

The Impact of Ethnic Socialization and Ethnic Identity on the Self-Esteem and Parenting Attitudes of African American Fathers

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The purpose of this research is to explore the effects of ethnic socialization and ethnic identity on the self-esteem and parenting attitudes of middle-class African American men. This research utilized a quasi-experimental questionnaire methodology with a self-selected sample of 115 African American men's self-respect of their ethnic socialization and ethnic identity, exposure, and the impact on their self-esteem and parenting attitudes. The measures included: (a) The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSE); (b) Phinney's Multigroup Identity Measure (MEIM); (c) the Browne Three-Factor Ethnic Socialization and Perceived Discrimination Scale; and (d) Bavolek's Adolescent and Adult Parenting Inventory (AAPI-2). Although ethnic socialization and ethnic identity were not predictive of self-esteem, there was a significant relationship between these factors and parenting attitudes that fosters autonomy and independence in children. The results have implications for socialization practices in successful African American families.

Key words: African American; ethnic socialization; parenting attitudes; self-esteem

Introduction

The African American father's history of ethnic socialization is explored in this research as a significant factor that influences his level of self-esteem and attitude toward parenting.

It is assumed that the quality of fathering has a strong impact on child development. Recently, public opinion and public policy have begun to reflect a changing view of fathers as caregivers. This research explores fathering in middle-class African American men. Ethnic socialization is conceptualized as strengthening both ethnic identity and general self-esteem. These relationships may be compro-

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mised by experiences of discrimination. The interaction between experience and identity will be evaluated as factors that contribute to the father's parenting attitudes and practices. The central aim of this research is to explore the impact of ethnic socialization on the self-esteem of a select group of middle-class African American men, as well as their attitudes about parenting. Few studies have emphasized the significance of relationships between fathers and their children in this kind of middle-class African American sample.

Theoretical Implications

According to Winnicott, the father plays an important role in providing the mother with the support she needs to provide the empathy necessary for the healthy development of the child. Winnicott's (1956) facilitating environment includes "the paternal functions needed to support the mother" (p. 123).

Winnicott's key ideas concerning the earliest stages of infant development suggest that once the father creates a safe environment, the mother is able to hold the infant better, both physical holding and her maintenance of continuity and freedom from disturbance. This allows the infant to piece together the bits of earliest experience into the formation of an object called "mother." Later, the infant gains a sense of being a person as a result of the mother's handling and care of his or her body. Object relationships suggest that key to this development is the way the mother presents her breast or the bottle through her empathic attunement, i.e., how she provides something needed at the very moment it is sought. Here the baby is allowed to experience omnipotence, the illusion that he or she created the breast or bottle. It is through the holding and handling, the facilitating environment provided by the "good enough" mother, that the infant is offered a safe and nurturing opportunity for healthy emotional growth. Without such an environment, the experience of the infant is more likely to be one of emotional abuse or neglect. According to Winnicott (1987), a baby is:

An armful of anatomy and physiology, and added to this a potential for development into a human personality . . . there are in both the physical and the psychological areas, the inherited tendencies, and these inherited tendencies, on the psyche-side, include those that lead towards integration or the attainment of wholeness. (p. 89)

Integration of the ego and the continuity of the line of life are absolutely dependent on the care the infant receives from the "good enough" mother.

These current findings support Winnicott's theoretical perspective; fathers who have developed the capacity for empathy have developed the capacity for concern and guilt which were identified as stages of healthy personality development.

Winnicott is explicit in his belief of mother's need for a facilitating environment. In order to provide the kind of empathic mirroring needed by the infant, the mother must also be held by her family. Winnicott believes that the father has a significant role in providing this holding for the new mother. Central to the proposed research is Winnicott's consideration of the father's role for the healthy

emotional development of the child. The father is expected to play an important role in providing the mother with the support she needs to provide the empathy necessary for the baby. Winnicott's (1956) facilitating environment includes "the paternal functions supplementing the mother's functions, and the function of the family (as the child becomes older). The responsibility for the physical, mental and emotional health of the child is not placed on the mother alone" (1965, p. 139). Winnicott is one of the earliest theorists to look beyond the mother to the father's role when discussing the healthy, emotional development of children. He indicates that findings on father-child relationships, from anthropological research and psychoanalytically informed observations, indicate that mature adult masculinity is dominated less by narcissism and is more object-oriented. He argues that the paternal watchfulness is actually a more developed form of masculinity that shapes autonomy and connection for the family unit. He further argues that the father's ability to provide protective watchfulness depends on his capacity for a more indirect form of gratification, through identification and empathic object relationships.

