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Predictors of Ethnic-Racial Socialization Profiles in Early Childhood Among African American Parents

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FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY

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PREDICTORS OF ETHNIC-RACIAL SOCIALIZATION PROFILES IN EARLY

CHILDHOOD AMONG AFRICAN AMERICAN PARENTS

By

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To the ethnic-minority families who have the beautifully rewarding, yet immensely challenging,

task of raising young Kings and Queens in a world that attempts to break them down…know that

your efforts have not gone unnoticed.

This is dedicated to you.

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<div align="center">"It Takes A Village"</div>

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ABSTRACT

Ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) is a culturally relevant parenting practice commonly used within African American families to teach children about their cultural heritage and prepare them for discrimination experiences. There is an abundance of literature exploring ERS within the adolescent and young adult developmental stages, however few studies have investigated ERS during early childhood. A further understudied area is the relation between ERS and other socialization strategies that African American parents use to raise well-adjusted children. As such, guided by Garcia Coll's eco-cultural framework, the purpose of this study was to investigate ERS and other socialization strategies, identified in the five domains of socialization, used among rural, low-income African American parents of three-year-olds. First, frequencies of ERS were conducted to determine the amount of ERS that these African American parents use with their young children. Results indicated that nearly half of the mothers (47.7%) reported using some ERS. Next, latent profile analysis was used to identify profiles of ERS, as well as profiles of all five domains of socialization. Results indicated two profiles for ERS (Unengaged and Early Engagers) and two profiles for the five domains of socialization (Non-Race Specific Socialization and Multifaceted Socialization). Mothers in the Unengaged profile were characterized by low scores on all three ERS dimensions (cultural socialization, preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust), while mothers in the Early Engagers profile were characterized by more ERS than those in the Unengaged, specifically focusing on cultural socialization and preparation for bias. Compared to those in the Early Engagers profile, mothers in the Unengaged profile were more likely to report not having enough money, greater gender role stereotyping, and more social support. For the socialization profiles, mothers in the Non-Race Specific Socialization profile were characterized by socialization variables similar to the sample mean,

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while the mothers in the Multifaceted Socialization profile were characterized by utilizing more ERS, engaging in more family activities and discipline strategies, and displaying less sensitivity than the mothers in the Non-Race Specific Socialization profile. Compared to those in the Multifaceted Socialization profile, mothers in the Non-Race Specific Socialization profile indicated not having enough money, greater gender role stereotyping, and fewer discrimination experiences. Findings for this study suggest that African American mothers are using ERS with their young children, and they incorporate ERS along with other important socialization strategies. Implications for researchers and clinicians were addressed.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Child development scholars have suggested that children develop race awareness at a very young age. In fact, a study found that six-month-old infants were able to categorize people by race by staring at unfamiliar individuals of a different race significantly longer than unfamiliar individuals of their same race (Katz & Kofkin, 1997). Other scholars have suggested that infants as early as three-months-old begin to develop visual preferences for those individuals of a similar race (Kelly et al., 2005). Over time, as young children develop and begin to interact with their environment, studies have found that they continue to form these race-based preferences (McAdoo, 2002). For example, Hirschfeld (2008) found that toddlers as young as two years old used race to categorize people's behaviors, and others have found that three to four year olds are able to categorize people by race and express racial bias as a result (Aboud, 2008; Hirschfeld, 2008; Katz, 2003; Patterson & Bigler, 2006). This ability for children to identify racial differences and demonstrate racial bias was first identified by the historical Clark doll, coloring, and line drawing studies (e.g. Clark & Clark, 1939; 1950). Clark and Clark noted from their work that the most significant development in self-consciousness and racial identification occurs between the ages of three and four years old (1939) and that African American children develop increased knowledge of racial differences beginning at age three and stabilizing by age seven (1950). They noted that by age five, African American children had become aware that the color of their skin was associated with inferior status (Clark & Clark, 1950).

In addition to racial awareness and the development of racial bias, studies have found that young children can also experience racism and discrimination. For example, Van Ausdale and Feagin (2001) found that three- to five-year olds at an ethnically diverse daycare, used race to

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either include or exclude children and to negotiate power in their social and play networks. These discrimination experiences at a young age have been found to contribute to a variety of mental, behavioral, and emotional health problems (see Pachter & Garcia Coll, 2009 for a full review). Specifically, studies have found that discrimination experiences are related to greater depression, conduct problems, school stress, hopelessness, and less global self-esteem in preadolescent and adolescent children (Pachter & Garcia Coll, 2009).

The fact that young children have racial awareness, demonstrate preferences for certain races over others, and can be victims of discrimination, not only negates the common misconception that young children are colorblind, but it warrants investigation into family socialization strategies that are utilized to talk to children about their race, and help prepare them to combat these negative experiences. As such, this dissertation sought to investigate both profiles and predictors of African American parent's ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) strategies with their three-year-old children to identify the frequency of ERS with that age group, what types of ERS messages are being used, how ERS is integrated with other socialization strategies, and what predicts ERS separately and in conjunction with other common socialization strategies utilized during the early developmental period.

Background

Currently, there is an abundance of literature centering on the ways African American families teach their children about their cultural heritage and prepare them for discrimination experiences. The culturally relevant parenting strategy most commonly explored is ethnic-racial socialization (ERS). ERS has been found to be important for African American families because it helps foster positive ethnic-racial identity in children, which has been associated with better self-esteem, academic achievement, and behavioral outcomes (Bracey, Bámaca, & Umaña -

Taylor, 2004; Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009; Smith, Levine, Smith, Dumas, & Prinz, 2009). It also has been found to help prepare children to cope with discrimination experiences. While studies have suggested that ERS is important in the overall socialization of ethnic-minority children, it has primarily been studied with adolescents and young adults (Hughes et al., 2006), with few studies focusing on ERS with younger children (Priest et al., 2014). Studies have suggested that this is due to the common belief that early childhood is too soon to have conversations regarding race because children are not yet cognitively or emotionally prepared to understand the complexities of racism and discrimination (Suizzo, Robinson, & Pahlke, 2008). However, based on the early child development literature presented above, it is evident that parents need to consider having conversations about race, because their children are aware and experience discrimination at earlier ages than what they might expect. Ethnic-minority parents especially need to be prepared to have conversations about race to help their children develop the skills needed to navigate a culturally diverse world. As such, this dissertation sought to explore the frequency of ERS within African American families with young children, to aid the sparse literature investigating this cultural process during early childhood.

Although studies have found that parents generally are not prepared to have race conversations with their young children, African American parents are more likely to discuss racial issues compared to their Caucasian counterparts. For example, Katz and Kafkin (1997) found that 48% of African American parents were willing to talk to their children about racial identity, compared to 12% of Caucasian parents. This justifies the abundance of literature focused on ERS within African American families. However, even though African American parents are more likely to discuss race in their conversations with their children, often times their

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messages with their young children focus more on culture and heritage rather than discrimination and racial history (e.g. Hughes & Chen, 1997; Suizzo et al., 2008). Scholars have suggested this is due to the belief that discussions about racism and discrimination are not appropriate for where young children are at developmentally (Suizzo et al., 2008). For those parents that believe it is important to discuss discrimination with their young children, studies found that few of them were able to articulate specific strategies that they used to do so (e.g. Peters & Massey, 1983). As such, in addition to investigating how frequently ERS is used among African American families with young children, another goal of this dissertation was to investigate the structure of ERS (i.e. the combination of ERS dimensions) during this developmental period.

As stated previously, ERS has become a frequently studied socialization strategy used within African American families to promote the wellbeing of adolescents and emerging adults. However, in addition to outcomes of ERS, several scholars have also investigated what predicts ERS in hopes of understanding how to further promote this practice. For example, scholars have found that parental characteristics such as gender, education level, personal discrimination experiences and their own childhood experiences of ERS can predict more frequent use of ERS (Brown, Linver, & Evans, 2010; Hughes, 2003; Smith, Reynolds, Fincham, & Beach, 2016; Thomas, Speight & Witherspoon, 2010; White-Johnson, Ford, & Sellers, 2010). In terms of child characteristics, scholars have found that age and gender can influence ERS use (Brown et al., 2010; Hughes, 2003; Suizzo et al., 2008). In addition, scholars have found that characteristics of the home environment and parenting relationship can also influence ERS (Caughy, Randolph, & O'Campo, 2002; Elmore & Gaylord-Harden, 2013; Frabutt, Walker, & MacKinnon-Lewis, 2002; McHale et al., 2006; Reynolds et al., 2016). Although we know a fair amount about predictors of ERS, what is currently lacking is an understanding of whether those same predictors also

influence African American parents use of ERS with their younger children. Guided by Garcia Coll's eco-cultural framework (Garcia Coll et al., 2006), a conceptual model outlining various constructs that influence the developmental competencies of ethnic-minority children, this dissertation study investigated predictors of ERS in early childhood.

Even though ERS is a common socialization strategy studied with African American families, it is not the only socialization strategy that African American families use. As outlined in Garcia Coll's and colleagues' framework (1996), ethnic minority children develop along a similar continuum as children from the majority culture, suggesting that parents from all ethnic groups must use similar socialization strategies in order to foster positive child development. Within the socialization literature, an attempt to integrate common socialization strategies has resulted in the identification of five socialization domains: protection, mutual reciprocity, control, guided learning, and group participation (Grusec & Davidov, 2010). These domains are thought to be present in the rearing of all children, however it is acknowledged that the domains may vary due to differences in culture. Thus, if African American parents must both have conversations with their children about race (ERS), and socialize them to become productive members of society (Grusec, 2011), it is evident that African American parents have two very important parenting tasks that should be investigated simultaneously instead of separately as has been the practice to date. This dissertation sought to address this challenge by investigating how ERS coincides in with already established domains of socialization, and determine whether known predictors of ERS are also predictors of the other socialization domains.

In addition to contributing to the literature by investigating ERS within a largely understudied developmental stage, early childhood, this dissertation study is unique because it investigated profiles of ERS, along with the other socialization domains, by using latent profile

analysis. Latent profile analysis (LPA) is a latent variable modeling technique with the ability to identify profiles of individuals who possess unique characteristics that are different from others (Berlin, Williams, & Parra, 2014). In other words, parents in this study were individually grouped into socialization profiles based on their responses to the five socialization domains. LPA is advantageous for this study because it allowed for all five domains of socialization to be studied in unison while providing a way to interpret the relationships among the domains (Pastor, Barron, Miller, & Davis, 2007). This was a central component of this dissertation study, as it investigated ERS as an important socialization goal that parents integrate with other socialization strategies.

In sum, because child development scholars have suggested that between the early ages of three months to seven years old children become aware of race, experience racial bias, and can develop negative mental and physical health outcomes associated with racism experiences, it is imperative that parents have discussions about race earlier than they may be prepared to. Given the current racial context in the United States, it is possible that African American parents are already having race conversations with their children at earlier ages. However, despite the decade old call for research that examines family dynamics in ethnic, racial, and cultural contexts, specifically for families with young children (Demo & Cox, 2000), there are still few studies that have explored the extent to which parents use ERS strategies with their young children, what predicts ERS use with young children, and how ERS might be used in conjunction with other commonly utilized socialization strategies.

Purpose of the Dissertation Study

Based on what is currently known in the ERS and child development literature, there is a gap in knowledge surrounding ERS in early childhood. Thus, using data from The Family Life

Project, this dissertation sought to investigate the ERS strategies used in early childhood among African American parents of three-year-old children. Firstly, the prevalence of ERS during this early developmental period was examined by obtaining the frequency of ERS messages reported. Then, using latent profile analysis (LPA), profiles of ERS were derived from the data. After the profiles have been identified, multinomial logistic regression was used to assess various predictors of the ERS profiles, guided by the eco-cultural framework (Garcia Coll et al., 1996).

In addition to there being a lack of literature focusing on ERS in early childhood, there is even less literature that incorporates ERS strategies alongside other primary socialization goals. As such this dissertation study seeks to further the integration process by investigating profiles of the five socialization domains, with ERS representing the fifth domain (group participation). LPA was used to identify profiles of the five socialization domains, and the same predictors of the ERS profiles were examined as predictors of the socialization profiles to determine whether what motivates parents to use ERS is also what motivates them to use other socialization practices. To address these goals, this study explored the following research questions:

Research Questions

1. At what levels are African American parents using ERS with younger children?

2. What are the distinct profiles of ERS?

3. What are the predictors of the ERS profiles?

4. What are the distinct profiles of the five domains of socialization?

5. What predicts profiles of the five domains of socialization?

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

The following review begins with an overview of ethnic-racial socialization (ERS), and discusses how using latent profile analysis (LPA) is advantageous for studying this complex process. It then continues with a discussion on African American parental use of ERS with their three-year-old children, and highlights the need for continued research investigating the structure of ERS use with younger children. Next, it is argued that understanding more about the predictors of ERS in families with young children is not only an important contribution to the ERS literature but also important when considering how to further promote positive child outcomes. Finally, this review concludes with a discussion on how ERS fits within the larger context of socialization strategies, and suggests that the predictors of ERS could also be relevant for all socialization strategies that African American parents use during early childhood.

Overview of Ethnic-Racial Socialization

Ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) is commonly defined as the culturally relevant parenting practice, which shapes children's understanding of their race and race-relations (Hughes & Johnson, 2001). Historically, scholars have studied racial socialization and ethnic socialization separately based on the population of interest. For example, ethnic socialization has commonly been associated with the study of immigrant Latino and Asian populations and has focused more on retaining cultural practices and identity in the midst of pressures to assimilate to the dominant culture. In contrast, racial socialization has almost exclusively been associated with the study of African Americans, and has focused on cultural practices, identity development, and discussions in regard to preparing children for discrimination experiences (Hughes et al., 2006). The study of racial socialization originated with scholars attempting to comprehend how African

American parents maintain their children's high self-esteem in the face of racism and discrimination (Hughes et al., 2006). For this dissertation, the combined term of ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) is used to represent the fact that African American parents are providing their children with messages about their culture and heritage, as well as preparing them for experiences they will have based on their racial group membership.

There are four dimensions of ERS that have been outlined in the literature (Hughes et al., 2006). The first is cultural socialization, which are messages about cultural heritage and traditions. These are the most frequent type of messages used within African American families and are associated with the most positive child outcomes (Hughes et al., 2006). The second dimension is preparation for bias, which are messages that prepare children for experiences of discrimination. These messages are also commonly used and have been associated with mixed outcomes in children (Hughes et al., 2006). The third dimension is promotion of mistrust, which includes messages that teach children to mistrust those of other races and ethnicities. Studies have found that these messages are rarely studied because they are not commonly endorsed by African American parents (Hughes et al., 2006). Finally, the last dimension is egalitarianism, or silence about race messages. Parents who engage in egalitarianism focus on individualism and teach their children that race is not important by promoting a colorblind perspective (Hughes, et al., 2006). These egalitarianism messages are also not commonly endorsed. Although the four ERS messages are the most common dimensions found in the literature, there are a variety of other conceptualizations of the ERS messages (e.g. cultural pride reinforcement) that might be referred to throughout the literature review.

ERS has been found to influence the positive development of ethnic-minority youth. For example, it has been associated with fewer internalizing and externalizing behaviors (Caughy,

Nettles, O'Campo, & Lohrfink, 2006; Caughy, Nettles, & Lima, 2011), positive academic and cognitive outcomes (Brown & Krishnakumar, 2007; Caughy, et al., 2006; Caughy, et al., 2011), and positive ethnic-racial identity development (Bennett, 2007; Hughes, et al., 2006; Hughes, et al., 2009). On the other hand, scholars have found that ERS can be related to more negative outcomes, particularly with the preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust dimensions. Some studies have found that when children expect to experience discrimination and mistrust they are more likely to exhibit behavioral problems (e.g. Stevenson, Reed, Bodison, & Bishop, 1997), report feeling more stigmatized (Brega and Coleman; 1999), and report more deviant behaviors (Biafora, Warheit, Zimmerman & Gil, 1993). These are just a few of the child outcomes that can be found within the ERS literature. Although this dissertation does not focus on child outcomes, knowing that ERS is related to child wellbeing makes it important to understand what influences ERS so that we can further promote positive child outcomes. The mixed findings within the literature also suggests that further investigation into the structure of ERS and how it relates to other forms of socialization would be beneficial to better understand the optimal combination of socialization strategies that promote the most positive outcomes within ethnic minority families.

Latent Profile Analysis

Ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) has become a widely studied parenting practice over the years, and advances are continuing to be made in terms of our understanding of the outcomes and correlates of this culturally relevant socialization strategy. However, even though our knowledge has grown, Hughes and colleagues (2006) in their review of the ERS literature, noted that the scholarship has not kept up with the methodological and statistical advances that have occurred within other fields. They suggested that future scholars utilize more longitudinal designs, data from multiple informants, mixed method studies, and nested models. Over a decade

later, scholars have attempted to address these concerns by continuing to evolve the ways in which they conceptualize and analyze this complex cultural process. However, one area that has not been fully developed yet is the use of person-oriented approaches. As such, this dissertation seeks to aid the current literature by using latent profile analysis (LPA) to identify profiles of African American parents who use ERS along with other socialization domains. LPA uses a person-centered approach, meaning that it allows for individuals to be classified into groups based on their response patterns to an observed variable (Roesch, Villodas, & Villodas, 2010). Person-centered approaches allow the patterns and groups of individuals to arise from the data (Bergman & Magnusson, 1997), which differs from variable-centered approaches that impose a model to the data. Allowing the patterns to arise from the data is an advantageous exploratory approach given that little is known in regard to the structure of ERS, and the relationship between ERS and other socialization strategies used with young children. Utilizing a person-centered analysis would expand the ERS literature beyond the commonly used variable-oriented approaches, and allow further investigation into and interpretation of the complexity of ERS. For example, person-oriented approaches consider all components together, taking a more holistic and dynamic perspective, when compared to variable-oriented approaches that focus on linear relationships (Bergman & Trost, 2006). The holistic and dynamic perspective is beneficial given that the goal of this dissertation is to investigate not only the optimal structure of ERS but also the connection between ERS and other socialization strategies. Utilizing LPA allows this dissertation to explore typologies of African American parents who both socialize their young children to their race and ethnicity and to become successful and competent human beings.

