African American Caregivers' Racial Socialization Profiles Across Adolescents' Transition to High School: Associations with Gender, Racial Identity, Interracial Contact, and Racial Discrimination

By

Asya Harrison

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Education and Psychology)
in the University of Michigan
2021

Doctoral Committee:

Professor Vonnie C. McLoyd, Chair
Professor Kai Cortina
Professor Virginia Huynh, California State University Northridge
Professor Stephanie J. Rowley, Teachers College, Columbia University

Asya A. Harrison

asyaah@umich.edu

ORCID iD: 0000-0002-8354-8025

Acknowledgements

I dedicate this dissertation to all the people who believed in me, even when I did not believe in myself. To my parents who paved a path for me that I did not even recognize I was on. To the long sleepless nights that bled into hopeful mornings. To the combined hypnotic sounds of my electric kettle, the tapping of my nails on my keyboard, and my favorite instrumental playlists on Spotify. To my friends, to my soul family, that I never would have made it without. This has been by far the most revolutionary experience of my life. Looking back over the last seven years, I stand tall in awe of the person I have become and the community I have cultivated. I am humbled by the many blessing in my life and as an educator, researcher, and public servant I look forward to giving back tenfold.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

List of Appendices

Abstract

In a cross-sectional sample of 598 African American caregivers and adolescents, this dissertation investigates whether and how the racial socialization messages of Black caregivers change as their children transition from middle to high school. I used latent class analysis implemented by Mplus to identify racial socialization clusters at three different time points (i.e., seventh grade, eighth grade, and ninth grade). Racial socialization clusters were comprised of three types of racial socialization messages (i.e., Navigation Capital messages, Black Cultural Immersion, and Racial Barrier messages). Navigation Capital messages represent a new racial socialization category that aligns with Yosso's (2005) navigation capital from her model of community cultural wealth, while Black Cultural Immersion and Racial Barrier socialization messages align with previously researched constructs (e.g., White-Johnson et al., 2010). For caregivers of adolescents in the seventh grade, I identified five clusters of caregiver-reported racial socialization patterns: High Multifaceted, Black Navigation Capital, Low Multifaceted, Egalitarian Navigation Capital, and Barrier Immersion. Caregivers with adolescents in the eighth grade and ninth grade had the same five clusters of racial socialization patterns: High Multifaceted, Black Navigation Capital, Low Multifaceted, Infrequent, and Moderate Multifaceted.

I also used a series of analyses of variance (ANOVAs) in SPSS to conduct an examination of how adolescent gender, caregiver racial identity, family interracial contact,

caregiver and adolescent reports of racial discrimination, and caregiver and adolescent reported quality of communication related to caregiver cluster membership. Findings indicate that racial centrality, experiences of racial discrimination, and quality of communication were predictive of caregiver racial socialization cluster membership, especially for caregivers with adolescents in the seventh and ninth grades. In the seventh and ninth grades, caregivers with the highest reports of racial centrality were members of the High Multifaceted cluster (i.e., above average score in Navigation Capital, BCI, and Racial Barrier messages).

An important contribution of this dissertation is the exploration of how different types of racial discrimination experiences (i.e., Invisible/Outsider, Criminal, Harassment, Unintelligent, Other) could explain caregiver cluster membership. Racial discriminatory experiences of being treated like a criminal and harassed were particularly predictive of cluster membership. Caregivers in the seventh grade High Multifaceted cluster reported significantly more experiences of being treated like a criminal than caregivers in the seventh grade Egalitarian Navigation Capital cluster. In comparison to caregivers in the ninth grade Black Navigation Capital cluster, caregivers in the ninth grade High Multifaceted cluster also reported more experiences of being harassed, being treated as criminal, and being treated as if they were unintelligent.

From a developmental perspective, my results suggest that a) caregivers move towards race salience racial socialization patterns (i.e., High Multifaceted Cluster) and away from patterns in which racial barrier messages are minimized (i.e., Black Navigation Capital Cluster) over time and b) substantial shifts in racial socialization patterns may happen before the transition to high school.

Keywords: African American, parental racial socialization, middle to high school transition, racial discrimination, racial centrality

CHAPTER 1:

African American Parenting in the Context of the United States

For decades scholars have asked how African America parents prepare their children for racial adversity, especially given America's refusal to make amends for its brutal history of slavery (McAdoo, 2001; McAdoo & McAdoo, 1985; McClain, 2019). Although much progress has been made in understanding racial socialization, more research is needed to explore the subtle complexity of blackness to expand the narrative of what constitutes Black parenting. Some theorists believe African American parents' child-rearing practices are reflective of cultural knowledge and behavioral patterns that have evolved and been passed throughout "generations of collective experiences" (Ogbu, 1981, p. 419). Although discussions about race only constitute a portion of the numerous practices parents engage in when raising their children, for many African American parents, race-based discussions provide critical messaging about the realities of life (Peters, 1985; Thomas & Blackmon, 2015).

Through both discussion and action, most African American parents work to help their children understand what it means to be a member of a marginalized racial group. This most often entails lessons about racial pride, how to cope with racial discrimination, and how to work with people from different racial backgrounds (Hughes, 2003; Thornton et al., 1990). Research supports that this specific type of socializing around race is associated with positive developmental outcomes for children. Not only have researchers found racial socialization to be

positively linked to cognitive, behavioral, and achievement outcomes for children (Hughes et al., 2006), but racial socialization is also positively related to child reports of well-being, personal efficacy (Bowman & Howard, 1985), emotion regulation, coping (Dunbar et al., 2017), and self-esteem (Constantine & Blackmon, 2002). It is also negatively related to depressive symptoms (Neblett et al., 2008).

Researchers have found that African American parents who report racially socializing their children most frequently share messages about culture and the danger of racial discrimination (Jones & Neblett, 2019). However, these are not the only racial messages that parents relay. The spectrum of racialized messages parents transmit to their children can range from explicit and implicit statements about how to survive a discriminatory socio-political context to the promotion of colorblind ideals and a post-racial society. Naturally in conversation, even if the overarching goal of the conversation is about cultural pride or racial discrimination, parents relay multiple racialized messages often unconsciously (Cooper et al., 2015; White-Johnson et al., 2010). The different ways these messages occur together may reveal characteristics about the parent and qualities about the context in which they live.

Despite ecological perspectives that support that people of the same racial ethnic background share a collective history of striving to overcome oppression and discrimination daily (Abdullah, 2017; Boykin & Toms, 1985; A. O. Harrison et al., 1990; Hughes et al., 2016), understanding variation in racial socialization across African American families can still be very complex. Blackness is not a monolithic construct. Many racial socialization conversations between parent and child result from parents' interpretations of their child's needs (Lesane-Brown, 2006), but these conversations can also develop from parents' perceptions of their daily

experiences and interactions (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Smith et al., 2016). The growing body of literature exploring how ecological contexts shape parental racial socialization messages includes studies that examine aspects of interracial contact (e.g., neighborhood racial characteristics) (Stevenson et al., 2005), accounts of racial discrimination (Saleem et al., 2016) and racial identity development (White-Johnson et al., 2010). Another critical determinant of the types of racial socialization a child might receive in the home appears to be the racial beliefs of the parent (Cooper et al., 2015; Demo & Hughes, 1990; Thomas et al., 2010). Not every person who racially identifies as African American feels the same level of connection to their racial group. Parents who feel their race is a major part of how they identify themselves have qualitatively different life experiences and hold different world views about race compared to parents who hold a more colorblind perspective (White-Johnson et al., 2010).

African American parents also share different messages about race for reasons that are motivated by characteristics of their child and the quality of their relationship (Bhargava & Witherspoon, 2015; Cooper & McLoyd, 2011; Smetana et al., 2006). Research that has examined child factors associated with parents' racial socialization practices report significant relationships with child gender (Smalls & Cooper, 2012), age (Hughes, 2003), and child reports of racial discrimination (Saleem et al., 2016; Scott, 2004; White-Johnson et al., 2010). Although there is a dearth of research that examines the relationship between racial socialization and child gender, those that have found significant gender differences report that African American parents prepare their boys for racial adversity differently than girls due to the gendered societal stereotypes that portray African American boys as dangerous and aggressive (Thomas & Blackmon, 2015). The racial socialization messages children receive could be given proactively to anticipate racially

discriminatory experiences or in reaction to negative interactions that have occurred (Stevenson, 1998).

Parenting practices also change in relation to life-course processes for families/children of color (Garcia Coll et al., 1996; Holden, 2010). As children gain more autonomy with age, they increasingly interact in spaces without their parents. The few studies that examine the relationship between parents' racial socialization practices and child age indicate that African American parents have racialized goals for their children from a very young age (Coard et al., 2004; Edwards & Few-Demo, 2016; Peters, 1985), and as their children enter early adolescence, engage in more explicit conversations about race especially related to racial discrimination (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Spencer, 1983; Threlfall, 2018).

The goal of this dissertation is to expand on the handful of studies that have examined parental racial socialization as a function of children's age. Logic from developmental theories (e.g., Holden, 2010) supports that children's cognitive ability to understand the complexity of race plays a major role in how parents determine what racial socialization messages are developmentally appropriate for their children. However, there are no longitudinal studies that both distinguish the range of messages parents transmit and assess change in these messages over time while accounting for parent and child characteristics and experiences within the contexts they occupy.

In this dissertation, I capitalize on the rare opportunity to use four waves of longitudinal data to investigate whether and *how the racial socialization messages of African American caregivers change as their children transition from middle to high school.* Adolescent gender, caregiver racial identity, family interracial contact, caregiver and adolescent reports of racial

discrimination, and quality of caregiver and adolescent communication will be assessed as predictors of caregivers' initial profiles of racial socialization categories (as opposed to single categories of racial socialization) and changes in these profiles over their children's transition from middle school to high school (7^{th} -10^{th} grade).

Conceptual Frameworks

Multiple conceptual frameworks inform this study. Together, these frameworks focus attention on how parenting can be shaped by the family's ecology, the sociopolitical context of the US, and shifting parent child relationship dynamics over time. Conceptually my research question includes information from the parent's perspective, the child's perspective, and a parent/adolescent perspective. Integrating these perspectives is essential to understanding how parental racial socialization evolves in real life.

Parenting is fundamentally an interactive process, but in the beginning, parents hold a vast amount of power in shaping their children's perceptions of the world (Holden, 2010). Parents have a general idea of what they would like their child to know, the values they would like their children to have, and ultimately the behaviors they think are best to exhibit. However, as time progresses, this guidance process changes from a one-way parent driven process to one that is more bidirectional and influenced by the experiences and developing identity of the child (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2013). The ways parents racially socialize their children may also change in relation to time and context. Understanding the specific ecological context does not only mean

understanding the physical spaces African American families occupy, but also how the intra- and interpersonal interactions they have in those spaces influence their actions, attitudes, and thoughts (Bronfenbrenner, 1986; Garcia Coll et al., 1996; Hughes et al., 2016).

In the section below, I discuss prominent ecological models that inform the dissertation, sociopolitical contextual factors that precipitate racial socialization, and how African American parents' interpersonal experiences with European Americans influence their racial socialization messages. I then turn to a discussion of micro-level influences such as dynamic interactive processes, in particular, changes in the dynamics of parent-child interactions and relations.

Ecological Perspectives

From an ecological perspective, human behavior is best understood by exploring the direct and indirect connections people have within the complex layered structures of their environments (Hughes et al., 2016). Studying behavior from this perspective better reflects families' lived experiences as opposed to analyzing fragments of behavior as independent and unaffected by a broader social context.

Examining racial socialization practices in the context of an ecological systems model is compatible with evidence suggesting that the existence and purpose of racial socialization are not independent. For example, parents' motivation to prepare their children for race-based dangers are not only a product of parents' and children's direct experiences in their immediate environment, but also reflect their connection to a greater and longstanding societal problem. African American parents not only learn to navigate life through racially and economically stratified environments, but also adjust their child-rearing practices to protect their children from discrimination and promote positive development (Coard et al., 2004; Hughes, 2003).

