

Relating through Oppression: Longitudinal Relations between Parental Racial Socialization, School Racial Climate, Oppressed Minority Ideology, and Empathy in Black Male Adolescents' Prosocial Development

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Highlights

- Racial ideology and empathy mediate parental racial socialization and positive relations with others.
- Equitable school racial climate was unassociated with prosocial outcomes.
- Oppressed minority ideology was positively associated with empathy.

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Abstract This research explored whether Black male adolescents' ($N = 453$; $M_{\text{age}} = 13.72$, $SD = 1.33$) perceptions of parental racial socialization (i.e., behavioral racial socialization) and school racial climate (i.e., equitable school racial climate) were associated with prosocial outcomes (i.e., prosocial behaviors and positive relations with others) across three waves of adolescence. This study also explored whether youth's beliefs about the extent to which Black individuals and other marginalized communities are united by experiences of oppression (i.e., oppressed minority ideology) and empathy mediated these associations. Structural equation modeling indicated that parental behavioral racial socialization at Wave 1 and positive relations with others at Wave 3 were positively linked through youth's oppressed minority ideology and empathy at Wave 2. Thus, Black male adolescents who relate to other marginalized communities through a shared experience of oppression and feel empathy towards others' lives possess skills that translate their lessons about race and racism into positive relations with others.

Keywords Prosocial behaviors · Parental racial socialization · School racial climate · Black male adolescents · Adolescence · Sociopolitical development

Introduction

Black male adolescents continue to be viewed as dangerous, delinquent, and academically inept in psychological research and the greater United States (Rowley et al., 2014; Stevenson, 2017). This dangerous perspective contributes to the formation and perpetuation of cultural practices and policies that limit the success and well-being of young Black males, as underscored by the murders of Trayvon Martin, Tamir Rice, Michael Brown, Ahmaud Arbery, George Floyd, and countless others by police officers and civilians. Viewing Black male adolescents as “at-risk” of social problems fails to acknowledge their full humanity and the ways in which anti-Black racism shapes their psychological development. Thus, empirical research that highlights how Black male youth positively contribute to their communities, families, and peer networks is needed (Harris & Kruger, 2019; Lozada, Jagers, Smith, Bañales, & Hope, 2017; McMahan, Wernsman, & Parnes, 2006).

Accordingly, the current study investigated whether Black male adolescents' perceptions of behavioral racial socialization with parents (i.e., learning about race and racism from activities with parents) and an equitable school racial climate promoted their prosocial outcomes (i.e., prosocial behaviors and positive relations with others). This research also investigated whether youth's

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oppressed minority ideology—an ideological component of racial identity that includes the recognition that Black individuals and other marginalized communities are united by experiences with oppression (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998)—and empathy—a socioemotional skill that involves “putting oneself in another’s shoes”—mediated associations between parental behavioral racial socialization, an equitable school racial climate, and prosocial outcomes.

Critical Consciousness and Sociopolitical Development Theories

The current study relied on critical consciousness and sociopolitical development theories to inform study research questions (Aldana & Byrd, 2015; Anyiwo, Bañales, Rowley, Watkins, & Richards, 2018; Watts, Williams, & Jagers, 2003). These theories explicate the race-related contextual (e.g., parental racial socialization) and individual psychological (e.g., racial identity) pathways that promote social justice behaviors among adolescents. Consistent with previous research that applies sociopolitical development theory to understand the prosocial development of Black male adolescents (Lozada et al., 2017), the current research argues that prosocial behaviors and skills (e.g., positive relations with others) are the foundation of behaviors that challenge oppression. Behaviors that aim to disrupt the sociopolitical status quo are rooted in prosocial motivations (e.g., an intent to improve the lives of marginalized communities) and require prosocial skills that enable collective mobilization (e.g., working with people of different social identities to achieve social justice; Rivas-Drake & Bañales, 2018). An understanding of the ways in which youth’s prosocial development is informed by their racial contexts, racial ideology, and socioemotional skills may provide insight into the developmental competencies that promote more critical forms of action among Black male youth across adolescence.

Anyiwo et al.’s (2018) conceptual framework on Black youth’s sociopolitical development suggests that youth’s exposure to (i.e., exposure to parental racial socialization and racial discrimination) and development of sociocultural factors (i.e., racial identity) inform adolescents’ awareness of social issues (i.e., critical social analysis) and involvement in behaviors that challenge the sociopolitical status quo. Parental racial socialization involves parents’ transmission of implicit and explicit messages about race and racism to youth (Hughes et al., 2006). Parents of Black youth are likely to expose youth to conversations and events that increase youth’s awareness of the historical and contemporary oppression of Black Americans (Thomas & Blackmon, 2015). As youth learn about the racial strife of the Black community through cultural

activities and events (i.e., are exposed to behavioral racial socialization), youth may be exposed to information on the oppression of other people of color (e.g., Afro-Latinx and indigenous communities) and other marginalized groups. Racial socialization experiences, such as parental behavioral racial socialization, may stimulate ideological aspects of youth’s racial identity (Stevenson & Arrington, 2009) which may, in turn, promote youth’s involvement in behaviors that advance the lives of others (Lozada et al., 2017).

