ABSTRACT

Title of Document: RACE AND SELF IMAGE: HOW MOTHERS' SOCIALIZATION MATTERS

Heather Elizabeth Ridolfo, M.A., 2007

Directed By: Melissa Milkie, Ph.D. Department of Sociology

For adolescents, having a strong Self is an important component of entering into adulthood successfully. Research suggests that despite living in a society often hostile to them, Black adolescents have Selves that is at least as strong as Whites. Using Add Health data, a nationally representative sample of Black (N=652) and White (N=1592) girls I explore racial differences in self-concepts in U.S. adolescent females. Drawing on Rosenberg's contextual theory and Black Feminist theory, this study posits that black mothers' unique socialization of their daughters may help to explain Black girls' advantaged Selves. Black girls are significantly better off than white girls on measures of the Self, and mothers' socialization may help explain some of the race differences. Black mothers were found to be more supportive, more encouraging of daughters' independence, and to have higher academic aspirations for their daughters. These factors were found to positively influence aspects of daughters' self-concept.

RACE AND SELF IMAGE: HOW MOTHERS' SOCIALIZATION MATTERS

By

Heather Elizabeth Ridolfo

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Advisory Committee:
Professor Melissa Milkie, Chair
Professor Jeff Lucas
Professor Laura Mamo

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION

Adolescence is a critical time for the development of the self-concept. During adolescence, individuals experience significant physical and cognitive changes that affect one's self-image. Physical changes brought on by puberty and the increased capacity for introspection requires young people to adjust their thoughts and feelings regarding their bodies (Richards, Boxer, Petersen, and Albrecht 1990) and their self-evaluations. Research has found considerable disruptions and inconsistencies in the self-concept of adolescent girls, with females experiencing a significantly more disturbed self-image as they move through adolescence than males (Zimmerman, Copeland, Shope & Dielman 1997; Block & Robins 1993; Harter 1993; Simmons and Rosenberg 1975).

Concern about the well-being of adolescent girls has permeated both academic and popular discourses in recent years, with some groups contending that as girls move through adolescence they experience declines in self-esteem and body image (Gilligan 1982; Pipher 1994). Supporters of the "girlhood crisis" purport that young girls growing up in a patriarchal society are denied full expression of their authentic selves, which in turn has detrimental effects on the development of a strong self-image (Gilligan 1982). The proliferation of the girlhood crisis throughout both popular and academic discourses has led to the use of this crisis as an explanation for numerous social problems that plague some young women today, such as eating disorders, promiscuous behavior, poor grades, high school drop out rates and teen pregnancy (Pipher 1994; Orenstein 1994).

One of the major critiques of the "girlhood crisis" is that it has proliferated within popular discourses, despite little scientific evidence to support its claims (Hyde 2005).

The majority of research used to support the idea of a "girlhood crisis" focuses primarily on the experiences of middle and upper class white girls and has largely overlooked lower income and minority youths' experiences. Research findings used by supporters of this "crisis" may not be generalizable as they are based on girls in clinical settings (Pipher 1994) and ethnographic observations of girls in two school settings (Orenstein 1994). Despite the lack of systematic evaluation of gender and race differences in the self-concept of adolescents, these findings are widely accepted as being applicable to the experiences of all young girls. If a girlhood crisis does in fact exist, it may be experienced differently based on race, with blacks and whites for example differentially affected.

Research that examines the self-concepts of black adolescents provides support for the idea that not all young girls experience a self "crisis" during adolescence. Surprisingly, although African-Americans live in a society often hostile to them, they appear to be able to maintain strong selves. Researchers have established consistent findings of positive global self-image among urban black youth (see Simmons, Black & Zhou 1991 for a review of this literature). Research on body image also finds significant differences within Western cultures. White females are more likely to report negative body image and self-esteem than black females (Milkie 1999; Simmmons, Black & Zhou 1991; Simmons, Black, Bush & Blyth 1978; Levinson, Powell, and Steelman 1986; Molloy and Herzberger 1998; Perez and Joiner 2003; White and Grilo 2005). Although body image has not been traditionally examined in the self-concept literature, research has found body image to be an important self-evaluation for the adolescent girl. In addition, research has found racial differences in the positive possible selves of adolescent girls, with black girls holding higher academic aspirations that their white

peers (Simmons & Rosenberg 1975). Possible selves are one's ideas regarding the selves they would like to become and what they are afraid of becoming.

While previous research shows differences in the self-concepts of black and white girls, few studies have been conducted on representative samples of Black versus White adolescent girls, nor have there been systematic attempts to explain *why* Black girls may have advantaged selves. Examining young girls socialization by significant others may help explain racial differences in self-image. Mothers are important agents of both racial and gender socialization of young adults. The unique social experiences of mothers based on race may lead to differential socialization of their adolescent daughters. According to Dugger (1988), the intersection of gender and race create distinct historical experiences for white and black women and differentially affect their gender role beliefs and definitions of femininity. Black mothers, in order to protect their daughters from the negative views of the dominant society, may maintain unique connections with their daughters in which they push their daughters to be self-sufficient and achievement oriented and more satisfied with their bodies. In doing so, black mothers may better protect their daughters' self-image. Through examining the socialization experiences of adolescent girls, we can gain a greater understanding of the self-concept differences by race at a critical juncture for successful early adulthood.

In this thesis I use a nationally representative sample of adolescent girls to examine whether or not a girlhood crisis in the form of "weak" selves is experienced similarly by black and white girls. Specifically, this study examines how race affects four aspects of the self-image: self-esteem, mastery, body image and possible selves. If racial differences do exist, how do we explain these differences? I hypothesize that mothers'

differential socialization patterns may contribute to our understanding of these racial differences in the experience of a girlhood "crisis". Four aspects of mothers' socialization are explored: mothers' support, mothers' academic aspirations for daughters, mothers' encouragement of independence and mothers' nontraditional ideology. These will be examined from the perspectives of both mothers and daughters. The review of the literature is organized in three sections: A review of the girlhood "crisis" literature; a review of the self-concept literature; and finally a theoretical background, which draws on both feminist theory and the sociological social psychology literature.

Chapter 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The Girlhood Crisis

Supporters of the girlhood crisis contend that as girls move through adolescence they experience a significant decline in self-esteem. The idea of a girlhood crisis made its way into popular discourse in the early 1990s with the work of Mary Pipher and others, who examined how adolescent girls internalize structural inequalities such as, sexism, capitalism, and looksism. According to Gilligan and Pipher (1994), adolescent girls are unable to maintain a strong sense of self in the face of multiple oppressions encountered based on their gender. Evidence for this claim has been supported in the literature. Young girls have been found to experience significant declines in self-esteem as they transition through adolescence (Block & Robins 1993; Simmons & Blyth 1987). However, as other authors have pointed out, these works focused on the lived experiences of middle class whites and failed to take into account racial and economic differences of adolescent girls (Aapola et al 2005; Bettie 2003).

Opponents of this theory have challenged the notion that all girls experience a loss of self-image or "girlhood crisis" as some have labeled it (Aapola, Gonick, & Harris 2005). During the same time the girlhood crisis movement was occurring, an oppositional discourse developed which suggested that young girls today were more empowered than previous generations before them. The "girl power" movement has taken on various meanings and has been claimed by various subgroups, however all proponents of the girl power movement assert that it represents a new feminist ideal, which projects images of young girls as possessing agency and a strong sense of self. The girl power movement

supplants the old discourse of passivity, silencing, and vulnerability of adolescent girls (Aaopola, Gonick, & Harris 2005).

One of the major critiques of the girlhood crisis thesis is that it overlooks lower income and minority youths' experiences. The works of Gilligan (1982) and Pipher (1994) have been argued to privilege a particular group: the white middle-class and, in doing so, assume one groups' experience to be the proxy for all others. Critics such as Aapola et al (2005) and Bettie (2003) contend that in order to fully understand girls' experiences in the transition from childhood to adulthood, one must take into account their racial, ethnic and class positioning in addition to their gender. Bettie's (2003) ethnographic examination into the lives of working class white and Mexican-American adolescent girls found the enactment of femininity to vary greatly among different subgroups. Bettie (2003) argues that although these groups are often labeled as "at risk" they are actually rejecting "school sanctioned" notions of femininity and creating a unique feminine ideal in response to the limitations they experienced due to institutional racism and classism (Bettie 2003). This research demonstrates that a strong sense of self can be enacted through agency and these findings make the girlhood "crisis" theory problematic.

In order to engage in this debate, I examine the self-concepts of white and black adolescent girls. While there is a great need for research which examines gender and race intersections, I limit this research to adolescent females. In addition to examining differences in the self-concept of adolescents, it is important to understand how the self-concept develops as a direct result of one's social environment. Understanding how the self-concept develops differently among various groups provides important insight into

the prevention and understanding of social problems, such as the "girlhood crisis". The following section will outline the importance of examining the self-concept in adolescence and provides a review of the self-concept literature and differences found between black and white adolescents.

Self-Concept

In this section, I review four aspects of the self-concept, focusing on race differences in adolescence. The self-concept is the totality of the individual's thoughts and feelings about oneself as an object (Rosenberg 1986). According to Rosenberg, the self-concept is highly dependent on reflected appraisals; the individual comes to view herself based on how she perceives others to view her. Individuals develop self-evaluations and possible identities based on the messages they receive through interaction with their social worlds. Four aspects of the self-concept that have been viewed as arising through social interaction are self-esteem, mastery, body image and "possible selves" (Rosenberg 1986; Mead 1934; Markus and Nurius 1986).

Adolescence is an important transition period during the lifecourse. As adolescents move from childhood to adulthood, they begin to form identities and contemplate their possible future selves. Self-esteem, mastery and body image are important self-evaluations in the lives of adolescents, as they provide individuals feedback on their personal attributes and their current and future abilities. Possible selves are an important aspect of the self-concept because they provide an evaluative and interpretive context for one's current view of the self (Markus and Nurius 1986) and motivations for the future.

These four aspects of the self-concept have important implications for current and future outcomes for adolescents. Self-esteem and body image, in particular have been linked to health problems such as smoking (Abernathy, Massad & Romanodwyer 1995), alcohol consumption (Epstein, Griffin, Botvin 2004) and eating disorders and suicidal ideation (McGee & Williams 2000). Possible selves (and possibly efficacy) provide adolescents with visions of their future selves and have important implications for motivation to engage in behaviors ranging from risk taking to excelling in academics (Oyserman & Markus 1990; Leondari et al (1998). Therefore, it is important to understand ways in which adolescent girls can maintain a positive self-image as they transition to adulthood. Below I discus the four aspect of self-image: self-esteem, self-efficacy, body image and possible selves.