Bronfenbrenner's (1986) ecological model of human development offers a foundation to understand how different environments interact to influence not only individuals, but groups of individuals in connecting environments. This model identifies five systems of influence. At the center of the model are microsystems. Microsystems represent factors that influence an individual directly, such as face to face interactions in the immediate environment (e.g., family members, home, peers, schools, neighborhoods). Moving away from the center, in systems of influence, the next is the mesosystem, which represents interactions between two microsystems (e.g., events that happen at home may influence the child's school engagement). The next three systems (i.e., exosystem, macrosystem, chronosystem) concern the conditions of the spaces individuals occupy. Exosystems represent interactions between settings such as those between parent work environment, neighborhood, and their community or factors that indirectly influence the life of the child (e.g., socioeconomic status, parent work environments, parent social networks). In contrast to the microsystem and mesosystem, not all settings in the exosystem include direct contact with the child. For example, children are rarely physically present in their parent's work spaces, but events that happen to parents at work (e.g., positive events, daily stress, unemployment) often relate to parent mood/attitude, mental health, involvement, and disciplinary practices (Bronfenbrenner, 1986; McLoyd et al., 1994; Peters, 1985). Macrosystems account for societal attitudes of a specific culture including the influence of societal norms and cultural values. Finally, there is the chronosystem that accounts for the effect of time across the developmental lifespan. The unique contribution of this dissertation is its analysis of the system of time as a determinant of African American parents' racial socialization.

The work of other scholars complements and extends Bronfenbrenner's ecological model by focusing on how societal attitudes (macrosystem) around social position (i.e., race, social class, ethnicity, gender) are critical determinants of individuals' conditions of life which then influence their behavior in all the other systems (Garcia Coll et al., 1996). Garcia Coll and colleagues' (1996) integrated cultural ecological model is very helpful in connecting the influence of social position on African American parents' racial socialization practices. The model begins by acknowledging the ways social position contributes to 1) racism, prejudice, discrimination, oppression, 2) segregation, 3) promoting/inhibiting environments, 4) adaptive culture, 5) child characteristics, 6) family characteristics (e.g., structure, values, racial socialization, SES), and in turn, 7) minority youths' developmental competencies. One of the unique aspects of this model is that all other model factors are seen as products of the segregated economic and environmental conditions minority families face in relation to their social position.

The conceptual model that informs the present study is greatly influenced by ecological systems' articulation of how experiences and social structures layer on top of one another to shape racial attitudes, identity, and the development of racialized world views. They lend support to the view that racial socialization is guided by a communal experience that is also dependent on parents' own attitudes and perceptions of the importance of race in their lives.

The Socio-Political Context

Fully understanding ecological contexts is not only about describing characteristics of the physical space, but also the socio-political context of the United States. In response to the widely accepted assertion that African American culture is nothing but a reaction to the presence of Whiteness and racial discrimination, Boykin and Toms (1985) clarified what characteristics

outline African American culture. Unlike other minorities in this country, most people who identify as African American have been stripped of the ability to identify with their indigenous behaviors because their ancestors were forced into slavery (Appert, 2018; Green, 2013). In addition to basic lessons that parents teach their children (e.g., how to cross the street, tie their shoes, manage money), African American parents also prepare their children to live in a society with contradictory and conditional belief systems about race and human rights (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Edwards & Few-Demo, 2016; Peters, 1985). For example, Americans are socialized to believe in fighting for what is right—the American Dream of hard work, success, and overcoming adversity. However, simultaneous dominant narratives asserting colorblind perspectives both silence and blame African Americas for protesting the consequences of structural inequity, oppression, and white privilege (e.g., mass incarceration, police brutality, academic achievement gap) which impede full access to the American Dream (Bonilla-Silva, 2006). Some parents may feel uncomfortable and avoid conversations about the real world implications of racial inequality and discrimination to protect their children's innocence perceptions of the world (Gillen-O'Neel et al., 2021). However, African American parents do not always have the privilege to not prepare their children to enter a society that harbors ill intent towards them (Peters, 1985; Peters & Massey, 1983; Thomas & Blackmon, 2015).

To understand why engaging in racial socialization is so important for African American parents, we must first understand a general framework for overall socialization. Boykin and Toms (1985) explain the complex history of social and economic discrimination and oppression that has shaped African American life in the US context. This theory contributes to understanding the importance of racial socialization in the African American family. Moreover,

it conceptualizes the precursors and nature of African American parents' socialization of their children in the broadest sense, going beyond racial socialization as a specific domain of parenting.

Boykin and Toms posit that African American parents confront a "triple quandary" in that they have to negotiate three different agendas when socializing their children. These agendas, which have elements of incompatibility, focus on three themes: cultural experiences, mainstream experiences, and minority experiences. The first theme, cultural experiences, represents foundational lessons about culturally specific behaviors that African American parents teach their children (implicitly and explicitly). These culturally specific behaviors represent dimensions of expression (e.g., spirituality, movement, social time perspective) (Boykin & Toms, 1985, see p. 41). These expressions are habitual and ingrained as components of the African American lifestyle. They are not taught explicitly, but rather are unconsciously passed on to children through daily observations and interactions with family members and friends. The importance of hair and music for African Americans may be mistaken as superficial markers of African American culture, but in the context of history, different braiding patterns in the hair signified membership to different tribes (Appert, 2018). The influence African Americans have had on the evolution of every genre of music around the world (jazz, blues, country, rock & roll, hip hop) is not without explanation. African Americas are descendants of Griots, oral historians who retold the history of their people to the beating of drums (Appert, 2018). This tradition of storytelling in African American culture is not only intended to share the history of people, but to "simultaneously teach about the reality of racism, while protecting children from the pain" (Banks-Wallace & Parks, 2001, p. 78). Through centuries of cultural suppression, these

traditions could not be washed away. Even though America is built on the narrative of being a land of equal opportunity, welcoming those from different lands and backgrounds with open arms, complete assimilation is expected. This leads me to the second theme in Boykin and Toms (1985) triple quandary, mainstream experiences.

Mainstream experiences dig deep into the ways dominant middle-class oriented Eurocentric American values are imposed on African Americas in ways that disapprove of and seek to erase the essence of African American culture. However, the major tension is that over generations of living in America, African American parents espouse Euro-American values, while also engaging in practices that run counter to those values. This is akin to W. E. B. Dubois' framework of double consciousness. African Americans learn to live and code switch (Durkee & Williams, 2015) in contexts through adapting their behavior in public and sometimes private spaces to ensure their ability to succeed and ultimately survive across different environments.

Contemporary examples of this tension and pressure to assimilate can be seen throughout the education system, which functions as central fountains for the indoctrination of American values. School reform in districts with high percentages of people of color often seeks to measure and correct student character (e.g., grit, resilience, discipline) rather than rectifying educational practices and policies (e.g., lack of adequate funding and resources, racially biased teaching practices, tracking systems) that exclude and exacerbate inequality in communities of color (Love, 2019). So, when African American children display cultural characteristics such as expressive individualism (spontaneity and uniqueness of self-expression), it is seen as being non-conforming and attention seeking. Movement rhythmic orientation (expressing life by interweaving music, movement, and percussiveness) is interpreted as hyperactivity, and the

affective orientation (the value of emotional sensibilities and expressiveness) African American people exhibit as they seek to defend themselves from racial discrimination is often disregarded and labeled as being hyper-emotional or irrational. When individuals fail to adopt middle-class Eurocentric American values and behaviors, they are faced with societal social pressure to conform (shaming, physical danger, economic oppression, discrimination).

The third theme in Boykin and Toms (1985) triple quandary describes aspects of the minority experience—specifically connecting how social, economic, and political systems of social stratification prompt African Americans to develop specific coping strategies and worldviews to thrive in a racially discriminatory society. African Americans must balance engaging in behaviors that are unique to their culture and racial group with more socially acceptable behaviors that provide them more opportunities to succeed. The contradiction between these socialization agendas is central to Boykin and Toms' framework and is crucial to understanding variation in African American parents' racial socialization patterns.

Interpersonal Experiences within the Ecological Context

Although conceptual frameworks support the existence of an overarching African American experience guiding the major race-related themes parents convey to their children, parents are also uniquely compelled by their lived experiences to share a wide array of tips and tricks that have helped them build relationships, succeed, and thrive in the spaces they occupy. Those experiences are influenced by their race and social position in the US. The process of racial socialization is a multidimensional (verbal or non-verbal) contextual response to environmental demands (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Ogbu, 1981). Racial socialization is geared to teach environment-specific competencies and skills to children that in response benefit their

socioemotional well-being, coping skills, and emotion regulation (Garcia Coll et al., 1996; Ogbu, 1981). Parents' perceptions of their social status and the ecological demands of their environment influence their racial socialization practices, psychological well-being, racial attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors.

Hughes et al. (2016) make detailed connections between ethnic–racial identity, racial socialization, and racial discrimination. They propose a transactional and ecological perspective that describes how these constructs function differently across different aspects of an adolescent's microsystem (i.e., interactions with family, peers, schools, neighborhoods). Racial socialization can be a strong resource for youth to cope with racial discrimination and find strength in their racial identity in a marginalized racial group with a proud cultural heritage (Rodriguez et al., 2009). Existing literature on racial identity suggests that depending on the context, racial identity could be a protective or risk factor for youth in spaces where they are a racial minority (Leath et al., 2019; Neblett et al., 2012). Hughes et al. (2016) encourage researchers to conceptualize ethnic-racial identity, discrimination, and socialization as three "ethnic-racial dynamics" that are interdependent, inseparable, and mutually defining. By doing this, they suggest, attention can then be directed to researching features of settings (microsystems) that produce these resources and stressors.

A major stressor for African Americans can be daily contact with members of different racial groups (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). African American's daily encounters with European American people are usually less positive than their interactions with ingroup members (Mallett et al., 2016). Examining the racial composition of the spaces Black families occupy inform parents' reference of comparison and their perceptions of stress and racial

isolation from minority status and access to resources (Banks-Wallace & Parks, 2001; Tatum, 1987). Including an analysis of the frequency of family's interracial contact adds a layer of complexity to understanding the ways African American's ecological settings relate to the ways they racially socialize their children.

A Dynamic Interactive Process Between Parents and Children

In addition to understanding how the ecological context—both physical and social-political—may relate to African American parents' racial socialization practices, it is equally important to understand normative developmental changes between the parent and child. As children grow, parents introduce them to topics and concepts they may have not been mentally prepared to understand when they were younger (Smetana et al., 2006). Given that this dissertation focuses on how parental racial socialization messages change as their children transition from middle to high school, Holden's (2010) analysis of evolving parent and child dynamics is highly relevant.

Holden's (2010) framework describes a process of parent-child interactions that helps researchers better understand parental influence on adolescents' positive development as they gain more autonomy with age. Although this framework does not specifically align with exact ages, it provides a developmentally logical analysis of what a parent-child relationship might look like in the transition between middle and high school (typically ages 12 to 16 years old). According to Holden, a parent's role in this process begins with their intention to initiate a positive life trajectory for their child. As their child grows, it is the continued role of the parent to a) support their child's development along that positive trajectory, b) mediate the children's understanding of experiences they may have on this trajectory, and c) ultimately react to any

child-initiated trajectories. On the other side, the role of the child during this dynamic process is to a) accept or reject the parent appointed trajectories, b) engage in pursuing those trajectories in some capacity, and c) ultimately initiate their own life trajectories. Although this framework was not originally intended to examine any race specific parenting strategies, it is helpful for understanding how time shapes the nature of the relationship between parent and child, especially as adolescents grow in their capacity to talk about their racial experiences with their parents.

Conclusion

Together, these frameworks offer a foundation for my contention that changes in African American parents' racial socialization messages are partially motivated by parental characteristics and experiences (as an adult having lived and learned in the socially, economically, and politically segregated context of the US), characteristics of the adolescent (trying to figure out who they are), and the environments within which parents and children function. African American caregivers' racial socialization practices are related to and often motivated by the settings in which they function and expect their children to function. There is considerable variation in the places African Americans live and parent. That too is as much a part of the picture as the messages they give their children.

Racial Socialization

In this section, I provide a description of where the current racial socialization literature situates factors that shape changes in parental racial socialization patterns. I discuss a) what is known about the content of parental racial socialization messages, b) how scholars have empirically derived the grouping of individual racial socialization messages into profiles, c) which factors have been conceptualized as predictors of racial socialization, and d) of these factors, which are interactive with the age of children.