Black youth’s racial ideologies, or beliefs about how racial group members should think about and act in society, have been conceptually linked to aspects of youth’s sociopolitical development, such as youth’s critical analysis of social issues (Mathews et al., 2019). For instance, the oppressed minority ideology—a racial ideology that includes an acknowledgement that the Black community and other minority groups are united by discrimination experiences (Sellers et al., 1998)—includes a recognition that inequality exists in society and that various social groups experience discrimination. An oppressed minority ideology relies on complex social analysis skills that allow adolescents to recognize that acts of discrimination against Black individuals are not isolated events. Such a critical analysis of oppression is directly associated with adolescents’ involvement in behaviors that promote social justice (Watts et al., 2003) and may represent a positive reappraisal skill that allows youth to cope with and contextualize racial oppression (Stevenson, 2017).

The racial climate of adolescents’ schools has also been theorized as a contextual factor that informs youth’s racial ideology and actions against social injustice (Aldana & Byrd, 2015). There are multiple dimensions of the school racial climate that communicate implicit and explicit messages about race and racism to students, including the interpersonal actions youth have in school as well as the racial socialization messages they receive about race, racism, and intergroup relations from teachers, school officials, and classes (Byrd, 2015). The interpersonal interactions dimension includes youth’s perceptions that their school has an equitable racial climate, or that certain racial groups do not receive differential treatment in comparison with other students. The school racial climate has direct implications for youth’s beliefs about and actions against racism (Aldana & Byrd, 2015; Bañales et al., 2019). For instance, youth who perceive that certain racial groups (e.g., students of color) receive differential treatment in comparison to other groups (e.g., white students) may be sensitized to issues related to social justice and fairness and, in turn, may engage in behaviors that promote more just environments.

Sociopolitical development theory suggests that youth’s beliefs about oppression stimulate “emotional faculties”

and these emotions, in turn, inform behaviors that promote social justice (Watts, Abdul-Adil, & Pratt, 2002). Empathy—or the ability to reflect on and feel connected to other’s emotions and life experiences—has been described as a socioemotional skill that is vital in stimulating youth’s prosocial outcomes (Silke, Brady, Boylan, & Dolan, 2018). As a multidimensional phenomenon, empathy includes cognitive and affective components, self and other awareness, perspective taking, and emotion regulation (Bringle, Hedgepath, & Wall, 2018). Segal (2011) expands an understanding of empathy by arguing that the skill can be grounded in an awareness of social injustice and this awareness may promote involvement in prosocial behaviors that advance the well-being of communities (Merritt & Lozada, 2019; Rivas-Drake & Bañales, 2018).

Consistent with critical consciousness and sociopolitical development theories (Aldana & Byrd, 2015; Anyiwo et al., 2018; Watts et al., 2003), the current study investigates the extent to which racial messages communicated to youth through parental racial socialization behaviors and an equitable school racial climate are associated with youth’s oppressed minority ideology (an aspect of racial identity) and empathy (an emotional faculty or socioemotional skill). We also examine whether youth’s oppressed minority ideology and empathy, in turn, underly associations between racial messages communicated by parents and schools and prosocial outcomes (see Fig. 1). Below, we review empirical research on these proposed pathways.

Parental Behavioral Racial Socialization, Oppressed Minority Ideology, Empathy, and Prosocial Outcomes

There is a small body of research that examines associations between parental racial socialization, racial identity, and prosocial outcomes. For instance, Lozada et al.’s (2017) study with Black male adolescents found that youth who reported that their parents encouraged them to be proud to be Black endorsed an analysis of oppression (i.e., a latent construct of racial identity components that included an oppressed minority ideology). This oppression analysis positively stimulated youth’s prosocial behaviors (e.g., donating money, toys, and clothes to a charity). The positive association between parental racial socialization and prosocial outcomes is further suggested in research with Black emerging adults, finding that youth who were made aware of the reality of racism from their parents were likely to engage in prosocial behaviors that advance the well-being of the Black community (White-Johnson, 2015).

Other studies investigate associations between racial identity and prosocial outcomes among Black male adolescents without considering parental racial socialization. For instance, aspects of racial identity, such as feeling positive about being Black, were positively associated with prosocial behaviors (Harris & Kruger, 2019). This research did not consider adolescents’ oppressed minority ideology as a precursor of youth’s prosocial development.

