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Understanding Intergenerational Transmission and Frequency Of Ethnic-Racial Socialization Practices Among Racial Ethnic Minority Groups

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UNDERSTANDING INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION AND FREQUENCY OF
ETHNIC-RACIAL SOCIALIZATION PRACTICES AMONG RACIAL ETHNIC
MINORITY GROUPS

by

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DEDICATION

I am dedicating this Thesis to my lovely friends and family for their continued support while I have been on my academic journey. Another dedication to my mother, Rosalyn who with love and effort has accompanied me in this process, without hesitating at any moment of seeing my dreams come true, I love you mom.

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ABSTRACT

Ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) is a multidimensional concept that can be defined as the transmission of attitudes, beliefs and messages about ethnic-racial group membership (Hughes et al., 2006). To counteract the negative effects of discriminatory experiences, ethnic minority parents proactively impart race-salient messages to their youth.

Sociodemographic variables such as regional location has been shown to affect the frequency of ERS messages as well (Thornton et al., 1990). The current study examines ERS practices in 436 African American, Hispanic/Latinx and Asian American parents. This study also explores the concept of intergenerational transmission, in which parents pass on to their own children messages they received as children. Participants reported on their ERS practices, memories of ERS from their own parents, and their ethnic-racial identity (ERI). Results indicated that there were no differences on certain ERS practices between ethnic groups. However, findings show that African American parents reported higher use of specific ERS messages. Furthermore, regional location was found to be a predictor of the frequency of ERS messages. Lastly, ethnic racial identity fully mediated the relationship for certain ERS messages and practices. This study builds on the ERS literature indicating there are a myriad of factors that influence the frequency of ERS messages in ethnic minority families.

Keywords: ethnic-racial socialization, intergenerational transmission, preparation for bias, cultural socialization, ethnic-racial identity

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Within the next 20 years, it is projected that minorities will become the majority in the US, however, it is likely the daily experiences of ethnic minority youth will continue to be moderated by the macrosystem influences of a White dominant culture (Wang, 2021). Ethnic minority individuals have crafted adaptive cultures that allow for the unique navigation of disparities in systems of inequity (Garcia-Coll et al., 1996). One protective factor studied in adaptive cultures is the process of ethnic minority parents giving their children messages about race and culture. Ethnic racial socialization (ERS) is a multidimensional concept that can be defined as the transmission of attitudes, beliefs and messages about group membership (Hughes et al., 2006). There is a need to understand how different ethnic minority parents are currently preparing their children to navigate systems of bias and discrimination. Developing an understanding of cultural values and knowledge that give effective coping strategies for overcoming systems of injustice are insufficient without conceptualization of protective factors related to ERS in diverse samples of ethnic-racial minority groups. The current study aims to examine factors associated with ERS, including parent memories of ERS messaging, ethnic-racial identity, and regional location within a diverse sample of African American, Hispanic/Latinx, and Asian American parents.

ERS and Child Development

Conceptualization of Ethnic Minority Child Development

The integrative model for the study of developmental competencies in minority children by Cynthia Garcia-Coll et al. (1996) allows for a conceptual understanding of development in ethnic minority youth. Through social position variables such as race, social class, ethnicity, and gender Garcia-Coll and colleagues (1996) proposed the effect of social position is mediated through mechanisms of racism, prejudice and discrimination within ethnic minority youth populations. After an interplay of social position, segregation and environment, an adaptive culture is created in response to the social demands for people of color. Adaptive culture is best defined as a cultural structure that differs from the dominant culture in terms of certain objectives, values, and attitudes (Garcia-Coll et al., 1996). Adaptive culture can also be seen as a protective factor to preserve cultural traditions and legacies that are instrumental for an ethnic minority group. Moreover, adaptive culture assists with shaping family roles and structure for ethnic minority youth, therefore familial values and beliefs are created. As this process builds parents begin to socialize their children around race, ethnicity and culture in society at home. Therein lies the process of ERS messaging passed down from parent to child. The Garcia Coll et al. (1996) integrative model's holistic framework has exceptional usage to explain parenting practices such as ERS and the development of youth across ethnic minority groups. As I pursue to understand ethnic minority groups' usage of ERS, Garcia-Coll, and colleagues' (1996) integrative model considers the nuanced intersectional development of ethnic minority children.

Ethnic-Racial Socialization as a Construct

Ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) has traditionally been operationalized into four dimensions such as cultural socialization, preparation for bias, egalitarianism, and promotion of mistrust (Hughes & Chen, 1999; Hughes et al., 2006). *Cultural socialization* can be defined as parents teaching their children about ethnic heritage through participating in practices exposing their children to music, food, holidays, books, and cultural figures related to their racial/ethnic group (Hughes et al., 2006). Additionally, *preparation for bias* can be defined as a parent making an effort to point out bias and discrimination that may arise in their child's life (Hughes et al., 2006). Some parents of ethnic minority youth do not necessarily engage in race-salient messages, but rather those that emphasize hard-work, self-acceptance and equality (Hughes et al., 2006). This type of messaging is known as *egalitarianism* that incorporates parent's insistence of youth developing skills that help with adjusting to the dominant White culture (Hughes et al., 2006). Lastly, *promotion of mistrust* refers to communication warning children about being cautious about interacting with other ethnic-racial groups (Hughes et al., 2006). The current study focuses on the dimensions of cultural socialization and preparation for bias.

Research centering around understanding the frequency of ERS messaging from parent to child has focused on the dimensions of cultural socialization and preparation for bias. Both dimensions are important to comprehend because of the coping strategies and development of positive attitudes towards an ethnic minority child's own ethnic-racial identity (Demo and Hughes, 1989). Cultural socialization has been studied as a mechanism for instilling a sense of ethnic pride into ethnic minority children (Hughes et

al., 2006). Ethnic minority parents may pass along messages about significant cultural leaders who overcame comparable hardships and made significant contributions to society. In comparison, preparation for bias informs youth about bias and discrimination that is present in society while providing coping mechanisms and messages simultaneously. Parents may model appropriate responses when encountering discrimination, and at the same time, build awareness in the child when it is happening. Research has shown academic achievement, resilience, and mental health outcomes in relation to environmental or social stressors were found to differ favorably for ethnic minority children who received socialization messages such as cultural socialization and preparation for bias (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Hughes et al., 2006; Neblett et al., 2009; Wang et al., 2020). More specifically, ethnic minority youth receiving cultural socialization and preparation for bias messaging were found to report less symptoms of anxiety and depression, higher academic persistence and performance in school (Hughes et al., 2006; Neblett et al., 2009; Wang et al., 2020).