Self-Esteem

Self-esteem is defined as a positive or negative orientation to one's self. It is represented by feelings of self-respect and self-worth (Rosenberg, 1986). Adolescent self-esteem has been studied at length in both sociology and psychology. Research findings suggest that girls experience a significant decline in self-esteem during adolescence (Block & Robins 1993; Simmons & Blyth 1987). Whereas the self-esteem of preadolescent girls appears to be equal to that of male peers, as girls' move through adolescence their self-esteem decreases sharply. However, these findings are often based on analyses of white adolescent girls. Research which has examined gender and race differences in the self-esteem of adolescents has found a greater sex difference for whites than for blacks, with white males being more likely to have higher self-esteem than white

females and while little differences are found between blacks males and females (see Gray-Little & Hafdahl 2000 for a review). In addition, black girls have been found to have higher self-esteem than their white male and female peers (Simmons, Black, & Zhou 1991; Simmons, Black, Bush & Blyth 1978), which calls into question the idea of a uniform "girlhood crisis". Findings of higher self-esteem among black adolescents have been attributed to positive family love and evaluation, as well as peer comparisons (Simmons, Black, and Zhou, 1991), although this assertion has not been tested. Black adolescents are more likely to be making social comparisons to other blacks and not to whites (Rosenberg 1986). Rosenberg's work on consonant environments shows black adolescents who live in consonant environments are more likely to make social comparisons with others of the same race (Rosenberg 1986).

Despite findings of both racial and gender differences in the self-esteem of adolescents, little research has examined the factors that may explain the race gap. Families play an important role in the socialization of young adults and racial differences in child rearing may affect the types of messages adolescents receive regarding their self-worth. However, researchers have neglected to look at how racial differences in parenting affect children's self-images. Family research has found adolescent self-esteem to be strongly associated with parental support (Gecas, 1971). Demo, Small & Savin-Williams' (1987) research on upper and middle class whites found adolescent self-esteem to be most associated with children's' perceptions of their communications with their parents and parents' participation in their children's lives. In addition, research which examines gender differences in self-esteem has found girls' self-esteem in particular to be positively associated with family support (Hoelter & Harper 1987; Gecas & Schwalbe

1986) as well as parental participation in the girls' lives (Gecas & Schwalbe 1986). In contrast to consistent findings of the relationship between parental support and self-esteem, findings on the effects of parental control or autonomy from parents have been mixed. Some studies have indicated that self-esteem is unaffected by parental control or autonomy (Gecas & Schwalbe 1986), whereas others have found parental control to be inversely related to adolescent self-esteem (Demo et al 1987).

Mastery

Mastery has been examined less often in the social psychology literature in comparison to self-esteem. However, mastery has been increasingly recognized as an important element of the self-concept. Mastery has taken on several different labels, such as locus of control, self-efficacy, and sense of control. For the purposes of this study, I use Pearlin's definition of mastery; the amount of control one believes they have over conditions that determine the outcomes in their life (Pearlin and Poli 2002). The development of mastery as a self-concept is dependent upon the opportunity to experience effective performance (Gecas and Schwalbe 1983; Ross and Mirowsky 2003). When one is unable to achieve one's goals, it can lead to a sense of powerlessness. In addition, sociologist also attribute individuals' inability to build mastery skills to structural inconsistency, a social phenomenon that occurs when "society defines certain goals, purposes, and interests as legitimate and desirable and also defines the proper procedures for movement toward the objectives but does not provide adequate resources and opportunities for achieving the objectives through legitimate means" (Rose and Mirowsky 2003:427). Individuals who experience a sense of powerlessness in addition to

structural inconsistency are likely to believe their lack of success is due to external controls (Ross and Mirowsky 2003).

Research shows that individuals' social statuses are related to their sense of control or mastery. Mastery is associated with individuals' socioeconomic status, education and income (Pearlin and Poli 2002). Structural constraints such as occupational segregation may limit women and racial minorities to jobs that may limit their sense of power, autonomy, and personal control (McLeod and Nonnemaker 1999; Ross and Mirowksy 2003). Hughes and Demo (1989) found socioeconomic status to be the most significant predictor of personal efficacy among black adults. In addition, quality of family relationship, age and gender affect self-efficacy levels, with males experiencing higher levels of efficacy.

Although much of the research on self-efficacy has looked at adults only, some research has explored self-efficacy among adolescents. Lewis, Ross & Mirowsky (1999), for example, investigated changes in self-efficacy from adolescence to early adulthood and found a positive relationship of self-efficacy with age. However, this research was based on cross-sectional data and therefore causal conclusions cannot be drawn. Similar to Pearlin and Poli's (2003) argument, adolescents' whose parents were well educated were found to have significantly higher levels of personal control than those whose parents were less educated. This study found that without controlling for SES, blacks were found to have lower self-efficacy than white, however once SES was controlled for, blacks were found to have higher levels of perceived control than did non-Hispanic whites (Lewis et al 1999).

Body Image

Body image is typically measured in the literature using one of two types of evaluations: perceptual body size distortion or cognitive-evaluation dissatisfaction. Perceptual body size distortion occurs when one exhibits difficulty is accurately gauging their body size, whereas cognitive evaluation dissatisfaction refers to attitudinal evaluations of one's body leading to satisfaction or dissatisfaction in one's body size and shape (Cash & Deagle 1997). For the purposes of this study, I examine perceptual body size distortions only. The prevalence of body image dissatisfaction reported by women and adolescent girls has been extensively documented. The majority of studies report significant differences in the body images of white and black females. In a national survey of women, Cash and Henry (1993) found nearly one half of all women report an unfavorable view of their bodies on a global measure of body image. However, when this sample was divided by race, African American women were found to have a more positive body image than white and Hispanic women (Cash and Henry 1993). In addition, research shows that when African American women do suffer from negative body image, it appears to have little effect on their self-concept as a whole. In a study of young, college-educated African American females, Thomas and James (1988) found that although these females were dissatisfied with their weight, they reported their dissatisfaction did not greatly affect other areas of their lives. Over half of the women who were unsatisfied with their bodies reported feeling good when they looked in the mirror, and did not feel that a woman must be thin to in order be attractive (Thomas and James 1988).

Black adolescent girls do not appear to be as preoccupied with their body weight and dieting as are white adolescent girls. Casper and Offer's (1990) survey of black and white adolescents' attitudes about weight and dieting found two-thirds of the girls to be dissatisfied with their current weight and two-thirds to be terrified of gaining weight. However, black females were found to be significantly less preoccupied by weight and dieting and reported being more satisfied with their weight than their white peers (Casper and Offer 1990). Numerous other studies have shown black adolescent females to have significantly less body image dissatisfaction than their white peers (Levinson, Powell, and Steelman 1986; Molloy and Herzberger 1998; Perez and Joiner 2003; White and Grilo 2005) and to be less preoccupied with their weight and dieting (Casper and Offer 1990; Jones, Moulton, Moulton, and Roach 1999; Neumark-Sztainer, Story, Falkner, Beuhring, and Resnick 1999).

Although on average adolescent African Americans females tend to be heavier than white adolescent females, whites are more likely to view themselves as being overweight (Paxton, 2004). Similarly, other studies have found white adolescents females to be more likely to perceive themselves as overweight than their black counterparts, who viewed their weight as normal (Levinson, Powell, & Steelman 1986; Kemper, Sargent, Drane, Valois, and Hussey 1994). In addition, Ge, Elder, Regnerus & Cox (2001) found perceptions of being overweight to have a greater negative effect on whites' emotional health than on African American and Hispanic adolescents. Dawson (1988) argues that black females may be less likely to perceive themselves as overweight due to comparisons made between themselves and their peers versus comparisons to clinically based categories of weight. Others have argued that heavier sizes might be more widely

accepted within black culture (Kemper et al. 1994). As a result, black women and girls may feel less pressure to lose weight, and therefore are more satisfied with their body size, regardless of what the scale, and popular culture says (Klem, Klesges, Benet, and Mellon 1990; Kumanyika, Wilson, and Guilford-Davenport 1993). These findings are important if one considers the ways black cultures may perceive beauty in comparison to the way the more white dominant cultures portray beauty, as well as how black women integrate these two different cultural perceptions.

Possible Selves

According to Markus and Nurius (1986:954) possible selves are "individuals' ideas of what they might become, what they would like to become, and what they are afraid of becoming." Possible selves are an important aspect of the self-concept because they provide an evaluative and interpretive context for one's current view of the self. Possible selves are individualized and personalized, yet social in nature, that is, dependent upon past social comparisons within cultural and historical contexts. Therefore, based on structural constraints, one would expect to find differences in the number and types of possible selves depending on race, gender and socioeconomic statuses of the individual. Possible selves are of particular importance for adolescents because they provide a future self-concept, allowing adolescents to set goals and moderate their behavior.

Research on the possible selves of adolescents found little gender differences in likelihood or content of hoped-for possible selves, however girls rate feared possible selves as more likely to occur than do male peers. Females identified more feared possible selves regarding interpersonal relationships than did males, who were more

likely to identity feared possible selves relating to occupational roles and feeling inferior (Knox, Funk and Bush 2000). However, this research only looked at a small sample (n=212) of white adolescents (Knox, Funk and Bush 2000). Research that examines the possible selves of black adolescents has found high aspirations among blacks for the future (Rosenberg & Simmons 1972; Stevenson et al 1990). Simmons & Rosenberg (1975) comparison of black and white adolescent girls found black adolescent girls to be more likely that their white counterpart to expect to attend college, but the difference is slight. The authors attribute this difference to the future self-images of black and white girls, as black girls may anticipate future occupational roles more than white girls. However, the authors caution that this data was collected in 1968, prior to the second-wave feminist movement, and thus needs to be further replicated.

It is a widely held belief within social psychological sociology that the development of the self-concept is highly dependent upon social interactions. The difference in self-evaluations found between groups is often attributed to the types of messages they receive from significant others and for many adolescent girls, mothers may play an important role in providing feedback regarding girls' selves.

Chapter 3: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Sociological social psychology theory posits that individuals come to understand their selves through interaction with others in their social context. Rosenberg (1986) emphasizes that the self-concept develops based on the messages one receives from significant others and through the social comparisons one makes between themselves and others. It is only through examining social interaction that we can fully understand the self. Although Rosenberg's work has been highly influential in our understanding of racial differences found in self-concepts, he fails to examine racial differences for females in detail. The use of intersectional analysis within the feminist literature provides a broader understanding of the self-concept in that it explores the unique experiences of young girls as varying by race and class. In drawing upon these two theories we can better understand how the self-concept develops and why variations are found between racial and gender groups.

Rosenberg's Contextual Theory

Rosenberg's work on consonant and dissonant environments provides us with a greater understanding of how context influences the development of the self-concept. Failure to examine social context when studying the self-concept can lead to inadequate assumptions about how individuals come to evaluate their self. According to Rosenberg (1986) individuals come to understand themselves through two mechanisms: reflected appraisals and social comparisons. These two principles posit that individuals come to view themselves as they perceive others to view them and through comparisons of their self to others. Theoretically, reflected appraisals and social comparisons would predict that those who hold minority statuses should internalize attitudes of the dominant society

as a whole and thus view their self negatively due to discrimination and prejudice toward their group. However, as Rosenberg's work demonstrates, minorities have been found to have just as high if not higher self-esteem as whites. Rosenberg argues that if you fail to examine the assumptions that guide self-evaluations within the context of minority lives, these principles will appear faulty in nature.

