

APPROVAL SHEET

Title of Thesis: Ethnic-Racial Socialization Practices, Gender, and Academic Achievement Among High School Adolescents

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Master of Arts, 2020

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Curriculum Vitae

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The Pennsylvania State University, cum laude
Human Development and Family Studies
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Research Advisors: Susan M. McHale, Ph.D. and Olivenne Skinner, Ph.D.
- M.A./ Ph.D. 2018 - Present
University of Maryland, Baltimore County
Applied Developmental Psychology
Research Advisors: Ken Maton, Ph.D. and Nicole Else-Quest, Ph.D.

RESEARCH INTERESTS

- African American adolescents' development and mental health outcomes
- Gender differences among ethnic minority youth in their academic achievement
- Women's and gender studies; intersectionality
- Family influences on African American youth development and academic outcomes
- Socio-cultural factors in ethnic minority youth development, including resources (e.g., racial socialization) and stressors (e.g., discrimination, financial hardship)

SCHOLARSHIPS AND AWARDS

- Victor E. and Dorothy M. McIntosh Award February 2020
- UMBC Graduate School Professional Development Grant May 2019
- Council of College Multicultural Leadership Way Paver's Award April 2018
- Penn State Academic Scholarship August 2015
- Penn State Bunton Waller Scholarship August 2014
- Dean's List Certificate of Recognition August 2014
- UMBC County Ronald E. McNair Scholars Award September 2017
- The Paul Robeson Cultural Center Academic Award April 2017
- Ragosta Summer Research Scholarship July 2017
- Penn State Child Development Scholarship August 2017
- Penn State for the Future Scholarship August 2014
- Penn State Schuylkill Honors Program Certificate of Completion October 2015

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Teaching Assistant – The Pennsylvania State University

- Introduction to Psychology Spring 2016
- Intervention and Prevention Spring 2017

Teaching Assistant – University of Maryland, Baltimore County

- Professions in Psychology Fall 2018
- Psychology of Women and Gender Fall 2018
- Lifespan and Development Fall 2018
- Poverty and Child Health Outcomes Spring 2019
- Advanced Child Psychology Summer 2019

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

Graduate Assistant, Gender, Women's, and Sexuality Studies Department

April 2020 – Present

The WILL+ Program at UMBC engages students, faculty, and student affairs staff in a learning community that promotes academic excellence, leadership development, career exploration, and civic engagement for women

- Assist with WILL+ program
- Provide course support to other faculty in the department

Graduate Research Assistant, Maton STEM Lab August 2019 – Present

Funded by the National Science Foundation (Dr. Kenneth Maton, PI), Maton STEM lab focuses on the minority student achievement (ongoing evaluation and implementation assessment of the Meyerhoff Scholars Program).

- Assist undergraduate students in data cleaning and data entry
- Run analyses using SPSS for ongoing research projects

Graduate Assistant, Promoting Understanding in Life Science Education

August 2018 – Present

Funded by a grant from the National Institute of General Medical Sciences at the National Institutes of Health (Dr. Nicole Else-Quest, PI), PULSE examines and seeks to improve the performance of students enrolled in Chemistry 101 at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County.

- Assist in participant recruitment and consent process
- Assist in data entry of demographics using excel

Research Assistant, Youth Experience in School Study (YESS)

August 2017 – May 2018

Funded by the National Science Foundation (Dr. Olivenne Skinner, PI) YESS examines school experiences of African American youth using a daily diary approach.

- Assisted in developing Qualtrics surveys
- Assisted in participant recruitment and consent/assent process

Research Assistant, Penn State Family Relationships Project

September 2016 – May 2018

Funded by the National Institute for Child Health and Human Development (Drs. Susan McHale and Ann Crouter, co-PIs), this set of longitudinal studies

examines the family contexts of youth development from middle childhood through young adulthood.

- Research paper: Families' roles in African American youth academic achievement
- Literature reviews, data analyses in SAS

Research Assistant, Wellness Empowerment for Brooklyn Project June 2016 – August 2016

Eight-week summer internship created by MIT graduate students and funded by the Summer Youth Employment Program in the Tri-state area.

- Conducted surveys among community residents in Brooklyn, NY
- Developed strategies to improve living conditions for people within Brownsville and East New York

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Society for Research on Adolescence – Graduate Student Member

February 2019 – Present

The Society for Research on Adolescence (SRA) is a rapidly growing, dynamic society focused on the theoretical, empirical, and policy research issues of adolescence.

- Attended conferences and events related to the field of psychology and adolescence
- Engage in events and activities hosted by the organization

Meyerhoff Fellows Graduate Program – Meyerhoff Fellow

August 2018 – Present

The goal of the program is to increase diversity among students pursuing Ph.D. degrees in the biomedical and behavioral sciences.

- Engage in monthly events and activities hosted by the program
- Engage in community building and mentor outreach activities

National Association of Student Personnel Administrators – NUFP Fellow

October 2017- May 2018

NASPA Undergraduate Fellows Program creates possibilities and changes the landscape of student affairs and higher education.

- Engaged in mentor bi-weekly meetings to discuss post-graduate plans and graduate school applications
- Attended conferences and events related to the field of higher education

Ronald E. McNair Scholars Summer Research Program June 2017-August 2017

Research conducted in the Penn State Family Relationships Project lab explored ways in which family experiences are related to the academic functioning of African American youth.

- Completed an independent research project under the supervision of Dr. Susan M. McHale and Dr. Olivenne D. Skinner

- Prepared paper for publication titled, “Household Tasks and Academic Functioning Among African American Adolescents”

National Society of Leadership and Success – Sigma Alpha Pi

January 2017- Present

Promotes goal, discovery, and achievement.

- Attend seminars led by celebrities and authors on topics such as leadership, setting goals, and overcoming barriers
- Strengthen leadership skills through an interactive training session
- Participate in leadership development teams with a small group of peers

Ronald E. McNair Post-Baccalaureate Achievement Program December 2016-May 2018

Promote excellence in the academic endeavors of low income, first generation, and underrepresented groups in graduate education.

- Participated in weekly professional development workshops that focus on the pursuit of a graduate degree
- Conducted research under the supervision of a faculty research advisor
- Fulfilled program requirements, including maintaining a 3.00 GPA, enrolling in a research methodology course, and participating in an eight-week summer research internship

PUBLICATIONS

Telfer, N.A., Skinner, O.D., & McHale, S.M. (2017). Household tasks and academic functioning among African American adolescents. *The Pennsylvania State University McNair Scholars Journal*, 22, 145-156.

Skinner, O.D., Wood, D., McHale, S.M., & **Telfer, N.A.** (2018). Gendered personality qualities and African American adolescents’ academic functioning. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 1-12. doi: 10.1007/s10964-018-0919-1

PRESENTATIONS

Telfer, N. A. (July 2017) Household tasks and academic functioning among African American adolescents. Symposium presented at Office of Graduate Educational Equity Programs Summer Scholars Symposium. State College, Pennsylvania

Telfer, N. A. (September 2017) Household tasks and academic functioning among African American adolescents. Symposium presented at the annual Ronald E. McNair conference. Baltimore County, Maryland

Telfer, N. A. & Else-Quest, N. M. (March 2020) Ethnic-racial socialization practices and academic achievement among high school adolescents.

Symposium presented [virtually] at the Maryland Psychological Association for Graduate Students in Columbia, Maryland

LEADERSHIP AND VOLUNTEER EXPERIENCE

Mentor – Assist Our Kids (A-OK) Foundation December 2019 – Present

- Currently working with a first-grade African American student at Swansfield elementary
- Engaging in educational after-school activities focused on mental health and behavior outcomes for about one hour each week.

Founder/ President – Black Graduate Student Organization at UMBC

May 2019 – Present

- Helping to organize professional and social events for Black graduate students at UMBC
- Helping to facilitate monthly meetings with general body and executive board

Orientation Advisor – University of Maryland, Baltimore County January 2019

- Assisted transfer students in registering for classes for the Spring semester
- Assisted first year college students in developing a one-year academic plan

Volunteer – Penn State Alternative Spring Break Program March 2018

- Assisted in handing out food at a local homeless shelter in Detroit, Michigan
- Assisted in planting seeds and flowers on a local farm in Detroit, Michigan

Co-Founder/ Co-Captain – Dark Storm Step Team at Penn State

April 2017 – May 2018

- Recruited Penn State students to join new organization at Penn State
- Created and taught new steps to members to perform at various events

Mentor – Youth Empowerment Program at Penn State

September 2017 – May 2018

- Worked with African American high school students to help them set career goals
- Focused on networking, professional development, and resume building

Membership Chair – The Black Student Union at Penn State

August 2017 – May 2018

- Oversaw Black Student Union members' activities; recruit new members
- Developed activities and outreach to engage members

Student Manager – Paul Robeson Cultural Center at Penn State

August 2016 – May 2018

- Oversaw daily operations of the information desk
- Organized cultural events focused on diversity and inclusion

Fundraising Chair – Penn State Thon Four Diamonds Organization

September 2014 – May 2016

- Helped collect money towards finding a cure and better treatments for pediatric cancer
- Facilitated fundraising events for the Penn State Hershey Medical Center

Lion Ambassador – Penn State Schuylkill Campus

August 2015 – May 2016

- Guided potential students on tours of the Penn State Schuylkill campus
- Assisted with fundraisers and events within the community

ABSTRACT

Title of Document: ETHNIC-RACIAL SOCIALIZATION
PRACTICES, GENDER, AND ACADEMIC
ACHIEVEMENT AMONG HIGH SCHOOL
ADOLESCENTS

Nicole A. Telfer, M.A., 2020

Directed By: Associate Professor, Nicole Else-Quest, Ph.D.,
Department of Gender and Women Studies at
UNC-Chapel Hill

Academic achievement is an important determinant of adolescent outcomes (Skinner, McHale, Wood, & Telfer, 2018). Moreover, parents sometimes engage in ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) practices in an effort to increase youth's self-esteem, and ERS practices have been found to have implications for youth's academic achievement. The current study explored how parents' ERS practices, such as preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and cultural socialization were associated with subsequent academic achievement among African American, Asian American, Latinx, and European American adolescent boys and girls. A total of 370 adolescents from waves 1 (T1) and 2 (T2) were recruited to the Philadelphia Adolescent Life Study (PALS). Results revealed significant racial/ethnic group differences and gender similarities in ERS practices. Yet, ERS did not predict youth's academic achievement; neither gender nor the interaction between gender and race/ethnicity moderated that link. Future studies should continue to explore the role of socio-cultural factors on youth's achievement.

ETHNIC-RACIAL SOCIALIZATION PRACTICES, GENDER, AND ACADEMIC
ACHIEVEMENT AMONG HIGH SCHOOL ADOLESCENTS

By

Nicole A. Telfer

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, Baltimore County, in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
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Dedication

I dedicate my thesis to my proud Jamaican parents, Doraine and Encley, who worked very hard to get me to where I am today. I dedicate my thesis to my village that raised me in a world that tries to diminish Black women's light. A special thanks to my auntie Charlyne, uncle Greg, mama Shirley, and aunt LaNae for loving me unconditionally and supporting me every step of the way. To my church family at Miracle City Church and Voice of Hope SDA, thank you for being a safe space, for your prayers, and for constantly reminding me that this is who I am called to be. To my siblings and extended family, thank you for always rooting for my success. I dedicate my thesis to my siblings, nieces, nephews, and little cousins. I hope that I inspire you and motivate you to achieve your goals.