Conceptual model

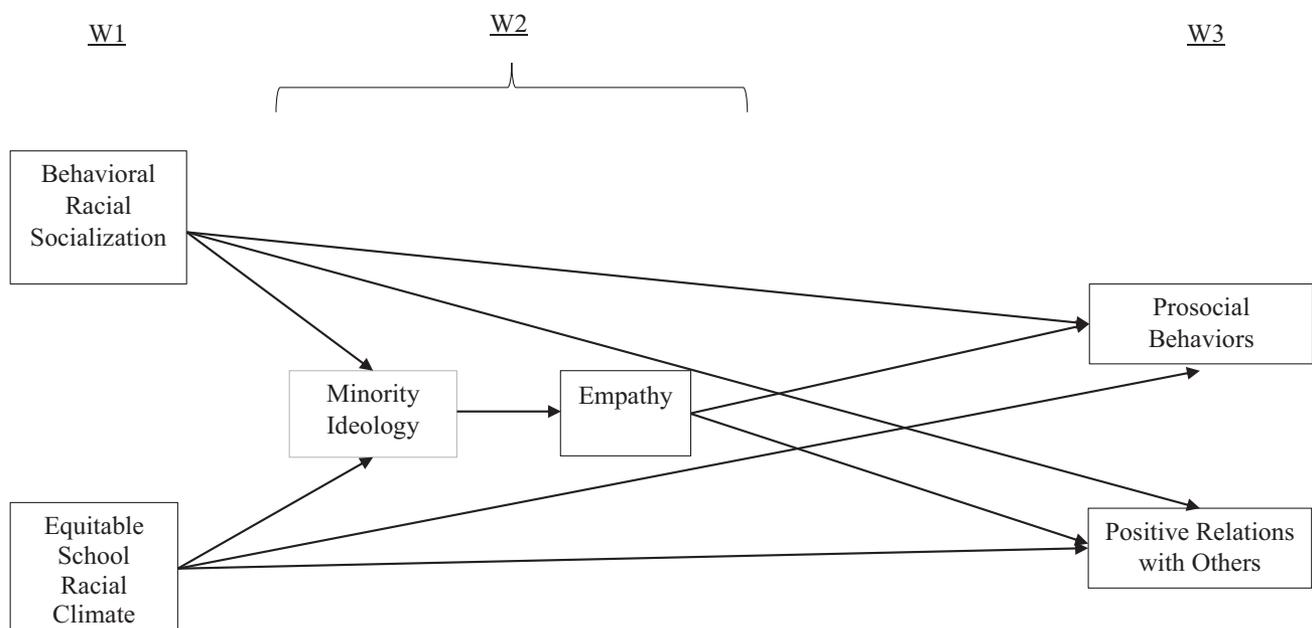


Fig. 1 Conceptual model

There is a large body of research that links socioemotional skills, such as empathy, with prosocial outcomes among adolescents of various racial and ethnic backgrounds (Brittian & Humphries, 2015; Wentzel, Filisetti, & Looney, 2007), including Black adolescents (McMahon et al., 2006). Yet, there is limited empirical research that considers the ways in which empathy might link associations between parental racial socialization, racial identity, and prosocial outcomes among Black male youth. Research with Black male adolescents found that youth who received messages that encouraged them to be proud to be Black were likely to endorse an analysis of oppression that included recognition that the Black community and other marginalized communities are united by shared experiences of oppression (Lozada et al., 2017). This analysis of oppression was positively associated with youth's socioemotional skills, which included empathy, and these skills, in turn, stimulated prosocial behaviors. Supporting this empirical research, theoretical frameworks contend that parental racial socialization may include implicit and explicit lessons, either through verbal or behavioral communication, that increase youth's emotional regulation and coping skills that contribute to positive psychosocial and behavioral outcomes (Anderson & Stevenson, 2019). Additional research is needed to explore the extent to which behavioral racial socialization is associated with prosocial outcomes vis-à-vis an oppressed minority ideology and subsequent empathy development.

Equitable School Racial Climate, Oppressed Minority Ideology, Empathy, and Prosocial Outcomes

Although research that examines the nature of school racial climates (Byrd, 2017; 2018), Black youth's perceptions of the school racial climate (Byrd & Hope, 2020) and associations between these perceptions and academic outcomes (Butler-Barnes et al., 2017; Byrd, 2015) are burgeoning, limited empirical research explores associations between youth's perceptions of an equitable school racial climate, oppressed minority ideology, and prosocial outcomes. Research that examines other aspects of the school climate, youth racial identity, and civic outcomes provides insight into hypothesized pathways examined in the current study. For instance, work with racially/ethnically diverse youth indicated that youth who perceived critical consciousness messages in school (i.e., an aspect of school climate that encourages youth to be cognizant of racism) were more likely to engage in behaviors that challenged racism (Bañales et al., 2019). Other research with Black adolescents found positive bivariate associations between youth's perceptions that teachers and other staff members treated all racial groups fairly and aspects of youth's racial identity, including youth's positive feelings toward being Black and beliefs that others view African Americans positively (Byrd

& Chavous, 2011). Another study that investigated associations between Black adolescents' perceptions of an equitable school racial climate and racial identity among Black girls found no interaction between this dimension of the school racial climate and oppressed minority ideology (Butler-Barnes et al., 2017).

The extent to which youth's racial identity and empathy mediate associations between an equitable school racial climate and prosocial outcomes is unclear. In research that considers school racial socialization, emotions, and actions against racism among racially/ethnically diverse youth, results indicated that youth who reported that their schools discussed the importance of racism in societal outcomes also reported anger toward social injustice and anger, in turn, promoted youth's involvement in actions that challenged interpersonal racism (Bañales et al., 2019). Informed by theoretical work that argues that youth's racial identity and emotional faculties are pathways to actions that promote community well-being (Anyiwo et al., 2018; Merritt & Lozada, 2019; Watts et al., 2003), there is reason to speculate that Black male adolescents' oppressed minority ideology and empathy may translate youth's perceptions of an equitable school climate into prosocial outcomes.

The Current Study

Informed by the above theoretical frameworks and empirical research, the current study examined the ways in which parental behavioral racial socialization and an equitable school racial climate were associated with prosocial behaviors and positive relations with others among Black male adolescents in 6th–11th grade across three timepoints. This study also explored whether adolescents' oppressed minority ideology and empathy mediated these associations. It was hypothesized that parental behavioral racial socialization and an equitable school climate at Wave 1 (W1) would be positively associated with prosocial outcomes at Wave 3 (W3). It was also hypothesized that youth's oppressed minority ideology and empathy at Wave 2 (W2) would positively mediate associations between parental behavioral racial socialization (W1) and prosocial outcomes at Wave 3 (W3), as well as mediate associations between an equitable school climate (W1) and prosocial outcomes (W3). These hypotheses were tested using path analysis via structural equation modeling.