Rosenberg's research on black urban children found little evidence to support the idea that black children were aware of how the dominant society viewed their racial group or that these children agreed with the dominant society's view of their group. In addition, black children appeared to internalize the beliefs held by significant others in their lives and not that of the dominant society. Rosenberg attributed these findings to the fact that blacks, especially children, spend the majority of their time in consonant environments, where they interact with individuals of a similar race, socioeconomic status and family structure. By examining the social context of black adolescents, we are able to see that blacks are more likely to use members of their own racial group as a significant other and come to make meaning of their selves through the eyes of these others, and not the dominant society.

Mothers, in particular, may provide the adolescent with significant feedback regarding their self-worth. Rosenberg's research found minority self-esteem to be more highly influenced by mothers, fathers, teachers, siblings and classmates than by the broader views of the dominant society. Minority children were also found to be at least as likely as whites to believe that their significant others thought highly of them.

Rosenberg's work on consonant environments helps to understand racial differences in self-evaluations. However, his theoretical work has limited explanatory

power, as it does not examine the effects of gender on self-concept formation. Although Simmons & Blyth (1987) apply Rosenberg's theory to examine the effects of gender on the self-concept, this data was based on white adolescents only. In order to understand how the social environment shapes racial differences among girls, we must turn to the feminist literature. The feminist literature contends that white and black girls' experiences differ based on their unique social locations.

The social context in which individuals come to interact and know their selves is rife with power relations that cannot be ignored. Individuals' knowledge of the world is highly dependent on their positioning within the relations of ruling (Smith 1987). Collins argues that the "matrix of domination" has shaped both the macrohistroical experiences and the everyday experiences of black women and that black women's unique location within this structure provides them with a better understanding of their own oppressions and as a result allows them to maintain a positive self-concept (Collins 1998).

It is argued that black women, based on their historical experiences of marginalization, have the ability to see racial and gender oppressions from a view not readily available to other groups (Collins 2004). Collins argues that redefining what it means to be a black woman became essential for black women's survival. "By defining and valuing assertiveness and other "unfeminine" qualities as necessary and functional attributes for Afro-American womanhood, black women's self-valuation challenges the content of externally defined controlling images" (Collins 2004:107). As Collins points out in this chapter, the everyday experiences of being a black woman in a racist, patriarchal society has implications for one's self-image. In order to maintain a positive

self-image in light of these persistent oppressive forces, black women must redefine the meaning of being a black woman and depend on self-valuation as a source of appraisal.

Examining definitions of femininity from the standpoint of black women versus the standpoint of whites provides additional support for work on self-concept development in the field of social psychology. Black feminist work is complimentary to the work of Rosenberg's (1986), which examined self-concept development within racial contexts. Rosenberg argues that individuals are highly motivated to maintain their self-concept. Rosenberg's work demonstrates that minority groups will work to consistently reject negative stereotypes and take pride in self-attributes that disprove negative images prescribed by a racist society (Rosenberg 1986). In this next section I will examine how feminist thought can contribute to the social psychology literature on self-concept formation.

Feminist Theory

It has been argued that we live in a culture that fears women becoming powerful (Kilbourne 1994). In order to control women's newfound power and freedom they are sent mixed messages about how they should behave and present themselves. Women receive messages that they can be successful as long as they don't become too masculine. Women are faced with contradictory pressures to be passive and nurturing while still being assertive, intelligent and goal oriented. In order to compete in male dominated institutions women are raised to act like real men and look like real women (Wolf 1991). One way for women to appear powerful enough but not threatening is to appear fragile and thin (Kilbourne 1994). Kilbourne further argues that in doing so, women demonstrate that they are both in control and still feminine. While others argue that

women's ability to change their body shape is the most visible way to reject feminine stereotypes (Rothblum 1994). Rothblum (1994) asserts that the curvaceous female body may be associated with the traditional powerless woman who is seen as weak and dependent. Women today are faced with the challenges of adapting to the changing gender roles presented with increased occupational and political opportunities, while still contending with their traditional gender roles. In order to deal with these challenges, women seek to change their physical physique in order to navigate through these conflicting roles (Kilbourne 1994; Wolf, 1991).

As women have advanced politically and professionally over the last several generations, feminist theorists argue that there has been a backlash against women in an attempt to control their newly gained power (Rothblum 1994; Wolf 1991). "The more legal and material hindrances women have broken through, the more strictly and heavily and cruelly images of feminine beauty have come to weight upon us" (Wolf, 1991:10). Women's movements in the U.S. broke down many of the barriers women encountered and reputed some of the fictitious cultural beliefs regarding women's abilities. With the elimination of these fictions that embodied the social control of women, individuals who sought to limit women's power, reinforced the one strand of social control left: female beauty (Wolf, 1991). Wolf argues that the "beauty myth" is an attempt to control and contain women's power. Women's pursuit of power and freedom in public spheres is diverted by the false offerings of freedom through diet and beauty. Body image disturbances in females have been found to be prevalent in women who attempt to achieve in areas previously dominated by males and in particular if they feel constrained by their limitations of being female (Perlick & Silverstein 1994). The changing gender

roles perspective contends that the increase in eating disorders is the result of psychic conflict created by the changes in the feminine gender roles Lovejoy (2001).

While these feminist theories provide interesting insight into the influence of structure and power on women's self image, particularly body image, they fail to explain the varying experiences of ethnic and racial minorities. Thompson (1994) contends that the feminist framework is limited by race and class assertions about what it means to be female. More importantly, these theories privilege sexism over other oppressions and overly rely on the culture of thinness to explain self and body image disturbances (Thompson 1994). By ignoring race and class issues when discussing how gender shapes self-concept, the unique experiences of many groups, black women in particular, are often overlooked. Black feminist thought opens up this dialogue to uncover how minority women's gender experiences are largely shaped by their race and class statuses.

Black Feminist Theories

Black women's lives are not only shaped by the gender oppressions of a patriarchal society, they must also contend with subordination based on their race and often class standings (Mama 1995). Historically, black and white women in the U.S. have encountered fundamentally different experiences in the public and private spheres. Black women have long been defined as less feminine than white women due to their long-standing participation in the labor force.

Dating as far back as slavery, black women have worked alongside their male peers, taking on equal amounts of labor and long hours. hooks (1981) argues that black women's ability to work long hard hours threatened the patriarchal myth of the time regarding women's abilities. Therefore, black women were not viewed as females and

deemed unworthy of the title "woman" (hooks 1981). hooks (1981) further argues that the negative stereotypes about black women continued after slavery in order to subordinate and demoralize black women.

Black women, while faced with multiple oppressions of race, class and gender, are often held to the same standards of beauty as white women (Collins 2000). The idealized white feminine beauty is dependent upon definitions of black women as "the other". "Blue eyed, blond, thin, white women could not be considered beautiful without the other – black women with African features, dark skin, broad noses, full lips, and kinky hair" (Collins 2000). Collins further argues that black women's lives are a series of negotiations between white ideal standards of femininity and their own self- defined images of what it means to be a black woman. The inability of black women to achieve the feminine standards of white women, or the class standing of most whites, forces black women to develop alternative standards of femininity (Mama 1995).

In order for many black girls to develop positive self-concepts in a society that often devalues black women, black mothers socialize their daughters to be independent, strong and self-confident (Wade-Gayles 1984). Collins argues that the mother-daughter relationship is a fundamental relationship in a black woman's life. The survival of black women is dependent upon their ability to teach their daughters how to navigate the multiple oppressions faced in adulthood. Black daughters are expected to work, to strive for an education and to anticipate their future role in supporting their families (Collins 2000).

Mother's socialization may provide insight into the differences found between girls who experience a "girlhood crisis" and those who do not. The literature suggests

that black girls may be less likely than their white peers to experience a girlhood crisis due to black mothers' effort to protect and build strong selves as they prepare their daughters for adversities they will experience because of their race. Exploring mothers as agents of socialization may help us identify differences found in the self-evaluations of adolescent girls and provide supporting evidence for claims made in the literature.

Chapter 4: MOTHERING: A CRITICAL LINK IN EXPLAINING THE STRONGER SELVES OF BLACK GIRLS?

In order to understand racial differences in the self-image of adolescent girls we must first examine the various types of messages young girls receive from significant others regarding femininity and how these messages differ across race. According to Gecas and Schwalbe, "The family is generally considered an important context for the development of a child's self-concept. It is the place where the initial sense of self is formed through intimate, intensive and extensive interaction with parents and other family members" (Gecas & Schwalbe 1986:37). Thornton et al. (1990) argue that an important goal of families is to prepare their children to participate successfully in the larger society and in order to do so children must acquire an understanding of varying statuses, roles, and associated prescribed behaviors.

The intersection of gender and race create distinct historical experiences for white and black women and differentially affect their gender role beliefs and definitions of femininity Dugger (1988). It is important for parents to socialize their daughters how to negotiate their various statuses, such as race and gender, within a society in which these statuses are subordinated. Socialization of children presents important challenges to black parents because of the historical and current race conditions in the United States. Based on these factors, black parents must prepare their children to live in two cultures: black American culture and the dominant white American culture (Carothers 1990). Therefore, the skills that parents provide their children may vary based on the gender and racial oppressions children can expect to encounter later in life.

Black mothers, in order to protect their daughters from the negative views of the dominant society, may maintain unique connections with their daughters and push their

daughters to be self-sufficient and achievement oriented and more satisfied with their bodies. As the black feminist literature contends, black mothers raise their daughters to be independent, strong, and self-sufficient in order to prepare their daughters for the multiple oppressions they will face in adulthood. In providing their daughters with these important skills to combat racism and sexism, black adolescent girls may develop a positive present and future self-image.

Despite the consensus within the feminist literature that black mothers, compared to white mothers, provide differential socialization to their adolescent daughters, there is limited empirical research to support this theory. The few studies that have investigated this have found black mothers to raise their daughters to be independent, strong, self-reliant, and goal oriented (Bardwell, Cochran, and Walker 1986; Baumrind 1972; Ladner 1971), although these studies do not make direct connections between socialization and the self. According to Ladner (1971), black women are expected to be strong and parents must socialize their daughters with this intention in order for them to be prepared to face future discriminations. In addition, black daughters are likely to be a central figure in their households, both financially and emotionally (Ladner 1971). Based on historical and personal experiences, many black adolescent girls can expect to be the sole breadwinner in their future families, a role that will require them to be strong and resilient.