Intergenerational Transmission of ERS

One factor that may determine the frequency of ERS messages from parent to child are ERS messages a parent once received as a child. There have been recent studies done to explore the process of intergenerational transmission of ERS messages in African American, Latinx and Asian American samples (Kulish et al., 2019; Kurtz-Costes et al, 2019). Kurtz-Costes and colleagues (2019) investigated a sample of African American parents' reports of ethnic racial socialization received during their childhood and messages they then passed to their children. The results indicated parents' memories of ERS practices such as cultural socialization and preparation for bias were a factor in

similar messages they delivered to their children. Similarly, the children of the participants reported the use of cultural pride and preparation for bias by the parent, therefore a presence of intergenerational transmission of ethnic racial socialization was supported (Kurtz-Costes et al, 2019). Similarly, in an exploration of intergenerational transmission in Latinx families, Kulish et al. (2019) found evidence of intergenerational transmission. Furthermore, Kulish et al. (2019) surveyed Latina mothers about memories of ERS messaging such as cultural socialization and preparation for bias and current endorsement with their children. The results indicated Latina mothers engaged their youth about potential bias and discrimination they may experience similar to messages once received as a child. Additionally, this was also true for cultural socialization practices that highlighted a prominent Latinx cultural value, Familism (*familismo*). Lastly, Woo et al. (2020) wanted to specifically investigate the relationship between racial discrimination and content of ERS messages in Asian American families. Results showed racial discrimination experienced by youth and parents was associated with youth reporting the preparation for bias messages from their parents. It was reported of some semblance of intergenerational transmission of ERS, however, there is a need to understand the process of intergenerational transmission of cultural socialization and preparation for bias in a diverse sample. It is critical to also consider the association a parent feels with their ethnic racial identity as this may suggest the likelihood these messages get passed onto their children. Few studies have examined how ERI serves as a mechanism in the relationship between parents utilizing similar messages they received and informing their children about cultural pride and discrimination within society.

ERI as a Mediator of Intergenerational Transmission

The association a parent has with their ethnic racial identity can serve as a mechanism for intergenerational transmission of ERS messages. Ethnic-racial identity (ERI) is a unique multi-dimensional construct that considers the feelings and attitudes of group membership over time for ethnic minority individuals (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Black scholars have studied the association of an ERI within African American individuals relative to sociopolitical context and perceived discrimination in their own contexts (Clark & Clark, 1939; Helms, 1990). Sellers and colleagues (1998) created the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI), which viewed ethnic racial identity through the dimensions of centrality, private regard, public regard to create a model of African American ethnic-racial identity.

The contributions of research for ERI using Sellers et al. (1998) Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI) instrument has allowed scholars to adapt and examine the ERI dimensions of centrality, private and public regard in other minority groups. *Centrality* refers to the extent that an individual incorporates racial group membership to their self-concept (Sellers et al., 1998). *Private regard* was defined by the feelings towards their own racial-ethnic group and how an individual feels about being one. *Public regard* is in reference to how others in society view a particular ethnic-racial group. There is a relationship between ERS messaging and ERI association that may begin to explain the process that ERI can be viewed as a mechanism of intergenerational transmission of ERS messages (Stevenson, 1995).

More frequent ERS messages from parent to child are associated with a stronger association with their children's own ethnic-racial identity (Bowman & Howard, 1985;

Thompson, 1994; Stevenson, 1995; Hughes et al., 2009; Huguley et al., 2019).

Stevenson's (1995) study on African American adolescents' perceptions of racial socialization to racial identity was pivotal in understanding the relationship between ERS practices and ERI development. The results yielded that as African American adolescents perceived more ERS practices from their parents they were more likely to align with their ethnic racial group (Stevenson, 1995). This finding is consistent in also both Latinx and Asian American children (Hughes et al., 2006; Rivas- Drake, 2011; Kiang et al., 2019; Woo et al., 2020; Witherspoon et al., 2021). Witherspoon et al. (2021) examined the influence of neighborhood contextual influences and acts of discrimination on Latinx children's ERI development. More specifically, ERS messaging of cultural socialization was positively associated with Latinx youth's ERI components of private regard and centrality. This result suggests that Latinx youth that receive messages centered around ethnic pride, believe that their ERI reflects their self-image and more positive attitudes towards their ethnic minority group membership. In comparison, Asian American youth who received cultural socialization messages reported an increase in belongingness to an ethnic minority group (Kiang et al., 2019). Furthermore, perceived racial discrimination that prompted preparation for bias messaging in Asian American parents to children resulted in stronger ERI association for Asian American youth.

Overall, the literature suggests there has been research done to observe intergenerational transmission of ERS messages in different ethnic minority groups; however, rarely have African Americans, Asian Americans and Latinx/Hispanic families been studied together. With the relationship between ERS and ERI, this likely explains the start of the process towards intergenerational transmission of cultural socialization

and preparation for bias messages. There is a need to explore the effects ERI has on the process of intergenerational transmission. This relationship will help boost the understanding of the preservation of cultural values and knowledge between generations.

Regional Location and Frequency of Ethnic-Racial Socialization Messages

There is evidence of regional location having an effect on the frequency of ERS messages from parent to child. Thornton et al. (1990) was a landmark study in determining the sociodemographic correlates such as regional location regarding ERS message frequency from African American parent to child. Thornton et al. (1990) revealed that region is a significant predictor in Black parents imparting ERS messages to their youth.

Furthermore, African American parents living in the Northeast were more likely than Southerners to socialize their children about race (Thornton et al., 1990). In comparison to the western region of the United States, the South also predicted fewer discussions of ERS concerning aspects of cultural socialization (Brown et al., 2007). Studying regional differences in ERS messaging is a critical correlate that should be studied more, yet rarely has been considered. To have a deeper awareness of the environment ethnic minority children are growing up in, it is necessary to comprehend the relationship between regional location and ERS transmission. Additionally, utilizing Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems theory (1979), it is important to also consider the influence ecological systems can have on socialization practices. In particular, highlighting the importance of the micro-, meso- and macrosystems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Given that a child's microsystem can be affected by actions made in the macrosystem, it is crucial to examine the structure and function of these contexts. The mesosystem incorporates several factors of the microsystem such as a child's school and

neighborhood. The interplay between a child's micro- and mesosystem and the environmental context in which they develop might vary because of the effect of the macrosystem, opening the door for understanding regional location's effect on ERS message frequency.

Ethnic-Racial Socialization Across Ethnic Racial Groups

The conceptualization of ERS research can be attributed to Black researchers who investigated ERS practices in Black families, which facilitated a better understanding of Latinx and Asian American families. Bowman and Howard (1985) in their landmark study on socialization, motivation and academic achievement indicated that African American youth who did not receive ERS messages reported lower self-efficacy scores than African American children who did, highlighting the importance of the presence of ERS messages and practices. Throughout changing sociopolitical contexts, cultural socialization and preparation for bias has served as a protective factor against bias and discrimination for African American children in the United States.

African American youth that are socialized around African American cultural knowledge and traditions also reported positive attitudes towards being Black (Demo & Hughes, 1989). Cultural socialization has also been linked to a strong protective nature for African American youth in academic success. Youth that are receiving more messages about their cultural heritage and traditions were more often cognitively (i.e., integration of other course concepts) and behaviorally (i.e, participating in course discussions) engaged in school thus were more likely to perform better (Banerjee et al., 2017; Wang et al., 2020). These results may speak more to the coping resources that a

sense of ethnic pride provides for African American children in the face of societal demands.

