls and women, an additional level of role strain may be present for African American girls and women who do not easily fit within heteronormative ideas of sexuality.

When comparing our measure of gendered racial-ethnic socialization to others, many of our factors align with more general measures of racial-ethnic socialization. For example, similar to Stevenson et al.'s (2002) measure, our scale includes messages about ethnic pride, spirituality, oppression awareness, and hardship. Our scale uniquely includes messages regarding Black women's gendered commitment to family, independence, and realization of the importance and presence of other African American women. Thus, the findings associated with our factors highlight the importance of intersectionality.

Finally, it is also noteworthy that many aspects of our gendered racial socialization measure have important implications for the development of womanist identity. Womanist identity is critical because African American girls and women must reconcile their racial and gender identities and what those identities mean in the context of being oppressed in both domains (Watt 2006; Williams 2005). One way in which African American girls and women may develop differing womanist identity attitudes (i.e., acceptance for their varied and complex gender roles) is through gendered-racial socialization. For example, our Oppression Awareness and Gendered Racial Pride subscales may be associated with greater levels of internalization of womanist identity attitudes whereas the Internalized Gendered Racial Oppression scale may be tied to pre-encounter attitudes (i.e., complying with customary gender roles).

In examining the convergent validity of the GRESS-BW, we sought to determine if the GRESS-BW was correlated with other relevant measures. We found that the GRESS-BW was

related to measures of racial and ethnic socialization, suggesting convergent validity. More specifically, eight of the nine factors were positively and significantly related to both racial and ethnic socialization. Only Factor 3 (Internalized Gendered Racial Oppression) was not related to either racial or ethnic socialization. In contrast, Gendered Racial Pride and Empowerment (Factor 1) was negatively related to Toner et al.'s (2012) Gender Role Socialization Scale, which may reflect mainstream social norms. This relationship is consistent with previous research, which suggests that African Americans women's gender-role socialization experiences differ from mainstream gender socialization norms (Hill 2002).

Moreover, age was positively correlated with the factors of Religious Faith and Spirituality (Factor 8) and Gendered Racial Hardship (Factor 9). These correlations suggests that, even within the narrow 10-year span of our sample of college students, more years of experience were associated with a greater number of messages about spirituality and receiving more messages about the hardships associated with being an African American woman. We also found that family income was related to greater self-reports of Internalized Gendered Racial Oppression (Factor 3), Sisterhood (Factor 7), and Oppression Awareness (Factor 6). Family income's relationship with Sisterhood and Oppression Awareness may be tied to families with greater incomes living in less segregated environments and potentially being exposed to a greater number of discrimination experiences. Recent research by Thomas and colleagues (2010) shows that self-reports of higher levels of race related-stress are associated with elevated reports of racial socialization. We posit that higher levels of income may be linked to individuals being in environments where they may experience more race-related stress, which then contributes to a greater number of gendered racial-ethnic socialization messages. In a similar vein, higher family income being related to internalized oppression may be the result of such individuals being exposed to greater levels of discrimination and mainstream norms. It may be that extensive exposure to negative messages about African American women and African Americans in general could contributes to parents internalizing more stereotypes and passing those messages down to their Black girls and women.

Limitations and Future Directions

Although our study provides some insight regarding the gendered racial-ethnic socialization process of African American women, it is not without limitations. A primary limitation of our investigation is that our sample included participants from mostly predominantly White institutions. We also believe there may have been some regional restrictions because we did not have an even distribution of participants from all U.S. regions. Finally, because the present paper was focused on the initial construction of the scale, we did not include measures

of mental and physical health that account for factors such as psychological symptoms or social outcomes. Additionally, as mentioned in the results, we had small sample size given the number of items developed. Thus, readers are encouraged to exercise caution in the use of the GRESS-BW until further validation of the scale is conducted.

Because ours is an initial investigation, there are a number of directions for future exploration. First, future investigations should consider the use of larger samples with African American college women who attend historically Black institutions, predominantly White institutions, and community colleges. Furthermore, it will also be useful to examine the GRESS-BW with a similarly aged non-college sample. Given that some of the items cross-loaded on multiple factors, it is possible that some of the items would shift to different factors with a more diverse sample. Moreover, future investigations should explore gendered racial-ethnic socialization in relation to the mental health, social, sexual, and physical health outcomes of African American women. Finally, a confirmatory factor analysis should also be conducted to further explore the validity of the GRESS-BW.