In addition to instilling values of strength and independence in their adolescent daughters, black mothers may also take a stricter stance when it comes to regulating their children's behavior. Baumrind (1972) argues that black parents exercise authoritarian parenting style in order to teach their daughters to be more self sufficient and stronger and to better protect them from racial and gender oppressions. The black daughters were

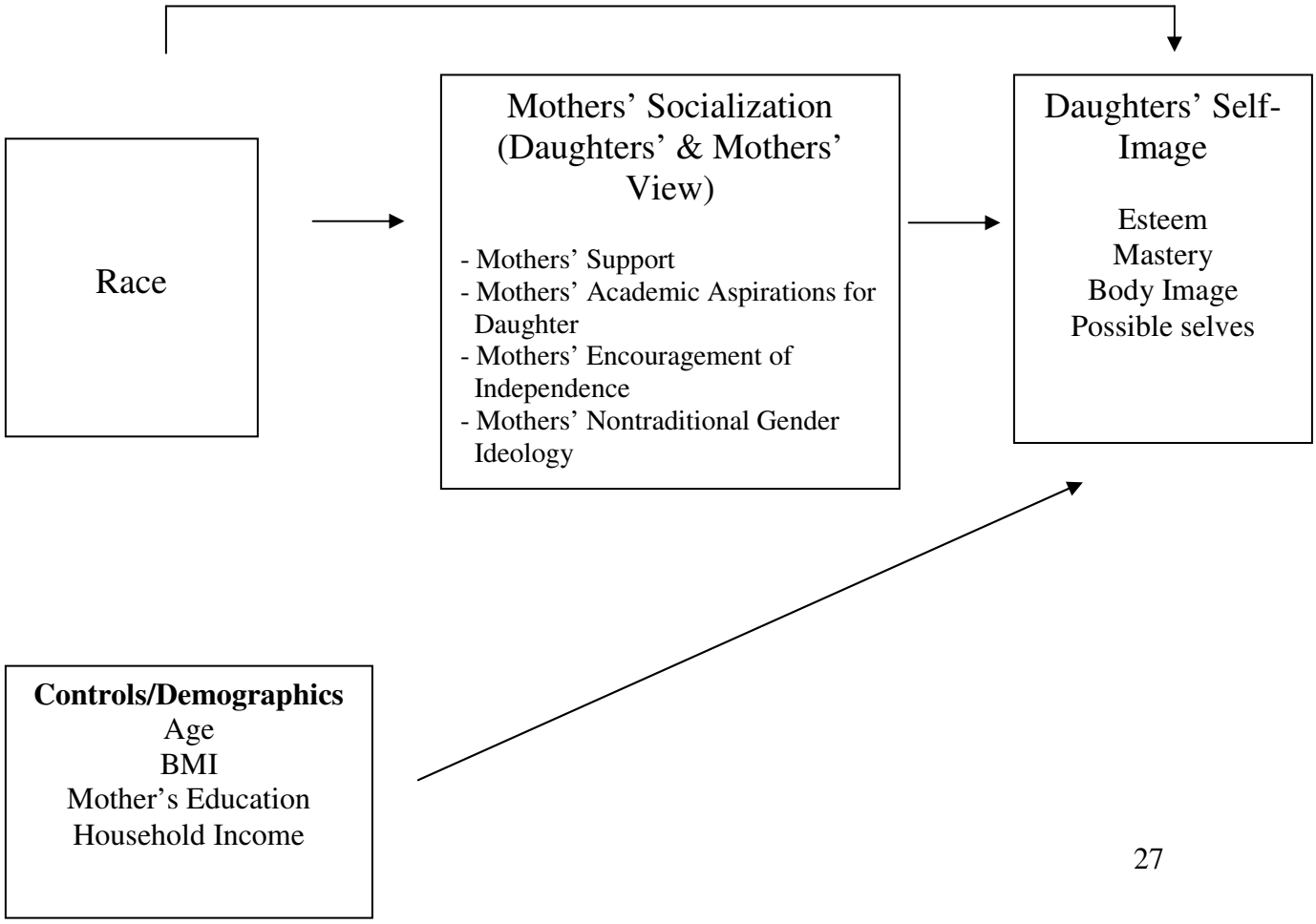
perceived as more mature and confident and comfortable when presented with unfamiliar situations in comparison to their white peers (Baumrind 1972).

Although the literature has examined racial differences in socialization, little of this work directly examines how socialization influences the self. However, one study using a sample of 62 black mothers, did examine this link. Richardson' s (1981) qualitative study of black mothering provides insight into how black women's experiences of racial oppression shape their beliefs and value systems and as a consequence affect the ways in which they socialize their daughters. Richardson examined how black mothers act as a buffer in against the effects of broader social problems, such as racism, on their children. Black mothers reported their lived experiences, which they encountered living in a society perceived as racist, to be different from those that exist for the dominant society, and as a result, their child rearing practices, reflected their sociocultural and ecological experiences. Black mothers reported engaging in behaviors to help develop their child's self-esteem and group-esteem, as well as promoting black consciousness and a repeated emphasis on beauty as defined by the black community. It was believed to be important to teach their children to value their skin color, the variety of hairstyles available to those with kinky hair, the dance, music and social styles of blacks as compared to those of whites, and other positive qualities of black people and culture. The mothers reported feeling that these skills would prepare and protect their child for encounters with racism (Richardson 1981).

Analyzing racial differences in mothers' socialization of young girls may help explain girls' differential experiences of a "girlhood crisis". Black mothers' differential

socialization may be critical to protecting their daughters' self-image. Figure 1 represents my conceptual model of the effect of race and socialization on self-concept development. As illustrated in Figure 1, race will have effect on self-image, and black girls may have stronger selves than whites, however some of this effect may be mediated by mothers' socialization. Black mothers, in order to prepare their daughters for future oppressions, may provide their daughters with additional support and may be more likely than white mothers to push their daughters to be self-sufficient and independent. Other factors such as class, and age may influence one's self-image, and they are included as control variables.

Figure 1: Conceptual Model



In this thesis I argue that at least four aspects of mothers' socialization (mothers' support, mothers' academic aspirations for daughters, mothers' encouragement of independence and mothers' nontraditional ideology) are influential in the self-concept development of adolescent girls.

Mother's Support

Although feminist research (Collins 2000; Mama 1995) suggests that black mothers must provide their daughters with additional support in order to help them navigate multiple oppressions, little empirical research has been conducted to support this claim. Research on adolescent girls in general has found parental support (Hoelter & Harper 1987; Gecas & Schwalbe 1986; Gecas 1971) and communication (Demo, Small & Savin-Williams 1987) to have positive effects on self-esteem development. Social support has also been found to increase one's sense of efficacy. According to Bandura (1997), supportive relationships provide not only provide coping strategies and demonstrate perseverance in the face of stressful life circumstances, but they also provide positive incentives and resources for efficacious behavior (Bandura 1997). In addition, mother's support should be influential in the development of positive body image. Adolescents who feel supported should be better able to reject traditional beauty ideals, in particular the ideal of thin physique. Mothers' support should have the most influence on self-esteem, self-efficacy and body image.

Mothers' Academic Aspirations for Daughter

Parents' aspirations for their children's educational attainments has been found to be associated with children's academic aspirations (Bandura et al 1996; Rhea & Otto 2001) and children's academic achievements (Davis-Kean 2005). Moreover, parent's

expectations and support of children's academic achievement have been found to be important predictors of African American children's educational aspirations (Smith-Maddux 1999). Mothers' academic aspirations for daughters should have a significant influence on possible selves. Daughters who are encouraged to achieve academically may be more likely to hold aspirations and expectations for college attendance.

Mothers' Encouragement of Independence

Black mothers have been found to encourage their daughters to be independent and self-sufficient in order to prepare them for their future roles in adulthood (Bardwell, Cochran, and Walker 1986; Baumrind 1972; Ladner 1971). Black feminist theorists contend that black mothers transmit the value of attaining an education and a career to facilitate their daughters' future roles as primary supporters of their families (Collins 2000). Parental encouragement of independence has been found to enhance adolescents' psychological well-being and academic motivation (Chirkov & Ryan 2001). Encouragement of independence may lead to more positive possible selves for academic achievement. Daughters who are encouraged to be self-sufficient may be more likely to pursue higher education.

Mothers' Nontraditional Ideology

Gender role ideology has been found to be transmitted from mother to children in two ways, through verbal transmission and through role modeling behavior (Curtis, 1991). Black parents have been found to raise their children in gender neutral environments, where female children are as likely to be encouraged to be assertive and independent as males. (Bardwell, Cochran, and Walker 1986). Mothers who hold nontraditional ideologies may be more likely to encourage their daughters to attain a

college education and work outside the home. Daughters may be more able to formulate positive possible selves regarding their educational achievement and post-school achievements if they have mothers who are not only encouraging their academic achievement, but are also modeling behavior, such as participation in the labor force.

Chapter 5: SUMMARY AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The goals of this paper are first to examine whether U.S. white and black adolescents equally experience a "girlhood crisis." Four aspects of the self-concept in the female adolescent population are examined: self-esteem, mastery, possible selves, and body image. Although research suggests black adolescent girls potentially have stronger selves relative to whites, and points to significant others as key in self-concept (or at least self-esteem) formation, an empirical examination of differences using a representative sample of African-American and White girls in the U.S. is lacking. A second goal is to explain why black adolescent girls' selves may be advantaged due to differential socialization by mothers.

Using a nationally representative sample, I first examine whether or not there are differences among black and white female adolescents in terms these four aspects of their self-concept. If there are racial differences in these measures of self-concept, how do relationships with mothers mediate these differences? In order to examine mother's influence on the adolescent's self-image, I explore both daughters' and mothers' perceptions of the mother-daughter relationship and mothers' aspirations for her daughter's future. Studies show children's perceptions of parents' behavior to be more correlated with children's self-evaluations than parents' reports of their own behavior (Gecas & Schwalbe 1986) or their perceptions of their relationship with their child (Demo, Small, & Savin-Williams 1987). Therefore, it is important to not only examine parents' reports of their behavior and relationship with their child but also the child's perceptions of their parent's behavior and relationship.

Drawing on Rosenberg's contextual theory and Black Feminist theory, I posit that black mothers' unique socialization of their daughters may help to explain black girls' advantaged selves. While some previous research has found differences in the self-concepts of black and white girls, few studies made systematic attempts to explain why Black girls may have advantaged selves. Black mothers, in order to protect their daughters from the negative views of the dominant society, may maintain unique connections with their daughters and push their daughters to be self-sufficient and achievement oriented and more satisfied with their bodies. In doing so, mothers may protect their daughters' self-image, as illustrated in Figure 1. By supporting their daughters emotionally and encouraging their daughters to think independently and achieve academically and professionally in order to be self-sufficient, black mothers instill positive self-concepts in their daughters that are equal if not stronger than their white peers.

This study answers two research questions: Do U.S. black and white adolescent girls have similar selves? Does mothers' socialization help explain any differences found in the selves?