As all parents will tell you, children do not come with an instruction manual. There is no book that perfectly outlines what to do, what to say, or when to say it. Yet, African American parents often teach their children about race very early in the child's life (Peters, 1985) and adjust their racialized messaging for age appropriateness as the child grows older (Hughes & Chen, 1997). How do parents know when their children are ready to elevate their engagement with such a complex political topic like race? Sometimes children themselves are the catalyst. From the child driven perspective, when children ask questions or show interest in learning about race, it is usually a sign that they are ready to engage in conversations about race (Dotterer et al., 2009; Edwards & Few-Demo, 2016). But racial socialization literature reveals a more in-depth explanation, one that is motivated by both the parent and their ecological settings.

Categories of Racial Socialization

Racial Socialization encompasses a spectrum of verbal and non-verbal behaviors that transmit attitudes, values, and information regarding racial group membership and mistrust of outgroup members, in addition to practical advice for the development of coping strategies in the face of racial discrimination (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Stevenson, 1998). The terms racial

socialization and ethnic socialization are often used interchangeably or hyphenated as ethnic-racial socialization (Paasch-Anderson & Lamborn, 2014). Even though both terms are used to represent the process of helping youth understand their racial group membership, Hughes and colleagues (2016) state, the "term 'race' has primarily been used in studies of US-born Blacks and European Americans, whereas the term 'ethnic' has been used more broadly across multiple groups" (p. 2). In alignment with this rationale and the conceptual frameworks used in this study, I use the term "racial socialization" to link the historical origins of racial socialization to how parents change the racial messages they give their children with age.

The majority of research on ethnic-racial socialization explores a few broad dimensions. Hughes and colleagues' (2006) review table synthesized the methodological and measurement characteristics of ethnic-racial socialization studies from 1983 to 2004. In their review table, they created a list of all the labels these researchers used for their proposed dimensions of ethnic-racial socialization. From this table, it is evident that even though there are numerous ways that researchers label and discuss ethnic-racial socialization, the meanings of the dimensions they are describing strongly overlap with a few core socialization dimensions. Namely, researchers explore outcomes related to a) cultural socialization which captures parents teaching their children about African America history, culture, and heritage; b) racial barrier messages which is a combined version of preparation for bias messages that warn children about racial discrimination and promotion of mistrust messages that caution children against trusting racial outgroup members; and c) egalitarian messages that stress the value of interracial interaction and the existence of equal opportunities for success across all racial groups. Although, researchers mostly explore these dimensions, some have specified and expanded these categories and

conceptual understandings of African American parents' racial socialization practices to also include religiosity/spiritual coping, self-worth development, colorblind perspectives, and rarely negative/internalized racism. The remainder of this section describes some of the most prominent ethnic-racial socialization dimensions explored in the literature and the categories of racial socialization measured in this dissertation (i.e., cultural socialization, racial barriers, egalitarian, racial socialization behaviors, negative messages).

Cultural socialization messages aim to support the development of positive feelings and satisfaction with being a member of one's racial group. When giving racial pride messages, parents might also include messages related to cultural socialization, cultural pride, Afrocentrism, legacy, and heritage (Constantine & Blackmon, 2002; Hill, 1997; Hughes et al., 2006). Parents who focus on instilling racial pride in their children might encourage them to never feel ashamed of or discouraged by their physical appearance due to their hair texture, skin color, full lips and other "Black" features (Hughes et al., 2006). They may also be more inclined to expose them to African American literature and history that emphasize the involvement of important African American historical figures and their significant accomplishments in American history (Hill, 1997). These messages may help prepare children to interpret and cope with prejudice, discrimination, and negative racial group messages and help instill positive feelings about African Americans (Neblett et al., 2009).

Parents also reinforce certain racial socialization messages by engaging their children in activities that foster the types of behaviors and values they deem important (*racial socialization behaviors*) (Lesane-Brown et al., 2009). For example, Black parents who transmit verbal messages about racial pride and African American culture may also engage their children in

culturally relevant activities such as taking their children to African American street festivals and cultural museums and exposing them to Afrocentric literature via historically well-known African American writers and or African American culture-centered magazines and TV shows. Similarly, parents may also choose to expose their children to racially diverse environments to give them more opportunities to practice egalitarian behaviors (Banks-Wallace & Parks, 2001). It's reasonable to assume that if an African American parent is buying their child books with African American characters or taking their child to Black history events and museums, their motivations may be intentional and related to previous conversations they have had or plan to have about race.

Racial barrier messages warn children that they might have trouble in some settings because of their race and should be prepared to cope with discriminatory situations if and when they occur (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Neblett et al., 2009). Racial barriers are often conveyed through two themes: preparation for bias and the promotion of mistrust (Hughes & Chen, 1997). Preparation for bias messages are warnings of prejudicial treatment from others. Promotion of mistrust messages encourage children to question the intentions of others, usually outside of their racial group (Hughes & Chen, 1997). Some researchers discuss these dimensions separately, but for the purpose of this dissertation, I view these two dimensions as subcategories of a broader dimension of racial barriers socialization. This dimension will therefore be referred to as racial barrier socialization unless the study being reviewed reported findings about one of the subcategories.

Racial barrier—related messages are reactionary or precautionary strategies that parents use to help their children navigate through interactions and environments that may threaten their

development (Hughes & Chen, 1997). Parents report being motivated to give these types of messages when a) a racialized event occurs in the broader society, b) they foresee their child's environment being racially exclusive or problematic, or c) their child approached them with a situation that has happened already (e.g., negative racially charged interaction, microaggressions) (Thomas & Blackmon, 2015; Threlfall, 2018). Parents' promotion of racial barrier messages in combination with other positive racial socialization messages may help their child develop an awareness of racism and African American culture in America that better prepares them to handle discriminatory events (Stevenson et al., 1997). Harris-Britt and colleagues (2007) found youth's self-esteem to be protected from the detrimental impact of racial discrimination when they reported receiving both racial barrier and racial pride messages.

Egalitarian messages encourage interracial interactions, promote colorblind ideals, and convey the idea that others should be seen as more than their race (Barr & Neville, 2008). These types of messages may help children understand that there is value in working with and befriending people from different racial backgrounds. Some Black parents may promote these messages if they feel that their child is not developmentally ready to discuss sensitive and complex race relations (Marshall, 1995). However, Priest and colleagues (2014) believe promotion of these messages is more related to Black parents' awareness of the dominance of White privilege and the disproportionate allocation of power to minority racial group members.

Negative messages emphasize unsavory characteristics, qualities, and stereotypes about African Americans. Conceptualizations of race are complex in ways that allow individuals to hold both positive and negative beliefs and attitudes about their racial group. Bentley-Edwards and Stevenson (2016) view negative socialization messages as an extension of cultural mistrust,

manifesting through the promotion of "cynical perspectives of Black people [just as much as] people of other races" (p. 98). Sharing judgements and stereotypes about the behavior of one's own racial group could also be a way to convey expectations of appropriate behavior, morals, and social values. Some parents promote more Eurocentric normative ideology to teach their children the importance and benefits of assimilating to European American culture (Speight, 2007). Parental racial socialization messages that deprecate the intelligence, reliability, and value of African American culture are most likely related to the parents' internalization of negative stereotypes about their racial group (N. Joseph & Hunter, 2011; Neblett et al., 2008; Speight, 2007), their personal experiences, or how they were racially socialized.

Negative racial socialization messages—as defined in this dissertation— are not commonly discussed in the racial socialization literature. However, studies about internalized racism and immigrant racial socialization provide insight into the outcomes associated with negative messages. Joseph and Hunter (2011) found that second-generation Haitians who reported receiving majority negative racial socialization messages about their racial group—specifically promotion of mistrust and discriminatory messages—engaged in less racial identity exploration and exhibited a less stable commitment to that identity.

The racial socialization messages African American parents convey to their children are positively related to their educational attainment (increased behavioral, racial pride, self-worth, and egalitarian socialization messages), income (increased behavioral and racial pride messages) (A. Harrison et al., manuscript in preparation), racial identity, experiences of racial discrimination (Cooper et al., 2015), and the racial demographic characteristics of the spaces they occupy (Caughy et al., 2006; A. Harrison et al., manuscript in preparation). However, most

racial socialization studies have found these relationships with specific categories or types of racial socialization messages (e.g., racial pride, egalitarian, preparation for bias messages), not with profiles of racial messages (White-Johnson et al., 2010). In the last decade, scholars have made great strides in addressing the lack of research about how parental racial socialization messages cluster. A discussion of this research is presented in the next section.

Profiles of Racial Socialization

Think about the following statement. Imagine this is the response of an African American parent who has just been asked to describe their racial socialization practices.

> "I want my daughter to feel proud of being Black. To know that she can succeed at anything she puts her mind to, but I also know that we live in a dangerous unfair world and people are going to judge her because she's Black. I make sure that I don't hide her from that reality, but I also don't want her to be afraid to interact with other people because not everybody's a bad person. She needs to be able to navigate White spaces and work with anyone. I mean, that's a skill I wish I'd learned sooner rather than later."

While this is not a direct quote, it is highly representative of a real parent response. I created this statement based on my qualitative experiences analyzing both African American parent interviews (Leath et al., in press) and European American parent interviews about their racial socialization practices and goals (Gillen-O'Neel et al., 2021). This quote is complex, expressing this parents' desire for their child to have *racial pride*, an awareness of *racial barriers*, but also an *egalitarian* orientation to interacting with racial outgroup members. It is methodologically important from a researcher perspective to be able to understand the individual types of messages

that make up this quote. However, this quote comprehended in its entirety is worth more than the sum of its parts.

In recent years, researchers have used profiling techniques to advance our understanding of the nature and complexity of racial socialization. Profiling techniques promote an understanding of a) the ways parents use racial socialization messages to convey complex realities about adversity and resilience and b) how identity and socio-political context may change the ways parents provide racial messages to improve their children's developmental outcomes. For instance, research suggests that parents who provide their children with a combination of racial barrier messages and positive messages about the child's culture and self-worth help support their children's development of effective coping skills in the face of racial discrimination (Neblett et al., 2008; Stevenson, 1998). Without the balance of proactive (e.g., cultural pride reinforcement about one's racial group) and protective (e.g., racial barrier messages) racial socialization messages, the child could be left feeling discouraged or overly mistrustful and bitter towards people, especially those outside of their race (Stevenson, 1998; Stevenson et al., 1997).

In this dissertation, I expect three to five distinctive racial socialization clusters will emerge at baseline (7^{th} grade/~12 years old), (i.e., racial pride messages, racial barrier messages, self-worth messages, egalitarian messages, negative messages, and racial socialization behaviors). This expectation is based on findings from the few studies that have used latent class /latent profile analysis (e.g., Cooper et al., 2015; Neblett et al., 2008; Neblett et al., 2009; Stevenson, 1998; White-Johnson et al., 2010). Stevenson (1998) asked a sample of African American male adolescents about their perceptions of the types of racial socialization parents

should convey to their children. His analyses supported a three-cluster solution (i.e., protective, proactive, and adaptive). Neblett and colleagues' (2008) study of the relationship between racial socialization, adolescent reports of racial discrimination, and psychological adjustment in a sample of African American adolescents found four racial socialization profiles (i.e., high positive, moderate positive, low frequency, moderate negative). White-Johnson, Ford, and Sellers' (2010) analysis revealed three racial socialization profiles (i.e., multifaceted, low race salience, and unengaged) in their study of African American mothers' reports of racial socialization in relation to mothers' racial identity, experiences of racial discrimination, and childhood socialization. Cooper et al. (2015) also explored the relationship between racial identity, racial discrimination, and racial socialization profiles but with an understudied sample of African American fathers. The five profiles they identified were a combination of the profiles found in the other studies with the addition of one unique profile (i.e., race salience socializers characterized by above average scores on racial pride, barrier, egalitarian, behavioral, and negative messages). Although profile analyses are not common analytic strategies in racial socialization literature, they are becoming more prevalent. This type of analysis provides a unique and valuable contribution to the literature, highlighting patterns of racial socialization—defined by types and levels—and what factors contribute to those patterns.

Methodological Considerations & Contributions

Previous research has expanded our understanding of the role both parents and children play in the process of racial socialization. However, guardianship in African American families is not always limited to African American mothers nor is the process of racial socialization

exclusively guided by parents. My dissertation seeks to fill these important gaps by including broader categories of caregivers and informants.

