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Parental Ethnic Racial Socialization and Psychosocial Outcomes among Black Adolescents of Different Ethnic Subcategories

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Parental Ethnic Racial Socialization and Psychosocial Outcomes among Black Adolescents of Different Ethnic Subcategories

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts in Education

by

Carlisa Bertha Simon

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Parental Ethnic Racial Socialization and Psychosocial Outcomes among Black Adolescents of Different Ethnic Subcategories

by

Carlisa Bertha Simon

Master of Arts in Education
University of California, Los Angeles, 2018

Professor Sandra Graham, Chair

Ethnic-racial socialization is defined as the communication of parents’ worldviews regarding race and ethnicity to their children (Hughes et al., 2003). Several research studies have focused on the ethnic-racial socialization of Black youth, under the assumption that the Black race is homogeneous. This view offers little insight into whether these socialization messages function differently for subgroups of Black respondents. Therefore, this study assessed the effect of ethnic-racial socialization messages on the psychosocial outcomes of Black adolescents from three ethnic subgroups: Black/African-American, Black/Other country of origin, and Black/Biracial. Hierarchical linear regression analyses revealed that frequent parental messages of cultural socialization were associated with stronger ethnic identity for all youth regardless of gender, parent education, or perceived school ethnic diversity. However, the analysis also
revealed that Black/Biracial adolescents who received frequent messages of cultural socialization reported less favorable perceptions of teacher racial climate compared to Black/African-American adolescents.
The thesis of Carlisa Bertha Simon is approved.

Carola Suárez-Orozco

Rashmita Mistry

Sandra Graham, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2018
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Introduction

Black parents, like all parents, seek to prepare their children for the world in which they live. Similarly, Black parents try to anticipate the “bumps in the road” that their children might experience through their own missteps, or at the hands of more influential or powerful others. In the United States, Black parents have a unique burden in this socialization process as many parents see it as necessary to prepare their children for experiences of racial discrimination. Hughes and colleagues (2003) coined the term ethnic-racial socialization, which is defined as the subtle or deliberate communication of parents’ worldviews regarding race and ethnicity to their children. Research shows that African American parents engage in explicit and/or implicit socialization practices to protect their youth from the negative psychosocial impact brought on from instances of racial discrimination (Lesane-Brown, 2006). Although the intent of these messages is to protect youth from the harmful effects of racial discrimination, studies have reported mixed results on the effectiveness of racial socialization on African American youths’ mental health and social development. For instance, Bynum, Smith, Burton and Best (2007) found that youth report less perceived stress in response to racial discrimination when they received messages preparing them for racial barriers along with strategies for handling racism. On the other hand, McHale and colleagues (2006) found that youth who had experienced racial discrimination reported higher levels of depressive symptoms when they also received frequent preparation for bias messages. Along with the mixed results of these studies, they primarily focus on African-Americans as a homogeneous race, offering little insight into whether messages of racial socialization function differently for the various racial subgroups of Black respondents.

Popular discourse, and thinking, in the United States, dating as far back as the early 1800’s has labeled anyone of African descent as Black, resulting in many seeing the Black race
as a monolith. This perspective has its origins in the “one-drop rule”, which implies that one-drop or any instance of African ancestry makes an individual Black (Hickman, 1997, p. 1163). The “one-drop rule” translates into many unique and varying identities within the Black race being glossed over. This monolithic view of the Black race is also prevalent in developmental research, as countless studies on Black adolescent development examine Black/African American adolescents without acknowledging those who may identify as Black/Biracial, Caribbean, African, or of another country of origin.

This lack of differentiation, I argue, leads to limited understandings of whether, and how, ethnically different Black children receive different racial socialization messages. Therefore, the current study assesses the effect of racial socialization messages on the psychosocial outcomes of Black adolescents from three racial subgroups (Black/African American, Black/other country or origin, and Black/White biracial).

**Theoretical Perspective of the Socialization Process**

The current study draws from Spencer’s (1997) phenomenological variant of ecological systems theory (PVEST) to highlight the role of racial socialization on the psychosocial outcomes of diverse Black youth. First, it is important to note that the PVEST framework suggests that an individual’s identity is developed by their ability to understand societal expectations and bias given their contextual experiences and environmental feedback. I assert that parents have a part in furthering their children’s ability to understand those expectations and biases. Black adolescents may experience inequity in their daily context – inequity that their parents try to prepare them for as well as protect them from through messages of racial socialization (Richardson, et al., 2015). Parental racial socialization serves as the environmental feedback explicitly and implicitly delivered to Black youth to aid in development of their various
identities. Therefore, the PVEST framework connects the ways that Black youth are racially socialized by their parents to the development of their racial identity through its exploration of “reactive coping methods” as a result of negative racial experiences (Spencer, 1997, p. 819). PVEST ultimately highlights this meaning-making process as an indicator for psychosocial life outcomes (i.e. mental health, identity, social development) (Spencer, 1997). Essentially, PVEST will guide this proposed study in understanding the use of parental racial socialization as the environmental feedback that aids in youth’s identity development. In the following section, I provide a brief review of relevant literature on racial socialization and the various experiences of Black racial subgroups.