Similarly, preparation for bias messaging has been resourceful for African American youth as well. There is evidence that African American parents were more likely than other ethnic minority group parents to use this technique (Hughes et al., 2006). Moreover, in terms of coping and mental health, preparation of bias messages was reported to help produce more emotional regulation and less depressive symptoms (Stevenson et al., 1998; Evans et al., 2012; Dunbar et al., 2015). Like cultural socialization, preparation for bias messaging was beneficial for African American youth in academic settings. Neblett and colleagues (2009) aimed to understand the effects of preparation of bias messages on experiences of racial discrimination in middle school and high school aged boys' educational attainment. African American boys that received messages about preparation of bias, in spite of racial discrimination, were more persistent in difficult academic tasks (Neblett et al., 2009). Additionally, in conjunction with this, boys that received these messages were more self-efficacious and felt a sense of pride (Neblett et al., 2009). Thus, messages about racial barriers and discrimination are a key component in African American youth coping with racism and discrimination. ERS research around cultural socialization and preparation for bias has also been found to be a protective factor for both Latinx and Asian American youth.

Latinx and Asian American Youth Outcomes

Cultural socialization practices in Latinx/Hispanic populations are composed of specific ERS messaging that is relative to their cultural heritage. A prominent Latinx cultural value, *familismo* (familism), is described as the importance of family support, unity and

that one's action reflects on the family (Kulish et al., 2019). Latinx youth understanding and engaging in this cultural concept have been found to report behaviors associated with higher cooperation and concern for others (Calderón-Tena et al., 2011). Furthermore, through cultural socialization youth reported a stronger association with their ethnic-racial identity (Hughes et al., 2006; Rivas- Drake, 2011). Thus, youth who reported a stronger association between ERS and identity also had stronger emotional engagement with school (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014; Rivas-Drake & Marchand, 2016).

With regards to preparation for bias, Latinx parents were more likely than their ethnic minority counterparts to bring up immigration status in their socialization techniques when they told their kids about prejudice and discrimination in America (Ayón et al., 2019; Spears-Brown et al., 2022; Eyal et al., 2022). Latinx/Hispanic parents also reflected upon their experiences as a child and in return educated their youth about discrimination against Latinx/Hispanic populations (Eyal et al., 2022). Eyal and colleagues (2022) highlighted more specific methods Latinx/Hispanic parents used to comfort their child in the face of discrimination. In particular, parents mentioned they model appropriate responses towards discrimination and their usage of preparation of bias messages was associated with helping to strengthen their children's self-esteem (Eyal et al., 2022). Additionally, Latinx youth from families discussing potential discrimination were able to perceive discrimination better at school than those whose parents did not (Spears-Brown et al., 2022). The conceptualization of ERS research in Latinx families has also been studied in Asian American families more recently.

While research suggests that Asian American parents are much less likely than African American and Latino parents to engage in ERS, messaging still occurs (Hughes

et al., 2008; Rivas-Drake et al., 2009). Similar to African American and Latinx populations, cultural socialization in Asian American populations was positively associated with a stronger association with ethnic-racial group membership (Tran & Lee, 2010; Daga & Raval, 2018). Furthermore, association with ethnic-racial identity has been found to be a mediator between cultural socialization and social competence (Tran & Lee, 2010). This might imply that cultural socialization facilitates the identification with ethnic-racial identity and affects young people's capacity to collaborate well in diverse settings. However, there is still a need for additional conceptualization of cultural socialization effects on positive Asian American youth outcomes.

Additionally, Asian American youth that received preparation for bias messages from their parents were more likely to perform better in school (Seol et al., 2016). Immigration status is also a salient identity in Asian American populations similar to Latinx individuals. Asian American parents were found to engage in proactive and reactive socialization practices that reflected preparation for bias (Juang et al., 2017). The model minority myth is a stigmatized perception that Asian Americans have dealt with (Young et al., 2021). The model minority myth refers to a minority group or member of such a group who is considered as having achieved greater success than other similar groups or people (Ng et al., 2007). In the context of Asian American youth this may register under the belief that Asian American youth routinely have higher academic success than their peers. There is a negative association between racial microaggressions and individual self-esteem associated with the model minority stereotype (Thai et al., 2017). This result suggests there is a need to increase research that examines the additional preparation for bias messages Asian American parents are utilizing with their

children. In particular, perceived racial discrimination is alarmingly prevalent in Asian American populations yet there is a lack of research exploring preparation for bias messaging.

Overall, cultural socialization and preparation for bias messages have been found to be protective of African American, Latinx and Asian American youth development. Yet, research has been limited in examining a diverse sample of parents to understand how parents pass down meaningful messages to their children about cultural pride and coping mechanisms for racial discrimination. Therein lies a gap to better understand factors such as regional location, ethnic racial identity and the process of intergenerational transmission that effect the likelihood of ERS messages passed down from ethnic minority parents to children.

Current Study

Like African American populations, there has been a call to studying ethnic-racial socialization messages across other ethnic minority groups in the United States, such as Latinx/Hispanic and Asian American families (Rivas-Drake, 2010; Tran & Lee, 2010; Young et al., 2021; Spears-Brown et al., 2022). However, rarely have African American, Asian American and Latinx/Hispanic families been studied together on these phenomena. Evidence indicates that a vital facilitator of ERS messages are the parents of ethnic minority youth. Moreover, there is evidence of intergenerational transmission when ethnic minority parents give their children ERS messages that are comparable to those they themselves received as children (Kulish et al., 2019; Kurtz-Costes et al, 2019; Woo et al., 2020). Parents are actively equipping their children with tools that help solidify their own association with an ethnic/racial identity (ERI) and ethnic pride. To grasp how

ethnic minority families are battling bias-prone social structures such as neighborhoods and schools, it is essential to comprehend the parenting practices taking place within the immediate family or microsystems for ethnic minority youth. In this study, I aim to understand content transmission of ERS messages, in particular, cultural socialization and preparation for bias for a diverse sample. Cultural socialization and preparation for bias ERS practices reflect race-salient and cultural tradition messaging ethnic minority parents share with their children. Furthermore, in relation to their ERI, these ERS practices more accurately reflect the challenges that ethnic minority adolescents may face in society and how to overcome them. I hypothesize that there will be group differences in content of ERS messages between ethnic minority parents, similar to the findings of the Hughes et al. (2006) study. It is possible to conceptualize not just where these messages are coming from but also which groups in particular socialize more in different regions of the US. Dependent upon the environmental context, this study may begin to explain why parents may or may not feel the need to actively engage in ERS practices with their children. I hypothesize there will be differences in frequency of ERS messages depending on the U.S. residential region of the participants. It is important to understand how parents are applying their memories of ERS to practices with their children to conceptualize the process of intergenerational transmission. Lastly, I hypothesize that parent memories of more frequent ERS messages and stronger association with their ERI will employ more endorsement of ERS strategies with their child. As a result of association with the parent's ERI, I predict that there will be evidence of the intergenerational transmission of ERS messages from parent to child that mirror the similar patterns of those first received by the parent.