The Exclusion of Caregiver Diversity in Data Analysis

The overwhelming representation of mothers as the sole primary caregiver in parenting literature, is concerning. Considerations of non-mother primary caregivers are often ignored or excluded from parenting analyses, and as a result, parenting scholars fail to recognize the diversity of how child rearing practices differ across caregiver classifications. Specifically, in regard to racial socialization practices, this type of supportive parenting is not exclusive to interactions between the biological parent and child (Brega & Coleman, 1999). Parenting scholars are beginning to develop questions around the roles and function of fathers and grandparents in child rearing, but the literature is extremely limited.

For African Americas extended family/networks of fictive kinship often function as a resource of informal social support (Chatters et al., 1994). African American parents report relying on their extended families for help problem solving and coping with stress especially when it is related to mental health or financial instability/adversity (Cross, 2018; A. O. Harrison et al., 1990). “Ecological theories that explain the role that kin networks play in the developmental processes for minority children may serve to protect them from economic hardships and social and psychological sources of oppression derived from their relative position in society” (Garcia Coll et al., 1996, p.1892). Using nationally representative longitudinal data, Cross (2017) found that before the age of eighteen, 57% of African American children had experienced living with extended family such as grandparents, aunts, uncles, or cousins at some point. Brown, Linver, and Evan’s (2010) study on the role of both caregiver and adolescent

gender on racial-ethnic socialization also recognized the importance of family structure on socialization practices. In their sample, 12.4% of 218 self-identified African American adolescents reported a family structure characterized by a grandparent, foster, aunt, or another non-biological or stepmother/father being their primary caregiver. Although, mothers still tend to carry most of the responsibility in socializing their children about race (Neblett et al., 2008), there is significant variation in the ways non-mother primary caregivers engage adolescents in conversations about race (Brega & Coleman, 1999). By including primary caregivers who identify as mothers as well as those who do not, this dissertation study may reveal racial socialization patterns that are more reflective of the multigenerational and multifaceted family involvement in child rearing that is common in African American families (Smetana et al., 2006).

Informant Concerns

Methodologically, outcomes correlate stronger with the same informants. For instance, the majority of studies described throughout my literature review either used parent reports to predict parent reported child outcomes or adolescent reports to predict adolescent reported outcomes. However, there is a disconnect between parent and child reports of what racial socialization messages are shared in the home. For instance, when parent reports are used to predict adolescent reported outcomes, we often find non-significant or weak relationships (A. Harrison et al., in prep). Any parent will casually comment about having to repeat themselves numerous times because they did not feel their child was listening. Pointedly, just because a parent reports that they are communicating messages about race to their child, does not mean that the child is receptive to those messages or internalizing them in significant ways that prepare

them to handle racial discrimination. This contention can make it difficult to understand how caregivers know when to change their socialization strategies and most importantly what profiles of racial socialization are most effective in preparing African American adolescents during important developmental transitions in their lives.

Empirically, it is important to understand if parental practices and experiences are significantly related to child outcomes, especially for family intervention design and implementation. Even though the purpose of my dissertation is not explicitly connected to the development of interventions, my longitudinal study design allows me to make statements about how caregiver and adolescent experiences may influence racial socialization practices in the family. I am hoping that my dissertation will provide insight into how and when caregiver/adolescent interactions inside and outside of their home change to support positive adolescent development.

Factors Conceptualized as Predictors of Racial Socialization

Age of Child

Parents' conversations and interactions with their children change throughout the child's lifespan (Holden, 2010; Smetana et al., 2006). Although African American mothers report using their child's age as an indicator of when to discuss race (Edwards & Few-Demo, 2016), African American parents are less likely than European American parents to defer engaging in race related conversations well into early adolescence (Vittrup, 2018). African American parents express having racialized goals for their children and engage in parenting practices in service of those goals as early as 12-months-old (Peters, 1985). Hughes et al.'s (2006) review of parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices found studies supporting African American parents'

engagement in racial socialization with their children from kindergarten well into college. Across these studies, findings support that 1) parents adapt their racial socialization strategies to align with their children's developmental competencies and daily experiences and 2) impart more explicit racial socialization messages (e.g., racial barriers, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust) as their children get older.

In their cross-cultural comparisons study with 273 urban African American, Dominican, and Puerto Rican parents, Hughes (2003) found that the strongest predictors of differences in racial socialization messages were child age and strength of the parent's ethnic identity. When children are very young, parents transmit primarily egalitarian and self-worth messages to foster the development of confidence, self-esteem, and a collaborative work ethic. As children grow older, parents impart more explicit racial socialization messages, in keeping with the fact that children's reasoning and self-reflective abilities to understand complex abstract societal structures increase the likelihood that they can and will interpret racially charged interactions (Goff et al., 2014; Greene et al., 2006). This reflection of daily experiences then may encourage them to initiate race related conversations with their parents.

Early to late adolescence is a time of extensive developmental and social growth. So, it is no surprise that most researchers assessing the relationship of parental racial socialization on adolescent development recruit participants between the ages of 11 to 18 years old, even though there are some studies that include children as young as 4 years old. Extant research suggests that during the formative years of adolescence African American parental racial socialization practices help their children develop a strong racial identity, enhance their resiliency in the face

of racial adversity (Huguley et al., 2019), protect their psychological wellbeing (Bentley-Edwards & Stevenson, 2016), and bolster their academic achievement (T. L. Brown et al., 2009).

In addition to psychological development, adolescents also experience drastic physical changes during puberty and in return begin to express an interest in dating. Developmental changes such as puberty and dating also bring about changes in social dynamics between peers (e.g., empathy, perspective taking) which can intensify points of difference like race or socioeconomic status (Hoffman et al., 2019; Medina et al., 2019). African American youth may notice they are excluded from peer social activities like parties because of their race. They may also become aware of the structural components of race, like more African American youth in special education classes. Chambers' (2009) interviewed seven African American students attending high school in a midsized midwestern metropolitan suburb about their experiences, thoughts, and attitudes regarding the informal educational tracking policies in their school and their academic achievement. Results supported that these African American high school students (especially those in the lowest track level) were highly aware of differential treatment (e.g., denial of resources, teacher treatment, poor classroom management) in comparison to their peers in the highest track level and the normalization of being separated from other students (Chambers, 2009). These shifts in their awareness of race may provoke conversation between the parent and child or inspire the child to interpret messages their parents may have given over the years in a very different way.

Middle school and high school also have very different academic structures intended to provide students age-appropriate opportunities for autonomy. Some noteworthy differences that student encounter in this transition include navigating new teacher relationships, changes in

sources of support and, peer/social dynamics, in addition to adjusting to challenging academic material, multiple classes, and increased responsibility (Newman et al., 2000). Barber and Olsen (2004) similarly report that students grade point average (GPA) and perceptions of their school support decrease, while their reports of school hassles increase during the transition to high school.

The paucity of research examining parental racial socialization practices in relation to children's age or developmental maturity does not reflect the significance that children's development plays in parents' motivations for engaging their children in difficult conversations about race. Unfortunately, virtually all the studies that have sought to explore age differences in racial socialization practices are limited by both the age span included and cross-sectional methodological approaches (Hughes et al., 2006). Even though cross-sectional data does not provide basis for inferences regarding causal relations, there is still substantial support that parents adjust the information they share with their children according to the child's cognitive abilities, competence, and experiences (Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Smetana et al., 2006).

In Hughes and Chen's (1997) cross-sectional study of parent, child, and ecological predictors of race related communication, parents of older children reported giving more frequent racial socialization than did parents of younger children. They used contrast coding between parents with children between the ages of 4-8 years old and 9-14 years old, but they also explored smaller age ranges (4-5, 6-8, 9-11, and 12-14 years old). Across the four age ranges explored, parents of children 12-14 years old reported conveying higher levels of cultural, preparations for bias, and promotion of mistrust socialization messages, compared to parents of

younger children. Cultural socialization was reported significantly more often for parents of children between 9 to 14 years old in comparison to parents of 4 to 8 year old children. Results for promotion of mistrust socialization followed similar age patterns, with parents of children between 4-8 years old reported conveying the least, and parents of 12-14 year old children conveying more than parents of 9-11 year old children. This study suggests that African American parents are having complex conversations about race that are shaped by the dynamic interplay between their child's age/cognitive development and their drive to raise healthy racially conscious children ready to rise above and maneuver within the oppressive socio-political climate of the United States.

Both McHale et al. (2006) and Hughes (2003) also found that parents of older children reported conveying more racial socialization messages than parents of younger children. In McHale et al.'s (2006) study using a sample of 162 two-parent African American families with children between the ages of 6-17 years old, mothers reported providing more cultural and preparation for bias socialization messages to their older children. Unfortunately, further exploration of the developmental shifts between 6 to 17 years old were not explored. However, the unstandardized betas in the results table suggest that as children age, mothers convey preparation for bias messages at a higher rate than cultural socialization messages. In Hughes' (2003) study of African American, Puerto Rican, and Dominican parents of children between 6 to 17 years old, there were no differences in cultural socialization as a function of child age within the African American sample, but across all three ethnic groups, parents of children between 10-17 years old reported conveying more preparation for bias messages than parents of children between 6-9 years old.

It is uncommon for empirical studies to report finding about more than four dimensions of racial socialization. Among the four most common dimensions explored (cultural, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, egalitarianism), cultural and preparation for bias racial socialization are analyzed most often. The limitation of only including two dimensions of racial socialization is that when researchers find patterns contrary to findings in prior studies, it is difficult to probe what else might be happening. For instance, contrary to the pattern of older children receiving more racial socialization messages than younger children, Hughes and Johnson (2001) found that in a sample of 94 parent-child dyads, there were no age differences in cultural socialization messages, but parents of 3rd grade children reported conveying more preparation for bias messages than parents of children in 5th grade. On average 3rd to 5th grade reflects ages 8 through 10 years old.

In Hughes and Johnson's study, where African American parents reportedly conveyed more preparation for bias messages to their children at a younger age, exploring the role of context seems to be justified. This study specifically examined parent and child ethnic-racial identity and experiences of racial discrimination in relation to parent reports of racial socialization messages. Parental perceptions of racial discrimination toward their child were major contributing factors, but I am more interested in what other racial messages these parents transmitted in addition to cultural and preparation for bias messages. In addition to cultural messages and preparation for bias messages, the parent might also be providing complementary messages like self-development/self-worth messages (White-Johnson et al., 2010). Overall, the combination of multiple messages can convey a completely different belief about the nature of a racialized world, especially depending on the age and maturity of the child.

In this dissertation, I seek to illuminate the nuanced nature of how African American parents change their racial socialization practices across early to middle adolescence. This dissertation addresses a critical limitation to these studies by using longitudinal data rather than cross-sectional. I expect there will be parents who remain in the same profile over the four years being analyzed (7^{th}, 8^{th}, 9^{th}, & 10^{th} grades). However, for those parents who transition or change profiles in some capacity, I hypothesize two possible outcomes contingent on the parents' racial socialization at baseline. Specifically, I hypothesize that parents who are not profiled into positive racial socialization or race salient racial socialization profiles at baseline will transition into these profiles over the four years. This expectation is based on evidence that parents share more explicit race related content with their children as they get older (Hughes & Chen, 1997). Second, I hypothesize that given that racial socialization profiles may be different at different time points, parents might not move to different profiles, but the characteristics of the profiles (e.g., frequency or mean frequency of messages in the profile) may change. The nature of profile analysis is such that the description or labeling of the profiles is relative to the other profiles during that time period. For instance, for both 7^{th} and 8^{th} grade years, analyses may reveal three profiles each (e.g., low, medium, high racial socialization), but the means of the individual messages might change. It would still be a significant contribution to the field to note that even through the racial socialization profile remained essentially the same, there was an increase in messaging over time.

Child Gender

In DiAquoi's qualitative analysis of 17 African American parents discussing "the talk" they have with their sons about racial discrimination, this quote from the results section stood out to me so powerfully.

> "Black boys coming of age today, much like those coming of age during the pre-Brown era-their grandparents' and great-grandparents' generations-must ask permission to move in certain ways. Furthermore, their Black bodies are sites for the reenactment of White supremacist tropes: management, control, and punishment…. As Black maleness and criminality become intertwined, Black males are seen as different and separate from mainstream society. They are denied access to the rights and privileges of Whiteness, including the right to life" (DiAquoi, 2017, p.530).

