

CHAPTER 11

How to Catch a Moonbeam: A Mixed-methods Approach to Understanding Ethnic Socialization Processes in Ethnically Diverse Families

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INTRODUCTION

For parents of color living in the United States, raising children can be a complicated process. While they hold hopes and dreams for their children, as all parents do, they do so with the awareness that their children may encounter stereotypes and discrimination that can challenge them, due to deeply rooted societal prejudices against many groups of color (Boykin & Toms, 1985). While they themselves hold close the traditions, beliefs, values, and folkways that constitute their cultural roots, they do so with the knowledge that their children may not embrace them, as they often vary from those of the dominant culture and may not be legitimized or affirmed. These issues are highly salient to parents across multiple ethnic groups (Hughes et al., 2006; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004), and the practices that result from them characterize what is commonly referred to in the scholarly literature as ethnic socialization. To define the term more precisely, ethnic socialization consists of the full range of parental practices that communicate messages about ethnicity and race to children (see Hughes, Bachman, Ruble, & Fuligni, 2006; Hughes & Chen, 1999 for an extended discussion of this definition).

Research in psychology and other disciplines regarding the nature of parents' racial socialization beliefs and practices dates back at least 25 years. Early efforts focused almost exclusively on African American parents (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Hughes & DuMont, 1993; Peters, 1985; Stevenson, 1994; Thornton, Chatters, Taylor, & Allen, 1990). In the context of scholarly debates about how to best interpret findings regarding African American children's racial preferences (out-group oriented) and self-esteem (equal to or higher than that of Whites), initial efforts sought to describe the extent to which African American parents prepared children for societal stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination, and the strategies they used to help children construct positive attitudes toward their group despite larger society's negative views. In a parallel line of inquiry, begun in the early 1990s, scholars also investigated ethnic socialization processes among Asian and Latino families. Here, studies sought to examine the emphasis parents placed on transmitting their native culture and language to their children, the strategies they employed for doing so, and the consequences of such transmission processes for youths' ethnic identity and development (Knight, Bernal, Cota, Garza, & Ocampo, 1993; Ou & McAdoo, 1993; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). Research on racial and ethnic socialization processes¹ has grown exponentially each decade since then, from a handful of studies in the mid-1980s to over 50 studies in peer review journals as of 2006. Correspondingly, our knowledge about the importance of the process to parents and of the types of messages parents transmit has increased as well.

Despite this increase, efforts to understand the nature of ethnic socialization and its consequences for youth have met with only moderate success. Many findings about its relationship to a particular outcome domain conflict (Hughes et al., 2006), and several studies have found that parents' reports on their ethnic socialization practices are only weakly, often nonsignificantly, associated with youth-reported outcomes (Hughes, 1997; Sellers, 2005). We believe that this may be partially due to the limitations of existing studies in fully or accurately assessing how ethnic socialization transpires within families. Although there have been innovations in approach—including development of observational measures of ethnic artifacts (Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002), of racial socialization during hair combing interactions (Lewis, 1999), and of parent-adolescent interactions about racial events (Bynum, Usher, & Callands, 2005)—the vast majority of studies, including our own, rely on survey-based questions from a single

¹Our perspective regarding the use of the term "ethnic" versus "racial" socialization is outlined in Hughes et al., 2006. Here, we use the term "ethnic socialization" for purposes of simplicity.

source. As we know, survey-based measures often fail to capture aspects of parents' socialization that they are unwilling to report or unaware of. Thus, although survey-based approaches are clearly useful for quantifying these processes, reliance on survey approaches alone is insufficient.

Because race is an indelible aspect of U.S. society, ethnic socialization messages are often seamlessly woven into families' habits, customs, and daily routines. They can be verbal or nonverbal, deliberate or unintended, proactive or reactive, initiated by parents or initiated by children, and part of a larger child-rearing agenda or not (Hughes et al., 2006; Hughes & Chen, 1999; Stevenson, Cameron, Herrero-Taylor, & Davis, 2002). Moreover, any particular ethnic socialization message is multi-layered and can be characterized in terms of the content of the message, the mechanism of transmission, and the beliefs and goals underlying it. Multiple socialization themes and multiple underlying goals can coexist within any particular instance of socialization. For example, teachings about discrimination and unfair treatment may also include reference to the egalitarian principle that people should be viewed as individuals rather than as part of a racial group. In this example, multiple themes are embedded in a single socialization message. The content of messages may be different from the goals underlying them, for instance, a message may focus on issues related to racial pride and heritage although the parents' goal in transmitting it is to arm children with tools for coping with discrimination. Thus, trying to empirically capture the richness, depth, and complexity that characterizes racial-ethnic socialization as it unfolds in daily life is akin to "trying to catch a moonbeam." We argue that approaches that allow researchers to both quantify the process and to examine it up close are needed before knowledge regarding its influences on youth can move forward.

In this chapter, we have several overarching goals. First, we seek to provide a broad-brush overview of research on ethnic socialization for readers with only moderate familiarity with this literature. Here, we highlight major themes that have emerged to date about the types of messages parents transmit to children, which messages are most common across ethnic groups, and sources of variation in parents' ethnic socialization beliefs and practices. This first section also includes a brief discussion of what is known about the consequences of ethnic socialization among children and adolescents. Our second goal is to describe our approach to elucidating the complexity of how the process unfolds at a family level. We present findings from a mixed-methods research project in which we have simultaneously examined parents' ethnic socialization beliefs and their practices alongside adolescents' perceptions of these, using both quantitative and qualitative data. We highlight the meaning and underlying goals of multiple types of ethnic socialization practices across

diverse ethnic groups and on understanding: (1) situations or contexts that prompt such messages, (2) how they unfold, and (3) the extent to which adolescents accurately receive the messages parents intend to transmit. Our approach allows us to see that the beliefs underlying similar socialization practices often vary considerably. Moreover, whereas parents are often effective in communicating with children about ethnic pride and heritage, they are often ineffective at communicating with children about discrimination. Children often miss or misinterpret these communications, or have knowledge about discrimination of which parents are unaware. We conclude with suggested directions for additional research in this area.

WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT ETHNIC SOCIALIZATION

Increases in the number of studies examining ethnic socialization have led to substantial increases in knowledge about the process. Advances in knowledge have been both conceptual and empirical. At the conceptual level, scholars have moved from the discussion of ethnic socialization as a unidimensional construct to making finer distinctions between different aspects of socialization (Hughes & Chen, 1999; Stevenson, 1994, 1999; Stevenson, Cameron, Herrero-Taylor, & Davis, 2002). Scholars have also examined variation in ethnic socialization across ethnic groups (Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Phinney & Chavira, 1995; Umaña-Taylor & Yazedjian, 2006), across historical time (Brown, 2006), across developmental stages (Hughes & Chen, 1997), across contexts (Caughy, Nettles, O'Campo, & Lohrfink, 2006), and across generations (Umaña-Taylor & Yazedjian, 2006).

As we have emphasized already, survey-based studies in which parents or their adolescent children are asked to report on parents' practices, attitudes, or beliefs in relation to ethnic socialization have provided much of the available information about the nature, frequency, antecedents, and consequences of ethnic socialization. We know, for example, that parents can and do transmit many different types of messages to their children. Although several typologies regarding the content of ethnic socialization have been proposed (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Stevenson, 1994, 1999; Stevenson et al., 2002), the most common themes to have emerged to date include an emphasis on cultural knowledge, history, and traditions (which we term *cultural socialization*), discussions about stereotypes, racial bias and discrimination (which we term *preparation for bias*), an emphasis on the value of diversity and equal treatment across groups (which we term *egalitarianism*), and messages that emphasize the need for wariness and mistrust of other groups (which we term *promotion of mistrust*). We also know that messages pertaining to these themes occur with different frequencies and have different antecedents and consequences. Across ethnic groups parents are more likely to report cultural socialization and egalitarianism than they are to report preparation for bias or promotion of mistrust (Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Chen, 1997, 1999; Hughes & Johnson, 2001). In our prior studies, over 90 percent of African American, Dominican, Puerto Rican, Mexican, and European American parents report cultural socialization (Hughes & Chen, 1997, 1999). In the National Survey of Black Americans (NSBA; Thornton et al., 1990), when African American parents were asked to describe "things they did to help children learn what it means to be Black," the most common answer concerned practices such as emphasizing hard work and a good education, equal treatment across groups, and

ethnic pride, whereas a much smaller percentage of participants reported teaching about discrimination or maintaining distance from Whites.

Although only a few studies include multiple ethnic groups, those that exist find ethnic group differences in the frequency of ethnic socialization (Hughes & Chen, 1999; Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). In particular, studies have documented ethnic group differences in preparation for bias that mirror societal views regarding the social status of various ethnic groups within the United States. African American parents are more likely than parents from various Latino groups to report preparation for bias, and Latino parents are, in turn, more likely to report it than White parents (Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Chen, 1999; Rivas, Hughes, & Way, in press). Promotion of mistrust is not commonly reported by parents of any racial or ethnic background (Hughes & Chen, 1997, 1999).

The field has also focused on understanding sources of individual-level variation in ethnic socialization. To date, studies have most commonly examined child and parent demographic factors and characteristics of the contexts in which parents and youth operate. Studies have found, for example, that although parents report similar levels of cultural socialization across all stages of children's development, parents of older children—early adolescents and beyond—are more likely to discuss discrimination and intergroup relations with their children than are parents of younger children (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes et al., 2006; McHale et al., 2006). This pattern likely reflects the fact that behaviors typically subsumed under measures of cultural socialization (reading ethnic books, participating in ethnic traditions) do not require children to have a sophisticated understanding of race as a social category. However, parents are unlikely to discuss the more complex concepts of discrimination and intergroup relations with young children, who evidence only a rudimentary understanding of ethnicity and race. Studies have also found that parents of girls are more likely to report cultural socialization than are parents of boys, whereas parents of boys are more likely to report preparation for bias than are parents of girls. This may reflect perceptions that females are the bearers of cultural tradition, or the fact that boys—especially ethnic minority boys—are more likely than are girls to be targets of discrimination, or both.

Parents' characteristics and experiences have also been associated with their ethnic socialization beliefs and practices. Among those that have received the most empirical attention have been socioeconomic status (SES), geographical location, ethnic identity, and prior experiences with discrimination. In existing studies, certain aspects of ethnic socialization, most notably cultural socialization, are more likely to be reported by middle SES parents than by their lower or higher SES counterparts (Caughy et al., 2002; Hughes et al., 2006). Data from the NSBA, the only study in this area to date to utilize a nationally representative sample, indicated that respondents in the Northeast were more likely to report socializing children about race than were respondents in the West, and that urban respondents were less likely to teach children about racial barriers than were rural respondents (Thornton, 1997). Stevenson (2005) and Caughy (Caughy et al., 2006) have each also documented variation in socialization according to neighborhood ethnic composition and social disorganization. In addition, parents who report greater attachment to their ethnic group report more cultural socialization practices (Hughes, 2003), and those who believe they have experienced discrimination report more preparation for bias (Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Johnson, 2001).

The literature regarding the consequences of parents' ethnic socialization for children and adolescents is not well-developed but nevertheless suggests potentially important consequences for youths' ethnic identity, skills for coping with discrimination,

and other outcomes. The most consistent finding is that adolescents of parents who emphasize their ethnic or racial group's culture, history, and heritage report more knowledge about their own ethnic group and more favorable in-group attitudes (Lee & Quintana, 2005; O'Connor, Brooks-Gunn, & Graber, 2000; Quintana & Vera, 1999; Stevenson, 1995; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004; Umaña-Taylor, Bhanot, & Shin, 2006). Studies have also found small to moderate relationships between parents' discussions with their children about discrimination and children's strategies for coping with it (Phinney & Chavira, 1995). In other domains of development, however, findings across studies are inconsistent. For instance, some studies have found that parents' socialization regarding racial barriers is associated with favorable outcomes, including higher grades and academic efficacy (Bowman & Howard, 1985), lower depression (Stevenson, 1997), increased self-esteem (Fatimilehin, 1999), and fewer behavior problems (Stevenson, Herrero-Taylor, Cameron, & Davis, 2002). Other studies, however, have found that parents' emphasis on racial barriers and adolescents' expectations for discrimination are associated with poorer academic outcomes (Marshall, 1995), lower self-esteem (Hughes, Witherspoon, Rivas, & West-bey, submitted), more external locus of control (McHale et al., 2006), more externalizing behaviors, and less effective anger management (Stevenson, 1997).

To summarize, researchers' attention to and knowledge about ethnic socialization processes has increased tremendously over the past decade. Whereas early studies were primarily descriptive, and largely conceptualized racial-ethnic socialization as a unidimensional process, more recent studies have taken a more nuanced approach to representing the range of socialization messages that parents may transmit, and their antecedents and consequences. Early studies also primarily examined ethnic socialization within African American families, while more recent studies have examined these processes across multiple ethnic groups, permitting an understanding of similarities and differences in the way such socialization operates. Studies have identified child's age and gender, parents SES and geographic location, and parents' identity and discrimination experiences as important predictors of ethnic socialization. In turn, such socialization has been associated with varied youth outcomes, most notably ethnic identity exploration and affirmation. Research on other self-system, psychosocial, and behavioral outcomes is, to date, less well-developed. The number of studies on any particular outcome is small, and findings across studies often conflict and are, in fact, noncomparable due to wide variation in conceptualization, measurement, sampling, and other methodological issues (Hughes et al., 2006).

We turn now to describing findings from a recent empirical project in which we are trying to elaborate the complexities of ethnic socialization processes within families. The initial impetus behind this work was our belief that measurement of ethnic socialization processes has been restricted, at best, and has not been able to capture important information about how the process unfolds within families, including the range of practices in which parents engage, or the beliefs and goals that underlie their practices. This is due to (a) the fact that ethnic socialization can be subtle and inadvertent (b) characteristics of researchers' approaches to conceptualizing and measuring it, and (c) difficulties parents and youth may have in accurately reporting it. Thus, our approach has been to combine quantitative survey-based measures from both parents and adolescents, which provide a birds-eye view, with data from interviews in which we probe intensively to obtain information about the micro-level, day-to-day interactions that encapsulate ethnic socialization. Our goal here, then, is both to provide substantive insights into the nature of the process and to share our approach to capturing it.

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

Our data is drawn from the Early Adolescent Cohort (EAC) study within the Center for Research on Culture, Development, and Education at New York University. The project is a longitudinal study of ethnically and socioeconomically diverse families in New York City, the goal of which is to examine parents' beliefs and their practices in three domains of development that are of central relevance during early adolescence: academics, peers, and ethnicity and race. Adolescents and their parents from six middle schools in New York City were recruited to participate in the study when the youth were in 6th grade. All of the schools begin in 6th grade and end in 8th grade, allowing us to examine changes in parents' and youths' experiences over the course of middle school.

The schools varied considerably in their ethnic composition and aggregate achievement levels. Two were ethnically homogeneous, three were not. One school contained three separate academic programs that were ethnically segregated. In addition, three of the schools had honors programs; one of these programs was predominantly White and the other two were predominantly Black and Latino. Approximately 700 adolescents from these five schools are participating in classroom administered surveys in the spring of their sixth, seventh, and eighth grade years. Approximately 200 adolescents have parents who are also participating in the study. These adolescents participate in 2-hour in-depth interviews with members of our field staff when they are in sixth and eighth grade. In these same years, their parents participate in in-depth interviews and standardized surveys. In-depth parent interviews typically take place over two sessions and last 2 to 4 hours. Fieldworkers visit parents a third time to conduct in-person surveys, which last 2 to 2.5 hours.