This research successfully models the relationship between a strong sense of self in the father based on tolerance socialization, ethnic identity, and his support of autonomy and independence in his children. Diamond (1994) believes a father's protective agency function remains important throughout his child's development, even though its forms will change and its significance will change with time. He sees the male's capacity for the self-sacrificing role of fatherhood as laying the foundation for paternal protective watchfulness. Diamond's research supports the interpretations of the link between a tolerant, affirming family as well as the development of a child who is sure of his or her ethnic identity and possesses a strong sense of self-esteem.

Literature Review

A father's history of ethnic socialization is explored in this research as a significant factor that influences his self-esteem and attitudes toward parenting. This section will review the current research literature on ethnic socialization and self-esteem.

Lamb (1975, 1997) has written for decades about fathering. Since the mid-1970s, he has conducted numerous naturalistic longitudinal studies of father-infant attachment. His first home observations, initiated in 1974, revealed that 7-, 8-, 12-, and 13-month-old infants from traditional nuclear families showed no preference for either mother or father on attachment behavior measures. Lamb proposed that a father's engagement with his child will likely exert a direct influence on their psychological development. Fathers, like mothers, establish an important attachment relationship with the child. They directly offer advice, information, guidance, and emotional and intellectual support, thereby inculcating knowledge, self-esteem, and a sense of security in their children. A father's accessibility may likewise offer children a sense of security and attachment, although the effect of

actual engagement may be stronger for the mother. According to Lamb (1997), men who had fathers who were poor role models or spent little time with them growing up may have more difficulty being actively involved in their children's lives. The family of origin is important when predicting the fathers' relationship to the next generation. According to Lamb, current research data supports the additional premise that men who received more emotional support from their work and other family relationships were more involved with their children.

Cowan and Cowan's (1990) study of 22 couples suggests fathers' memories of their own childhood experiences affected their involvement with their children and the security of the father-child relationship. They measured the fathers' involvement and satisfaction using a self-report instrument. Involvement was measured by reviewing the early models of fathering, prior experiences with young children, and involvement in care of their own 18-month-olds. Participants were couples expecting their first child, from working to upper middle-class. Fifteen percent of them were African American, Asian American, and Hispanic American, and 85% of them were Caucasian. In the first two years of their children's lives, 50% of the mothers were employed outside the home. The findings indicated that the state of the fathers' marital stress, level of household task responsibility, and satisfaction with couple decisions influenced their satisfaction in the parenting role. In one study of Native Americans, greater participation by one's father in his upbringing was associated with greater paternal involvement with one's own child.

Radin's (1982, 1994) longitudinal work on father/son relationships suggests that compensation motivation may also influence the quality of fathering. Those men who wished that their own fathers had been closer to them when they were children were more heavily invested in fathering. In spite of the relevance of these studies to this research, none of them included groups of African American men from economically secure samples.

Connor's (1986) research on parenting attitudes of 136 young African American men revealed that the participants perceived themselves as being actively involved with their children. In a follow-up study, Connor (1988) found that African American women ($n = 138$) also perceived African American men to be meaningfully involved with their children. Hyde and Texidor (1988) found that African American fathers ($n = 135$) generally perceived fatherhood as a positive experience. Horn's (1995) survey study indicated that the majority of fathers viewed childcare as a responsibility to be shared by both the mother and father, including activities such as diapering, feeding, bathing, and dressing. These fathers were more likely than other fathers to nurture their children. The majority of work done to date comparing middle-class fathers, black and white, demonstrates few differences between groups tied to minority status. The differences appear to be more related to amount of nurturing time spent with children.

In summary, the reviewed research on fathering place a special emphasis on the impact of the labor market, the initial level of contact with child, other relationship stressors and satisfaction with parenting as crucial factors in the father's

parenting attitude. The research also explores the connection between the father's level of involvement to the mother's behavioral response to parenting her child. Because of these studies, fathers can no longer be considered forgotten contributors to child development (Lamb, 1975). In fact, the relationship between the father and his newborn is now being studied by many researchers. Results suggest that there are sufficient research findings to indicate a newborn forms an attachment to both mother and father around the same time during the first year of life.

As stated earlier, other factors may contribute to the father's ability to adapt to parenting a child, regardless of the child's level of functioning. Economic status, the relationship with the mother, and the relationship with his own father were among the factors that could determine the level of involvement a father has with his children and his ability to interact in the outside world.

Self-Esteem

Rosenberg, Schooler, and Schoenbach (1989) noted that self-esteem can be seen as either the cause or the outcome of developmental variables. Factors that enhance self-esteem, such as family support and personal accomplishments, are likely to contribute as well to a secure sense of self as a member of an ethnic or racial group.