Method

Participants

Participants were 453 Black male adolescents in grades 6–11 from three middle schools and four high schools

across three school districts in a Midwestern metropolitan area. During the first wave of this study, 3.5% of males were in the sixth grade ($n = 16$), 30.7% were in seventh grade ($n = 139$), 20.3% were in eighth grade ($n = 92$), 28.9% were in ninth grade ($n = 131$), 11.0% were in the tenth grade ($n = 50$), and 4.2% were in eleventh grade ($n = 19$). There were missing grade level data for six students (1.4% of the sample). Adolescents ranged in age from 11 to 17 years ($M = 13.72$, $SD = 1.33$). The school districts differed in their racial and socioeconomic composition. School district one served a predominately Black population (65.7% African American; 28.1% White; U.S. Census, 2010) from low- and working-income backgrounds. School district two served a predominately White (76.5% White; 9.4% African American; U.S. Census Bureau, 2010) working-class population. Finally, school district three served a predominately White (79.3% White, 8.7% African American U.S. Census Bureau, 2010) middle- and upper-middle income population.

Procedure

This study protocol was approved by both the Institutional Review Board at a University in the Midwest and the administrators for each of the three participating school districts. Adolescents were recruited at their schools across three waves during the 2010–2011, 2011–2012, and 2012–2013 academic years. Recruitment fliers were distributed during the lunch period and mailed to youth's homes and distributed at parent meetings. Parents consented and adolescents assented prior to survey administration. Surveys took approximately 45 minutes to complete and were administered during adolescents' class period, lunch hour, or after school. Youth were compensated for their participation with a \$20 Visa gift card for each survey completed at each wave of the study. The authors report no conflict of interests with this work.

Measures

Parental Behavioral Racial Socialization

Adolescents' perceptions of behavioral racial socialization from their parents were measured using the Behavioral Messages subscale of the Racial Socialization Questionnaire-teen (RSQ-t; Lesane-Brown, Scottham, Nguyễn, & Sellers, 2006). Youth reported on the frequency with which their parents engaged in race-related behaviors (e.g., "Gone with you to Black cultural events [plays, movies, concerts, museums];" "Gone with you to cultural events involving other races and cultures [plays, movies, and concerts];" five items; $\alpha = .74$) over the past year on a three-point scale: 0 (*never*), 1 (*once or twice*), or 2

(*more than twice*). A mean score was computed across the items with higher scores indicating higher frequency of parental behavioral racial socialization.

Equitable School Racial Climate

Adolescents' perceptions of the school racial climate were assessed using an adapted measure of school climate (Brand, Felner, Shim, Seitsinger, & Dumas, 2003). The adapted measure assessed the extent to which adolescents' perceived certain racial groups received equitable treatment in school (e.g., "Students of all racial groups are treated equally at my school;" five items; $\alpha = .68$) using a five-point scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*always*). A mean score was computed across the items with higher scores indicating a more equitable school racial climate. This adapted measure has been used in empirical research with Black adolescents (Butler-Barnes et al., 2017; Byrd & Chavous, 2011).

Oppressed Minority Ideology

Adolescents' oppressed minority ideology was measured using the *Oppressed Minority Ideology* subscale from the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity-Teen (MIBI-Teen; Scottham, Sellers, & Nguyễn, 2008). Youth reported the extent to which they believed Black people and other minority communities faced similar experiences with discrimination and should work together to address discrimination ("People of all minority groups should stick together and fight discrimination;" six items; $\alpha_{(\text{wave}1)} = .58$; $\alpha_{(\text{wave}2)} = .68$) on a five-point scale from 1 (*really disagree*) to 5 (*really agree*). A mean score was computed across the items with higher scores indicating a higher endorsement of the oppressed minority ideology.

Empathy

Adolescents' empathy was measured using the *Empathy* subscale from the Social Skills Rating System (grades 7–12; Gresham & Elliott, 1990). Youth indicated the frequency with which they engaged in social behaviors that represented empathy (e.g., "I try to understand how my friends feel when they are angry, upset or sad;" 10 items; $\alpha_{(\text{wave}1)} = .82$; $\alpha_{(\text{wave}2)} = .84$) on a three-point scale of 0 (*never*), 1 (*sometimes*), and 2 (*very often*). A mean score was computed across all items with higher scores indicating greater levels of empathy.

Prosocial Behaviors

Adolescents' engagement in prosocial behaviors was measured with a scale developed by the Developmental

Studies Center (Solomon, Battistich, Watson, Schaps, & Lewis, 2000). Youth indicated the frequency with which they engaged in behaviors that positively contributed to the well-being of community members (e.g., Have you donated money, toys, clothes, or other things to a charity or someone in need?;" nine items; $\alpha_{(\text{wave}2)} = .81$; $\alpha_{(\text{wave}3)} = .85$) on a five-point scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*more than 10 times*). A mean score was computed across all items with higher scores indicating higher frequency of prosocial behaviors. At W2 and W3, the majority of youth reported participating in some type of prosocial behavior 3–5 times a week.