Each of the parent and adolescent protocols contains extensive measurement of parents' ethnic socialization beliefs and practices. In the surveys, we included the parent- and adolescent-report measures of cultural socialization, preparation for bias, egalitarianism, and promotion of mistrust that we have used in our prior work (Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Hughes et al., submitted; Rivas Hughes, & Way, in press). We also generated new measures of the salience to parents of ethnic socialization relative to other socialization goals and of parents' beliefs about the importance of these four domains of socialization. Our goal in pursuing such saturated quantitative assessment is, in part, to examine the correspondence between parents' beliefs and their practices, which are theoretically distinct, albeit interrelated (Sigel & McGillicuddy-DeLisi, 2002). That is, parents can instantiate particular beliefs in a multitude of ways, and parents who hold similar beliefs may differ in the degree to which their practices are consistent with those beliefs. Thus, a comprehensive understanding of parental socialization across diverse ethnic groups requires that beliefs and practices be examined as distinct variables. All survey-based measures demonstrated adequate reliability and are described in Table 11.1. An additional goal is to examine the correspondence between parents' and children's perceptions of parents' ethnic socialization practices. For a variety of reasons, children can miss, misinterpret, ignore, or reject the socialization messages their parents intend to transmit. Thus, we are trying to understand the conditions under which parents and adolescents' perceptions are congruent or incongruent, and the relative importance of these distinct perspectives in shaping adolescent outcomes.

In our in-depth interviews, we asked parents and adolescents to talk at length about the role of race and ethnicity in their lives; the circumstances in which race and ethnicity are discussed in their families; what is said, communicated, or directly taught; beliefs underlying these communications; views about relations between groups;

Table 11.1
Description of ethnic-racial socialization measures.

Dimension	Report	Description
Cultural Socialization	Parent Beliefs	Three items ask parents how important they feel it is to enculturate their children to their ethnic group and to instill a sense of ethnic pride (Response range: 1–4; $\alpha = .76$)
	Parent Practices	Five-item measure assessed how often parents behave in ways to help enculturate their children, e.g., "done things to encourage child to learn about history and traditions" and "celebrated cultural holidays" (Response range: 0–5; $\alpha = .76$)
	Child Perceptions	Two items asked child how frequently parents try to instill sense of ethnic pride (Response range: 1–3; $r = .46$)
Preparation for Bias	Parent Beliefs	Four items assessed parents' beliefs about the importance of preparing children for future bias by making their "children aware of stereotypes" and preparing children "to cope with discrimination" (Response range: 1–4; $\alpha = .54$)
	Parent Practices	Four-item measure captured how often parents behaviorally express preparation for discrimination and future bias to their children, e.g., talking about it, explaining it, or pointing it out (Response range: 0–5; $\alpha = .76$)
	Child Perceptions	Five items that asked about the extent to which parents tell them about future discrimination, e.g., "warned about discrimination" and "warned about exclusion from play because of race" (Response range: 1–3; $\alpha = .83$)
Egalitarianism	Parent Beliefs	Three items were used to capture parents' beliefs around the importance of teaching children that race doesn't matter, e.g., how important is to "teach children all people are equal" and that they should "have friends of all races" (Response range: 1–4; $\alpha = .$)
	Parent Practices	Parents were asked to indicate how often they do things to show their children that "all people are the same" (Response range: 0–5)

(Continued)

Table 11.1

(Continued)

Dimension	Report	Description
	Child Perceptions	Four items asked children to indicate how often their parents had encouraged egalitarian views of society, such as the importance of "getting along with all races," "viewing people as equal regardless of race," and "promoting friendships with all races" (Response range: 1-3)
Promotion of Mistrust	Parent Beliefs	Two items were used to assess parents' beliefs that it is important to teach their children to be careful around people of other ethnic groups, e.g., "It is important to teach my child not to trust people who are not [my ethnic group]" (Response range: 1-4; $r = .58$)
	Parent Practices	Five-item measure assessed the frequency parents do or say "things to get child to keep her distance from kids who are not [same ethnic group]" (Response range: 0-5; $\alpha = .73$)
	Child Perceptions	Four items ask child to indicate how often parents express preference of child to socialize primarily or exclusively with same ethnic group, e.g., "disapproves of inter-race dating" (Response range: 1-3; $\alpha = .53$)

perceptions of various groups' social status; and parents' and adolescents' experiences of unfair treatment. These interviews enabled us to understand how parents and adolescents with various ethnic socialization scores on quantitative measures talk about ethnicity, race, and socialization processes; to explore in greater depth the beliefs and goals that underlie particular types of socialization practices; and to explore the extent to which adolescents and parents held similar perspectives on how ethnic socialization transpires within their families.

Here, we present findings from the first wave of data from adolescents and their parents. The sample consists of 210 parent-adolescent pairs from diverse ethnic backgrounds, including Black/African American (26 percent), Latino (23 percent), Chinese (27 percent) and White/European American (24 percent). Using survey-based and qualitative data, we begin by discussing the salience of ethnic socialization to parents relative to other socialization goals. Then, organized according to four ethnic socialization themes (cultural socialization, preparation for bias, egalitarianism, promotion of mistrust), we describe ethnic variation in parental beliefs and practices as well as correspondence between beliefs, practices, and children's reports of them.

Due to the fact that we are in the early stages of analyzing parent and youth interviews, our goal here is not to come to firm conclusions about any particular aspect of socialization, or to explain differences between beliefs and practices or between children's and parents' reports. Rather, we seek to present illustrative examples of how certain types of socialization unfold in families, to describe the variety of beliefs that underlie particular practices, and to unpack to the extent possible instances in which parents' and youths' reports are congruent or incongruent. To accomplish these objectives, we focused on a subset of transcripts that included parents and children who were consistent in their reports about each aspect of socialization according to quantitative measures (e.g., both were in the top or bottom quartile of their respective distribution), as well as those in which parents reported high socialization that their children did not perceive (e.g., parent was in the top quartile and child was in the bottom quartile). We reasoned that this approach would best enable us to extract illustrative examples from families at both ends of the spectrum of socialization within our sample. Below, we describe our findings based on this approach.

THE SALIENCE OF ETHNIC-RACIAL SOCIALIZATION TO PARENTS

In order for parents to articulate beliefs and goals regarding ethnic socialization, this domain needs to be salient to them as an aspect of child-rearing. Thus, we set the stage for our discussion by exploring the salience of ethnic socialization to parents relative to other child-rearing goals. In the survey, after ranking from most to least important a set of four ethnic socialization goals, parents ranked their top-ranked ethnic socialization goal against their top-ranked goal in three other domains, including: (1) moral and self-development (e.g., helping others, being kind, respecting adults), (2) academics (e.g., getting good grades, working hard in school), and (3) peer relationships (e.g., having friends who he wants to be with; having friends who don't get in trouble). Results from these analyses are presented in Table 11.2. The first column in the table shows the mean ranking of ethnic socialization for each ethnic group. A lower mean score indicates a higher ranking in importance. The next columns show the percentage of parents who ranked each domain of socialization (ethnicity-race, general well-being, peers, academics) first, second, third, and fourth. For African Americans, for example, 10 percent ranked ethnic socialization as most important, 30 percent ranked it as second most important, 28 percent ranked it third, and 20 percent ranked it last. Fifty-two percent of African Americans ranked general well-being first, 28 percent ranked it second, and so on.

In terms of average ranking, Table 11.2 shows that ethnic socialization was most salient to African American parents, who ranked it as significantly higher in importance than did Chinese and Latino parents, who in turn ranked it higher than did White parents. The table also shows that fully 40 percent of African American parents ranked ethnic socialization as the first or second most important domain of socialization, compared with 22 percent of Chinese parents, 18 percent of Latino parents, and 17 percent of White parents. Virtually no White parents, and only 2 percent of Latino parents, ranked ethnic socialization first, however. At the same time, African American and Chinese parents were unlikely to rank ethnic socialization as the least important domain of socialization: 20 percent of African American parents and 23 percent of Chinese parents ranked ethnic socialization as least important, compared with 42 percent of Latino and 56 percent of White parents. Thus, socializing children about race is more likely to

Table 11.2

Relative importance of ethnic-racial socialization.

Group	Rank	E-RS Mean Rank	Ethnic- racial Socialization	General		
				Well- being	Academic Issues	Peer Relationships
Black	1	2.69	10%	52%	32%	4%
	2		30%	28%	34%	6%
	3		38%	12%	24%	22%
	4		20%	6%	6%	64%
Chinese	1	2.90	9%	30%	47%	4%
	2		13%	40%	26%	11%
	3		45%	8%	8%	30%
	4		23%	13%	9%	45%
Latino	1	3.23	2%	40%	51%	7%
	2		16%	36%	31%	16%
	3		38%	16%	16%	29%
	4		42%	9%	2%	47%
White	1	3.40	0%	71%	17%	10%
	2		17%	19%	35%	27%
	3		25%	6%	31%	38%
	4		56%	2%	13%	25%

Note. E-RS = Ethnic-Racial Socialization.

be very important to African American parents than to parents from other ethnic groups, and to be unimportant to White and Latino parents. To further understand these patterns, which are consistent with findings in the literature that African Americans report more ethnic socialization than do parents from other ethnic groups (Hughes & Chen, 1999; Phinney & Chavira, 1995), we next examine parents' practices and beliefs regarding each domain of socialization assessed independently.

CULTURAL SOCIALIZATION

As we have noted already, cultural socialization encompasses most of the practices parents engage in that transmit information regarding culture, history, and heritage to children, either deliberately or implicitly (Boykin and Toms, 1985; Thornton et al., 1990; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). Much of the literature on ethnic socialization has focused on cultural socialization, especially as it relates to children's cultural knowledge and ethnic pride (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Knight, et al., 1993a; 1993b; Ou & McAdoo, 1993; Sanders Thompson, 1994; Spencer, 1983; Stevenson, 1994; Thornton et al., 1990).

Parents' and adolescents' average values on questions pertaining to cultural socialization are shown in Table 11.3, rows 1, 4, and 7. The average parent in our sample believed that cultural socialization was "somewhat" important. African American and Latino parents placed a greater importance on cultural socialization than did Chinese parents, who in turn placed a greater importance on it than did White parents. Consistent with these beliefs, the average parent had a summary score on the overall measure of cultural socialization practices that was a "3," representing that they "occasionally" engaged in these practices. Here, African American parents

reported significantly more cultural socialization than did White, Latino, or Chinese parents who, in turn, did not differ significantly from each other. Cultural socialization beliefs and practices were tightly intertwined for the sample as a whole ($r = .61$, $p < .001$), and within ethnic groups ($r = .58 - .63$, all p 's $< .001$). As shown in Table 11.2, African American and Latino youth reported that their parents engaged in significantly more cultural socialization than did Chinese youth, who in turn reported more cultural socialization than did White youth. Overall, children's reports of their parents' cultural socialization were more highly correlated with parents' reported beliefs ($r = .30$, $p < .001$) than with parents' reported practices ($r = .20$, $p < .01$), a finding that merits further research. Parents' beliefs may contribute to an ambient environment that youth would report as cultural socialization. It also seems possible that parents' cultural socialization beliefs reflect practices that parents engage in but did not report, or that our measure failed to capture certain practices.

The quantitative data provide important descriptive insights into cultural socialization beliefs and practices, particularly regarding the high level of consistency between beliefs and practices. It also provides information regarding ethnic group differences in average cultural socialization. However, focusing on average group differences masks substantial overlap between each group's distribution as well as substantial variability within groups. It also provides only limited insight into the meaning of these beliefs and practices to parents, how they transpire in families, and why parents' beliefs and practices often fail to surface in adolescents' reports. Our qualitative interviews were intended to provide insight into these issues.

We structured our in-depth interview protocols to elicit parents' practices, beliefs, and goals regarding multiple aspects of ethnicity and race (*What ethnicity/race would child say he/she is? What kinds of things do you think are important for [child] to know or understand about being [ethnicity]? What kinds of things do you do to help [child] learn or understand these things? What do you teach him/her about cultural beliefs? Traditions? History?*) as well as adolescents' perspectives on these (*What race/ethnicity are you? How important is it to you? What have your parents taught you about it? How is it talked about in your family? Tell me about the last time it came up.*). We selected transcripts according to parents' and adolescents' values on quantitative measures of each construct and examined them for parents' underlying beliefs about aspects of cultural socialization and for narratives about the practices in which parents engage.

PARENTAL CULTURAL SOCIALIZATION PRACTICES

Our first objective was to identify the practices that parents and adolescents who reported varying levels of cultural socialization described. We were most interested in concrete examples of specific times and places when cultural socialization occurred, but also attended to parents' or adolescents' descriptions of typical practices within families. As was evident from our quantitative data, many parents describe activities that connect children with their ethnic heritage. In many ways, the cultural socialization practices parents from all ethnic backgrounds described were typical of those identified in other qualitative studies, including exposing children to music, holidays, ethnic foods, language, books, and cultural figures (Coard, 2004; Hughes & Chen, 1999; Tatum, 1987). However, the specific nuances of cultural socialization varied within and across ethnic groups.

Among families in which the parent and the adolescent both reported high cultural socialization, practices were most similar among Chinese and Latino families, many

of whom were first generation immigrants to the United States. In particular, these families often alluded to special events, including family gatherings, birthday parties, religious or holiday celebrations, attending festivals (e.g., Chinese New Year, Puerto Rican or Dominican Day parade), school cultural history projects, and travel back to the homeland. Latino families were more likely than were Chinese families to include parents and adolescents who were both high on quantitative measures, such that these types of narratives, although not distinctly Latino, were most evident in interviews with Latino mothers and adolescents.

One Dominican mother, Roshelle², provides a prototypical example of identity enhancing cultural socialization that takes place through special projects and events. As background, both Roshelle and her daughter Cara indicated in their interviews that being Dominican was "very important," and both have quantitative scores in the top quartile of their respective distributions on reports of parents' cultural socialization. The family is deeply embedded in a Dominican network in the United States and travels to the Dominican Republic twice a year, at Christmas and during the summer. Following questions about how Roshelle knows that Cara would identify herself as Dominican if asked, Roshelle relays a story about a school project Cara completed about the Dominican Republic: "They had a display, you know, a showroom for the projects. And they had visitors walking around and they asked her. She said 'Oh, I'm Dominican!' and she was wearing the flag of the Dominican Republic and she was very proud." Asked about the last time something related to Cara being Dominican came up, Roshelle recalls a family celebration:

I: OK. Um, Can you tell me about the last time something related to Cara being Dominican came up? So, I know about the school project. Has there been another time when something else came up more recent than that?

R: Well, maybe, um, when we had a baby shower. Because, yeah, at the party everybody was Dominican. So, she didn't have any other choice than to, you know, act Dominican. So she was dancing Meringue, she was doing this and doing that, so, I think she felt very Dominican that day, when we had the baby shower.