Rosenberg et al. (1989) suggested several ways that one's self-esteem affects one's behavior. They defined self-esteem as the most important dimension of self-concept that often reflects others' judgment. Rosenberg suggested that self-concept and feelings of self-esteem start in infancy with the behavior of the parents or caregiver toward the baby. Parents' and caregivers' actions shape the environment that contributes to the way the baby feels about himself or herself. Global feelings of self-esteem are widely recognized as a central aspect of psychological functioning and well being. Verkuyten (1995) emphasized this connection: "The way in which one is identified in larger society affects the way in which one identifies oneself" (p. 165). In a minority population, the impact of ethnic identity was conceptualized as crucial to feelings of self-esteem. However, he found minority status was not linked to low self-esteem.

In his comparison study between 500 majority and minority youth living in the Netherlands, Verkuyten found no relationship between levels of self-esteem and minority status. He found personal self-esteem was significantly correlated with group identification and with in-group evaluation among all ethnic groups. However, in terms of ethnic group identification and in-group evaluation, there was a strong difference between the ethnic groups. Dutch respondents scored significantly lower on group identification than did the ethnic minority groups. There were no significant differences between the ethnic groups scores for global self-esteem as well as self-concept stability. Verkuyten found a clear difference between boys and girls. Boys had a significantly higher score for self-esteem and a more stable self-concept than girls. Minority youth identified more strongly with their ethnic group and evaluated their group more positively than majority students. This strong identification was linked in all groups to global self-esteem.

Therefore, minority status is not crucial to feelings of self worth. Rather, it is one's sense of pride or identification with one's origins, whatever they are, that is crucial to high self-esteem.

Mandara and Murray's (2001) study of 116 African American adolescents (64% of whom were female) also examined the relationship between marital status, family income, and family functioning on the self-esteem of adolescents through the use of interviews and questionnaires. Boys with married parents had higher overall self-esteem compared to boys with nonmarried parents, even when family income and family functioning were controlled. Parental marital status had no effect on girls' self-esteem. However, family functioning was a very strong predictor of self-esteem for both sexes. Family relational factors were more important to girls' self-esteem, whereas structural and growth factors were more important for boys. African American adolescent boys with nonmarried parents were more at risk for developing low self-esteem in this sample.

According to Toth's (1999) comparison study of 78 African American, Hispanic, and Caucasian fathers, participating with children varies with race or ethnicity, gender, and family values. Children of participating minority fathers consistently outperformed their counterparts in the cognitive domain. Toth's findings indicate time spent with family members was a significant predictor to doing well in school. Therefore, it appears that while identification with one's ethnic group is somewhat important to global self-esteem, relationship with family may have a more pronounced impact. It has been suggested that ethnic identity and cultural learning experiences contribute to a father's sense of self-esteem as well as to his ability to feel empathy toward his children.

Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity and self-esteem are often correlated and predict each other over time, which many researchers suggest indicates an interactive effect. According to Phinney, a clear positive sense of one's background may contribute to positive self-attitudes. At the same time, high self-esteem may provide the confidence needed to explore difficult issues, such as the questioning of stereotypes, that leads to an achieved ethnic identity. From the 1980s through 1998, Phinney performed extensive research on adolescents from several ethnic groups to identify the significance of ethnic identity to academic achievement. She found that the process of ethnic identity development has clear implications for overall psychological adjustment. This work suggests that the process of ethnic identity development, not minority group membership, is the key factor to understanding the self-esteem and adjustment of minority youth.

Phinney's research has shown that minority youth do not differ in self-esteem from white youth. However, concern remains that the failure of minority adolescents to deal with their ethnicity could have negative implications such as poor self-image and a sense of alienation. Phinney (1998) states, "It seems likely that adolescents who have not examined and resolved issues regarding their ethnicity would be at greater risk for adjustment problems" (p. 41). Phinney (1989) found

that adolescents in the exploration phase of ethnic identity scored lower on self-concept than those with an achieved ethnic identity. She indicates that involvement in one's cultural or racial background is an important aspect of this phase and a positive sense of one's group may be central to one's self-perceptions.

She identifies the central component of this achieved, internalized identity as a strong, positive feeling about oneself as a member of one's ethnic or racial group. She sees ethnic and racial identity as psychological buffers and self-protective strategies for coping with prejudice, discrimination, and stigmatization.