Lastly, I dedicate my thesis to every Black woman around the world. A win for one of us is a win for all.

Acknowledgements

First, I would like to say thank you to my amazing mentor, Dr. Nicole Else-Quest, who has supported me in ways I cannot begin to describe. Thank you for always advocating for me and for helping me get this far in my graduate career. I am so grateful for you.

Thank you to my co-mentor, Dr. Kenneth Maton, for adopting me as one of his graduate students without hesitation. Thank you for checking in on my progress on a weekly basis and for your support. I would also like to say thank you to Dr. Shuyan Sun. Thank you for serving on my committee and for your feedback on my thesis, especially on the data analytic portion.

I would also like to thank the participants of the Philadelphia Adolescent Life Study (PALS) for their participation. Thank you to the research team who collected the data on these participants and to Dr. Else-Quest for giving me access this data. This study would not have been possible without you.

Lastly, I would like to say a huge thank you to my amazing friends and colleagues at UMBC and beyond. Thank you for your support, mentorship, and accountability. I could not have gotten this far without you.

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Introduction

Parents sometimes engage in practices such as ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) in an effort to increase youth's self-esteem and foster a positive racial or ethnic identity. For families of color (i.e., African American, Asian American, and Latinx), ERS practices might include conversations about racism and discrimination to prepare them for such experiences. ERS practices have implications for youth's academic achievement, such that messages that make youth proud of their racial/ethnic group or that include proactive strategies for coping with discrimination may lead to better academic outcomes. For example, family ethnic socialization is linked to a higher GPA through more proactive coping and enhanced self-efficacy (McDermott, Umaña-Taylor, & Martinez-Fuentes, 2018). However, much of what is known about ERS practices and academic outcomes primarily focuses on adolescents as a whole and does not consider gender. Thus, the current study will take an intersectional approach by examining gender differences in the link between ERS practices and academic achievement among high school adolescents within and across four major racial/ethnic groups in the U.S (African American, European American, Latinx, and Asian American).

Academic Achievement in Context

Academic achievement is an important determinant of adolescent economic, social, and health outcomes (Skinner, McHale, Wood, & Telfer, 2018). More specifically, academic achievement is associated with longer life expectancy and higher rates of health-promoting behaviors, such as avoiding stress and getting regular physical activity (Nitardy, Duke, Pettingell, & Borowsky, 2015). Academic

success and achievement among youth are shaped by many factors, including the involvement of teachers and school personnel. For example, when teachers and school personnel do not show interest in students' achievement and are not supportive, students tend to become academically disengaged. Ogbu (2003) found that teachers and school personnel did not think that African American students worked as hard as European American students. Teachers also expected less from African American students with respect to homework and class assignments. In turn, African American students were either less enthusiastic about school or felt obligated to "act White" by speaking standard English, enrolling in honor and AP classes, and socializing with European American students. In sum, if students perceive low expectations from educators, they might be less motivated to be academically engaged. Such disparities in education are a part of the developmental context for American youth.

In particular, disparities in education place adolescents of color at a disadvantage. For example, adolescents' racial/ethnic background predicts whether they graduate from high school and attend college, such that the percentage of African American and Latinx adolescents who graduate from high school and pursue a college degree is low relative to European American adolescents (Cooper & Sánchez, 2016). One of the factors that might contribute to this finding is African American and Latinx adolescents' experience with racism and discrimination. Racial discrimination has been associated with academic underachievement of ethnic minority adolescents (Limperopulos, 2015). For example, adolescents of color are more likely to drop out of high school relative to European American adolescents

because of racial discrimination and other social challenges they perceive from teachers, school personnel, and peers (Nitardy et al., 2015).

Given the historical and contemporary importance of racism in the United States, combating and coping with racial discrimination and oppression remains a prominent developmental task for adolescents of color. Within schools, adolescents might experience race-based incidents, such as racial discrimination, that can influence their identity development and academic achievement (Dotterer & James, 2018) and other outcomes. For example, adolescents of color who report experiencing racial discrimination have lower self-esteem and higher depressive symptoms relative to adolescents who do not experience racial discrimination (Constantine & Blackmon, 2002), are less likely to persist when they encounter academic challenges (Neblett, Phillip, Cogburn, & Sellers, 2006), and are less likely to view school performance as important for their future outcomes (Wong et al., 2003). The effect of racial discrimination on academic achievement may also vary by gender. For example, Alfaro and colleagues (2009) found that discrimination has been linked with lower academic performance and self-concept and associated with less academic motivation longitudinally for boys, but not for girls. It may be that boys are more likely to receive and internalize lower academic support and expectations from teachers and school personnel.

Alongside experiences with racial discrimination, exposure to negative stereotypes about one's racial/ethnic group's capability further threatens adolescent development. Some teachers and school personnel do not expect adolescents of color to thrive, attend rigorous academic institutions, or be as academically successful as

their European American counterparts (Syed, Azmitia, & Cooper, 2011). Such negative stereotypes can be internalized by adolescents of color in a way that affects their academic performance and threatens their sense of belonging in academic spaces. Adolescents of color might also be perceived as inferior based on the assumption that European American adolescents outperform adolescents of color on standardized exams. Yet, there is a growing body of literature on the factors that may protect adolescents of color from the effects of stereotyping and racial discrimination. Along these same lines, Whaley (2009) argued that instead of focusing on finding ways to reduce negative stereotypes and other social challenges that adolescents of color perceive, researchers should focus on promoting strong ethnic-racial identity development and familial practices, such as ethnic-racial socialization, that might also influence their academic outcomes.

Ethnic-racial Socialization Practices

Parents' ERS practices are important to understand, especially given the growing population of families of color in the U.S. and the social inequalities and injustice that they experience (Hughes et al., 2006). ERS includes a variety of practices that transmit messages to youth about their race or ethnicity (Hughes et al., 2006). Parents play a critical role in shaping their youths' racial/ethnic knowledge by communicating cultural values, beliefs, and behaviors. Nonetheless, both youth and parents contribute to the process of ERS. Parents communicate their values, beliefs, and ideas about race and race relations, while youth learn to share their experiences and ask their parents questions about their ethnic-racial identity and cultural background (Hughes et al., 2006; Dotterer et al., 2009). Parents of color might use

ERS to teach youth about their culture, prepare them for experiences with racism and prejudices, and promote mistrust of other racial/ethnic groups (Constantine & Blackmon, 2002). Several dimensions of ERS have been found to have implications for youths' developmental outcomes, such as their academic achievement and ethnic-racial identity development, and the practice of cultural socialization has been related to positive outcomes among youth (Constantine & Blackmon, 2002).

Cultural Socialization

Cultural socialization, also known as pride development, is the practice in which parents teach their youth about their history, culture, and heritage to instill racial/ethnic pride (Hughes et al., 2006; Else-Quest & Morse, 2015). Parents engage in cultural socialization by teaching their youth about historical or cultural figures, purchasing culturally relevant books, eating culturally relevant food, encouraging youth to speak in their native language, and so on. Cultural socialization has been linked to positive outcomes in youth. For example, parents' messages promoting racial, ethnic, and cultural pride, and messages that emphasize the existence of social inequalities between groups, have been associated with greater academic motivation among children and adolescents (Hughes et al., 2006).

Much of the empirical research on ERS has examined practices within African American families and found that cultural socialization predicts positive developmental outcomes for youth. For example, one study found that African American adolescents who received more self-worth messages (e.g., telling youth that they are capable) were more likely to achieve higher grades and persist when faced with academic adversity (Neblett, Phillip, Cogburn, & Sellers, 2006). Similarly,

African American parents' cultural socialization practices predicted enhanced cognitive outcomes, fewer behavior problems, and better problem-solving skills among children (Caughy et al., 2002). Similar patterns of findings have also been observed with families from other ethnic groups.

Despite being portrayed as the *model minority* in the U.S., which is associated with high academic achievement and positive intrinsic characteristics and talents, Asian American youth still report experiences with discrimination and microaggressions from European Americans (Atkin, Yoo, & Yeh, 2019). Consistent with prior research finding that cultural socialization messages may serve as a protective factor for youth of color, Atkin and colleagues (2019) found that cultural socialization buffered the relationship between discrimination and psychological distress among Asian American youth. Additionally, when Asian parents, specifically South Asian parents, engaged in more activities related to their cultural heritage, emerging adults had stronger identification and commitment to their ethnic group (Daga & Raval, 2018).

Although the common goal of ERS is to instill cultural pride in youth, cultural socialization practices may differ across racial/ethnic groups. For example, some Latinx adolescents have immigrant parents; thus, cultural socialization messages might help youth and their families adapt to challenges while living within two cultures (i.e., their family's culture and the dominant culture). These challenges include discrimination experiences and the development of depressive symptoms, which can both influence youth's academic outcomes. In research with Latinx families, Kulish and colleagues (2018) found that familism and cultural socialization

predicted both greater adolescent familism endorsement and private regard, which suggests that pride messages and familism values are how Latinx families maintain a positive view of their group membership. For many immigrant families who acculturate to the U.S., engaging in cultural routines and practices taken from their home country is one way that parents engage in cultural socialization and promote youths' positive identification with their ethnic group.

Ethnic-racial socialization practices have been examined primarily among families of color, and research on cultural socialization practices in White or European American families is limited. White racial socialization might differ from the racial socialization messages that youth of color receive. On one hand, some European American parents try to avoid such practices to avoid talking about race or racism, while other European American parents might believe that their children already have racial attitudes (Zucker & Patterson, 2018). On the other hand, some European American parents may have an Anglocentric viewpoint, such that white culture and values are deemed normative, in that whiteness becomes the standard for all other cultures to follow. Indeed, data indicate that European American parents engage in less cultural socialization than African American parents (Else-Quest & Morse, 2015), and tend to engage in a color-blind or color-conscious approach to racial socialization (Zucker & Peterson, 2018).

Color-blind messages describe the practice in which European American parents teach their children to “not see race” and that all people are equal. By contrast, color-conscious messages describe an approach in which European American parents inform their children that people of other racial/ethnic groups are at

a societal disadvantage because of racial discrimination. Furthermore, one study found that color-conscious messages were related to racial socialization practices, such that European American parents taught their children to be antiracist by creating opportunities for intergroup contact and spoke to their children about being white (Hagerman, 2017). In sum, while cultural socialization messages are intended to educate youth on their heritage and culture to instill racial/ethnic pride, cultural socialization practices may also vary by racial/ethnic group and differ between families of color and European American families.