It is clear from Roshelle's other comments that she identifies certain behaviors, such as eating late and family card games, as essentially Dominican. She states that Dominican culture is "in her blood" and makes numerous references to feeling Dominican when she is "with her people." Cara also speaks with excitement about biannual trips to the Dominican Republic to visit family and friends, and numerous family gatherings, as times when she feels especially Dominican.

A second form of cultural socialization is that which is deeply embedded in the everyday practices or traditions inherent in being an ethnic group member, the form that Umaña-Taylor and Fine (2004) term *covert ethnic socialization*. It includes everyday food preparation and meals, native language use, music, dancing, conversation, media use, and the like. As with special celebrations, this form of socialization is often unintentional and is not inherently tied to a cultural socialization agenda. Further, although participation in these cultural practices would clearly mark a child as being an ethnic group member, it is equally evident in families who report high and low levels of cultural socialization.

²Pseudonyms are used in place of actual names throughout.

Mae, born in Fujhou in the Fujian Province in China, and her daughter Michelle, born in the United States, both have high values on quantitative measures of cultural socialization. However, neither of their descriptions of the meaning of their Chinese ethnicity contain reference to major celebrations or holidays. It does, however, contain references to everyday practices that she views as being uniquely Chinese. Indeed, Mae states that her family's daily routines and way of living are thoroughly Chinese. She stresses, "I feel I'm Chinese both when I'm out and when I'm home. We just inherit everything from China." A specific example, one that appeared frequently in the responses of Chinese mothers to questions about Chinese cultural practices, is in her description of family meal time. Mae says:

R: Our family is very accustomed to the Chinese way. Most of the time we all eat breakfast together. After we finish, we go to work. My husband rarely brings food to work. I usually cook something and he'll go after he eats. The only difference [from when we were in China] is we don't eat at home during lunch. We also cook at night. [Otherwise], there is no difference between [what we do here and] what we did when we were in China.

Mae assumes that her daughter Michelle identifies as "American born in China" because she speaks English, is part of the American education system, and seems to feel unfamiliarity and strangeness towards China, a feeling she counters by telling Michelle that "her face will always be Chinese wherever." Interestingly, although Michelle indicates in her interview that she does not understand what her parents try to teach her about being Chinese, she, like her mother, references Chinese meal preparations as a uniquely Chinese practice.

I: What kind of things did you learn about being Chinese when you were growing up?

R: I learned that the foods that we eat are really different from the foods that Americans eat. Like, Americans eat hotdogs, and we don't really eat that much, hotdogs. We normally just eat rice, fish, yeah.

I: What about an example of something your parents taught you about being Chinese?

R: Not really anything.

I: Nothing? What about the holidays? Did they teach you anything about the holidays?

R: No, they try to teach me, but I don't understand.

I: You don't understand? How come you don't understand?

R: 'Cuz I don't really understand the holidays. Sometimes, like Buddha's birthday, I don't really understand what's the point of that because I don't really believe in Buddha and I don't really believe in anything because you don't really see them and it's, like, I believe in scientific reasons.

Thus, in Mae's example, although little is transmitted regarding big holidays and celebrations, there is evidence that routine practices are viewed as being distinctively Chinese by both mother and daughter.

Notably, the form of cultural socialization that occurs through everyday routines and activities is also evident in the interviews of many Chinese and Latino mothers and adolescents who report low cultural socialization. For instance, Linda, a Chinese immigrant from Guanzhou, and her American-born daughter Louise both report minimal socialization about the meaning of being Chinese, and Linda places

little importance on developing Louise's Chinese identity. Yet Louise describes food shopping with her mother in Chinatown and attends Chinese school each Saturday. Linda's interview takes place in the waiting room outside of Louise's violin lesson: Most of the other mothers and youth in the waiting room are Chinese. Danielle and her mother Carol, both Puerto Rican, also score in the lowest quartile on quantitative measures of cultural socialization. Indeed, Danielle reports that "nothing is taught" and that she knows little about being Puerto Rican. Yet, she speaks in an animated tone about her love for her mother's rice and beans and fried plantains and provides vivid detail about the beaches, bicycle paths, and general lifestyle in Puerto Rico, where she spends her summers. Liz, a U.S.-born Dominican mother, conveys a similar absence of cultural socialization practices within her family. She states that she does not teach her daughter Marie anything about Dominican culture and that being Dominican is "never really an issue." In her words, "I don't even know stories or, you know, how they do [things] because I went to school here. My [own] mother didn't show me anything, you know, she didn't teach me anything." Marie confirms her mother's contention that nothing is explicitly taught: "We're here in New York so, like, we don't really talk about being Dominican." Despite this, indications of what researchers would term "cultural socialization" are evident in the field notes. Spanish music is playing when the interviewer enters the apartment, and Liz speaks Spanish when the interview is interrupted by the doorbell and the telephone.

In a few cases, observations that little cultural socialization takes place are accompanied by descriptions of vicarious socialization, that is, lessons learned from observing others. For example, Marie qualifies her statement that her family taught nothing about being Dominican with the observation that she "just saw it from other people":

I: Who'd you see it from?

R: My grandmother. She speaks Spanish to Dominicans a lot . . . to people from over there.

I: And what did you see from that, other than that she speaks Spanish?

R: That to be proud to be that, even though people like to criticize you. Just be proud.

I: And how did they show that?

R: Well, sometimes people would say stuff to my grandmother but she didn't care. She is proud to be Dominican. She doesn't care what you say.

Thus, cultural socialization that is not reported, even after explicit probing, can inadvertently take place in ways that are noted by adolescents. In addition, some adolescents are aware that they have been vicariously exposed to cultural values and beliefs even when nothing has been explicitly taught. Later, we will provide examples of other types of ethnic socialization that transpire in this manner.

A third form of cultural socialization was described almost exclusively by African American mother-adolescent pairs, and consisted of displaying ethnic art and artifacts in the home, sharing literature about important historical figures and events, and trips to ethnic museums and culturally relevant activities. A prototypical example of this type of socialization is evident in our interview with Brenda, an African American mother whose son Julian attends MS 5030. Brenda speaks extensively about her awareness of discrimination against African Americans and her desire for Julian to understand that being African American should never be viewed as a barrier to achieving his goals. When asked about the types of things she does to help Julian understand these things, she describes her efforts to instill knowledge about the contributions African Americans have made in the United States:

R: I have books for my son in his room about every Black American there ever was. You should see his room. His room has got a library in there. If you're looking for African American books—president, encyclopedia, science books, what you call it, Brittanica books—all the books that I have got for my child over the years. Cause every thing you want to know about African Americans is in these books.

Another African American mother, Suzanne, also explained that she instills in her son Michael the importance of understanding African American history. She wants Michael to be proud of being African American because "that is who he is." When asked to describe specific things she does to help Micheal feel proud she said:

R: He is surrounded by Africa in this house and he can see [himself]. Cause if he looks on TV he doesn't see [himself]. So that is why I have him read and read what he should read. He is reading *Buffalo Soldiers*. And [he said] "I don't want to read that book." I said "You got to read that book." [He said] "My teacher told me that I shouldn't be reading that book." I said, "What?" Then I found out from the teacher that he was acting like it was difficult. I said, "Don't you know that book is not difficult. That book [is] no more difficult than *Holes* that you are reading."

Michael also reported extensive exposure to books about important African American figures. Interestingly, however, he attributed much of his exposure to his teacher's efforts, rather than to those of his mother, although he acknowledges that his mother would know where to buy books. After Michael says that he learned about slavery and the civil rights movement, the interviewer asked how he earned these things. Michael said:

R: Well, it was kind'a like, in my history class. Everyday when did our read-alouds, she read us these cards about each African American, like, um, Martin Luther King, Jesse Owens, poets like Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, Malcolm X, Elijah Mohammad.

I: Everyday?

R: Yeah, everyday.

I: Do you remember some of the things you learned about like African American culture, which your family, your mom and dad [taught you]? Like the last thing you learned?

R: The last thing?

I: Mhm.

R: It was about Malcolm X. And I read his autobiography.

I: Oh you did? What did you think?

R: It was good.

In addition to exposure to books and films, African American parents and adolescents also commonly reported verbal discussions about the history of African Americans in the United States. For instance, a large number of African American adolescents, including those reporting low cultural socialization, alluded to slavery when asked what they knew about the history of African Americans in this country. In addition to having been transmitted through the school curriculum and through films, parents and other family members intentionally transmitted this knowledge. Beatrice, whose daughter Erica attends MS 1015, says that she does not place a heavy emphasis on race,

yet both she and Erica have scores in the top quartile on quantitative measures of cultural socialization. When asked about the kinds of things she does to help Erica understand about being Black, Beatrice says:

R: [I want her to understand] how much we've contributed to the world. I don't think she understands that . . . the inventions and things like that and how far we've come and how it used to be. I talk to her about that, as far as, um, how she would have never been able to go to school the way she do, and have the friends she do have because of segregation. I talk to her about that.

Erica, for her part, reports substantial socialization in her interview, but especially from her grandmother who "talks about race a lot." Regarding her parents, she reiterates the teachings that her mother described:

I: What did your parents teach you about being African American?

R: They told me what they went through when they weren't allowed to go into an all White place. Like, the Black people and the White people were separated and stuff.

I: And how did that conversation come up?

R: I don't know. She just said, "And why do you like that you're Black?"

I: She asked you that? And what did you say?

R: I told her that Black people had a hard history and I wanted to know more about that.

As a side note, Erica and her mother illustrate a pattern that is quite common in our interviews: Erica conveyed a sophisticated understanding of her background ("Black people had a hard history") that her mother is unaware of ("I don't think she understands that"). That is, many mothers assume that their children do not understand aspects of their racial history and experience that children themselves clearly articulate.

A final form of cultural socialization that was identified primarily among African American families—and one that can also be construed as a form of resistance—is evident in explicit conversations about skin color and other phenotypic characteristics. Such conversations occur both in reaction to and in preparation for discrimination or negative societal views. For instance, Erica recounts a conversation with her grandmother that is clearly intended to instill ethnic pride in response to the prevalence of negative messages about being Black. In this example, the importance of viewing all groups as being equal and of ethnic pride (cultural socialization and egalitarianism) are both conveyed in the conversation:

I: What did your grandmother tell you?

R: She says that you should respect fellow people that aren't your race too. And she said that you should just not look at skin.

I: How did that conversation come up—why were you and your grandmother talking about that?

R: Because one time my cousin said "I want to be White." And I said, "Why?" And she said, "Because they have long hair and stuff." And, I said, "Not all of them." And she said "But I still want to be that." And, my grandmother was telling us why you should be happy about who you are. And that's when she said that you should respect other people too.

Callie, an African American mother, describes a similar discussion involving skin color that is also intended to counteract negative societal images of Blacks. However, Callie's discussion is reactive to a specific incident in which the driver of an ice cream truck made a derogatory comment about her daughter's skin color. She explains the extensive efforts her family made to counteract the comment:

- R: My mother use to always tell her, "Don't worry baby. The darker berry the sweeter the juice," you know, things like that. We have to keep [it] up or, you know. So, now I don't think it bothers her anymore. But at one time it was a big thing on her.
- I: Okay and what were some of the other things that you guys did to help her overcome those feelings that she was initially having?
- R: We just complimented her on a lot of, you know, just complimented her a lot. We tried to show her that being her color was not a problem. It coulda' been a color to other people, but she should be very proud of who she [is and] what color she is. And, you know never let anybody treat you any different because of that 'cause that's ridiculous. I mean, yeah, a lot of encouragement it took.

So far, we have described a range of distinct practices that would each fall into the general category of "cultural socialization" as presently conceptualized in the literature. These practices include participation in cultural events, everyday practices (most common among Latino and Asian parents), exposure to books and films, discussions of group history (most common among African American parents), and discussion of phenotypic characteristics (also most common among African American parents). Due to the fact that our objective is to distinguish parents' actual practices from their underlying ethnic socialization beliefs and goals, we next describe parents' statements about the beliefs and goals that underlie their socialization efforts.

BELIEFS AND GOALS UNDERLYING CULTURAL SOCIALIZATION

Our objective was to extract narratives in which parents described particular beliefs and goals that underlie particular cultural socialization practices. In structuring our interview protocol and fieldworker training, we included questions and probes intended to elicit these sorts of narratives (e.g., *What is important for [child] to know or understand about being [ethnic group]? Why is it important for [child] to understand or know this?*) Not surprisingly, parents articulated a variety of beliefs and goals as they described the practices they engaged in and their philosophies on managing race relations within their families. The most common themes were self-knowledge, retention of a particular value that respondents held dear, and, among African American parents in particular, arming children with strength and resistance against negative stereotypes and discrimination.

Self Knowledge

Bernard, one of the few fathers interviewed for our study, provides a good example of a narrative about cultural socialization as an essential path towards self-knowledge and future success. Bernard was born in the Dominican Republic and immigrated to the United States 24 years ago. His sixth-grade daughter Ana is enrolled in the honors program at MS 5030. Education and upward mobility are clearly high priorities for Bernard and his former wife, Ana's mother, both of whom Ana describes as being involved in her school work "every single day." The large extended family, members of which live in close proximity in upper Manhattan, is

also clearly rooted in Dominican traditions and networks. Although Bernard ranks ethnic socialization as third in importance, behind academics (first) and moral/self development (second), both Bernard and Ana are in the upper quartile of their respective quantitative distributions on measures of cultural socialization. Language, ethnic food, music, and family activities are all mentioned in his response to questions about ethnicity. When asked what is important for Ana to know about being Dominican, Bernard frames his response in terms of the need for self knowledge in order to promote confidence that one can succeed:

I: Is it important to you that Ana says she's Dominican?

R: Well it's important for me to know that she recognize[s] [and is] respecting the background that she has because if she don't respect where she's coming from I don't think she could respect what she could become.

I: Are there things that you tell her, "These things are important about being Dominican?"

R: Well, it's important [for] you [to] have the respect, first of all, for yourself. It's important to know what you [and] your parents [are] coming from. If you have a parent that made it in another country—now its a little bit easier—but back then, it was hard just to make it and have at least two jobs and raise your kid and give them a better education and a better future. I think its important that she knows that we would—we were able to make it because we hold our culture and we never lose the respect for who we are.

Bernard appears to have communicated many of his views about the importance of cultural knowledge to Ana. Throughout her interview, Ana alludes to the principles that her father refers to in his own interview as being important for her to know. For instance, when asked what types of things she had learned about being Dominican, she refers to the importance of "pride in who you are":

I: What kinds of things did you learn while growing up about what it means to be Hispanic?

R: Well, um. Take pride in who you are and no matter what people may say or criticize, you're still going to be the same way no matter what.

I: If you had kids of your own, what kinds of things would you teach them about being Hispanic?

R: I'll teach them the tradition, like the Roman Catholic and how to really respect it and one another. And I would teach them everything my parents taught me, being polite and understanding . . . I would tell them that they should take pride and that maybe one of you may become president of our country and that, um, you will always know that your mother was the one who was teaching you all the time.