CHAPTER 2

METHODS

Sample

Participants were recruited from a national survey utilizing Mechanical Turk to understand parenting practices across ethnic minority groups encompassing individuals who identified as African American, Asian American and Latinx/Hispanic. This study was comprised of 436 African Americans, Asian Americans, Latinx/Hispanic parents across the United States (Table 1). African American parents ($n=233$) were the largest number followed by Hispanic/Latino ($n=129$), and Asian Americans having the smallest group ($n=75$). On average, participants reported the age of their children was approximately 7 years of age ($M = 7.68$, $SD = 5.25$). The full age range of children was between the ages of two to thirty-seven. The regional location distribution was largest for participants in the Northeast region ($n = 179$), followed by Southeast ($n=87$), West ($n=82$), Midwest ($n=33$), and lastly Southwest ($n=31$). Participants that identified as male accounted for roughly 69% of the sample whereas participants that identified as female were 31% of the sample. Regarding participant age, most of the sample is comprised of parents aged 26-34 (53.1%) followed by 35-44 (23.1%), 18-25 (14.4%), and 45-54 (8.5%). The sample was fairly educated in that on average participants held a bachelor's degree ($SD = 1.70$). Furthermore, majority of participants in the survey were married and living together (81.5%) followed by participants that identified as single (18.5%).

Measures

Ethnic/Racial Identity

The Multidimensional Inventory for Black Identity-Short (MIBI-S) scale (Sellers et al., 1997) was adapted and used to measure perceptions of their own ethnic-racial identity (ERI). Participants indicated their level of agreement on items assessing their ethnic-racial identity on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from “Strongly agree” (1) to “Strongly disagree” (5). The shortened scale consisted of eleven items that assessed three different subscales of ethnic-racial identity: public regard, private regard and centrality. Internal reliability was sufficient for the scale items ($\alpha = 0.90$).

Centrality of ERI. Centrality is a subscale component of ERI that measured how much a participant's self-concept is influenced by their racial group membership. The subscale is a 4-item inventory to explore one aspect of ERI composition. An example item would be “Overall, my ethnicity has very little to do with how I feel about myself” or “My ethnicity is important to me” ($\alpha = 0.74$).

Private regard of ERI. The private regard subscale of ERI measured one's attitudes and self-perception toward belonging to their own race or ethnic group. The private regard subscale is composed of a 3-item inventory. Example items of private regard would be “I am happy that I am my ethnicity” or “My ethnicity is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am.” ($\alpha = 0.65$)

Public regard of ERI. The public regard subscale of ERI measured how individuals in society might generally perceive a certain ethnic or racial group. The public regard subscale features a 4-item inventory. Example items of the public regard

subscale would be “I feel good about people of my ethnicity” or “My ethnicity is not a major factor in my social relationships” ($\alpha = 0.77$).

Memories of Ethnic Racial Socialization messages

Participant Memories of ERS. The Hughes & Chen., (1999) ethnic racial socialization scale items were adapted to measure participants’ memories of socialization messages from their own parents. The inventory included nine items concerning aspects of ERS messages such as “you should be proud to be the race or ethnicity that you are” or “some people may treat you badly or unfairly because of your race or ethnicity”. On a 5-point Likert scale ranging from “Never” (1) to “6 or more times” (5), participants were asked to recall how many times their parents said statements concerning cultural pride or discrimination in society ($\alpha = 0.95$). Two subscales of ERS were measured: memories of cultural socialization and preparation of bias.

Memories of Cultural Socialization. The memories of cultural socialization subscale measured participants memories of messages from their own parents concerning cultural pride or traditions. The subscale included 4 items concerning aspects of cultural socialization messages. An example of an item would be “how often have your parents said it is important to follow the traditions of your racial or ethnic group” ($\alpha = 0.90$).

Memories of Preparation for Bias. The memories of preparation for bias subscale specifically measured participants’ memories from their parent’s messaging concerning the bias and discrimination in society. The subscale included 5 items about preparation of bias messages. An example item would be “how often have your parents said you may have hard times being accepted in this society because of your race or ethnicity?” ($\alpha = 0.93$).

Ethnic Racial Socialization messages

Parent to Child ERS. Similarly, an adaptation of the Hughes & Chen., (1999) ethnic racial socialization measure was used to assess the number of times participants talked to their child about race and ethnicity. The measure ethnic racial socialization scale was based on a 9-item scale, where there were subscales for two dimensions of ERS: cultural socialization and preparation for bias. As previously mentioned, on a five-point Likert scale ranging from “Never” (1) to “6 or more times” (5). parents were asked to recall within the past year they provided ERS messages to their child ($\alpha = 0.93$).

Cultural Socialization. The cultural socialization subscale measured participants messages imparted to their child concerning cultural pride or traditions. The subscale included 4 items about aspects of cultural socialization messages. An example of an item asked how often participants provided messages to their children such as “it is important to follow the traditions of your racial or ethnic group” ($\alpha = 0.90$).

Preparation for Bias. The preparation of bias subscale specifically measured participants messages imparted to their child concerning the bias and discrimination in society. The subscale included 5 items about preparation for bias messages. An example item asked participants the frequency they provided messages to their children such as “you may have hard times being accepted in this society because of your race or ethnicity” ($\alpha = 0.93$).

Region

In order to identify the regional location of participants, the latitude and longitude values were obtained from the dataset. Secondly, each state was coded into its regional area of the US as follows: West (1), Southwest (2), Midwest (3), Northeast (4), and lastly

Southeast (5). Conceptualization of the regions was created through an adaptation of the US Census divisions of US residential regions.

Procedure

The sample is from the 2022 MTURK parenting dataset collected by a research team at the University of South Carolina. The research team utilized Amazon Mechanical Turk which is a crowdsourcing program that allows for collecting data from MTURK workers. To ensure the confidentiality of participants, surveyors were assigned an MTURK ID to remain anonymous. To ensure that responses were representative of ethnic minority parents, participants that did not identify as African American/Black, Asian American, Latinx or multiracial individual were ejected from the study. Furthermore, additional minimum criteria of eligibility were participants had to be at least the age of 18 and have at least one child. Participants were incentivized through Amazon MTURK upon completion of the survey. Data from Amazon MTURK was then exported into SPSS to conduct further analysis.