Positive Relations with Others

Youth's perceptions of their positive social relations with others were measured using the *Positive Relations with Others* subscale from the shortened version of the psychological well-being scale (Ryff, 1989). Adolescents indicated the extent to which they had positive relations with others ("My friends and I sympathize with each other's problems;" four items; $\alpha_{(\text{wave}2)} = .50$; $\alpha_{(\text{wave}3)} = .51$) on a five-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). A mean score was computed across all items with higher scores indicating higher perception of positive social relations with others.

Analytic Approach

The distribution of variables was examined, finding that variables were normally distributed with skewness statistics less than two and kurtosis values less than seven (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). Descriptive statistics and correlations were conducted for variables (see Table 1). Hypotheses on direct effects between parental and school racial socialization and prosocial outcomes were tested with path analyses via structural equation modeling (SEM) using Stata/SE version 14 (StataCorp, 2015). The mediating effects of oppressed minority ideology and empathy in relations between parental behavioral racial socialization and equitable school climate and prosocial outcomes were tested using bootstrap mediation analysis using full information maximum likelihood estimation. Each model was conducted with 2000 bootstraps.

Three fit indices were used to examine overall model fit: chi-square (χ^2), the comparative fit index (CFI), and the root-mean-square-error of approximation (RMSEA) (Kline, 2015). Model fit was considered adequate or good if chi-square was non-significant, CFI was greater than or equal to .95, and the RMSEA was less than or equal to .05 (Hu & Bentler, 1999; Kline, 2015). Missing data were handled using full information maximum likelihood (Enders, 2013).

Results

The hypothesized model (Fig. 2) demonstrated good fit: $\chi^2 (df = 16) = 20.91, p = .182$; CFI = 0.96; RMSEA = 0.03 (90% CI: 0.00–0.05). In contrast to study hypotheses, parental behavioral racial socialization and equitable school racial climate at W1 had no significant direct effects on prosocial behaviors or positive social relations at W3. Instead, parental behavioral racial socialization and equitable school racial climate at W1 were positively associated with oppressed minority ideology at W2, controlling for previous levels of oppressed minority ideology. Oppressed minority ideology at W2 was positively associated with empathy at W2. There was a significant direct effect of empathy (W2) on prosocial behaviors (W3), and positive relations with others (W3), controlling for previous levels of prosocial behaviors and positive relations with others.

There were significant indirect effects of parental behavioral racial socialization (W1) through oppressed minority ideology and empathy ($\beta = .11, p = .038, CI = 0.01–0.24$) on positive relations with others (W3). Oppressed minority ideology (W2) had an indirect effect through empathy (W2) on positive relations with others (W3; $\beta = .34, p = .023, CI = 0.05–0.63$). Equitable school racial climate (W1; $\beta = .34, p = .054, CI = -0.02$ to 0.55) had a marginal indirect effect through oppressed minority ideology and empathy (W2) on positive relations with others (W3). No indirect effects were found for equitable school racial climate (W1; $\beta = .03, p = .189, CI = -0.09$ to 0.09), parental behavioral racial socialization (W1; $\beta = .07, p = .165, CI = -0.03$ to 0.16), or oppressed minority ideology (W2; $\beta = .21, p = .100, CI = -0.04$ to 0.45) on prosocial behaviors (W3). Within the estimated model, 20% of the variance in oppressed minority ideology (W2), 25% of the variance in empathy (W2), 44% of the variance in prosocial behaviors (W3), and 55% of the variance in positive relations with others (W3) was accounted by parental behavioral racial socialization and an equitable school racial climate.

Sensitivity Analyses

To ensure the hypothesized model did not vary by school district racial composition (i.e., predominately Black vs. predominately White), separate multi-group models were examined. First, an unconstrained model that freely estimated paths across groups was conducted. Next, a fully constrained model that constrained path estimates across groups to equality was estimated. A chi-square difference test determined whether there were significant differences in model paths based on school district group. The chi-square difference test was not significant [$\Delta \chi^2 (\Delta$

Table 1 Means, standard deviation, and intercorrelations for study variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Age (W1) <i>M</i> = 13.72, <i>SD</i> = 1.32	–	–0.06	0.00	0.08	–0.03	–0.06	0.00	0.07	0.22	–0.06	–0.05
2. Equitable School Racial Climate (W1) <i>M</i> = 3.56, <i>SD</i> = 0.81	–	–	–0.05	0.16**	0.26**	0.29**	0.30**	0.22*	0.14	0.20*	0.17
3. Behavioral Racial Socialization (W1) <i>M</i> = 0.97, <i>SD</i> = 0.51	–	–	–	0.15**	0.25**	0.09	0.28**	0.21*	0.13	0.11	0.16
4. Oppressed Minority Ideology (W1) <i>M</i> = 3.84, <i>SD</i> = 0.78	–	–	–	–	0.40**	0.22**	0.26**	0.23*	0.02	0.10	0.00
5. Oppressed Minority Ideology (W2) <i>M</i> = 3.96, <i>SD</i> = 0.73	–	–	–	–	–	0.23*	0.39**	0.28**	0.10	0.22*	0.18
6. Empathy (W1) <i>M</i> = 1.33, <i>SD</i> = 0.38	–	–	–	–	–	–	0.51**	0.48**	0.33*	0.32**	0.22
7. Empathy (W2) <i>M</i> = 1.37, <i>SD</i> = 0.37	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0.46**	0.46*	0.36**	0.66**
8. Prosocial Behaviors (W2) <i>M</i> = 3.43, <i>SD</i> = 0.77	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0.68**	0.10	0.16
9. Prosocial Behaviors (W3) <i>M</i> = 3.46, <i>SD</i> = 0.82	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0.15	0.25
10. Positive Relations with Others (W2) <i>M</i> = 3.68, <i>SD</i> = 0.67	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0.55**
11. Positive Relations with Others (W3) <i>M</i> = 3.60, <i>SD</i> = 0.67	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