Like Dominican parents, many immigrant Chinese mothers also mention that their underlying goal in developing children's ethnic awareness is that such awareness serves as a path towards self knowledge. An example is found in the interview of Irene, who was born in Guangzhou and came to the United States 14 years ago. When asked about things that she wants her daughter Kim to learn about being Chinese, she discusses the need for her to understand her lineage and to learn about the "Chinese way." Her narrative emphasizes self-knowledge as a way of showing

respect and gratitude to parents. She says that she admires the U.S. holidays of Thanksgiving and Mother's Day because each of these "educate their children not to forget about their parents raising them." She, like Bernard, alludes to the importance of instilling knowledge about one's lineage and of China:

I: Are there things about being Chinese you really wish Kim will learn?

R: Things about being Chinese? I hope she knows that her parents are from China, and [that] China has some customs. [I want her to] know how big the country is and what it was like before. But now that she's learning Chinese, she knows a little.

I: Then what do you think she needs to know, can you give me an example?

R: Hmm, language-wise, I like that she can speak Chinese, [that she] know[s] a little about China and stuff. At least she knows where the country is because her grandma is there. I took her back twice. I took her to see the Great Wall, Yellow Mountain, and I said "China's like this," to show her places in China.

I: How did she feel?

R: After she's seen it, then she knows what it is all about. She has an impression.

I: Then do you talk to her about these things?

R: We talked a little, but she doesn't understand.

I: What did you tell her?

R: I told her about Beijing, Shanghai, big cities like Guan-Zhou. We talked about how many big cities China has, where the capitol is, [and that there are] lots of people. Mainly [I wanted] to bring her back to see, to have an impression, "So this is where my parents lived," like that. Mainly [I wanted] to let her know more things than American things, because she's [already] the learning history and geography of America.

Consistent with Irene's view that Kim "doesn't understand," Kim's interview shows little awareness of her mother's socialization efforts or of her views about the importance of understanding her lineage. Although she alludes to learning about Chinese history in Saturday Chinese school, she is unable or unwilling to articulate specific things she has learned. When asked what it means to be Chinese, she says with a giggle, "I don't know." Fairly persistent probing on the part of the field worker did not yield additional insight into her feelings about her Chinese identity.

RETENTION OF CULTURAL VALUES

A second, and distinct, goal underlying cultural socialization is parents' desire for children to retain a particular value, belief, or way of being parents' believe is important and associate with their culture. Indeed, this is among the most common goals or rationales that Chinese and Latino parents articulate, although it was also articulated by Jewish and African American parents. For instance, Chinese mothers commonly mention that it is important that their child learn about hard work, respect for elders, and thriftiness. African American parents mention issues such as respect for elders, family closeness, spirituality and religion, and soulfulness. Family closeness and altruism are among the cultural values mentioned by Latino mothers.

Roshelle introduced earlier, provide a good example of how mothers describe the importance of transmitting cultural values. In this instance, she describes feeling

connected to family as a strongly Dominican characteristic that she tries to instill in her daughter Cara:

I: So, what kinds of things do you think it's important for Cara—aside from the fact that her family is there—what other things do you think it is important for her to learn.

R: Well, um, you know, every culture has things that are negative. But, um, my family from the Dominican Republic we have, um, like we are very united, very close, you know. So that is something I would like her to take with her. It's like caring about the people and, you know, and, most Dominicans feel that way. Very caring and very supportive. And very close to our family, which is the reason why you see grown ups, 40 or 50, still who don't want to leave home. We respect our elders. And those are things I want Cara to learn and grow up with.

Indeed, Cara's interview shows traces of the value on interpersonal relationships that Roshelle holds:

I: So, what kind of things did you learn while growing up about what it means to be Dominican?

R: The language, the way that you're supposed to act, the different food we have.

I: So what ways are you supposed to act?

R: Well, you can act mean or you can act nice, but mostly you have to act nice. If you see a person next door and they ask you for help or something you help them instead of walking right past them.

I: So how do you know about it?

R: My parents told me.

Linda, a Chinese mother from the Fujian Province, similarly describes her efforts to ensure that her daughter Elaine learn the value of hard work and thriftiness, qualities that she views as being particularly Chinese. When asked what is important for her daughter to understand, she says:

R: I tell her she's Chinese. You have to be like [the] Chinese. [You] have to work hard, study hard, just—how to say this—earn. Don't just use money to buy things. If you have one dollar, don't use [it] all to buy things. [You] have to save some, a little bit.

I: You told her to save money?

R: Right, save some money. If you get fired, if your boss fires you, you have some money, not like foreigners.

I: Like who?

R: Just, sometimes, I used to work with [a particular ethnic group] people. When they have money, they use it to buy things, take from the government's some kind of fund.

I: Welfare.

R: Right. This, I say, if you have your own money, save it, don't spend it all, like that.

I: So you feel that this is different about Chinese from other people?

R: Yes.

RESISTANCE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

We mentioned earlier that a form of cultural socialization relatively distinct to African American families consists of intentional exposure to African American literature, important figures in African American history, and visiting cultural museums. Consistent with our view that these sorts of practices essentially constitute a mode of resistance to negative societal perspectives, a prevalent theme in African Americans' descriptions of their cultural socialization goals and messages is a desire for their children to understand how African Americans persevered in the struggle for racial equality within the United States and to be familiar with African American historical figures who were instrumental in the struggle. Many African American parents associate this practice with fostering a sense of ethnic identity and pride as well as a spirit of perseverance. In an excerpt we presented earlier, the mother Brenda responds to a question about things she does by saying that her son "is surrounded by Africa in this house and he can see [himself]. Cause if he looks on TV he doesn't see [himself]," implying a need to counteract the dominant images in the larger social world. Another example of this perspective is found in our interview with Bernadette, whose daughter Olivia attends MS 1015. Bernadette strongly identifies with being African American, although she is very aware of the negative stereotypes others hold about them. When asked what being African American means to her, she says: "Being African American is a beautiful thing. It has its ups and downs but I think it's a beautiful thing." Later when the fieldworker asked what is important for Olivia to know, she says:

R: I want her to always know, you know, what our history has been through. That's important for her to know, to keep her, you know, strong. I think that would keep her strong to know that our ancestors before have suffered a great deal for us to be in this world as we are now. I think that's important.

Adolescent children of mothers who articulate self-pride and resistance as an underlying goal of cultural socialization commonly echo the perspective that their mothers emphasize. Interestingly, however, as evidenced in Olivia's response to questions about what has been taught, their knowledge is sometimes incomplete and is often attributed to another source:

I: So, what kinds of things did you learn growing up about what it means to be African American?

R: That African American people went through a lot with slavery and all that, and it's really important to them because they don't have to go to slavery no more. It's the end of slavery so. . . . [answer trails off].

I: Uh huh. How did you learn about that?

R: I read books and my teachers told me.

I: You read books?

R: Yeah. And a movie that's called—what's that movie called? It's a movie about slavery.

I: Oh, you saw a movie about slavery? Okay!

R: I forgot what the movie's called. My mom knows, but I don't know.

In concluding this section, it seems important to note that although almost 25 percent of our sample is White, we rarely identified excerpts regarding cultural socialization in our interviews with White parents. Indeed, 11 of the 20 parent-adolescent pairs in which both the parent and the adolescent score in the bottom quartile on

quantitative measures of cultural socialization are White. Many White parents—especially those who were not Jewish—say that they do not discuss any cultural aspects of being White and, in fact, struggle to answer questions about its meaning or what is taught. A prototypical example is in the interviews of Marianne and her son Andrew. Here, the interviewer asked:

I: So, what kind of things do you believe are important for Andrew to understand or learn about being a Caucasian?

R: I can't answer that—

I: What kinds of things do you do or tell Andrew about being Caucasian?

R: I don't.

I: Okay. So you indicate that you really haven't had any kind of discussions around race or does he, has he ever had any questions about racial issues?

R: No. But you know, your questions raise an issue for me, which is talking about these things with my children because it's something I haven't talked about.

When parallel questions were asked of Andrew, he confirmed his mothers' account of the lack of race-related discussion in the household:

I: So what kinds of things did you learn while growing up about what it means to be White?

R: Um, I didn't, I hadn't, I um, well, when I was growing up, I had, there, I had no like idea, uh awareness of the difference between people, skin color.

I: Ok. And when did you become aware of it, of this?

R: I mean, when I started, uh mmm, well when I'm around, like um, when I was, when I started to be around more um, uh like different ethnic, ethnicities.

I: So um, how did that experience of being more aware of it, I mean, how, that teach you something about what it means to be White?

R: I mean, it didn't really, I just thought just a tiny bit more of, um, about the skin color, just a tiny bit more. And I mean it didn't affect how I thought about people.

I: Ok. What did your, what did, what are some of the issues related to being like White that are, or is ever talked about in your family or how do they come up?

R: Um, I dunno. Um, it has never been talked about.

I: Ok. What did your parents teach you about being White?

R: Um, like that is basically repetitive of the other question, I know, sorry. Uh, nothing. Nothing.

The three goals that we have discussed thus far—self-knowledge, cultural retention, and resistance were evident across many interviews with parents from varied ethnic backgrounds. We turn now to a discussion of socialization in a different area, which we term preparation for bias.

PREPARATION FOR BIAS:

Parents' efforts to promote their children's awareness of racial bias, and to prepare them to cope with prejudice and discrimination, have also been emphasized as a critical component of racial socialization. Several scholars have suggested that enabling children to navigate racial barriers and to negotiate potentially hostile social interactions are normative parenting tasks within ethnic minority families (Thornton et al., 1990; Fisher et al., 1998; Garcia Coll & Magnuson, 1997). Parents from all ethnic groups in our study had a conception of the role of race and the nature of discrimination in U.S. society. For some

parents, these conceptions were slight and did not warrant discussion or reflection. For other parents, however, race and discrimination were more connected to their daily experiences, and intergroup relations significantly influenced (whether positively or negatively) their approach to child-rearing and the extent to which they relayed information about ethnicity and race to their children.

Parents' and adolescents' average values on questions pertaining to preparation for bias are shown in Table 11.3, rows 2, 5, and 8. The mean value on parents' beliefs across all parents in the sample was 3.3, indicating that on average parents believed that preparation for bias was "somewhat important" and, comparatively speaking, they believed less strongly in its importance relative to cultural socialization ($t(201) = 9.23, p < .001$). Preparation for bias beliefs varied across ethnic groups. As seen in Table 11.3, African American parents placed the greatest importance on preparation for bias, followed by Latino, Chinese, and White parents, with differences between all groups being statistically significant. In practice, the mean value on preparation for bias was 2.1, indicating

Table 11.3
Ethnic-racial Socialization Variable Means and Standard Deviations by Ethnic Group.

Variable	Overall	Black	Latino	Chinese	White	Statistic
Parent Beliefs						
CS	3.26 (.73)	3.63 _a (.50)	3.50 _a (.49)	3.25 _a (.54)	2.63 _b (.89)	$F = 25.68^{***}$
PFB	3.29 (.71)	3.76 _a (.43)	3.36 _a (.57)	3.12 _b (.64)	2.86 _b (.82)	$F = 19.85^{***}$
EGALIT	3.51 (.51)	3.56 _a (.52)	3.68 _a (.39)	3.22 _b (.54)	3.57 _a (.45)	$F = 8.58^{***}$
PM	1.95 (.71)	1.97 (.71)	2.21 _a (.81)	2.19 _a (.59)	1.44 _b (.39)	$F = 15.45^{***}$
Parent Practices						
CS	3.06 (1.00)	3.60 _a (.98)	2.80 _b (1.09)	3.14 _b (.72)	2.61 _b (.91)	$F = 11.44^{***}$
PFB	2.08 (1.14)	3.05 _a (1.13)	1.81 _b (1.23)	1.85 _b (.78)	1.48 _b (.53)	$F = 27.48^{***}$
EGALIT	3.57 (1.14)	3.66 _a (1.23)	4.06 _a (.99)	2.84 _b (1.19)	3.73 _a (.73)	$F = 11.92^{***}$
PM	1.45 (.75)	1.48 _a (.75)	1.41 _{a,c} (.92)	1.64 _a (.73)	1.24 _{b,c} (.54)	$F = 2.52^+$
Child Perceptions						
CS	2.05 (.56)	2.27 _a (.53)	2.21 _{a,b} (.57)	1.99 _{b,c} (.50)	1.72 _c (.48)	$F = 11.39^{***}$
PFB	1.36 (.48)	1.69 _a (.58)	1.29 _b (.41)	1.30 _b (.40)	1.10 _b (.23)	$F = 17.58^{***}$
EGALIT	2.00 (.57)	2.04 _{b,c} (.60)	2.07 _{b,c} (.53)	1.80 _{a,c} (.57)	2.10 _b (.55)	$F = 3.02^*$
PM	1.24 (.39)	1.24 _{a,b} (.39)	1.27 _a (.38)	1.40 _a (.47)	1.05 _b (.15)	$F = 7.81^{***}$

Note. Standard deviations are provided in parentheses. CS = Cultural Socialization. PFB = Preparation for Bias. EGALIT = Egalitarianism. PM = Promotion of Mistrust. Means that do not share subscripts differ significantly from each other in Tukey's honestly significant difference posthoc comparisons. $d.f = 3,200$ for first 6 rows; 3,199 for rows 7 and 8; 3,197 for last 4 rows.

$^+p = .06$. $^*p \leq .05$. $^{**}p \leq .01$. $^{***}p \leq .001$.

that parents, on average, reported "rarely" engaging in preparation for bias within the past year. However, African American parents reported significantly more frequent preparation for bias in practice than did White, Chinese, and Latino parents, who did not differ significantly from each other. Consistent with this, adolescents reported very little preparation for bias from their parents, with an average value of 1.3, between "never" and "a few times." African American youth reported significantly more preparation for bias than did Chinese or Latino youth who, in turn, reported more preparation for bias than did White youth. Parents and adolescents both reported less frequent preparation for bias than cultural socialization ($t(199) = 5.08, p < .01$ and $t(202) = 7.43, p < .001$, respectively). Parents' beliefs about the importance of preparation for bias were only moderately correlated with their practices ($r = .46, p < .001$), and these correlations were higher among African American and White parents ($r = .38, p < .01$ and $.46, p < .001$, respectively) than among Chinese and Latino parents ($r = .25, p = .08$ and $.27, p = .07$, respectively). Children's perceptions of their parents' practices were more highly correlated with parents' practices ($r = .31, p < .001$) than with parents' beliefs ($r = .18, p < .05$), a pattern that is opposite from that found for cultural socialization.

Again, these quantitative data provide information that allows us to compare preparation for bias across groups and that serves as a barometer for the frequency with which it occurs. In our qualitative interviews, we sought to complement these data with information regarding the contexts in which discrimination and unfair treatment against one's own and other ethnic groups emerge as points of discussion or action within families. To ensure that we elicited such information from parents and adolescents, we explicitly asked mothers and adolescents to describe their experiences of unfair treatment and discrimination, dialogues that took place about these experiences, and what was said. As before, we began the analysis with transcripts in which both the parent and the adolescent scored in the highest or lowest quartile, or in which the parent scored high but the adolescent scored low on quantitative measures of preparation for bias. Notably, 17 of the 18 parent-adolescent pairs in which both the parent and the adolescent scored high were African American. Thus, to understand this aspect of socialization, we focused on a larger set of transcripts.