Research Implications

The GRESS-BW has several implications for research. First, the GRESS-BW has important implications for the mental health outcomes of African American women attending college because mental health is highly relevant for college outcomes (Howell 2009). Furthermore, the GRESS-BW has potential relevance for future research related to the psychology associated with the contraction and/or prevention of HIV and other sexually transmitted infections. For example, understanding whether gendered racial-ethnic socialization messages play a role in how African American women negotiate the use of condoms with their male partners may lead to more culturally sensitive interventions that reduce HIV infection. Previous research suggests that the internalization of stereotypic roles is associated with sexual risk-taking (Townsend et al. 2010). We believe certain kinds of gendered racial-ethnic socialization experiences are an important precursor to the development of stereotypical identities that may put African American women in jeopardy of developing risk-taking behaviors. This is particularly crucial because gendered racial-ethnic socialization experiences also likely shape identity development.

Practice Implications

There are also several practical implications for consideration. For instance, the manner in which African American women respond to the GRESS-BW may speak to the social pressure and constraints that they experience in terms of meeting prescribed within-group racial and gender expectations.

Furthermore, it is quite possible that higher scores on the Gendered Racial Pride and Empowerment subscale may contribute to greater self-reported self-esteem, whereas higher scores on the Internalized Oppression subscale may contribute to greater levels of internalized oppression and lower levels of self-worth. Counselors who recognize such attitudes in their clients may be able to intervene by unpacking such socialization experiences—helping clients to see the benefits, drawbacks, and implications of their socialization experiences.

Conclusion

The goal of our investigation was to develop a retrospective gendered racial-ethnic socialization scale for adult African American women. Through exploratory factor analysis, we found that there were nine factors present among the retained items. Each factor reflects the influence of different cultural and societal forces, such as African American culture, oppression, socioeconomics, and parental racial identity. Understanding African American women's gendered racial-ethnic socialization experiences potentially influences our understanding of a number of mental health, sexual health and social outcomes. More importantly, exploring and understanding this process among African American women has the potential to help families, clinicians, researchers, and educators identify effective gendered racial/ethnic socialization practices that support African American women's well-being.

References

Anglin, D. M., & Wade, J. C. (2007). Racial socialization, racial identity, and Black students' adjustment to college. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 13*, 207–215. doi:10.1037/1099-9809.13.3.207.

Bem, S. L. (1977). On the utility of alternative procedures for assessing psychological androgyny. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 45*(2), 196–205. doi:10.1037/0022-006X.45.2.196.

Bentley-Edwards, K. L., & Stevenson, H. C., Jr. (2016). The multidimensionality of racial/ethnic socialization: Scale construction for the cultural and racial experiences of socialization (CARES). *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 25*, 96–108. doi:10.1007/s10826-015-0214-7.

Blackmon, S. M., & Thomas, A. J. (2013). Linking contextual affordances: Examining racial-ethnic socialization and parental career support among African American college students. *Journal of Career Development, 41*, 301–320. doi:10.1177/0894845313495588.

Blackmon, S. M., Owens, A. C., Geiss, M. L., Laskowsky, V., Donahue, S., & Ingram, C. (2015). Am I my sister's keeper?: Linking domestic violence attitudes to Black racial identity. *Journal of Black Psychology*. doi:10.1177/0095798416633583. **Advance online publication**.

Boisnier, A. D. (2003). Race and women's identity development: Distinguishing between feminism and womanism among Black and White women. *Sex Roles, 49*(5-6), 211–218. doi:10.1023/A:1024696022407.

Bronstein, P. (2006). The family environment: Where gender role socialization begins. In J. Worell & C. D. Goodheart (Eds.), *Handbook of girls' and womens' psychological health: Gender and well-being across the lifespan* (pp. 262–271). New York: Oxford University Press.

Brown, D. L. (2008). African American resiliency: Examining racial socialization and social support as protective factors. *Journal of Black Psychology, 34*, 32–438. doi:10.1177/0095798407310538.

Brown, T. L., & Krishnakumar, A. (2007). Development and validation of the Adolescent Racial and Ethnic Socialization Scale (ARESS) in African American families. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 36*(8), 1072–1085. doi:10.1007/s10964-007-9197-z.

Brown, D. L., & Tylka, T. L. (2011). Racial discrimination and resilience in African American young adults: Examining racial socialization as a moderator. *Journal of Black Psychology, 37*, 259–285. doi:10.1177/0095798410390689.