Browne and Graham (1995) studied 1200 students exploring the impact of ethnic identity as a protective factor against substance abuse. The aim of their study was to examine the role of one cultural factor, ethnic identity, in relationship to substance use and abuse. Their rationale for examining ethnic identity is that virtually no attention has been given to the possible relationship between poor ethnic identity and increased risky behaviors, such as substance use. They indicated that along with low self-esteem and other poor health-related behaviors, poor ethnic identity may play a role in adolescents' decisions to engage in such behaviors. Their research suggested that the relationship between ethnic identity and deviant behaviors is complex. Minority youth who do not feel a strong sense of attachment to their own ethnic group may meet their psychological needs through association with deviant peers. Browne and Graham argued that a positive self- and reference-group identity may help to counteract racist and other negative messages from the mainstream. They argue that a personal sense of ethnic identity may well be a critical component in mediating involvement in behaviors, such as substance use, even in the face of high-risk experiences and environments.

From the sample of 1200 multiethnic students, only data from 776 African American students was used. Frequency of such behaviors such as fighting, weapon carrying, early sexual activity, substance use, and the students' perceptions of their peers were asked. Students' reports of cigarette use provided three variables that were significant predictors. Religiosity, perceived prevalence of use among closest friends, and propensity for risk taking were also predictive of adolescent smoking. Their findings indicate a link between a sense of belonging and strong ethnic identity as deterrents to self-destructive behavior, which supports earlier findings on the strong influence of member group identification.

Marshall's (1994) research explored ethnic socialization among 58 middle-income African American parents and their children, who attended predominantly white schools. Parents and children were interviewed separately. Descriptive data regarding parents' and children's reports of ethnic socialization practices were obtained. Additionally, the relationship between ethnic socialization, ethnic identity, and academic achievement was assessed through correlation and predictive statistics. Correlation indicated that children's reports of ethnic socialization were significantly related to the encounter stage of ethnic identity. Surprisingly, the child's report of ethnic socialization was predictive of lower classroom grades. Marshall concluded that this research corroborated findings from earlier and

recent research suggesting that, while African American parents do not place priority on issues of ethnicity in the rearing of their children of minority status, they do not dismiss the fact of the negative consequences of being black in a dominant society that shuns blackness. However, when parenting their children, they emphasized broadly held social values such as education, good character, hard work, and a strong sense of community. These values were predictive of higher grades for children.

The results of the study indicated that middle-class African American parents are faced with issues with a much broader impact than ethnic identity. Issues such as teen pregnancy, AIDS, violence, and poor quality education take precedence over ethnic socialization. Parental involvement and endorsement of broad social values such as high achievement are more predictive of a strong sense of self in children.

Therefore, it appears that while identification with one's ethnic group is somewhat important to global self-esteem, relationship with family may have a more pronounced impact. It has been suggested that ethnic identity and cultural learning experiences contribute to a father's sense of self-esteem as well as to his ability to feel empathy toward his children. Marshall's (1994) ethnic socialization research further supports the above mentioned research findings.

This research literature suggests findings that suggest the importance of ethnic socialization and one's ethnic identity may be linked to reduced deviant behavior in adolescents. The findings indicate having a strong sense of self-worth or global self-esteem is the best indicator of positive outcomes for children.

In summary, fathering, self-esteem, and development of ethnic identity have a significant impact on psychological well being. This research reveals an important fact—minority status does not automatically indicate low self-esteem or inadequate coping mechanisms. In fact, the findings indicate that a father's satisfaction with his position in the lives of his children and their shared closeness is essential to positive child development. Whereas the research findings appear complicated, self-esteem is clearly linked to a child's earliest history of attachments to their parents. However, the relationship between in-group identity, the impact on self-esteem and a sense of self-worth is not defined as clearly. Research with Mexican American or Surinamese Dutch indicates in-group identification is linked to positive outcomes. However, similar research with African Americans with a strong group identification with minority values was linked to less positive outcomes. Strong self-esteem supported by positive group identification which includes the larger community social values seems to indicate long-term, positive outcomes for African Americans.

Methods and Hypotheses

The primary purpose of this research was to explore ethnic socialization and ethnic identity on the self-esteem and parenting attitudes of middle-class African American men.

The following hypotheses will be tested in this study:

1. The father's history of ethnic socialization will affect self-esteem in adulthood.
2. The father's history of ethnic socialization will affect parenting attitudes.

Self-esteem was measured by the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (1965). Ethnic socialization was measured by Browne Ethnic Socialization and Perceived Discrimination Scale (1996). Ethnic identity was measured by Phinney's (1992) Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM). Parenting attitudes were measured by Adult-Adolescent Parenting Index (AAPI-2, 2001).

Design and Sample Selection

The research utilized a quasi-experimental questionnaire methodology with a self-selected sample that evaluated the self-report of the father's ethnic socialization, ethnic identity, and exposure to discrimination on his level of self-esteem and parenting attitudes.