This quote has deep theoretical ties to Critical Race Theory in understanding how Whiteness, power, and privilege combine to form the foundation of structural racial/ethnic discrimination and oppression in the United States (DiAquoi, 2017; Wun, 2016). At every structural level of American society, race and gender-based discrimination can be recognized. Explanations of gender differences are deeply embedded in America's macrostructural norms (Hughes et al., 2009). Historically, gendered stereotypes from as far back as slavery still permeate mainstream representations of African Americans. These stereotypes commonly portray African American men as fear invoking, aggressive, and un-intelligent and African American women as Mammy (self-sacrificing nurturer, servant), Jezebel (promiscuous, seductive, highly sexualized), and Sapphire (angry, rude, and aggressive) (Thomas et al., 2013). Stereotypical representations of femininity and masculinity in the US for African American adults are transferred onto

perceptions of African American youth (Greer et al., 2009; Ispa-Landa, 2013; Timberlake & Estes, 2007). Traditionally, girls are perceived to be in less physical danger than boys. However, at the intersection of gender and race, African American girls are also stereotyped as rude, uneducated, and aggressive (Timberlake & Estes, 2007), putting them, like African American boys, at risk for inequitable discipline in schools (Wun, 2016), declines in academic engagement (Leath et al., 2019), depressive symptoms from the stress of racial discrimination (Neblett et al., 2008), and physical harm at the hands of negligent police officers (Wun, 2016). With this violent gendered treatment towards girls as well as boys, it is not surprising that parents of girls, like parents of boys, report conveying a high frequency of racial barrier, self-worth, and racial pride messages (Thomas & Speight, 1999).

African American parents are aware that there are harsher repercussions for their African American children than for European American children (Peters, 1985). Goff and colleagues (2014) found that Black boys are perceived as older, less innocent, and more responsible for their actions and thus are not given the same societal "protections of childhood" as their European American same-age peers. This harsh disproportionate treatment towards African Americans has not gone unnoticed. Filmmaker Ava DuVernay released a documentary on Netflix in 2016 (entitled *13th*) focusing on racial inequality and the mass incarceration of African Americans in the United States. In this film, Ava explored the intersection of race, justice, and mass incarceration in the US to reveal how the unjust and over-incarceration of African American men has severely damaged generations of African American families and their children. In a poorly executed attempt to reveal police bias and white privilege, European Americans took to twitter using the hash tag #CrimingWhileWhite to recount times of breaking the law and getting away

with illegal behaviors for which African Americans have been killed or imprisoned. Ultimately, the current Black Lives Matter movement (which mirrors the Civil Rights Movement of the late 1940-60s) is in response to America's continued "exploitive, oppressive, and murderous" policing system, which disproportionately robs African Americans of their humanity, safety, and livelihood (Abdullah, 2017).

The dominant narrative across literature on African American children remains that boys and girls are not only perceived differently in the United States, but also have different racialized experiences (Chavous et al., 2008; Leath et al., 2019; Wun, 2016). However, empirical evidence supporting gender differences in parental racial socialization practices are mixed and they do not often directly connect significant gender differences in racial socialization to parents' perceptions of gender based racial discrimination towards their child. With a sample of 104 African American parents, Thomas and Speight (1999) reported that parents of boys provided more messages on negative societal stereotypes and coping with and preparing for racial discrimination. Parents of girls, on the other hand, tended to report providing messages on the importance of racial pride and achievement. Bowman and Howard (1985) found that in a sample of 377 African American youth 14 to 24 years old, boys reported receiving racial barrier and egalitarian socialization messages and girls reported receiving racial pride messages. One explanation for these gender-based differences might be that African American parents strive to give their boys more racial barrier socialization messages to prepare them for danger to their physical body and egalitarian messages to encourage them to learn how to work and interact with people of other races (Peters, 1985). Encouraging their African American sons to make friends with children of all different ethnic backgrounds could potentially lessen the prejudice and fear

they might develop towards outgroup members and with outgroup members being less fearful of them (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Some studies report no gender differences in the ways parents socialize their boys and girls about race (e.g., Caughy et al., 2002; Frabutt et al., 2002).

Given that my dissertation bolsters the benefit of using cluster analytic techniques to explore racial socialization, I thought it might be insightful to explore how other cluster-oriented studies use gender as a predictive indicator. Among the studies utilizing cluster analysis that were used to model my dissertation design (i.e., Cooper et al., 2015; Neblett et al., 2008, 2009; Stevenson, 1998; White-Johnson et al., 2010), only one reported significant gender findings. Neblett et al. (2009) reported that among their sample of 358 African American youth between 7th and 11th grade, girls were more likely than boys to be in racial socialization clusters characterized by high and moderate levels of racial pride, self-worth, egalitarian, and behavioral messages. Boys, however, were more likely than girls to be in the lower socialization frequency cluster surprisingly characterized by more negative messages than the other two clusters. With respect to exploring the relationship between child gender and racial socialization clusters, both Neblett et al. (2008) and White-Johnson et al. (2011) found no gender differences in the composition of the racial socialization profiles. Cooper et al. (2015) had no discussion of child gender. Stevenson's (1998) study is not relevant here because it is based on an all-male sample.

The results of these five studies raise both methodological and conceptual questions. Stemming from Neblett et al.'s (2008) discussion of their non-significant gender findings, I too wonder if gender differences in racial socialization are easier to discern when analyzing these messages separate from one another. They did not find gender differences between clusters, but they did find that boys reported receiving more racial barrier messages than girls. Second, I

wonder had any of the studies included information about the quality of the relationship between the parent and child. Further explanation could have been provided for why Neblett et al. (2009) found boys were more likely than girls to be in the lower socialization frequency cluster characterized by negative messages. This finding is contrary to gender findings in the literature and the high frequency of negative messages makes me question the communication style and racial identity of the parents overall. However, frequency of communication is not always indicative of relationship quality exactly. These findings could reflect differences in frequency of racial socialization due to parent gender. Most racial socialization studies use data reported from mothers, but those that have explored how parent gender relates to racial socialization practices have also found mixed results. McHale and colleagues (2006) found that mothers racially socialize their older children more than fathers overall, but fathers socialize their sons more often than their daughters.

Now with more media coverage of the prejudicial and discriminatory treatment of both African American boys and girls, more research needs to be done (especially longitudinal studies) to explore how parents prepare their children to respond to this treatment. The ways gender repercussions manifest for African American children are a real concern for parents trying to ensure the survival and safety of their children. The types of racial socialization messages parents give are often in reaction to an experience the child had or in anticipation of the experiences their children may have in various spaces (Hughes et al., 2006).

I expect that at baseline, caregiver's racial socialization practices will vary as a function of the child's gender. Specifically, I hypothesize that parents of girls will be more likely than parents of boys to be in positive racial socialization clusters (above sample average scores on

racial pride, self-worth, and egalitarian messages; below sample average frequency on racial barrier and negative messages). I will also explore gender as a predictor of transitions in racial socialization profiles. The exact direction of the transition is exploratory and dependent on the parents' profile membership at baseline. Even though the studies using cluster analysis seem to be in support of non-gender difference socialization patterns, I am optimistic that my inclusion of other predictor variables like child racial discrimination and interracial contact will contribute to my models' ability to access nuanced gender differences between parental racial socialization clusters.

Parent Racial Identity

Racial identity is defined as a part of an individual's self-concept related to their membership within a race (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Sellers et al., 1998). In this dissertation, I focus on a specific dimension of racial identity, namely, parents' racial centrality and examine its relation to parents' racial socialization profiles. *Racial centrality* is defined as the degree to which an individual feels their racial group membership is a main component of how they define themselves (Sellers et al., 2008). Racial identity matters conceptually to racial socialization in the ways parents perceive the existence and prevalence of racial discrimination in their environment.

It is natural that parents pass on their attitudes, beliefs, values, and perceptions of the world to their children whether it be intentional or not. Studies have found that African American parents for whom race is peripheral to their self-concept tend to endorse color blindness and attribute racial inequality to individual factors such as work ethic and intelligence, rather than to systematic and structural racial discrimination (e.g., Demo & Hughes, 1990; Hughes, 2003; Neblett et al., 2009; Stevenson, 1998). Caregivers with differing attitudes regarding the

significance of race in their lives are also likely to differ in their racial socialization practices. Research indicates that strength of parental ethnic/racial identity is a strong predictor of racial socialization content and frequency (Hughes, 2003; Thomas et al., 2010). For example, Cooper and colleagues (2015) reveal that fathers with higher racial centrality tended to be in race-salience and positive racial socializer profiles in comparison to fathers in the low race salience cluster. With a sample of mothers, White-Johnson, Ford, and Sellers (2010) reported that mothers imparted racial socialization messages to their children aligned with their self-reported attitudes about their racial identity. Of relevance to this dissertation, they also found that higher racial centrality was associated with more racial pride messages, racial barrier messages, and socialization related behaviors.

Considering these findings, I hypothesis that at baseline, caregivers with high racial centrality will exhibit more positive and racially salient socialization patterns than caregivers with low racial centrality. Given the relatively stable nature of racial centrality (Sellers et al., 1998), parents might not shift to clusters characterized drastically different from their baseline racial socialization clusters. If parents do transition to other profiles, I hypothesize that this change will be related to their own or their child's experiences of racial discrimination or a change in interracial contact. For instance, a parent who reports high levels of racial centrality, is most likely racially socializing their child about racial barriers. However, if over the four years being analyzed, the child or the parent report increases in experiences of racial discrimination, the frequencies of the messages in their clusters might shift. The new cluster might not be drastically different from their baseline profile, but their reactive racial socialization practices

would represent an adjustment in the way they choose to help their child prepare or cope with racial discrimination.

Interracial Contact

At the height of the Civil Rights Movement and the push for racial integration, scholars took to exploring the psychological and physical risks that ensue when races occupy the same spaces. African American citizens were rightfully skeptical about the benefits of forced interracial contact—and honestly, they still are skeptical. African Americans continue to experience both structural and interpersonal racial discrimination at an alarming rate.

Some African American parents racially socialize their children to be weary and mistrustful of outgroup members, largely because they fear that the more interactions their children have with European American people, the more likely they are to experience racial discrimination (Mallett et al., 2016). Direct indicators of interracial contact are rarely studied in relation to racial socialization even though the process of socialization is deeply rooted in parents' drive to prepare their children for interactions with other individuals and racial groups in the world.

Interracial contact in this dissertation refers to the ratio of African American to other race individuals (non-African American) African American parents report perceiving in their proximal settings (i.e., neighborhood, job, church settings, adolescent extracurricular activities). Today, African American families have less explicit barriers to making conscious choices about the racial demographics of the spaces they occupy. While policies like redlining and urban renewal programs still enforce housing discriminatory practices (McClure et al., 2019), population trends via census data indicate that African American-European American

neighborhood segregation has declined in many large cities across America (Lichter et al., 2015). Contrary to the assumption that residential integration and decreased prejudice is responsible for declining segregation, Lichter et al. (2015) posit that this decline reflects a combination of white flight and a decreasing proportion of European Americans to people of color moving into cities.

Incorporating an understanding of interracial contact is important for the study of parental racial socialization because characteristics of the physical contexts families occupy also shape the nature of caregiver racial socialization practices over time. Most studies of the relationship between racial socialization and interracial contact have examined the racial makeup of neighborhoods where respondents live. African American families predominantly report living in spaces ranging from racially polarized (all African American or all European American) to a mixture of multi-ethnic, religious, and socio-economic diversity (Lichter et al., 2015; White & Lawrence, 2019). Parents who occupy predominantly non-African American spaces often compensate for their children's lack of intergroup contact by imparting more messages about racial pride, self-worth, racial barriers, and equality (Caughy et al., 2006; Priest et al., 2014). Harrison et al.'s (in prep) study examined the relation between African American parents' racial socialization messages, SES, and other demographic factors (e.g., neighborhood, school). Their findings revealed that 1) parents living in neighborhoods with more African Americans reported engaging in fewer racial socialization behaviors (e.g., buying black books, attending Black cultural events) compared to parents living in more white neighborhoods and 2) parents in predominantly white school districts reported transmitting more racial barrier and behavioral messages compared to parents of children attending the predominantly African American school district. These parents might be particularly aware of their children's numerical and social

minority status in these spaces and choose to parent accordingly based on their perceptions of their children's cultural needs (Caughy et al., 2002; Tatum, 1987).