Brown, T. L., Linver, M. R., Evans, M., & DeGennaro, D. (2009). African American parents' racial and ethnic socialization and adolescent academic grades: Teasing out the role of gender. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 38*(2), 214–227. doi:10.1007/s10964-008-9362-z.

Buckley, T. R., & Carter, R. T. (2005). Black adolescent girls: Do gender role and racial identity impact their self-esteem? *Sex Roles, 53*(9-10), 647–661. doi:10.1007/s11199-005-7731-6.

Chisholm, J., & Greene, B. (2008). Women of color. In F. Denmark & M. Paludi (Eds.), *Psychology of women* (pp. 40–69). Westport: Praeger.

Cole, E. R. (2009). Intersectionality and research in psychology. *American Psychologist, 64*(3), 170–180. doi:10.1037/a0014564.

Cole, E. R., & Zucker, A. N. (2007). Black and White women's perspectives on femininity. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 13*(1), 1–9. doi:10.1037/1099-9809.13.1.1.

Collins, P. (2000). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness and the politics of empowerment* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.

Constantine, M. G. (2002). The intersection of race, ethnicity, gender, and social class in counseling: Examining selves in cultural contexts. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 30*, 210–215.

Constantine, M. G., & Blackmon, S. M. (2002). Black adolescents' racial socialization experiences: Their relations to home, school, and peer self-esteem. *Journal of Black Studies, 32*, 322–335. doi:10.1177/002193470203200303.

Cooper, S. M., Guthrie, B. J., Brown, C., & Metzger, I. (2011). Daily hassles and African American adolescent females' psychological functioning: Direct and interactive associations with gender role orientation. *Sex Roles, 65*(5-6), 397–409. doi:10.1007/s11199-011-0019-0.

Crenshaw, K. W., Ocen, P., & Nanda, J. (2015). *Black girls matter: Pushed out, overpoliced and underprotected. African American Policy Forum*. New York: Center for Intersectionality and Social Policy Studies.

Daly, A., Jennings, J., Beckett, J. O., & Leashore, B. R. (1995). Effective coping strategies of African Americans. *Social Work, 40*(2), 240–248. doi:10.1093/sw/40.2.240.

DeVellis, R. F. (2003). *Scale development: Theory and applications* (2nd ed.). Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

Edmondson Bell, E. L. J., & Nkomo, S. N. (1998). Armoring: Learning to withstand racial oppression. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 29*(2), 285–295.

Essed, P. (1991). *Understanding everyday racism: An interdisciplinary theory*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Fischer, A. R., & Shaw, C. M. (1999). African Americans' mental health and perceptions of racist discrimination: The moderating effects of racial socialization experiences and self-esteem. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 46*, 395–407. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.46.3.395.

Frabutt, J. A., Walker, A. M., & MacKinnon-Lewis, C. (2002). Racial socialization messages and the quality of mother/child interactions in African American families. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 22*, 200–217. doi:10.1177/0272431602022002004.

Greene, B. (1994). African American women. In L. Comas-Diaz & B. Greene (Eds.), *Women of color: Integrating ethnic and gender identities in psychotherapy* (pp. 11–29). New York: Guildford Publications.

Halgunseth, L. C., Ispa, J. M., Csizmadia, A., & Thornburg, K. R. (2005). Relations among maternal racial identity, maternal parenting behavior, and child outcomes in low-income, urban, Black families. *Journal of Black Psychology, 31*(4), 418–440. doi:10.1177/0095798405275272.

Harrington, E. F., Crowther, J. H., & Shipherd, J. C. (2010). Trauma, binge eating, and the "strong Black woman." *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 78*(4), 469–479. doi: 10.1037/a0019174 .

Harris, A. C. (1996). African American and Anglo-American gender identities: An empirical study. *Journal of Black Psychology, 22*, 182–194. doi:10.1177/00957984960222004.

Helgeson, V. S., & Fritz, H. L. (1998). A theory of unmitigated communion. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 2*(3), 173–183. doi:10.1207/s15327957pspr0203_2.

Helms, J. E. (1990). "Womanist" identity attitudes: An alternative to feminism in counseling theory and research. Unpublished manuscript.

Hill, S. A. (2002). Teaching and doing gender in African American families. *Sex Roles, 47*(11-12), 493–506. doi:10.1023/A:1022026303937.

Howell, A. J. (2009). Flourishing: Achievement-related correlates of students' well-being. *The Journal of Positive Psychology, 4*(1), 1–13. doi:10.1080/17439760802043459.