Chapter 6: DATA AND METHODS

Data

The data is from the public use dataset of Wave 1 of the Adolescent Health study. The Adolescent Health study is a longitudinal study of health-related behaviors of 6504 adolescents and their outcomes in young adulthood. The public use dataset consists of one-half of the core sample, chosen at random and one-half of the over sample of African-American adolescents with a parent who has a college degree. Data was first collected in 1994 using an in-school questionnaire, which was administered to a nationally representative sample of students in grades seven through twelve. The students were then surveyed a second time during Wave 1, using an in-home questionnaire, approximately one year later. Parents of the adolescents were also surveyed during the second part of wave 1. Mothers (or other female head of the household) were the preferred respondents for the parent questionnaire. For this study the sample was limited to female adolescents and only data from the in-home questionnaire of Wave 1 was used. The original Wave 1 sample consisted of 6504 adolescents, however in order to limit the sample to females only, 3148 males were dropped from the analysis, leaving a sample size of 3356 females. The sample was further restricted to nonhispanic black (N=664) and nonhispanic white (N=1651) female adolescents (total N=2315). The sample was restricted to biological mothers and female respondents who reported being a female head of the household, which included stepmothers, foster mothers, grandmothers and so on. There were 68 father-daughter pairs (57=white fathers and 11=black fathers) who were dropped from the sample, resulting in 2072 biological mothers and 175 female respondents who represented the female head of the household (N=2247). Finally there

were three respondents who were dropped from the analysis due to missing data for all five dependent variables. The final sample consisted of 652 black and 1592 white daughters with mothers who participated in the study (N=2244).

Measures

Dependent Variables

S*elf-esteem* is measured using a series of questions that asked respondents to rate their agreement to statements of their self-worth. Respondents were asked to state whether they agreed or disagreed with the following statements (1= strongly agree, 5=strongly disagree): “You have a lot of good qualities,” “You have a lot to be proud of,” “You like yourself the way you are,” “You feel like you are doing everything just about right,” “You feel socially accepted, “You feel loved and wanted”. A factor analysis was performed for all esteem variables using a principal axis factoring and varimax rotation. One factor was extracted. An index of self-esteem was created by summing the responses to all six esteem questions (alpha=.849). Responses to all questions were reverse coded so that higher scores indicate higher esteem. Possible scores ranged from six to 30.

A *Mastery* index was created using a series of questions. Respondents were asked to rate how much they agreed or disagreed with the following statements (1=strongly agree, 5=strongly disagree): “When you get what you want, it's usually because you worked hard for it,” “When you have a problem to solve, one of the first things you do is get as many facts about the problem as possible,” “When you are attempting to find a solution to a problem, you usually try to think of as many different ways to approaches

the problem as possible," "When making decisions, you generally use a systematic method for judging and comparing alternatives," "After carrying out a solution to a problem, you usually try to analyze what went right and what went wrong," "Difficult problems make you very upset," "When making decisions, you usually go with you gut feeling, without thinking too much about the consequences of each alternative," "You usually go out of your way to avoid having to deal with problems in your life." A factor analysis was performed on all mastery items using a principal axis factoring and varimax rotation. Two factors were extracted. Items loading on the first factor appeared to be measuring mastery, while items loading on the second factor appeared to indicate problems with decision making. The second factor was not used in this analysis. A mastery index was created by summing responses to the items that loaded on their first factor (alpha = .71) ("When you get what you want, it's usually because you worked hard for it," "When you have a problem to solve, one of the first things you do is get as many facts about the problem as possible," "When you are attempting to find a solution to a problem, you usually try to think of as many different ways to approaches the problem as possible," "When making decisions, you generally use a systematic method for judging and comparing alternatives," "After carrying out a solution to a problem, you usually try to analyze what went right and what went wrong,"). Responses to all questions were reverse coded. Higher scores indicate higher self-efficacy. Possible scores ranged from nine to 25.

Body image was measured using a measure of *distortion for overweight*, which is examines girls' distorted views of their body as overweight. Respondents were asked "How do you think of yourself in terms of weight?" Response categories to this question

were measured using a 5-item Likert scale (1= very underweight, 2=slightly underweight, 3= about right weight, 4= slightly overweight, 5= very overweight). A new variable was created based on responses to this question and their BMI, which was calculated using self-reported weight and height (BMI = kg/m^2). Respondents who reported being slightly overweight or very overweight and who had a BMI that was considered average or below average for their age, were identified as having a distorted body image (wrongly perceiving their body as being overweight). Respondents who were considered overweight or at risk for being overweight based on their BMI for their age were not considered to have a distorted body image. The variable is coded as 1= distorted view of being overweight, 0= no distorted view of being overweight.

Possible selves are measured using two questions which asked respondents to rate their desire to go to college and the likelihood of attending college. Respondents were asked to rate on a scale of 1-5 (1= low, 5=high) how much they would like to go to college and how likely it is that they will go to college. Responses were reverse coded so that higher scores indicated greater desire to go to college and greater likelihood of going to college. Two dichotomous variables were created to represent desire to go to college (1=high, 0=low) and likelihood of going to college (1=high, 0=low).

Independent Variables

Race is measured using a dichotomous variable, where 1=blacks and 0=whites.

Mothering I: Mothering from the daughter's perspective

Mothers' socialization is measured using a series of questions asked both from the mothers' perspective as well as the daughters' perspective. Four aspects of mother's socialization will be examined: mother's support, mother's academic aspirations for daughters, mother's encouragement of independence and mother's nontraditional ideology.

Three measures of mothering from the daughters' perspective are used. Respondents were asked a series of questions regarding their relationship with their mother and their perceptions of their mother's educational aspirations for them. Three scales of mothers' socialization were created: Daughter's perceptions of mother's support; Daughter's perceptions of their mother's academic aspirations for their daughters; Daughter's perceptions of mother's encouragement of independence.

Daughter's perceptions of mother's support. Daughters' perceptions of mother's support is measured using a scale of the strength and quality of the mother-daughter relationship. This scale indicates the quality of the relationship between the mother and daughter, as perceived by the daughter and how the daughter perceives her mother to feel towards her. First, respondents were asked how close they felt to their mothers and how much they felt their mothers cared about them (1= not at all, 5=very much) "How close do you feel to your mother" "How much do you think she cares about you". Next, respondents were asked to rate how much they agreed or disagreed with the following statements (1= strongly agree, 5=strongly disagree): "Most of the time, your mothers is warm and loving toward you," "When you do something wrong that is important, your

mother talks about it with you and helps you understand why it is wrong," "You are satisfied with the way your mother and you communicate with each other," "Overall, you are satisfied with your relationship with your mother,". A factor analysis was performed and all six variables loaded on a single factor. The items in which respondents were asked to rate their agreement were reverse coded (1= strongly disagree, 5= strongly agree). Responses to all six questions were summed to create an index of mother's support (alpha =.882). Higher scores indicate a closer relationship between mother and daughter.

Daughter's perceptions of their mother's academic aspirations for their daughter's achievement. Daughter's perceptions of their mother's academic aspirations for their daughters is a measure created based on a question which asked respondents to indicate "on a scale of 1-5, where 1 is low and 5 is high, how disappointed would she (the mother) be if you did not graduate from college?" Higher scores indicate more disappointment if daughter did not graduate from college and thus daughters perceive their mothers to have high aspirations for their academic achievement.

Daughter's perceptions of mother's encouragement of independence. Encouragement of independence was measured using a question that asked adolescents to rate how much they agreed with the following statement "Your mother encourages you to be independent," (1= strongly agree, 5=strongly disagree). Responses were reverse coded that so higher scores indicated more perceived encouragement of independence.

Mothering II: Mothering from mother's perspective

Here I examine five variables of mothering from the mothers' view. *Mother's perceived support for her daughter* is an index of mother's reported support for her

daughter. Mothers were asked a series of questions regarding their relationship with their daughter. Mothers were first asked to respond how often it would be true for them to make each of the following statements about their daughter (1= always, 5=never). "You get along well with her," "You feel you can really trust [name]," "You do not understand her." Responses to the first two questions were reverse coded. Higher scores indicate a more positive relationship**.** Next mothers were asked to rate how much they agreed or disagreed with the following statement (1= strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree): "Overall, you are satisfied with your relationship with [name]." A factor analysis was performed on these four items using a principal axis factoring and varimax rotation and one factor was extracted. An index of mother's perceived support was created by summing responses to all four questions (alpha =.709).

Mother's aspirations for her daughter are measured using two separate questions. *Mother's academic aspirations for her daughter* is measured using a question which asks mothers to indicate how disappointed they would be if their daughter's did not graduate from college (1 = not disappointed, 3=very disappointed): "How disappointed would you be in [name] did not graduate from college?" Responses were reverse coded so that higher scores indicated more disappointment and thus higher aspirations for daughter's future. *Mother's hopes for their daughter's achievement* is measured using a question which asked mothers "If [name] could be one of the following in high school, which would be most important to you?" Responses included to be "a brilliant student," "a leader in school activities," "an athletic star," "the most popular," "she already graduated from high school". Responses of "she already graduated from high school" were recoded

as missing. A dichotomous variable was created to represent mother's hopes for her daughter's achievement (1= to be a brilliant student, 0 all other responses).

Nontraditional ideology is examined using two measures of nontraditional ideology, one based on mothers' account of her beliefs and through mothers' role modeling behavior. The first measure of nontraditional ideology was measured using a question which asked mothers "Of the following, which do you think is the most important thing for a girl to learn?" Responses included "to be well-behaved," "to be popular," "to think for herself," "to work hard," "to help others." Items were recoded into a dichotomous variable. Responses of "to be well-behaved," "to be popular," "to help others" were coded as traditional (traditional=0), while the other two responses were recoded as nontraditional (nontraditional = 1). *Mother as a role model* is the second measure of nontraditional ideology. Mothers' occupational status is used as a measure of the mother as a role model. Mothers were asked whether or not they were employed on a full time basis. "Are you employed full time?" (0= no, 1= yes).

Control Variables

Age. Previous research has found self-image disturbance to be heightened during early adolescence. In particular, research has shown significant declines in the self-esteem of girls during adolescence (Block & Robins 1993; Simmons & Blyth 1987). In addition, body image disturbances appear to increase during adolescence. Davies and Furnham (1986) examination of body image and dieting behaviors of adolescent girls ranging in age from 12 to 18 and found age 12 to be the only age with more than 50% of girls reporting not wanting to lose weight. Seventy percent of the girls who were 12

years of age reported their weight to be just right, whereas less than 35% of 16 and 18 year olds felt their weight to be just right. The most significant changes in body satisfaction appeared to occur between the ages of 14 and 16 (Davies & Furnham, 1986). Similarly, Rosenblum (1999) found girls' body image dissatisfaction to increase from ages 13 to 15 and to then remain stable at 18 (Ronseblum 1999). In the current study age is calculated by subtracting the self-reported date of birth from the date of the interview, which provides age in seconds. This number is then divided by 86,400 to get the duration of age in days and then divided by 365.25 to get age in years.