Data Analysis Plan

A preliminary analysis of the means, standard deviation and correlations was conducted to examine the different relationships between memories of ERS practices, regional location and current ERS practices. To examine the understanding if ERS practices such as cultural socialization and preparation for bias are differential between ethnic minority groups, a multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA) model was created. Participant ethnicity will serve as a fixed factor while controlling for participant region and gender within the MANCOVA model to measure frequency of ERS practices. Furthermore, another MANCOVA model will be created to understand the regional

differences amongst ERS practices. The model will contain participant ethnicity as a fixed factor, while controlling for participant gender and race to measure ERS practices. The mediation model (Figure 1) explains the proposed relationship between parent memories of ERS and parent to child ERS strategies mediated by participant ERI association. The Sobel test (Baron & Kenny, 1986) will calculate z scores based on the effect between the IV and the mediator (path a), as well as the effect between the mediator and the DV, using the unstandardized beta coefficients and standard error values. Utilizing the Sobel test method (Barron and Kenny, 1986), each dimension of ethnic racial identity: centrality, private regard and public regard will be used as a mediator variable between cultural socialization and preparation of bias for both memories and current endorsement.

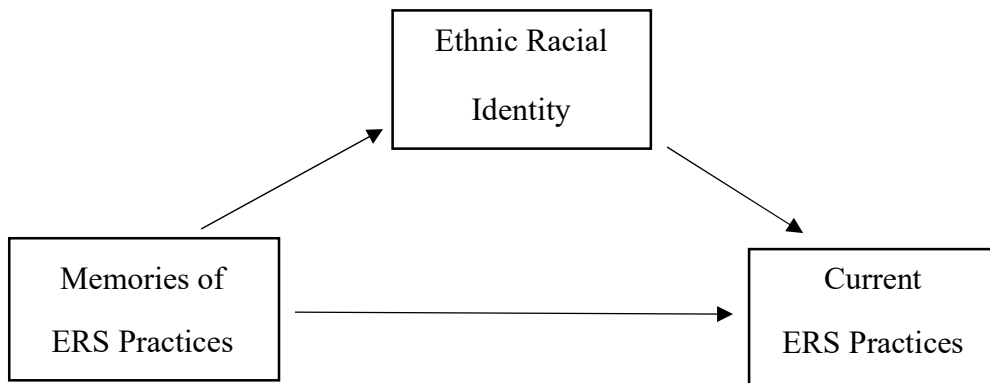


Figure 2.1 Mediation analysis of Ethnic-Racial identity on ERS strategies

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

Table 3.1 Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations of Study Variables.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	M (SD)
1. Memories of PFB	—							3.46 (1.39)
2. Memories of CS	.89**	—						3.51 (1.35)
3. Prep for Bias (PFB)	.79**	.72**	—					2.87 (1.04)
4. Cultural Socialization (CS)	.76**	.78**	.80**	—				2.94 (0.96)
5. MIBI-Centrality	.23**	.23**	.27**	.20**	—			2.73 (.94)
6. MIBI-Public Regard	.27**	.24**	.31**	.20**	.82**	—		2.66 (.98)
7. MIBI-Private Regard	.20**	.20**	.24**	.19**	.78**	.79*	—	2.73 (.97)

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; PFB = Prep for bias, CS = Cultural socialization

Descriptive analyses on means, standard deviations and correlations between the variables were conducted (Table 1). On average, participants reported that while growing up, they received moderate to frequent socialization messages from their parents on preparation for bias ($M = 3.46$, $SD = 1.39$) and cultural socialization ($M = 3.51$, $SD = 1.35$). Additionally, participants from all 3 racial/ethnic groups were providing

preparation for bias messages ($M = 2.87, SD = 1.04$) and cultural socialization practices ($M = 2.94, SD = 0.96$) at a moderate level to their own children. Regarding ethnic/racial identity, dimensions of centrality ($M = 2.73, SD = .94$), public regard ($M = 2.66, SD = .98$), and private regard ($M = 2.73, SD = .97$) highlighted those participants who endorsed identity beliefs to their own ethnic/racial group on a moderate level. The means in Table 1 suggest that larger coefficients are indicative of more frequent ERS messages or stronger endorsement of ethnic identity.

Additionally, Table 1 showed there were significant correlations for ethnic identity and ERS. The relationship between participants' memories of ERS dimensions and their endorsement of messages to their own children were significantly correlated. Specifically, the relationship between memories for preparation of bias and current endorsement of preparation of bias are positively correlated ($r = .79; p < 0.01$). This is indicative that participants are relaying messages centered around prejudice and discrimination their child may experience that are comparable to ones they received as children. Furthermore, the relationship between memories of cultural socialization and current endorsement of cultural socialization are positively correlated ($r = .77; p < 0.01$). This suggests that participants are incorporating messages about cultural traditions and knowledge similar to ones they received as children.

Finally, results indicate that there was a significant positive relationship among the ethnic identity dimensions: centrality, public regard and private regard and current ERS practices. In particular, results indicated that participants who report a higher level of racial centrality, also reported providing more preparation of bias messages ($r = .27; p < 0.01$) and more cultural socialization practices ($r = .20; p < 0.01$). Similarly,

participants who reported higher public regard reported participating in more preparation for bias messages ($r = .31; p < 0.01$) and cultural socialization practices ($r = .20; p < 0.01$). Lastly, participants with higher private regard reported participating in more preparation for bias messages ($r = .24; p < 0.01$) and cultural socialization practices ($r = .19; p < 0.01$).

MANCOVAS Analysis.

Table 3.2. One way-MANCOVA table on ethnic minority groups by ERS strategies

Dimension of ERS	African American		Hispanic /Latinx		Asian American		F (2, 402)
	M	SE	M	SE	M	SE	
Cultural Socialization	3.02	.65	2.98	.08	2.84	.11	.89
	[2.89, 3.14]		[2.82, 3.16]		[2.62, 3.06]		
Preparation for Bias	3.04	.98	2.92	1.01	2.57	1.24	5.55**
	[2.90, 3.17]		[2.74, 3.10]		[2.35, 2.81]		

Note: * $p \leq .05$. ** $p \leq .01$. SE = Standard error. The variables of participant gender and regional location were covariates included in the model. The estimated marginal means are also included in the table for participant ethnicity by ERS dimension.

A one-way MANCOVA was conducted to determine whether there are differences between participant race on current endorsement of ERS practices: cultural socialization and preparation for bias. The multivariate analysis model included the covariates of a participant’s regional location and their gender. There was a significant difference found in ERS message endorsement based upon the ethnicity of a participant, ($F [4, 794] = 3.87, p < .01; \Lambda = 0.96$). Furthermore, there was not a significant effect of participant ethnicity on endorsement of cultural socialization messages, ($F [2,402] = .89,$

$p = .411$). However, there was a significant effect of participant ethnicity on endorsement of preparation for bias messages, ($F [2,402] = 5.55, p = .004; \Lambda = 0.96$). While utilizing the covariates of regional location and gender, the estimated marginal means revealed that African Americans ($M = 3.04; SE = .069; CI 95\% [2.90, 3.17]$) were more likely to endorse preparation for bias messages in comparison to Asian American participants ($M = 2.57; SE = .12; CI 95\% [2.34, 2.81]$).