**Ethnic-Racial Socialization and its Outcomes**

The subtle or deliberate communication of parent worldviews regarding race and ethnicity to their children is referred to as racial socialization (Hughes, 2003). Likewise, Neblett, Smalls, Ford, Nguyen, and Sellers (2009) define racial socialization as the “implicit and explicit messages designed to communicate racial group membership, values, behaviors, beliefs, and intergroup relationships” (p.189). Some of the commonly reported messages of racial socialization are cultural socialization/ethnic pride, preparation for bias, and egalitarianism (Hughes et al., 2006; Bowman & Howard, 1985).

Most popular among parents’ endorsement of racial socialization to youth are messages of ethnic and racial pride, also referred to as cultural socialization (Caughey et al., 2011; Hughes, 2003). These messages include the intentional act of teaching children about their racial history and cultural traditions. Activities that support cultural socialization include celebrating cultural holidays, eating ethnic food, and exposure to art, music, and literature that celebrate heritage (Hughes et al., 2006). Research has shown many positive outcomes for children who receive
these messages from their parents such as a greater knowledge about their racial/ethnic group, strong personal ethnic group outlook (i.e. private regard) in terms of racial identity (Knight et al., 1993) and affirmative self-concepts (Ou & McAdoo, 1993).

On the other hand, preparation for bias involves informing children about racial discrimination, reasons why they may experience such discrimination as well as providing them with coping strategies. An example of this type of socialization would be conversations such as “the talk” about discriminatory encounters with police (Pollard, 2017) or about the expectancy of racial discrimination (Hughes et al., 2006). Research suggests that messages of preparation for bias aid youth in how to recognize and cope with the negative interracial encounters that they may experience throughout their development (Hughes & Chen, 1999). However, preparation for bias messages also communicate the negative societal status of Black individuals to adolescents, which in turn, may lead to low perceptions of others’ outlook on their ethnic group (Stevenson & Arrington, 2009).

Lastly, egalitarianism involves a colorblind ideology that emphasizes equality among racial groups and the value of individual characteristics as opposed to membership in a specific racial group (Hughes et al., 2006). Outcome factors of egalitarian or colorblind socialization are rarely found in the research as research mostly stresses the importance of cultural socialization (Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009) and preparation for racial bias by Black/African American parents, especially when the Black/African American sample is treated as a monolith (Lesane-Brown, 2006).

Research on these identified messages of racial socialization has primarily focused on Black/African American youth. Here, I will note the different challenges and experiences
ethnically different Black youth negotiate, which may speak to how the process of parental racial socialization differs among diverse Black youth.

**Black Racial Subgroups**

Due to the historical context of the “one-drop rule”, it is still common practice to label anyone of African descent as Black, resulting in many seeing the Black race as a monolith. However, this one-drop rule for Black individuals is often determined more so by phenotype, rather than actual ancestry. Phenotypically, black individuals are often identified by others according to their skin color, hair curliness, and other physical features that are easily recognizable as non-white. Although Black individuals share common racial characteristics, they differ in culture, ethnicity, and language (Kim, 2014). This distinction becomes important to consider in the topic of racial socialization, as one of the main goals in racial socialization is to prepare youth for the challenges they may face due to their racial characteristics. Because Black youth may share similar phenotypic features, this may make them susceptible to various forms of discrimination. However, Black youth come from several different cultures and ethnic backgrounds which sometimes have varying views of Blackness, regardless of their phenotypic appearance. In this case, it becomes important to understand what their parents may be teaching them about their race and ethnicity. In this current study, I speculate that the messages Black families who are of a different or mixed ethnic background send to their children may be different from or void of the messages discussed in the literature (e.g. preparation for bias, cultural socialization, egalitarianism).
Black/Biracial Youth

Of the many Black/biracial identities (i.e. Black/Asian, Black/Latino, etc.), the Black/White biracial identity is the most studied (Csizmadia, Rollins, and Kaneakua, 2014; Stone and Dolbin-MacNab, 2017). There has been little to no research on the racial socialization of Black/biracial identities outside of the Black/White biracial identity. The experience of Black/White biracial adolescents is one that the literature points to as “unique” in the discussion of parental racial socialization as these youth “belong to two racial groups that have historically been at a great social distance” (Csizmadia et al., 2014, p. 259). In the past and still to this day, Black/White biracial youth are considered Black as a result of the historical “one-drop rule” (Hickman, 1997, p. 1163). However, it is important to understand how Black/White biracial families negotiate the conjunction of these two identities. In a study examining the ethnic-racial socialization practices of Black/White biracial families, Csizmadia et al. (2014) found that accounts of racial socialization varied as a function of racial identification and parent characteristics. For instance, parents who thought that their biracial children would be accepted as White choose to identify them as White and in turn discussed children’s ethnic-racial heritage less frequently. On the contrary, parents that identified their biracial child as Black discussed ethnic-racial heritage more frequently. This finding suggests that it matters how Black/White parents identify and perceive how others identify their youth in the decision to send racial socialization messages to them. However, it is also within the scope of this study to include and examine the socialization messages delivered to other Black/biracial youth such as those who identity as Black/Latino, Black/East & Southeast Asian, Black/Native American, Black/Middle Eastern, and Black/Filipino & Pacific Islander. In the event that no differences are found
between these different Black/biracial groups, they will be included the analysis as one group: Black/biracial.