Hughes, D. L., & Chen, L. (1997). When and what parents tell children about race: An examination of race-related socialization in African American families. *Applied Developmental Science, 1*(4), 200–214. doi:10.1207/s1532480xads0104_4.

Hughes, D. L., Rodriguez, J., Smith, E. P., Johnson, D. J., Stevenson, H. C., & Spicer, P. (2006). Parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices: A review of research and directions for future study. *Developmental Psychology, 42*(5), 747–770. doi:10.1037/0012-1649.42.5.747.

Hughes, D. L., Witherspoon, D., Rivas-Drake, D., & West-Bey, N. (2009). Received ethnic–racial socialization messages and youths' academic and behavioral outcomes: Examining the mediating role of ethnic identity and self-esteem. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 15*(2), 112–124. doi:10.1037/a0015509.

Jones, C., & Shorter-Gooden, K. (2003). *Shifting: The double lives of Black women in America*. New York: HarperCollins.

Kelly, E. M. (2001). I. Female, young, African-American, and low-income: What's feminism got to do with her? *Feminism & Psychology, 11*(2), 152–156. doi:10.1177/0959353501011002002.

King, D. (1988). Multiple jeopardy, multiple consciousness: The context of a Black feminist ideology. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 14*(1), 42–72.

Landor, A. M. (2012). *Does skin tone matter?: Exploring the impact of skin tone on colorism within families, racism, and racial socialization among African American adolescents* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Georgia, Athens, GA.

Lewis, J. A., Mendenhall, R., Harwood, S. A., & Browne-Huntt, M. (2013). Coping with gendered racial microaggressions among Black women college students. *Journal of African American Studies, 17*(1), 51–73. doi:10.1007/s12111-012-9219-0.

Little, R. J. (1988). A test of missing completely at random for multivariate data with missing values. *Journal of the American Statistical Association, 83*, 1198–1202. doi:10.2307/2290157.

Littlefield, M. B. (2004). Gender role identity and stress in African American women. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment, 8*(4), 93–104. doi:10.1300/J137v08n04_06.

Mahalik, J. R., Morray, E. B., Coonerty-Femiano, A., Ludlow, L. H., Slattery, S. M., & Smiler, A. (2005). Development of the conformity to feminine norms inventory. *Sex Roles, 52*(7-8), 417–435. doi:10.1007/s11199-005-3709-7.

Malson, M. R. (1983). Black women's sex roles: The social context for a new ideology. *Journal of Social Issues, 39*(3), 101–113.

Nash, S. T. (2005). Through Black eyes: African American women's constructions of their experiences with intimate male partner violence. *Violence Against Women, 11*(11), 1420–1440. doi:10.1177/1077801205280272.

Neblett, E. W., Philip, C. L., Cogburn, C. D., & Sellers, R. M. (2006). African American adolescents' discrimination experiences and academic achievement: Racial socialization as a cultural compensatory and protective factor. *Journal of Black Psychology, 32*, 199–218. doi:10.1177/0095798406287072.

Neblett, E. W., Smalls, C. P., Ford, K. R., Nguyen, H. X., & Sellers, R. M. (2009). Racial socialization and racial identity: African American parents' messages about race as precursors to identity. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 38*(2), 189–203. doi:10.1007/s10964-008-9359-7.

Ossana, S. M., Helms, J. E., & Leonard, M. M. (1992). Do" womanist" identity attitudes influence college women's self-esteem and perceptions of environmental bias? *Journal of Counseling and Development, 70*(3), 402–408.

Parham, T. A. (1989). Cycles of psychological nigrescence. *The Counseling Psychologist, 17*, 187–226. doi:10.1177/0011000089172001.

Peters, M. F. (1985). Racial socialization of young Black children. In H. McAdoo & J. McAdoo (Eds.), *Black children: Social, educational, and parental environments* (pp. 159–173). Newbury Park: Sage.

Pleck, J. H. (1995). The gender role strain paradigm: An update. In R. F. Levant & W. S. Pollack (Eds.), *A new psychology of men* (pp. 11–32). New York: Basic Books.

Settles, I. H. (2006). Use of an intersectional framework to understand Black women's racial and gender identities. *Sex Roles, 54*, 589–601. doi:10.1007/s11199-006-9029-8.