**p* < .05
 ***p* < .01
 ****p* < .001

Standardized coefficients of path analysis predicting prosocial outcomes at Wave 3

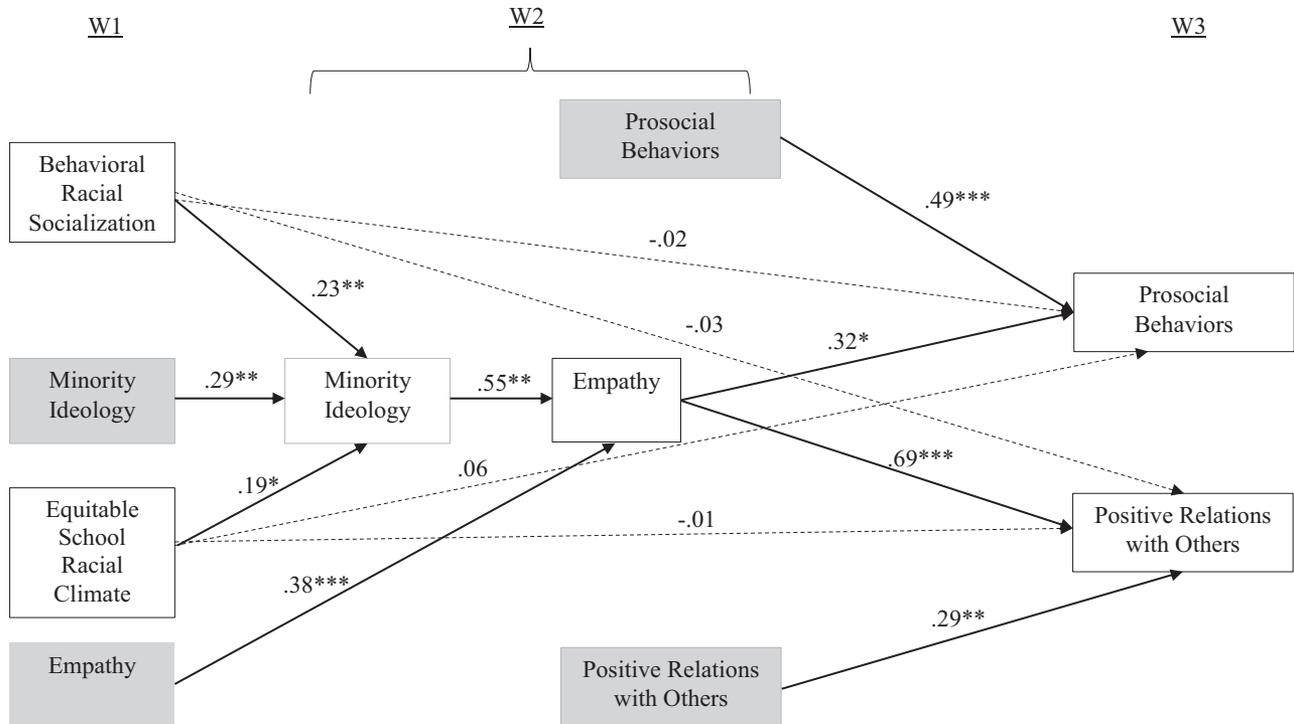


Fig. 2 Standardized coefficients of path analysis predicting prosocial outcomes at Wave 3. Note. $\chi^2 = 20.91$, *p* = .182, CFI = 0.96, RMSEA = 0.03. All endogenous variables were allowed to co-vary. Light grey boxes indicate control variables, and dotted lines denote non-significant paths. W = Wave

$df = 32) = 78.27, p = .507]$, indicating that associations in the hypothesized model were not significantly different for Black male adolescents in predominately Black schools and Black male adolescents in predominately White schools. Therefore, the hypothesized model is presented as a single-group model.

Given the broad age range of adolescents (11–17), age was examined as a covariate at each wave of the model. Age was not a significant predictor ($p > .05$) of any outcome variable (i.e., oppressed minority ideology and empathy at W2; prosocial behaviors and positive relations with others at W3). Thus, for model parsimony, age was excluded as a covariate in the final model.

Discussion

Psychological research, cultural practices, policy, and rhetoric in United States frame Black men and boys as risks to themselves and society (Rowley et al., 2014; Stevenson, 2017). Failing to acknowledge the full humanity of Black males has grave consequences on their lives, as underscored by the murders of Black adolescents and men, such as Trayvon Martin, Tamir Rice, Michael Brown, Ahmaud Arbery, and George Floyd and many others. The current research aimed to challenge “risk and peril” narratives of Black boys and men by investigating the ways in which Black male adolescents are assets to their communities. To do so, the current research integrated theoretical work and empirical research on critical consciousness, sociopolitical development, racial socialization, and racial identity to inform an understanding of race-related factors (i.e., parental and school racial socialization, oppressed minority ideology) and socioemotional skills (i.e., empathy) that stimulate prosocial outcomes among Black male adolescents (Aldana & Byrd, 2015; Anyiwo et al., 2018; Watts et al., 2002).