Several scholars have utilized either LPA or latent class analysis (LCA) within the ERS literature (e.g. Caughy et al., 2011; Granberg, Edmond, Simons, Lei, & Gibbons, 2012; Neblett

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et al., 2008; White-Johnson et al., 2010), particularly to understand the various combinations of ERS messages that African American parents use. Caughy and colleagues (2011) identified four ERS profiles from their sample of 218 African American parents of young children entering first grade: *silence about race* (those that did not endorse any ERS; n =10), *cultural socialization emphasis* (those that endorsed more cultural socialization messages; n = 68), *balanced* (cultural socialization and preparation for bias messages were endorsed equally, and promotion of mistrust was the highest compared to other groups; n = 112), and *coping emphasis/cultural socialization* (all messages were endorsed but promotion of mistrust messages were elevated; n = 40). Granberg and colleagues (2012) identified five ERS profiles from their sample of 714 African American youth reflecting on their ERS experiences: *low-frequency* (lowest scores on all ERS items; n = 308), *moderate-frequency* (scores around the mean on all ERS measures; n =245), *high-frequency* (high scores on all ERS measures; n = 18), *empowered* (similar scores as the guarded group, except lower levels of promotion of mistrust; n = 84), and *guarded* (similar scores as the empowered group, except higher levels of promotions of mistrust; n = 59). Neblett and colleagues (2008) used LCA and identified a four-cluster solution with their sample of 361 African American adolescents: *moderate positive* (scores near sample mean on all ERS measures; n =164), *high positive* (high scores relative to the rest of the sample, except in the "receiving negative messages about Blacks" subscale; n = 95), *low frequency* (low scores on all subscales except self-worth and negative messages; n = 67), and *moderate negative* (high scores on negative messages; n = 35). Finally, White-Johnson and colleagues (2010) used LCA and identified a three-cluster solution with their sample of 212 African American mothers of adolescents: *multifaceted* (scores above the mean on all ERS subscales; n = 124), *low race salience* (low scores on racial pride and racial barrier messages; n = 61), and *unengaged* (scores

below the mean on five of six ERS subscales; $n = 27$). Taken together these studies provide support for investigating the structure of ERS, especially given that only one of the studies looked at the structure of ERS with young children (Caughy et al., 2011).

While those four studies investigated the structure of ERS independently, one group of scholars sought to identify the intersection between racial socialization and emotion socialization, defined as supporting or suppressing the expression of negative emotions, under the premise that both of these parenting strategies are utilized to protect children from the negative effects of discrimination (Dunbar, Perry, Cavanaugh, & Leerkes, 2015). This study identified four maternal profiles from their sample of 192 African American young adults: maternal profiles included *cultural supportive* (highest levels of cultural socialization and emotionally supportive responses; $n = 89$), *low engaged* (low levels of all socialization constructs; $n = 46$), *moderate bias preparation* (moderate on all levels of socialization but high preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and nonsupportive emotional responses; $n = 32$), and *high bias preparation* (moderate cultural socialization, high preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and nonsupportive emotional responses; $n = 24$). The study also identified paternal profiles, but only the maternal profiles were of relevance to this dissertation study since 100% of the sample was African American mothers. This dissertation seeks to further contribute to the work by Dunbar and colleagues (2015) by using LPA to explore whether African American mothers utilize ERS messages in conjunction with other socialization strategies.

Ethnic-Racial Socialization with Young Children

Although studies have suggested that parents are reluctant to have conversations about race with their young children, they have found a distinction between ethnicities, such that African American parents have greater conversations about race when compared to their

Caucasian counterparts (Katz & Kafkin; 1997; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). However, only a few studies have investigated parental use of ERS with their young children. For example, in a 30-year systematic review of the ERS literature, 21 studies focused on children under six years of age, 61 studies used children from ages seven to 17, and 32 studies had samples over the age of 18 (Priest et al., 2014). Of those 21 studies that investigated children in early childhood, only four had samples of children under the age of three years old, and only one of those studies focused exclusively on African American families. Although the literature is sparse for children under age three, those that have investigated ERS during early childhood have found promising results. For example, Hughes and Chen (1997) found that of the African American parents in their sample, 67.5% to 72.6% reported using cultural socialization messages, 29.9% to 69.4% reported using preparation for bias messages, and 10.2% to 15.3% reported using racial mistrust messages with their children ages four to 14 years of age (29% of which were four to five years old). Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph and Nickerson (2002) found that a majority of the parents in their sample routinely incorporated ERS messages into their parenting practices with their three to five-year-old children. Specifically, 90% of the parents reported using messages related to racial pride (cultural socialization), 66.5% used preparation for bias messages, and 64.8% reported using promotion of mistrust messages. Coard, Wallace, Stevenson, and Brotman (2004) found that in their sample of African American parents of five year olds, 93% utilized messages related to racial pride, 86% utilized racial equality messages (also referred to as egalitarianism), and 73% utilized preparation for bias messages. Finally, Suizzo and colleagues (2008) found that nine out of the 12 African American mothers interviewed in their study thought it was important to instill racial pride in their three to six year olds, eight out of 12 mothers thought it was important to teach them about their history, and two out of the 12 thought it was important to

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prepare them for racial bias. Taken together these studies suggest that African American parents with children as young as three years old are utilizing ERS, warranting further investigation of ERS within the early childhood developmental stage.

Structure of Ethnic-Racial Socialization Among Young Children

While the studies presented above suggest that African American parents do utilize ERS with their younger children, they also suggest that parents tend to focus on one particular dimension of ERS during that early developmental stage. All of the studies presented in the previous section found that African American parents of young children tend to use a higher frequency of cultural socialization messages, when compared to preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust. Hughes and Chen (1997) found that African American parents were more likely to provide cultural socialization messages to their young children, when compared to preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust messages. A few years later, they found that African American parents were willing to discuss culture with their young children, but did not incorporate discussions regarding racial inequality until their children grew older (Hughes & Chen, 1999). Suizzo and colleagues (2008) noted that the African American mothers in their study wanted to focus on more "positive" forms of socialization, and reported that it was important for them to instill racial pride by providing their children access to African American toys, dolls, and books, and allowing them to socialize with other African Americans. These findings echo many of the comments made from participants in two qualitative studies. For example, parents reported things such as, "I want them to know—you're black, black is beautiful and its nothing wrong with that." (Coard et al., 2004, p. 286) and "I want my children to be proud to be Black and to embrace all of the culture that we do have" (Suizzo et al., 2008, p. 298).

One explanation for the focus on cultural socialization compared to the other ERS dimensions is that parents are sensitive to where their children are at developmentally, with older children being more likely to experience racial bias and thus needing more conversations about how to handle those situations (Hughes & Chen, 1997). As such, it has been well documented that ERS is especially important for adolescents and young adults, with parents believing that adolescents and young adults are more cognitively mature to understand complex racial issues (Suizzo et al., 2008). In addition, adolescence is a developmental period where identities begin to form, experiences with discrimination are more frequent, and there is an increased ability to reflect and communicate about racial experiences (Hughes et al., 2006), suggesting that ERS messages may be more salient during that time. As a result, studies such as Hughes (2003) found that African American parents used preparation for bias messages more with older children (ages 10 to 17) than younger children (ages six to nine), especially when parents reported greater discrimination experiences. Other studies have found that ERS messages with adolescents and young adults tend to include conversations about discrimination (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Hughes et al., 2006; Marshall, 1995), and that mothers use more cultural socialization and preparation for bias with their older children, when compared to their younger children (McHale et al., 2006).

Because we have a good understanding of the ERS practices used with adolescents and emerging adults, it is important to identify whether parents utilize ERS with their children before these important developmental stages (which those few studies mentioned previously suggest they do) and what components of ERS they focus on. This is especially true given that studies have suggested that African American parents are contemplating how to teach their young children about their culture and prepare them for discrimination even if they do not yet

understand how to do so in a developmentally appropriate way (Anderson et al., 2015; Peters & Massey, 1983; Suizzo et al., 2008). Studies have already noted that ERS processes are not static and that they shift according to their child's cognitive abilities and experiences (e.g. Hughes et al., 2006; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Johnson, 2001), with parents tending to focus on ethnic and cultural teachings when their children are younger, and incorporating messages about discrimination as their children develop into adolescents (Coard et al., 2004; Hughes & Chen, 1997, 1999; Suizzo et al., 2008). In addition, the LPA and LCA studies mentioned previously, give us a glimpse into how the dimensions of ERS might co-occur. However, only one study (Caughy et al., 2011) investigated the structure of ERS with African American mothers of young children and found that some parents did not talk about race at all, some focused more on cultural socialization or promotion of mistrust, while the largest group used a balance of cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust messages. This dissertation aids this study and continue to investigate the structure of ERS with young children to further gather an understand of the complex process that ethnic-minority parents must navigate when helping their children learn about ethnicity and race during their formative years.

Predictors of Ethnic-Racial Socialization

In addition to investigating ERS during early childhood, it is imperative that we learn more about predictors of ERS use in African American families with young children, given that we know ERS is generally associated with positive child outcomes. To investigate possible predictors of ERS, this dissertation utilized Garcia Coll's eco-cultural framework (Garcia Coll et al., 1996), an integrative model of development for ethnic minority youth that helps to incorporate both mainstream child developmental theories (i.e. Erickson, 1950) and experiences of racism, prejudice, discrimination, oppression, and segregation that uniquely influence the

development of ethnic minority youth. The creation of the framework was in response to the lack of child development models that include important variables such as social class, ethnicity, race, and culture when conceptualizing child competencies. As such, it has commonly been used to conceptualize the developmental context of minority children in a more equalized manner: one that focuses on normative processes, and within group variability, rather than comparison to the majority culture. As such, Garcia Coll's framework (1996) addresses two major considerations: constructs that are salient primarily to populations of color, and constructs that are relevant to the development of all populations.

This section outlines all eight of the constructs important for minority child development provided in the eco-cultural framework (Garcia Coll et al., 1996). Of particular importance to this dissertation is how the framework suggests that four of the eight constructs (promoting and inhibiting environments, adaptive culture, and characteristics of both the child and family) directly influence a family's ERS practices. As such, ERS literature was incorporated within the overview of the eco-cultural framework to provide support for the importance of those constructs in the prediction of ERS.

Social Position, Racism/Prejudice/Discrimination/Oppression, and Segregation

The first three constructs outlined in Garcia Coll's framework (1996) do not directly affect the developmental outcomes of minority children, but represent unique experiences for ethnic minority families that help to define the pathway of development for minority children. Social position is derived from the social stratification system of a society, which is defined as a process that sorts individuals into a hierarchy of groups based on their relative worth, utility, or importance to society (Tumin, 1967). Garcia Coll (1996) states that race, ethnicity, and social class are three of the most important attributes that are stratified in the United States. However, it

is four macrosystem-level mechanisms that mediate a person's social position and other contexts that directly influence a child's development. Garcia Coll (1996) identifies those four mechanisms as racism, prejudice, discrimination, and oppression (second construct). Another mechanism that mediates the relationship between social position and a child's development is the third construct in the framework, segregation (Garcia Coll et al., 1996). They identified residential, economic, and social and psychological segregation as three forms that can negatively influence a family and their developing child's interactions with their environment. Although social position and segregation were not variables tested directly in this dissertation, these three constructs provide the foundation for understanding all the predictor variables included in the study.

Promoting and Inhibiting Environments

The fourth construct is promoting and inhibiting environments. An inhibiting environment can result from a lack of resources, while a promoting environment can result from the number and quality of resources available. These can include things such as access to healthcare, neighborhoods, and schools that can either promote or inhibit, or simultaneously both promote and inhibit a child's development (Garcia Coll et al., 1996). Whether an environment is promoting or inhibiting can directly influence a parent's decision to use ERS, and several studies have investigated the influences of neighborhood characteristics and composition on African American parental ERS use. For example, Caughy and colleagues (2006) found that ERS messages emphasizing racism and mistrust were greater in neighborhoods with higher negative social climate (i.e. neighbors not willing to intervene in acts of delinquency and child misconduct, not willing to assist children in need, and low social interaction). They also found that the children of the parents in their sample (M age = 6.59) had more positive outcomes when

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living in homes rich in African American culture, and this was strengthened in neighborhoods with high physical disorder, fear, and low cohesion. The findings from this study suggests that even nonverbal forms of ERS can have a positive influence on children when they are living in more disadvantaged neighborhoods.

A more recent study by Caughy and colleagues (2011) identified different profiles of parents who utilized ERS in relation to the neighborhood they lived in. They found that parents in the balanced group tended to live in neighborhoods with high community involvement when compared to the cultural socialization emphasis group. The parents in the cultural socialization emphasis group used more cultural pride messages if they were from neighborhoods with high community involvement. Finally, the silence group contained parents that were usually from neighborhoods with low negative social climate. Other studies have found that those families living in more integrated neighborhoods used more preparation for bias messages (e.g., Caughy et al., 2006; Stevenson, Herrero-Taylor, et al., 2002; Stevenson, McNeil, Herrero-Taylor, & Davis, 2005; Thornton, Chatters, Taylor, & Allen, 1990), when compared to those living in predominately Caucasian (Caughy et al., 2006) or African American neighborhoods (Stevenson et al., 2002). Together, these findings suggest that African American parents prioritize which dimension of ERS will be most beneficial to the development of their children, given the characteristics or racial composition of the environment in which they reside. As such, this dissertation included a variable that assesses for neighborhood characteristics that might correlate with which socialization profile a parent belongs to.

Adaptive Culture

The fifth construct outlined in Garcia Coll's framework (1996) is the adaptive culture. The adaptive culture can include things such as traditions and cultural legacies, economic and

political histories, migration and acculturation, and the current contextual demands. It derives from families having to develop different goals, values, attributes, and behaviors based on their experiences of racism and discrimination, and access to resources. The adaptive culture can be considered as the product of the family's collective history and the contextual demands that are placed on them by the promoting or inhibiting environments (Garcia Coll et al., 1996). Things such as traditions passed on from generations, the institution of slavery and forced migration, in conjunction with current contextual demands (e.g. police brutality) can all influence African American use of ERS.

Within the ERS literature, several studies have investigated the role of parental experiences of discrimination, their own childhood experiences of ERS, and the current context and how that may influence their use of ERS. In terms of discrimination experiences, a study by Hughes (2003) found that perceived group disadvantage and discrimination experiences was not associated with more frequent use of preparation for bias with children ages six to nine years old, but it was associated with more frequent use for parents of 10 to 17 year olds; further demonstrating the importance of child age, and how the components of ERS used during early childhood are different from those focused on in later ages. In another study, Thomas and colleagues (2010) found that parents who experienced race-related stress were more likely to engage in ERS practices with their children. They noted that experiences of discrimination, in conjunction with feeling positively about being African American, were related to more frequent ERS use. Smith and colleagues (2016) found that African American mothers who perceived discrimination, reported using cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust messages with their daughters, and only preparation for bias messages with their sons. For fathers, their perceived discrimination was related to use of preparation for bias and

promotion of mistrust messages with their sons, but not their daughters. Interestingly, this study also found actor-partner effects, in that the more mothers perceived racial discrimination, the more fathers prepared their daughters for racial bias. In the study by Granberg and colleagues (2012), those in the low frequency ERS group reported less discrimination, but those in the empowered group (high frequency in all messages except promotion of mistrust) reported more discrimination experiences. Finally, Neblett and colleagues (2008) found that those adolescents in the moderate negative cluster (high scores on negative messages and low on racial pride) and high positive cluster (high frequency of all ERS messages except negative messages) reported more discrimination experiences. These studies suggest that parental experiences of discrimination can influence the likelihood that African American parents will prepare their children for the racial biases that they might also experience.

In terms of parental experiences of ERS, White-Johnson and colleagues (2010) investigated the relationship between African American parents who have experienced discrimination, reported ERS in their own childhood, and their current ERS practices. They found that the mothers in the multifaceted profile used the most messages (specifically racial pride, racial barriers, and egalitarianism), experienced more discrimination, and had more experiences of ERS as a child than the mothers in the low salience and unengaged profiles. Hughes and Chen (1997) also found that the ERS messages parents reported receiving in their childhood were associated with the messages they transmitted to their own children. Specifically, those parents who received cultural socialization messages as a child reported providing their children with both cultural socialization and preparation for bias messages, and those parents who received preparation for bias messages as a child reported providing their children with preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust messages (Hughes & Chen, 1997). These two

studies investigate the multigenerational transmission of ERS, and further imply the importance of understanding the evolution of ERS messages not only over time but also across generations.

To date, few studies have investigated how the current racial context can influence the race-related conversations that parents have with their children. However, due to the increase in media coverage of the police brutality and murder of African American children and adults over the past few years, it warrants further investigation into the possible increase in race-related messages within African American families as a result. A qualitative study by Thomas and Blackmon (2015) took on this task, and interviewed African Americans about their perceptions on the death of Trayvon Martin and how that has influenced their ERS practices. They found that in response to the shooting, many parents in their study noted that they have emphasized the reality of racism, discussed the need to be prepared to cope with discrimination, and provided their children with specific guidelines on how to behave if they are in a similar situation. This study suggests that not only do personal experiences of discrimination influence parental ERS practices, but that the current racial context can also push ethnic-minority families to have explicit conversations in regard to racism, violence, and safety. Unfortunately, this dissertation does not have access to data regarding how the current racial context has influenced African American families with young children, or how ERS is transmitted intergenerationally, but the study does include variables about parent's racial discrimination in an attempt to uncover how the adaptive culture could influence their ERS messages.

Child Characteristics

The sixth construct outlined in Garcia Coll's framework (1996) is child characteristics. The inclusion of child characteristics within a model set to explain child development highlights the active role that children play in their own development. In other words, children are

influenced by the promoting and inhibiting environments and adaptive cultures, and they also influence the functioning of their family and their own development (Garcia Coll et al., 1996). Some common child characteristics that have been found to influence parental use of ERS are age and gender. For example, as discussed previously, studies have found that younger children tend to receive fewer messages about preparation for bias and greater messages about one's culture, heritage, family, and education (Coard et al., 2004; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Chen, 1999; Suizzo et al., 2008). On the other hand, older children tend to receive greater messages about discrimination and racism (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Hughes et al., 2006; Hughes, 2003; Marshall, 1995; McHale et al., 2006). This suggests that the child's age directly influences whether a parent uses certain dimensions of ERS and in turn those parenting decisions can influence child development. This dissertation did not test the variation of ERS messages based on child age, due to this study only investigating parents of children in early childhood. However, the results of this study provide the ERS literature with more data on the structure and correlates of ERS messages used with young children.

In regard to gender, findings have been mixed. While most ERS studies note gender differences within their findings, a study by Brown and colleagues (2010) specifically focused on gender differences in ERS messages. They found that African American adolescent girls reported receiving higher levels of ERS messages than boys. They also found that mothers used more coping specific to racism messages and African American history and ethnic pride messages with their female children, and that ethnic pride and African American history messages by fathers were higher for female children (at a trend level). McHale and colleagues (2006) also found parental differences in ERS based on their child's gender. They found that father's ERS practices differed according to child gender, with them using more ERS with their

sons than daughters. In a review of the ERS literature, Hughes and colleagues (2006) highlighted that many studies have found that boys are more likely to receive greater messages regarding racial barriers, while girls are more likely to receive greater messages of racial pride (e.g. Bowman & Howard, 1985; Thomas & Speight, 1999). In terms of ERS classes or profiles, Caughy and colleagues (2002) found that girls were more likely to be socialized with an emphasis on cultural socialization, while boys were more likely to be socialized with a balance of ERS messages. In addition, Dunbar and colleagues (2015) found that men were more likely to have mothers and fathers in the high bias preparation profile. These findings suggest that not only are girls receiving a greater amount of ERS messages than boys, but also that parents differ in the messages they deliver to their sons versus their daughters in that girls receive more cultural socialization messages, and boys receive a greater mixture of messages.