Preparation for Bias

Unlike cultural socialization, preparation for bias might prompt youth to view their racial/ethnic group less positively because of the negative stereotypes associated with their group (Hughes, Witherspoon, Rivas-Drake, & West-Bey, 2009). Parents engage in preparation for bias practices to shape their youth's awareness of discrimination and to prepare them to cope with it. Relative to other racial/ethnic groups, African American families tend to engage in more preparation for bias with their adolescents (Else-Quest & Morse, 2015; Hughes et al., 2006). The historical experiences of racism, discrimination, and oppression against African American families might make parents of Black youth feel obligated to engage in this particular practice. In one study, African American mothers reported issues of discrimination with their adolescents more often than mothers from other racial/ethnic groups, and they reported providing more preparation for bias messages than mothers from other racial/ethnic groups (Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009).

Although parents might engage in this particular ERS practice with good intentions to prepare their youth for racism and discrimination, messages that emphasize racial barriers to opportunities are linked to poorer outcomes and adjustment among youth and does not promote healthy identity development. For example, McHale and colleagues (2006) found that when African American mothers reported higher levels of preparation for bias practices, adolescents reported more depressive symptoms.

The negative outcomes that are associated with preparation for bias practices are also found among other youth of color, but not among White youth. Daga and Raval (2018) found that for Asian American emerging adults, preparation for bias was associated with poorer adjustment. In addition, Kulish and colleagues (2018) found that when parents engaged in preparation for bias practices, Latinx youth became more aware of discrimination. Another study found that when Latinx adolescents were cautioned, in advance, about the likelihood of experiencing discrimination and actively engaged in strategies to resolve potential stressors, they had better academic performance and enhanced self-efficacy (McDermott et al., 2018). Proactive coping, a facet of preparation for bias, prepares adolescents by teaching them about discrimination while instilling racial/ethnic pride, and this strategy has been found to be positively related to youth's self-esteem and ethnic-racial identity. Indeed, there are benefits of using proactive coping strategies when dealing with racism and discrimination during adolescence, thus, more research is needed on this particular facet of preparation for bias and its relation to youth's developmental outcomes.

By contrast, preparation for bias messages can be problematic in dominant groups. Specifically, European American youth who receive preparation for bias messages might have different outcomes compared to youth of color who receive similar messages. For example, Tran, Mintert, and Jew (2017) found that greater preparation for bias was related to greater antiegalitarian intergroup attitudes for White emerging adults but not for emerging adults of color. That is, White emerging adults were more likely to believe that it is good that certain groups of people have more power than other groups of people when they received such messages. Despite this finding, research on preparation for bias practices in European American families is still limited.

Promotion of Mistrust

Promotion of mistrust is defined as parents' communication to their children that indicate distrust of other racial/ethnic groups, specifically members of the dominant racial/ethnic group (Hughes et al., 2006; Else-Quest & Morse, 2015). Although these messages do not provide coping strategies, they are intended to protect youth from interacting with individuals from other racial/ethnic groups who might negatively stereotype them. For example, adolescents of color might be warned about interactions with law enforcement given the historical and present-day violence that people of color, specifically African Americans, receive from police officers.

Similar to preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust does not promote healthy identity development and is also associated with poorer outcomes in youth (Hughes et al., 2006). Moreover, Atkin and colleagues (2019) found that Asian American adolescents who received high frequencies of promotion of mistrust

messages containing warnings from parents about other racial-ethnic groups showed a positive relationship between racial discrimination and distress. Tran and Lee (2010) also found that practices promoting mistrust of out-group members were negatively related to social competence among Asian American adolescents. Promotion of mistrust was also found to be negatively associated with self-perception and predicted internalizing behaviors among youth of color (Wang et al., 2019). Promotion of mistrust messages tend to highlight avoidance-based coping skills, which involves avoiding situations that might cause discomfort, and this strategy may have implications for youth's internalizing behaviors.

Older children are more likely to receive promotion of mistrust messages relative to younger children (Caughy, Nettles, & Lima, 2011). A reason for this may be that older children are more likely to spend more time away from their parents in other social groups than younger children. Thus, parents might be more cautious with their older children by warning them of possible consequences of affiliating with other racial/ethnic groups. While some parents warn their youth about interacting with members of other racial/ethnic groups, other parents might teach their youth to distrust members within their own racial/ethnic group. For example, although African American parents encourage their youth to approach interracial communications with caution, one study found that Black immigrant parents socialized their youth to distance themselves from African Americans (Hughes, Rodriguez, Smith, Johnson, Stevenson, & Spicer, 2006). Moreover, Black immigrants reported having experiences where hostility and competition was directed toward them by African Americans rather than by European Americans. In sum, promotion of mistrust

messages are intended to warn youth about both intraracial and interracial contact with members within their racial/ethnic group and outside of their racial/ethnic group and might be communicated to older children than to younger children.

Promotion of mistrust might also be interpreted differently across racial/ethnic groups, such that some families might not feel inclined to teach their youth to distrust others. One study found that Latinx families tend to engage in the opposite of promotion of mistrust. That is, instead of teaching youth to be wary of interaction with the dominant group, parents stress the strengths in differences and similarities across groups and tell their youth that “we are all humans” (Ayón, 2018, p. 230).

Similarly, European American parents might also engage in the opposite of promotion of mistrust practices, known as egalitarianism. In other words, European American parents tend to encourage their youth to seek friendships among other racial/ethnic groups and also emphasize equality among all people (Hughes et al., 2006). Furthermore, similar to other ERS practices, promotion of mistrust might differ based on racial/ethnic background and other familial practices. Although negative outcomes have been associated with promotion of mistrust practices, families of color might have a greater tendency to engage in these practices to protect their youth from psychological or physical harm that they might experience because of racism. However, depending on sociocultural context, European American parents might also find value in promotion of mistrust practices. For example, in a study conducted in Philadelphia, Else-Quest and Morse (2015) found that parents of European American and Asian American adolescents engaged in significantly higher levels of promotion of mistrust relative to parents of African American and Latinx

adolescents. Other studies have concluded that promotion of mistrust is typically focused on mistrusting the dominant racial/ethnic group. Thus, the current study seeks to explore to further explore this phenomena by examining whether ERS practices, specifically promotion of mistrust, might predict academic achievement among European American adolescents.

Ethnic-racial Socialization Practices and Adolescent Outcomes

ERS practices may be directed at fostering the development of ethnic-racial identity in youth. Erikson theorized that identity versus confusion, the fifth stage of psychosocial development, occurs in adolescence between ages 12 and 18 (Erikson, 1968). Ethnic-racial identity refers to one's attitude and beliefs about their ethnic or racial group membership (Hughley, Wang, Vasquez, & Guo, 2019), and has been identified as a cultural resource that is beneficial for adolescents' psychological and academic outcomes (Dotterer, McHale, & Crouter, 2009). Adolescents of color with a strong ethnic-racial identity are more likely to be academically successful and academically motivated (Neblett, Chavous, Nguyễn, & Sellers, 2009). Hughley and colleagues (2019) argue that ethnic-racial identity development is influenced by parents' ERS practices. Parents of color are tasked with preparing their youth for racial discrimination experiences while supporting their positive ethnic-racial identity development. For example, Else-Quest and Morse (2015) found that across four major racial/ethnic groups in the United States (African American, Asian American, Latinx, and European American), cultural socialization messages significantly predicted adolescents' ethnic identity development.

ERS practices, like cultural socialization, can shape how adolescents construct their achievement goals in relation to their racial/ethnic background (Hughes et al., 2006). For example, if adolescents are taught about successful historical figures who are part of their racial/ethnic group, they might be motivated to work hard in school to be like those successful historical figures. Moreover, research on the link between cultural socialization and academic achievement has found that cultural socialization is positively associated with academic outcomes among children and adolescents (Hughes, Witherspoon, Rivas-Drake, & West-Bey, 2009; Neblett et al., 2006). More specifically, Hughes et al., (2009) found that cultural socialization was positively related to academic efficacy and engagement among adolescents. Grindal and Nieri (2015) also found that academic performance, as measured by overall grades received in school, was positively correlated with cultural socialization and ethnic-racial identity among Latinx adolescents. In sum, cultural socialization appears to be positively associated with academic achievement across multiple groups.

By contrast, findings on the association between academic performance and preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust practices are limited. Studies examining academic performance have found that preparation for bias was significantly and negatively related to GPA in college among African American young adults (Banerjee et al., 2017). Additionally, Marshall (1995) also found that preparation for bias was related to lower reading scores among African American children. However, few studies have investigated the link between promotion of mistrust and academic achievement among adolescents in the United States. Similar to preparation for bias practices, prior studies have found a negative association

between promotion of mistrust and youths' developmental outcomes (Wang et al., 2019), but not academic outcomes. The current study will examine how parents' ERS practices—specifically cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust—are associated with European American, African American, Latinx, and Asian American adolescents' academic achievement.

Gender Differences in Ethnic-racial Socialization Practices

The effects of ERS practices may vary by child gender because parents hold different expectations for their sons' and daughters' adult roles and experiences (Hughes & Chen, 1997; McHale et al., 2006). These expectations are rooted in gender roles requiring that women should act as the primary caregiver while men should be the breadwinner and protector of the household. Parents are key agents in passing down gender role expectations to adolescents and ensuring that adolescents' experiences are in line with their gender role (Brown, Linver, & Evans, 2010). Thus, when parents engage in particular ERS practices, they may adapt these messages to the gender of their adolescent child.

Prior research with African American samples has found that boys are more likely to receive messages regarding racial barriers, such as preparation for bias (Hughes et. al., 2006). A reason for this may be that African American parents understand that their African American sons are depicted as dangerous and may fear for their sons' safety (Hill, 2001). African American boys have also reported more discrimination experiences than girls (Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2008), which might prompt parents to prepare their sons for bias. Conversely, girls are also more likely to be viewed as keepers of their culture (Gonzalez, Umana-Taylor, & Bamaca,

2006), which might influence the cultural socialization messages they receive. African American parents might also socialize their sons and daughters differently such that girls might receive messages that highlight opportunities for success whereas parents might have lower expectations for boys due to obstacles they face as African American boys (Staples & Johnson, 1993).

Nonetheless, African American boys may be responsive to cultural socialization and racial pride messages than to preparation for bias messages due to the likelihood of experiencing police brutality, low expectations from teachers, and other authority figures who disproportionately stigmatize them (Stevenson, Davis, Herrero-Taylor, & Morris, 2003). Caughy and colleagues (2002) also found that socialization of racial pride was significantly associated with fewer externalizing behaviors among boys. In a study of African American parents of sons ages 3-8, 38.5% reported that teaching their sons about African American history was important and would help them feel good about their race (Howard et al., 2013). Additionally, McHale and colleagues (2006) found that African American fathers engaged in higher levels of both cultural socialization and preparation for bias with their sons than with their daughters. In sum, although African American boys are more likely to receive racial barrier messages, cultural socialization messages might be especially potent for them given the experiences with racism that they encounter.

By contrast, girls are more likely to receive messages regarding racial pride (Hughes et. al., 2006). In a study of Mexican, Chinese, and European adolescents, researchers found that girls reported more cultural socialization than boys and were also more likely to be academically motivated (Huynh & Fuligni, 2008). However, no

gender differences emerged for preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust practices among Mexican, Chinese, and European adolescents. Additionally, in a study with Latinas, the process of ERS practices included some messages of ethnic pride and cultural history that reinforced ethnic identification and may have contributed to the development of a positive ethnic identity (Dawson & Quiros, 2014). In sum, while girls of color are more likely to receive pride messages from parents, prior research found that boys of color who also receive these messages show positive outcomes. However, research on gender differences in other ERS practices, like preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust, is limited. Thus, the current study will explore gender differences in the relation between ERS practices and academic achievement among adolescents.