*Black/Other country of origin youth*

Another population often grouped with the Black/African American identity is Black immigrants or Black/other country of origin individuals. According to the Pew Research Center (2018), roughly one-in-ten black individuals (9%) living in the U.S. are foreign born. Limited research examines the racial socialization processes between Black/other country of origin parents and youth. A dissertation study by Joseph (2014) used an ethnic socialization measure specifically for Black immigrants and found that youth who experience frequent/daily discrimination report lower anxiety arousal when they receive messages of ethnic cultural socialization frequently (e.g. “celebrated any cultural holidays of your Black immigrant group with you”). This finding not only suggests that Black immigrant parents are socializing their children to possess a strong sense of ethnic pride, but also that this form of cultural socialization specific to the Black immigrant experience protects youth from anxiety even when having to deal with constant discrimination (Joseph, 2014). This finding also gives reason to speculate that Black/other country of origin parents may be transmitting more messages of ethnic pride (i.e. cultural socialization) than messages of preparation for bias or egalitarianism. From the literature concerning Black/ biracial youth and Black/other country of origin youth, messages of cultural socialization have been a consistent finding across these two populations. This runs contrary in relation to the research on Black/ African American families’ racial socialization practices, as it usually focuses on preparing youth for bias. In addition, research on the generational status and class of Black/other country of origin youth has been explored as well (Waters, 1994). Waters (1994) sought out to understand the development of ethnic identity in second-generation West
Indian and Haitian adolescents compared to their first-generation immigrant counterparts. She concluded that second generation West Indian and Haitian youth developed one of the following identities: A Black American identity, an ethnic origin identity, or an immigrant identity, but the perceptions associated with each one of these identities were dependent upon social class. Second generation youth who identified as Black American held more negative perceptions of their access to opportunities and the occurrence of discrimination in the United States, whereas second generation youth who identified with an ethnic origin identity perceived more positive views of opportunities for upward mobility in the United States. Waters (1994) justifies this claim by suggesting social class as a moderating factor. Second generation youth living in poor, urban areas tend to adapt to Black American culture and the negative perceptions of U.S. racial climate while well-off second-generation youth sustain connections to their families’ ethnic origins and egalitarian values (Waters, 1994). It is important to acknowledge the ethnic differences among Black youth in this work because it will extend the socialization literature by exploring whether socialization messages within Black/other country of origin and Black/White biracial families are captured by the current conceptualizations of parental racial socialization (Joseph, 2014).

This Study

Several research studies have focused on the racial socialization messages transmitted to Black youth, under the assumption that the Black race is homogeneous. This view offers little insight into whether messages of racial socialization function differently for the various racial subgroups of Black respondents. The present study seeks to dismantle this assumption by assessing the effect of racial socialization messages on the psychosocial outcomes of Black adolescents from three racial subgroups (Black/African American, Black/other country or origin,
and Black/biracial). In this study, the term ‘Black/other country of origin’ will refer to youth who identify as foreign-born or as the child of foreign-born parents that moved to the United States, ‘Black/African American’ will refer to those who identify as U.S.-born or as the child of U.S.-born parents, and ‘Black/biracial’ will refer to youth who identify as Biracial for whom at least one identity is specified as Black.

Many studies have looked at a myriad of outcomes, however, this study seeks to understand outcomes that speak to how adaptive youth are with ethnic racial socialization. Therefore, the measures used in this study included a comprehensive set of psychosocial outcomes including measures of mental health (i.e. depressive symptoms and loneliness) and racial perceptions (i.e. perception of school racial climate and ethnic identity). The study seeks to explore the following research questions:

- Will the frequency of parental racial socialization messages differ by Black racial category (Black/African American, Black/other country of origin, Black/Biracial)?

I hypothesize that there would be a significant difference in the frequency of ethnic socialization messages between the three Black ethnic subcategories, in that parents would utilize preparation for racial bias and cultural socialization messages more frequently with Black/African American youth, but significantly more frequent messages of cultural socialization to their Black/other country of origin and Black/Biracial children. Due to the lack of previous literature on the delivery of egalitarianism socialization within Black families, I predict that all Black parents would deliver fewer messages of egalitarianism socialization than preparation for racial bias and cultural socialization.

- How will the relationship between parental messages of racial socialization and
psychosocial outcomes (i.e. loneliness, depressive symptoms, perceptions of teacher racial climate, and ethnic identity) vary based on black racial group?

I hypothesize that parental messages of preparation for bias and cultural socialization will be associated with less reports of loneliness and depressive symptoms and stronger perceptions of teacher racial climate and ethnic identity for Black/African American youth. I also suspect that parental messages of cultural socialization will be associated with the same positive psychological outcome specifically for Black/other county or origin and Black/biracial youth.

**Method**

**Participants**

Participants were drawn from the UCLA Middle School Diversity Project (UCLA MSDP), an ongoing longitudinal study of 5,991 students from 26 urban, ethnically diverse middle schools in Northern and Southern California. These schools were selected based on their range of ethnic diversity. For instance, six schools were considered “ethnically diverse” as there was no clear majority or minority ethnic group nine schools had two large, well-represented ethnic groups, and 11 schools had a distinct majority ethnic group (Morales-Chicas & Graham, 2016). The sampling strategy of the UCLA MSDP resulted in having an ethnically diverse sample that was approximately 30% Latino or Mexican/Mexican American, 17% White/Caucasian, 15% Multiethnic/Biracial, 12% East or Southeast Asian, 11% African American, 1% Black/other country of origin, and the remaining participants reporting as American Indian, Middle Eastern, Pacific Islander, or South Asian.