Even though several studies have found differences related to gender, Hughes and colleagues (2006) also noted that several studies have found no gender differences (e.g. Neblett et al., 2008; White-Johnson et al., 2010). They suggested that future studies continue to investigate how the gender of the child influences ERS messages and determine methodological variations that could be contributing to the mixed findings. Hughes and colleagues (2006) noted that the studies they reviewed didn't vary according to method of assessment, source of information, parent's ethnicity, or child's age, however a more nuanced investigation is warranted. As such, this dissertation includes child gender as a correlate of the ERS profiles in order to continue the investigation of the active role that children play in their own development.

Family Characteristics

The seventh construct outlined in Garcia Coll's framework (1996) is the family, and seeks to highlight the characteristics that differentiate minority families from the mainstream.

Within the family construct are the structure and roles of the family, the family's values, beliefs and goals, ERS, and socioeconomic status. The structure and roles of the family captures the fact that ethnic-minority families often have the support of their extended family, kin network, and familism (Garcia Coll, 1990) and each person plays an integral role in providing resources to support the development of the children (Garcia Coll et al., 1996). A family's values, beliefs, and goals are defined as things that hold value and importance to the family and are typically rooted in cultural and religious traditions (Garcia Coll et al., 1996). These values, beliefs, and goals can determine the behavior of the family members and influence family interactions. ERS is also included in Garcia Coll's framework (1996) as an important component of the family construct. Finally, the socioeconomic status of the family can influence a child's development because it can determine the amount and quality of resources that are accessible to the family.

In regard to social support, a study by Stevenson, Reed, and Bodison (1996) found that adolescents, who reported having high and moderate levels of kinship social support, reported more cultural pride reinforcement, spiritual and religious coping, and extended family caring (all subscales of their racial socialization measure), when compared to those who reported low kinship levels of social support. In addition, a study by Brown (2008) found that ERS and social support accounted for the largest proportion of variance in the resiliency scores of African American young adults. These studies, along with other literature suggesting that social support is important for African American families (e.g. Boyd-Franklin, 2003; Pipes-McAdoo, 2002), provide support for including a social support variable as a predictor of socialization profiles within this dissertation study.

In terms of a family's values, beliefs, and goals, few studies have investigated how these might influence ERS. However, Dunbar and colleagues (2015), identified profiles of African

American parental racial and emotional socialization, and identified four maternal profiles (presented previously). Their findings suggest that there is a relationship between parental beliefs about affect expression and their utilization of ERS, with those who utilized more cultural socialization also endorsing more supportive beliefs about negative emotional expression and those who utilized more preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust also endorsing more non-supportive beliefs. As such, this dissertation included variables that measure parental beliefs about gender roles and emotions to determine if these beliefs influence the likelihood of being in one socialization profile over another.

In regard to socioeconomic status, several studies have found that parents with higher SES report more ERS messages (Hughes et al., 2006). For example, Hughes and Chen (1997) found that parents in professional and managerial jobs used more cultural socialization and preparation for bias when compared with those who had clerical, sales, or mechanical jobs. Caughy and colleagues (2002) found that those parents with higher income were also more likely to foster Afrocentric home environments, defined as having things such as African American toys, artwork, religious or other figures, children's books, music, pictures of family members, subscription to African American periodicals, and African fabric or print clothing in the home. Finally, White- Johnson and colleagues (2010) found that those mothers in the multifaceted profile, who utilized the most ERS messages, were also more educated than the parents in the other profiles. Dunbar and colleagues (2015) echoed that finding and found that young adults with higher family income also had mothers in the cultural-supportive profile, those who utilized the most ERS messages.

In addition, the review by Hughes and colleagues (2006) noted that several studies have found a curvilinear relationship between ERS and socioeconomic status, suggesting that middle-

income families were more likely to use ERS messages. Further, they found that several studies did not report any differences in SES, but they suggested that it could be due to the lack of variability and use of small samples sizes that accounts for the lack of significance (e.g. Frabutt, et al., 2002). In all, these studies suggest that there is enough evidence to support that socioeconomic status and ERS are related. In addition, studies have found that African Americans with higher income and education perceive more discrimination (e.g. Williams, 1999), implying that they would also be more likely to talk to their children about race. Because we know that SES is an important contributor to ERS strategies used in adolescence or young adulthood, this dissertation included variables that measure SES to help contribute to this literature, and determine if SES is also an important factor in ERS use with young children. Because socioeconomic status typically remains static, we can assume that it will continue to be an important factor in terms of ERS use with young children, however there is little literature to support this hypothesis currently.

Developmental Competencies of the Child

Garcia Coll's eco-cultural framework (1996) culminates with the developmental competences of the child, which is the central goal of the framework. This eighth construct represents the outcome variable within the model and can include the traditional skills such as cognitive, social, emotional, and behavioral that are considered when determining the successful development of a child. Child outcomes are one of the most commonly studied components within the ERS literature, with many of the outcomes already outlined in previous sections (e.g. ethnic-racial identity, academic achievement, internalizing and externalizing behaviors, etc.). While child outcomes are extremely important for not only the child development literature but also for the ERS literature, we already have a thorough understanding of the many ways ERS can

contribute to both positive and negative child psychosocial outcomes. However, what is currently lacking is an understanding of what the parents who use ERS and other important socialization strategies look like, and what predicts the socialization strategies they choose to use. This is important to investigate if we want to understand how to further promote the successful development of ethnic-minority youth. As such, this dissertation explores profiles and predictors of socialization in hopes of learning more about the other constructs outlined in Garcia Coll's framework (1996).

Ethnic-Racial Socialization Within the Larger Socialization Context

As discussed previously, few scholars have explored how ERS, along with other positive parenting practices, are used simultaneously to promote positive child development. So far scholars have found that parents who are warm, nurturing, more involved, supportive, are communicative, monitor their children, and have a positive connection, use more ERS messages (Elmore & Gaylord-Harden, 2013; Frabutt et al., 2002; McHale et al., 2006; Reynolds et al., 2016). This suggests that a more positive parent-child relationship could predict a higher frequency of ERS messages. In fact, scholars have found that mothers who used a moderate level of ERS exhibited more positivity, characterized as high warmth and high communication (Frabutt et al., 2002), and parental warmth was associated with ERS messages for both mothers and fathers (McHale et al., 2006). This connection between ERS and other positive parenting practices is important because it illustrates the necessity of exploring both practices in conjunction, to fully conceptualize all the parenting strategies used in African American families that contribute to the psychosocial development of African American children.

One avenue that has not currently been explored is how ERS fits with the other socialization goals that parents have during early childhood. A study by Hughes and colleagues

(2008) sought to identify the salience of ERS in relation to other childrearing strategies (e.g. moral and self-development, academics, and peer relationships). They found 40% of African American parents ranked ERS as either the first or second most important socialization domain, compared to 22% of Chinese parents, 18% of Latino parents, and 17% of Caucasian parents. These findings imply two things: the first is that they are consistent with other findings that African American parents have race conversations with their children more than other racial groups (Hughes & Chen, 1999; Katz & Kafkin; 1997; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). The second, is that while 40% said that ERS was one of the most salient socialization domains, 80%, 66%, and 10% also ranked moral and self-development, academic issues, and peer relationships as the top three salient socialization domains respectively (Hughes et al., 2008). As such, while ERS is important, it is not the only socialization domain that African American parents find valuable and utilize when socializing their children.

Five Domains of Socialization

Within the child development literature, there is a lot that is known about the parent-child relationship and how various socialization approaches contribute to positive psychosocial outcomes in children. To this point, this dissertation has primarily focused on one domain of socialization unique to ethnic-minority families, ERS, however the socialization literature is much more diverse. Consequently, socialization scholars have suggested that while the literature is diverse, it has not been well integrated (e.g. Grusec, 2011). For example, each line of study has focused on a different aspect of the parent-child relationship (e.g. hierarchical power, teacher/student, equal partnership, etc.) and has identified several principles of learning that explain how socialization occurs (e.g. guided learning, reinforcement and punishment, etc.). However, if the literature were to adopt a framework that views socialization as a collection of

these different processes, abandoning the idea that socialization involves a single mechanism, then the fragmented literature could be better integrated (Grusec & Davidov, 2010; Grusec, 2011).

As an attempt to initiate the integration process, several scholars have suggested that adopting a domain-specific approach to socialization is what the field needs (Bugental, 2000; Bugental & Goodnow, 1998; Bugental & Grusec, 2006; Grusec & Davidov, 2010). This approach assumes that socialization, defined as the process by which children acquire the skills needed to be successful (Grusec, 2010), is a complex bi-directional process that involves a variety of domains in which the parent-child relationship provides children with what they need to be competent. As such, each socialization domain has different tasks, principles, and child outcomes, and as a result it is possible for socialization agents to be successful in one domain but not another (Grusec & Davidov, 2010). This further implies that to measure successful parenting or positive child outcomes, the entire network of socialization should be considered. In the remainder of this section, the five socialization domains (protection, mutual reciprocity, control, guided learning, and group participation) were outlined along with a discussion on how to incorporate ERS within the group participation domain. Note, that the domains are listed in order of developmental considerations, with the protection domain being especially relevant at the beginning of a child's life and the group participation domain becoming relevant around years two and four (Grusec & Davidov, 2010).

Protection Domain

The protection domain, as outlined by Grusec and Davidov (2010), arises from the evolutionary necessity for parents to protect their children from danger. This domain is activated when children are under threat, leading them to seek or call out for their parents help, and in turn,

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the parent responding. At birth, this could manifest as a child crying when they need their diaper changed, if they are hungry, or if they are frightened. If the parent responds sensitively, then the child develops a sense of safety and security, however if the parent responds insensitively, the child could lack trust and confidence in their parent's ability to keep them safe. The parent-child relationship in this domain is one of caregiver/care recipient (Grusec, 2011). In this domain, successful parenting involves being able to respond to and comfort a child in distress, and by maintaining a safe environment for the child to grow. As a result of successful protection, children learn that they are safe, develop secure attachment (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978), are more sensitive to the distress of others, and develop a greater ability to self-regulate. They are also more likely to respond to directives, which have been related to better socialization (Grusec, 2011). To represent the protection socialization domain, this dissertation included variables that measure parental sensitivity and responsiveness, and child safety.

Mutual Reciprocity Domain

The mutual reciprocity domain is based on the innate human tendency to reciprocate the actions of others (Grusec, 2011) and requires that parents respond to their child's requests in an appropriate and sensitive manner. In this domain, the parent-child relationship is one of equality (Grusec, 2011). Studies have found that when mothers complied with their child's requests during play, the child was more likely to comply with the mother's demands (e.g. Parpal & Maccoby, 1985). As such, the mutual reciprocity that develops has been found to predict cooperation in the toddler and preschool years, fewer conduct problems, as well as the development of a conscience in later childhood (Gardner, Ward, Burton, & Wilson, 2003; Kochanska 1997). To represent the mutual reciprocity domain, this dissertation included a variable that measures family engagement in mutual activities.

Control Domain

The control domain becomes necessary when mutual reciprocity is unable to be maintained and the goals of the parent and child do not align (e.g. the parent wants one thing and the child wants another). As a result, as children begin to develop mastery over their environment and begin to misbehave, it is the responsibility of the parent to use their power and greater control of resources to guide and restrict their children when necessary (Grusec, 2011). In this domain, the parent-child relationship is hierarchical and the positive outcome is a child who understands societal norms and standards and adheres to them because they believe that it is morally responsible. A review of the socialization process suggests that this is the domain that much of the literature focuses on, and includes topics such as discipline, monitoring of children's activities, and parenting styles (Grusec, 2011). To represent the control domain, this dissertation included a variable that measures the discipline methods that parents used with their young children.

Guided Learning Domain

The guided learning domain represents the teacher-student relationship and requires parents to teach their children developmentally appropriate skills (Grusec, 2011). As children develop, parent's transition from teaching them cognitive skills, to helping them regulate their emotions, to facilitating the development of social skills, to advising adolescents on how to navigate problematic social situations. Over time, as children develop increasing skill levels and understanding, the teacher involvement should slowly fade away and make room for the child as the expert (Grusec, 2011). Because the children in this dissertation sample are in early childhood, the types of learning that were emphasized are cognitive and emotional. Studies have found that maternal scaffolding (elaborative discourse) during emotion-related conversations or play has

been related to greater emotional understanding, better attention span and symbiotic play, and more advanced forms of infant play (Bigelow, MacLean, & Proctor, 2004; Bornstein & Tamis-LeMonda, 1997; Laible, 2004). As such, this dissertation used a variable to measure the presence of learning materials in the home inferring that the more learning materials present in the home, the greater the likelihood that parents are engaged in teaching their children new skills.

Group Participation Domain

Finally, the group participation domain is where parents engage their children in the cultural traditions and customs of the family, model appropriate behavior, and provide interactions with other members from their in-group (Grusec, 2011; Grusec & Davidov, 2010). In addition, caregivers can attempt to manage their child's environment so that they are only exposed to positive role models, or models that uphold the values and traditions that the parent is trying to instill. If parents are consistent, then children will adopt the desirable social customs without question, however if inconsistent then adoption of group norms and identity may take longer or be less successful (Grusec & Davidov, 2010). The parent-child relationship in this domain involves being joint members of the same social group. To represent group participation, this dissertation utilized ERS as a representation of the ways African American parents engage their children in their cultural customs and heritage, and model appropriate ways to deal with discrimination.

Each of these five domains contributes to child development both individually and taken together. The domain approach requires that each domain remain distinct, but there is also an understanding that each domain can operate in conjunction. In addition, Grusec and Davidov (2010) noted that these socialization domains are universal and can be applied to a variety of cultures. This is because they incorporate solutions to the common problems experienced in the

human environment (Bugental, 2000). However, they did identify two important cultural distinctions. Firstly, there could be cultural differences in terms of how often each domain is engaged, and secondly, culture could influence the success of a particular domain of socialization, with each culture defining success differently (Grusec & Davidov, 2010). To aid in the discussion of cultural differences, the topics addressed in each domain in this dissertation could vary depending on the culture, ethnicity, and race of the family. As such, the group participation domain could very well include ERS for African American families, although it is not explicitly stated within the domain.

Given the importance of ERS within African American families, and the importance of the other socialization domains within all families, the next steps would be to study all the domains of socialization together. Lesane-Brown (2006) noted that this is important because ERS can connect seemingly unrelated scholarship such as family processes, socialization domains, life course development, and identity formation. The author also suggests that ERS interacts with other forms of socialization, such as gender roles and expectations, and political ideology (Lesane-Brown, 2006), which are also other forms of group participation (Grusec, 2011). In addition, Marshall (1995) found that only a few parents spontaneously mentioned using ERS when asked about their childrearing goals, and seemed to focus on messages about education, religion, self-esteem, and hard work. However, when they were asked directly if they talked to their children about race, the majority of them indicated that they did. This further suggests that ERS might be embedded within other socialization strategies, and that parents are unable to distinguish messages about race with the other important messages they provide. This may be especially true for African American parents who place higher importance on ERS as a socialization strategy, and thus may seamlessly incorporate it into their daily routines and

practices (Hughes et al., 2008). As such, it is important that studies focus on all of the socialization domains together, to more fully understand the complexity of the socialization messages that African American parents provide in early childhood.

Predictors of the Five Socialization Domains

In addition to investigating predictors of ERS, it is also important to investigate predictors of all five of the socialization domains if we are to assume that the domains work in unison. As was presented previously, the predictors outlined in Garcia Coll's framework (Garcia Coll et al., 1996) were also be used to predict the profiles of the five domains. This is because we can assume that the context in which African American parents raise their children has not only an impact on the ERS messages they use, but also on their ability to meet their other socialization goals. For example, one of the predictors in this study is economic strain. We can assume that the financial burdens of the parents in this study not only influence their ability to provide their children with ERS (e.g. presence of books related to their culture, or participating in cultural events), but will equally influence their ability to have an abundance of other learning materials in the home (e.g. toys that foster motor skills, books to learn numbers or ABC's). Further, we can also assume that racial discrimination experiences can influence a parent's ERS while also influencing their level of responsiveness or sensitivity to their child's other needs. Perhaps a family who has experienced high levels of racial discrimination will also be more alert in wanting to care for and shield their child from the harsh realities of the world. Finally, the neighborhood that one resides could equally influence parent's ERS messages as well as the discipline strategies they choose to use or the safety measures they take at home. All in all, as stressed within the eco-cultural framework (Garcia Coll et al., 1996), children of all ethnicities develop along a similar continuum and it would be unreasonable to assume that the motivation of

ethnic-minority parents to use ERS is separate from what motivates them to use other parenting strategies to raise their children. By including ERS within the socialization goals of ethnic-minority parents, and investigating the same predictors, we are able to illuminate the context that influences the totality of socialization goals within African American families.

Conclusion

Ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) is a culturally relevant parenting strategy that is commonly utilized within African American families to teach children about their heritage and prepare them for the discrimination they may encounter. Research investigating both correlates and outcomes of ERS has been abundant in the past several decades, especially within the adolescent and young adult developmental stages. However, literature investigating the structure and predictors of ERS used with young children has been relatively sparse, even though the child development literature suggests that discussions about race are relevant for children in early childhood. In addition, the socialization literature has called for integration of the socialization strategies, however the connection between ERS and other socialization practices has yet to be fully explored. As such, this dissertation study focused on ERS and the other socialization domains used with African American young children by exploring at what levels African American mothers used ERS with their three-year-old children, identifying subgroups of mothers characterized by the dimensions of ERS and the other socialization strategies, and identifying predictors of the socialization group membership (See Figure 1).

Hypotheses

Based on the review of the literature, the hypotheses for this dissertation study were as follows:

1. At what levels are African American parents using ERS with younger children?

Given that this research question is descriptive, there were no hypotheses.

2. What are the distinct profiles of ERS?

It was hypothesized that there were at least four distinct profiles of ERS: A profile of parents that did not endorse any or endorsed a low frequency of ERS message, a profile of parents that emphasized cultural socialization, a profile of parents that emphasized preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust, and a profile of parents that endorsed a mixture of the three ERS dimensions.