Families may spend a great deal of time at home, but the neighborhood alone does not capture the other interracial interactions parents and adolescents have within the time spent outside of their home (i.e., parent work environments, religious settings like church, adolescent extracurricular clubs/sports). For instance, parents' experiences of racial discrimination in their workplace have been found to predict the frequency of conversations they have with their children about discrimination and racial mistrust (Cooper et al., 2015; Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Chen, 1997; White-Johnson et al., 2010). The Black church has historically functioned as a place of spiritual worship, political empowerment, and mental health and marriage counseling (Mattis & Jagers, 2001) and a mechanism for racial socialization (Brega & Coleman, 1999). Research on the role of religion and spirituality in African American parenting is limited, but Mattis and Jagers' (2001) framework exploring the significance of religion in the lives of African American families support that "religion and spirituality [profoundly] shape individual, family, and community relationships across the developmental lifespan" (p. 519). Brega and Coleman (1999) explored the ways religion and racial socialization related to African American adolescent's positive racial self-perceptions. Even though 73% of their sample reported attending predominately African American churches, racial socialization reports were not significantly correlated to the racial composition of their church. Even with this finding, Brega and Coleman (1999) still reason that for youth attending an African American church, the church itself maybe a powerful source of racial socialization that facilitates the development of a strong connection to community and racial pride. This dissertation study includes various sources of interracial

contact to provide a more nuanced depiction of the relationship between the racial socialization practices of African American parents and their ecology.

In keeping with prior research findings about the connection between racial socialization and the racial composition of contexts (Caughy et al., 2006; A. Harrison et al., in preparation; Priest et al., 2014), I hypothesize that at baseline, African American caregivers raising children in majority non-African American contexts will be in profiles that emphasize race-salient racial socialization patterns (e.g., clusters characterized by racial pride, egalitarian, racial barrier, and behavioral messages).

Racial Discrimination Experiences

Racial discrimination is defined as "any behavior which denies individuals or groups of people equality of treatment which they may wish" (Garcia Coll et al., 1996, p.1900). Racial discrimination has been well studied and acknowledged as a risk factor for youth of color with potentially lasting psychological and socio-economic impacts into adulthood (Garcia Coll et al., 1996; Lesane-Brown, 2006; Neblett et al., 2008). As adolescents' exploration of their identity and engagement in mainstream culture increase, so might their perceptions of differential treatment from those who are not part of their racial group (Greene et al., 2006). Fortunately, racial socialization has been found to be protective of adolescents' psychological well-being in the aftermath of a racially discriminatory experience (Bynum et al., 2007; Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Neblett et al., 2008).

African American parents may also provide different racial socialization messaging to their children depending on who (e.g., peer or adult) expressed racially discriminatory behavior toward their child (Banerjee & Eccles, 2019; Hughes & Johnson, 2001). Hughes and Johnson

(2001) found that when African American parents perceived their adolescent was discriminated against by a peer they provided more promotion of mistrust messaging, but more preparation for bias messaging when the perceived person was an adult. While both messages are types of racial barrier messages, they promote different behaviors for coping and future interaction. Banerjee and Eccles (2019) describe the intention of a parent providing their child with preparation for bias messages when faced with racial discrimination from an adult—like a teacher. Given the power dynamic between teachers and students, children may not interpret harsh discipline for normal classroom behavior or not being called on when their hand is raised as a form of racial discrimination. In this circumstance, racial barrier messages may help children not blame themselves for discriminatory experiences, but rather to cope and prevail with an understanding of structural discrimination and prejudice (Banerjee & Eccles, 2019; Love, 2019). On the other hand, promotion of mistrust messages in response to peer racial discrimination may encourage children to 1) develop a more selective process for determining friendships or 2) have same race friends. This dissertation study does not specifically examine whether the source of racial discrimination directed toward adolescents (e.g., peers, teachers, other adults, ingroup vs outgroup individuals) shapes the nature of African American caregivers' racial socialization profiles (Hughes et al., 2016). However, this dissertation does differentiate between the types of discriminatory events and experiences that can occur in a person's life and how these categories may shape racial socialization clusters.

The experience of different forms of racial discrimination may evoke different emotions and coping behaviors (Banerjee & Eccles, 2019; Carter & Forsyth, 2010). For instance, the experience of being threatened or harassed because of one's race may evoke feelings of anger,

fear, hypervigilance, and anxiety, whereas experiences of exclusion based on race might induce feelings of sadness, lowered self-esteem, depressive symptoms, and avoidance behavior (Carter & Forsyth, 2010; Evans, 2011). Ultimately, understanding how parents' experiences of racial discrimination relate to their racial socialization practices is complex; findings vary depending on the type of racial discrimination being explored (e.g., interpersonal/individual, structural, cultural, institutional racial discrimination) (Seaton & Yip, 2009).

Parents may respond and provide racial socialization messaging to youth proactively in anticipation of them experiencing racial discrimination or reactively in response to their own experiences of racial discrimination (Banerjee & Eccles, 2019; Hughes & Chen, 1997). Hughes and Chen found that if parents reported experiencing interpersonal prejudice at work, they tended to report engaging in racial socialization practices that prepared their children for bias. In contrast, parents' who experienced institutional/structural discrimination tended to transmit more promotion of mistrust messages (Hughes & Chen, 1997). Much racial socialization and racial discrimination work has been conducted using African American participants, but similar patterns of differential reactions to discrimination were also found using a sample of 190 Black Canadians (J. Joseph & Kuo, 2009). In Joseph and Kuo's study, if participants interpreted vignettes depicting racial discrimination to be interpersonal, they most often used spiritual-centered coping strategies (e.g., prayer, meditation). When participants interpreted the vignette as an example of cultural or institutional discrimination, they most often used problem-solving coping strategies, emotional debriefing, or spiritual coping. Findings from racial discrimination/racial socialization literature make it difficult to derive nuanced conclusions about the relationship between parents' racial socialization practices and various types of racial

discrimination. Even less research contributes to understanding how both parent and adolescent experiences of racial discrimination shape parents' racial socialization messages overtime (7th to 10th grade/ ~12 to 15 years old).

Both parents' and adolescents' race-related experiences may shape parents' racial socialization cluster membership. As children grow older, their reasoning and self-reflective abilities to understand complex abstract societal structures increase the likelihood that they will interpret racially charged interactions (C. S. Brown & Bigler, 2005). This reflection of daily experiences may then encourage them to initiate race related conversations with their caregivers (Hughes et al., 2016). Following this line of reasoning, it is hypothesized that at baseline, caregivers whose adolescents report more discrimination will be more likely to exhibit race salient racial socialization patterns than caregivers whose adolescents report less discrimination. Similarly, I hypothesize that caregivers who report experiencing more discrimination themselves will be more likely to exhibit race salient racial socialization patterns than caregivers who report experiencing less discrimination.

The racial discrimination hypotheses across transitions are generally the same as the baseline hypotheses. Across transitions, caregivers whose adolescents report more discrimination (or experience an increase in discrimination themselves) might transition to a cluster characterized by racial salient messages more than caregivers of adolescents who report less discrimination. Perhaps, parent transitions across clusters over time might be more related to the types of racial discrimination they or their children receive. How specific types of racial discrimination (i.e., invisible/outsider, criminal, harassment, unintelligent, other) (Evans, 2011)

from either adolescent or parent reports relate to parent cluster membership and transitions over time is exploratory.

Quality of Caregiver and Adolescent Communication

As adolescents mature, they actively explore their identity, push boundaries, and work to make more decisions in their lives (Holden, 2010). The tension between parent and child during this growing process is often pathologized and exaggerated (Smetana et al., 2006). Although the dominant portrayal of adolescence in the US is characterized by emotional duress, endless conflict, and behavioral problems, this portrayal is not representative of the typical relationship between parent and child (Smetana et al., 2006). Holden's (2010) framework is used in the present study to understand how parent behavior might change to support adolescents' positive development and foster healthy communication. Most racial socialization research does not explicitly analyze parent/child relationship communication, but instead assumes that the parent and child have a healthy normal relationship. As a result of this assumption, sometimes the predictive relationships between parenting practices and child outcomes are empirically inconsistent, even though they are conceptually supported. It is likely that casting light on this issue requires more empirical studies purposefully aimed at understanding the quality of the relationship between the caregiver and the adolescent.

Among the few researchers that aim to explore the role of the parent-child relationship on racial socialization practices, there is considerable variation in their conceptualizations and assessments of the caregiver/child relationship. However, self-reported measures of the communication level between parent and child appear to be the most common way parent/child relationship is assessed. Researchers who explore parent and child dynamics acknowledge that

more communication does not always equate to a stronger relationship between the caregiver and child. Some scholars have proposed that understanding the affective component of the parent-child relationship might capture relationship quality rather than levels of communication (McHale et al., 2006). McHale and colleagues (2006) used a measure of parental warmth to assess 162 African American mother's and father's relationships with their children. Study findings support that both mothers and fathers reports of their warmth was positively and significantly related to their cultural and preparation for bias socialization practices. For Frabutt and colleagues (2002), it seems that youth are responsive to the racial socialization of parents who can effectively balance the amount of proactive messaging they provide to them by being knowledgeable about specific events occurring in their daily life and involving themselves in ways that promote conversations and a caring supportive relationship.

Tang, McLoyd, and Hallman (2016) contended that without accounting for the relationship quality between parent and child, research inadvertently hinders their ability to understand how family dynamics might moderate their findings. They measured family dynamics via frequency of parent-adolescent communication. Their study results supported that between 8th and 11th grade, adolescent reported parental racial socialization was predictive of adolescent racial identity for families with high communication (above sample mean level of communication), but this relationship was not significant for families with low levels of communication (below sample mean). Using measures that assess the nature and quality of caregiver and child interactions could help resolve the empirical inconsistency between study informants and the predictive relationship of parental racial socialization practices on child outcomes (Tang et al., 2016).

As discussed earlier in the racial socialization and age section, parents adjust the conversations they have with their children as they get older. Part of this adjustment is providing opportunities for the child to make autonomous choices for the use of their time, contribute to family decisions, and help solve various problems (Brody et al., 2002; Hurd et al., 2013). In this dissertation study, I draw on the involved-vigilant parenting literature (Brody et al., 2002) to explore how parent and child communication might moderate parents' racial socialization profile membership overtime. Involved-vigilant parenting is characterized by a combination of parental responsiveness (joint problem solving among parents and adolescents and parents' use of inductive reasoning with their adolescent children) and vigilance (the extent to which parents monitor their children and set and enforce boundaries to protect them from potential risks and dangers) (Brody et al., 2005). This style of parenting has been found to be positively related to African American adolescents' self-esteem, self-control, self -regulation, and their ability to make responsible choices confidently without the presence of their parent (Brody et al., 2005; Varner et al., 2018). It is expected that parents' engagement in transparent conversations that provide their children with insight into the rationales for their decisions will ultimately strengthen their children's reception of their racial socialization messages.

The dataset used for this dissertation does not include traditional measures of parent-child communication. So, I plan to use involved-vigilant parenting as a marker of the quality of communication between the caregiver and child. I hypothesize that caregivers who engage in higher levels of vigilant parenting might be in racial socialization clusters that indicate responsiveness to child reports of racial discrimination. Involved-vigilant parenting could moderate the association between racial socialization clusters, adolescent racial discrimination,

and gender if parents transition to different profiles over time. For exploratory purposes, I also plan to run my models first with parent reports, then second with child reports. However, measures of the quality of the relationship between the parent and child are not always significant predictors of racial socialization, particularly if the study informant is the child reporting their own outcomes rather than the parent. I am interested in comparing whether child reports of involved-vigilant parenting / communication influence my model significance. By comparing models with parent and adolescent informants, this study helps to further establish how racial socialization is connected to larger parent-child relationship dynamics.