Theoretical Perspectives

This proposal is guided by two theoretical perspectives, the integrative model and intersectionality. Both of these theoretical perspectives center the experiences of marginalized groups within the context of oppression based on social categories (e.g., race/ethnicity, gender, class).

The Integrative Model

The integrative model was developed by Garcia Coll and colleagues to examine child development in minority populations by exploring the role of racism, segregation, child characteristics, the environment, and family. Moreover, in the integrative model, García Coll and colleagues (1996) highlight the importance of understanding family values on adolescents' developmental competencies among youth of color. García Coll and colleagues note that "Family values, beliefs, and goals

embody the elements that are held dear to family members” (1996; p. 1906). These values and beliefs are rooted in cultural traditions that may be traced to their country of origin. García Coll and colleagues (1996) also suggest that *adaptive cultures*, such as traditions and cultural legacies, might directly influence family values. Adaptive cultures are viewed as a set of survival strategies in response to racism and discrimination, used by parents to instill racial/ethnic pride. ERS practices can be understood as an adaptive culture, such that parents help their youth cope with racism and discrimination through socialization messages that might prepare youth for these experiences and help them maintain a positive view of their racial/ethnic identity.

García Coll and colleagues (1996) also highlight social position variables (e.g., race/ethnicity and gender) that can influence youths’ developmental competencies and parents’ ERS practices. The authors make a clear distinction between race and ethnicity by defining race as both socially and biologically constructed, most often based on phenotypic characteristics, such as skin color, hair texture, and other facial appearance. By contrast, ethnicity refers to cultural individuality deriving from national origin, language, or religion. Thus, ERS practices might vary if parents wish to promote a strong ethnic identity versus racial identity. For example, Latinx families might engage in practices that might align more with their cultural heritage and background than with their minority status in the U.S., whereas European American families might engage in practices that align more with their racial identity as being the majority group in the U.S. In the current proposal, however, race and ethnicity are considered jointly as a social construct.

Similarly, gender can be understood as a social construct such that adolescent boys and girls are expected to abide by the gender roles that their culture has defined for them. This socially constructed system of practices and performances produces masculinities and femininities. For youth of color, their expected role in society as a function of their gender also influences access to resources, social interactions, and expectations, and may also have implications on their developmental outcomes. For example, with respect to social interactions, African American boys might receive messages from parents warning them about interacting with law enforcement officers. In sum, the integrative model highlights the importance of understanding developmental competencies among youth of color at the intersection of social class, culture, race/ethnicity, and gender.

Intersectionality

Intersectionality refers broadly to the idea of individuals occupying multiple social categories (e.g., race, gender, class) simultaneously (Bright, Malinsky, & Thompson, 2016). This term has been used by feminists and critical race theorists to examine how multiple social categories are connected to systems of oppression. As such, it focuses on power and inequality tied to one's simultaneous membership in multiple social categories and on giving voice to those who are at multiply marginalized intersectional locations (Else-Quest & Hyde, 2016b). Although coined in 1989 by legal scholar and critical race theorist Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, the concept of intersectionality is engrained in the trajectory of Black feminist thought and is rooted in Black feminism that dates back to the 19th century. For example, Sojourner Truth's speech, "Ain't I a woman," describes the social injustice that Black

women experienced which disputes White women's definition of oppression and injustice. Similarly, Anna Julia Cooper (1892) advocated for the education of Black women as essential to the empowerment of Black Americans.

Black feminist theorist Patricia Hill Collins (2000) discussed how intersecting oppressions, such as race, class, and gender, shape African American women's lives. She explained the purpose of Black feminist thought, which was to reshape the self-defined standpoint of African American women and not the standpoint established by White masculinity. Similarly, the Combahee River Collective described how racial, sexual, heterosexual, and class oppression are interconnected (Combahee River Collective, 1977/1995). In sum, the idea of intersectionality is tied to many historical events and eras where Black women fought to be seen and heard by their oppressors, and this term has been expanded on by other feminists and researchers over the years. Intersectionality theory maintains that by considering intersecting social categories such as gender and race simultaneously, the experiences and voices of women of color could be heard and understood (Else-Quest & Hyde, 2016a).

To further understand intersectionality in psychology research, Cole (2009) proposed that researchers ask three questions: First, who is included within this category? Second, what role does inequality play? Third, where are there similarities? The first question addresses diversity in social categories, the second question addresses how privilege and power are also associated with social categories, and the third question identifies similarities across social categories. Cole (2009) concludes that by asking these three questions, researchers may consider focusing on groups that

have been overlooked in prior studies, examine participants' race, gender, and other social categories, and look for both similarities and differences across groups.

In addition to Cole's (2009) three questions, McCall (2005) described three types of approaches within intersectionality: anticategorical complexity, intracategorical complexity, and intercategorical complexity. Within the anticategorical complexity approach, categories are viewed as socially constructed and creating segregation and inequality. The intracategorical complexity approach is associated with Black feminism such that it focuses on specific intersectional locations (e.g., Black women) and the heterogeneity within social categories. Finally, the intercategorical complexity approach is comparative and focuses on the relationship among social groups that may create inequalities.

The current study seeks to explore differences and/or similarities in ERS practices among African American, Asian American, Latinx, and European American families. In relation to Cole's (2009) first question and the intercategorical complexity approach (McCall, 2005), the current study focuses on adolescent boys and girls from five ethnically diverse high schools in the school district of Philadelphia. Data for this study is also diverse in SES status, parent education, and parent's nativity which might also highlight how power and privilege can be associated with specific social categories (Cole 2009), as well as inequality and oppression among other social categories (McCall, 2005).

The current study combines quantitative methods with an intersectional approach. Else-Quest and Hyde (2016a; 2016b) argued that intersectional approaches can and should be used in quantitative psychology research. The authors proposed

two agendas: 1) Intersectional criticism of traditional quantitative psychological research, and 2) Producing excellent intersectional quantitative research that demonstrates a better way of conducting quantitative research. To clarify these points, Else-Quest and Hyde (2016a) concluded that in order for research to be considered intersectional, it must (1) attend to the experience and meaning of belonging to multiple social categories at once, (2) take into consideration power and inequality, and (3) attend to both social categories and social context of the individual and consider the importance of social categories as potentially fluid and dynamic.

To this end, the current study will include several of Else-Quest and Hyde's (2016b) suggested techniques for examining intersectionality in quantitative research. For example, the current study is guided by the theory of intersectionality and the integrative model, such that there is a focus on categories (e.g., gender, race/ethnicity) framed as person variables. Thus, the simultaneous experience of multiple categories, alongside power and inequality, are considered. The current study uses a between-groups intersectional and longitudinal design, such that it examines gender and racial/ethnic group differences and similarities in parent ERS practices and subsequent adolescent academic achievement.

With respect to sampling techniques, the current study used stratified random sampling as participants were recruited from public schools in Philadelphia. Each racial/ethnic background consists of nearly equal participants, so that the voice of each participant at the intersection of race/ethnicity and gender is equally heard. Using statistical analyses, such as MANCOVA and multiple regression to test for both additive (i.e., main effects) and multiplicative (i.e., interactions) effects, the

current study will examine ERS practices and academic achievement among African American, Asian American, Latinx, and European American adolescents from five diverse high schools in Philadelphia, PA. Finally, the current study will include intersectional interpretations and will discuss how power and inequality might have implications for one's membership in multiple social categories. Specifically, I will discuss how power and/or inequality at the intersection of gender and race/ethnicity (e.g., African American boys) might influence the types of ERS messages that these adolescents receive from parents.

Objectives

My first aim in this proposal was to examine racial/ethnic group differences in mean levels of ERS practices, as well as racial/ethnic group \times gender interactions in mean levels of ERS practices. Thus, this aim partially replicates the findings of Else-Quest & Morse (2015) and extends the work by also examining gender differences in ERS practices by race/ethnicity.

Research question 1: Are there racial/ethnic group differences in ERS practices and does gender moderate racial/ethnic group differences in ERS?

Hypothesis 1a: The current study is a partial replication of racial/ethnic group differences in ERS reported by Else-Quest and Morse (2015). Therefore, I predicted that African American parents will engage in more preparation for bias messages relative to European American, Latinx, and Asian American parents. I also predicted that African American, Latinx, and Asian American parents will engage in more promotion of mistrust practices than European American parents. I expected no significant group differences in cultural

socialization practices among African American, Latinx, Asian American, and European American parents.

Hypothesis 1b: I extend the work of Else-Quest and Morse (2015), in which gender was not examined as a moderator. I predicted that African American, Latinx, and Asian American parents would engage in more cultural socialization practices with their daughters than with their sons. Conversely, I predicted that African American, Latinx, and Asian American parents will engage in more preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust with their sons, than with their daughters. Given the lack of research on gender differences in ERS practices among European American families, the examination of gender \times race/ethnicity interactions in the mean levels of ERS practices was exploratory for this group and is guided by an intersectional approach.

My second aim in this proposal was to examine the relationship between ethnic-racial socialization practices and subsequent academic achievement among male and female high schoolers from four racial/ethnic groups. Specifically, this study explores how preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and cultural socialization practices are associated with subsequent academic achievement among African American, Asian American, Latinx, and European American adolescent boys and girls.

Research question 2: What is the relation between ethnic-racial—specifically preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and cultural socialization—and academic achievement among European American, Asian American, Latinx, and African American adolescents?

Hypothesis 2a: Cultural socialization will be positively associated with academic achievement for all adolescents, regardless of racial/ethnic group. By contrast, preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust will be negatively associated with academic achievement for African American, Asian American, and Latinx adolescents. Given the limited research on ERS practices, specifically preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust, in European American families, the examination of the link between preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust and academic achievement for this group is exploratory.

Hypothesis 2b: Given the lack of research on gender differences in the link between ERS practices and academic achievement among adolescent boys and girls, this hypothesis was exploratory and is guided by the critical theory of intersectionality. I predicted that gender will moderate the link between ERS practices and academic achievement among adolescent girls and boys, such that the links between ERS practices and academic achievement will differ for girls and boys.

Hypothesis 2c: This hypothesis was also exploratory and guided by the critical theory of intersectionality. Furthermore, this hypothesis draws attention to the complexity across multiple social categories. I explored whether the links between academic achievement and ERS practices are moderated by both gender and racial/ethnic group.