3. What are the predictors of the ERS profiles?

Promoting / Inhibiting Environments. It was hypothesized that those parents who live in neighborhoods with high collective socialization would endorse a mixture of ERS messages, a low frequency of ERS messages, and messages with an emphasis on cultural socialization. Those parents who live in a neighborhood with low collective socialization would endorse more preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust messages.

Adaptive Culture. It was hypothesized that parents who have experienced higher levels of discrimination would endorse a mixture of ERS messages, and messages with an emphasis on preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust.

Child Characteristics. It was hypothesized that parents of girls would more likely endorse more cultural socialization messages, while parents of boys would more likely endorse messages with either a preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust emphasis, or a mixture of ERS messages.

Family Characteristics. It was hypothesized that parents who had greater social support, and endorsed less gender role stereotyping but more emotional socialization would endorse more cultural socialization, a low frequency of ERS messages, or a mixture of ERS messages. Those

with greater gender role stereotyping and who endorsed lower levels of emotion socialization would utilize more preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust messages or a low frequency of all ERS messages. Finally, it was hypothesized that parents with less economic strain would endorse more of all the ERS dimensions, when compared with parents who had more economic strain.

4. What are the distinct profiles of the five domains of socialization?

The hypotheses for RQ's 4 and 5 have been extrapolated from the ERS literature. These are exploratory in nature, due to the lack of previous studies integrating ERS with other socialization domains.

It was hypothesized that there would be at least four distinct profiles of socialization. The first profile would be characterized by low levels of all socialization domains. The second profile would be high in cultural socialization, as well as high in mutual reciprocity and guided learning. The third profile would be high in preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust, as well as protection and control. Finally, the fourth profile would be high in all socialization profiles.

5. What predicts profiles of the five domains of socialization?

Promoting / Inhibiting Environments. It was hypothesized that those parents who live in neighborhoods with high collective socialization would endorse a high level of all socialization domains, and messages that have an emphasis on cultural socialization, mutual reciprocity and guided learning. Those parents who live in a neighborhood with low collective socialization would endorse socialization strategies that are high in preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, protection, and control.

Adaptive Culture. It was hypothesized that parents who have experienced higher levels of discrimination would endorse a high level of all socialization domains, and socialization strategies that emphasize preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, protection, and control.

Child Characteristics. It was hypothesized that parents of girls would more likely use socialization strategies that emphasize cultural socialization, mutual reciprocity and guided learning, while parents of boys would more likely endorse socialization messages with a preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, protection, and control emphasis, and high level of all socialization domains.

Family Characteristics. It was hypothesized that parents who have greater social support, and endorse less gender role stereotyping and more emotional socialization would endorse socialization strategies with an emphasis on cultural socialization, mutual reciprocity, and guided learning, and a high level of all socialization domains. Those with greater gender role stereotyping and endorsed lower levels of emotion socialization would utilize socialization strategies with more preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, protection, and control, or a low frequency of all socialization strategies. Finally, it was hypothesized that parents with less economic strain would endorse a higher level of all socialization domains, when compared with parents who have higher economic strain.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS

Data Source

Data for this dissertation came from The Family Life Project (FLP), retrieved from the

Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) website (Vernon-

Feagans, Crouter, & Cox). The data is publicly available and comes from Phase 1, which was

conducted from September 2003 to January 2008 (FPG Child Development Institute). The

project began as part of a five-year collaboration between the University of North Carolina at

Chapel Hill and Penn State University and was funded by the National Institutes of Health and

the National Institutes of Child Health and Human Development. The goal of the FLP was to

develop an understanding of the ways in which community, employment, family economic

resources, family contexts, parent-child relationships, and individual differences influence the

development of children (FPG Child Development Institute). The project was organized into two

phases: the first involved an in-depth assessment of community characteristics, which affect the

lives of the rural children and their families. The second phase, involved home and childcare

visits, and phone calls with families from two of the four geographic areas with high rural

poverty among children: North Carolina, representing the Black South region and Pennsylvania,

representing the Appalachia region (Dill, 1999). For the home visits, the study ensured that

African American home visitors completed the interviews with the African American families

participating in the study to ensure visitors of the same race conducted all home visits.

Families living in the six target counties (three contiguous poor counties in North

Carolina and three in Pennsylvania), who gave birth to a child during the recruitment period (12-

month period from September 2003 to September 2004), were eligible to participate. In North

Carolina, families were recruited either at the three hospitals that delivered infants in the target counties or by phone, and in Pennsylvania families were recruited from three out of the seven hospitals that delivered infants in the target counties (Burchinal, Vernon-Feagans, Cox, and FLP investigators, 2008). Counties were included in the study if they did not have a town with a population greater than 50,000 and had nearly half of their elementary age children who were eligible for free/reduced lunches. Counties near large metropolitan areas, or those that were completely rural were excluded. Out of 28 counties in Pennsylvania and 40 in North Carolina that met the criteria of rural and poor, geographic clusters were identified to reduce data collection and recruitment cost. Thus, six counties met the criteria: Cambria, Blair and Huntingdon in Pennsylvania, and Wilson, Wayne, and Sampson in North Carolina (Vernon-Feagans, Crouter, & Cox). The racial makeups of the counties are as follows: Cambria = 92.2% Caucasian, 3.6% African American; Blair = 95.8% Caucasian, 1.6% African American; Huntingdon = 92.5% Caucasian, 5.6% African American; Wilson = 56.7% Caucasian, 40% African American; Wayne = 63.3% Caucasian, 32% African American; Sampson = 67.2% Caucasian, 27% African American (United Census Bureau, 2015).

Sampling procedures were used to recruit a representative sample of the families residing in one of the six target counties at the time of their child's birth. The sampling procedure oversampled for those families with low income in both states and those who are African American in North Carolina. African Americans could not be oversampled in Pennsylvania given that the target counties were over 95% non-African American (Burchinal et al., 2008). Given constraints related to obtaining family income data in a hospital setting, families were dichotomized into either low or high income. Families were considered low income if they reported their household income as less than or equal to 200% of the federal poverty threshold

for a given household size in 2002, if they used social services requiring a similar income requirement (e.g., food stamps, WIC, Medicaid), or if the head(s) of the household had less than a high school education (Burchinal et al., 2008). In total, the FLP identified 5,471 women (57% in North Carolina and 43% in Pennsylvania) who gave birth to a child during the recruitment period (Burchinal et al., 2008). Of those identified, 72% were eligible for the study. Eligibility criteria included: residency in the target county with no intent to move within the next three years, and English spoken as the primary language. Of those eligible, 68% were willing to participate, but only 58% were invited based on a screening of the participant's income and ethnicity (Burchinal et al., 2008). Of those invited to participate in the study, 82% ($N = 1,292$) of the families participated in their first home visit and were enrolled in the study. Data collection continued throughout the remainder of the study and consisted of a series of home visits, child care visits, and phone calls in which families were visited when the child was 2, 6, 15, 24, and 36 months of age (Vernon-Feagans, Crouter, & Cox). The study had successful retention, with a low attrition rate of 6.19% maintained through 36 months of age of the target child.

Sample

For this dissertation, only the African American families were selected, resulting in a sample of $N = 555$ families. At baseline, the majority of the respondents were biological mothers (99.3%) and the others ($n = 4$) were either the maternal grandmother or another female adult relative. Given that mothers have been found to be the primary socialization agents (e.g. Brown et al., 2010), and due to the small number of caregivers that were not the biological mother, those four cases were excluded from the sample so that the results could reflect mother's responses. The resulting sample was $N = 551$ African American mothers (M age = 25.2; $SD = 6.3$). The majority of the mothers resided in North Carolina (93.5%; $n = 515$), with 6.5% residing in

Pennsylvania (*n* = 36). The majority of mothers (94%; *n* = 518) were also designated as low-income (see above for explanation of low-income specification) with only 27% (*n* = 149) reported being employed. In terms of marital status, 68.3% (*n* = 354) reported being single, and 24.7% (*n* = 136) reported being married and living with their spouse. The target child at baseline was 2 months old, and 50.1% male.

Measures

(Note: Socialization variables measured at 36 months, and predictor variables measured at 24 months)

Protection Domain

Child Safety. The Russell Keeping Children Safe Scale is a 24-item measure that was designed to assess parent's ability to do various activities that keep their child safe. Responses were recorded on a 5-point Likert scale (1= Never, 3 = Half of the time, 5 = All of the time), with higher scores reflecting a greater ability to keep the child safe. Sample items include "Keep medicine in a locked cabinet" and "Keep matches and lighters away from child". This scale demonstrated good reliability with this sample (α = .90).

Parental Sensitivity and Responsiveness. Parental sensitivity and responsiveness was measured by observing parents interact with their child during 10 minutes of free-play. Sensitivity and responsiveness were recorded based on how the parent observed and responded to their child's social gestures, expressions, and signals as well as responded to cries, frets, or other expressions of negative affect. Video recordings were observed and rated by two coders from the FLP on a Likert scale (1 = not characteristic at all, 3 = somewhat characteristic, and 5 = highly characteristic), with higher scores indicating more sensitivity. In this study, the coding pair demonstrated an inter-rater reliability of (r = .85). This was determined by calculating the

intraclass correlation coefficient. The reliability obtained in this sample is consistent with

previous literature using this measure that found an inter-rater reliability of (r = .80 and above;

Garrett-Peters, Mills-Koonce, Zerwas, Cox, & Vernon-Feagans, 2011).

Mutual Reciprocity Domain

Family Activities Questionnaire. The Family Activities Questionnaire is a 52-item

measure, developed for FLP, designed to assess child, parent-child, and parent literacy activities,

and the family's access to technology. Responses were recorded on a 5-point Likert scale (1 =

every day, 3 = once a week, 5 = once a month or less), and reverse coded so that higher scores

indicated greater frequency of engaging in family activities. This dissertation only used the

parent-child literacy activities scale, which contains 10-items. Sample items include "Sings

songs or says rhymes with your child" and "Help your child learn alphabet sounds". The scale

demonstrated good reliability with this sample (α = .80).

Control and Guided Learning Domain

The Infant, Toddler, and Preschool Home Observation for Measurement of the

Environment (HOME) Inventory. The HOME inventory is a semi-structured interview that was

designed by Caldwell and Bradley (1984) to assess the emotional support and cognitive

stimulation children receive through their home environment, planned events, and family

surroundings. The original HOME inventory contained 45-items, with six subscales: emotional

and verbal responsiveness of the mother, acceptance of the child, organization of the

environment, provision of appropriate learning materials, material involvement with the child,

and variety in daily stimulation. Previous studies have found internal consistency with samples

of families with young children (12 to 24 months) ranging from α = .44 to .88 (Bradley &

Caldwell, 1984). For the FLP, 28 behaviors were observed and coded for whether the behavior

was not observed (0) or observed (1) in the participant's home. For this dissertation, only items related to discipline and the learning materials subscale were used to represent the control and guided learning socialization domains. The discipline subscale contained 3-items and a sample item includes, "Caregiver yells at child more than once" ($\alpha = .75$). The learning materials subscale contained 7-items and sample items include, "At least 10 books are present and visible", and "Child has three or more puzzles" ($\alpha = .75$).

Group Participation Domain

Ethnic-Racial Socialization. The ethnic-racial socialization measure is a 15-item measure, developed for FLP, designed to assess how often in the past month caregivers used the following lessons or messages with their child. Responses were rated on a 4 – point scale (1 = Never, 2 = 1 or 2 times, 3 = 3 to 5 times, 4 = more than 5 times), with higher scores reflecting more ERS. The measure contains three subscales: Cultural Socialization, Preparation for Bias, and Promotion of Mistrust and was adapted from Hughes and Johnson (2001), which found internal consistency using African American samples (Cultural Socialization $\alpha = .86$; Preparation for Bias $\alpha = .81$; and Promotion of Mistrust $\alpha = .73$). Items 1-6 comprise the Preparation for Bias scale and includes sample item "told target child that people might try to limit him/her because of his/her race" ($\alpha = .86$). Items 7-11 comprise the Cultural Socialization scale and includes sample item "celebrated cultural holidays of target child's racial group" ($\alpha = .81$). Items 12-15 comprise the Promotion of Mistrust scale and includes sample item "told target child not to trust kids from other racial or ethnic groups" ($\alpha = .68$). The total ERS measure also demonstrated good reliability ($\alpha = .84$).

Promoting / Inhibiting Environment

Neighborhood Questionnaire. The Neighborhood Questionnaire is a 14-item measure designed to assess the collective socialization of the neighborhood. Collective socialization represents parental monitoring processes extended to the neighborhood and represents individual's perception of the level of trust and cohesion among neighbors. Responses were rated as either true (1) or false (0), with higher scores indicating greater trust and cohesion among neighbors. Sample items include "People in this neighborhood can be trusted", and "When you are away from home, you know that your neighbors will keep their eyes open for possible trouble to your place". Previous studies using African American samples reported internal reliability at $\alpha = .82$ with the 8-item version (Brody et al., 2001). For this study, the 14-item measure maintained good reliability ($\alpha = .82$).

Adaptive Culture

Racial Discrimination. The Experiences of Racism Scale is a 13-item measure designed to assess how often in the past month participants experienced racial discrimination (Murry, Brown, Brody, Cutrona, & Simons, 2001). Responses were rated on a 4- point Likert scale (1 = never, 2 = once or twice, 3 = a few times, 4 = several times), with greater scores indicating more discrimination experiences. Sample items include, "How often has someone suspected you of doing something wrong just because you are African American?", "How often has someone yelled an insult or racial slur because you are African American?", and "How often have members of your family been treated unfairly just because they are African American?". Previous studies have found good internal reliability with African American samples ($\alpha = .92$; Murry et al., 2001). For this study, the scale also demonstrated good reliability at $\alpha = .92$.

Family Predictors

Economic Strain. The Economic Strain Questionnaire is a modified 6-item index that was designed to assess the degree to which families can make ends meet ("can't make ends meet" index), and the degree to which there is enough money in the household for clothing, food, and medical care ("not enough money" index). The questionnaire was adapted from Conger and Elder's (1994) larger construct of economic pressure developed for their study of economically distressed farm families in central Iowa. The "can't make ends meet" index was measured on a 5-point scale (1 = Great deal of difficulty, 3 = Some difficulty, 5 = No difficulty) and responses were reverse coded so that higher scores reflected greater difficulty making ends meet. The "not enough money" index was measured on a 4-point scale (1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Agree, 4 = Strongly Agree), and responses were reverse coded so that higher scores reflected not having enough money. Previous studies using the "can't make ends meet" index found good reliability with an African American sample (α = .76; Odom & Vernon-Feagans, 2010). For this sample, the "can't make ends meet index" and the "not enough money index" demonstrated good reliability at α = .79 and .80 respectively.

Gender Role Attitudes Scale. The Gender Role Attitudes Questionnaire is a 13-item rating scale designed to assess caregiver gender-role attitudes toward marital roles and child rearing. The measure consists of two separate subscales: gender-based attitudes toward marital roles (GATMR), and gender-based attitudes toward child rearing (GATCR). This dissertation study only used the gender-based attitudes towards childrearing (GATCR) scale which contains 7-items. Responses were rated on a 4-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly agree, 4 = Strongly disagree), and items were reverse coded so that higher scores reflected greater gender role stereotyping. Sample items include, "Education is important for both sons and daughters but it is more important for a son", and "It is more important to raise a son to be strong and independent than to raise a daughter that

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way". Hoffman and Kloska (1995) found internal reliability with European-American married mothers and single mothers at $\alpha = .85$ and .83 respectively. For this study, a 4-item measure had greater internal reliability ($\alpha = .71$), when compared to the 7-item measure ($\alpha = .47$), as such the 4-item measure was retained for this sample.

Parents' Beliefs about Feelings Questionnaire (PBAQ; Dunsmore & Karn, 2001*)*. The Parental Beliefs About Feelings Questionnaire is a 23-item measure designed to assess caregiver's beliefs about children's emotions. Responses were rated on a 6- point Likert scale (1 = Strongly disagree, 3 = Slightly disagree, and 6 = Strongly agree), with higher scores reflecting greater belief in teaching about emotions. Sample items include, "I should avoid showing my child how to express his or her feelings", and "As a parent, it's important for me to teach my child socially acceptable ways of expressing his or her feelings". This study used the Values about Teaching Emotions subscale which contained 21-items ($\alpha = .61$). Previous studies have found good internal reliability with European-American mothers with children ages three to five ($\alpha = .85$; Denham & Kochanoff, 2002).

Social Support. The Questionnaire for Social Support (QSS; Crnic, Greenberg, Ragozin, Robinson, & Basham, 1983) is a 16-item measure, adapted from Henderson, Byrne, and Duncan-Jones (1981), designed to assess how satisfied caregivers are with available support sources at four ecological levels: intimate relationships (spouse or partner), extended family, friendships, and neighborhood or community support. Satisfaction responses were rated on a 4-point scale (1 = very dissatisfied, and 4 = very satisfied), with higher scores indicating greater satisfaction. Sample items include, "Someone to share private feelings with", and "Visiting with parents in person". For this dissertation study, items related to relationship satisfaction, and an item which assessed the current life situation were removed, which resulted in 12-items ($\alpha = .80$). Internal

consistency with samples of European-American parents of nine to 36-month-old children,

ranged from α = .65 to .74 for the support subscales (Crnic & Booth, 1991).

Demographics

Demographics such as child gender, parent marital status, family income-level, state that

the family resided in, and caregiver age served as covariates. Child gender (1 = male, 2 =

female), family income level (0 = low income, 1 = high income), and state resided (0 = North

Carolina, 1 = Pennsylvania) were dummy coded. Parent marital status was measured as (1 =

single, 2 = married, living with spouse, 3 = married, not living with spouse, 4 = divorced, 5 =

separated, or 6 = widowed). Caregiver age was recorded as their exact age at baseline.

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Analytic Strategy

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All analyses were conducted using SPSS and Mplus 7.1 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2012).

Two primary data analytic strategies were used: latent profile analysis and structural equation

modeling.

Latent profile analysis (LPA) is a person-centered statistical procedure that allows the

researcher to assign individuals to mutually exclusive profiles based on their responses to

observed variables (Roesch et al., 2010). The current study examined (1) the three dimensions of

ERS and (2) all five domains of socialization (Research Questions 2 and 4). LPA is a type of

latent variable mixture modeling, containing a latent variable with K number of categories

(Pastor et al., 2007). It can be distinguished from latent class analysis in that LPA is used with

data that contains continuous indicators (Roesch et al., 2010). The goal of an LPA is to maximize

the similarities between the individuals within each profile, while also maximizing the

differences of individuals between profiles (Roesch et al., 2010). In other words, LPA examines

if there are groups of individuals that respond to ERS and the other socialization domain

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subscales in similar ways and groups them together. LPA is also advantageous because unlike standard clustering techniques, mixture modeling does not need to transform or standardize indicators prior to analysis (Pastor et al., 2007).