Summary of Study Hypotheses

The primary goals of this dissertation are to investigate important predictors of racial socialization and *how the racial socialization messages of African American caregivers change as their children transition from middle to high school.* I specifically explore whether adolescent gender, caregiver racial identity, family interracial contact, caregiver and adolescent reports of racial discrimination, and caregiver and adolescent reports of quality of their communication predict caregivers' initial profiles of racial socialization categories (as opposed to single categories of racial socialization) and changes in these profiles over their children's transition from middle to high school (7^{th} grade/~12 years old, 8^{th} grade/~13 years old, 9^{th} grade/~14 years old, 10^{th} grade/~15 years old). Throughout the subsections of the literature review, the study hypotheses were included as concluding statements. This section summarizes my predictions about relationships between the predictor variables and patterns of racial socialization at baseline (7^{th} grade) and elaborate on the hypothesized predictors of transitions in caregiver racial socialization profiles across time (7^{th} through 10^{th} grade).

The study hypotheses pertaining to transitions across the four waves representing adolescent grade levels 7 through 10 (e.g., wave 1 = 7th grade) are essentially exploratory. Given that racial socialization profiles many be different at different time points (7th, 8th, 9th, & 10th grades), caregivers might not shift to different profiles, but the characteristics of the profiles (e.g., frequency or mean frequency of messages in the profile) may change signifying a larger group change. I expect a relatively high level of stability for caregivers who at baseline are in profiles characterized by high levels of negative messages or positive messages. The following hypotheses assume that if a caregiver transitions into another racial socialization profile, one or more of the predictive variables (i.e., adolescent gender, caregiver racial identity, interracial contact, adolescent racial discrimination) will explain that movement.

Racial Socialization Hypotheses at Baseline (BL) (7th Grade)

Hypothesized Predictors of Parent Transitions (Tr) Across Racial Socialization Profiles

Adolescent Age

- *BL Hypothesis.* None.
- *Tr Hypothesis a.* Caregivers who are not profiled into positive racial socialization or race salient racial socialization profiles at baseline will transition into these profiles over the four years, in keeping with prior evidence that caregivers convey more explicit race-related messages as children get older.

Adolescent Gender

- *BL Hypothesis.* African American caregivers of girls will be more likely than caregivers of boys to be in racial socialization clusters characterized by above sample

average scores on racial pride, self-worth, and egalitarian messages and below sample average frequencies on racial barrier and negative messages.

- *Tr Hypothesis.* I expect that gender of the child will predict caregivers' transitions over time, given prior research linking gender and racial socialization. The exact direction of the transition is exploratory and dependent on the caregiver profile membership at baseline. For example, from seventh to ninth grade, caregivers of girls in positive race socialization clusters might transition to clusters that are still positive in nature but also include above average frequency of racial barrier messages. This transition reflects an increase in explicit conversations about race and discrimination.

Caregiver Racial Identity

- *BL Hypothesis.* Caregivers with high racial centrality will exhibit more positive and racially salient socialization patterns than caregivers who do not consider race a central component of their identity.
- *Tr Hypothesis.* Given the relatively stable nature of racial centrality (Sellers et al., 1998), caregivers might not shift to clusters characterized drastically different from their baseline racial socialization clusters. If caregivers do transition to other profiles, I hypothesize that this change will be related to their own or their child's experiences of racial discrimination or a change in interracial contact.

Interracial Contact

- *BL Hypothesis.* I hypothesize that African American caregivers raising children in majority non-African American contexts will, at baseline, be in profiles that

emphasize race-salient racial socialization patterns (e.g., clusters characterized by racial pride, egalitarian, racial barrier, and behavioral messages).

- *Tr Hypothesis.* None.

Racial Discrimination

- *(Caregiver) BL Hypothesis.* Caregivers who report more discrimination will be more likely to exhibit race salient racial socialization patterns than caregivers who report less discrimination.
- *(Adolescent) BL Hypothesis.* Caregivers with adolescents who report more discrimination will be more likely to exhibit race salient racial socialization patterns than caregivers with adolescents who report less discrimination.
- *Tr Hypothesis.* Caregivers whose adolescents report more discrimination (or experience an increase in discrimination themselves) might transition to a cluster characterized by racial salient messages more often than caregivers of adolescents who report less discrimination. How specific types of racial discrimination (i.e., invisible/outsider, criminal, harassment, unintelligent, other) from either adolescent or parent reports relate to caregiver cluster membership and transitions over time is exploratory.

Quality of Caregiver-Adolescent Communication

- *BL Hypothesis.* None.
- *Tr Hypothesis.* I hypothesize that caregivers who engage in higher levels of involved vigilant parenting might be in racial socialization clusters that indicate more responsiveness to child reports of racial discrimination. Involved-vigilant parenting

might moderate the association between adolescent racial discrimination and gender if caregivers transition to different profiles over time. For exploratory purposes, I also plan to examine how my findings differ depending on whether the measures of involved-vigilant parenting are based on child reports or caregiver reports.

CHAPTER 2: Method

This study uses data from a 4-year multi-method, cross-sequential longitudinal study from the Center for the Study of Black Youth in Context (CSBYC). The purpose of this longitudinal study was to examine family, school, and community resources that Black youth draw on to support their positive development. The study primarily surveyed middle and high school youth and their parents, teachers, school administrators from three school districts in the Midwestern part of the United States. The three school districts were chosen to ensure a good range of socioeconomic and social class diversity. The first school district is predominantly White with some non-Black children, from mostly working and middle-class families. The second school district is predominantly Black with children from majority working class families. For the final school district, the racial composition is very similar to the first school district, but these children are from predominantly upper-middle and affluent financial backgrounds with a small proportion of working-class Black children bused in from different neighborhoods. This study was supported by a National Science Foundation grant AWARD #0820309.

Participants

The current sample consisted of 598 self-identified African American caregivers and their children. Only caregivers and children who explicitly racially identified as African American for all four time points were included in analysis. For the current study, the dataset

was reconstructed around grade so changes that occurred from 7th to 8th to 9th to 10th grade could be analyzed. Sample demographics and measure reliabilities were analyzed by grade level (7th - 10th grade) to provide details about the caregiver racial socialization clusters and how the sample changed over time.

The term *caregivers* is used in this study to signify kinship networks that are typical in African American family structures. This study uses racial socialization reports from multiple caregiver classifications, but most caregivers across all four time points identified as mothers (See Table 3). For the 7th grade baseline group (n=170), caregivers were an average age of 41 years old (s.d.=9.4), with 84% of caregivers identifying as female and 86.6% as mothers. Regarding educational attainment, 40.3% reported having earned a bachelor's degree or higher. Median family income was between $45,000 and $64,000. Most caregivers reported being married (42.6%), single (26.6%), or divorced (17.8%). The racial demographics of the neighborhoods families reported living in varied, with 46.8% living in predominantly Black or more Black than non-Black neighborhoods, 18.1% living in racially balanced neighborhoods, and 35.1% in neighborhoods with predominantly non-Black residents. More than half of the adolescents in this group identified as female (52.4%) and on average were 12 years old (s.d.=.58). The sample demographics for the remaining three time points were very similar to baseline (See Tables 2, 3, and 4 for full descriptions).

Due to the complex study design of the original longitudinal study from which this secondary data is a subset, sample size attrition across the four time points is not linear. This data set has more data points from 8th and 9th grade groups, so there are more caregiver – adolescent dyads represented at these time points. Furthermore, not everyone in this sample has data for all

four time points. For example, some dyads in the 8th grade group do not have data points represented in 7th grade group. To retain the maximum amount of useable data, data points from any relevant grade were included. For example, adolescents who took the Wave 1 survey in 8th grade would not have 7th grade data, but their 8th and 9th grade data would be retained for analysis. This pattern of "missing data" reflects the complex, cross-sequential research design of the original longitudinal study. For example, Cohort 3 participants only had the opportunity to participate in 2 waves of the survey (see Table 1 for a comprehensive sample size description). This pattern of planned missingness means that some of the current study's missing data patterns can be characterized as "missing completely at random" or MCAR (Enders, 2013).

Procedure

The three district (3D) study was piloted in 2010 and continued to collect data until 2014 in annual rolling phase during the mid-Fall season to align with school scheduling. The sample child and parent participants were recruited by trained graduate students and staff working for The Center for the Study of Black Youth in Context (CSBYC).

Parents with adolescents attended one of seven middle and high schools within three school districts in a Midwestern metropolitan area were offered to participate in the study. Adolescents were distributed across the 7th through 12th grades. Due to the timing of the first data collection wave, some students in one of the school districts began in the 6th grade. The students and parents who participated from this particular district were excluded from analysis. The center has held a good relationship with the schools within the three school districts of interest. Student participation required signed consent from parents and assent from the children. Students took the survey before their parents, usually during their lunch hour or during a class

hour using netbooks or their school computers. Parents were invited to take the survey via a Qualtrics email after their child completed the survey. Students received a $20 compensation (incentive) while parents received a $50 compensation/ Incentive was increased every year.

Measures

Parental racial socialization. Primary caregivers were asked about the frequency of racial socialization messages and activities they engaged in with the child in the past year. The RSQ-Parent developed by White-Ford, Johnson, and Sellers (2010) is an adapted scale from the Racial Socialization Questionnaire—Teen version (RSQ-T) developed by Lesane-Brown, Scottham, Nguyen, and Sellers (2006). This 26-item racial socialization measure represents six dimensions; five dimensions assess verbal types of socialization messages and one measures non-verbal activities. From the 26 items, six subscales were computed representing racial pride, self- worth, egalitarian, racial barriers, negative, and behavioral racial socialization messages.

Participants were asked to indicate how often they said each of the items to their child the past year on a 3-point Likert-type rating scale (0=Never, 1=Once or Twice, 2=More than twice). The *Egalitarian* subscale (4 items; 7^{th} grade α =.65; 8^{th} grade α =.67; 9^{th} grade α =.66; 10^{th} grade α =.77) measures the frequency with which primary caregivers share messages that people of all races are equal and should be treated and given the same opportunities to succeed (e.g., "you can learn things from people of different races"). The *Racial Barriers* subscale (4 items; 7^{th} grade α =.81; 8^{th} grade α =.80; 9^{th} grade α =.82; 10^{th} grade α =.80) measures the frequency with which primary caregivers share messages that prepare their child for racial adversity (e.g., "some people may dislike you because of the color of your skin"). The *Racial Pride* subscale (4 items; 7^{th} grade α =.62; 8^{th} grade α =.59; 9^{th} grade α =.62; 10^{th} grade α =.77) measures the frequency

primary caregivers encourage their child to take pride in their racial group, and the history, values, and cultural traditions of that group (e.g., "never be ashamed of your Black features [i.e. hair texture, skin color, lip shape, etc]"). The *Self-Worth* subscale (4 items; 7th grade α =.57; 8th grade α =.65; 9th grade α =.69; 10th grade α =.64) measures the frequency primary caregivers communicate to the child that the child has value both as an individual and as a person of color (e.g., "skin color does not define who you are"). The *Racial Socialization Behaviors* subscale (5 items; 7th grade α =.75; 8th grade α =.71; 9th grade α =.78; 10th grade α =.76) measures the extent to which primary caregivers engage in activities and behaviors related to Black culture (e.g., "child has gone with you to Black cultural events [i.e. plays, movies, concerts, museums]"). The *Negative* subscale (5 items; 7th grade α =.30; 8th grade α =.66; 9th grade α =.27; 10th grade α =.10) measures the extent to which primary caregivers share messages that depreciate Black people (e.g., "white businesses are more reliable than Black businesses"). Reliabilities for the negative subscale are very low at three of the four time points, but across all studies that have used this subscale, the reliabilities are consistently low (α < .50). The considerably higher reliability at time 2 (8th grade) has caught my attention and further analyses will be conducted and discussed in the results chapter.

Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI - Short). The MIBI measures the three stable dimensions of racial identity (centrality, ideology, and regard) proposed by the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity for African Americans (Sellers et al., 1998). Participants are asked to respond regarding the extent to which they agree or disagree with the items on a 7-point Likert scale. In the present study, we used only the scores from the Centrality scale. The *centrality scale* (7th grade α = .74; 8th grade α = .76; 9th grade α = .76; 10th grade α =

.83) consists of 4 items measuring the extent to which being African American is central to the respondents' definition of themselves (e.g., “Being Black is an important reflection of who I am.”). A higher score on the centrality scale is indicative of race being a more important aspect of the individuals' definitions of self.