The criteria for participation in this research was African American males with advanced degrees (masters or doctorate); at least 40 years of age; with a minimum annual income of \$30,000; married, divorced, or widowed; and who had at least one child. One-hundred-fifteen African American men with an average age of 58 participated in the study. They had advanced degrees and earned an average of approximately \$70,000 annually. The group included 79 married men, 16 divorced men, and 20 widowed men, and each had at least one child. The participants were contacted through established professional organizations and received consent forms and surveys with self-addressed, stamped envelopes.

The men in this study were contacted through established professional organizations such as the American Bar Association (ABA), the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), National Association of Social Workers (NASW), the American Psychological Association (APA) and other black male organizations, such as college fraternities. After making contact with potential respondents, those expressing an interest in participating were given an overview of the study. If they were interested in continuing, a consent form and questionnaire were mailed or hand delivered with a self-addressed, stamped envelope for return. Consent forms were sent to each participant with the questionnaires, to be returned once they agreed to participate in the project. The consent forms informed the participants of the risks and benefits of the intended study.

Three debriefing sessions were offered to reduce anxiety, if a need was identified, but none were necessary. On the contrary, after completing the questionnaire, many participants identified friends, colleagues, and relatives who met the eligibility standards and became participants in this research project.

The surveys were coded to protect subjects' identity.

Instruments

Demographic Form A A 15-question scale was used to provide information regarding education, marital status, and income range for respondent and partner.

The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSE) This scale was used to measure global self-esteem. The scale is a 10-item Likert scale, with items answered on a four-point scale, from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The scoring for some items needs to be reversed so that in each case the scores go from less to more self-esteem.

Participants were asked to answer questions on a scale of 1 to 4 on their sense of their self-worth. To score these items, a value of one to four was assigned. The items were reversed in some cases.

Browne et al. Ethnic Socialization Scale This scale was divided into two separate domains: ethnic socialization and discrimination. The first domain (based on Browne's factor analyses) measured three correlated factors: parental influence on beliefs (cultural subscale/three items), bicultural tolerance (tolerance subscale/four items) and interaction as members of their ethnic group (isolation subscale/six items). All questions are constructed as a five-point Likert type scale, anchored by 1 being never and 5 being very often. The instruments have shown good reliability typically with alphas ranging from 0.74 to 0.76.

Multigroup Ethnic-Identity Measure (MEIM) This instrument was used to measure participants' ethnic identity. Fifteen questions scored on a Likert scale of one (rarely) to five (often). This instrument has consistently shown good reliability, (alphas above .80) when used with various ethnic groups of different age ranges.

Results and Description of the Sample

A total of 115 men participated in this research. This was a 58% recruitment rate of the 200 asked to participate. Criteria for participation required that all were African American males who had at least one child.

Sixteen participants indicated mixed racial heritage but identified themselves as being of African American ethnicity in a later question and were included in the total sample. Three questions (13, 14, 15) in Phinney's MEIM were used to define ethnicity. In the MEIM Multigroup Ethnic Identity Scale (1992), 86% ($N = 99$) identified both parents as African American. Of the total 14% ($N = 16$) who defined mixed parentage, 4% ($N = 5$) acknowledged one parent as Caucasian, 3% ($N = 4$) acknowledged one as Native American, and 6% ($N = 7$) defined parents as having mixed ethnicities.

The demographic characteristics of all participants are presented in Table 1. The average age was 58, with a range of 40 to 77 years. Most (68.7%, $N = 79$) of the participants were married, 13.9% ($N = 16$) were divorced, and another 17.4%

($N = 20$) were widowed or separated. Twenty-one percent ($N = 36$) earned master's degrees, 52% ($N = 60$) earned doctoral degrees; and 16.5% ($N = 19$) reported 1 to 2 years of education beyond the bachelor degree.

Most (84.3%, $N = 97$) of the subjects in this study were employed full time, 5.2% ($N = 6$) worked part time and 8.7% ($N = 10$) were retired. The Hollingshead Occupational Scales were used to identify the level of occupation. Codes 7, 8, or 9 were reported for all participants indicating jobs such as business owners, corporate executives, physicians, college presidents, social work administrators, and policy analysts. The work settings varied, including hospitals, corporations, and the United States Library of Congress.

Income data indicates 60.8% ($N = 70$) of the participants earned between \$80,000 and \$100,000 annually. Another 19.1% ($N = 11$) earned between \$50,000 and 60,000, while 26% ($N = 30$) of the sample earned more than \$100,000 annually. Only 10% ($N = 1$) earned less than \$50,000 and three participants chose not to discuss their income level (see Table 1).