Prior to beginning the LPA, descriptive statistics of participants' responses were examined using SPSS (e.g., means, frequencies, and standard deviations). To address the first research question, frequencies of ERS were obtained. In addition, univariate correlations were conducted to assess for intercorrelation of the variables. Missing data was addressed using full information maximum likelihood, based on the assumption that the data are missing at random (Muthén & Muthén, 1996-2012). To address research question two and four a series of LPA's were conducted to determine the best number of profiles, and model fit was determined by evaluating several fit indices (Kline, 2011). In addition, one-way ANOVA's were conducted to detect whether there were significant differences between the profiles indicators. To address research questions three and five, predictors of the profiles were assessed using the one step approach that involved including the covariates directly within the latent profile model and allowing the covariate effects to be estimated simultaneously with the profile parameters (Vermunt, 2010). This approach was chosen given how stable the profiles remained even after including the covariates. Multinomial regression was utilized and odds ratios were obtained to measure the effective size of the covariates (Peng, Lee, & Ingersoll, 2002).

Fit indices used to evaluate the optimal profile solution included, Akaike information criterion (AIC; Akaike, 1987), the Bayesian information criterion (BIC; Schwartz, 1978), and the sample size-adjusted BIC (SSA BIC; Sclove, 1987), with lower values indicating improved model fit (Lubke & Muthén, 2005). In addition, the Lo–Mendell–Rubin (LMR; Lo, Mendell, & Rubin, 2001) likelihood ratio test was used to determine whether the estimated model provided a

significant improvement (p < .05) over the model with one less profile (k -1). If LMR is non-significant, this indicates that the more parsimonious model should be accepted. Finally, to assess the classification of the profile solution, entropy, the average accuracy in assigning individuals to profiles, and posterior probabilities, the probability that an individual is assigned to a specific profile, were also considered. Entropy values range from 0–1, with higher scores reflecting greater accuracy in profile classification (Ramaswamy, DeSarbo, Reibstein, & Robinson, 1993). Another method to determine fit is to look at the posterior probabilities, or the most-likely latent class membership (Pastor et al., 2007). The "rule of thumb" suggests to only retain profiles with no less than 5% of the total sample, however, simulation studies have found that profiles as small as 1% may be retained as long as they are meaningful (e.g. Lubke & Neale, 2006). As such, the overall model fit, based on the AIC, BIC, LMR, and entropy, as well as profile meaningfulness and theoretical assumptions, were consulted to identify the model with the most appropriate number of profiles. Once the final profile solution was established, descriptive statistics across profiles were calculated and used to provide a description or name for each profile that reflected the socialization strategies present.

In order to ensure that significant relationships were detected and decrease the likelihood of accepting a false null hypothesis, a power analysis was conducted (Kline, 2011). For LPA, power is dependent on the fit indices, number of indicators, and sample size (Tein, Coxe, & Cham, 2013). In a simulation study, sample size was determined to have a limited effect on the power needed to detect a medium effect (.50; Cohen, 1988), with little difference shown between samples sizes of 250 and 1,000 (Tien et al., 2013). As such, a sample size of 551 would be adequate for conducting LPA and identifying meaningful profiles. For SEM, it is recommended that sample sizes be at least N = 200, or that there be at least fifty more than four times the

number of variables (Kline, 2011). With a sample size of 551, and a total of 21 variables,

adequate power was achieved in this study.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

Descriptive Statistics

Prior to conducting the latent profiles and examining predictors of the latent profiles, preliminary analyses were conducted. First, descriptive statistics such as means, standard deviations, ranges, and skewness and kurtosis were obtained for the variables of interest (see Table 1). Skewness and kurtosis are normality indices with a recommendation of values ranging from -2 and 2 for skewness and -7 and 7 for kurtosis (West, Finch, & Curran, 1995). Based on these criteria, the ERS variables and the measure for child safety were not normally distributed. Looking at the rest of the descriptive statistics, on average, participants rated using the ERS dimensions in-between never (1) and once or twice (2) in the past month, resulting in a positively skewed distribution. For child safety, on average participants rated keeping their child safe most of the time (4) and all of the time (5), resulting in negatively skewed data. As such, these variables were transformed using the log transformation method suggested by Tabachnick and Fidell (2007) and Howell (2007), resulting in the following values: ERS total (Skewness = 2.23, Kurtosis = 5.69), Cultural Socialization (Skewness = 1.44, Kurtosis = 1.48), Preparation for Bias (Skewness = 4.07, Kurtosis = 17.40), Promotion of Mistrust (Skewness = 4.52, Kurtosis = 22.25), and Child Safety (Skewness = .727, Kurtosis = .483). The logarithmic transformation method was chosen because it provides the most meaningful interpretation on back transformations, also referred to as antilog (Manikandan, 2010). However, following the transformation method, preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust variables remained skewed. As a result, maximum likelihood estimation with robust standard errors (MLR), was

used to address this data with a non-normal distribution that also contains missing data (Yuan & Bentler, 2000). It is important to note that the log transformation method was only used during the statistical analyses. In terms of graphing and interpretation, the variables that were transformed were back transformed by taking the antilog, the opposite mathematical equation used to transform the variables (Manikandan, 2010). The back transformation provides a geometric mean, the average of logarithmic values converted back to the base of 10. The geometric mean is a type of mean that determines the average of a set of numbers using the product of their values. This is different from the arithmetic mean, which uses the sum. It is important to note that the 95% confidence intervals for the geometric mean will be narrower than the arithmetic mean because the transformation process reduces skewness and sampling error (Bland & Altman, 1996).

Bivariate correlations were also obtained in order to examine the intercorrelation among variables of interest (see Table 2 – 4). The correlations were not only examined to identify significant relationship between variables, but also to identify any issues of multi-collinearity. In this study, the only variables that were highly correlated were the ERS dimensions and the ERS composite variable, which was due to items in each ERS dimension also being present in the ERS composite measure. At least one dimension ERS was correlated with the other socialization variables, except the neighborhood measure, which was not correlated with any ERS variables. This suggests that ERS dimensions are related to other socialization strategies, however in this study, safety and perceptions about the trust and cohesion in your neighborhood were not correlated with ERS. All significant relationships were in the expected direction. ERS variables were also related to several of the predictor variables, however some were not in the expected direction. For example, the ERS composite measure and cultural socialization were negatively

related to social support, suggesting that the more overall ERS and cultural socialization a mother used, the less likely she was to be satisfied with the social support she received. In terms of covariates, child gender was related to several of the variables, suggesting that there are gender differences in mother's socialization strategies. For example, mothers of females were more likely to be sensitive and responsive, while mothers of males were more likely to use discipline and perceive less trust and cohesion in their neighborhood. Mothers with lower SES were more likely to use more discipline, but those with higher SES were likely to be more sensitive, have learning materials present in the home, have greater gender role stereotyping, and were more likely to experience discrimination. It is important to note that while there were significant relationships between many of the variables, the correlations did not exceed .30.

Research Question 1

The first research question aimed to identify at what levels African American parents are using ERS with younger children. To address this question, each ERS item was recoded into a categorical variable with *0 = never* utilizing ERS and *1 = more than 1 time* in the past month utilizing ERS. Each subscale was then created by summing the recoded items, and descriptive statistics were obtained.

Based on the frequencies of ERS, African American parents in this sample are using this cultural practice with their young children (See Table 5). For the composite ERS measure, 47.7% of parents reported using one or more ERS strategies over the past month. For cultural socialization, 43% of parents reported giving cultural socialization messages at least once over the past month. For preparation for bias, 13.1% of parents reported using one or more messages and for promotion of mistrust, 9.1% of parents reported using one or more messages. It is

important to note that these results are for only 86% of the sample due to $n = 77$ parents not answering the ERS items.

<center>**Research Question 2**</center>

The second research question aimed to identify profiles of mothers' ERS strategies using latent profile analysis (LPA). The indicators in the current analysis were the three ERS subscales: cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust. An LPA model with *k* profiles was estimated and fit statistics were examined. Specifically, AIC, BIC, A-BIC, VLMR, entropy, and profile meaningfulness and theoretical assumptions were used to determine the appropriate number of profiles. As expected, AIC, BIC, and A-BIC continued to decrease as the number of profiles increased, and entropy remained stable (see Table 6). However, because VLMR was no longer significant in the three-profile solution, the more parsimonious model was chosen. As such, the two-profile solution was determined to be the best fit to the data and the estimated means of the two profiles were graphed and interpreted according to existing theory and literature (see Table 7 and Figure 2). The first profile, labeled *Unengaged*, included 456 participants (96%) and was characterized by low scores on all three ERS subscales. Mothers in this profile on average reported *"Never"* utilizing ERS in the past month. The second profile, labeled *Early Engagers*, included 18 participants (4%) and was characterized by scores between 1.5 and 2, indicating that mother's in this profile on average have used ERS "*1 or 2 times*" in the past month. Specifically, mothers in the *Early Engagers* profile reported using more cultural socialization and preparation for bias, than promotion of mistrust messages suggesting that these dimensions of ERS are more salient during this early childhood developmental period. One-way ANOVA results (see Table 7) indicated that the reported levels of ERS in the *Unengaged* profile were significantly different from the reported levels of ERS in the *Early Engagers* profile,

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suggesting that those mothers in the *Early Engagers* profile are using more ERS with their young children compared to those in the *Unengaged* profile. The two profiles did not differ by child age, marital status, SES, state resided, or parental age.

Research Question 3

To address research question number three, which aimed to identify predictors of mother's ERS strategies, multinomial logistic regression was used to enter the covariates directly into the final two-profile LPA model. The one-step approach was utilized due to the high entropy of the two profiles (see Table 8) and because the profiles maintained their proportions even after the covariates were entered. With the *Early Engagers* group serving as the reference, results indicated that the economic strain index of "not enough money", gender socialization, and social support were all significant predictors of *Unengaged* profile group membership. Specifically, compared to those in the *Early Engagers* profile, those in the *Unengaged* profile were more likely to report not having enough money ($\beta = 1.01$, $p < .05$), have greater gender role stereotyping ($\beta = 1.13$, $p < .05$), and more social support ($\beta = 1.10$, $p < .05$). The results of the odds ratios (see Table 9) suggest that those mothers who indicated they did not have enough money were 2.75 times more likely to be in the *Unengaged* profile (OR = 2.75, 95% CI: 1.15, 6.59) compared to those mothers in the *Early Engagers* profile. In addition, those mothers who reported greater gender role stereotyping were 3.1 times more likely to be in the *Unengaged* profile (OR = 3.10, 95% CI: 1.24, 7.74) when compared to the mothers in the *Early Engagers* profile. Finally, those mothers who reported more social support were 3 times more likely to be in the *Unengaged* profile (OR = 3.00, 95% CI: 3.00, 7.39) when compared to those mothers in the *Early Engagers* profile.

Research Question 4

The fourth research question aimed to identify profiles of mother's overall socialization strategies. The indicators in the current analysis were the socialization subscales that represented the five domains of socialization: cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, child safety, parental sensitivity, family activities, discipline, and provision of appropriate learning materials. Results indicated that a two-profile solution was the best fit to the data (see Table 10) and the estimates of the within-profile means compared to the total sample means of each socialization indicator were graphed and interpreted according to existing literature (see Table 11 and Figure 3). The first profile, labeled *Non-Race Specific Socialization*, included 458 participants (96%) and was characterized by all socialization indicators being similar to the sample mean. The second profile, labeled, *Multifaceted Socialization*, included 17 participants (4%) and was characterized by levels of all three ERS dimensions, family activities and discipline above the sample means, safety and learning materials near the sample means, and sensitivity below the sample mean. One-way ANOVA results (see Table 11) indicated that the ERS dimensions, sensitivity, family activities, and discipline indicators in the *Non-Race Specific Socialization* profile were significantly different from those indicators in the *Multifaceted Socialization* profile, suggesting that those mothers in *Multifaceted Socialization* profile are using more ERS, engaging in more family activities, utilizing more discipline, and are less sensitive with their young children. The two profiles did not differ by child age, marital status, SES, state resided, or parental age.

Research Question 5

The fifth research question aimed to identify predictors of mother's overall socialization strategies. The one step approach was again utilized due to high entropy and stability of the

profile proportions (see Table 12). With the *Multifaceted Socialization* profile as the reference

group, results suggest that discrimination experiences, economic strain index of "not enough

money", and gender socialization are significant predictors of group membership in the *Non-*

Race Specific Socialization profile. Specifically, compared to those in the *Multifaceted*

Socialization profile, mothers in the *Non-Race Specific Socialization* profile were less likely to

experience discrimination ($\beta = -.92$, $p < .05$), more likely to feel that they did not have enough

money ($\beta = 1.17$, $p < .05$), and held greater gender role stereotyping ($\beta = 1.10$, $p < .05$). The

results of the odds ratios (see Table 13) suggest that for every 1-unit increase in discrimination

experiences, mothers are 60% less likely to belong to the *Non-Race Specific Socialization* profile

(OR = .40, 95% CI: .19, .82) when compared to those mothers in the *Multifaceted Socialization*

profile. In addition, mothers who indicated not having enough money were 3.2 times more likely

to be in the *Non-Race Specific Socialization* profile (OR = 3.23, 95% CI: 1.28, 8.15) when

compared to the mothers in the *Multifaceted Socialization* profile. Finally, mothers with greater

gender role stereotyping were almost 3 times more likely to belong to the *Non-Race Specific*

Socialization profile (OR = 2.99, 95% CI: 1.22, 7.32) when compared to those mothers in the

Multifaceted Socialization Profile.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

Early childhood literature has suggested that as early as six months old children can display racial awareness (Katz & Kofkin, 1997), as early as two years old can express racial bias (Aboud, 2008; Hirschfeld, 2008; Katz, 2003; Patterson & Bigler, 2006), and by five to seven years old can experience exclusion from their peers based on their race (Clark & Clark, 1950; Van Ausdale & Feagin, 2001). The fact that young children are having these experiences based on their ethnic-racial makeup not only goes against the common misconception that children are colorblind, but also implies a need to study familial socialization strategies that help prepare ethnic-racial minority children to navigate these experiences. Ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) is a culturally relevant parenting strategy commonly utilized within African American families to promote positive ethnic-racial pride, prepare children for discrimination experiences, and protect them from individuals who may try to harm them due to their race or ethnicity. Although there has been an abundance of literature exploring ERS, previous studies have primarily focused on the adolescent developmental period, given that adolescence is a time where children are cognitively and emotionally attuned to racism and discrimination experiences. As such, there are significant gaps within the ERS literature, specifically surrounding ERS in early childhood. Little is known about the prevalence of ERS strategies in early childhood, the characteristics of parents who utilize ERS, and what predicts their ERS use during this early developmental stage. In addition, even less is known in regard to how ERS strategies co-occur alongside other socialization goals, and what drives parents to utilize both ERS and other socialization strategies.

Guided by the eco-cultural framework (Garcia Coll et al., 1996) this dissertation sought to address these gaps by using a person-centered approach to identify profiles of both ERS and

the five domains of socialization and assess whether certain variables predict membership into one socialization group over another. Specifically, this dissertation had five primary aims. The first centered on identifying the frequency of ERS with young children, given that literature is sparse during this developmental period. The second and third involved identifying profiles of African American mothers' ERS strategies and identifying predictors of profile group membership. Finally, the fourth and fifth aims involved identifying profiles of African American mothers' overall socialization strategies and identifying predictors of profile group membership. Using latent profile analysis (LPA) and ANOVA's, four profiles were derived from the data (two for ERS and two for the other socialization strategies) and profile differences were identified. In addition, using multinomial logistic regression, predictors were regressed on the profiles to predict profile group membership, and odds ratios were investigated to determine whether the predictors significantly predicted the likelihood of belonging to each profile. The findings and implications of each research question are addressed below, concluding with clinical implications, limitations of the study, and future directions for research.

Frequency of Ethnic-Racial Socialization

The first goal of this dissertation study was to explore the frequency of mother's ERS with their young children. Results suggested that about half (47.7%) of the mothers in this sample reporting using ERS at least once in the past month with their three-year-old child. Due to the limited literature on ERS with three year olds, it is unclear if the overall frequency of ERS is consistent with previous studies. However, these results do support the notion that a significant number of African American mothers are utilizing ERS with young children, or are at least contemplating how best to incorporate it within their socialization practices. Regarding the three dimensions of ERS, results suggested that 43% of mothers reported using cultural socialization

with less frequent reports of preparation for bias (13.1%) and promotion of mistrust (9.1%). These results align with previous studies that suggest African American parents with young children (ages three to five) utilize a higher frequency of cultural socialization messages, however the proportion is lower than what previous studies have found. For example, approximately 75% to 90% of African American parents with young children in previous studies reported utilizing ERS messages that instill racial pride (Caughy et al., 2002; Coard et al., 2004; Suizzo et al., 2008). An explanation that previous literature has provided for the greater focus on cultural socialization is that parents are attuned to the developmental abilities of their child and are attempting to meet their child where they are. As such, African American mothers may believe it is more appropriate to instill racial pride and focus on more positive forms of ERS when their children are young, and then incorporate conversations about discrimination as their children age. In addition, it is also possible that young children are not discussing discrimination experiences with their parents, either due to them not perceiving negative events in that way or simply lacking the language to describe these experiences. As such, parents may be less inclined to broach the subject of discrimination before their children do, taking a reactive approach to transmitting preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust messages, instead of the proactive approach they are using by transmitting cultural socialization messages.

Ethnic-Racial Socialization Profiles

Next, it was hypothesized that there would be at least four distinct profiles of ERS: A profile of parents that did not endorse any or endorsed a low frequency of ERS messages, a profile of parents that emphasized cultural socialization, a profile of parents that emphasized preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust, and a profile of parents that endorsed a mixture of the three ERS dimensions. This hypothesis was partially supported. Results indicated that two

profiles were derived from the data and these two profiles fit the characteristics of two of the hypothesized profiles. The *Unengaged* profile group consisted of mothers that did not endorse any or a very low frequency of ERS messages. The mothers in the *Early Engagers* profile endorsed a mixture of all three ERS dimensions, but with an emphasis on cultural socialization and preparation for bias. It is possible that four profiles were not derived because during early childhood, more nuanced variations of ERS are not yet apparent. Instead, with three-year-old children, these African American mothers may be just beginning to explore how to prepare their young children for life as an ethnic-minority, and as such they may decide to try out all three of the ERS dimensions.