PREPARATION FOR BIAS PRACTICES

In our initial readings, we identified instances in which parents recall a particular time when they had done or said something to prepare children for racial bias, or when discrimination was evident in a situation that involved both the parent and the adolescent. Where specific instances were not apparent, we looked for evidence in parents' and adolescents' descriptive statements regarding ongoing orientations towards discrimination and unfair treatment. Our objective was to distinguish features of parents' preparation for bias practices and to examine the circumstances in which parents engage in it. For our purposes, we conceived of preparation for bias as instances when parents engaged in a particular type of behavior that they explicitly ascribed to preparing children to cope with discrimination or stereotypes.

Preparation for bias most commonly takes the form of discussions about discrimination or unfair treatment and how to cope with it that emerged in conversations initiated by either the parent or the adolescent. Consistent with prior literature that has described features of ethnic socialization more generally, these conversations are distinguishable in terms of whether they were proactive or reactive (Hughes & Chen, 1999; Stevenson, 1999). More specifically, for some parents, discussions occur in

anticipation of experiences parents expect their adolescents to have, or of skills parents believe they will need. For others, discussions about discrimination are connected to and limited to a specific incident that has already occurred rather than to an anticipatory socialization goal.

Proactive discussions about discrimination are most evident in the narratives of African American and Chinese parents. Notably, however, most parents cannot recall specific instances in which discussions have taken place; they are most likely to describe proactive discussions in terms of their general practices. An exception is found in our interview with Titiana, an African American mother of two boys. Titiana is heavily identified with being African American and, when asked, says that it means "that I have come from a long legend of people who have come through adversity and still stand strong." She and her sixth-grade son Malik both have high scores on quantitative measures of preparation for bias. Titiana is very aware of the existence of discrimination and relays the following worldview that she tries to transmit to her sons:

R: "You guys already start out with strikes against you because, one, you're African American, and two, you're male. So, the only way they [*presumably referring to Whites*] see you would be in the judicial system. People are not going to expect for you to be any more than a street hoodlum."

When asked about the last time something came up in which this was discussed, she recounts a television documentary about a prominent African American heart surgeon:

R: When we saw the, um, on HBO the, um, first, the African American who did the open heart surgery. They couldn't, they couldn't believe, yes, they couldn't half believe it. I was like, you see, they don't expect you to do anything. They just expected him to be the janitor, they didn't expect him, [*mocking what others' would say*] He's the doctor. What do you mean he's the doctor? No! They don't expect that from you. They don't think you can do anything of the sort. So you have to go and you have to work extra hard and you have to prove to yourself that "this is what I can do."

Even though Malik is in the top 25 percent of the adolescent distribution on measures of preparation for bias, he shows little awareness of his mother's emphasis on the prevalence of low expectations and the importance of hard work. Moreover, he does not recount any discussions of discrimination with his mother. In the following segment, Malik describes what he has been taught about ethnicity and race:

I: What kind of things did you learn growing up from your parents about being an African American?

R: Like . . . growing up? . . . <pause> Church.

I: About, church. Like what about church?

R: Like everybody needs God.

I: Like everybody needs God? Like religion and stuff like that?

R: Yeah. We like . . . my family will like go to church every Sunday, like, like, I did different activities and stuff.

I: Are there other things that you learned about being an African American?

R: That's it.

As with Titiana and Malik, we identified numerous instances in which parents—especially African American parents—articulate strong beliefs about the importance of preparing youth for discrimination that their adolescent do not mention. Thus, important questions arise regarding the underlying mechanisms that account for inconsistencies in parents' and adolescents' reports. As we have suggested in prior writings (Hughes et al., 2006), incongruency may be due to methodological constraints inherent in self-report measures. For instance, adolescents may be reticent to reveal conversations about discrimination or unfair treatment that they in fact recall. Alternatively, adolescents may miss, misinterpret, or reject messages that their parents intend to transmit.

Most parents could not recount a specific example of proactive preparation for bias, but many parents articulated a general orientation towards discussing discrimination with their children. Although it is difficult to identify the contexts of discussions or what prompted them when descriptions are not specific, such descriptions still provide insight into the content of preparation for bias messages. For instance, Margaret, an African American mother whose daughter Sharon attends MS 2040, is very aware of negative stereotypes others hold about African Americans. Although she says that she has not experienced discrimination personally, she believes that it is important for Sharon to know about others' views of African Americans. When asked to recall the last time she talked to Sharon about stereotypes and discrimination, she suggests that it has been an ongoing component of her socialization efforts:

R: I done talked to her already. I been talkin' to my kids since they was babies.

I: Right.

R: I been tellin' my kids things when they was in my stomach. Talkin' to them about life. So they know all about that.

I: Um hmm.

R: They know how to present themselves and all this and that. And not to let things get to them. You know, somebody call you a [n word], um, "well, I'm a beautiful [n word]." You know? I'm not gonna let them, you know, get it out of focus.

I: Um hmm.

R: You gotta stay focused.

Lian, in a similar manner, reports that her conversations with her son Tai about discrimination against Chinese are ongoing. In discussing ethnicity and race, she notes that others laugh at and degrade Chinese immigrants because they don't speak English: "We Chinese work like cows and are laughed at by people. Of course [that does not make me] feel good." The interviewer asked her to elaborate what is said to Tai about these issues:

I: Do you talk to Tai about how Chinese are discriminated against?

R: Yes, I *always* ask him to study hard.

I: You say it everyday?

R: Yes, everyday. Say study hard and get a good job. Don't let others look down upon you.

In both Margaret's and Lian's narratives, there are indications of what is taught about discrimination. Both caution their children about internalizing negative messages ("[they know] not to let things get to them," "[I tell him] don't let others look

down on you.""). It also seems evident from both descriptions that multiple discussions have taken place. For Margaret, they include directives about proper demeanor, how to cope with prejudice and discrimination, and an emphasis on racial pride. For Lian, they emphasize hard work as a strategy for overcoming discrimination.

Notably, neither of the adolescents, Sharon or Tai, indicate that they have received messages about coping with discrimination from their mothers. Here again, interesting questions remain regarding the factors that account for this incongruence, whether it be methodological (youth may be less willing to report preparation for bias than parents) or actual (youth may not hear or retain preparation for bias messages).

Importantly, some adolescents do report preparation for bias messages from their parents. For example, Luther's mother, Betty, describes in detail the many conversations she has had to prepare Luther for the discrimination and prejudice she feels he will inevitably face. For example, she talks to Luther about "cops" and "harassment," and about "what to be on the lookout for." When asked about the most important things he needed to know, she says:

R: That you have to get a good education to succeed, because where a White person might not need as much education they will be successful because they're White. They will be given more opportunities because they're White. You're not going to be given those opportunities. But if you show them how smart you are, and if you show them that you can do this job, then you have it. You always have to be better than they are. So that's what I instill in him.

Luther notices and recalls these messages. In addition to demonstrating an astute knowledge of African American historical and literary figures, and of negative images of African Americans on television and in the movies, he is also very aware of his mother's efforts to proactively teach him about how to handle discrimination:

I: So what did your parents teach you about being African American?

R: That, I need to do what I can and try to be smart in this world cause I'm going to need not only street smarts but regular smarts so I that can live in this world.

I: And, when stuff related to being African American is discussed in your family, how do they come up?

R: They [referring to his mother and brother] talk to me before, like, anything happens, any issues about me being African American happens, so I'll know what to do when it comes.

I: Can you give me an example of a time when you have had a conversation about that?

R: They told me once that, like, arguing isn't always going to be the best thing, that like, that you shouldn't retaliate, because—that you should ignore it and should always be proud of your race.

Thus, there are clearly instances in which preparation for bias messages from parents are loud, clear, and convincing enough for youth to recall and internalize them.

A final form of preparation for bias was that which occurs in the context of specific incidents or circumstances involving discrimination that required parental guidance or intervention. This type of reactive conversation is evident in interviews of parents from all ethnic groups. According to parents' and adolescents' descriptions, parents typically modeled or verbally emphasized a particular strategy for coping with a discriminatory

event. Strategies vary widely, ranging from encouraging the adolescent to ignore the event, downplaying the race-related origins of the event, and simply enabling adolescents to cope with the emotional aftermath of the event. Yvonne, an African American mother, talks about a time when her daughter Liza had been called "Blackie" by a group of Spanish girls. Although the incident angered Yvonne deeply, she explained to her daughter that "everyone in the world has been called names," that "kids are just silly," and that she needed to "brush it off and try to overlook it." Jennifer, a White mother, tells a story about one of her son Peter's friends who was beaten up in the schoolyard by two African American boys. In Jennifer's account of the incident, she encouraged Peter to think of ways in which his friend's behavior might have attributed to the event:

R: Peter's friend was saying something like, I don't know, some expression like "shizzle my fizzle," and then the kids were beating him up. Well, it turns out that that is slang for, like "kiss my ass" or something. And I don't think he knew what it meant. He was just saying it, just saying the phrase. So, I said to Peter, I gave that as an example, "Sometimes you are saying things and you do not know what they mean and people take offense and, who knows, these kids probably thought 'Look, who is this little White kid talking,'" you know. So I remind him just to be respectful, look who you are, you are a White Jewish kid.

Maria, a Puerto Rican mother whose son Juan attends a predominantly Chinese school, tells of her son being teased by other students in his classes. She, like Jennifer, encourages her son to reframe the interaction:

R: I told him it wasn't so much that he was different, you know. You are the new kid in the school and they were friends since kindergarten across the street. So you have to think about when you were at school and you had all your friends and you didn't let new kids come in. I kind of took it from that angle of where it's not that you are different, it's just that you are new. So when you come into something that's already there, it hard for you.

Emily, whose son Luke attends the honors program, recounts multiple instances in which she has helped Luke to deal with being picked on or accosted by African American youth at school and elsewhere. In the following narrative, she recalls her efforts to help him cope with a particularly painful incident in which they, together, were bullied by older African American youth:

R: On the way home the only thing I could think of, I said, "What are you feeling? Because I am really angry!" And he was kind of crying. I said, "What are the worst words you know?" And so we swore at the top of our lungs all the way home because I couldn't think of, I couldn't think my way out of this. It happened so fast I couldn't react or protect him either and it scared me. So it was, I mean, I froze, you know.

Thus, preparation for bias occurs when parents are confronted with their adolescents' experiences with prejudice and discrimination. In these cases, socialization is reactive to situations that presented themselves rather than tied to a specific prior parental belief or goal.

It seems important to note that we identified many instances in which mothers whose children describe experiences with prejudice in detail indicate that their children have no awareness of discrimination. Some of these mothers do not acknowledge the existence of discrimination or stereotypes whereas others are quite cognizant of these, but chose not to discuss them with their children. Jackie, an African American mother, says that she has never experienced discrimination, is confident that her son Troy has not experienced it, is unaware of any stereotypes about African Americans, and reports no discussions with Troy about ethnicity or race. Although Troy also states that he does not discuss discrimination with his mother, he demonstrates a keen awareness of it in his interview. When asked to describe things he dislikes about being African American, he says that "other people think we are bad and do bad things," and that "certain groups are racist against Blacks." He also indicates that being African American is salient to him when "people act scared" of him, a classic form of discrimination experienced by Black male youth. The absence of discussions with his mother or other adults about these issues means that Troy is left to his own devices to interpret these events and deal with the emotional aftermath.

Even mothers who have experienced discrimination themselves and believe that it is pervasive are sometimes unaware of their adolescent children's understanding of discrimination. For instance, one Dominican mother, Arva, is very cognizant of bias against Dominicans and, indeed, recounts three recent incidents in which she believes she has been treated unfairly because she is Dominican. However, she never talks with her daughter June about discrimination, is confident that June has never experienced it, and doubts that June "even knows what discrimination is." June, on the other hand, speaks quite eloquently about her awareness of stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination at the individual and societal level. She indicates that she appreciates attending school with other Dominicans in the predominantly Black and Latino honors program at MS 5030, but that "sometimes people at school think that Dominicans are not smart." In particular she feels that students in her class assume that she gets bad grades and will not know the answers or how to do things because she is Dominican. She also notes that some of the neighborhoods Dominicans live in are dirty and unsafe, which she believes is "bad for the culture because when other people see it they think that every Dominican is like that." She has witnessed "people yelling at a group of Dominicans for no reason" and "the police watching a group of Dominicans outside of the building because they think they are going to do something wrong." This pattern, in which mothers of adolescent children who are quite savvy about race relations in the United States assume that children understand or recognize very little, appears in interviews with parents and adolescents from all four ethnic groups.

To summarize, although mothers and adolescents report preparation for bias less often than they report cultural socialization, we identified several different forms. Most often, preparation for bias is reported in the context of parent-adolescent conversations. Some occur in anticipation of adolescents' future experiences whereas others are tied to a specific instance of discrimination. Parents tend to describe a *type* of message or conversation that transpired and have trouble providing a specific example of an instance when socialization has taken place. The difficulty parents have in pinpointing specific instances suggest that preparation for bias may be an illusive process, even for parents. Thus, although parents sense that it happens, they are less readily able to report how or when it happens. This may account for the low correspondence between parents' and children's reports about it.

BELIEFS AND GOALS: UNDERLYING PREPARATION FOR BIAS

Consistent with the finding that preparation for bias occurs relatively infrequently, parents articulate a relatively narrow set of beliefs and goals in relation to preparation for bias. Still, in our analyses thus far, we have distinguished several types, including: (1) those aimed at arming adolescents with specific tools for success; (2) those aimed at bolstering psychological resources, such as self-confidence, determination, and optimism about the future; and (3) those "in the moment" goals aimed at protecting youths' emotions, which frequently accompany unanticipated discrimination experiences.

Providing Tools for Success Beliefs about the importance of providing students with specific tools for future success are among the most common that we identified. For instance, many parents speak at length about the importance of a good education as a tool for overcoming stereotypes and discrimination, and about the need to make children aware that they must proactively take advantage of the opportunities they are afforded. In particular, preparation for bias often emanates from parents' beliefs that their children will need to compensate for negative stereotypes and low expectations through extra effort and achievement, and from assumptions that an understanding of discrimination will serve as an incentive for hard work. One mother, Isamara, states that her son Frankie can easily become another "statistic" if he does not have an informed sense of the causes and consequences of discrimination. Isamara is of African descent and self-identifies as Black and Dominican. Frankie's father is Black, and though Isamara believes that Dominican culture, food, and music are much more present in Frankie's daily life, she also talks to him about Blacks' struggles for opportunity in the United States. She states that these conversations most typically occur when she suspects that Frankie is not putting enough effort into his schoolwork. These are the issues that come to mind when Isamara is asked what she teaches Frankie about ethnicity and race:

- I: How do these conversations come about? How do you talk about these things with him?
- R: Usually, a lot of the times if he's not working to his full capacity, [I] just say, you know, "Understand why you have these opportunities, understand how you got here, and understand what will happen if you don't take advantage of the opportunities that *are* being offered to you, that you *will* end up a statistic." Usually I would say it's those times when he's not doing his best at school, or where he is being a little too defensive.
- I: What other things are important for Frankie to understand about being a person of color?
- R: Again, that he's gotta work twice as hard as anyone else. To understand how easy it can be for him to end up somewhere where he never expected to. It's not that difficult.