A key finding was that parental behavioral racial socialization at W1 was positively associated with positive relations with others at W3 through oppressed minority ideology and empathy at W2. These results support theoretical work that argues that youth’s racial identity is key in translating parental racial socialization experiences into actions that promote community well-being among Black adolescents (Anyiwo et al., 2018). The current findings expand this work for its ability to test the role of youth’s oppressed minority ideology—an aspect of Black youth’s racial identity that receives scant attention in empirical research—in promoting youth’s involvement in behaviors that promote community well-being (Mathews et al., 2019). This finding also supports theoretical and empirical research that argues that

emotions are key in stimulating youth’s learning about race and racism in social contexts, and subsequent awareness of racial inequality into prosocial action (Bringle et al., 2018; Watts et al., 2002).

Black male adolescents learn about the Black community, other races, and cultures by attending cultural events, organization meetings, and reading materials about Black communities’ unique sociohistorical experiences with race and racism in the United States. At the same time, youth may also learn about other marginalized communities’ (e.g., people of color) experiences with oppression during these activities. Explicit, or intentional, racial socialization experiences (e.g., parental behavioral racial socialization) have the potential to increase youth’s awareness that multiple marginalized groups face inequality in society and socioemotional skills, including empathy (Lozada et al., 2017). Current study findings suggest that Black male adolescents who recognize that the Black community and other marginalized communities are united by oppression develop the socioemotional skill of empathy or “walking in others’ shoes.” The ability to relate to others through an awareness that oppression is shared among marginalized communities (i.e., oppressed minority ideology) may represent an aspect of youth’s social empathy—a form of empathy that includes an awareness that certain groups face inequitable experiences and a sense of connection to others’ lived experiences (Segal, 2011). The development of empathy and an oppressed minority ideology are key in supporting youth’s prosocial connections with others and involvement in behaviors that advance social justice (Christens, Inzeo, & Faust, 2014; Rivas-Drake & Bañales, 2018).

Adolescents’ oppressed minority ideology and empathy did not display the same mediation effect between parental behavioral racial socialization and prosocial behaviors. Instead, empathy at W2 was the only construct that was associated with prosocial behaviors at W3 beyond prosocial behaviors at W2. The direct association between empathy and prosocial behaviors is consistent with research on predictors of prosocial behavior among adolescents (Silke et al., 2018), but also extends this body of work for its ability to replicate this finding among a sample of Black male adolescents—a group of youth who receive minimal attention in prosocial development research (see Harris & Kruger, 2019; Harris, Spencer, Kruger, & Irving, 2019; Lozada et al., 2017; McMahon et al., 2006 for exceptions). Although empathy is a relational skill that may motivate individuals to engage in behaviors that benefit the lives of others (Bringle et al., 2018; Merritt & Lozada, 2019), this skill, alone, and in addition to an oppressed minority ideology, was not sufficient in linking parental behavioral socialization and prosocial behaviors. Programs that are grounded in the

principles of hip hop culture are particularly beneficial in promoting socioemotional skills, a critical analysis of oppression, and prosocial outcomes among African American male adolescents (Watts et al., 2002). Additional research that examines qualitative differences between prosocial behaviors and positive relations with others among Black male adolescents, and the ways in which an oppressed minority ideology and empathy may differentially stimulate these aspects of prosocial development, is needed. This work should investigate whether certain racial socialization messages across home, school, and programmatic contexts stimulate an oppressed minority ideology, empathy, and subsequent prosocial behavior development.

Surprisingly, the association between adolescents' perceptions of an equitable school racial climate and prosocial outcomes (both prosocial behaviors and positive relations with others) were not mediated by youth's oppressed minority ideology or empathy. In fact, an equitable school racial climate was only associated with an oppressed minority ideology. Theoretical work on dimensions of school racial climate suggests that schools communicate implicit and explicit messages about race, racism, and intergroup relations to youth (Aldana & Byrd, 2015). Youth's awareness that certain racial groups receive differential treatment by teachers and other school officials (e.g., Black youth are more likely to be reprimanded than White students for engaging in similar behaviors) may represent a form of implicit racial socialization, as these events implicitly communicate that certain racial groups are more valuable than others, although there are instances in which youth's worth is explicitly communicated through inequitable treatment in school (Byrd, 2018). Implicit school racial messages may stimulate youth's awareness of racism in school and society (Aldana & Byrd, 2015); however, these messages may not be sufficient in stimulating youth's empathy and prosocial outcomes.

Previous research finds that school racial socialization messages that increase youth's awareness of racism through coursework and other opportunities provided at school are associated with youth's anger towards social injustice and subsequent interpersonal action against racism (Bañales et al., 2019). Thus, it could be that more explicit forms of school racial socialization stimulate youth's empathy and subsequent prosocial development among Black male adolescents. Future research that explores associations between explicit and implicit forms of school racial socialization, racial identity, emotions, and prosocial outcomes among Black male adolescents is needed to further inform these questions.