Interestingly, those mothers in the *Early Engagers* profile endorsed slightly more preparation for bias messages when compared to cultural socialization. This is different from previous literature, which suggests that cultural socialization is the most commonly utilized dimension of ERS with young children (Hughes & Chen, 1997, 1999; Hughes, 2003; Suizzo et al., 2008). It is possible that as these parents are beginning to explore how to racially socialize their children, they are implementing the two most commonly endorsed dimensions, cultural socialization and preparation for bias. In addition, three-year-old children are typically beginning to interact with their peers in either a daycare or preschool setting (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, n.d.). Given that previous literature has suggested that children as young as two years old can identify racial differences (Hirschfeld, 2008), and three to five year olds can experience discrimination in their daycare (Van Ausdale & Feagin, 2001), these mothers may be using more preparation for bias messages to help their children navigate racial experiences with their peers. Regarding promotion of mistrust messages, mothers in this study did not report utilizing these messages frequently. This aligns with previous literature that suggests promotion

of mistrust messages are not commonly endorsed regardless of child age (Hughes et al., 2006).

Thus, even though those *Early Engagers* endorsed more promotion of mistrust messages

compared to those mothers in the *Unengaged* group, on average all the mothers in this study

reported "*Never*" using promotion of mistrust in the past month.

It is important to note that the mothers in the *Early Engagers* profile represented only 4%

of the total sample. Even though this is a small percentage, the ERS strategies of these mothers

were significantly different from those in the *Unengaged* group, suggesting that this small

subgroup is using more ERS than the rest of the sample. As such, these 18 mothers provide

important information into the structure of ERS with very young children, an area with limited

data.

One could assume that only a small subset of mothers reported their ERS strategies

because either many of them are not aware or cannot articulate how they are racially socializing

their young children (Peters & Massey, 1983), or they are using more subtle forms of ERS that

this study did not capture. For instance, because many parents believe young children lack the

ability to understand the complexities of race, it may be more salient for them to characterize

their home with African American features in lieu of using more overt forms of ERS. For

example, studies have found that for young children (i.e. under five years old) characteristics of

the home environment are important for their development (Caughy et al., 2002) since that is the

primary environment that they are exposed to. Similar to the HOME inventory used for general

socialization goals, the Africentric Home Environment Inventory (AHEI; Caughy et al., 2002)

for ERS strategies measures whether parents display African American artwork, toys, books, and

clothing with African fabric in their home, characterized as creating an Africentric home

environment (Caughy et al., 2002). An observational measure of ERS like the AHEI was not

used in this study, which could have influenced the accuracy of reporting ERS strategies, given that parents may not be as conscious about their ERS practices during early childhood.

Further, there is a fourth, understudied dimension of ERS called egalitarianism or silence about race, which may further explain these results. Parents who use this dimension choose to emphasize the value of individual qualities over ethnic-racial group membership, and focus on instilling self-acceptance, equality, and hard work as their primary ERS strategy (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Hughes et al., 2006). Silence about race is considered an ERS strategy because failure to discuss racial issues still transmits race-related values to children, namely that race is unimportant or less important than personality characteristics (Hughes et al., 2006). Few studies have explicitly studied this dimension of ERS with African American families, and it is typically inferred through looking at the inverse of the percentage of parents who report other ERS dimensions (Hughes et al., 2006). As such, it is probable that 96% of the mothers in this sample believe that it is important to emphasize values that have little to do with race when their children are young. In other words, these mothers *are* using a dimension of ERS, but because egalitarianism or silence about race was not explicitly measured we can only infer that this was their ERS strategy.

Predictors of Ethnic-Racial Socialization Profiles

In addition to identifying profiles of ERS, predictors of the ERS profiles were also identified. There were several hypotheses related to predictors of ERS profiles that will be discussed in the following sections related to Garcia Coll's eco-cultural framework (Garcia Coll et al., 1996):

Promoting / Inhibiting Environments

    It was hypothesized that those parents who live in neighborhoods with high collective socialization would endorse a mixture of ERS messages, a low frequency of ERS messages, and messages with an emphasis on cultural socialization. Those parents who live in a neighborhood with low collective socialization would endorse more preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust messages. This hypothesis was not supported, as differences in collective socialization perceptions were not predictive of profile group membership. On average, the mothers in this study indicated that their neighborhood had an average level of trust and cohesion. Previous studies have found a relationship between high community involvement and negative social climate with ERS (Caughy et al., 2006; Caughy et al., 2011). However, the mothers in this sample did not appear to have strong feelings one way or another about their neighborhood, which could have influenced its relation to ERS in this study. It is also possible that those who live in rural areas experience their neighborhoods differently compared to those living in urban settings. For example, living in a rural setting might involve less interaction and involvement with neighbors. As such, future studies investigating neighborhood differences should further differentiate between rural and urban neighborhoods to identify whether neighborhood location influences not only the perception of the neighbors but also ERS.

Adaptive Culture

    It was hypothesized that parents who have experienced higher levels of discrimination would endorse a mixture of ERS messages, and messages with an emphasis on preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust. This hypothesis was not supported, as varying discrimination experiences were not predictive of profile group membership. Previous literature found that discrimination experiences were not associated with more frequent use of preparation for bias

with children age six to nine (Hughes, 2003) but was associated with more frequent use with 10 to 17 year olds, suggesting that the age of the child influences whether parental discrimination experiences will contribute to ERS. Due to the common belief that children in early childhood are not cognitively or emotionally prepared to understand racism and discrimination, it is possible that although the mothers in this sample have experienced discrimination, those experiences are not significantly contributing to their ERS use.

Child Characteristics

It was hypothesized that parents of girls would more likely endorse more cultural socialization messages, while parents of boys would more likely endorse messages with either a preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust emphasis, or a mixture of ERS messages. This hypothesis was not supported, as child gender was not predictive of profile group membership. This finding aligns with previous literature that has found no gender differences in ERS use (Hughes et al., 2006; Neblett et al., 2008; White-Johnson et al., 2010). A possible explanation for the lack of significant gender differences in this study is the use of person-centered approaches. The studies by both Neblett and colleagues (2008) and White-Johnson and colleagues (2010) also used person-centered approaches and neither found child gender to be predictive of ERS profiles. White-Johnson and colleagues (2010) suggested that while the use of person-centered approaches to operationalize ERS is advantageous, it could be less sensitive to detecting significant relationships between each ERS dimension and other variables, compared to variable-centered approaches. It is also possible that with young children, the mothers in this sample are less likely to report on using different ERS strategies based on child gender. This idea will be further expanded upon in the next session when discussing the relationship between gender socialization and ERS.

Family Characteristics

It was hypothesized that parents who have greater social support, and endorse less gender role stereotyping but more emotional socialization would endorse more cultural socialization, a low frequency of ERS messages, or a mixture of ERS messages. Those with greater gender role stereotyping and lower levels of emotion socialization would utilize more preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust messages or a low frequency of all ERS messages. Finally, it was hypothesized that parents with less economic strain would endorse more of all the ERS dimensions, when compared with parents who have more economic strain. This hypothesis was partially supported. Emotion socialization was not predictive of profile group membership. The measure for emotion socialization *(*PBAQ*;* Dunsmore & Karn, 2001*)* was not normed for African American samples, and obtained a lower reliability with this sample, which could contribute to its lack of significance. However, the economic strain index of "not enough money", gender socialization, and social support were all significant predictors of profile group membership.

In terms of economic strain, mothers who indicated they did not have enough money were also more likely to be in the *Unengaged* profile, when compared to the mothers in the *Early Engagers* profile. As such, this implies that the mothers in the *Early Engagers* profile were more likely to indicate having enough money. It is important to note that majority of the mothers in this sample were all considered low-income, however it is possible that the mothers in the *Early Engagers* profile were more likely to perceive that they had enough money to meet their needs. Previous studies have found that families with higher income typically engaged in more ERS strategies, particularly cultural socialization and preparation for bias (Caughy et al., 2002; Hughes et al., 2006; Dunbar et al., 2015). This is may be due to the fact that those with lower

income have less financial means to expose their children to their culture and history by attending cultural events such as museums or festivals, or purchasing culturally/race specific toys and books for their children. Irrespective of having lower socioeconomic status, it is possible that the mothers in the *Early Engagers* profile perceive that they have enough money for the things they need, and as a result are utilizing more ERS compared to those mothers in the *Unengaged* profile. Previous studies have found that mothers who perceive competence, or have greater self-efficacy, also utilize more positive parenting practices (e.g. Coleman & Karraker, 2003). As such, if the mothers in this sample perceive that they are doing an adequate job meeting their children's needs, they are also going to use positive socialization strategies such as ERS. Interestingly, the economic strain index of "can't make ends meet" was not related to ERS. The "can't make ends meet" index only contained two items, both of which attempt to capture the mother's difficulty to pay their bills. Due to much of the sample living at or below the poverty level, it could be assumed that these mothers do have difficulty paying bills, but because they also perceive that they have enough money to meet their needs, the relationship between economic strain did not negatively impact ERS.

In terms of gender socialization, mothers who indicated greater gender role stereotyping were also more likely to be in the *Unengaged* profile. This implies that mothers in the *Early Engagers* profile were less likely to hold gender role stereotyping beliefs. For this study, gender role stereotyping involved believing that sons and daughters should be raised differently related to their gender (e.g. household chores, independence, education, and future career opportunities). In terms of ERS, studies have mixed findings related to whether parents differentiate the ERS messages they use based on their child's gender. For example, a study by Brown and colleagues (2010) found that African American adolescent girls reported receiving higher levels of racial

and ethnic socialization messages than boys. Specifically, mothers used more coping specific to racism messages (preparation for bias) and African American history and ethnic pride messages (cultural socialization) with their daughters. For this study, child gender did not significantly predict profile group membership and mothers who used more ERS also reported less gender role stereotyping, reflective of some literature suggesting there are no gender differences related to ERS (e.g. Caughy et al., 2002; Frabutt et al., 2002; Hughes et al., 2006; Hughes & Chen, 1997). It is possible that with young children, African American parents are not yet distinguishing their ERS messages based on child gender. Although some literature with African American adolescents and young adults has suggested that there is a relationship between gender socialization and ERS, with African American parents acknowledging the different experiences their sons and daughters will have and thus socializing them differently (e.g. Stevenson et al., 2002; Reynolds et al., 2016; Thomas & King, 2007), it is possible that at this early developmental period, mothers are not yet concerned with the different experiences that their sons and daughters might have when they grow up. Instead, these *Early Engagers* may be focused on introducing the subject of race to their children and may incorporate more nuanced discussions based on gender as their child ages.

Finally, for social support, mothers who indicated more social support were also more likely to be in the *Unengaged* profile. This implies that those mothers who endorsed less social support were also more likely to be in the *Early Engagers* profile. There has been limited research investigating the connection between social support and ERS, however this finding contradicts previous literature. For example, one study found a relationship between high and moderate levels of kinship social support and greater ERS use (e.g. Stevenson et al., 1996), however that study used a different measure of ERS, which could contribute to the variation in

findings. A further explanation for less social support being related to membership in the *Early Engagers* profile is that mothers who feel they have less support, could be more likely to report the socialization strategies they are using, compared to those mothers who have more social support. In other words, previous literature suggests that support networks also play a vital role in socializing children (e.g. Boyd-Franklin, 2003; Pipes-McAdoo, 2002). If that is the case, mothers with greater amounts of social support may either not endorse using ERS because they rely on their support network for that form of socialization, or they may be unable to separate the ERS they use from that of their support group because of the conjoint socialization efforts. However, for those mothers with less support, they can clearly distinguish their role in the ERS process. In addition, mothers with greater social support may perceive their young children as having a larger safety net to protect them from negative racial experiences and as a result may use less ERS. In turn, those mothers with less social support may be more proactive in teaching their children how to love and protect themselves.

Socialization Profiles

In addition to exploring mother's ERS use with their young children, mothers' overall socialization strategies were also explored. For the socialization variables, it was hypothesized that there would be at least four distinct profiles. The first profile would be characterized by low levels of all socialization domains. The second profile would be high in cultural socialization, as well as high in mutual reciprocity and guided learning. The third profile would be high in preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust, as well as protection and control. Finally, the fourth profile would be high in all socialization variables. This hypothesis was partially supported. Results indicated that two profiles were derived from the data. Mothers in the first profile, *Non-Race Specific Socialization,* were characterized by all socialization variables near

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the mean. Mothers in the second profile, *Multifaceted Socialization*, were characterized by using more ERS, engaging in more family activities, utilizing more discipline strategies, and having less sensitivity when compared to those mothers in the *Non-Race Specific Socialization* profile.

Similar to the *Early Engagers* profile, the mothers in the *Multifaceted Socialization* profile represented only 4% of the total sample. Even though this is a small percentage, the socialization strategies, specifically the ERS dimensions, parental sensitivity, family activities, discipline strategies and learning materials were all significantly different from those in the *Non-Race Specific Socialization* group, suggesting that this small subgroup of mothers are using a unique combination of socialization strategies compared to the rest of the sample. With no previous literature including ERS within the five domains of socialization, these mothers provide important information into the combination of parenting strategies that African American parents use with their young children.

Referencing the five domains of socialization (Grusec & Davidov, 2010; Grusec, 2011), the mothers in the *Multifaceted Socialization* profile appear to be focusing on the mutual reciprocity, control, and group participation domains, while underutilizing the protection domain. In this study, mutual reciprocity was measured by family engagement in literacy activities. As such, the mothers in the *Multifaceted Socialization* profile prioritized engaging in teaching activities with their child, which socialization scholars have found results in greater cooperation and fewer conduct problems during the toddler and preschool years (Gardner, Ward, Burton, & Wilson, 2003; Kochanska 1997). These mothers also prioritized the control domain, which was measured in this study by the discipline strategies endorsed. The socialization literature suggests that the control domain is activated when mutual reciprocity is unable to be maintained (Grusec, 2011). As such, mothers in the *Multifaceted Socialization* profile may be alternating between

engaging in family activities that can foster a positive mother-child relationship, with utilizing discipline strategies to guide and restrict their child when necessary. The mixture of these two socialization domains could represent an authoritative parenting style, one that is characterized by bidirectional communication and firm limit setting (Baumrind, 1971). However, because these mothers are also characterized by less sensitivity, it is likely that they are utilizing an authoritarian type parenting style (Baumrind, 1971). This fits with previous studies that found that African American parents score higher on various forms of control and lower on sensitivity when compared to parents of other ethnicities (e.g. McLoyd & Smith, 2002) in order to protect their children from dangers and promote safety and survival (Kotchick & Forehand, 2002). Given the mixture in parenting styles, and the limitations of Baumrind's parenting style typology to explain this conflict (Darling & Steinberg, 1993), the mothers in the *Multifaceted Socialization* profile could fit the description of using a no-nonsense parenting style, one that previous studies found with low-income African American mothers to be characterized as high control, less sensitivity, and high warmth or family engagement (Brody, Flor, & Gibson, 1999).

In terms of the group participation domain, the mothers in the *Multifaceted Socialization* profile endorsed significantly more ERS messages than those in the *Non-Race Specific Socialization* profile. Similar to those mothers in the *Early Engagers* profile, these mothers endorsed more cultural socialization and preparation for bias messages when compared to promotion of mistrust, and more preparation for bias than cultural socialization. It appears that for this sample of mothers, incorporating other socialization strategies with ERS does not change the structure of ERS. As such, it is possible that the mothers in the *Multifaceted Socialization* profile are the same mothers in the *Early Engagers* profile and that their use of ERS is what differentiates their socialization strategies from those mothers who endorsed a lower frequency

of ERS. This aligns with previous literature that suggests that ERS is just one of the important socialization goals for African American parents (Hughes et al., 2008), and that utilizing ERS coincides with the use of other socialization strategies in predictable ways.

Taken together, the mothers in the *Multifaceted Socialization* profile appear to be utilizing a proactive form of socialization, one that aims to educate and prepare their children for the rewards and challenges that come with being an ethnic-minority. These mothers appear to be more conscious of the necessity to socialize their children to their race and ethnicity, specifically focusing on preparation for bias and cultural socialization, as well as providing their children with the necessary structure and family engagement needed to not only keep their child safe, but also facilitate mother-child bonding through engagement in literacy activities. Previous socialization studies would consider this combination of parenting practices, one that emphasizes consistent discipline and involvement in child activities to be beneficial in buffering against stressors and helping children to develop effective coping strategies (Fauber, Forehand, Thomas, & Wierson, 1990; Kotchick & Forehand, 2002). For African American families, the inclusion of ERS further helps children develop racial pride and teaches them how to cope with discrimination experiences.

Predictors of Socialization Profiles

Finally, predictors of the socialization profiles were identified. Similar to the predictors of ERS, the hypotheses related to predictors of the socialization profiles will be discussed in the following sections related to Garcia Coll's eco-cultural framework (Garcia Coll et al., 1996):

Promoting / Inhibiting Environments

It was hypothesized that those parents who live in neighborhoods with high collective socialization would endorse a high level of all socialization domains, and messages that have an

emphasis on cultural socialization, mutual reciprocity and guided learning. Those parents who live in a neighborhood with low collective socialization would endorse socialization strategies that are high in preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, protection, and control. This hypothesis was not supported, as differences in collective socialization perceptions were not predictive of profile group membership. Similar to the ERS profiles, it is possible that the lack of significance is due to the mothers in this sample rating their neighborhood relatively neutral in terms of trust and cohesion, and the measure used for collective socialization not necessarily accounting for neighbor relations in rural settings.

Adaptive Culture

It was hypothesized that parents who have experienced higher levels of discrimination would endorse a high level of all socialization domains, and socialization strategies that emphasize preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, protection, and control. This hypothesis was partially supported. There were no profiles of mothers that endorsed high levels of all socialization strategies or those that emphasized preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, protection and control in the same profile. However, discrimination was a significant predictor for those mothers in the *Multifaceted Socialization* profile. Given that mothers in this profile endorsed more ERS messages compared to those in the *Non-Race Specific Socialization* profile, this aligns with previous literature suggesting that African American parents with greater discrimination experiences transmit more ERS messages (Granberg et al., 2012; Hughes, 2003; Neblett et al., 2008; Smith et al., 2016; Thomas et al., 2010). Specifically, more discrimination experiences were related to greater preparation for bias messages, which the mothers in this study were using in greater frequency compared to the other ERS dimensions. Interestingly, discrimination experiences were not a significant predictor for profile group membership of just

ERS strategies. It is possible that with young children, mothers who have experienced discrimination strive to protect their children in other ways than simply transmitting preparation for bias messages, potentially because they believe their children are too young to discuss discrimination. These mothers are also using more discipline strategies, potentially as a means for keeping their child safe in their surroundings, and engaging with their child in literacy activities to increase their academic preparedness as an alternative means for combating discrimination. Previous literature has found a relationship between ERS, specifically cultural socialization and preparation for bias, and academic achievement (Hughes et al., 2006) suggesting that African American parents believe that in order to prepare children to overcome adversity, they need to facilitate cultural pride, preparation for discrimination, and promote academic success.