Data were collected in four waves across grade level. Waves 1 and 2 were collected
during the fall (wave 1) and spring (wave 2) of the participants’ 6th grade year. Waves 3 and 4 were collected in the spring of the participants’ 7th and 8th grade years. Each wave also included three cohorts: Cohort 1 started in 2009, Cohort 2 in 2010, and Cohort 3 in 2011.

The analytic sample was created with an exclusion criterion based on student-reported ethnicity. Ethnicity among adolescents was assessed through a self-report measure in which students were asked, “What is your ethnic group?” and presented with 13 ethnic groups to choose from (e.g. American Indian, Black/African American, Black/ other country of origin, East Asian, Latino/other country of origin, Mexican/Mexican American, Middle Eastern, Pacific Islander, South Asian, Southeast Asian, White/Caucasian, Multiethnic/Biracial, and Other). The resulting analytic sample for this study included 824 Black adolescents from all three cohorts of wave 1, evenly divided by gender, with 429 (52%) girls and 395 (48%) boys. The analytic sample was comprised of participants who self-identified as either Black/African American (N=605), Black/Other country of origin (N=59), or Multiethnic/Biracial and specified Black as a part of their biracial identity (N=160).

Of the participants who identified as Black/biracial, 50% were Black/White (n=80), 27.5% were Black/Latino (n=44), 10% were Black/Native American (n=16), 12.5% were Black/Asian (n=20). Of the participants who identified as Black/Other country of origin, 12 different countries were represented: Belize, Jamaica, Trinidad, St. Vincent, Guatemala, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Ghana, Egypt, the Congo, Eritrea, and Morocco.

Participants’ age ranged from 10 to 13 years (M= 11.39, SD = .39). During the informed consent process, parents of the participants reported their educational attainment level. Approximately half (49.2%) of the participant’s parents had some college experience; 33.4% received their bachelor’s degree and/or received a graduate/higher level degree; 12.2% received
a high school diploma or equivalent degree, and 5.2% had less than a high school degree. The school context was also considered with 35.6% (n=267) of participants reporting that they perceived their school’s biggest ethnic group to be Black/African Americans, 26.4% (n=198) reported that Latino/Mexican Americans were the school’s biggest ethnic group, 16.5% (n=124) reported Caucasian/Whites, 15.6% (n=117) reported none, and lastly, 5.9% (n=44) reported Asian/Pacific Islanders.

**Procedure**

Participants were recruited and surveyed in nonacademic class settings and were required to have both written parental consent and student assent forms completed in order to be surveyed. Students who returned a signed parental consent and student assent completed a survey twice in sixth grade (Fall and Spring) and once in 7th and 8th grade (Spring). At each time, students were instructed to answer survey questions on their own while a research assistant read the survey items aloud. A second research assistant was also present to assist students as needed. Questionnaires took about an hour to complete. Once completed, students were given an honorarium of $5 and entered into a raffle to win an iPod.

**Measures**

*Parental Messages of Racial Socialization*

Racial Socialization was assessed using eight items adapted from the 16-item measure developed by Hughes and Chen (1997). Using a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (“never”) to 5 (“very often”), parents reported how often they transmitted information about race and ethnicity to their children. Given the research done on the different messages of racial socialization, an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was conducted to determine which items
loaded onto separate factors that would represent the different types of socialization messages (e.g. preparation for bias, egalitarianism, and cultural socialization messages).

An EFA was used with principal axis factoring extraction method and the varimax rotation method because it was most effective at consolidating the least number of factors accounting for majority of the common variance. The number of factors was determined by factor eigenvalues above 1.0. Three factors showed eigenvalues greater than 1.0 and accounted for 65.05% of the variance in the data. Items in each factor were reviewed to confirm that they were cohesive with the type of racial socialization messages being studied and factors were compiled into subscales. The first factor, cultural socialization (eigenvalue = 2.94) accounted for 36.77% of the variance and consisted three items (α=.77). The 3-item cultural socialization scale contains items about receiving messages related to ethnic pride and knowledge (e.g. “done things to celebrate the history of your child’s racial or ethnic group). The second factor, preparation for bias (eigenvalue = 1.44) accounted for 17.97% of the variance and consisted of two items (r=.80). The 2-item preparation for bias scale includes messages about the expectancy and awareness of racial discrimination (e.g. “talked with your child about how people might treat him/her unfairly because of their race or ethnicity”). Lastly, the third factor, egalitarianism (eigenvalue = 1.00) accounted for 12.55% of the variance and consisted of two items (r=.58). The 2-item egalitarianism scale was comprised of messages emphasizing racial equality or a silence about racial differences between individuals (e.g. “told your child that race doesn’t matter – everyone has the same opportunities to succeed”). One item was excluded because it loaded onto each of the three factors equally, making it difficult to determine which factor is belonged to (e.g. “Told your child that he or she can be anything they want to be”). See Table 1 for a summary of factor loadings. Therefore, seven out of the eight items available were included and
divided into three subscales for the overall measure of racial socialization in this study. All items were averaged so that higher scores of each of these subscales indicated more frequent delivery of racial socialization messages.