Method

Participants

Data for this study were collected from $n = 370$ adolescents from Waves 1 (T1: 10th grade) and 2 (T2: 11th grade) of the longitudinal Philadelphia Adolescent Life Study (PALS; Else-Quest, Mineo, & Higgins, 2013). Adolescents were recruited by mail from five public high schools in the School District of Philadelphia. Adolescent participants self-identified as belonging to one of four major racial/ethnic groups: $n = 102$ (54 male, 48 female) identified as European American, $n = 99$ (57 male, 42 female) as African American or Black, $n = 84$ (39 male, 45 female) as Latinx or Hispanic, and $n = 85$ (35 male, 50 female) as Asian American. Participants who comprised groups that were too small for meaningful comparisons (e.g., multiracial adolescents) were omitted ($n = 14$). Adolescent participants' mean age at T1 was 16.20 ($SD = .74$) years. Additionally, 80.8% reported being born in the United States and 72.3% reported English as their native language. Demographic characteristics of the sample, by participant's racial/ethnic group can be found in Table 1.

Three-hundred-fifty-eight parents/guardians also participated in the study. These included $n = 295$ who identified as women, 53 as men, and 10 parents/guardians did not report their gender. Based on their relationship to the adolescent, 328 were a biological, adoptive or stepparent; 9 were grandparents, 6 were aunts/uncle, 1 was a sibling, and 9 did not report their relationship. Analyses of socioeconomic variables obtained from parents/guardians indicate that the PALS sample is economically disadvantaged. Based on self-reported data, 63% of the parents/guardians were employed, 27.6% were unemployed, and 9.5% did not report their employment status. Regarding the annual household income, 24.6% reported

earning less than \$20,000 per year, 35.7% reported \$20,000 - \$50,000 per year, 20% reported more than \$50,000 per year, and 19.5% did not report their annual household income.

For parent education, 5.0% reported receiving 8th grade education or less, 10.8% reported receiving 9th–11th grade education, 30.8% reported receiving their high school diploma, 15.5% reported receiving a four-year degree, 5.0% reported receiving a graduate degree, and 5.5% did not report their education background.

Data on number of books in the household were also collected. Based on self-reported data, 5.4% reported less than 10, 35.6% reported 10 – 50, 23.3% reported 50 – 100, 31.4% reported more than 100, and 4.2% did not report number of books in the household. Although many adolescent participants resided in the same neighborhoods and attended the same schools, European American adolescents came from homes that were significantly higher in income, greater parental education, and reported having more books compared to African American, Latinx, and Asian American adolescents. Thus, in all analyses, SES variables (i.e., income, parental education, and number of books in the home) will serve as covariates, similar to Else-Quest and colleagues (2013) study. Specifically, the mean of the standardized values (z scores) for these variables will serve as the SES composite variable. While the internal consistency for the SES composite variable is poor ($\alpha = .50$), it will still be used to maintain statistical power. Additionally, there were significant differences in parent's country of origin such that Asian and Latinx youth were more likely than European American or African American youth to have foreign-born parents ($p < .05$). For this

reason, parent's nativity (i.e., U.S.-born or foreign-born) will also be included as a covariate.

Procedures

A sample of 10th grade students was recruited from five ethnically diverse urban public high schools (i.e., schools that included $\geq 10\%$ of each of four major ethnic groups in the student population, were coeducational, were not selective/magnet or charters, and were default schools for children in a given geographical area) in Philadelphia during the spring semester of the school year at T1. Letters were mailed to the students' parents/guardians, inviting them and their 10th grade adolescents to participate in a study that will assess students' academic and social development.

Parents/guardians returned informed consent and permission for their and their child's participation. Surveys, which included demographic items, measures on academic identification and on gender roles, and assent forms were mailed to students' homes and these were returned by mail. Upon return and completion of these materials, students received \$100. Parents/guardians also received \$100 for completing surveys, which included demographic items, measures on ethnic-racial socialization practices, and other measures not contained in this report.

Measures

Parent Ethnic-racial Socialization Practices

The Ethnic Socialization scale (Hughes & Chen, 1997) was used to assess ethnic-racial socialization practices as reported by parents. It is composed of three subscales which comprise 13 items answered on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to

4 (*strongly agree*). The *cultural socialization* subscale contains two items and measures parents' emphasis on ethnic history and traditions to instill pride in their youth. Items include statements like, "Taken child to cultural events for their racial/ethnic group." This subscale demonstrated adequate internal consistency in the full sample ($\alpha = .78$) and within each of the four ethnic groups (European American, $\alpha = .79$; African American, $\alpha = .85$; Latinx, $\alpha = .67$; and Asian American, $\alpha = .71$).

The *preparation for bias* subscale contains nine items and assesses parents' emphasis on coping with discrimination. Items include statements like, "Talked to child about racism." It demonstrated good internal consistency in the full sample ($\alpha = .82$) and within each of the four ethnic groups (European American, $\alpha = .76$; African American, $\alpha = .86$; Latinx, $\alpha = .82$; and Asian American, $\alpha = .82$).

The *promotion of mistrust* subscale contains two items and measures parents' transmission of cautiousness about members of other ethnicities to their children. Items include statements like, "Told child to distrust people of other racial/ethnic groups." The subscale demonstrated good internal consistency in the full sample ($\alpha = .79$). In general, it performed well within the four ethnic groups, with the exception of parents of African American youth (European American, $\alpha = .81$; African American, $\alpha = .43$; Latinx, $\alpha = .81$; and Asian American, $\alpha = .83$).

Validity of the Ethnic-racial Socialization Scale

The ethnic-racial socialization scale has been validated in prior research. Prior studies have confirmed construct validity of the three subscales (i.e. cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust) using confirmatory factor analysis (Hughes & Chen, 1997). Moreover, Hughes and Chen (1997) conducted a

study that focused on child, parent, and ecological predictors of racial socialization among African American families. From the confirmatory factor analysis, the authors identified three factors with eigenvalues greater than one. Thus, from their study, three scales were developed: Preparation for Bias ($\alpha = .91$), Cultural Socialization ($\alpha = .84$), and Promotion of Mistrust ($r = .68$).

Academic Achievement

Final (year-end) math, science, and English grades for 11th grade were obtained to measure academic achievement at T2. Grades were provided by the School District of Philadelphia. Grades will be converted to a 4.0 (A) to 0.0 (F) scale (if not already in that format) and will be adjusted or weighted based on academic level or rigor, such that honors courses are weighted one-half level grade and advanced placement courses were weighted by one letter grade.

Data Analytic Strategy

Racial/ethnic Group Differences in ERS Practices by Gender

The first research question was addressed using multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA). For preliminary analyses, the current study tested assumptions for MANCOVA by checking for 1) missing data, 2) outliers and normal distribution, and 3) homogeneity of variance-covariance. To examine the first aim, a 2 (gender) \times 4 (race/ethnicity: European American, African American, Latinx, Asian American) MANCOVA was conducted with ERS practices (i.e., preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and cultural socialization) as the outcome variables, with SES and parent's nativity serving as covariates. Post hoc tests were conducted in cases of a

significant race/ethnicity effect. Simple main effects were conducted in case of a significant interaction effect between gender and race/ethnicity.

Academic Achievement and ERS Practices Across Racial/Ethnic Groups

The second research question was addressed using hierarchical linear regression. For preliminary analyses, the current study tested assumptions for hierarchical linear regression by 1) checking for normal distribution in the dependent variable, 2) checking for outliers, 3) confirming that a linear relationship between the dependent variable and the predictor variables exists, and 4) confirming that multicollinearity between the predictors is not present. To examine the relation between specific T1 ERS practices and T2 adolescents' academic achievement (i.e., year-end grades in math, English, and science), three linear hierarchical regressions were conducted with average grades as the criterion variable. To examine the ERS practices separately, a 2 (gender) \times 4 (race/ethnicity) was conducted to test for group differences in subsequent academic achievement. Additionally, a separate model was conducted for each ERS variable (cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust). In step 1 of the model, the composite SES and parent's nativity were entered. In step 2, I entered the ERS variable, gender, and race/ethnicity. Race/ethnicity was dummy coded such that youth of color are compared to European American youth (0 = *European American*; 1 = *African American*, *Latinx*, *Asian American*). In step 3, I entered the cross-products of ERS and race/ethnicity, ERS and gender, and gender and race/ethnicity. Finally, in step 4, I entered the three-way-interaction between gender, ERS, and race/ethnicity.

Power Analysis

The current study used G*Power to examine power analysis for each hypothesis. To test hypotheses 1a and 1b, the test family was set to *F*-tests and the statistical test was set to MANOVA: Special effects and interactions. The number of independent variables was set to 2 (gender and race/ethnicity), and the number of groups was set to 8 (2 (gender) × 4 (race/ethnicity)). Additionally, response variables was set to 3 (cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust). With the sample size set to $n = 370$, alpha set to $\alpha = .05$, and the effect size set to small, $f^2 = 0.01$, the achieved power was estimated to 0.49. With the effect size set to medium, $f^2 = 0.06$, the achieved power was estimated to 0.99. Finally, with the effect size set to large, $f^2 = 0.16$, the achieved power was estimated to 1.00. In sum, my project has sufficient statistical power to detect a medium effect size of $f^2 = 0.06$ and a large effect size of $f^2 = 0.16$.

To test hypotheses 2a, 2b, and 2c, the test family was set to *t*-tests and the statistical test was set to Linear multiple regression: Fixed model, single regression coefficient. The number of predictors was set to 7, which includes gender, race/ethnicity, ERS, and the cross-products of these variables. With the sample size set to $n = 370$, alpha set to $\alpha = .05$, and the effect size set to small, $f^2 = 0.02$, the achieved power was estimated to 0.77. With the effect size set to medium, $f^2 = 0.15$ and large, $f^2 = 0.35$, the achieved power was estimated to 1.00. In sum, my project has sufficient statistical power to detect a medium effect size of $f^2 = 0.15$ and a large effect size of $f^2 = 0.35$.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

First, I tested the assumptions for MANCOVA. Box's M test for MANCOVA was not significant ($p = .13$), which indicates that the observed covariance matrices of the dependent variable are equal across groups. Additionally, the values for Wilks' Lambda indicate that the interaction between the dependent variable and the covariates were not significant. Results from Levene's test show that the error variances for academic achievement, as measured by grades in English, $F(2, 219) = 1.42, p = .04$, math, $F(2, 219) = 1.16, p = .23$, and science, $F(2, 219) = 0.97, p = .58$, are equal across groups. Distributions for all variables were normally distributed, and skewness and kurtosis were within acceptable range of moderate distribution (West, Finch, & Curran, 1995).

Second, I tested the assumptions for linear regression. Multicollinearity between the ethnic-racial socialization variables was not present. To test for normality between the dependent variable (i.e. academic achievement) and the independent variables (i.e. cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust), I examined the normal P-P plot of regression. The plot indicated that there is a linear relationship between academic achievement and ethnic-racial socialization variables. The means and standard deviations for key study variables, including cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust, as well as academic achievement, appear in Table 6.

Tables 7-10 show the correlations among variables within each of the four racial/ethnic groups. ERS practices were not significantly correlated with youth's academic achievement. SES and youth's academic achievement were positively correlated for Latinx and European American adolescents, but negatively correlated

for Asian American adolescents. This correlation was not significant for African American adolescents. Parent's nativity was positively correlated with SES for Asian American adolescents only. In addition, the correlations among the variables, disaggregated by race/ethnicity as well as gender, appear in Tables 1, 2, 3, and 4 in the Appendix.