Consistent with cases that we have already presented, Frankie does not reference his mother's extensive efforts to provide him with extra tools to combat discrimination. When asked, he initially indicates that "nothing" is taught about discrimination or unfair treatment, although he later says that his mother teaches him to "tell her and she'll take care of it."

Whereas the importance of hard work and education are at the forefront of discussions about discrimination among many African American and Latino mothers, Chinese mothers who discuss discrimination with their adolescent children more often do so to emphasize that speaking good English and high academic achievement are the necessary tools for overcoming it. Thus, although the underlying objective—to provide tools for overcoming barriers—are similar, the specific message focused distinctly on language proficiency. Jin's response to questions about discrimination against Chinese is typical of responses that other Chinese mothers provide. She says:

R: Usually, sometimes, as a Chinese if our English is not good, even Filipino will bully us.

I: How do you know? Has this happened to you?

R: This is my own experience at work. Ten years ago, there were all kinds of people at my company, but if your English communication isn't good, they'll not think highly of you.

I: Have you ever brought these up for [your son] to know?

R: Yes.

I: Under what circumstances did you talk to him about this?

R: I told him that he has to study hard, study well, this way no one will look down on him.

I: How often do you tell him this?

R: Every now and then I bring this up. Whenever he's not in the mood [to study] I'll tell him this, and whenever his grades are bad I'll bring this up too.

Bolstering Psychological Resources A second common underlying belief among mothers who report proactive preparation for bias is that adolescents needed to be psychologically prepared to expect discrimination, and that such preparedness will prevent them from being disabled by it. Notably, this belief is unique to the African American and Latino mothers in our sample and is firmly rooted in assumptions that their child will inevitably encounter discrimination at both the institutional (e.g., in employment and mobility) and interpersonal (in interactions with others) levels, regardless of their child's future occupational or educational success. One African American mother, Naomi, speaks at length about discrimination against African Americans. When asked whether her views influence the types of things she teaches her son Matthew, she says:

R: He has to be reminded that being a Black man in this society you're not looked at as equal to your White counterparts or any other counterparts. Always be mindful of that, 'cause if you loose sight of that you'll get swallowed up into the system and before you know it you'll be coming in for a rude awakening because somebody will remind you.

Cheryl, another African American mother, gives a similar answer when asked what she talks about with her son Toby. Like Naomi, Cheryl provides numerous examples of the ways in which she believes African Americans are discriminated against and stereotyped in the United States. In the segment below, Cheryl outlines the reasons why she tries to prepare Toby for discrimination. Specifically, the interviewer has asked her to elaborate on a statement she has made regarding her worries about Toby becoming an African American man:

I: You mentioned that you worry about Toby being a Black boy who will grow to be a Black man. What are your worries specifically about him being a Black man?

R: I hear about all these things happening. My perception of White America towards Black men is that they don't care. They don't care. It's almost that you're sub-human, you're not a human really. I'm not saying it's the whole [White] race [that feels that way]. I'm just saying a lot of White America does not regard a Black man as being a man. Even if you're a doctor or a lawyer your still the "n word" that they use to call us in the day. It is implied. So I worry about the men. I worry about my son.

I: What worries you, exactly?

R: That if he's not, not educated, if he's not aware, if he doesn't know [about the nature of discrimination], if he's not prepared, he's going to get hurt, get killed, or be in jail. I don't want those bad things to happen to him.

Although not stated explicitly, both Naomi's and Cheryl's views appear to be connected to their own experiences with and observations of discrimination. This pattern is consistent with prior empirical findings that parents who report discrimination report more preparation for bias (Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Chen, 1997). Thus, like other beliefs, mothers' own beliefs about the importance of preparation for bias appear to be rooted in their own worldviews, which have been shaped both by their own experiences and by their constructions of the collective history of their racial and ethnic group.

Protecting Youth's Emotions Mothers also express varied beliefs about preferred ways of coping with discrimination, and these constitute a third class of beliefs that underlies preparation for bias. As with those underlying proactive efforts, these beliefs are embedded in mothers' views about the extent to which adolescents can control the interactions that are taking place within instances of discrimination (e.g., with relevant authorities), and the extent to which specific instances might have concrete consequences for their child. An example is found in Li's interview, as she tells of an incident in which a White boy spit on her daughter's coat. The excerpt reflects Li's belief that her daughter cannot control other people's actions and that the best way to handle these situations is to ignore them.

I: So how do you talk with her about it?

R: I told her not to care about those people, I don't know what she said to him in English. He [*the man*] did not care [*about what he had done*], and left.

I: In other words, you told her not to care about this kind of people?

R: How can you care? She is only a kid, that is an adult. You have the problem, just forget it.

I: Did you explain to her? . . .

R: I just said not to care about him, came back and washed it, and forget about it. You are not as strong as him, not as strong as him, he bullies you, and you have no right to fight back. Do you call the police? He is gone already, where can you find him? You don't know each other, you can't even recognize him, you only cross each other on the street.

Many of the instances we identified of reactive preparation for bias appear to be rooted in efforts to protect children and help them cope. Directives to ignore others' actions and attitudes, encouragement to reinterpret specific interactions, and efforts

to simply manage children's emotions are typically based on views that these instances of interpersonal discrimination will, ultimately, have few if any consequences for their adolescents' development.

Importantly, mothers who are highly aware of discrimination against their own or other groups, but chose not to discuss it with their children, also do so based on a set of beliefs about preparation for bias as a socialization goal. For some parents, the failure to discuss discrimination stems from concern that talking about discrimination will lead to animosity towards other groups. For example, the following excerpt from Anita's interview is embedded in an lengthy discussion of personal experiences with, and observation of, discrimination. When Anita is asked whether she talks with her daughter Meriam about discrimination, she explains that she wants Meriam to be able to develop relationships with people from varied ethnic backgrounds:

I: Do you ever talk to Meriam about discrimination?

R: No, no, no. I don't like that. Because, they growing up. But maybe in the future, she gonna know. But I don't want to put that in the child, though, because I want her to mix with any race, to mix with them and be nice with them and loving, and all, you know.

Implicit in the statement that "I don't want to put that in the child *because* I want her to mix" is a concern that discussing discrimination might undermine her inclination to cross racial boundaries. Allison, a White mother, expresses a similar belief as she explains the fact that she does not discuss an incident she perceives to be discriminatory as such with her daughter:

I: Has she ever been discriminated against in anyway, that you know of?

R: Um, well, maybe in terms of being picked on in the playground. She was the White girl who played on the kickball team and she was the only girl who was White. So, yes, but she didn't perceive it that way, so we didn't—I mean as parents we discussed it among ourselves but she didn't pick it up that way. She didn't feel it was about that so we didn't make a point about, "We think you were discriminated against because you were White." So, we didn't share that with her. I don't think . . . she may have overheard that in passing but certainly not to the point where we've had a conversation about it. And I think the reason that I haven't, sort of, focused on that is that I don't want to encourage her to discriminate or to assume that everyone's who's Black is going to treat her that way. In other words, it's an assumption that I'm making because I was raised with certain prejudices and things and I don't feel that she has those. So I'd rather her not be tainted with what might be an incorrect perception. Cause remember that I'm hearing about these things as stories from her and it's interesting that I'm surmising it that way, but maybe it really wasn't that.

Other parents believe that their children should learn about discrimination, but that discussions about it are premature because their children are not yet old enough to understand. In general, these mothers believe that their children are unaware of issues related to race, and should be protected from thinking about them until situations emerge that clearly require discussion. Collette's mother Brianna expresses this perspective in explaining why she does not discuss discrimination against Dominicans with Collette.

I: So have you talked about these things with Collette?

R: No, no, no, it has not come up. She doesn't know about these things. Later, she will certainly know, she will experience it [discrimination]. But I don't want her to know these things yet.

Overall, then, mothers' preparation for bias, whether proactive or reactive, appears to be based on varied underlying beliefs. Some mothers who report proactive preparation for bias, particularly African American and Chinese mothers, conceive of such socialization as a routine component of child-rearing that will provide adolescents with skills for, and an incentive to, achieve. Other mothers, especially African American and Latino mothers, view discrimination as inevitable and seek to arm children with tools for coping with its potentially damaging psychological aftermath. Still other mothers do not report proactive socialization, but find themselves having to manage their adolescent in unanticipated encounters with difficult situations involving race. This is evident among mothers from each of the four ethnic groups. Even mothers who report no preparation for bias often base their behavior on a set of beliefs about the potential consequences of introducing discrimination, or the appropriate age at which it should be introduced.

EGALITARIANISM

We use the term egalitarianism to refer to parental beliefs and practices that emanate from a desire for children to appreciate the values and experiences of all racial groups, and to notice people's individual qualities rather than their racial group membership. Researchers have consistently found that many parents either focus on egalitarian views or are silent about race. In Spencer's (1983) early studies, over half of the southern Black parents questioned reported that they taught their children to believe that all people are equal. In a retrospective study of southern Black adults (Parham & Williams, 1993), almost 30 percent of participants said that their parents had emphasized egalitarian views while they were growing up. Findings from our prior work have also documented a high prevalence of egalitarianism among parents from diverse ethnic groups (Hughes & Chen, 1999).

Average values on quantitative measures of socialization of egalitarianism for the present sample are shown in rows 3, 7, and 11 of Table 11.2. Regarding egalitarian beliefs, the table indicates that parents believe promoting the view that all people are equal was "somewhat important." Paired sample *t*-tests indicated that parents felt that egalitarianism was significantly less important than was cultural socialization [$t(204) = -4.05, p < .001$], but that it was significantly more important than was preparation for bias [$t(204) = -3.76, p < .001$] or promotion of mistrust [$t(204) = -24.93, p < .001$]. Interestingly, Chinese parents reported significantly lower beliefs in the importance of egalitarianism than did parents from other ethnic groups, who, in turn, did not differ significantly from each other. In terms of practices, Table 11.2 indicates that parents communicated egalitarian messages to their children "occasionally" to "often" according to parents' reports, and "sometimes" according to adolescents' reports. Consistent with findings for egalitarian beliefs, Chinese mothers and their adolescent children reported less frequent socialization of egalitarianism than did their Dominican, African American, or White counterparts, who did not differ from one another. Mothers reported less egalitarianism than cultural socialization [$t(203) = -5.23, p < .001$]. However, they reported more egalitarianism than preparation for bias

$t(203) = 15.01, p < .001$] or promotion of mistrust, [$t(203) = 23.46, p < .001$], as did their adolescent children, [$t(203) = 12.68, p < .001$ for adolescent reported preparation for bias; [$t(203) = 15.20, p < .001$ for adolescent reported promotion of mistrust]. Thus, overall in our quantitative data egalitarianism was the second most frequently reported type of ethnic socialization, although Chinese parents reported notably less of it and believed in its importance less strongly than did their counterparts. Although there were no clear indicators of why this was so, it may be that egalitarianism is part of a national script that the Chinese mothers in our sample, who were most likely to be recent immigrants living in ethnically homogenous Chinatown, are less familiar with.

EGALITARIAN PRACTICES

Qualitative interviews provide an opportunity to understand how egalitarian messages unfold in families, the specific forms that they take, and the overarching beliefs and values underlying such messages. Consistent with our quantitative data, most parents and adolescents refer to a general appreciation for egalitarian principles in their interviews. Parents typically mention that they value diversity and want their children to be able to relate to individuals from diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds. Likewise, most adolescents emphasize the importance of treating people as individuals and not paying attention to race, especially when asked what they would teach their own children about being a member of their ethnic group. Interestingly, however, although African American, Latino, and White parents and adolescents are quite similar in their reports of egalitarianism according to our quantitative data, in qualitative narratives they exhibit interesting differences in the actual messages they transmit.

Egalitarianism most commonly emerges as a general orientation towards openness and an acceptance of or disregard for differences. This is especially, albeit not exclusively, true of White mothers and adolescents. Mothers' openness is often reflected in claims that they do not notice race and do not use it as a basis for making life choices (e.g., about housing, friendship, activities, work). Notably, in describing their own and their children's social worlds, mothers often allude to ethnically homogenous friendship networks, neighborhoods, and workplaces. However, only rarely do they comment on the potential incongruence between the way they live their lives and the orientations towards intergroup relations that they articulate. Although some mothers acknowledge that their social worlds involve little intergroup contact, they tend to attribute this to economic differences or to structurally-based residential and occupational segregation. Carol is a White mother who lives on the upper east side of Manhattan. Both she and her son Tim espouse strong egalitarian values when asked to discuss race and ethnicity in their interviews. She and her husband choose to live in Manhattan in part because it is ethnically and culturally diverse. Although she indicates that her status as a White woman affords her access and advantages that people of color are unable to take for granted, she says that she does not discuss racial issues with her son. Moreover, her own and her sons social networks are ethnically homogenous. When asked about friendships, Carol indicates that although neither she nor Tim have friendships with people who are not White, this has more to do with shared interests and convenience than with race. In her words:

R: You see, what happens to me is that my community is really more about my child, so in school there is racial diversity and, frankly, it's pretty diverse at [the honors program]. But, I think he gravitates towards kids who share his

interests. He's interested in playing video games or sports, so—because he's looking for common overlap. He can't have play dates with people who live in the Bronx, because I can't travel up there or because he doesn't get home until 5 o'clock so it's too late to go up there. His friends are people who are within a four or five block radius, and they just happen to be White

I: So, you're saying it's more about picking people who are similar to you rather than based upon racial lines?

R: Yeah, it's not racial at all.

Thus, one way in which egalitarianism appears is in the form of strong beliefs in egalitarian principles accompanied by a general reticence towards acknowledging race as a basis for conversation or action.

A second way in which socialization of egalitarianism occurs is in the context of explicit conversations between mothers and their adolescents about egalitarian principles and values. Much like preparation for bias, some conversations are proactive and tied to a specific socialization agenda, whereas others occur in reaction to events or situations. Some mothers describe specific instances in which egalitarian principles have been transmitted whereas other mothers describe general types of conversations.

Tara, a White mother, says that she intentionally incorporates egalitarian beliefs into her conversations with her daughter Sandy. Generally, Tara appears disaffected by her White identity because of the unfair social advantages it brings at the expense of others. Although she does not mention any specific times when she has attempted to transmit egalitarian beliefs, Tara says that she welcomes opportunities for her daughter to see beyond color and to experience being a part of a minority, as opposed to constantly being in the majority. When discussing discrimination, Tara comments that U.S. society is not a land of equal opportunity for all people, and, as an example, notes with much dismay that her daughter's school is ethnically mixed at the school level but segregated within programs. Tara seems acutely aware of and equally disturbed by racial inequities in the larger society and, in recognition of them, emphasizes to Sandy that all humans are genetically similar. What is notable about Tara's efforts is that rather than focusing on the abstract idea that "all people are equal" they include a focus on concrete evidence for this idea:

R: In general, I think that's one of the things we try to explain to her [is that] we're more similar to one another, different humans, than we are to any other species. So these differences that we make such a huge deal about are nothing, they're just nothing. Nothing, genetically they're nothing, and so that I think when we can we try and emphasize that.

I: How do you do that?

R: We talk to her about evolution, about how, you know, the first [people] were all African, you know and then we scattered about and the differences are just, first of all they're very recent differences and second of all they're, you know, pretty close to meaningless in terms of anything more significant. [And] we talk about all kinds of things: stereotypes about Jews, about Arabs, about Blacks. I mean, I guess we try hard to get her to look at things, [on an] individual basis, you know what I mean.