Table 1. Exploratory Factor Analysis: Summary table of factor loadings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>1 Cultural Socialization</th>
<th>2 Preparation for bias</th>
<th>3 Egalitarianism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Encouraged your child to read books about the history of their race/ethnic group/culture or about well-known people in their group</td>
<td>.558</td>
<td>.367</td>
<td>.140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Done things to celebrate the history of your child’s racial or ethnic group</td>
<td>.819</td>
<td>.156</td>
<td>.048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taken your child to cultural events about their racial or ethnic group</td>
<td>.707</td>
<td>.189</td>
<td>.078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talked with your child about how people can be discriminated against because of their race or ethnicity</td>
<td>.203</td>
<td>.905</td>
<td>.020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Told your child that people might treat him/her unfairly because of their race or ethnicity</td>
<td>.257</td>
<td>.703</td>
<td>-.048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Told your child that race is no longer a problem in this society</td>
<td>.083</td>
<td>-.008</td>
<td>.525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Told your child that race doesn’t matter – everyone has the</td>
<td>.051</td>
<td>.026</td>
<td>.776</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Loneliness

Loneliness was assessed using five items adapted from Asher and Wheeler (1985). Using a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (“not true at all”) to 5 (“always true”), adolescents reported the degree to which they felt lonely at school (e.g. “I feel left out of things”, “I’m lonely at school”). Items were averaged; higher scores will suggest more feelings of loneliness at school ($\alpha = .88$).

Depressive Symptoms

Seven items were drawn from the Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (CES-D; Radloff, 1977) as an abbreviated scale to assess adolescent depressive symptoms. On 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1= “rarely or none of the time (less than 1 day)” to 4 = “almost all of the time (5-7 days)”, adolescents are asked to report how often they experienced symptoms (e.g. “I was bothered by things that usually don’t bother me”, “I felt depressed”) during the week prior to answering the survey. Items were averaged so that higher scores reflect more long-term symptoms ($\alpha = .79$).

Teacher Racial Climate

Teacher racial climate was measured using a 3-item subscale from the larger School Interracial Climate Scale (Green, Adams, & Turner, 1988) that assesses the degree to which the teachers at school promote interactions between different ethnic groups (e.g. “Teachers at this school are fair to students of all ethnic groups”) ($\alpha = .76$). For each item in this subscale,
adolescents used a 5-point Likert scale that ranged from 1 = “no way!” to 5 = “for sure, yes!” Items on the teacher subscale were averaged so that higher scores would portray a better perception of racial climate at school.

*Ethnic Identity*

Ethnic identity was assessed using the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992). This 6-item measure evaluates the subjective sense of membership and quality of affiliation with one’s ethnic group (e.g. “I am proud that I am a member of my ethnic group”, “I have spent time trying to find out more about my own ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs). For each item, youth used a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = “Definitely no!” to 5 = “Definitely yes!” Items were averaged so that higher scores indicate more connectedness to one’s ethnic group (α = .73).

*Control Variables*

Three measures were used as control variables: gender, parent educational attainment, and subjective perception of school diversity. *Gender* was dummy coded with “male” as the reference group. Additionally, on the informed consent form, participants’ parent indicated their highest level of education obtained on a 6-point scale that ranged from 1 = “elementary/junior high school”, 2 = “some high school”, 3 = “high school diploma or GED”, 4 = “some college”, 5 = “4-year college degree”, and 6 = “graduate degree”. The parent education measure was then abbreviated, and dummy coded to reveal 4 levels of education obtained: 1 = “some high school or less”, 2 = “high school diploma”, 3 = “some college experience”, and 4 = “college degree or higher” with “some high school or less” as the reference group.

Subjective perception of school diversity was measured by asking participants, “which is the BIGGEST ethnic group at your school?” and given a 5-point scale that ranged from 0 =
“None. There is no biggest group at this school”, 1 = “African American/Black”, 2 = “Asian/Pacific Islander”, 3 = “Caucasian/White”, 4 = “Latino/Mexican American”. The subjective perception of diversity measure was also dummy coded to include 4 ethnic group variables using “None. There is no biggest group at this school” as the reference group.

**Analytic Strategies**

Along with obtaining the initial descriptives of study variables (e.g. means, standard deviations, and bivariate associations), a one-way ANOVA was conducted to see how messages of racial socialization differed between the different Black/biracial identities. This analysis included Black/biracial identities such as Black/White (n=80), Black/Latino (n=44), Black/Native American (n=16), Black/Asian (n=20). After finding no significant difference between these Black/biracial groups on how often they received messages of cultural socialization ($F(5, 190) = 1.24, p = .29$), preparation or bias ($F(5, 190) = .35, p = .88$), and egalitarianism ($F(5, 190) = .75, p = .59$), these different Black/biracial identities were grouped under one label: “Black/biracial”.