The Hollingshead Occupation Scale is also used to identify the participants' spouses' work type. Seventy percent of participants identified their wives' or significant others' education, employment, and occupational data. One hundred percent ($N = 91$) were identified as executives, administrators, or small business owners. Forty-four percent ($N = 41$) earned bachelor degrees, 34% ($N = 31$) had master's degrees, and 20% ($N = 19$) earned Ph.D. degrees. Fifty-seven percent ($N = 52$) worked in executive positions and 26% ($N = 39$) worked as administrators or small business owners.

Participants were required to have had at least one child in order to participate in the research project. In the group of fathers, 65.4% ($N = 76$) had two or more children; 45.3% ($N = 53$) provided full-time care for their children while another 24.3% ($N = 28$) shared custody with others. About a quarter (24.3%, $N = 28$) of the children lived full time with their mothers. Because of the age of this sample (40 to 77 years of age), 27% ($N = 31$) no longer had children living at home.

Correlation Among Measures—Bivariate Relationships Pearson correlation coefficients were computed between the continuous variables of the subscale scores as the preliminary explanation of the bivariate relationship between the measures used in this study. Correlations were computed between the total scores and the subscales for all measures: self-esteem, ethnic identity, MEIM affirmation, ethnic socialization, and the adult and adolescent parenting inventory (AAPI-2) scales.

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Score Participants were asked to answer 10 questions about their sense of their self-worth on a four-point Likert-type scale, from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The maximum score was 40.00, indicating perfect self-esteem. The mean for this sample was 36.89, with a standard deviation of 3.03. The result of these scores indicates high average self-esteem responses for participants in the study. An example of one of the questions in the Rosenberg is: "I am able to do things as well as most other people." The self-esteem total score was significantly correlated with the MEIM ethnic identity score ($r =$

Table 1 Descriptive Statistics of African American Fathers Sample

Characteristics	<i>N</i> = 115	Percentage
Race		
African American	99	86.1%
Biracial	16	13.9%
Other	0	
Age		
40-50	31	27.0%
51-60	77	66.9%
61-77	7	6.1%
Marital status		
Married	79	68.7%
Divorced	16	13.9%
Widowed/separated	20	17.4%
Education		
Bachelor +	19	16.5%
Masters	36	21.0%
Ph.D.	60	62.5%
Employment status		
Full time	97	84.3%
Part time	16	13.9%
Retired	2	1.8%
More than one job		
No	85	73.9%
Yes	28	24.3%
Hollingshead Occupation Scale		
Small business owner (Code 7)	25	21.7%
Administrator (Code 8)	31	27.0%
Professional or executive (Code 9)	59	51.3%
Income level		
<50K	1	0.8%
50-60K	11	9.5%
60-80K	22	19.0%
80-100K	48	42.1%
>100K	30	26.0%
Unknown	3	2.6%

.208, $p < .026$). Participants who scored high on self-esteem scored high on ethnic identity.

Browne's Ethnic Socialization Scale

Browne's Scale (1996) was used to measure distinct factors: the participants' ethnic socialization by their parents and members of their ethnic group.

The ethnic socialization scale consisted of 13 questions in a Likert-type scale of 1 to 5 responses that ranged from 1 (never) to 5 (very often) to report participants' parents' discussion of traditions of the ethnic group and intergroup relations. Browne's instrument measures three correlated factors. Four items measure dis-

cussions of tolerance or biculturalism (tolerance socialization), e.g., “my parents told me, ‘people in our ethnic group should understand that all people are equal.’” Three items assess discussions of the history and culture of the family’s ethnic group (culture socialization), e.g., “my parents taught me the beliefs and ways of my ethnic group.” Six items assess socialization regarding distrust of and separation from other ethnic groups (isolation socialization), e.g., “my parents told me, ‘people in our ethnic group should not trust people who belong to other ethnic groups.’”

AAPI-2—Adolescent-Adult Parenting Inventory

Participants were asked to answer 40 Likert-type questions scored 1 to 5, from 1 being strongly agree to 5 being strongly disagree, for the self-report of inappropriate expectations, empathy, corporal punishment, role reversal, and independence. An example of a question in corporal punishment would be: “A certain amount of fear is necessary for children to show respect,” while one question in the role reversal section of inventory read: “Children have a responsibility to please their parents.”

There are several positive correlations between the subscale scores of AAPI, as one might expect, but none reach .80, indicating independence of separate attitude scaling. Intercorrelations among subscales of inventory meant to identify attitudes toward parenting are to be expected. The only other significant correlations between AAPI subscales and any other scales was between autonomy scale and ethnic identity score ($r = .252, p < .007$), discussed above.