Overall, there is support for the second hypothesis of differences in regional location and endorsement of cultural socialization and preparation for bias messaging. Another one-way MANCOVA was conducted to determine whether there is a difference between regional location on current endorsement of ERS dimensions: cultural socialization and preparation for bias. The covariates of a participant's ethnicity and their reported gender was included in the multivariate analysis. There was a significant difference found in ERS message endorsement based on regional location, ($F [8, 790] = 4.98, p < .01; \Lambda = 0.91$). Additionally, examining regional location on endorsement of cultural socialization messages there was a significant effect ($F [4,403] = 6.99, p < .001; \Lambda = .91$). Furthermore, the estimated marginal means revealed that participants were more frequently endorsing messages of cultural socialization within the Northeast region of the United States ($M = 3.24; SE = .07; CI 95\% [3.11, 3.40]$) in comparison to the West ($M = 2.73; SE = .10; CI 95\% [2.53, 2.93]$), Southwest ($M = 2.60; SE = .16; CI 95\% [2.25, 2.90]$) and Southeast ($M = 2.83; SE = .10; CI 95\% [2.63, 3.03]$) regions of the US. In comparison, the regional location on endorsement of preparation for bias messages was found to be significant, ($F [4,403] = 9.27, p < .001; \Lambda = .91$).

Table 3.3 One way-MANCOVA table on regional location by ERS strategies

Dimension of ERS	West		Southwest		Midwest		Northeast		Southeast		<i>F</i> (4, 403)
	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	
Cultural Socialization	2.73	.10	2.60	.16	2.92	.16	3.24	.07	2.83	.10	6.99**
	[2.53, 2.93]		[2.25, 2.90]		[2.60, 3.24]		[3.10, 3.38]		[2.63, 3.03]		
Preparation for Bias	2.62	.11	2.51	.18	2.66	.17	3.26	.07	2.78	.11	9.27**
	[2.40, 2.83]		[2.16, 2.86]		[2.31, 3.00]		[3.11, 3.40]		[2.56, 2.99]		

Note: * $p \leq .05$. ** $p \leq .01$. SE = Standard error. The variables of participant gender and race were covariates included in the model. The estimated marginal means are also included in the table for regional location by ERS dimension.

Similar to previous findings, the estimated marginal means revealed that participants were more frequently endorsing messages about preparation for bias who resided in the Northeast region of the US ($M = 3.26$; $SE = .07$; CI 95% [3.11, 3.40] in comparison to all other regions (Table 3.3).

Mediational Analyses of Study Variables

Three regressions to explore the separate mediational pathway analyses were conducted for each dimension of ethnic identity: centrality, public regard and private regard. The control variables of gender and ethnicity were included in all regression models. First, results of hierarchical multiple regression show that memories of preparation for bias was a statistically significant predictor of current preparation of bias messages ($\beta = .79$; $p < .001$).

Table 3.4
Hierarchical Regressions Examining Preparation for Bias

Preparation for Bias	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1				.03	
Gender	-.21	.11	-.10		
Black Parents	.43*	.14	.21		
Latino Parents	.36*	.15	.16		
Step 2				.63	.61
Gender	-.06	.07	-.03		
Black Parents	.25*	.08	.12		
Latino Parents	.16	.09	.07		
Memories of Preparation for Bias	.59**	.02	.78		

Note: The variable “Black Parents” and “Latino Parents” were a dummy variable used to include ethnicity groups. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

A Sobel test was conducted on study variables to examine if ethnic identity association dimensions mediated the relationship between memories of ERS messaging

and current ERS endorsement (Baron & Kenny, 1986). Using the unstandardized beta coefficients and standard error values, the Sobel test calculated z scores based on the effect of the IV on the mediator (path a) and the effect of the mediator on the DV (path b). The indirect effect (path c') is the unstandardized coefficient of the direct effect that takes into account of path a and b. Racial centrality fully mediated the relationship between memories of preparation of bias and endorsement of preparation for bias messages ($z = 2.30; p < .05$). Moreover, public regard also fully mediated the relationship shared between memories of preparation of bias and endorsement of preparation of bias messages ($z = 2.65; p < .01$). Similarly, private regard fully mediated the relationship between memories of preparation of bias and endorsement of preparation of bias messages ($z = 2.47; p < .01$). The results indicate all three ethnic identity dimensions: racial centrality, public regard and private regard, significantly explain the relationship between memories of preparation of bias and current endorsement of preparation of bias messages (Tables 5-7).

Table 3.5 Racial Centrality as Mediator between Memories of PFB and Current PFB Endorsement

Independent Variable	Effect of IV on M (Path a)	Effect of M on DV (Path b)	Direct Effect (Path c)	Indirect Effect (Path c')	Sobel Test Z - score
Memories of PFB	.15 (.03) **	.09 (.03) **	.59 (.02) **	.57 (.02) **	2.30*

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; PFB = Prep for bias. The table includes the unstandardized coefficients along with the standard error values within the parentheses.

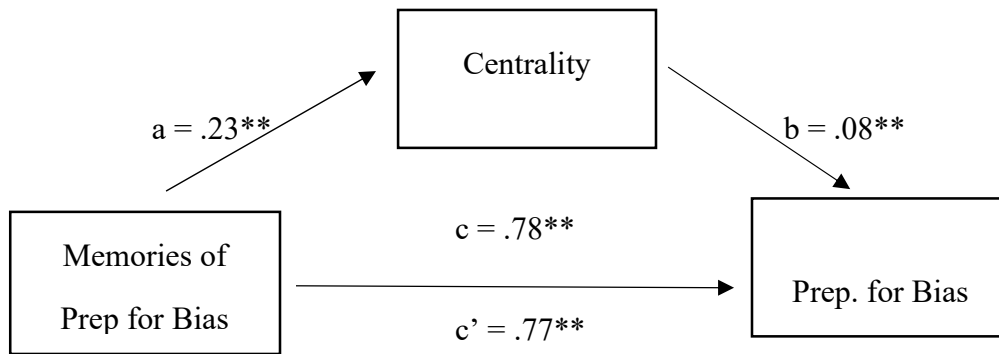


Figure 3.1 Mediation Analysis of Racial Centrality on Preparation for Bias Practices

Note: ** $p \leq .01$. The standardized coefficients are included in the model.

Table 3.6 Public Regard as Mediator between Memories of PFB and Current PFB Endorsement

Independent Variable	Effect of IV on M (Path a)	Effect of M on DV (Path b)	Direct Effect (Path c)	Indirect Effect (Path c')	Sobel Test Z - score
Memories of PFB	.18 (.03) **	.10 (.03) **	.59 (.02) **	.57 (.02) **	2.65**

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; PFB = Prep for bias. The table includes the unstandardized coefficients along with the standard error values within the parentheses.