Speight, S. L. (2007). Internalized racism: One more piece of the puzzle. *The Counseling Psychologist, 35*(1), 126–134. doi:10.1177/0011000006295119.

Stevenson, H. C. (1995). Relationship of adolescent perceptions of racial socialization to racial identity. *Journal of Black Psychology, 21*(1), 49–70. doi:10.1177/00957984950211005.

Stevenson, H. C., Cameron, R., Herrero-Taylor, T., & Davis, G. Y. (2002). Development of the Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization Scale: Correlates of race-related socialization frequency from the perspective of Black youth. *Journal of Black Psychology, 28*(2), 84–106. doi:10.1177/0095798402028002002.

Sullivan, L., Meschede, T., Dietrich, L., Shapiro, T., Traub, A., Ruetschlin, C., & Draut, T. (2015). *The racial wealth gap: Why*

policy matters. Institute for Assets and Social Policy, Brandeis University and Demos. Retrieved from http://www.demos.org/sites/default/files/publications/RacialWealthGap_2.pdf.

Tabachnick, B. G., & Fidell, L. S. (1996). *Using multivariate statistics* (3rd ed.). New York: HarperCollins.

Thomas, A. J., & Blackmon, S. M. (2015). The influence of the Trayvon Martin shooting on racial socialization practices of African American parents. *Journal of Black Psychology, 41*(1), 75–89. doi:10.1177/0095798414563610.

Thomas, A. J., & King, C. T. (2007). Gendered racial socialization of African American mothers and daughters. *The Family Journal, 15*(2), 137–142. doi:10.1177/1066480706297853.

Thomas, A. J., & Speight, S. L. (1999). Racial identity and racial socialization attitudes of African American parents. *Journal of Black Psychology, 25*(2), 152–170. doi:10.1177/0095798499025002002.

Thomas, A. J., Witherspoon, K. M., & Speight, S. L. (2004). Toward the development of the Stereotypic Roles for Black Women Scale. *Journal of Black Psychology, 30*(3), 426–442. doi:10.1177/0095798404266061.

Thomas, A. J., Speight, S. L., & Witherspoon, K. M. (2010). Racial socialization, racial identity, and race-related stress of African American parents. *The Family Journal, 18*(4), 407–412. doi:10.1177/1066480710372913.

Thomas, A. J., Hacker, J. D., & Hoxha, D. (2011). Gendered racial identity of Black young women. *Sex Roles, 64*, 530–542. doi:10.1007/s11199-011-9939-y.

Thompson, B. (2004). *Exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis: Understanding concepts and applications*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Thornton, M. C., Chatters, L. M., Taylor, R. J., & Allen, W. R. (1990). Sociodemographic and environmental correlates of racial socialization by Black parents. *Child Development, 61*(2), 401–409.

Toner, B., Tang, T., Ali, A., Akman, D., Stuckless, N., Esplen, M. J., & Ross, L. (2012). Developing a gender role socialization scale. In J. L. Oliffe & L. Graves (Eds.), *Designing and conducting gender, sex & health research* (pp. 189–200). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Townsend, T. G., Thomas, A. J., Neilands, T. B., & Jackson, T. R. (2010). I'm no Jezebel; I am young, gifted, and Black: Identity, sexuality, and Black girls. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 34*(3), 273–285. doi:10.1111/j.1471-6402.2010.01574.x.

Walker, A. (1983). *In search of our mothers' gardens: Womanist prose*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Walsh, W. B., & Betz, N. E. (1995). *Tests and assessment*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Watson, N. N., & Hunter, C. D. (2015). I had to be strong. Tensions in the strong Black woman schema. *Journal of Black Psychology*. doi:10.1177/0095798415597093. **Advance online publication**.

Watt, S. K. (2006). Racial identity attitudes, womanist identity attitudes, and self-esteem in African American college women attending historically Black single-sex and coeducational institutions. *Journal of College Student Development, 47*, 319–334. doi:10.1353/csd.2006.0038.

West, C. M. (1995). Mammy, sapphire, and jezebel: Historical images of Black women and their implications for psychotherapy. *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, Practice, Training, 32*(3), 458–466. doi:10.1037/0033-3204.32.3.458.

Williams, C. B. (2005). Counseling African American women: Multiple identities-multiple constraints. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 83*, 278–283.

Woods-Giscombé, C. L. (2010). Superwoman schema: African American women's views on stress, strength, and health. *Qualitative Health Research, 20*(5), 668–683. doi:10.1177/1049732310361892.