Hypotheses Tests

The purpose of this research was to explore the effects of ethnic socialization on self-esteem and parenting attitudes of the middle-class African American sample.

Two different analyses were utilized to test the hypotheses. A series of multiple regression analyses were used in which the independent variable, Browne Ethnic Socialization along with other relevant bivariate, were regressed on two dependent variables: the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale and five subscales of the AAPI-2 Adult/Adolescent Parenting Inventory Scale individually.

The second strategy created subgroups based on cutoff scores for the Browne Ethnic Socialization. Multivariate analysis of variance, including relevant covariates, was then computed to test for group differences on the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale, AAPI Appropriate Expectations, Empathy, Punishment, and Appropriate Family Roles Subscales scores.

Hypothesis I

The father’s history of ethnic socialization will affect his self-esteem in adulthood. Multiple regression was computed to determine if self-esteem (Rosenberg Scale) was associated with the paternal history of ethnic socialization (Browne).

The model was not significant ($F 1.727, p < .112$). The independent variable was ethnic socialization and the dependent variable was self-esteem. The analysis indicated that the level of adult self-esteem was not significantly related to the variable, with the exception of a negative correlation ($p < .005$) with isolation socialization. Those men whose families were more ethnically isolated had lower levels of self-esteem in adulthood.

Hypothesis II

A father's history of ethnic socialization will affect his parenting attitudes. A series of multiple regression equations was computed to determine if parenting attitude subscales of AAPI-2: Inappropriate Expectations, Empathy, Role Reversal, and Independence were associated with paternal history of ethnic socialization or ethnic identity. The corporal punishment scale of the AAPI was not evaluated as a dependent variable because of data error. These analyses follow.

Expectations

Multiple regression was computed to determine if AAPI inappropriate expectation was associated with the paternal history of ethnic socialization. The model was not significant ($F 1.728, p < .072$). The analyses indicate that the level of adult inappropriate expectations was not significantly related to any variables with the exception of a marginal negative correlation ($p < .072$) to tolerance socialization. Those men whose families did model cultural tolerance had somewhat fewer inappropriate expectations toward their children.

Discussion and Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to explore ethnic socialization, ethnic identity, and discrimination on the self-esteem and parenting attitudes of middle-class African American men. The author's rationale for examining these factors for the role of fathering for this sample was that limited attention has been given to the possible relationship between ethnic issues, ethnic identity, and experienced discrimination on these financially secure fathers.

There was no significant relationship between the history of ethnic socialization or the resulting ethnic identity on the global self-esteem levels. The analyses of the expected relationship between the dependent variables—empathy, role reversal, and autonomy/independence—were not significantly correlated except for AAPI power independence score. There was a significant relationship found between ethnic socialization, ethnic identity, and supporting and valuing independence and autonomy in one's children.

The first question to be explored concerned the relationship between the father's history of ethnic socialization and ethnic identity on his adult self-esteem. The self-esteem score was significantly correlated with the ethnic identity score. Participants who scored high in self-esteem scored high on ethnic identity. The

ethnic identity score was significantly correlated with ethnic socialization. High scores on ethnic socialization were also linked to high scores in ethnic identity.

The correlations did not reach the level of the model, but they did reach a level of predictive significance. This pattern of correlations suggest strong socialization patterns, especially those that emphasize the interaction with other ethnic groups, were correlated with higher self-esteem. Multiple regressions were computed to determine the relationship between self-esteem and the father's history of ethnic socialization and ethnic identity. No relationship with adult self-esteem was found to reach significance at the model level; however, a negative correlation between isolation and socialization was found to adult self-esteem. The result suggests men whose families were more ethnically isolated had lower levels of self-esteem in adulthood. While it did reach a predictive significance, the pattern of individual correlations suggest strong socialization practices especially those that emphasized socialization with other ethnic groups were linked to higher self-esteem and strong ethnic identity.

The second question to be answered was how a father's history of ethnic socialization and ethnic identity affects parenting attitudes. In one instance, the autonomy and independence model reached a level of significance. In that psychodynamic model, the results suggest it is the close family attachment and role models within that group that teach and model bicultural tolerance by not isolating themselves from other ethnic groups that raise healthier, more confident children.

Multiple regression equations were computed to determine if AAPI subscales, inappropriate expectations, empathy, role reversal, and autonomy and independence were associated with ethnic socialization and ethnic identity. These analyses revealed few significant relationships between variables. Level of empathy was positively correlated to cultural socialization. Those findings indicate men who came from families that modeled cultural socialization had high levels of empathy for their children.