The first research question seeks to determine whether the frequency of parental racial socialization messages will differ by Black racial subcategory (Black/African American, Black/other country of origin, Black/biracial). To determine this, a one-way ANOVA was conducted to see which racial socialization messages (i.e. egalitarianism, preparation for bias, and cultural socialization) are most prominent for each Black racial subcategory. Based on the literature, it was expected that parents will utilize racial socialization messages of all types more frequently with Black/African American youth, whereas parents will deliver cultural socialization messages more frequently to their Black/other country of origin and Black/White biracial children.
The second hypothesis of this study anticipates parental messages of racial socialization overall (i.e. preparation for bias, cultural socialization, and egalitarianism) will be associated with positive psychosocial outcomes (i.e. less loneliness, lower frequency of depressive symptoms, strong ethnic identity, and positive outlooks of teacher racial climate) for Black/African American youth. I also suspect that parental messages of cultural socialization will be associated with positive psychological outcome specifically for Black/Other county or origin and Black/Biracial youth. To explore the predictive relationship between parental messages of racial socialization and psychosocial outcomes for Black racial subcategory while controlling for gender, parent education, and subjective perceptions of school ethnic diversity, hierarchical linear regression was performed. Black racial subcategory was dummy coded with Black/African American as the reference group. Interaction terms were created for each racial socialization message and dummy-coded Black racial subcategory resulting in six interactions present in each analysis conducted on the four psychosocial dependent variables. Gender, parent education, and subjective perceptions of school diversity served as control variables for these analyses. The presence of an interaction would show that the association between parental messages of racial socialization and psychosocial outcomes varies based on youth’s self-identified Black racial subcategory after controlling for participant’s gender, their parent’s highest level of education obtained, and the participant’s perception of their school’s ethnic composition. Analyses were primarily conducted in SPSS version 25, with list wise deletion used when missing data were present.
Results

Descriptive Statistics

Means, standard deviations, and bivariate associations for study variables are presented in Table 2. There was a positive association between parental messages of preparation for bias and messages of cultural socialization ($r = .46, p < .01$) and ethnic identity ($r = .09, p < .05$). Messages of cultural socialization were also positively associated with messages of egalitarianism ($r = .14, p < .01$) and ethnic identity ($r = .19, p < .01$). There was a negative association between loneliness and ethnic identity ($r = -.15, p < .01$) and teacher racial climate ($r = -.14, p < .05$). Lastly, there was a positive association between loneliness and depressive symptoms ($r = .35, p < .01$).

Table 2. Descriptive statistics and correlations among study variables

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
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<td>.09*</td>
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<td>-.01</td>
<td>-.02</td>
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<td>.19**</td>
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<td>-.09</td>
<td>-.05</td>
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<tr>
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<td>.03</td>
<td>-.15**</td>
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<td>-.14**</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>7. Loneliness</td>
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Range

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<th>1-5</th>
<th>1-4</th>
<th>1-5</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black/African American Mean (SD)</td>
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<td>2.64</td>
<td>3.76</td>
<td>4.04</td>
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<td>1.41</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(1.08)</td>
<td>(.91)</td>
<td>(1.13)</td>
<td>(.60)</td>
<td>(.82)</td>
<td>(.48)</td>
<td>(.64)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Black/Other country of origin Mean (SD)</td>
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<td>3.23</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td>3.80</td>
<td>4.06</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>1.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.06)</td>
<td>(1.11)</td>
<td>(1.11)</td>
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<td>(.93)</td>
<td>(.63)</td>
<td>(.78)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Black/Biracial Mean (SD)</td>
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<td>2.57</td>
<td>3.61</td>
<td>4.13</td>
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<td>(.99)</td>
<td>(.97)</td>
<td>(1.17)</td>
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<td>(.79)</td>
<td>(.63)</td>
<td>(.72)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overall Mean (SD)</td>
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<td>3.36</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>3.73</td>
<td>4.06</td>
<td>1.49</td>
<td>1.44</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.06)</td>
<td>(.94)</td>
<td>(1.14)</td>
<td>(.62)</td>
<td>(.83)</td>
<td>(.53)</td>
<td>(.67)</td>
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</table>

*p ≤ .05; **p ≤ .01
One-way analysis of variance (ANOVA)

To determine whether the mean frequency of parental racial socialization messages differed by Black racial subcategory (Black/African American, Black/Other country of origin, Black/Biracial), a one-way ANOVA was performed. There was no significant difference between Black/African American, Black/Other country of origin, and Black/Biracial youth in frequency of received preparation for bias messages ($F(2, 777) = .861, p = .42$), cultural socialization messages ($F(2, 777) = 2.31, p = .10$), or egalitarianism messages ($F(2, 776) = 1.27, p = .28$).

Hierarchical linear regression

Hierarchical linear regression was conducted to test whether Black ethnic category (Black/African American, Black/Other country of origin, or Black/Biracial) moderated the association between parental messages of racial socialization and psychosocial outcomes while controlling for gender, parent educational attainment, and participant’s subjective perceptions of school ethnic diversity. Black ethnic category was dummy-coded with Black/African American as the reference group. Depressive symptoms, loneliness, ethnic identity, and teacher racial climate were examined in separate models, with each ethnic socialization message; thus, twenty-four regressions were performed, each including the two-way interaction between parental ethnic socialization and Black ethnic category. For these analyses, the ethnic socialization and Black ethnic category variables were centered, and the mean-deviated scores were used to compute interaction terms. A moderating effect was identified if the effect of the interaction term was significant after controlling for gender, parent education, and subjective perceptions of school ethnic diversity (Table 3-4). Due to the number of regression analyses performed, this study used
an adjusted p-value of 0.01 (as opposed to 0.05) to account for the amount of error collected in analyzing twenty-four regression models.