Socioeconomic Status. It is critical to examine racial differences in the self while holding SES constant. Blacks are more likely to be located in lower socioeconomic classes in comparison to whites due to historical and political circumstances. Individuals of low SES may also suffer disproportionate disadvantages due to structural limitations. Therefore, it is important to separate out these two characteristics in order to determine whether or not the effects found are a consequence of race or class. SES is operationalized as parent's educational attainment and family income. *Mothers' education* was determined using self-reports of education. Mothers were asked, "How far did you go in school?" Response options ranged from 1= less than an 8th grade education to 9= professional degree. There were 14 missing cases for the education variable, which were imputed with the mean maternal educational attainment (m= 5.62). *Family income* was measured using mothers' self reported family income "About how much total income, before taxes did your family receive in 1994? Include your own income, the income of everyone else in your household, and income from welfare benefits, dividends, and all other sources" (income was measured in 1000s of dollars and ranged from $0 to

$999,000). There were 247 missing cases for the income variable, which were imputed using the mean income category based on mothers' education level. Family income was recoded so that the top 5% of reported income was recoded to the 95th percentile.

Analysis Plan

A series of four regression models to investigate how the effects of mothering mediate racial differences in four aspects of adolescent girls' self-image will be used. I will examine mothering using both daughters' and mothers' perceptions of the mother-daughter relationship. Model 1 will investigate the main effects of race on the dependent variable. Model 2 will examine the main effects of race on the dependent variable, while controlling for demographic variables (age, parent's education, and family income). Model 3 will introduce the three variables that represent mothering from the daughters' perspective: *daughter's perceptions of their mother's support*, *daughter's perceptions of mother's academic aspirations for daughters*, and *daughter's perception of mother's encouragement of independence*. Finally, model 4 will examine the effect of mothering from the mothers' perspective: *mother's perceived support for daughters*, *mother's academic aspirations for their daughters*, m*other's hopes for their daughter's achievement, traditional ideology, and mothers as role models*. Although certain mothering aspects may be more important mediating factors for particular self-concepts, in this exploratory analysis, all aspects of mothering will be examined for each dependent variable. For self-esteem and self-efficacy, OLS regression will be used; for possible selves and distortion for overweight, a logistic regression analysis will be used.

Chapter 7: RESULTS

In bivariate analyses, black adolescent girls were found to have more positive self-images than their white counterparts for all measures of self-image, with the exception of possible selves. Table 1 presents results from a series of t-tests. The data was weighted using the grand sample weight. Black adolescent girls were found to have significantly higher self-esteem (M=25.26) than did white girls (M=24.28, t= -5.16, p<.001). Black girls (M=19.52) were also found to have higher mastery than did white girls (M=18.84, t= p<.001). Black girls (M=.08) were less likely to distort their body image as being overweight than were white girls (M=.21), t=5.90, p<.001. No significant differences were found between groups at the bivariate level for possible self of the desire to attend college or likelihood of going to college.

Significant race differences were found across all of the Mothering I variables (mothering from the daughter's perspective). Black girls (M=23.66) reported receiving more support from their mothers than did white girls (M=23.21, t=-2.77, p<.01). Blacks also reported their mothers as having higher academic aspirations for their daughters (M=4.09) than did white girls (M=3.89, t=-2.90, p<01). Finally black girls reported more encouragement from their mothers to be independent (M=4.37) than did white girls (M=4.20, t=-3.64, p<.001).

Differences in race were found for all Mothering II variables (mothering from the mother's perspective). Black mothers reported providing *less* support for their daughters (M=16.10) than did whites (M=16.45, t=2.57, p<.05). However, black mothers reported stronger academic aspirations for their daughters (M=2.38) than did white mothers (M=2.20, t=-4.85, p<.001), and black mothers were more likely to report the hope for her

daughter to be a brilliant student (M=.79) than were whites (M=.64, t=-5.59, p<.001). Despite black mothers (M=.61) report of being employed full time compared with white mothers (M=.55, t=-2.04, p<.05), black mothers were found to be less likely to report nontraditional gender ideologies, as measured by mother' belief that girls should think for themselves and work hard, (M=.63) than were whites (M=.76, t=5.47, p<.001).

Self-Esteem

An OLS regression was performed in order to examine the relationship between race and self-esteem and how mothering mediates this relationship. The findings from each model of the regression analysis are presented in Table 2. Blacks were found to have significantly higher self-esteem than did whites (b=.867, p<.001). Model 2 of Table 2 shows that the effect of race on self-esteem remains significant after demographic variables were controlled for in the regression equation (b=1.01, p<.001). Family income (b=.012, p<.01) and age (b=-.127, p<.05) were the only control variables found to have a significant relationship with self-esteem.

The third model introduced mothering from the daughter's perspective into the analysis. The addition of the mothering variables from the daughter's perspective decreased the association between race and self-esteem somewhat, however this association was still statistically significant (b=.680, p<.001). *Daughter's perceptions of mother's support* (b=.420, p<.001) and *daughter's perceptions of mother's encouragement for her daughter to be independent* (b= .654, p<.001) were found to be significantly associated with self-esteem. However, *daughter's perceptions of their*

mother's academic aspirations for their daughters was not found to be associated with self-esteem.

The fourth model and final model introduced mothering from the mother's perspective to the regression equation. Only one Mothering II variable was found to be significantly associated with self-esteem. *Mother's support of her daughter* found to be positively associated with self-esteem (b=.090, p<.01). However, race continued to have a significant effect on self-esteem with the addition of these variables (b=.684, p<.001).

Mother's socialization, mothering from the daughter's perspective in particular, appears to mediate some of the effect of race on self-esteem. However, much of the variance in the model is left unexplained. Mother's support and mother's encouragement of daughter's independence were found to have the largest mediating effect on daughter's self-esteem. Mothering from the mother's perspective did little to explain the differences found in self-esteem by race.

Mastery

An OLS regression was performed to examine the relationship between race and mastery and how mothering mediates this relationship. The findings from each model of the regression analysis are presented in Table 3. The first model examined the effect of race on mastery. Blacks were found to have significantly higher mastery than were whites (b=.685, p<.001). Blacks continued to have significantly higher mastery than whites (b=.654, p<.001) while controlling for demographic variables and BMI. None of the control variables were found to be significantly associated with mastery.

The next model introduced mothering from the daughter's perspective into the regression equation. The addition of the Mothering I variables to the model decreased the

association between race and mastery moderately, however the relationship continued to be significant (b=.416, p<.01). All three mothering variables from the daughter's perspective were found to be significantly associated with mastery. *Daughter's perception of mothers support* (b=.145, p<.001), *daughter's perception of their mother's academic aspirations* (b=.220, p<.001) and *daughter's perceptions of mother's encouragement of their independence* (b=.548, p<.001) were found to be positively associated with mastery.

The final model introduced mothering from the mother's perspective. The addition of the Mothering II variables again decreased the association of race with mastery slightly, however the relationship was still statistically significant (b=.381, p<.01). The variables which examined mothering from the daughter's perspective continued to be significantly associated with mastery. Only one of the mothering from the mothers' perspective variables was found to be significantly associated with mastery. *Mother's academic aspirations for their daughters* was found to be positively associated with mastery (b=.200, p<.05).

Mothering from the daughter's perspective was found to mediate some of the effect of race on daughter's mastery. All three of the mothering from the daughter's perspective were found to have a positive influence on daughter's sense of mastery, however much of the variance in this model is left unexplained. Only one of the Mothering II variables, mother's academic aspiration for her daughter, was found to influence daughter's mastery.

Body Image

Distortion for Overweight

The effect of race on body image was examined using a logistical regression analysis. The findings from each model of the regression analysis are presented in Table 4. Blacks were found to be .45 times as likely as whites to report a distorted body image of being overweight ($p<.001$). This finding remains significant as other factors are entered into the model. Blacks were found to be .43 times as likely as whites to report a distorted body image when demographic variables are controlled for in the regression equation ($p<.001$). Mother's education level (OR=1.10, $p<.01$) and age (OR=1.14, $p<.01$) were found to be significantly associated with distortion for overweight, however no significant association was found between family income and distortion for overweight. Adding demographic variables to the model decreases the –2 log likelihood from 1630.25 to 1609.74 ($p<.001$, df=3), indicating that the addition of at least one of the demographic variables provides an improvement in predictive power.

The introduction of Mothering I variables into the analysis decreased the size of the black coefficient, however the effect of race on daughter's distorted body image remained significant. When the Mothering I variables are entered into the model, blacks are found to be .43 times as likely as their white counterparts to report a distorted body image (OR=.43, $p<.001$). *Daughter's perceptions of mother's support* was the only Mothering I variable found to have a significant relationship with distorted body image. For each one unit increase in *daughter's perception of their mother's support*, girls were .92 times as likely to report a distorted body image (OR=.92, $p<.001$). The addition of Mothering I variables to the third model, decreases the –2 log likelihood to 1591.42 ($p<.001$,df=3), indicating that at least one of the Mothering I variables provides improvement to the predictive power of the model.

Finally, the introduction of the Mothering II variables into the analysis increased the size of the black coefficient slightly and the relationship between race and distorted body image remained significant. Model 4 shows that blacks were .43 times as likely as whites to report a distorted body image when Mothering II variables are entered into the model (OR=.43, p<.001). *Daughter's perception of mother's support* continues to be significantly related to distorted body image (OR=.92, p<.001). None of the Mothering II variables were found to be significantly associated with distortion for overweight. The addition of Mothering II variables to the final model decreased the –2 log likelihood to 1587.18, indicating that the addition of Mothering II variables to the analysis does not increase the predictive power of the model. The addition of mothering variables and control variables does not appear to affect the differences found in black and white adolescent girl's perceptions of their body. Black girls continue to be significantly less likely than their white peers to report a distorted body image and these differences do not appear to be explained by this factors included this model.

The effect of race on distorted body image remains strong and significant. Black girls remain .43 times less likely than white girls to report a distortion for overweight, even after controlling for demographic variables and mothering. Much of the variance in this model is left unexplained.

Possible Selves

Desire to go to college

Table 5 provides results of the logistical regression which examined the effect of race on the possible of self attending college. The initial model, which examined the

effect of race on desire to attend college, found no significant association between race and this possible self (OR=1.23, p=.095). However, once the demographic variables were controlled for in the second model, blacks were found to be 1.5 times more likely to express desire to go college than were whites (p<.01). All the control variables were found to be significantly associated with respondents' desire to go to college. Adding demographic variables to the model decreases the –2 log likelihood from 1991.21 to 1854.69 (p<.001, df=3), indicating that the addition of at least one of the demographic variables increased the predictive power of the model.