Racial/ethnic Group Differences in ERS Practices by Gender

To test the first set of hypotheses, that racial/ethnic group differences in ERS practices would be moderated by gender, I conducted a 2 (gender) \times 4 (race/ethnicity: European American, African American, Latinx, Asian American) MANCOVA. ERS practices (i.e., preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and cultural socialization) were used as the outcome variables, and SES and parent's nativity served as covariates.

For student gender, the multivariate test was not significant, $F(3, 316) = 0.07$, $p = .98$, $\eta_p^2 = .001$, Pillai's trace = .001. The multivariate test of the interaction between gender and race/ethnicity was also not significant, $F(9, 954) = 0.32$, $p = .97$, $\eta_p^2 = .003$, Pillai's trace = .009. However, the multivariate test revealed a significant main effect of race/ethnicity on ERS practices, $F(9, 954) = 8.02$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .071$, Pillai's trace = .211. Follow-up univariate tests indicate significant racial/ethnic group differences in cultural socialization practices, $F(3, 318) = 10.93$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .093$. Post-hoc comparisons indicated that parents of African American adolescents engaged in more cultural socialization than parents of European American and Latinx adolescents ($p < .001$). There were no significant differences in cultural socialization practices between African American and Asian American families.

There were also significant racial/ethnic group differences in preparation for bias practices, $F(3, 318) = 7.62, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .067$. Post-hoc comparisons indicated that African American parents engaged in more preparation for bias practices than European American, Latinx, and Asian American parents. Lastly, there were significant racial/ethnic group differences in promotion of mistrust practices, $F(3, 318) = 5.73, p = .001, \eta_p^2 = .051$. Post-hoc comparisons revealed that European American parents engaged in more promotion of mistrust practices than African American parents, but there were no significant differences in promotion of mistrust practices among European American, Asian American, and Latinx parents. In sum, my findings are consistent with and replicate the report by Else-Quest and Morse (2015), specifically on significant racial/ethnic group differences in ERS practices.

Academic Achievement and ERS Practices Across Racial/Ethnic Groups

To test the second set of hypotheses, that ERS practices predict subsequent academic achievement among European American, African American, Latinx, and Asian American adolescents, one hierarchical linear regression was conducted for each of the three ERS variables. In step 1 of the model, the covariates (i.e., composite SES and parent's nativity) were entered. In step 2, I entered the ERS variable, gender, and race/ethnicity. Race/ethnicity was dummy coded such that youth of color are compared to European American youth (0 = *European American*; 1 = *African American, Latinx, Asian American*). In step 3, I entered the cross-products of ERS and race/ethnicity, ERS and gender, and gender and race/ethnicity. Finally, in step 4, I entered the three-way-interaction between gender, ERS, and race/ethnicity. Table 11 shows the full statistics for the first model analyzing cultural socialization practices

predicting student's academic achievement. The results in step 1 indicated that 11.0% of the variance in academic achievement can be explained by SES and parent's nativity, $F(2, 294) = 18.12, p < .001$. Steps 2 (R^2 change = .012, $p = .256$), 3 (R^2 change = .007, $p = .538$), and 4 (R^2 change = .001, $p = .575$) did not predict a significant change in R^2 , meaning that cultural socialization, student gender, ethnicity, and the interactions among these variables did not account for any variance in academic achievement above and beyond SES and parent's nativity (see Table 7). Overall, 14.0% of the variance in academic achievement can be explained with all predictor variables entered, $R^2 = .14, F(9, 287) = 5.20, p < .001$.

Table 12 shows the full statistics for the second model analyzing preparation for bias practices predicting student's academic achievement. The results in step 1 indicated that 11.0% of the variance in academic achievement can be explained by SES and parent's nativity, $F(2, 294) = 18.12, p < .001$. Similar to the model for cultural socialization, steps 2 (R^2 change = .011, $p = .292$), 3 (R^2 change = .006, $p = .545$) and 4 (R^2 change = .001, $p = .582$), did not predict a significant change in R^2 , meaning that cultural socialization, student gender, ethnicity, and the interaction between these variables did not account for any variance in academic achievement above and beyond SES and parent's nativity (see Table 8). Overall, 14.0% of the variance in academic achievement can be explained with all predictor variables entered, $R^2 = .14, F(9, 287) = 5.20, p < .001$.

Table 13 shows the full statistics for the model analyzing promotion of mistrust practices predicting student's academic achievement. The results in step 1 indicated that that 11.0% of the variance in academic achievement can be explained

by SES and parent's nativity, $R^2 = .110$, $F(2, 294) = 18.12$, $p < .001$. Similar to the models for cultural socialization and preparation for bias, steps 2 (R^2 change = .013, $p = .222$), 3 (R^2 change = .007, $p = .492$), and 4 (R^2 change = .008, $p = .104$) in this model did not predict a significant change in R^2 , meaning that cultural socialization, student gender, ethnicity, and the interaction between these variables did not account for any variance in academic achievement above and beyond SES and parent's nativity (see Table 9). Overall, 13.8% of the variance in academic achievement can be explained with all predictor variables entered, $R^2 = .14$, $F(9, 287) = 5.12$, $p < .001$.

In sum, I found that a significant proportion of variance in academic achievement was accounted for by parent's nativity and SES, and that ERS, student's gender, and student's race/ethnicity did not account for a significant proportion of variance in subsequent academic achievement.

Discussion

The first major aim of this study was to examine racial/ethnic group and gender differences in ERS (i.e., cultural socialization, promotion of mistrust, and preparation for bias) practices. As predicted, parents of African American adolescents reported significantly more preparation for bias practices than parents of European American, Asian American, and Latinx adolescents. Also, parents of Asian American and African American adolescents engaged in more cultural socialization practices than parents of European American and Latinx adolescents. Parents of Asian American adolescents engaged in significantly higher levels of promotion of mistrust practices, followed by parents of European American adolescents.

The findings that European American parents engaged in more promotion of mistrust relative to African American and Latinx parents might be attributed in part to the sociocultural setting of Philadelphia. Participants were recruited from five ethnically diverse schools in Philadelphia, with the majority of the students at these high schools being students of color. Given that there were more youth of color in these schools than there were European American students, European American parents may have felt motivated to teach their children to be cautious when interacting with youth of color. This finding is consistent with extant literature which suggests that when there is an increased percentage of youth of color at a child's school, the likelihood of ethnic-racial socialization messages, specifically promotion of mistrust and preparation for bias, among European American families increases (Hughes, Witherspoon, Rivas-Drake, & West-Bey, 2009). Moreover, Hughes and colleagues (2009) conclude that ERS messages become increasingly important for White families when their children attend school in an integrated school district. Other studies suggest that White families are beginning to engage in explicit racial socialization practices, such that they talk about race with their children and have an increased awareness of racial bias (Perry, Skinner, & Abaied, 2019). Nonetheless, ERS messages may be more frequent and salient for youth of color given the historical experiences of racial discrimination among people of color.

The majority of the parents of Asian American adolescents in this sample were born outside of the U.S. Thus, parents of Asian American adolescents may have engaged in promotion of mistrust practices because of unfamiliarity with the Western culture and may have preferred for their children to engage in within-group relations.

Prior studies have found that Asian American families are more likely to expose their children to their own cultural heritage than to the mainstream culture (Daga & Raval, 2018). A study by Woo and colleagues (2020) also suggests that, for Asian American youth, ERS practices are an important mechanism that can influence their ethnic and cultural identities. That is, for Asian American families, ethnic and cultural identities are integral to acculturation, thus, Asian American adolescents tend to receive more ethnic pride messages from their parents than messages that might encourage them to adapt to the mainstream culture. Moreover, Berry (2007) suggests that there are four types of acculturation strategies: integration (i.e., maintenance of one's own cultural identity while becoming a participant in the host culture), assimilation (i.e., no attachment to one's own cultural identity, absorbed in the host culture), separation (i.e., maintenance of one's own cultural identity, rejects the host culture), and marginalization (i.e., no attachment to one's own cultural identity or to the host culture). Along these lines, if Asian American parents are more separated than integrated, they might be more likely to encourage their youth to engage in within-group relations and be cautious of outgroup members. In other words, promoting their children's mistrust of people from other racial/ethnic groups is consistent with a rejection of the host culture.

Contrary to my hypotheses, I found no significant gender differences in ERS practices among African American, European American, Latinx, and Asian American youth. This finding may indicate that parents engaged in similar ERS practices and provided similar socialization messages to their sons and daughters. From an intersectional perspective, it may also be that some social identities of adolescents

and their families were more salient than other identities. That is, perhaps parents of these adolescents thought it was more important to teach youth about their racial/ethnic identity than their gender identity, which might explain significant racial/ethnic group differences (but gender similarities) in parent's report of ERS. Additionally, the items on the ERS scale are usually attributed to one's racial/ethnic background and not gender, thus, parents in this sample may have answered these questions solely focused on race/ethnicity.

The role of intersectionality is important to consider when examining ERS practices among boys and girls across racial/ethnic groups. Intersectionality challenges us to consider multiple social categories simultaneously, and the role that power and oppression might play in these multiple social categories. Cole (2009) stated that in intersectional work, researchers should consider similarities across groups to identify commonalities and recognize common ground between groups. Cole (2009) also stated that by looking for similarities, researchers are reflecting on what individuals and cultures do rather than on social categories (e.g., race/ethnicity, gender) of the individuals. In the current study, gender similarities were found in parent's report of ERS, regardless of the social category of race/ethnicity. Moreover, an intersectional approach includes exploring other social categories beyond race/ethnicity and gender, such as SES and nativity. For example, findings from the current study indicated that parent's SES and nativity might be strong predictors of academic achievement outcomes, without accounting for ERS practices, gender, and

racial/ethnic background. Specifically, SES was significantly related to academic achievement for Latinx adolescents. Exploring those social categories in greater depth was beyond the scope of this thesis, however.

The second purpose of the current study was to examine whether there was a relation between ethnic-racial socialization practices and subsequent academic achievement among African American, European American, Latinx, and Asian American adolescents. I also examined whether this relation was moderated by both gender and racial/ethnic group. To my knowledge, this is the first study to consider an intersectional approach in the relation between ERS practices and academic achievement. The findings from the current study do not support my hypotheses, such that there was no relation between ERS practices (i.e., cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust) and academic achievement, as measured by grades in math, science, and English among high school adolescents. Additionally, neither gender nor racial/ethnic group served as a moderator in the relation between ERS practices and academic achievement.

These findings are consistent with a study by Cooper and Smalls (2010), which found that racial socialization messages (e.g., preparation for bias) were not related to African American boys' and girls' academic grades. Another study also found that cultural socialization was not significantly related to GPA among Mexican, Chinese, and European American adolescent boys and girls (Huynh & Fuligni, 2008). However, Huynh and Fuligni (2008) found that cultural socialization mediated ethnic differences in academic motivation after controlling for GPA, which may suggest that other aspects of youth's academic outcomes, like motivation, should be considered

when examining ERS practices. Cultural socialization messages might keep ethnic minority boys and girls more engaged and motivated in school despite social challenges that they may encounter or perceive; however, the current study could not test this possibility.