Levels of adult inappropriate expectation had a marginal negative correlation to tolerance socialization. Those men whose families did model cultural tolerance had somewhat fewer inappropriate expectations of their children. There was a marginal relationship found between ethnic affirmation and adult role reversal. Those men who came from families who affirmed their ethnic identity had fewer role reversal expectations of their children.

The level of adult attitudes for raising independent/autonomous children was significantly related to two variables. The first was positive correlation with tolerance socialization. Those men whose families modeled tolerance toward other ethnic groups had more positive attitudes toward independence/autonomy. The second variable was ethnic affirmation. Those men whose families had experienced more ethnic affirmation were more supportive and tolerant of their autonomous, independent children. The shared history of those men who had the most appropriate attitude toward parenting include strong cultural socialization, significantly greater tolerance training and strong ethnic identity. Their experiences,

especially of tolerance and affirmation of others, affirmed their own identity and was linked to more appropriate parenting attitudes, especially with regard to their own children's autonomy.

Clinical/Social Implications

A secure, committed sense of one's racial or ethnic group membership is assumed to provide the foundation for healthy adjustment among members of ethnocultural groups (Cross, 1991; Phinney, 1993). According to the researchers, a secure sense of self is based on the successful resolution of the three interrelated issues discussed earlier: ethnicity identity, ethnic socialization, and relationship to the larger society. The connection between socialization, ethnic or cultural, to ethnic identity is achieved by combining internal and environmental experiences to provide a framework for perceiving and responding to the world. It shapes identity, both personal and social, by establishing values, norms and expectations for appropriate behavior. According to Schriver (1995), the result of careful and extensive personal and communal training in group membership is a unique social cultural heritage being communicated from generation to generation.

From the results, Schriver concluded that an achieved or internalized group identity among ethnocultural groups appeared to be associated with positive attitudes and interactions with members of other ethnic groups and of the larger society. From these results, the author concluded that successful transition to adulthood requires members of multicultural groups to differentiate or recognize stereotypes from the actual representatives of their ethnic group. According to Phinney, Roberts, Masse, Roberts, & Romero (1999), for them to function effectively as adults in a diverse society, they had to distinguish between those aspects of American society that are destructive to their group and those they may use to create forces for change. The historical plight of African American men in the United States has had a profound effect on African American families. By helping African American men to connect with their heritage, gain a sense of continuity with the strength of their forefathers, and view their situation within a sociohistorical context, practitioners can help African American men develop a positive sense of identity and realistic self-appraisal.

The results indicate that the participants were not greatly influenced by negative social interaction and were angered and frustrated when it was experienced. As a result, they are determined to raise strong, independent children who will not be affected by such negative behavior. Their strong response to Browne's ethnic socialization and discrimination scale and to Phinney's multigroup identity measure revealed a strong identification with the ethnic group that seems to have a crucial impact on their self-esteem and influences how they handle their level of involvement with their children.

These findings suggest that ethnic identity and cultural learning experiences contribute to a father's sense of self-esteem, as well as to his ability to feel empathy

toward his children. Therefore, from the clinical perspective, the importance of ethnic identity and positive cultural learning experiences cannot be underestimated and should be explored further through research.

Limitations of the Study

Although this study identified some significant relationships, there were several limitations that should be considered before generalizing from these results. The research plan called for a sample from a homogenous group that consisted of educated, mature, African American men who are economically secure. They were chosen because little has been written about this specific group of fathers. As a group, they seem less affected by discrimination than previous data reported on lower socioeconomic groups. Broadening the sample to include other socioeconomic groups would allow for greater generalizability in the final results. Two of the instruments, Phinney's (1992) Multigroup Identity Measure (MEIM) and Browne's (1996) Ethnic Socialization and Perceived Discrimination Scale, which had mainly been used with adolescents before, performed well with this highly-skilled sample. There was also a problem computing the adult-adolescent parenting inventory subscale (corporal punishment score) because no variance could be computed which meant the loss of possible predictive data.

The relationships between ethnic and racial identity and between group identity and cultural adaptation were not specifically studied. In fact, there are a range of interacting factors that may influence group identity which could have been considered in this study. However, this work was limited to considering the interactions among variables that, to some extent, may assist researchers in understanding the ways in which ethnocultural groups develop a psychologically healthy sense of themselves, both as individuals and members of a particular ethnic group.

The research on the psychological implications of an achieved or internalized group identity is very complicated. This work limited its study to ethnic identity and global self-esteem using short, Likert-type scales. Each of these limits the generalizability of each of the test results. Overall, the results reveal valuable data regarding a sample that has not been researched as frequently as other groups.

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