Table 3. Hierarchical linear model results for depressive symptoms and loneliness

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Within Level</th>
<th>Depressive Symptoms</th>
<th>Loneliness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>β</td>
<td>SE β</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>1.42</td>
<td>.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>.10*</td>
<td>.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent Ed HighSchoolDiploma</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent Ed SomeCollege</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent Ed CollegeDegree/Above</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggest Ethnic Group – Black</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggest Ethnic Group – Asian</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggest Ethnic Group – White</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggest Ethnic Group – Latino</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black/Other country of origin (BOCO)</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black/Biracial (BBI)</td>
<td>.34</td>
<td>.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent Preparation for bias (PrepBias)</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent Egalitarianism (Egalitarian)</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent Cultural Socialization (CulturalSoc)</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PrepBias x BOCO</td>
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<tr>
<td>Egalitarian x BOCO</td>
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<td>.10</td>
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<td>CulturalSoc x BOCO</td>
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<td>PrepBias x BBI</td>
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<td>.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CulturalSoc x BBI</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.09</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**p≤.01, “Black/African American” and “Male” served as the reference groups for Black racial group and gender variables. “Some high school or less” served as the reference group for parent education variables. For subjective perceptions of school’s biggest ethnic group, “None” served as the reference group.

Table 4. Hierarchical linear model results for ethnic identity and teacher racial climate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Within Level</th>
<th>Ethnic Identity</th>
<th>Teacher Racial Climate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>β</td>
<td>SE β</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>3.39</td>
<td>.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent Ed HighSchoolDiploma</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**p ≤ .01, “Black/African American” and “Male” served as the reference groups for Black racial group and gender variables. “Some high school or less” served as the reference group for parent education variables. For subjective perceptions of school’s biggest ethnic group, “None” served as the reference group.

After controlling for gender, parent educational attainment, and subjective school ethnic diversity, no significant interaction or main effects were found between messages of parental ethnic racial socialization (i.e. preparation for bias, cultural socialization, egalitarianism) and Black ethnic category (i.e. Black/other country of origin and Black/biracial with Black/African American as the reference group) on depressive symptoms.

Likewise, no significant interactions were found between messages of ethnic socialization (i.e. preparation for bias, cultural socialization, egalitarianism) and Black ethnic category (i.e. Black/other country of origin and Black/biracial with Black/African American as the reference group) on reports of ethnic identity, after controlling for gender, parent educational
attainment, and subjective school ethnic diversity. However, a significant main effect was found for parental messages of cultural socialization on ethnic identity, such that the frequent delivery of cultural socialization messages from the participant’s parents was associated with stronger perceptions of ethnic identity for all Black youth in the sample ($t = 2.63, p = 0.009$).

The interaction between messages of ethnic socialization (i.e. preparation for bias, cultural socialization, egalitarianism) and Black ethnic category (i.e. Black/other country of origin and Black/biracial with Black/African American as the reference group) while controlling for gender, parent educational attainment, and subjective school ethnic diversity for reports of loneliness yielded no significant interactions or main effects.

Lastly, after controlling for gender, parental educational attainment, and subjective school ethnic diversity, the regression of teacher racial climate on cultural socialization and the Black/Biracial ethnic category yielded a significant interaction ($t = -2.67, p = 0.008$). In this case, Black ethnic category had a moderating effect on the outcome of teacher racial climate and the delivery of cultural socialization messages from parents. The frequent delivery of parental cultural socialization messages to Black/Biracial youth was associated with lower perceptions of teacher racial climate. However, an analysis of the simple slopes indicated that neither slopes for Black/African American youth ($t=0.47, p > .05$) or Black/Biracial youth ($t=-0.58, p > .05$) were significant. (see Figure 1 below). The regression of teacher racial climate on egalitarianism, preparation for bias, and the Black/Other country of origin ethnic category were non-significant and the regression of teacher racial climate on preparation for bias, egalitarianism, and Black/Biracial ethnic category were also non-significant.
Discussion

Ultimately, the results of this study confirmed previous research on the positive effects of transmitting cultural socialization messages to Black youth. The current study found that frequent cultural socialization was associated with stronger ethnic identity for all Black youth. Additionally, a negative relationship was shown for Black/biracial youth in that those who received frequent messages of cultural socialization were more likely to report poorer perception of teacher racial climate.

Previous research has discussed the effects of parental ethnic socialization on Black adolescents’ mental health and social identity development, but few studies have included racial perception outcomes and even fewer have tested these association for Black/ African American,
Black/Other country of origin and Black/Biracial youth. This study offers a more nuanced way of studying a Black sample as a heterogeneous race by highlighting the intra-group variability among Black families in their ethnic socialization practices and psychosocial outcomes.

The first aim of this study was to distinguish the differences in how often parents of Black/African American, Black/Other county or origin, and Black/Biracial youth delivered messages of ethnic socialization. This study hypothesized that there would be a significant difference in the frequency of ethnic socialization messages between the three Black ethnic subcategories, in that parents would utilize preparation for racial bias and cultural socialization messages more frequently with Black/African American youth, but significantly more frequent messages of cultural socialization to their Black/other country of origin and Black/Biracial children. Due to the lack of previous literature on the delivery of egalitarianism socialization within Black families, it was predicted that all Black parents would deliver fewer messages of egalitarianism socialization than preparation for racial bias and cultural socialization. Findings from this study did not fully support the first hypothesis as there was no variation in how frequent parents of Black/African American, other country of origin, or biracial youth delivered messages of preparation for bias, egalitarianism or cultural socialization. However, the latter half of the first hypothesis regarding egalitarianism socialization was supported. According to the means and standard deviations of these socialization variables, Black youth from every ethnic category received cultural socialization and preparation for bias messages frequently but received messages of egalitarianism messages less frequently. This finding is consistent with prior research, as correlates of egalitarian or colorblind socialization are not commonly reported by Black parents or youth (Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009). A possible explanation for such a trend could point to the notion of an egalitarian, post-racial society being more
disputed and rejected among Black families, considering the tendency for media coverage in the United States to display the unjust treatment of Black individuals. For instance, in 2009, during the time of this study’s data collection phase, there was extensive coverage on the shooting of Oscar Grant, an unarmed Black man fatally shot by police for a mistaking his cell phone as a weapon in Oakland, California (Head, 2017). Consistency in the narratives of Black individuals like Oscar Grant being racially targeted may leave little hope for an egalitarian perspective for Black families in the United States.