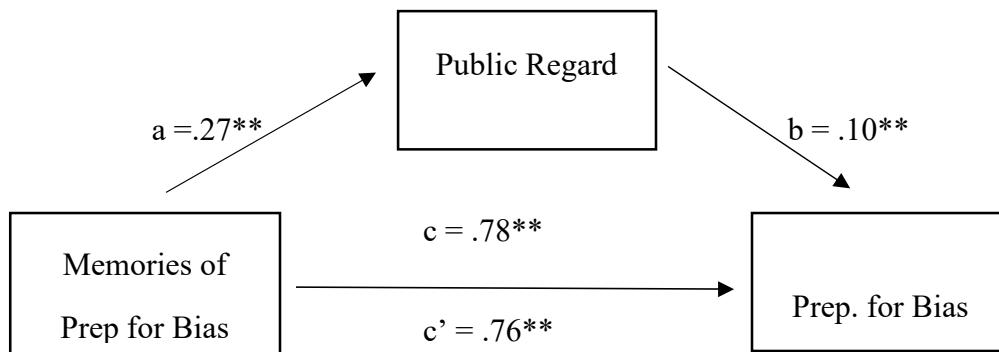


Figure 3.2 Mediation analysis of Public Regard on Prep. for Bias

Note: ** $p \leq .01$. The standardized coefficients are included in the model.

Table 3.7. Private Regard as Mediator between Memories of PFB and Current PFB Endorsement

Independent Variable	Effect of IV on M (Path a)	Effect of M on DV (Path b)	Direct Effect (Path c)	Indirect Effect (Path c')	Sobel Test Z - score
Memories of PFB	.14 (.03) **	.10 (.03) **	.59 (.02) **	.58 (.02) **	2.47*

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; PFB = Prep for bias. The table includes the unstandardized coefficients along with the standard error values within the parentheses.

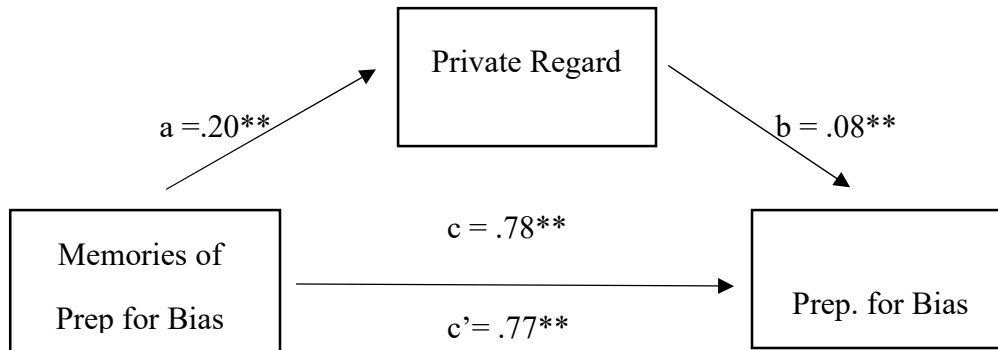


Figure 3.3 Mediation analysis of Private Regard on Prep. for Bias

Note: ** $p \leq .01$. The standardized coefficients are included in the model.

In comparison, there was no support found that the ethnic identity dimensions of centrality, public regard and private regard mediated the relationship between memories of cultural socialization and endorsement of cultural socialization messages. Overall, the mediational analysis found partial support for the third hypothesis that both cultural socialization and preparation for bias messaging are mediated by dimensions of ethnic identity.

Table 3.8 Racial Centrality as Mediator between Memories of CS and Current CS Endorsement

Independent Variable	Effect of IV on M (Path a)	Effect of M on DV (Path b)	Direct Effect (Path c)	Indirect Effect (Path c')	Sobel Test Z - score
Memories of CS	.16 (.03) **	.02 (.03)	.55 (.02) **	.55 (.02) **	0.66

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; CS = Cultural socialization. The table includes the unstandardized coefficients along with the standard error values within the parentheses.

Table 3.9. Public Regard as Mediator between Memories of CS and Current CS Endorsement

Independent Variable	Effect of IV on M (Path a)	Effect of M on DV (Path b)	Direct Effect (Path c)	Indirect Effect (Path c')	Sobel Test Z - score
Memories of CS	.17 (.03) **	.01 (.03)	.55 (.02) **	.55 (.02) **	0.33

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; CS = Cultural socialization. The table includes the unstandardized coefficients along with the standard error values within the parentheses.

Table 3.10. Private Regard as Mediator between Memories of CS and Current CS Endorsement

Independent Variable	Effect of IV on M (Path a)	Effect of M on DV (Path b)	Direct Effect (Path c)	Indirect Effect (Path c')	Sobel Test Z - score
Memories of CS	.14 (.03) **	.03 (.03)	.55 (.02) **	.54 (.02) **	0.98

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; CS = Cultural socialization. The table includes the unstandardized coefficients along with the standard error values within the parentheses.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

More recent studies have investigated the process of intergenerational transmission of ERS messages from parent to child, however, not amongst an ethnically diverse sample. There is a need to closely examine these processes in an ethnically diverse sample that illustrates the passage of cultural values and traditions. Furthermore, there is a need to also examine factors associated with the transmission of these messages such as regional location. The current study aimed to understand endorsement of ERS messages, effects of regional location on ERS messaging and the process of intergenerational transmission amongst a diverse sample of participants. There was support found for understanding differences in ERS practices amongst ethnic-racial groups, ERS frequency based on regional location and evidence of intergenerational transmission of ERS messages.

ERS Practices Among Diverse Sample

The first objective of the study was aimed at understanding the differences in endorsement of cultural socialization and preparation for bias messages from parent to child amongst the diverse sample. The results indicated that there was a significant difference in preparation for bias messaging but not cultural socialization between the three ethnic groups. The endorsement of cultural socialization was still at a moderate

frequency, highlighting that ethnic minority parents were still engaged in passage of cultural values, traditions and knowledge to their children. In contrast, African American parents were more likely to socialize their youth about racial discrimination and bias present in America. This finding is consistent with previous literature (Hughes et al., 2003; Hughes et al., 2006) that African American parents are more active in preparation for bias socialization messages than their peers. Given the historical context of racial discrimination towards African Americans in the United States, these results are plausible. The early work of Black scholars found similar findings associated with the frequency of ERS messages that counteract racial discrimination (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Demo & Hughes, 1989). Additionally, Asian American parents were the least likely to impart preparation of bias messages in comparison to African American, this result was also consistent with previous literature (Hughes et al., 2008; Rivas-Drake et al., 2009). These findings may suggest that race as a salient identity may register differently between ethnic minority individuals among different populations. This could further suggest the differences of prevalence of certain discriminatory experiences between ethnic minority groups. Less discriminatory experiences and less association with racial identity may then also prompt less preparation for bias messages in ethnic minority families.