Limitations and Future Directions for Research

The current study elucidates contextual and individual psychological pathways in Black male adolescents' prosocial outcomes; however, it is not without limitations. First, this study relies on self-report data from participating adolescents. Such data may be vulnerable to issues of recall bias and social desirability. However, given our interest in Black male adolescents' perceptions of their environments, racial ideology, emotion, and prosocial outcomes, we believed self-report was a valuable data collection method for the present study. Future studies should consider how Black male adolescents' experiences and self-perceptions coincide with how others (e.g., parents, teachers) perceive them. Second, our measure of an oppressed minority ideology had a low internal consistency, according to Cronbach's alpha ($\alpha = .58$); yet our sample estimate is comparable to other studies (French & Coleman, 2012; Stevenson & Arrington, 2009). This low alpha could be partly attributed to the limited number of items used to assess the ideology (i.e., three items) as there is a relationship between alpha estimate and the number of items used to assess a construct (Streiner, 2003). Future work should address limitations associated with the oppressed minority subscale with additional psychometric work.

Finally, future research should explore the role of other aspects of the school racial climate, parental racial socialization, racial identity, and emotions on prosocial outcomes among Black male adolescents. For instance, previous research with racially/ethnically diverse adolescents found that youth who perceived color-blind messages in schools, or messages that encouraged youth to not reflect on the reality of racism in society, were less likely to be angry towards social justice and this reduced anger, in turn, was associated with less involvement in interpersonal action against racism (Bañales et al., 2019). Parental racial socialization and Black youth's racial identity are also multidimensional (Hughes et al., 2006; Sellers et al., 1998), and an examination of how other aspects of these processes are associated with Black male adolescents' prosocial development is needed. It could be that youth who receive messages from their parents about the deep-seated nature of anti-Black racism are more likely to develop ideologies on the importance of supporting Black communities which may, in turn, stimulate youth's involvement in prosocial behaviors that advance the well-being of Black people. Research that considers multiple dimensions of youth's home and school contexts will elucidate whether certain racial socialization messages at home or in school are more likely to promote certain aspects of youth's racial identity, socioemotional skills,

and subsequent prosocial outcomes among Black male adolescents.

Implications for Practice and Policy

Current study findings have implications for the development of programs and policy that aim to further support the prosocial development of Black male adolescents. To reiterate, youth were likely to engage in 3–5 prosocial activities a week in their everyday lives. Thus, programmatic efforts should capitalize on the prosocial tendencies and behaviors Black male adolescents already display. Considering youth's home context, Black parents' behavioral racial socialization should be supported, given current study findings on positive associations between parental behavioral racial socialization at W1 with positive relations with others at W3 through oppressed minority ideology and empathy at W2. A discussion of how different racial socialization practices and methods might be associated with unique psychosocial (e.g., other aspects of racial identity, critical analysis of oppression) and behavioral outcomes (e.g., prosocial behaviors) would be beneficial to underscore that racial socialization conversations and behaviors are important for positive youth development. For example, preparation for bias socialization is associated with Black youth's ability to critique the structural causes of racial oppression (Bañales et al., 2019). Supporting parents' behavioral racial socialization, in addition to other forms of parental racial socialization, will be key in further facilitating Black male adolescents' capacities as prosocial members in their communities.

Programs and interventions that aim to further support Black male youth's prosocial development should consider that youth are learning about race, racism, and race relations in their homes and at schools and that youth may be exposed to different messages across these contexts, which might have implications for youth's racial identity development. Given the importance of racial socialization across home and school contexts, there is a need to coordinate family-level programmatic efforts that support racial socialization and positive psychosocial development among Black families (Anderson, McKenny, Mitchell, Koku, & Stevenson, 2018) with school-level practices that encourage school officials and Black students to discuss youth's racialized experiences at home and in school. Providing youth with structured opportunities to discuss the unique racial experiences Black people face in the United States due to anti-Black racism, as well as investigate how anti-Black racism is woven into the functioning of other systems of oppression may increase youth's cognitive capacities, such as an oppressed minority ideology, that support their prosocial development.

Conclusion

Black male adolescents are viewed as risks to themselves, communities, and broader society (Rowley et al., 2014; Stevenson, 2017). The current research challenges this narrative by investigating the contextual (i.e., parental behavioral racial socialization, equitable school racial climate) and individual psychological factors (i.e., oppressed minority ideology, empathy) that promote youth's prosocial outcomes (i.e., prosocial behaviors, positive relations with others) across adolescence. Grounded in critical consciousness and sociopolitical development theories (Aldana & Byrd, 2015; Anyiwo et al., 2018; Watts et al., 2002), current study findings underscore the importance parents play in the prosocial development of Black male adolescents. That is, the opportunities parents provide Black male adolescents to learn about their race and culture, as well as the cultural experiences of other oppressed groups, through behavioral racial socialization are key in stimulating youth's awareness that the Black community and other marginalized communities are united by oppression. Youth's ability to relate to others' through oppression (i.e., oppressed minority ideology and empathy) was key in positively mediating the association between parental behavioral racial socialization and positive relations with others.

As Black male adolescents and adults continue to face threats to their livelihood, there is a need for empirical research that highlights the ways in which Black young men are assets to their communities. This research has the potential to reveal the contextual factors that promote Black male adolescents' prosocial development, in addition to the psychological strengths Black male adolescents already possess. Results from this research may inform the development of programs and policies that recognize and counteract the ways in which institutional and interpersonal racism infringe on the positive development of Black male adolescents.

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