However, this study’s primary objective was to understand the differential effects of ethnic socialization on the psychosocial outcomes of Black youth from varying ethnic categories.

It was hypothesized that parental messages of ethnic socialization would have a differential effect on the psychosocial outcomes of Black/African American, Black/other country of origin, and Black/biracial youth. The results found that this hypothesis was partially supported only for Black/biracial youth when compared to Black/African American youth. After considering gender, parent education, and subjective school ethnic diversity, results revealed that Black/biracial youth’s lower perceptions of teacher racial climate was associated with the frequent delivery of cultural socialization messages from their parents. This non-intuitive finding suggests that frequent cultural socialization of Black/biracial youth revealed less favorable perceptions of teacher racial climate. Rollins and Hunter (2013) notes that interracial parents may often negotiate what they teach their biracial youth regarding race and culture which may lead to a double consciousness surrounding messages of cultural socialization. For instance, a Black/Latino/a biracial child may feel compelled to switch their cultural lenses between these two identities depending on the context. This negotiation process may help explain the less
favorable perceptions of teacher racial climate for Black/Biracial youth as they may feel that
their teachers are not sensitive to their dual cultural identities.

In addition, there was a main effect found for parental messages of cultural socialization
and reports of ethnic identity. The frequent delivery of cultural socialization from parents was
associated with stronger ethnic identity for all Black youth. Prior research has found that cultural
socialization in Black/African American youth results in strong and affirmative personal ethnic
group outlook, such as private regard in terms of racial identity (Knight et al., 1993; Ou &
McAdoo, 1993). Therefore, it is within reason to interpret cultural socialization having a similar
effect on the perceptions of ethnic identity for all three groups of ethnically diverse Black youth.
This finding confirms previous research about this positive association to strong ethnic identity
but goes a step further to show that the affirmation of one’s culture from the familial context may
directly influence the ethnic identity of Black youth, regardless of ethnic background (i.e.
immigrant background, biracial identity).

Limitations, Strengths, Future Directions

Despite this study’s novel approach to studying ethnic racial socialization, this study has
some limitations that must be acknowledged. First, the sample size of the Black/other country of
origin youth (n=59) is not proportional to the sample size of the Black/African American
(n=605) and Black/biracial (n=160) youth and therefore, raises concerns of the statistical power
of this study. Being that this study is based on archived data from 2009 and 2010, several
preliminary analyses were done to include the most proportioned analytic sample possible, such
as disaggregating the varying Black/biracial identities and testing for differences in frequency of
ethnic racial socialization. When no differences were found between the all of varying
Black/biracial identities, the sample size increased by using Black/biracial as one subgroup in the overall analytic sample.

Although the analytic sample threaten the statistical power of this study, the sample seems to reflect the diverse population of Black individuals in the United States. According to the Pew Research Center (2018), 9% of the current Black population living in the U.S. are from another country of origin. U.S. Census data shows that, in 2010, 42 million individuals identified as “African American” and 2.1% of those individuals also identified as multiracial African Americans (Rastogi, Johnson, Hoeffel, & Drewery, Jr., 2011). Likewise, the ethnic breakdown of Black individuals in U.S. shows percentages somewhat similar to those in this California-based study sample as Black/other country of origin youth made up 7% of the sample and Black/biracial youth made up 19% of the sample, about 17% more than the national percentage in 2010.

Lastly, in terms of measurement, the items used to assess ethnic socialization were limiting, in that it only assessed parents and how often they delivered certain messages of ethnic socialization to their children. We did not assess the child’s confirmation of receiving such socialization messages from their parents. The child’s confirmation of how frequently they received messages of ethnic socialization from their parents would have provided this study with more assurance in linking the causal effects of ethnic socialization to adolescent psychosocial outcomes. However, because this study focused on the ethnic racial socialization of two typically understudied populations: Black/other country of origin and Black/biracial youth, the primary objective of this study was to understand the parental delivery of ethnic racial socialization between these Black subgroups.
An important strength of the current study was the examination of whether ethnic socialization messages have differential effects on a range of psychosocial outcomes for Black/African American, Black/Other country of origin, and Black/Biracial adolescents. In contrast, many ethnic-racial socialization studies assess Black samples with a monolithic view, despite the varying ethnic backgrounds of Black individuals. (Waters, 1994; Bowman & Howard, 1985; Csizmadia et al., 2014). Moreover, this study and its attention to disaggregating the Black race has implications for more relevant, intervention models on the varying experiences of youth of color in ethnic subgroups youth of color. In future research, it will be important to consider a qualitative study approach in order to gather the narratives of the different Black ethnic subgroups and how they engage in conversations ethnic racial socialization.
Reference