Tara's daughter Sandy also strongly believes that race is not an important aspect of her identity and that it should not determine one's beliefs or behaviors. Like her

mother, she is aware of the negative outcomes associated with her school's segregated structure. Interestingly, as with interviews about preparation for bias, Sandy does not mention the types of detailed conversations her mother alludes to. Thus, it is not possible to know the extent to which Sandy's views originate in Tara's socialization efforts, given that such views are prominent among most adolescents. Nevertheless, Sandy's thoughts regarding race and intergroup interactions are consistent with the beliefs that dominate her mother's interview:

- I:* If somebody were to ask you, what would you say that your ethnicity is?
R: Um, American and . . . well White American.
I: Do you think it's important to you to be White and American?
R: No, I really don't care.
I: Why? Why not?
R: Because I really don't think it matters. I don't think it matters what color you are.

Black and Latino mothers, like their White counterparts, encourage a disregard for differences, yet for some this stance is rooted in the ethnic group's historical and contemporary experiences with discrimination. These mothers often use the promotion of egalitarian principles as a mechanism for instilling a sense of individual worth in their children and for teaching them that differences are not a mark of inferiority or a basis for mistreatment. Thus, among Black and Latino mothers egalitarian messages are often intertwined with preparation for bias messages.

Betty, an African American mother, immediately refers to discrimination against Blacks when asked what it means to be African American. Like many African American mothers, she reports numerous experiences with discrimination in stores and in the community at large. Although she acknowledges that people from many ethnic groups experience discrimination, she believes that African Americans "get it the worst." She reports very strong feelings that judging people on the basis of race is wrong, and in reference to the treatment African Americans receive says, "I feel it's not right to be treated like that just because you're African American. I don't think that's fair at all." When asked what she teaches her son about being African American, she mentions egalitarian values and discrimination in the same breadth:

- R:* [I say] "Jordan, never hate nobody. I don't care matter what color they is. Never hate. Because if you start hating it's going to eat you up alive." I want my son to learn everything about his nationality that he can. I want to teach him as much as I can about not to be racist and not to let nobody tell you who you are or what you are. I want my son not to ever think that his color's going to hurt him.

Edna, a Dominican mother, wants her son Mario to have a strong sense of his Dominican heritage but places a greater emphasis on his individual worth and the need for him to treat all people with respect. Throughout her interview, Edna recounts many personal and work-related experiences in which she has been vocal about the need for people to see others as individuals and to treat every person with respect and dignity. When asked specifically what she communicated to Mario, she says:

- R:* I tell him, "You're a human being."
I: Yeah? Why is [race] not important?

R: It's not important to me because, to me, I don't think that's a major factor in this world. It's just surviving. I tell him, "Yeah, remember your race and where you came from. And, don't let anybody make you feel like you're different because you're Spanish." But, I told him, "The main focus is trying to do what you have to do to survive." I tell him, "We're living in a world where there's a lot of racism going on, there's a lot of injustice stuff going on, there's a lot of thing that's hatred." And I tell him, "You just got to live with it. You can't stick in your mind, and say, 'Oh, cause I'm this and I'm Spanish, I'm gonna feel this way.' No." I tell him, "You're a human being. Everybody bleeds the same. I haven't seen purple blood. I haven't seen green blood. We all bleed the same, and we all die and we end up being in the same place." So I tell him these things.

Many of Edna's teachings are evident in Mario's interview. Not only does he express values that are consistent with egalitarian principles, but he refers explicitly to the fact that his mother teaches him about both preparation for bias and egalitarian views:

I: What kinds of things did you learn while you were growing up about what it means to be a Hispanic?

R: Well, I didn't really learn anything except, like, some people might make fun of me—some people might make fun of my ethnicity, so [my mother] told me they might say something about my ethnicity. She [my mom] told me to ignore them.

I: Did they teach you about getting along with other groups?

R: Yeah, she told me just because other people are different doesn't mean that I have to make friends with my same ethnicity—I could make friends with people of other ethnicities.

As we shall discuss, the intermingling of socialization about egalitarianism and discussions about discrimination that is evident among African American and Latino mothers appears to emanate from underlying goals that are somewhat distinct from those among White mothers. Whereas White mothers' socialization of egalitarianism is rooted primarily in a desire to promote an appreciation of diversity in their adolescent children, such socialization among Black and Latino mothers is also embedded in a desire to protect their own child's self-esteem.

A third way that socialization of egalitarianism appeared is in mothers' effort to interrupt bias that the mother notices in her adolescent child. Mothers' recollections of specific instances of such bias permit us to imagine the circumstances that might surround egalitarianism within families. For instance, Edna recounted a time when Mario mocked an interaction between a Chinese father and his son outside of the school building because the interaction was in Chinese. Edna uses this as an opportunity to increase Mario's sensitivity towards other groups and to help him see that all people have common feelings:

R: I remember in second grade, there was this Asian friend from China and his father came to pick him up from school, and he had gotten in trouble. So [the father] was reprimanding [the son] in his language. Mario was laughing because of the way their language sounded in our ears. The way it sounds,

we don't understand it cause we [speak] English. So we just [assume] that [whoever is talking is] saying something bad. So, [Mario] was laughing!

I: Mario was laughing?

R: Yeah! So I was like, "Mario, that's not nice. Why are you laughing?" He was like, "No, cause he's saying whatever, something ding ding (imitating Chinese language)!" And I was like, "You don't understand what they're saying, number one. How would you feel if you're talking in Spanish and they would laugh and say the same thing?" I was like, "That's not nice. I don't want you ever to do that again; it's not right. You don't like it when your feelings get hurt, so guess what? Other people feel the same way too." So I explained that to him.

Alyssa, an African American mother, also worries that her daughter Tanya often displays biased attitudes towards other groups, attitudes that are inconsistent with Alyssa's efforts to instill egalitarian principles. Tanya's peer group is predominantly African American, and Alyssa indicates that she occasionally catches Tanya making comments about different racial groups and about others' backgrounds. She describes the typical nature of the interactions with Tanya in which she tries to instill the idea that people should not be judged on the basis of their racial group membership:

R: She'll make statements, like general statements. And I do my best to squash that, you know. I'll step in right away and say, "You know, don't say [that]. You don't lump anybody because we don't want it done to us." And that's the rule, you know?

Finally, socialization egalitarianism is evident in mothers' practices concerning deliberate exposure to information about, or cultural products of, multiple ethnic groups. For instance, some parents mention that they intentionally decide to live in a certain neighborhood because it is ethnically diverse, that they had avoid particular schools because they are ethnically homogenous, or that they participate in multicultural activities or exposed children to information about other groups in order to foster their appreciation for diversity. As an example, Ann, a White mother, was raised in a small Midwest town where there was "one Jewish person and one Black" in her high school class. Both she and her husband were attracted to New York City because of its energy and ethnic diversity, and chose it as the place they wanted to raise their children. When asked to describe the process of deciding on a middle school for their daughter Eileen, Ann says that they intentionally ruled out one school in which the strong academic program is predominantly White:

I: Can you tell me about how you chose MS 4015 for Eileen?

R: Well, we chose it together, really. There weren't that many choices. We knew that we wanted her to go to a middle school that would challenge her academically, and she had the academic record to go to almost any of the schools where you have to qualify based on a test. In the other school we were considering, the kids were mostly White and we didn't want that. She didn't want it either. Her elementary school was very diverse ethnically, so that's what she was used to. We just felt that being in an environment with kids from all kinds of backgrounds would be a much better experience for her all around.

BELIEFS UNDERLYING EGALITARIAN PRACTICES

Most mothers situate their descriptions of their own egalitarian values, and of conversations they have with their children about them, within a larger set of beliefs or principles that guide their practices. Two overarching types of beliefs are most evident in parents' narratives: beliefs in the moral value of egalitarian principles and beliefs that egalitarian views serve an instrumental purpose.

Most evident in the transcripts are practices based on moral principles. The specific moral principles vary and include social justice values (e.g., discrimination is wrong), religious values (e.g., we're all God's children), and humanitarian values (e.g., we are all human). For example, Tana, an African American mother whose daughter Rebecca attends MS 5030, says that although she, herself, is proud of being African American, particularly in terms of identifying with those who fought for equality, she rarely discusses racial issues with Rebecca. Implicit in Tana's answers to questions about how important it is to her that Rebecca feels connected to or identifies with African Americans is the perspective that holding prejudicial attitudes is wrong:

R: How important? I really don't know. We have never discussed that, but you know what I try and tell her is that, ok, "It is important for you to mix with other people."

I: And why is it important?

R: Because she will get to know their background, you know, you are not just talking to your culture. You get to know their background you get to know what they are about; where they came from and everything like that. And then, if you get to understand and know about them, then you won't be prejudiced.

Other indications that egalitarian practices are based on moral principals are expressed in phrases such as "there's good and bad in all races," "god made us all human," and "it doesn't matter what color you are" that are echoed by numerous mothers and adolescents.

Other mothers who emphasize egalitarian views in their socialization efforts focus more on its instrumental value. For instance, many mothers indicate that their children need to have an understanding of others in order to function in ethnically diverse educational and occupational settings. Often, this perspective is accompanied by a desire for their child to maintain a strong ethnic identity as well. For instance, in the following excerpt, Betty, who we introduced in our discussion of preparation for bias, speaks about the importance to her that her son Luther develop a strong connection to other African Americans but, at the same time, be able to relate to diverse groups:

R: And how important is it to you that Luther feels connected to or, I guess, is be able to identify with other Blacks?

I: That's very important. But I also want him to be able to identify, to talk with, to be able to talk with and identify with, maybe not identify, but be able to um, get along with all kinds of people, because he's going to have to live in the world with them. He's going to have to work with other groups, you're going to have to go to school with other groups.

It seems important to note that although egalitarianism is relatively high among all groups, explicit socialization of egalitarianism is notably absent in interviews with Chinese mothers. Although some Chinese mothers express the view that race doesn't matter or that they would not object to their child having diverse friends, there are very few instances in which a Chinese mother describes specific conversations, types of conversations, or lifestyle choices in which socialization of egalitarianism is evident in practice. This finding is consistent with the findings in our quantitative data that Chinese mothers score lower than do other mothers on measures of egalitarian beliefs and practices. We plan to further explore this pattern in our future work to see if the construct of egalitarianism is statistically equivalent for Chinese as compared to other mothers, and has similar antecedents and consequences.

To summarize, reference to egalitarian beliefs and practices features prominently in parents' and adolescents' narratives about ethnicity and race. Socialization of egalitarianism is evident in parents' reluctance to make race salient to their children or use it as a basis for life choices, in conversations that adolescents and parents report, in mothers' efforts to interrupt their adolescents' expression of bias, and in efforts to expose adolescents to a diversity of ethnic people, practices, and places. Although egalitarianism is relatively high overall, the precise nature of mothers' messages differs slightly across groups. Among White mothers, egalitarianism is often intended to promote appreciation of all individuals, which is only sometimes its sole purpose among African American and Latino mothers. In the later cases, many mothers show a pattern in which socialization of egalitarianism is intimately intertwined with preparation for bias, which suggests to us that in addition to promoting respect for all people, socialization of egalitarianism among African American and Latino mothers is also intended to promote adolescents' respect for themselves and their group. Among Chinese mothers, we find little evidence that socialization of egalitarianism takes place, although some Chinese mothers and adolescents express egalitarian values, a finding that merits replication and additional study.

PROMOTION OF MISTRUST

In our prior work, we use the term *promotion of mistrust* to refer to the transmission from parents to their children of cautions and warnings about interactions with individuals from particular ethnic and racial groups. This aspect of ethnic socialization has received only limited attention in the research literature, perhaps because it has been evident among a small minority of families. In the work of Thornton et al. (1990), only 3 percent of respondents indicated that they had emphasized caution and mistrust in their socialization efforts. Likewise, in our own prior work, promotion of mistrust has been reported by fewer than 10 percent of parents across multiple studies (Hughes & Chen, 1997; 1999). However, we believe that it is especially important for researchers to identify the ways that mistrust is transmitted within families, because it has potentially damaging consequences for individuals, communities, and for society at large. In particular, prior studies suggest that mistrust may prompt youth to develop an oppositional identity and to disengage from mainstream institutions and endeavors (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Biafora et al., 1993).

Mean values on our quantitative measures of practices and beliefs regarding promotion of mistrust are shown in Table 11.2, rows 4, 8, and 12. Parents in our sample had low scores on measures of beliefs about its importance, with average values of

1.95 indicating that it was "not very important," on average. Mothers, overall, placed significantly less importance on promotion of mistrust than on any other dimensions of ethnic socialization, and White mothers place significantly less importance on it than did African American, Latino, or Chinese mothers. In terms of practices, mothers and their adolescent children both reported minimal promotion of mistrust, with average values of 1.24, ("never") according to adolescents' reports, and 1.45 (between "never" and "rarely") according to parents reports. Not surprisingly, promotion of mistrust occurred significantly less often in practice than did other types of ethnic socialization. White mothers reported significantly less promotion of mistrust than did mothers from other ethnic groups. Mothers' beliefs regarding promotion of mistrust were moderately correlated with their practices [$r(204) = .42, p < .001$]. Children's perception of their parents' promotion of mistrust was only weakly associated with mothers' beliefs [$r(197) = .15, p < .05$], and were unrelated to mothers' practices [$r(197) = .08, n.s.$], indicating the very illusive nature of these sorts of messages.

In examining the qualitative interviews, we were primarily interested in examining transcripts in which both the mother and the adolescent had scores in the highest quartile on quantitative measures of promotion of mistrust. In our protocols, we included explicit questions about what parents teach about other ethnic groups, in general, and what they teach, specifically, about relationships with and treatment by people from other ethnic groups. In addition, we asked mothers to describe stereotypes about their own and other ethnic groups, to discuss the extent to which they believe these stereotypes, and to describe times when they or their adolescent children have been stereotyped. By including such questions, we expected to be able to elicit examples of times when mothers appeared to be socializing mistrust, or when adolescents perceived it.

PROMOTION OF MISTRUST IN PRACTICE

When reviewing transcripts, we looked for evidence in parents' or adolescents' statements that parents either emphasize the primacy of in-group rather than out-group relationships, or that they communicate in subtle ways to their adolescent children that they need to be on-guard about interactions with people from other ethnic groups. As we have mentioned already, most mothers and adolescents do not make any references to these sorts of practices. However, this type of socialization does emerge in some transcripts, although (consistent with low correlations between mothers' and adolescents' reports on quantitative measures) they rarely emerge for both the mother and the adolescent within the same family.

One way in which promotion of mistrust emerges is in cautions and warnings about other groups. Unlike preparation for bias or egalitarianism, these cautions and warnings tend to transpire in brief and fleeting exchanges, or in isolated comments that are embedded in other interactions: They rarely surface as extended conversations that can be readily recounted. Nicole, who is White and attends the honors program at MS 2040, describes a comment that her mother Judith made that constitutes a caution about other ethnic minority groups. Nicole's family lives in an apartment building on the upper side of Manhattan that is socioeconomically and ethnically diverse. Over the past 10 years, the surrounding neighborhood has been gentrifying, such that there is a mix of lower income ethnic minority residents alongside middle- and upper-middle class White residents. Nicole attends the predominantly White honors program at MS 2040. According to her own and her mother's interviews, she has relative freedom to walk to the nearby park and shop with her friends on the avenue outside of the

building. Egalitarian values and perspectives are evident in both Judith's and Nicole's interviews. However, when Nicole is asked how race is discussed in her family she indicates that it is rarely discussed, but notes subtle comments from her mother that she views as being inconsistent with her mothers' stated egalitarian principles:

I: So, like, with your mom, if you guys talk about your race, what kinds of things do you talk about?