Strengths & Limitations

The current study has many strengths, including its diverse sample representation of adolescent boys and girls and their parents from across four racial/ethnic groups in the U.S. Across these four racial/ethnic groups, there were many first- and second-generation American families included. Specifically, Asian American and Latinx youth were more likely than European American and African American youth to have parents born outside of the U.S, which also contributed to the intersectional design of this study and reflected the geographical context of the study. While the role of parent's nativity and SES was not the focus of the current study, these variables explained a unique proportion of variance in youth's academic achievement beyond that explained by ERS practices, gender, and race/ethnicity, which highlights the importance of understanding immigration status and SES factors, like parent's level of education, on youth's academic achievement. Other strengths of the current study are its longitudinal design, examining ERS practices at 10th grade and academic achievement at 11th grade, and that participants came from five ethnically diverse schools in one school district in Philadelphia, PA. Additionally, there was a relatively equal number of adolescents represented in the sample for each racial/ethnic group.

While there were many strengths to the current study, some limitations were present. For example, the current study had sufficient statistical power to detect medium effects, but small effects could not be detected; most effects were nonsignificant. Also, data collected on gender was binary (i.e. female, male), which excludes adolescents who do not identify as female or male. Additionally, ERS practices were only parent-reported and there were no reports of youth's perception of parent's ERS practices. There was also not sufficient power to examine within group differences across racial/ethnic groups (e.g., Chinese vs. Korean families; African vs. African American families). Also, while European American adolescents attended the same schools and lived in the same neighborhoods as adolescents of color, they still resided in homes with higher parental education and higher income. For this reason, SES served as a covariate in the current study.

Moreover, the analytic strategy of the current study could not account for the full complexity of adolescent development and parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices. Specifically, race/ethnicity was analyzed as two groups (e.g., European American vs. African American, Latinx, and Asian American) because prior studies have found that families of color are more likely to engage in racial socialization practices than European American families. However, analyzing race/ethnicity as 2 groups also highlights the role of power and privilege that European American families have and the oppression that families of color experience. As previously stated, the current study is a partial replication of Else-Quest & Morse (2015), thus, race/ethnicity was analyzed as four separate groups to examine mean differences in ERS. Lastly, while conducting one regression with ERS practices and academic

achievement could have potentially produced meaningful findings, it would have reduced statistical power, as well as produce a 5-way interaction between the ERS variables, gender, and race/ethnicity that would have been difficult to interpret. In sum, while the current study builds on prior studies on ERS practices and youth outcomes, more research is needed in this area.

Future Directions

Findings from the current study indicate that ERS practices are important and salient in many families across diverse racial/ethnic groups in the U.S. Yet, the link between ERS practices and academic achievement among adolescents remains unclear. It may be that solely examining adolescent's GPA or grades in core classes does not fully explain or capture their academic experiences and achievement. Thus, future studies might examine academic functioning, which includes affective, behavioral, and cognitive components, among African American, Asian American, Latinx, and European American adolescents. For example, in one study, Dotterer and colleagues (2009) examined the relation between racial socialization and school engagement among African American adolescents. School engagement refers to how students behave, think, and feel about their school experiences, which may have implications for their academic achievement. To examine school engagement, the authors measured adolescent's school self-esteem, school bonding, and GPA. While they found no relation between ERS practices and GPA, they found that cultural socialization was significantly and positively related to school bonding for African American boys. They also found that adolescents who received more preparation for bias from their parents reported greater school self-esteem. In sum, examining

academic functioning among adolescents across racial/ethnic groups might produce meaningful findings when considering the role of ERS in adolescent outcomes.

In the current study, parent's nativity significantly predicted adolescent's academic achievement. While this may suggest that acculturation strategies are important to consider, examining the role of acculturation was beyond the scope of the current study. Findings from prior studies suggest that patterns of acculturation have different effects on youth's academic achievement without the influence of other mechanisms, like ERS messages. For example, Fang (2020) found that integration was positively correlated with youth's academic achievement. Conversely, separation and marginalization, acculturation processes that both reflect a rejection or lack of attachment to the host culture, were negatively correlated with youth's academic achievement. Thus, future studies should continue to examine the role of acculturation in adolescent's academic achievement.

Moreover, Hughes and colleagues (2006) stated that parent's immigration status might also influence ERS practices that youth receive. That is, recently immigrated parents are more likely to engage in socialization messages that focus on youth's ethnic origin or heritage (i.e., cultural socialization) than other immigrant parents who have been in the United States for much longer. Nonetheless, the authors concluded that there is still limited research on the relation between parent's nativity and ERS practices. Thus, future studies should continue to explore this phenomenon across racial/ethnic groups in the U.S.

Future studies should also examine within-group heterogeneity in the relationship between parent's ERS and youth's academic achievement. For example,

in the current study, there was a significant relationship between cultural socialization and academic achievement for Latinx boys, but no significant relation emerged for Latinx girls (see Appendix B). Additionally, the current study found that SES was significantly related to academic achievement for Latinx adolescents, regardless of gender. Examining within-group heterogeneity while using an intersectional approach may also produce meaningful findings about the way in which ERS is practiced within each racial/ethnic group.

Lastly, Stevenson and colleagues (2002) developed the Teenager Experience of Racial Socialization (TERS) scale to capture the actual experiences of these youth. Findings from their study conclude that adolescent's report of ERS may be interpreted differently from their parent's report of ERS, such that adolescents might interpret parent's racial socialization messages based on their own interactions with members from other racial/ethnic groups and not their parent's interactions or experiences. These interpretations, in turn, may have implications for youth's academic outcomes. Thus, future studies should also consider adolescent-report of ethnic-racial socialization practices alongside parent's report of ERS to identify any similarities or differences.

Conclusion

Academic achievement and success are important for the future outcomes of adolescents. Prior studies have concluded that there are multiple factors that contribute to the academic achievement and success of youth, such as parent's ethnic-racial socialization practices. Specifically, prior studies have found that ERS was related to higher GPA (McDermott et al., 2018), and higher academic engagement

and efficacy (Hughes et al., 2009) among youth of color. Yet, contrary to previous findings, the current study found no significant relation between parent's ERS and adolescent's academic achievement. ERS messages are intended to increase youth's self-esteem and protect them from racial bias and discrimination, and these messages can vary by racial/ethnic group, as found in the current study. ERS messages might also vary by gender, such that boys are more likely to receive preparation for bias and barrier messages, whereas girls are more likely to receive cultural socialization and pride messages (Hughes et al., 2006). Yet, gender and racial/ethnic group did not moderate the relation between ERS practices and academic achievement.

Nonetheless, the current study contributes to the literature on ERS practices by adopting an intersectional approach and considering the role of gender in these practices across racial/ethnic groups. Future studies should continue to explore the role of socio-cultural factors, like ERS, in youth's academic outcomes. Understanding the role of other mechanisms can help improve the academic experiences, engagement, and achievement of adolescents, particularly adolescents of color, and can help close the educational achievement gap that exists in the United States.

Appendices

Appendix A

Table 1.

Correlations among variables for African American adolescents by gender.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Cultural Socialization	-	0.68**	0.06	-0.11	0.03	0.17
2. Preparation for Bias	0.43**	-	0.24	0.19	0.09	0.32*
3. Promotion of Mistrust	-0.06	0.05	-	-0.02	0.12	-0.12
4. Academic Achievement	0.17	-0.04	-0.20	-	0.40*	-0.15
5. Socioeconomic Status	-0.17	-0.01	-0.04	-0.37*	-	0.03
6. Parent's Nativity	0.25	-0.08	-0.07	0.39*	-0.03	-

Note: Correlations for girls are below the diagonal; correlations for boys are above the diagonal; $n_{\text{boys}} = 33$, $n_{\text{girls}} = 41$; * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Appendix B

Table 2.
Correlations among variables for Latinx adolescents by gender.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Cultural Socialization	-	0.41*	0.32	0.36*	0.21	0.26
2. Preparation for Bias	0.32*	-	0.21	0.01	0.00	0.16
3. Promotion of Mistrust	0.00	0.25	-	0.07	-0.02	-0.12
4. Academic Achievement	0.06	0.23	0.10	-	0.37*	0.18
5. Socioeconomic Status	-0.12	0.15	0.05	0.14	-	0.20
6. Parent's Nativity	-0.12	0.19	0.01	-0.24	0.03	-

Note: Correlations for girls are below the diagonal; correlations for boys are above the diagonal; $n_{\text{boys}} = 32$, $n_{\text{girls}} = 37$; * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Appendix C

Table 3.

Correlations among variables for European American adolescents by gender.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Cultural Socialization	-	0.51**	0.04	-0.13	-0.20	-0.15
2. Preparation for Bias	0.34*	-	0.24	0.19	-0.00	0.27
3. Promotion of Mistrust	-0.03	-0.28	-	-0.02	-0.10	0.15
4. Academic Achievement	0.05	-0.04	0.21	-	0.46**	-0.16
5. Socioeconomic Status	-0.03	0.04	0.04	0.31	-	0.19
6. Parent's Nativity	-0.40**	-0.22	0.04	-0.16	0.20	-

Note: Correlations for women are below the diagonal; correlations for men are above the diagonal; $n_{\text{men}} = 45$, $n_{\text{women}} = 42$; * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Appendix D

Table 4.

Correlations among variables for Asian American adolescents by gender.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Cultural Socialization	-	0.55**	-0.00	0.36*	0.01	-0.15
2. Preparation for Bias	0.43**	-	0.24	0.03	0.10	0.27
3. Promotion of Mistrust	0.28	0.30*	-	0.10	-0.30	0.15
4. Academic Achievement	-0.38**	-0.24	-0.37*	-	0.01	-0.16
5. Socioeconomic Status	0.19	-0.02	-0.26	0.02	-	0.19
6. Parent's Nativity	-0.40**	-0.22	0.04	-0.16	0.20	-

Note: Correlations for girls are below the diagonal; correlations for boys are above the diagonal; $n_{\text{boys}} = 31$, $n_{\text{girls}} = 45$; * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 5.

Demographic characteristics of the PALS sample by racial/ethnic group

	European American		African American		Latinx		Asian American	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Adolescent gender								
Male	54	52.9	57	57.6	39	46.4	35	41.2
Female	48	47.1	42	42.4	45	53.6	50	58.8
Adolescent country of origin								
U.S. born	76	78.4	89	92.7	78	92.9	50	60.2
Foreign born	21	21.6	7	7.3	6	6.1	33	39.8
Adolescent's native language								
English	73	76.0	92	97.9	64	79.0	28	33.7
Other	23	24.0	2	2.1	17	21.0	55	66.3
Parent country of origin								
U.S. born	70	72.9	84	89.4	42	52.5	2	2.5
Foreign born	26	28.1	10	10.6	38	47.5	77	97.5
Parent education								
<8 th grade	1	1.0	0	0.0	3	3.8	12	15.0
9 th –11 th grade	6	6.3	10	10.6	16	20.0	5	6.3
High school graduate	23	24.0	38	40.4	23	28.8	24	30.0
Some college	31	32.3	30	31.9	24	30.0	13	16.3
College graduate	25	26.0	10	10.6	9	11.3	11	13.8
Graduate school	10	10.4	3	3.2	1	1.3	4	5.0
Prefer not to answer	0	0.0	3	3.2	4	5.0	11	13.8
Household income								
< \$20,000	14	14.6	29	30.9	28	35.0	20	25.0
\$20,000 - \$50,000	38	39.6	39	41.5	33	41.3	22	27.5
> \$50,000	37	38.5	17	18.1	8	10.0	12	15.0
Prefer not to answer	7	7.3	9	9.6	11	13.8	26	32.5
Number of books in the home								
0-10	1	1.0	6	6.3	8	9.5	5	5.9
10-50	26	25.5	30	31.3	35	41.7	37	43.5
50-100	20	19.6	28	29.2	17	20.2	19	22.4
>100	49	48.0	26	27.1	23	23.8	18	21.2
Prefer not to answer	6	5.9	6	6.3	4	4.8	6	7.1
Total sample	102		99		84		85	

Table 6.