The relationship between race and desire to go to college disappeared once the Mothering I variables were entered into the analysis. The black coefficient not only decreases in size with the addition of these variables, but also is no longer found to have a significant influence on daughter's desire to go to college. However, two of the Mothering I variables were found to be significantly associated with daughter's desire to go to college. *Daughter's perceptions of mother's academic aspirations for daughters* was found to be positively associated with respondents desire to go to college (OR=1.50, p<.001). *Daughter's perceptions of mothers encouragement of their independence* was also found to be positively associated with desire to go to college (OR=1.44, p<.001). The addition of Mothering I variables to the third model, decreases the –2 log likelihood to 1737.19 (p<.001, df=3), indicating that at least one of the Mothering I variables provides improvement to the predictive power of the model.

The association between race and desire to go to college continues to decline in the final model, which introduces the Mothering II variables into the analysis (OR=1.15, p=ns). Once again the black coefficient decreases in size and remains nonsignificant. The

two Mothering I variables remain significant (p<.001). Two of the Mothering II variables were found to be significantly associated with desire to go to college. For each one unit increase in mother's perceived support of her daughter, daughters were 1.08 times more likely to report a desire to go to college (p<.01) and for each one unit increase in *mother's academic aspirations for their daughters to go to college* daughters were 1.6 times more likely to report a desire to go to college (p<.001). The addition of Mothering II variables to the third model, decreases the –2 log likelihood to 1699.13 (p<.001, df=5), indicating that at least one of the Mothering II variables provides improvement to the predictive power of the model.

The mothering variables appear to mediate the effect of race on daughter's desire to go to college. Mother's academic aspirations and encouragement of daughter's independence, in particular were found to have large effects on daughter's desire to go to college. Black mothers higher academic aspirations for their daughters and additional encouragement of their daughter's independence appears to explain some of the differences in college student possible selves for black and white adolescents.

Likelihood of going to college

The results of the logistical regression of race regressed on the likelihood of attending college is provided in Table 6. No significant racial differences were found for respondents' perceived likelihood of attending college (OR=.954, p=.654). Two of the control variables were found to be positively associated with perceived likelihood of attending college. Mother's education level (OR=1.29, p<.001) and family income (OR=1.02, p<.001) were both found to be positively associated with daughter's perceived likelihood of attending college. Adding demographic variables to the model decreases the

–2 log likelihood from 2453.52 to 2192.83 (p<.001, df=3), indicating that the addition of at least one of the demographic variables increased the predictive power of the model.

Mothering I variables were added in the third model. Race continued to have no significant effect on adolescents' beliefs in their likelihood of attending college (OR=.983, p=.892). Three Mothering I variables were found to be significantly associated with this possible self. For each one unit increase in *daughter's perceptions of mother's support*, girls were 1.08 times more likely to believe it was likely that they would attend college (p<.001). For each one unit increase in *daughter's perceptions of their mother's academic aspirations for their daughters*, girls were 1.50 times more likely to believe that it was likely that they would attend college (p<.001). For each one unit increase in daughters' perceptions of *mother's encouragement of their independence*, girls were 1.37 times more likely to believe that it was likely that they would attend college (p<.001). The addition of Mothering I variables to the third model, decreases the –2 log likelihood to 2044.71 (p<.001, df=3), indicating that at least one of the Mothering I variables provides improvement to the predictive power of the model.

The last and final model introduced Mothering II variables into the analysis. Race continued to have no significant effect on adolescents' beliefs in their likelihood of attending college (OR=.874, p=.302). Two of the Mothering II variables were found to have a significant association with girls' belief about their likelihood of attending college. For each one unit increase in *mother's perceived support of her daughter*, girls were 1.10 times more likely to believe it was likely they would attend college (p<.001). For each one unit increase in *mother's academic aspirations for their daughters*, girls were nearly two times more likely to believe it would be likely that they would attend college

(OR=1.80, p<.001). The addition of Mothering II variables to the final model decreased the –2 log likelihood to 1973.85 (p<.001, df=5), indicating that at least one of the Mothering II variables provides improvement to the predictive power of the model.

Chapter 8: DISCUSSION

This study, using a nationally representative sample, shows that black and white adolescent girls differ significantly across almost all measures of the self-concept. Black adolescent girls have higher self-esteem and mastery, a less distorted body image than white girls, and equal visions of possible selves as do white girls. This research supports previous research that found black adolescent girls to have stronger self-images than their white counterparts (Zimmerman et al. 1997; Rosenberg & Simmons 1972; Lewis et al 1999). In addition, this research adds to the literature by examining these factors using a nationally representative sample of black and white adolescent girls.

These findings suggest that if a "girlhood crisis" does exist during adolescence, it may not be experienced equally across all groups of girls. Black girls, despite facing multiple oppressions, appear to be able to maintain a more positive self-image as they move through adolescence. These differences between groups are found even after controlling for demographic factors such as family income, mother's education and age. The question we must ask then is how do we account for these differences between races? Examining mothers' socialization provides important insight into the differences found in these girls' self-concept.

Several aspects of mother's socialization were found to be significantly associated with measures of self-image and these findings may help explain why black adolescent girls report a more positive self-image than their white peers. For three aspects of the self-image (self-esteem, mastery and body image) mother's support and mother's encouragement of independence were found to be the most influential mothering variables. Consistent with Hoelter & Harper (1987) and Gecas & Schwalbe (1986),

mother's support was found to be positively associated with adolescent self-esteem. Self-esteem was found to be higher among adolescents who perceived receiving greater support from their mothers than their peers who reported receiving less support. In addition, mother's encouragement of daughter's independence was found be to be highly influential for daughter's self-esteem. Daughters may develop a greater sense of self-worth through their mother's encouragement of them to think, act and make decisions independently. While mother's support was also found to influence daughter's mastery, mother's encouragement of daughter's independence and mother's academic aspirations were found to be highly influential. Interestingly, only one of the mothering variables was found to be associated with daughter's distorted body image and that was mother's support. Other factors, which I was not able to investigate within this study, may play an important role in the development of positive body image. Finally, for daughter's possible selves, mother's academic aspirations for their daughters and mother's encouragement of independence were the most influential factors, followed by mother's support.

These findings provide evidence that mother's socialization plays an influential role in adolescent girls development of strong selves. Black daughters reported receiving greater support and encouragement of independence from their mothers, and higher academic aspirations from their mothers than did their white peers. This finding supports claims made within the feminist literature that black mothers must maintain unique connections with their daughters in order to help them navigate through an often racist society. Due to decades of discrimination and oppression, black women have been forced to develop alternative standards of femininity and self-appraisal (Collins 2000; Mama

1995). In rejecting dominant standards of femininity for themselves and creating new images of what it means to be feminine, black women have been recreating what it means to be a black woman. Through socialization these new ideals are transmitted from mother to daughter. Black mothers' additional support, encouragement of independence and high academic aspirations for their daughters appears to protect and enhance black daughters' sense of self-worth, mastery and future aspirations.

Implications

Despite the prevalence of concern over a "girlhood crisis" in both the academic and popular discourse, the findings from this study suggest that on average adolescent girls are maintaining positive self-images. Overall, blacks and whites both appear to have strong self-images. Although black girls appeared to have stronger selves when it came to self-esteem, mastery and body image, white girls, on average, still appear to have positive self-evaluations. For self-esteem the average score for blacks and whites was about 24 out of a possible 30 points, which indicates general agreement to statements representing positive self-esteem. In addition, for self-efficacy, the average score for blacks and whites combined was 18.97 out of a possible 25 points, again indicating general agreement with positive self-efficacy indicators. Finally, on average the majority of both groups reported a desire to attend college, however black girls were less likely to perceive this possible self as being likely.

The aspect of self-image where the two groups most diverge is body image. Over 20% of whites, in comparison to 8% of blacks, described their bodies as being overweight when in fact their calculated BMI was considered to be below or average for

their height and weight. Body image distortion has been found to be particularly problematic for white adolescents and this study replicates these findings.

The ability to examine mothering from both the mother and daughter perspective is an important methodological strength of this study. Previous research has suggested that children's self-evaluations are more dependent upon their own perceptions of their parent's behaviors than on parent's actual behaviors or beliefs (Gecas & Schwalbe 1986; Demo et al 1987). The current study partially supports this argument because the daughter's perceptions of mothering were stronger predictors of daughters' self-image than were the mothers' perceptions of mothering. Although black mothers reported providing less support to their adolescent girls than did white mothers, black adolescent girls reported receiving more support from their mothers than did whites and this "daughter" perception is very important. In addition, mother's encouragement of daughter's independence from the daughter's perspective was found to be more influential then mother's nontraditional ideologies or role modeling behavior. One aspect of mother's socialization that was found to be more influential from the mother's perspective was mother's academic aspirations for their daughters. One reason for this finding is that mothers may be more likely to talk openly with her daughter regarding her schoolwork and future academic goals. Therefore, mothers' academic aspirations may one aspect of mothers' socialization that is clearly defined for both mother and daughter.

Finally, while this study provides evidence that mothers' socialization may help protect and promote a positive self-concept during adolescence, young girls still face a number of disadvantages based on their race and socioeconomic statuses. A strong self-concept may help in shielding these girls from internalizing negative experiences;

however it may not prevent negative encounters with the larger society. Having a strong sense of self may not be enough to combat structural barriers young girls will face in adulthood. Despite evidence found in the current study and previous studies that black adolescent girls hold high expectations for their future educational attainment, college attendance continues to be less of a reality for black students. The last several decades of high school graduates have witnessed significant increases in cost of tuition and a decrease in availability of outside funding. The impact of which is most felt by low-income families who may not have additional resources to send their children to college (Kane 1994). In addition, parents may lack the cultural capital necessary to help their children navigate the application and funding processes. Kerpelman and colleagues (2002) study of the possible selves of adolescent black girls found girls to hold high expectations for the educational attainment, however the strategies their mothers' used to help their daughters achieve their goals varied greatly based on mothers' education level (Kerpelman et al 2002). Mothers with less education may be less able to navigate institutions, such as the educational system and less able to provide their daughters with the necessary skills to achieving their desired future selves.

Limitations

While this study provides interesting insights into the effect of race on mothers' socialization of their daughters, there are several limitations that need to be addressed. Although mothering does appear to be an important factor in the development of the self-concept for adolescent girls, much of the variance between groups is left unexplained. While mother's support and mother's academic aspirations for their daughter's futures appear to be influential in the development of strong selves, other factors, not examined

within this study, may help explain differences found between black and white adolescent girls. Mothers are just one agent of socialization in adolescent girls' lives. Research on adolescents has found peers groups to be play an important role in providing adolescents with feedback regarding their selves. Although it was not within the scope of this study to investigate the effects of peers on self-concept formation, future research should examine how peer groups and friend networks may affect the ways in which adolescents view their current and future selves.