Child Characteristics

It was hypothesized that parents of girls would be more likely to use socialization strategies that emphasize cultural socialization, mutual reciprocity and guided learning, while parents of boys would more likely endorse socialization messages with an emphasis on preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, protection, and control, and high level of all socialization domains. This hypothesis was not supported, as child gender was not predictive of profile group membership. Similar to the ERS profiles, it is possible that parents are not yet diversifying their socialization strategies based on child gender.

Family Characteristics

It was hypothesized that parents who had greater social support, and endorsed less gender role stereotyping and more emotion socialization would endorse socialization strategies with an emphasis on cultural socialization, mutual reciprocity, and guided learning, and a high

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level of all socialization domains. Those with greater gender role stereotyping and endorsed lower levels of emotion socialization would utilize socialization strategies with more preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, protection, and control, or a low frequency of all socialization strategies. Finally, it was hypothesized that parents with less economic strain would endorse a higher level of all socialization domains, when compared with parents who have higher economic strain. This hypothesis was partially supported. The results suggested that the mothers who indicated not having enough money and greater gender role stereotyping were also more likely to be in the *Non-Race Specific Socialization* profile. As such, similar to the *Early Engagers*, this implies that the mothers who indicated having enough money and less gender role stereotyping were also more likely to be in the *Multifaceted Socialization* profile. As emphasized in Garcia Coll's eco-cultural framework (Garcia Coll et al., 1996) children of all ethnicities develop along a similar continuum, so it would be appropriate to assume the context that influences whether an African American parent uses ERS also influences their use of other socialization strategies.

Interestingly, social support was not a significant predictor of the *Multifaceted Socialization* profile as it was with the *Early Engagers*. Looking at the correlations, social support was only significantly correlated with the ERS variables, and was negatively related to all dimensions. It is possible that mothers in this sample, who are less satisfied with social support, are more likely to engage in ERS, but when adding the additional socialization variables, social support was not influential in predicting all of the socialization strategies used. To develop a further understanding of the mixed results, future studies should continue to explore the role of social support in influencing ERS as well as the unique combinations of socialization strategies used within African American families.

Clinical Implications

The results of this dissertation present several important implications for clinicians working with African American families. First, these findings highlight the complexity of socialization strategies utilized within African American families in order to raise well-adjusted children who have a positive understanding of their race and ethnicity. Thus, it would be important for clinicians to assess with each family their unique parenting strategies and not assume that all families socialize their children in the same manner. In other words, for clinicians to demonstrate cultural awareness and sensitivity, they should actively seek to inform themselves of the social challenges that can negatively influence the development of African American children, and as a result understand the significance of ERS within African American families. Family therapists are uniquely equipped with the ability to think systemically about the ways the larger societal context, stressed in Garcia Coll's framework (1996), has historically devalued African American lives, and necessitated the use of ERS to not only facilitate positive ethnic-racial identity development, but to ensure safety and survival.

Further, clinicians should strive to facilitate conversations about race and ethnicity in the therapy room by exploring their clients' unique experiences of racism and discrimination, and learning about the cultural traditions that they engage in with their families (Brown & Tylka, 2010). Through this cultural assessment, and utilizing a systemic lens, family therapists could work with families on integrating ERS with other positive socialization goals in a manner that will facilitate optimal family and child development. Although this study did not identify child outcomes, the combination of socialization strategies that the mothers in the *Multifaceted Socialization* profile are using are characteristic of a no-nonsense or authoritarian parenting style commonly utilized with low-income African American parents, and have been found to be

related to fewer externalizing behaviors and aggression (Deater-Deckard, Dodge, Bates, & Pettit, 1998), and greater independence and self-assertiveness (Baumrind, 1973). As such, if clinicians are aware that integrating ERS with other socialization strategies contributes to positive child outcomes, they may be more likely to encourage their African American clients to use ERS with their children.

Finally, the relationship between ERS and other socialization strategies provides an opportunity for clinicians and interventionists to incorporate ERS into parent training programs for African American families. Several scholars have attempted to culturally adapt established parenting interventions to include ERS (e.g. Brown, Blackmon, Schumacher, & Urbanski, 2012; Coard et al., 2004). This cultural adaptation is beneficial in promoting both the positive parenting practices used by all parents and the culturally relevant parenting practices used by ethnic minority parents. For example, when parents transmit ERS messages, they are utilizing basic behavioral techniques such as communication and modeling (Coard et al., 2004), which are common skills highlighted in many parent-training programs. Thus, empowering and assisting parents in their communication with their children about their culture, heritage, and potential discrimination experiences could be an instrumental adaptation to already established evidence-based parenting programs.

Limitations and Future Directions

Although this study addressed significant gaps within the ERS and child development literature and has practical implications for clinicians, it is not without limitations. First, there were limitations with the sample, which consisted of low income, rural, African American mothers, primarily residing in North Carolina. As such, these results may not be generalizable, and future research should strive to obtain a more nationally representative sample to replicate

these findings. In addition, this study only measured mothers' socialization strategies and did not include other socialization agents that may be influential to the child's development (e.g. fathers, fictive kin, etc.). For future studies, it would be important to include the role of a variety of caregivers in the socialization process. This is especially relevant given that research has shown that fathers, though often overlooked, are important socializers (e.g. Reynolds et al., 2016), and that fictive kin are also an important source of support for African American families (Chatters, Taylor, & Jayakody, 1994). Further, it would also be beneficial to continue to investigate the role of perceived social support by the socialization agents, in the ERS and overall socialization process.

Another limitation was the sole use of self-report measures of ERS, which rely on accurate representation of parenting strategies used with young children. Scholars have acknowledged limitations with self-report methods, mainly that it depends on accurate memory, complete understanding of the questions, and is at risk for response bias (e.g. Paulhus & Vazire, 2007). In order to fully capture comprehensive ERS strategies, future studies should strive to incorporate not only multiple reporters but also observation methods, such as the Africentric Home Environment Inventory (AHEI; Caughy et al., 2002) to address more covert or informal forms of ERS. Further, studies should also incorporate a measure of the fourth ERS dimension, egalitarianism or silence about race, to identify whether African American mothers with young children are purposively omitting messages about race and focusing on other socialization goals.

Finally, there were limitations with measurement. The ERS and child safety variables were highly skewed, which resulted in a log transformation method being utilized in order to address the nonnormality of the data. It is possible that these variables were skewed because the mothers in this sample did not report frequent ERS use and reported a high frequency of

behaviors used to keep their child safe. Future studies should continue to obtain socialization information from African American parents with young children to determine if the skewness is related specifically to this sample or is reflective of the general population. Further, although two profiles were derived from the data for each form of socialization, the profiles that contained mothers who utilized more ERS (*Early Engagers* and *Multifaceted Socialization*) contained only 4% of the sample. With the general "rule of thumb" being to only maintain profiles with 5% of the total sample or greater, future studies should attempt to replicate these findings with profiles containing larger sample sizes. With larger sample sizes, studies may have more power to detect additional profiles and/or more significant predictors of profile group membership.

A further measurement limitation was each time point that the variables were measured. Due to the variability in terms of when each variable was measured, for this study, the predictor variables measured at 24 months and the socialization variables at 36 months were utilized. Even though the measures were asked at varying time points and longitudinal effects can be implied, the inability to control for previous time points makes this study cross-sectional. Further, due to the cross-sectional nature of this study, we cannot infer the exact order that these processes occur. For example, these findings could be reversed in that mothers in the *Multifaceted Socialization* profile also perceive greater discrimination, instead of discrimination experiences predicting the socialization strategies used. However, it is also plausible that these processes are reciprocal in nature, such that mother's socialization strategies are influenced by the discrimination experiences they have and in turn, their greater use of socialization strategies to protect their children influences their own perception of future discrimination experiences. As such, future studies should conduct longitudinal designs that examine the temporal order of these

variables, and investigates how socialization and predictors of socialization evolve over time as the child develops.

Finally, many of the socialization variables, both used in this study and prevalent in the extant literature, were developed and standardized with European American, middle-class samples. As such, given that many of the measures historically have not been validated with African American samples, there are potential limitations when generalizing these results. Although all of the variables in this study demonstrated acceptable reliability, studies have suggested that measuring constructs with African American families can be complicated due to the tension that exists between cultural validity and generalizability (Tamis-LeMonda, Briggs, McClowry, & Snow, 2008). In other words, when measures have high cultural validity, they may lack generalizability due to the variability within the Black Diaspora. However, when measures have high generalizability and reliability across cultures, they have the potential to lack cultural validity. To date, a solution to this challenge has not been resolved, however future researchers should continue to seek out African Americans in the community to be involved in measurement creation to attempt to address this problem.

Conclusions

In light of these limitations, this study provides valuable information for the study of ERS and other socialization strategies used by African American mothers of young children. Due to the current racial climate in the United States, African American children are becoming more aware of racial differences and are experiencing or witnessing discrimination and violence related to race at an early age. This not only negates the misconception that young children are colorblind, but it urges literature to investigate the ways that African American parents prepare their children to navigate racial differences. This study suggests that some African American

mothers are transmitting ERS messages when their children are as young as three years old, indicating that the ERS literature should continue to explore ERS used outside of the adolescent and young adult developmental stages. In addition, this study explores the five domains of socialization and found that African American mothers use a variety of socialization strategies in conjunction with ERS. To date, many studies have investigated ERS and other socialization strategies separately, while few have explored the ways that parents integrate both messages about race and ethnicity with other socialization goals. The findings of this study support Garcia Coll's eco-cultural framework (Garcia Coll et al., 1990) in that it explored the unique and complex nature of socialization strategies that African American parents use to foster the development of their children and identified predictors of those strategies that may be particularly impactful for ethnic-minority families. This study also provided an initial foundation for the ways ERS messages might fit in as one of the five domains of socialization. Future studies should continue to explore the complexity of African American parent's socialization strategies during early childhood, along with further testing Garcia Coll's framework and identifying significant predictors of such socialization strategies. Being able to accurately portray and successfully predict parenting practices can better inform clinical work with African American families and parenting prevention and intervention programs delivered to the African American community.

APPENDIX A

IRB APPROVAL

Florida State
U N I V E R S I T Y

Office of the Vice President for Research
Human Subjects Committee
Tallahassee, Florida 32306-2742
(850) 644-8673 · FAX (850) 644-4392

APPROVAL MEMORANDUM

Date: 03/22/2016

To: Jamila Reynolds

Address:

Dept.: FAMILY & CHILD SCIENCE

From: Thomas L. Jacobson, Chair

Re: Use of Human Subjects in Research
Ethnic-Racial Socialization in Early Childhood

The application that you submitted to this office in regard to the use of human subjects in the proposal referenced above have been reviewed by the Secretary, the Chair, and two members of the Human Subjects Committee. Your project is determined to be Expedited per 45 CFR § 46.110(7) and has been approved by an expedited review process.

The Human Subjects Committee has not evaluated your proposal for scientific merit, except to weigh the risk to the human participants and the aspects of the proposal related to potential risk and benefit. This approval does not replace any departmental or other approvals, which may be required.

If you submitted a proposed consent form with your application, the approved stamped consent form is attached to this approval notice. Only the stamped version of the consent form may be used in recruiting research subjects.

If the project has not been completed by 03/21/2017 you must request a renewal of approval for continuation of the project. As a courtesy, a renewal notice will be sent to you prior to your expiration date; however, it is your responsibility as the Principal Investigator to timely request renewal of your approval from the Committee.

You are advised that any change in protocol for this project must be reviewed and approved by the Committee prior to implementation of the proposed change in the protocol. A protocol change/amendment form is required to be submitted for approval by the Committee. In addition, federal regulations require that the Principal Investigator promptly report, in writing any unanticipated problems or adverse events involving risks to research subjects or others.

By copy of this memorandum, the chairman of your department and/or your major professor is reminded that he/she is responsible for being informed concerning research projects involving human subjects in the department, and should review protocols as often as needed to insure that the project is being conducted in compliance with our institution and with DHHS regulations.

This institution has an Assurance on file with the Office for Human Research Protection. The Assurance Number is IRB00000446.

Cc: Melinda Gonzales-Backen <mgonzalesbacken@fsu.edu>, Advisor
HSC No. 2016.17640

Florida State
UNIVERSITY

Office of the Vice President For Research
Human Subjects Committee
P. O. Box 3062742
Tallahassee, Florida 32306-2742
(850) 644-8673 · FAX (850) 644-4392

RE-APPROVAL MEMORANDUM

Date: 02/01/2017

To: Jamila Reynolds▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

Address: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

Dept.:   FAMILY & CHILD SCIENCE

From: Thomas L. Jacobson, Chair

Re: Re-approval of Use of Human subjects in Research:
     Ethnic-Racial Socialization in Early Childhood

Your request to continue the research project listed above involving human subjects has been approved by the Human Subjects Committee. If your project has not been completed by 01/29/2018 , you are must request renewed approval by the Committee.

If you submitted a proposed consent form with your renewal request, the approved stamped consent form is attached to this re-approval notice. Only the stamped version of the consent form may be used in recruiting of research subjects. You are reminded that any change in protocol for this project must be reviewed and approved by the Committee prior to implementation of the proposed change in the protocol. A protocol change/amendment form is required to be submitted for approval by the Committee. In addition, federal regulations require that the Principal Investigator promptly report in writing, any unanticipated problems or adverse events involving risks to research subjects or others.

By copy of this memorandum, the Chairman of your department and/or your major professor are reminded of their responsibility for being informed concerning research projects involving human subjects in their department. They are advised to review the protocols as often as necessary to insure that the project is being conducted in compliance with our institution and with DHHS regulations.

Cc:
HSC No. 2017.20191

APPENDIX B

TABLES

Table 1. *Descriptive Statistics for Variables* (*N* = 551)

Variable	N	M	SD	Range	Skewness	Kurtosis
ERS Composite[1]	474	1.14	.243	1 – 2.7	.112	11.61
ERS – Cultural Socialization[1]	474	1.29	.473	1 – 4	2.38	6.87
ERS – Preparation for Bias[1]	474	1.07	.243	1 – 3	4.85	25.93
ERS – Promotion of Mistrust[1]	474	1.05	.189	1 – 2.5	5.37	32.22
Child Safety[1]	474	4.51	.523	1 – 5	3.06	11.61
Sensitivity and Responsiveness	453	2.57	.914	1 – 5	.115	-.754
Family Activity	474	4.01	.591	1 – 5	-.936	1.75
Discipline	460	.433	.854	0 – 3	1.95	2.67
Learning Materials	459	5.13	1.79	0 – 7	-.974	.285
Neighborhood	442	8.02	3.72	0 – 14	-.069	-1.09
Discrimination	449	1.57	.587	1 – 3.85	1.14	.834
"Can't Make Ends Meet" Index	478	2.60	1.06	1 – 5	.647	-.384
"Not Enough Money" Index	478	2.17	.677	1 – 4	.488	.532
Gender Roles	471	3.21	.637	1 – 4	-.706	.527
Emotion Beliefs	470	4.14	.418	2.67 – 5.33	-.045	.128
Social Support	475	3.42	.536	1.08 – 4	-.763	.815

[1]These variables have been transformed to obtain normal skewness and kurtosis values.

Table 2. *Correlation Matrix for Variables of Interest* (*N* = 551)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1. ERS composite	-															
2. Cultural Socialization	.89**	-														
3. Prep for Bias	.73**	.37**	-													
4. Promotion of Mistrust	.59**	.27**	.60**	-												
5. Child Safety	.01	-.02	.07	.02	-											
6. Sensitivity/ Responsiveness	-.06	.01	-.13**	-.12**	.05	-										
7. Family Activity	.24**	.23**	.14**	.12*	-.30**	-.03	-									
8. Discipline	.12**	.05	.18**	.13**	.09	-.28**	-.01	-								
9. Learning Materials	.07	.13**	-.03	-.06	.08	.19**	.11*	-.03	-							
10. Neighborhood	.08	.09	.05	.02	-.02	.07	.06	-.08	-.04	-						
11. Discrimination	.24**	.29**	.08	.02	-.04	-.02	.07	.04	.08	-.01	-					
12. "Can't Make Ends Meet" Index	-.02	-.02	-.01	-.02	.01*	-.03	.01	.02	-.04	-.18**	.07	-				
13. "Not Enough Money" Index	-.06	-.03	-.08	-.05	.08	-.03	-.05	-.01	.17**	-.24**	.12*	.51**	-			
14. Gender Roles	-.14**	-.07	-.17**	-.17**	-.00	.18**	-.04	-.15**	.11*	.07	.13**	-.01*	-.04	-		
15. Emotion Belief	-.01	.10*	-.14**	-.16**	.01	.01	.02	-.07	.09	.15**	.11*	-.01	-.03	.32**	-	
16. Social Support	-.14**	-.11*	-.12*	-.08	-.01	.05	-.03	-.02	.02	.14**	-.14**	-.22**	-.22**	.06	.11*	-

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

Table 3. *Correlation Matrix for Variables of Interests and Covariates* (N = 551)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17. Child Gender	.08	.05	.07	.07	.02	.13**	.07	-.12**	.05	-.09*	.04	.09*	.06	.03	.02	-.09
18. Marital Status	.01	.02	-.04	.03	.02	.10*	-.05	-.05	.02	.00	-.05	.01	.02	-.03	.04	-.04
19. SES	.04	.04	.02	.02	.08	.11*	-.08	-.11*	.18**	.03	.10*	-.13**	-.13**	.12**	.08	-.01
20. State	.03	.03	.02	-.02	.00	.04	-.01	-.04	.07	.00	.15**	.03	-.01	.07	.04	-.00
21. Caregiver age	.04	.05	-.00	.01	.06	.07	-.06	-.03	.11*	.13**	.03	.03	.06	-.03	.08	.04

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$

1 = ERS composite; 2 = Cultural Socialization; 3 = Prep for bias; 4 = Promotion of Mistrust; 5 = Child Safety; 6 = Sensitivity/Responsiveness; 7 = Family Activity; 8 = Discipline; 9 = Learning Materials; 10 = Neighborhood; 11 = Discrimination; 12 = "Can't Make Ends Meet" Index; 13 = "Not Enough Money" Index; 14 = Gender Roles; 15 = Emotion Belief; 16 = Social Support

Table 4. *Correlation Matrix for Covariates* (N = 551)

	17	18	19	20	21
17. Child Gender	-				
18. Marital Status	.01	-			
19. SES	-.04	.13**	-		
20. State	-.04	-.05	.06	-	
21. Caregiver age	-.07	.26**	.17**	-.05	-