R: Well, I don't think we really talk about my race. I mean, she might say "I don't want you walking down there cause there might be like . . . people." I know, sometimes, she makes comments that are racist.

I: What's that?

R: There's some, like, sometimes she makes a comment and I think that it is racist.

I: Like what?

R: I was afraid you were gonna ask that 'cause I don't really remember. Cause I know she said something [recently] and I went "Mom, that's racist," and she was like "No, it's not," and I was just like, "Yeah, whatever."

In this segment, the daughter alludes to fleeting comments that her mother periodically makes that suggest that she should be cautious and wary of people from a particular ethnic group. The mother does not report concern about other ethnic groups and does not allude to these sorts of interactions. We suspect that these sorts of comments, which may be unintentional and unlikely to be recalled by mothers, are a common form through which promotion of mistrust transpires.

Promotion of mistrust is also occasionally evident in mothers' or adolescents' stories about adolescents' direct interactions or relationships with other ethnic groups. Again, such messages are rarely if ever the intentional focus of conversation, but sometimes inadvertently emerge. For instance, when asked about how students of different races get along at her son Kevin's school, Delores, an African American mother, recounts an incident in which racial slurs were directed at Kevin by a Mexican peer who also attends the school. Delores describes her view that Mexican and other immigrant children learn from their parents and from larger societal stereotypes to look down on African Americans, and to ultimately believe that "they are better than we are." She continues with an extended discussion of her view that immigrant groups are willing to work for low wages, taking jobs that African Americans used to be able to get. In recounting her conversation with her son about the incident with the Mexican girl, which infuriated her, she says that she "went off a little." She recalls telling Kevin to stay away from students of particular ethnic groups and that she resents their tendency to judge African Americans given their own negative group characteristics. Delores indicates that she later regretted aspects of the conversation: "I said some things that I should not have said, you know, about her [the Mexican student's] race, but I did it because I felt it [the incident] was upsetting him."

There is also evidence that promotion of mistrust emerges in side comments or remarks made in jest that highlight negative or cautious attitudes towards other ethnic groups. These sorts of comments are rarely, if ever, the explicit focus of a respondent's story or narrative, but nevertheless appear in the form of a verbal slip or statement that is retracted. We identified a good example of this in our interview with an African American mother, Monique. In this instance, Monique recounts a conversation that she had with her son Marcus about permissible intergroup relationships. Notably, the story emerges in the context of a larger description of egalitarian views, and thus

permits us to see how mistrust messages can inadvertently slip into conversations in which mothers are pursuing an egalitarian agenda. The interviewer has asked Monique to describe her conversations with Marcus about ethnicity and race:

R: Uh-uh (no), just like my son he be like, "Well mama, what if I bring home a Chinese girl?" I say, "It ain't no problem. We've got Asians in the family already." "Uh, what about Spanish mom?" "What about Spanish? They're just as Black as we are, Marcus. We eat the same don't we? We eat rice, we eat beans, we eat this, you know we eat the same." "Well, ma, what if I bring a White girl?" "I'll kick your ass," no. (Laughter)

Anita, an African American adolescent, has difficulty articulating what it means to be African American or what she was taught. However, when asked how issues of race came up in her family, she says:

R: "I don't know, they just come up sometimes. We'll be sitting around talking and someone will say 'Y'all [Blacks] are crazy,' or they'll say 'You know how them White people are,' stuff like that."

Both of these examples involve references made to social distance between groups that contain brief but potentially powerful derogatory comments. Although promotion of mistrust has not been widely studied, it is not difficult to imagine that these sorts of comments could undermine youths' openness toward intergroup relations or their positive orientations towards out-group members.

Although most mothers and adolescents do not make reference to cautions and warnings that are overtly embedded in the messages that they or their parents communicate, some did, suggesting to us that explicit socialization of mistrust is viewed as being legitimate in some families. Darnell, who is African American, attends a predominantly Black program in the same middle school, MS 2040, that holds the honors program that is predominantly White. In responding to questions about what his parents had taught about ethnicity and race, Darnell suggests that his parents warn him about trusting people who are White:

I: Okay, in terms in like race, what did they tell you about other groups?

R: They just say watch out for them.

I: Yeah? In what way do you think, like, in what terms do they mean?

R: Just to watch out for anything they do and that they're, um (small pause) slick and sneaky.

I: Ok, so tell me what your parents said while you were growing up about how African Americans are treated by other people who are not African American.

R: Well, they just tell me told me about, um, things that happened in the past and to watch out.

Ricky, a Chinese adolescent who attends an integrated middle school, talks a lot about his view that African Americans are "dangerous," a view expressed by many Chinese mothers as well. Like many who express this view, Ricky says that he developed this perspective on African Americans by watching the news and hearing other people talk. Thus, when asked explicitly what his parents told him about race, he says:

- R: They tell me, like Blacks, right, don't play with them. They're dangerous.
I: Did they tell you about anything else, like, about any other groups, like White groups or Puerto Ricans?
R: White groups, no. But the Black neighborhoods, they are dangerous. Most people go to, like, jail.

Both of these are examples of messages youth receive rather than of messages that parents transmit. Indeed, neither Darnell's or Ricky's mothers make reference in their interviews to transmitting messages of mistrust to their children, although Ricky's mother's own views of Blacks mirror those that Ricky reveals.

Two additional patterns are evident in families in which the mother and adolescent both scored in the highest quartile on quantitative measures of promotion of mistrust. First, in many of these interviews, either the parent or the adolescent show a pattern of contrast training, in which they compare the beliefs and practices of their own group to the beliefs and practices of another group. This sort of contrast training serves to highlight the distinctiveness of one's own group, and at the same time, the ways in which other groups are "not like us" (and therefore perhaps should not be emulated). We have already provided examples of contrast training among Chinese mothers, who often contrast dietary habits, work ethic, and monetary spending patterns of Chinese to those of "foreigners" in general or specific ethnic groups. However, this contrast training is certainly not unique to Chinese mothers, and at times concerns superficial differences that the mother perceive. For instance, an African American mother, Carol, says:

- R: I sometimes have to remind her that she's Black, I mean, she knows she's Black but, like, there are just certain things that we don't do.
I: Can you give me an example?
R: I guess maybe certain dressing, and more like—some White kids can go out in shorts when its cold and with sandals and they do. We don't. And you have to comb your hair. Some of them kids wake up and don't comb their hair. And they looking raggedy. I'm like, that's not our thing. You need to iron those clothes and get yourself looking a little neater.
I: And why do you think that's important, being that she's Black?
R: I think it's important anyway. It's not a Black thing. But, you know, it's just something you always see in terms of the White culture with the shorts and the sandals and its freezing. I guess that's more of a "White thing" that you don't see other cultures doing that.

The second pattern that emerges in interviews of respondents with high scores on quantitative measures of promotion of mistrust is an emphasis on promoting affiliations with peers (and sometimes future marital partners) from one's own ethnic background. This pattern, although arguably more benign than other manifestations of mistrust, again serves to highlight the distinctiveness of one's group and the primacy of in-group rather than cross-group relations. For instance, Marsha, an Eastern European Jewish mother, indicates that it was "very important to [her and her husband] that [their daughter] marry within the religion and, you know, keep that tradition going." An African American mother, Nikki, in discussing her daughter's experience in the predominantly White honors program, indicated that it is important to her that her daughter "try to connect with the other Black kids in the program, because there's so

few of them." She believes that their common status as ethnic minorities within the program are a basis for shared experience and understanding that can protect her daughter in situations in which she might experience racial bias.

Notably, since evidence of promotion of mistrust does not emerge often in the interviews, and since it often emerges in ways that are not acknowledged by mothers, we are unable to identify unique sets of beliefs underlying this type of ethnic socialization. In the few interviews among African American and Latino mothers that contain references to mistrust, mothers' views of race relations seem to be similar to those of mothers who articulate preparation for bias as a socialization strategy. That is, they perceive a great deal of discrimination against and stereotypes about their ethnic group, and believe that their children's own exposure to it is inevitable. Mothers who promote the primacy of in-group rather than cross-group relationships are typically those whose own identities as an ethnic group member are highly salient and central, and who see their group as having distinctive cultural values, beliefs, traditions, and shared experiences that they want their children to recognize and carry. For the most part, however, because evidence of mistrust is implicit rather than overt, mothers rarely articulate a comprehensive set of beliefs or worldviews that are consistent with this as a socialization strategy.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Our primary goal in this chapter has been to provide descriptive information on ethnic socialization across diverse ethnic groups and to examine it up close in terms of the ways it unfolds in families' daily lives. We believe that ethnic socialization transpires in one form or another in the large majority of families, yet its precise nature is elusive. It often appears in routines and daily practices that mothers don't recognize as socialization (as with cultural socialization). Although many mothers make strong affirmations that it occurs, they have difficulty recalling specific instances of it (as with preparation for bias). And, it often transpires in fleeting exchanges or side remarks that are unrecognized as socialization by mothers (as in promotion of mistrust). Thus, like a moonbeam, it is ever present, its essence is powerful, yet one cannot fully capture it and hold it in one's hands.

We explored the beliefs, practices, and goals parents have for socializing their children around race and ethnicity, and we did so from the parent's and the child's perspectives, using a mix of quantitative and qualitative data sources and analyses. An equally important aspect of our approach was the effort to identify and emphasize specific instances of ethnic socialization. Thus, we aimed to provide a multi-faceted, nuanced view of what we perceive as being an elusive process. Although identifying how it unfolds in families sometimes represents an empirical challenge, we believe that a mixed-methods approach provides critical information about how race and ethnicity underlie the ways in which diverse families negotiate opportunities and constraints in American society.

Our exploration of ethnic socialization dynamics within families uncovered several interesting findings. We began by discussing cultural socialization, which appears to be a particularly important kind of family-level ethnic socialization. Among many families, cultural socialization pervades daily home life in ways that convey a sense of being ethnically distinctive, and even special, that is not necessarily intentional. Even among those who report low cultural socialization, for example, there is evidence of everyday routines that involve the use of a distinctive group language as well as symbols, foods, and activities (among Latino and Chinese

families) and books, films, and artifacts (among African American families). This finding is of particular interest because it demonstrates the extent to which race and ethnicity may be so deeply ingrained in family life that it is taken for granted.

Similar to cultural socialization, many families freely espouse egalitarian values in their interviews. Egalitarianism is consistent with a dominant cultural narrative of race in the United States—that one should be colorblind. Yet, it is interesting that these egalitarian views are held alongside actions that might potentially contradict the colorblind ideal. Parents tell their children to downplay the importance of race, to be friends with everyone, and to curb their prejudice, and yet actively choose or are forced to accept circumstances that reproduce the ethnic and racial inequality in their children's everyday environments, even in the broad context of a city as diverse as New York. The contradiction between beliefs and actions is not always conscious, but it is revealing. In addition, it is important to consider the examples we provided where parents or adolescents *were* aware of racial inequality and discussed egalitarianism and racial inequity in the same breath.

In contrast to cultural socialization and egalitarianism, preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust occur less often and thus stand out among the families' experiences. Further, the mechanisms for transmission of preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust—the ways in which parents' stated and unstated messages are understood by children—appear to be very complex. Parents' and children's processes vary widely; parents are often unaware of experiences with discrimination that their children have had or of their children's knowledge about stereotypes and racial stratification systems, and children often pick up on attitudes and values that their parents do not realize they have transmitted. Future research is needed to explain why preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust are less salient aspects of ethnic socialization than cultural socialization and egalitarianism across diverse families, as well as the circumstances under which the transmission of these types of socialization are more readily identified within families. In addition, we believe the parent-child reporting patterns may change as children progress through middle school in ways that will facilitate the identification of more concrete transmission of preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust.

Although families seem to differentially engage in the four types of ethnic socialization we discussed, we also observed that there are important interrelationships among these domains and the goals underlying them. Parents' stated preferences for their children's thoughts, behaviors, and actions with respect to race-related matters along one dimension (e.g., Egalitarianism) could be expressed in messages about another dimension (e.g., Preparation for Bias). Sometimes, these complementary goals, beliefs, and actions occurred simultaneously. Our future work will continue to attend to such intertwined expressions of multiple dimensions of ethnic socialization, using methods such as those employed in this chapter. We expect that this approach will allow us to describe the texture of such socialization more thoroughly.

Clearly, the content, goals, and enactment of ethnic socialization varies immensely. The extent to which parents' broader goals for rearing their children include ethnic socialization varies in frequency and intensity. Within families, the parent-child dynamics of ethnic socialization also appear to vary quite a bit, which leaves us with several important questions and directions for future work. For example, why do some children internalize parents' messages about race and ethnicity to the point that they will articulate similar views when asked, while others do not? We believe that some of the underlying mechanisms through which parents' messages become more or less internalized may have to do with other aspects of the parent-child relationship,

including, for instance, feelings of closeness to the parent(s) from whom the messages are received. It is possible that parents and children who feel close tend to interpret the intent, content, and value of ethnic socialization in similar ways. Conversely, parents and children who tend to disagree on other matters might also have differing views about how and when ethnic socialization is taking place.

Second, it is important to consider the ways in which family-level ethnic socialization dynamics might vary according to characteristics of the child. For example, parents might engage in different kinds of socialization with boys than girls, based on their differential expectations and goals for each. They might also vary according to what parents believe their child can handle given their intimate knowledge, and perception, of the child's receptivity or even personality characteristics.

We also suspect that as children received messages about ethnicity and race from individuals and contexts outside the home, those experiences reinforce or challenge received messages from parents (Hughes & Chen, 1997). Thus, what children articulate about their parents' beliefs and practices may be expressed through the lens of their own experiences. It would be important to further explore the ways in which children's experiences of discrimination and ethnic identity development, in particular, may influence their understanding of received ethnic socialization. Relatedly, we believe the age of the child is an important piece of the puzzle of how ethnic socialization unfolds within families. We would expect these dynamics to change as children grow older and accrue more personal life experiences around issues of race and ethnicity (Hughes & Chen, 1997).

Finally, our findings suggest that other, exogenous circumstances that frame the experiences of different families will be important to consider in our future analyses. In our cross-section of parents from throughout New York City, we know that their daily lives are shaped by their experiences as neighbors, members of religious communities, and as employed or unemployed persons, for example. The kinds of intergroup emotional, material, and social demands and opportunities that parents encounter across various settings are likely to shape the ways in which they would like to initiate or sustain the communication and practice of ethnic socialization with their children. Thus, it is important to consider the extrafamilial contexts that shape family ethnic socialization dynamics. Certainly, as the United States becomes increasingly diverse, a more complete understanding of the ways in which parents prepare their children to engage with and navigate this diversity will continue to be of critical importance.

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