Effects of Regional Location on ERS Practices

The second objective of the study was aimed at understanding the frequency of ERS messages relative to regional location of ethnic minority parents. In particular, the second hypothesis of this study declared there would be differences in ERS frequency among regional location was supported by the data. The results indicated there were differences

between regional location and frequency of both cultural socialization and preparation of bias messages. The Northeastern region of the United States reported a higher frequency of cultural socialization messages in comparison to the West, Southwest, and Southeastern region of the US. Furthermore, The Northeastern region of the United States reported a higher frequency of preparation for bias in comparison to all other regions. These findings are consistent to the results of Thornton et al. (1990) work on the sociodemographic correlates of ERS messaging. It is plausible to consider several explanations for the differences in frequency.

First, the phenomena could be explained by the density of an individual's ethnic minority group in an area. A parent may feel less compelled to instill cultural socialization and the preparation for bias messages if they can distinguish a significant number of people who share their ethnic-racial group in their proximity. Inversely, if there are less individuals in their neighborhood that share the same ethnic minority identity as the parent, they may feel more inclined to impart cultural socialization and preparation of bias messages. Subsequently, the perception of racial discrimination and bias in a regional location may prompt the likelihood that cultural socialization and preparation for bias messages are passed from parent to child. Doucet et al. (2018) found a similar distinction in African American families that supports the interpretation that prevalence of racial discrimination prompts ERS message likelihood, specifically in neighborhoods. The relationship between regional locations is imperative to understand because of the nuanced understanding of the manner in which environmental context affects ethnic minority child development. This interaction prompts the integrative model proposed by Garcia-Coll et al. (1996) that aspects of racism (i.e. prejudice and

discrimination) facilitate the creation of an adaptive culture and therefore the likelihood of messages passed along from parent to child. Societal demands such as navigating contexts of discrimination for ethnic minority groups may be more salient in different regions across the United States.

Intergenerational Transmissions of ERS Practices

The third hypothesis of the study theorized that there is a process of intergenerational transmission of cultural socialization and preparation of bias through the mechanism of ERI association. The Sobel tests confirmed all three ethnic identity dimensions of centrality (Figure 2), public regard (Figure 3) and private regard (Figure 4) mediated the relationship between memories of preparation of bias and endorsement of preparation of bias messages. Therefore, ethnic identity mediated the intergenerational transmission of preparation of bias messaging when examining the link between memories and current endorsement of preparation of bias. This result suggests higher racial centrality significantly predicts and explains the process between memories of preparation of bias and endorsement of preparation for bias messages. Specifically, this suggests that parents who associate more of their ethnic-racial identity with their self-concept are more likely to impart messages about race and discrimination to their children. Furthermore, parents that have higher private regard or positive attitudes toward being a member of their ethnic-racial group are more likely to impart preparation of bias messages. Lastly, parents that believe other ethnic minority groups hold positive attitudes toward their ethnic-racial identity group (e.g., public regard) were more likely to impart messages about race and discrimination. In comparison, ethnic identity did not mediate the relationship between memories of cultural socialization and current endorsement of cultural socialization.

Drawing upon an earlier idea about the salience of an ethnic-racial identity as it relates to preparation of bias messaging, the process of intergenerational transmission for cultural socialization messages may be explained through a different intersectional identity. These findings suggest that there is a process of intergenerational transmission of ERS messaging within ethnic minority families like the findings of other scholars (Kulish et al., 2019; Kurtz-Costes et al, 2019). However, this study provides an additional understanding of the impact that ethnic-racial identity association has on the likelihood that ERS messages are imparted. As acts of racism and discrimination change in appearance it is important to theorize the coping resources ethnic minority youth will have as they navigate systems of inequity. Intergenerational transmission helps explain the preservation of cultural values and knowledge that future generations can utilize for resilience and functional well-being.

Implications

There were several implications of this study that examined ERS practices among a diverse sample of African American, Latinx and Asian American parents. Research examining ERS practices has often examined ethnic minority groups independently rather than altogether in a diverse sample of parents. The current study allows for an increased understanding of messaging centered around cultural socialization and preparation for bias in a diverse sample of ethnic minority parents. Differences in ERS messaging that the results indicated such as preparation for bias adds on to understanding the communication between ethnic minority parent and child about the salient nature of race. Furthermore, this study adds a unique avenue into the extant literature in that the majority of the sample were fathers. While gender was not a direct focus of the study, typically,

research that measures socialization practices have had samples that were more representative of mothers in ethnic minority populations. Through this lens of parenting practice, this work further supports previous work by Cooper and colleagues (Cooper et al., 2019) focusing on fathers and their ERS practices.

Another implication is the development of knowledge around the relationship between regional location and ERS message frequency. To continuously theorize the development of ethnic minority children it is imperative to observe the change in nature of the environment they develop within. Studying regional location as a correlate of ERS messaging opens the door to underscoring the importance of factors associated with the passage of culture to ethnic minority youth relative to location. These factors may include inclusivity policies, ecological resources and perceptions of discrimination that either promote or inhibit ethnic minority youth development. Lastly, this study adds to the conceptualization of intergenerational transmission of ERS messages in research. Studying ethnic-racial identity as a mechanism of intergenerational transmission was limited prior to this study. Ethnic – racial identity serves as a beginning point to develop a deeper understanding of the factors associated with intergenerational transmission of ERS messages.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

The present study has several limitations that can assist with the conceptualization of future research within ethnic racial socialization. Cultural socialization and preparation for bias ERS variables such as memories and current endorsement were self-report measures utilized within the survey. Because of self-report measures there was an

inability to confirm the frequency of ERS messaging by the children of parents in the sample. Furthermore, there were no reported outcomes for the children such as social and emotional functional well-being as it relates to ERS messaging. This is crucial in illustrating the promotive nature that ERS messaging provides for ethnic minority youth. Future research studies can consider observing youth outcomes as it relates to functional well-being because of received ERS messages. Furthermore, research could also consider more in-depth about regional locations' effect on the frequency of messages imparted to ethnic minority youth from parents. These may include factors such as the prevalence of prejudice and discrimination, the socioeconomic status of an area and community cohesion. As for the intergenerational transmission of ERS messages, other variables could be considered that serve as mechanisms of the relationship between memories of messages and current practice such as sampling other potential caregivers that exist outside of the parent-child dyad (e.g. grandparents, aunts, etc). This may help to deepen our understanding of the impact of who may impart ERS messages to ethnic minority youth.

Conclusion

Ethnic-racial socialization is a protective factor for ethnic minority children navigating systems of racism and discrimination. The current study found support in understanding factors that determine the frequency of ERS messages from parent to child such as ethnic-racial identity, regional location, and intergenerational transmission. Implications from this study include differences in socialization practices between ethnic minority groups, regions of the US that have higher prevalence of ERS usage, and ethnic-identity's role as a mechanism of intergenerational transmission. There is a need to continue to

study ERS practices in ethnic minority families. While society is growing to become more inclusive, the impact of discrimination persists and it is imperative to understand the resources ethnic minority youth have in order to be resilient.

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