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$

Table 5. *Frequencies of ERS indicators.*

ERS indicators	*N* = 474	Percentage Endorsed (%)
Cultural Socialization	204	43%
Celebrated cultural holidays of child's racial group?	86	18.1%
Talked to child about important people or events in the history of your racial group?	118	24.9%
Taken child to places or events that reflect racial heritage?	106	22.4%
Encouraged child to read books concerning history or traditions of his/her racial group?	118	24.9%
Done or said things to encourage child to do other things to learn about the history or traditions of his/her racial group?	94	19.8%
Preparation for Bias	62	13.1%
Told child that people might try to limit him/her because of his/her race.	20	4.2%
Talked with child about the possibility that some people might treat him/her badly or unfairly because of his/her race.	34	7.2%
Told child that he/she must be better than kids from other races to get the same rewards because of his/her race.	12	2.5%
Talked to child about discrimination or prejudice against his/her racial group.	24	5.1%
Explained poor treatment of child's racial group viewed on the TV to him/her.	31	6.5%
Talked to someone else about discrimination or prejudice against child's racial group when TC was around and could hear.	29	6.1%
Promotion of Mistrust	43	9.1%
Told child not to trust kids from other racial or ethnic groups?	19	4.0%
Encouraged child to keep his/her distance from kids of a different race or ethnicity than his/hers?	7	1.5%
Warned child to be careful around kids or adults of a different race or ethnicity than his/hers?	20	4.2%
Talked to child about the negative qualities of people of different races or ethnicities than his/hers?	22	4.6%

Table 6: *ERS Profiles Fit Indices (N = 474)*

Number of Profiles	No. of free parameters	AIC	BIC	A-BIC	VLMR	Entropy
1	6	-3146.221	-3121.254	-3140.297	---	---
2	**10**	**-3952.628**	**-3911.015**	**-3942.754**	**782.649***	**0.998**
3	14	-4309.053	-4250.796	-4295.230	350.215	0.998

Note: Fit statistics for the best fitting model are in bold. *p < .05

Table 7: *Demographics and Characteristics of ERS Profiles* (*N* = 474)

	Total Sample N = 551	*Unengaged* N = 456 (96%)	*Early Engagers* N = 18 (4%)	Significance Test
ERS Profile Indicators	*M (S.D.)* or %	*M (S.E.)* or %	*M (S.E.)* or %	*F* statistic
Child Gender - Male	50.1%	50.9%	33.3%	2.13
Marital Status - Single	68.3%	67.5%	77.7%	0.30
SES – low income	94%	94.3%	88.8%	0.91
State – N.C.	93.5%	94.9%	88.8%	1.27
Parent Age	25.20 (6.30)	25.21 (.30)	25.29 (1.59)	0.00
Cultural Socialization	1.23 (1.34)	1.20 (.01)	2.01 (.04)	58.85**
Preparation for Bias	1.04 (1.14)	1.02 (.00)	2.15 (.04)	1662.30**
Promotion of Mistrust	1.04 (1.17)	1.02 (.00)	1.54 (.03)	249.70**

**p < .01

Table 8: *ERS Profiles and Predictors Fit Indices (N = 385)*

No. of Profiles	No. of free parameters	AIC	BIC	A-BIC	VLMR	Entropy
2	**28**	**-4824.836**	**-4714.145**	**-4802.986**	**909.036***	**1.00**
3	46	-5245.817	-5063.967	-5209.920	452.755	0.951

Note: Fit statistics for the best fitting model are in bold. *p < .05

Table 9: *Multinomial Logistic Regression Parameter Estimates for Covariates and ERS*

Variable	*Early Engagers* Profile as Reference Group	
	b (SE)	OR [95% CI]
Child Gender	-0.70 (.59)	0.50 [0.19, 1.31]
Marital Status	0.20 (.54)	1.22 [0.50, 2.98]
SES	-1.43 (1.01)	0.24 [0.05, 1.26]
State	-1.36 (.93)	0.26 [0.06, 1.89]
Parent Age	-0.04 (.04)	0.96 [0.90, 1.02]
Discrimination experiences	-0.78 (.43)	0.46 [0.23, 0.93]
Collective Socialization	-0.16 (.09)	0.85 [0.74, 0.98]
"Can't make Ends Meet"	0.45 (.38)	1.58 [0.85, 2.94]
"Not Enough Money"	1.01 (.53)*	2.75 [1.15, 6.59]
Gender Roles	1.13 (.56)*	3.10 [1.24, 7.74]
Emotional Socialization	1.30 (.74)	3.69 [1.09, 12.52]
Social Support	1.10 (.55)*	3.00 [3.00, 7.39]

Note: OR = Odds ratio; CI = Confidence interval. *$p < .05$

Table 10: *Socialization Profiles Fit Indices (N = 475)*

Number of Profiles	No. of free parameters	AIC	BIC	A-BIC	VLMR	Entropy
1	16	1426.438	1493.051	1442.269	---	---
2	**25**	**590.637**	**694.719**	**-585.604**	**838.682***	**0.999**
3	34	118.529	260.082	-1108.644	598.339	0.999

Note: Fit statistics for the best fitting model are in bold. *$p < .05$

Table 11: *Demographics and Characteristics of Socialization Profiles* (*N* = 475)

Socialization Profile Indicators	*N* = 551	*Non-Race Specific Socialization* *N* = 458 (96%)	*Multifaceted Socialization* *N* = 17 (4%)	Significance Test
	M (S.D.) or %	*M (S.E.)* or %	*M (S.E.)* or %	*F* statistic
Child Gender - Male	50.1%	50.6%	35.3%	1.55
Marital Status - Single	68.3%	67.2%	82.4%	0.55
SES – low income	94%	94.1%	94.1%	0.00
State – N.C.	93.5%	95.0%	88.2%	1.49
Parent Age	25.20 (6.30)	25.21 (.29)	25.41 (1.69)	0.02
Cultural Socialization	1.23 (1.34)	1.21 (.01)	2.02 (.04)	56.65**
Preparation for Bias	1.04 (1.17)	1.02 (.00)	2.18 (.02)	1650.56**
Promotion of Mistrust	1.04 (1.14)	1.02 (.00)	1.55 (.04)	249.82**
Safety	1.42 (1.32)	1.42 (.01)	1.50 (.05)	1.98
Sensitivity	2.57 (0.91)	2.60 (.04)	1.77 (.14)	13.94**
Family Activity	4.01 (0.59)	4.03 (.03)	4.47 (.12)	9.02*
Discipline	0.43 (0.85)	0.4 (.04)	1.29 (.29)	18.65**
Learning Materials	5.13 (1.79)	5.14 (.09)	4.88 (.46)	0.33

*p < .05, ** p < .01

Table 12: *Socialization Profiles and Predictors Fit Indices (N = 386)*

No. of Profiles	No. of free parameters	AIC	BIC	A-BIC	LMR	Entropy
2	**40**	**-616.922**	**-458.688**	**-585.604**	**939.616***	**0.999**
3	62	-1157.187	-911.925	-1108.644	579.840	0.963

Note: Fit statistics for the best fitting model are in bold. *p < .05*

Table 13: *Multinomial Logistic Regression Parameter Estimates for Covariates and Socialization*

Variable	*Multifaceted Socialization* Profile as Reference Group	
	b (SE)	OR [95% CI]
Child Gender	-0.53 (.60)	0.59 [0.22, 1.58]
Marital Status	0.23 (.60)	1.26 [0.47, 3.38]
SES	-.57 (1.20)	0.57 [0.08, 4.08]
State	-1.35 (.90)	0.26 [0.06, 1.14]
Parent Age	-0.05 (.04)	0.95 [0.90, 1.01]
Discrimination experiences	-0.92 (.44)*	0.40 [0.19, .082]
Collective Socialization	-0.15 (.09)	0.86 [0.74, 1.00]
"Can't make Ends Meet"	0.39 (.38)	1.48 [0.79, 2.78]
"Not Enough Money"	1.17 (.56)*	3.23 [1.28, 8.15]
Gender Roles	1.10 (.54)*	2.99 [1.22, 7.32]
Emotional Socialization	1.34 (.79)	3.84 [1.04, 14.13]
Social Support	1.02 (.55)	2.78 [1.13, 6.83]

Note: OR = Odds ratio; CI = Confidence interval. *p < .05
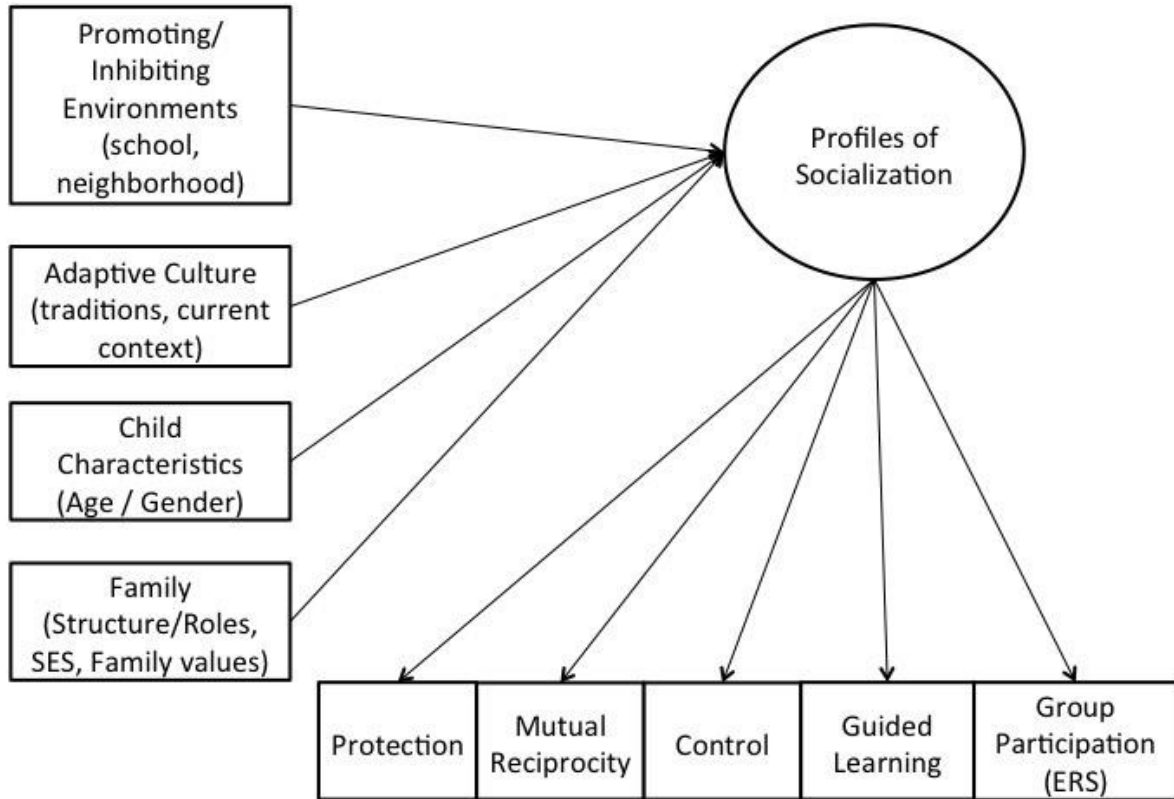
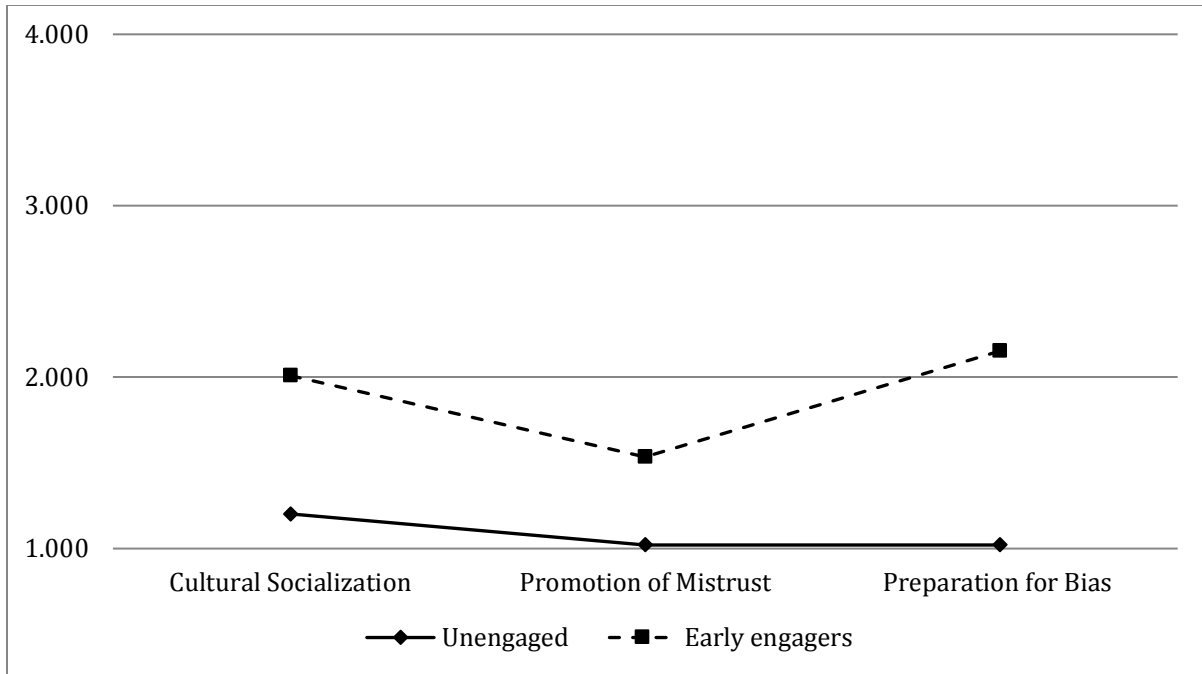*Figure 1.* Conceptual model.

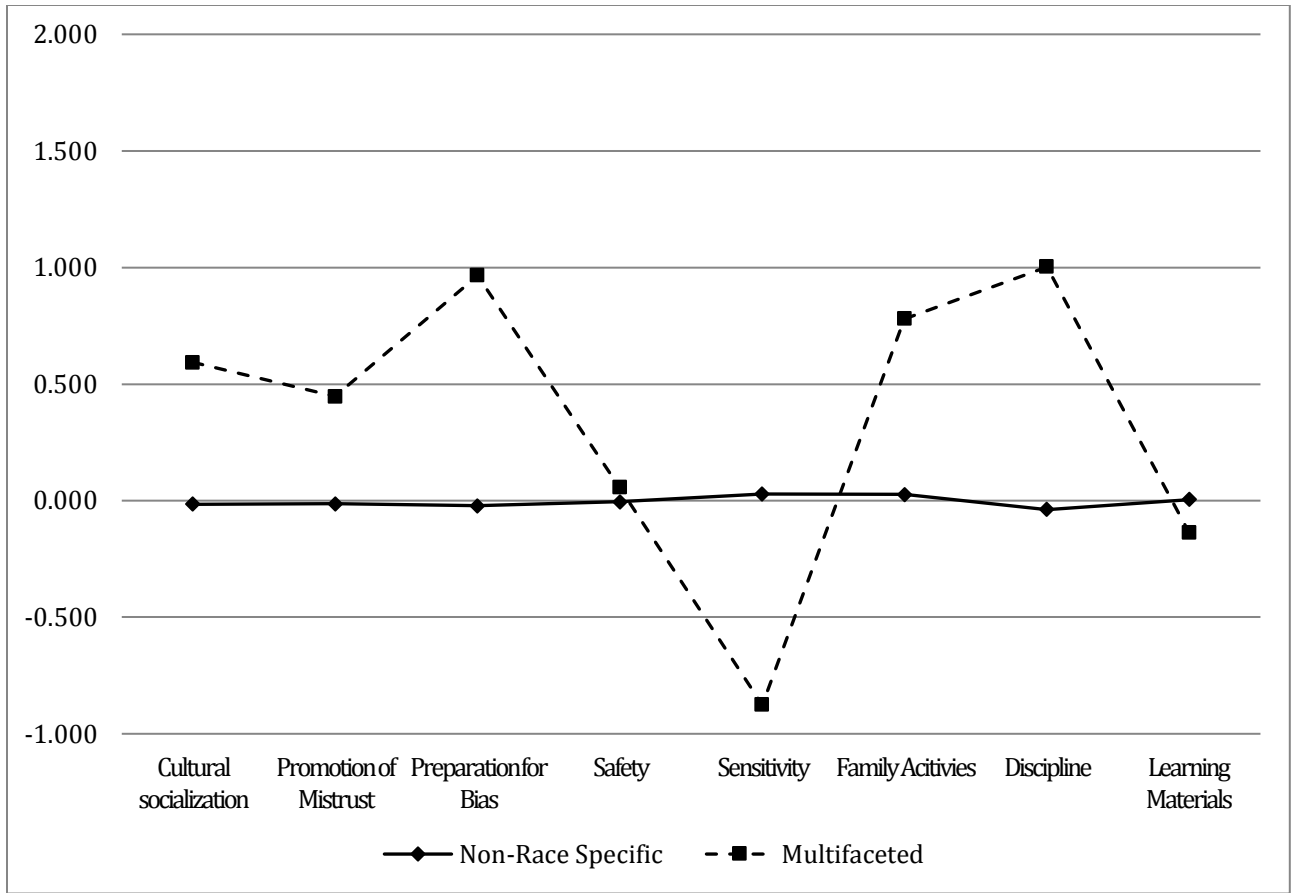*Figure 2.* Estimated means of ERS profiles.

Figure 3. Standardized means of socialization profiles indicators.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Jamila Evans Reynolds was born in Anchorage, AK and moved around frequently during her childhood. Jamila attended Trinity University in San Antonio, TX where she obtained her Bachelor's of Arts degree in 2011 in Psychology and Spanish, with a minor in Sociology. Further, Jamila attended The Family Institute at Northwestern University to complete her Masters of Science degree in Marriage and Family therapy in the spring of 2013, and she began her doctoral studies, also in Marriage and Family Therapy, at The Florida State University in the fall of 2013. While at Florida State, Jamila published and presented her work on ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) in African American families, positive parenting practices, dissemination and implementation research, and intervention adaptation. Jamila also served as a Graduate Assistant (research and teaching), and instructor of record for both in-person and online courses. In addition to her teaching and research agenda, Jamila is a registered Marriage and Family Therapy intern who has provided therapeutic services to individuals, children, couples, and families in a variety of clinical settings such as, teaching clinics, agencies, and home-based therapy. Jamila was awarded the American Association for Marriage and Family Therapy (AAMFT) Minority Doctoral Fellowship for two consecutive years (2014-2015; 2015-2016) and she has also participated in a variety of service opportunities, such as serving as a Diversity and Ethics Committee Member for the Florida Association for Marriage and Family Therapy (FAMFT), and a Board Member for the Tallahassee Association for Marriage and Family Therapy (TAMFT). Jamila plans to continue her career as a child and family therapist, while also expanding the minds of young adults as an instructor at the collegiate level.