Another limitation of this study is that it does not provide us with an understanding of how these young girls benefit from strong selves doing adolescence. Future research should explore how adolescent girls, black girls in particular, benefit from strong selves. If black adolescent girls have stronger self-images than their white peers, what advantages do they acquire as a result and do these advantages last into adulthood? Future research should explore how strong self-concept affects such things as mental and physical health, as well as future achievements.

Chapter 9: CONCLUSION

This study provides evidence that despite numerous disadvantages, black girls are able to maintain positive self-evaluations and hold high expectations for their futures. Despite facing multiple oppressions, black adolescent girls appear to have stronger self-images than their white counterparts. Adolescence has long been noted as a time of steep decline in self-esteem and other self-evaluations for adolescent girls. However this data suggests that if a girlhood crisis does exist, not all adolescent girls experience it equally. Black girls appear to be able to maintain strong self-evaluations (self-esteem, mastery and body image) and positive aspirations of their future selves. In examining social problems, such as a "girlhood crisis", through the lens of race and gender we are able to gain a better understanding of how these problems manifest and are experienced. In addition, this research provides important insight on the role of mothers in shaping the self-images of adolescent girls.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics - (weighted)

Variables	Overall	Whites N=1592[a]	Blacks N=652[a]
Dependent Variables			
Self-Esteem	24.47 ***	24.28	25.26
(10-30, 30=High self-esteem)	(3.53)	(3.56)	(3.31)
Mastery	18.97 ***	18.84	19.52
(9-25, 25=High mastery)	(2.80)	(2.79)	(2.78)
Body Image			
Distortion for Overweight	0.19 ***	0.21	0.08
(1=Distortion of being overweight)	(.39)	(.41)	(.28)
Possible Selves			
Desire to Go to College	0.76	0.76	0.76
(1= Desire to go to college)	(.43)	(.43)	(.43)
Perceived Likelihood of Going to College	0.61	0.62	0.58
(1=Will go to college)	(.49)	(.48)	(.49)
Independent Variables			
Race	0.19	--	--
(1=Black)			
Mothering I (Daughter's Perspective)			
Mother's Support	23.29 **	23.21	23.66
(9-35, 35=high support)	(3.03)	(3.01)	(3.11)
Mother's Academic Aspirations for Daughter	3.93 **	3.89	4.09
(1-5, 5= High aspirations)	(1.27)	(1.25)	(1.35)
Mother's Encouragement of Independence	4.23 ***	4.20	4.37
(1-5, 5 =Strong encouragement)	(.85)	(.85)	(.83)
Mothering II (Mother's Perspective)			
Mother's Support	16.39 *	16.45	16.10
(1-5, 5=Strong support)	(2.50)	(2.45)	(2.69)
Mother's Academic Aspirations for Daughter	2.23 ***	2.20	2.38
(1-3, 3=very disappointed if didn't graduate from college)	(.70)	(.69)	(.72)
Mother's Hopes for Daughter's Achievement	0.66 ***	0.64	0.79
(1=Brilliant student)	(.47)	(.48)	(.41)
Nontraditional Ideology	0.73 ***	0.76	0.63
(1=Nontraditional ideology)	(.44)	(.43)	(.48)
Mothers as Role Model	0.56 *	0.55	0.61
(1=Employed full time)	(50)	(.50)	(.49)
Controls			
Mother's Education	5.62 ***	5.79	4.90
(1-9, 5=HS degree 9=Professional Degree)	(2.19)	(1.74)	(2.29)
Family Income	44.20 ***	47.14	31.55
	(25.68)	(25.64)	(21.76)
Age	15.23	15.20	15.38
	(1.76)	(1.74)	(1.83)

Note:
*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001
[a]N's vary due to missing data

Table 2: Self-Esteem Regressed on Race, Controls and Daughter's and Mother's Perspectives of Mothering

Variables	Model 1:	Model 2:	Model 3:	Model 4:
Race	0.867 ***	1.012 ***	0.680 ***	0.684 ***
(Black = 1)	(0.178)	(0.181)	(0.164)	(0.170)
Controls				
Mother's Education		-0.017	-0.023	-0.039
		(0.040)	(0.036)	(0.037)
Family Income		0.012 **	0.008 **	0.006 *
		(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Age		-0.127 *	0.016	0.020
		(0.050)	(0.045)	(0.045)
Mothering I (Daughter's Perspective)				
Mother's Support			0.420 ***	0.398 ***
			(0.028)	(0.029)
Mother's Academic Aspirations for Daughter			0.112	0.085
			(0.060)	(0.061)
Mother's Encouragement of Independence			0.654 ***	0.627 ***
			(0.101)	(0.101)
Mothering II (Mother's Perspective)				
Mother's Support				0.090 **
				(0.032)
Mother's Academic Aspirations for Daughter				0.162
				(0.112)
Mother's Hopes for Daughter's Achievement				-0.273
				(0.157)
Nontraditional Ideology				-0.013
				(0.168)
Mother as Role Model (Employed)				0.178
				(0.150)
Constant	24.33	25.77	11.29	10.51
R^2	0.013	0.023	0.219	0.225

N =1867

Note: Standard errors in parentheses

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

Table 3: Mastery Regressed on Race, Controls and Daughter's and Mother's Perspectives of Mothering

Variables	Model 1:	Model 2:	Model 3:	Model 4:
Race	0.685 ***	0.654 ***	0.416 **	0.381 **
(Black = 1)	(0.142)	(0.145)	(0.141)	(0.146)
Controls				
Mother's Education		0.034	0.013	0.013
		(0.032)	(0.031)	(0.032)
Family Income		-0.003	-0.005	-0.005
		(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Age		0.072	0.114 **	0.114 **
		(0.040)	(0.039)	(0.039)
Mothering I (Daughter's Perspective)				
Mother's Support			0.145 ***	0.137 ***
			(0.024)	(0.025)
Mother's Academic Aspirations			0.220 ***	0.198 ***
for Daughter			(0.052)	(0.053)
Mother's Encouragement of			0.548 ***	0.531 ***
Independence			(0.086)	(0.086)
Mothering II (Mother's Perspective)				
Mother's Support				0.026
				(0.028)
Mother's Academic Aspirations				0.200 *
for Daughter				(0.096)
Mother's Hopes for Daughter's				-0.167
Achievement				(0.134)
Nontraditional Ideology				-0.269
				(0.144)
Mother as Role Model				-0.017
(Employed)				(0.129)
Constant	18.852	17.692	10.738	10.532
R^2	0.012	0.013	0.093	0.096

N =1844

Note: Standard errors in parentheses

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

Table 4: Logistical Regression of Distortion for Overweight Regressed on Race, Controls and Daughter's and Mother's Perspectives of Mothering

Variables	Model 1:	Model 2:	Model 3:	Model 4:
Race	-0.789 ***	-0.853 ***	-0.837 ***	-0.849 ***
(Black = 1)	(0.454)	(0.426)	(0.433)	(0.428)
Controls				
Mother's Education		0.098 **	0.093 **	0.087 *
		(1.103)	(1.097)	(1.091)
Family Income		-0.005	-0.004	-.004
		(0.995)	(0.996)	(.996)
Age		0.133 **	0.112 **	0.112 **
		(1.142)	(1.119)	(1.119)
Mothering I (Daughter's Perspective)				
Mother's Support			-0.087 ***	-0.088 ***
			(0.917)	(0.916)
Mother's Academic Aspirations			0.027	0.031
for Daughter			(1.027)	(1.032)
Mother's Encouragement of			0.004	-0.009
Independence			(1.004)	(1.009)
Mothering II (Mother's Perspective)				
Mother's Support				0.005
				(1.005)
Mother's Academic Aspirations				-0.069
for Daughter				(0.934)
Mother's Hopes for Daughter's				0.140
Achievement				(1.151)
Nontraditional Ideology				0.193
				(1.213)
Mother as Role Model				0.154
(Employed)				(1.166)
-2 Log Likelihood	1630.248	1609.740	1591.420	1587.184

N =1793

Note: Odds ratios in parentheses

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

Table 5: Logistical Regression of Desire to Go to College Regressed on Race, Controls and Daughter's and Mother's Perspectives of Mothering

Variables	Model 1:	Model 2:	Model 3:	Model 4:
Race	0.209	0.442 **	0.217	0.140
(Black = 1)	(1.232)	(1.555)	(1.242)	(1.151)
Controls				
Mother's Education		0.205 ***	0.182 ***	0.161 ***
		(1.228)	(1.200)	(1.174)
Family Income		0.013 ***	0.011 ***	0.009 **
		(1.013)	(1.011)	(1.009)
Age		-0.107 **	-0.102 **	-0.101 **
		(0.899)	(0.903)	(0.904)
Mothering I (Daughter's Perspective)				
Mother's Support			0.025	0.008
			(1.025)	(1.008)
Mother's Academic Aspirations			0.408 ***	0.366 ***
for Daughter			(1.503)	(1.441)
Mother's Encouragement of			0.366 ***	0.331 ***
Independence			(1.442)	(1.393)
Mothering II (Mother's Perspective)				
Mother's Support				0.073 **
				(1.075)
Mother's Academic Aspirations				0.456 ***
for Daughter				(1.578)
Mother's Hopes for Daughter's				-0.139
Achievement				(0.870)
Nontraditional Ideology				0.095
				(1.099)
Mother as Role Model				0.083
(Employed)				(1.086)
-2 Log Likelihood	1991.208	1854.694	1737.194	1699.127

N =1864

Note: Odds ratios in parentheses

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

Table 6: Logistical Regression of Likelihood of Going to College Regressed on Race, Controls and Daughter's and Mother's Perspectives of Mothering

Variables	Model 1:	Model 2:	Model 3:	Model 4:
Race	-0.047	0.204	0.017	-0.134
(Black = 1)	(0.954)	(1.227)	(0.983)	(0.874)
Controls				
Mother's Education		0.252 ***	0.241 ***	0.221 ***
		(1.286)	(1.272)	-1.248
Family Income		0.018 ***	0.017 ***	0.015 ***
		(1.018)	(1.017)	(1.015)
Age		-0.007	0.018	0.025
		(0.993)	(1.018)	(1.025)
Mothering I (Daughter's Perspective)				
Mother's Support			0.074 ***	0.051 *
			(1.077)	(1.052)
Mother's Academic Aspirations			0.407 ***	0.356 ***
for Daughter			(1.502)	(1.427)
Mother's Encouragement of			0.313 ***	0.274 ***
Independence			(1.368)	(1.315)
Mothering II (Mother's Perspective)				
Mother's Support				0.094 ***
				(1.099)
Mother's Academic Aspirations				0.587 ***
for Daughter				(1.798)
Mother's Hopes for Daughter's				-0.016
Achievement				(0.984)
Nontraditional Ideology				0.165
				(1.179)
Mother as Role Model				0.064
(Employed)				(1.066)
-2 Log Likelihood	2453.517	2192.832	2044.707	1973.854

N =1864

Note: Odds ratios in parentheses

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

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