Means and standard deviations by race/ethnicity among ethnic-racial socialization variables for full sample and by gender.

		Full Sample	Girls	Boys
Cultural Socialization	African American	3.24 _a (0.82)	3.27 (0.85)	3.22 (0.80)
	Latinx	2.87 _b (0.75)	2.81 (0.68)	2.93 (0.84)
	Asian American	3.23 _a (0.86)	3.22 (0.81)	3.21 (0.90)
	European American	2.58 _c (0.90)	2.59 (0.94)	2.58 (0.90)
Preparation for Bias	African American	2.86 _a (0.82)	2.87 (0.82)	2.85 (0.83)
	Latinx	2.42 _b (0.74)	2.38 (0.78)	2.47 (0.68)
	Asian American	2.38 _b (0.75)	2.40 (0.72)	2.36 (0.81)
	European American	2.42 _b (0.64)	2.47 (0.60)	2.36 (0.68)
Promotion of Mistrust	African American	1.07 _a (0.32)	1.08 (0.35)	1.07 (0.31)
	Latinx	1.18 _{a, c} (0.49)	1.16 (0.46)	1.19 (0.54)
	Asian American	1.46 _b (0.82)	1.53 (0.87)	1.36 (0.74)
	European American	1.28 _{b, c} (0.62)	1.25 (0.66)	1.31 (0.59)

Note: Means with differing subscripts are significantly different ($p < .05$).

Table 7.
Correlations among variables for African American adolescents.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Cultural Socialization	-					
2. Preparation for Bias	0.58**	-				
3. Promotion of Mistrust	0.01	0.16	-			
4. Academic Achievement	-0.01	0.09	-0.06	-		
5. Socioeconomic Status	-0.02	0.07	0.05	0.07	-	
6. Parent's Nativity	0.19	0.16	-0.10	0.05	-0.01	-

Note: $n = 87$; * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 8.

Correlations among variables for Latinx adolescents.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Cultural Socialization	-					
2. Preparation for Bias	0.36**	-				
3. Promotion of Mistrust	0.18	0.23*	-			
4. Academic Achievement	0.21	0.13	0.08	-		
5. Socioeconomic Status	0.02	0.09	0.02	0.25*	-	
6. Parent's Nativity	0.07	0.18	-0.05	-0.04	0.10	-

Note: $n = 80$; * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 9.

Correlations among variables for European American adolescents.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Cultural Socialization	-					
2. Preparation for Bias	0.43**	-				
3. Promotion of Mistrust	0.00	-0.08	-			
4. Academic Achievement	-0.04	-0.01	0.10	-		
5. Socioeconomic Status	-0.12	0.00	-0.02	0.36**	-	
6. Parent's Nativity	-0.28**	0.04	0.09	-0.16	0.20	-

Note: $n = 87$; * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 10.

Correlations among variables for Asian American adolescents.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Cultural Socialization	-					
2. Preparation for Bias	0.48**	-				
3. Promotion of Mistrust	0.17	0.27*	-			
4. Academic Achievement	-0.08	-0.13	-0.22	-		
5. Socioeconomic Status	0.11	0.03	-0.28*	0.03	-	
6. Parent's Nativity	0.10	0.17	-0.09	-0.13	0.24*	-

Note: $n = 82$; * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 11.

Regression analyses for cultural socialization predicting academic achievement.

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE(B)</i>	β	η_p^2	Observed Power
Step 1 $F(2, 294) = 18.12, p < .001$; adjusted $R^2 = .10$					
SES	4.41	1.14	0.22**	0.05	0.97
Nativity	-7.73	1.47	-0.30**	0.09	0.99
Step 2 $F(5, 291) = 8.09, p < .001$; adjusted $R^2 = .11$					
SES	4.41	1.19	0.22**	0.06	0.95
Nativity	-7.73	1.49	-0.30**	0.09	0.99
Cultural socialization (CS)	0.51	0.84	0.03	0.006	0.08
Gender	-2.70	1.44	-0.10	0.002	0.46
Race/Ethnicity	-1.17	1.78	-0.04	0.01	0.08
Step 3 $F(8, 288) = 5.61, p < .001$; adjusted $R^2 = .11$					
SES	4.36	1.19	0.22**	0.05	0.95
Nativity	-8.18	1.50	-0.31**	0.08	0.99
Cultural socialization	-2.51	1.74	-0.17	0.000	0.08
Gender	-9.62	5.18	-0.37	0.01	0.39
Race/Ethnicity	-7.49	5.66	-0.26	0.001	0.18
CS x Gender	2.64	1.69	0.33	0.002	0.29
CS x Race/Ethnicity	2.47	1.84	0.29	0.007	0.08
Gender x Race/Ethnicity	-1.24	3.36	-0.05	0.001	0.05
Step 4 $F(9, 287) = 5.20, p < .001$; adjusted $R^2 = .11$					
SES	4.27	1.19	0.21**	0.05	0.95
Nativity	-8.12	1.50	-0.31**	0.08	0.99
Cultural Socialization	-0.86	2.13	-0.03	0.000	0.08
Gender	-0.83	8.35	-0.03	0.004	0.15
Race/Ethnicity	-0.97	7.46	-0.03	0.001	0.11
CS x Gender	-0.73	3.03	-0.09	0.003	0.08
CS x Race/Ethnicity	0.08	2.56	0.01	0.001	0.11
Gender x Race/Ethnicity	-14.70	10.58	-0.54	0.001	0.22
CS x Gender x Race/Ethnicity	4.88	3.64	0.59	0.001	0.08

Note: $p < .01^*$, $p < .001^{**}$

Table 12.

Regression analyses for preparation for bias predicting academic achievement.

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE(B)</i>	β	η_p^2	Observed Power
Step 1 $F(2, 294) = 18.12, p < .001$; adjusted $R^2 = .10$					
SES	4.41	1.14	0.22**	0.05	0.97
Nativity	-7.80	1.47	-0.30**	0.09	0.95
Step 2 $F(5, 291) = 8.01, p < .001$; adjusted $R^2 = .11$					
SES	4.40	1.20	0.22**	0.04	0.95
Nativity	-7.81	1.52	-0.30**	0.08	0.99
Preparation for bias	0.18	0.99	0.01	0.001	0.08
Gender	-2.67	1.45	-0.10	0.01	0.42
Race/Ethnicity	-0.96	1.75	-0.03	0.000	0.08
Step 3 $F(8, 288) = 5.26, p < .001$; adjusted $R^2 = .10$					
SES	4.45	1.20	0.22**	0.05	0.95
Nativity	-8.07	1.53	-0.31**	0.08	0.99
Preparation for bias (PfB)	-1.79	2.41	-0.10	0.000	0.05
Gender	-9.45	5.46	-0.36	0.01	0.39
Race/Ethnicity	-2.94	6.48	-0.10	0.000	0.05
PfB x Gender	2.73	1.93	0.29	0.002	0.29
PfB x Race/Ethnicity	0.79	2.40	0.08	0.007	0.08
Gender x Race/Ethnicity	-0.17	3.26	-0.01	0.000	0.25
Step 4 $F(9, 287) = 4.69, p < .001$; adjusted $R^2 = .10$					
SES	4.46	1.20	0.22**	0.05	0.95
Nativity	-8.12	1.54	-0.31**	0.08	0.99
Preparation for bias	-2.58	3.33	-0.15	0.000	0.18
Gender	-12.75	10.97	-0.49	0.003	0.15
Race/Ethnicity	-5.33	9.46	-0.18	0.000	0.15
PfB x Gender	4.09	4.37	0.43	0.003	0.08
PfB x Race/Ethnicity	1.74	3.66	0.18	0.001	0.11
Gender x Race/Ethnicity	3.97	12.36	0.15	0.001	0.22
PfB x Gender x Race/Ethnicity	-1.68	4.85	-0.17	0.001	0.08

Note: $p < .01^*$, $p < .001^{**}$

Table 13.

Regression analyses for promotion of mistrust predicting academic achievement.

Variable	B	SE(B)	β	η_p^2	Observed Power
Step 1 $F(2, 294) = 18.12, p < .001$; adjusted $R^2 = .10$					
SES	4.41	1.14	0.22**	0.05	0.97
Nativity	-7.80	1.47	-0.30**	0.09	0.95
Step 2 $F(5, 291) = 8.17, p < .001$; adjusted $R^2 = .11$					
SES	4.52	1.20	0.22**	0.05	0.96
Nativity	-7.60	1.50	-0.29**	0.08	0.99
Promotion of mistrust (PoM)	1.03	1.21	0.05	0.002	0.11
Gender	-2.68	1.44	-0.10	0.01	0.42
Race/Ethnicity	-0.81	1.73	-0.03	0.008	0.29
Step 3 $F(8, 288) = 5.40, p < .001$; adjusted $R^2 = .11$					
SES	4.52	1.20	0.22**	0.05	0.96
Nativity	-7.99	1.53	-0.31**	0.06	0.99
Promotion of mistrust	2.80	2.87	0.13	0.003	0.15
Gender	-5.73	4.15	-0.22	0.01	0.25
Race/Ethnicity	3.22	4.21	0.11	0.002	0.11
PoM x Gender	1.90	2.45	0.11	0.002	0.29
PoM x Race/Ethnicity	-3.48	2.92	-0.20	0.005	0.18
Gender x Race/Ethnicity	0.76	3.26	0.03	0.000	0.05
Step 4 $F(9, 287) = 5.12, p < .001$; adjusted $R^2 = .11$					
SES	4.52	1.20	0.22**	0.05	0.96
Nativity	-8.06	1.52	-0.31**	0.01	0.99
Promotion of mistrust	7.02	3.86	0.32	0.01	0.42
Gender	3.19	6.86	0.12	0.001	0.29
Race/Ethnicity	9.41	5.66	0.32	0.09	0.36
PoM x Gender	-5.22	5.00	-0.30	0.004	0.15
PoM x Race/Ethnicity	-8.60	4.28	-0.50	0.01	0.51
Gender x Race/Ethnicity	-10.91	7.86	-0.40	0.07	0.25
PoM x Gender x Race/Ethnicity	9.34	5.73	0.48	0.10	0.36

Note: $p < .01^*$, $p < .001^{**}$

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