Racism and Life Experiences Scale (RaLes). From the child annual survey data and parent survey data. The RaLes (Harrell et al., unpublished manuscript; Seaton et al., 2009) assesses racism experienced collectively, individually, and vicariously with three types: life event⁄episodic stress, daily hassles, and chronic⁄contextual stress. The prompt begins by asking children “in the past year, how often did it happen to you because you were Black?” then providing scenario items like, “being observed or followed while in public places” or “being left out of conversations or activities”. These 18 items were measured on a 6-point Likert scale with 0= (Never), 1=(Once), 2= (A few times), 3= (About once a month), 4= (A few times a month), and 5= (Once a week or more. Given that these items are an inventory of the types of discriminatory events and experiences that can occur in a person’s life, the items were grouped by life event similarity (Evans, 2011). Four life event categories are as follows: *invisible/outsider, criminal, harassment, unintelligent, and other.* The subscale reliabilities using caregiver data are as follows: *invisible/outsider* (7^{th} grade α = .95; 8^{th} grade α = .82; 9^{th} grade α = .75; 10^{th} grade α = .81), *criminal* (7^{th} grade α = .90; 8^{th} grade α = .80; 9^{th} grade α = .65; 10^{th} grade α = .96), *harassment* (7^{th} grade α = .90; 8^{th} grade α = .75; 9^{th} grade α = .75; 10^{th} grade α = .93), *unintelligent* (7^{th} grade α = .90; 8^{th} grade α = .89; 9^{th} grade α = .62; 10^{th} grade α = .98), and *other* (7^{th} grade α = .94; 8^{th} grade α = .99; 9^{th} grade α = .87; 10^{th} grade α = .94). The subscale reliabilities using adolescent data are as follows: *invisible/outsider* (7^{th} grade α = .80; 8^{th} grade α

= .86; 9th grade α = .80; 10th grade α = .82), *criminal* (7th grade α = .80; 8th grade α = .84; 9th grade α = .87; 10th grade α = .91), *harassment* (7th grade α = .77; 8th grade α = .79; 9th grade α = .80; 10th grade α = .81), *unintelligent* (7th grade α = .88; 8th grade α = .92; 9th grade α = .87; 10th grade α = .91), and *other* (7th grade α = .86; 8th grade α = .88; 9th grade α = .88; 10th grade α =.87) .This approach was more appropriate than creating a composite score with higher values representing more experiences of racial discrimination. By separating the events, I have more variability and nuance in my analysis.

*Quality of Caregiver and Adolescent Communication***.** Parents answered 20 items related to how much they engaged in involved-vigilant parenting. Adolescents responded to the same items, but from their perceptions of their parents' involvement-vigilance in their lives. All the items were measured on a 4-point scale from 1= (never) to 4= (always). For this study, I was interested in only using the items that captured the quality of communication between the caregiver and adolescent. So, instead of using all 20 items to create a composite variable, I chose six items that I felt captured parent reported parent-child communication quality (7th grade α = .93; 8th grade α = .94; 9th grade α = .90; 10th grade α = .98) (e.g., "How often does the Target Child talk to you about things that bother the Target Child?", "How often do you give reasons to the Target Child for your decisions?", see Appendix E for the full list of items). I used the same six items to capture adolescent reports of parent-child communication quality (7th grade α = .80; 8th grade α = .83; 9th grade α = .82; 10th grade α = .99). The composite score made from the six items was used as a proxy indicator of parent-adolescent communication quality in the analyses.

*Interracial Contact Variables***.** The following four variables were used to represent the interracial contact in our analysis. Together these four variables provide a more comprehensive

look of the physical ecological context representing interracial contact from three perspectives (the parent, the child, and the parent/child dynamic). To avoid losing variance, in the analysis they will remain separate rather than collapsed into a composite variable. Parent's reports of the racial demographics of a) their neighborhood (How many people in your current neighborhood are Black?) was measured on a 5-point scale, reverse coded so higher values mean more contact with Black people; 1= (Almost all other race people), 2= (Less Black people than people of other races), 3= (Same number of Black people and people of other races) 4= (More Black than people of other races) to 5= (Almost all Black people); b) their church (How many people in your place of worship are Black?) measured on a 6 point scale, 1= (Almost all other race people) to 5= (Almost all Black people) and 6= (I do not have a place of worship); c) their place of employment (How many people on your job are Black?) measured on a 6 point scale, 1= (Almost all other race people) to 5= (Almost all Black people) and 6= (I am not employed at this time); and d) adolescent report of racial contact at school (Which of the following best describes the racial make-up of the people in most of the clubs, teams, or other organizations you are currently involved in?) measured on a 5-point scale, reverse coded so higher values mean more contact with Black people; 1= (Almost all other race people), 2= (Less Black people than people of other races), 3= (Same number of Black people and people of other races) 4= (More Black than people of other races) to 5= (Almost all Black people).

Demographic Variables. Parents reported their level of educational attainment. Level of education attainment was measured using a 9-point scale: 1= Junior high school or less, 2= Some high school, 3= Received high school diploma, 4=Some college, 5= Associate /trade /technical

Degree, 6= Bachelor's Degree, 7= Some graduate school, 8= Master's Degree, and 9= Ph.D/M.D./J.D. Child gender was reported by the parent (male = 0 and female = 1).

Plan of Analysis

Person-centered methodological approaches are not commonly used for the study of racial socialization. However, the benefit of using person-centered approaches like latent class analysis (LCA) is that they access similarities across individuals rather than associations between variables to identify the underlying (unobserved) subgroups in the population (Lanza & Collins, 2008; Neblett et al., 2008). Namely, this approach identifies different clusters of racial socialization messages and behaviors that exist within this sample of African American caregivers.

In this dissertation, I ultimately want to explore how caregivers may shift to other racial socialization clusters across time. This specific analysis is called latent transition analysis (LTA), which is a type of latent class model (Kline, 2016). Given the complexity of the model I am proposing for this dissertation, I plan to take a deconstructed approach to LTA. I first plan to use LCA implemented by Mplus (Version 8.0; Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2017) to determine racial socialization clusters from caregiver reports corresponding to their child's school grade level at four different time points (7th, 8th, 9th, and 10^{th} grade). To assess my research question regarding how parents' racial socialization practices change over time, I must first determine parental racial socialization cluster membership at every time point (7^{th}, 8^{th}, 9^{th}, and 10^{th} grade). Using data from six-subscales of the RSQ-P measured at four time points, I will use LCA to estimate a series of models between one to five classes based on empirical considerations (e.g., Cooper et al., 2015; Neblett et al., 2008, 2009; Stevenson, 1998; White-Johnson et al., 2010). To

determine the best fitting model, several fit indices (e.g., Akaike Information Criterion [AIC], Bayesian Information Criterion [BIC], Entropy, VLMR, a bootstrap likelihood ratio test [BLRT]) will be utilized.

After caregiver cluster membership at each time point is determined, crosstabs and contingency tables will be used in SPSS (Version 26) to further interpret transition matrices between the time points. These matrices function similarly to two-way tables, such that one side represents caregiver cluster membership at time 1 (T1) and the other side represents time 2 (T2). I will ultimately have three transition matrices to analyze T1 to T2, T2 to T3, and T3 to T4. Within these matrices, I will be looking for significantly large shifts in caregiver transitions across clusters. Once these large transitions are found, I will use cross tabs to further explore those transition groups. Crosstabs specifically differentiate to which clusters caregivers move from year to year and which characteristics (e.g., child gender, child racial discrimination) help discriminate caregiver movement. This component of the analysis allows me to statistically discern how and when caregivers' racial socialization behaviors shift to align developmentally with their children's race-related experiences.

Finally, log linear modeling will be used to develop a best fitting model. My inferential variables of interest will be added to the model separately to determine what variables are necessary to predict parents' belonging to a cluster and their transition(s). This will help me understand my data better before I build a final more complex model hopefully using LTA. The final use of LTA is contingent on my sample sizes at each time point and whether my data has enough power to use such a powerful statistical analysis (Lanza & Collins, 2008).

CHAPTER 3: Results

As stated in Chapter 2, I planned to use a deconstructed approach to latent transition analysis (LTA) to understand how caregivers' racial socialization messages change over their children's transition from middle to high school. I also indicated that the final use of LTA was contingent on my sample sizes at each time point. From preliminary explorations of the study data, I expected that the complex design of the CSBYC study which is the source of data for the dissertation might interfere with my plan. My expectations were confirmed when I built a measurement model using Mplus testing for longitudinal measurement invariance among the racial socialization latent constructs.

In the first section of this chapter, I discuss in detail how the analysis of longitudinal measurement invariance contributed to the reduction of my dissertation to three time points (seventh, eighth, and ninth grades) and four racial socialization latent constructs (instead of the original six). This analysis also revealed that the four racial socialization constructs were not equivalent across the three time points. This made it impossible to conduct a longitudinal examination of parents' transitions to various racial socialization clusters. Thus, I adjusted my plan of analysis to reflect a cross-sectional study design. In utilizing a cross-sectional approach, I followed my proposed plan of analysis—with the exception of the aforementioned longitudinal examination—and added a factor analysis and a series of analysis of variance (ANOVAs).

Specifically, after the factor analyses of all 26 items in the racial socialization scale, I use LCA implemented by Mplus to identify racial socialization clusters at all three time points. Finally, the ANOVAs, conducted in SPSS, allowed for a rich examination of how caregiver cluster membership related to the other variables of interest (e.g., gender, racial centrality).

Longitudinal Measurement Invariance

To explore how caregivers' racial socialization practices changed over time, I first specified a measurement model to test if there was stability in the racial socialization factors overtime. This is called testing for measurement invariance and when specifically looking for invariance over time, it is called longitudinal measurement invariance (Kline, 2016). Establishing measurement invariance involves running a set of increasingly constrained structural equation models and testing whether differences between these models are statistically significant (Lee, 2018; Van de Schoot et al., 2012). This process starts by specifying a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) that reflects how the construct is theoretically operationalized. If the factor model exhibits good fit across the time points, configural invariance has been achieved. The next level of constrained modeling is called metric/weak invariance. This model assumes configural invariance and also tests for factor equivalency (if factor loadings of latent variables are the same across groups/time; Lee, 2018). The next constrained model is scalar/strong invariance. This model assumes metric invariance (factor equivalency) and tests for the equality of unstandardized intercepts (caregivers use the response scale for the racial socialization items the same way; Kline, 2016; Lee, 2018). When measurement invariance is not supported, this means groups or subjects over time respond differently to the items and consequently, valid comparisons cannot be made across factor means (Van de Schoot et al., 2012).

Rather than conduct a confirmatory factor analysis, I began with the previously validated six-factor structure with the intention of making changes to produce the best fitting model for my study sample. Also, given that the minimum level of longitudinal invariance acceptable to make formal comparisons across groups and time is scalar/strong invariance (Kline, 2016), I began with this model rather than progressively building more constrained models. I used the structural equation modeling software Mplus (Version 8) to build a strong scalar measurement invariance model. Model fit indices (i.e., Chi-squared, Comparative Fit Index [CFI], Root Mean Square Error of Approximation [RMSEA], Standardized Root Mean Square Residual [SRMR]) were considered to determine the best fitting model.

My first measurement model was comprised of six factors across four time points (seventh to 10th grade) that tested for factor equivalency and equality of intercepts. The model also allowed the residuals between the same items in factors over time to correlate (e.g., the four egalitarian items for seventh grade correlate with the same items in the eighth- and ninth-grade factors). This measurement model did not converge because the minimum covariance coverage was not fulfilled. In other words, for some of my variables, the proportion of data present was less than five percent. This first model revealed there was too much missing data to include 10th grade data or the Negative Messages subscale. This model was not described in Table 7 because no model fit statistics values were produced.

Reported in Table 7 are values of the model fit statistics for a total of six longitudinal invariance models. None of the models were acceptably good fitting models supporting scalar/strong measurement invariance. This means that both factor loadings and item intercepts are not similar over time for the caregivers in the sample. Model 1 specifies a five-factor model

(i.e., Racial Pride, Racial Barriers, Egalitarian, Self-Worth, Behavioral messages). I constrained all factor loadings and intercepts to be equal across the three time points and allowed the residuals to correlate. This model was rejected by the chi-square test—χ^2 (1837) = 6205.95, p = .000, and indicated poor model fit from all the other fit indices. Thus, this model was not retained.

For Model 2, in addition to the constraints in Model 1, I added an autoregression of latent constructs. None of the fit indices improved. Additionally, output also revealed there were measurement inconsistencies between eighth and ninth grade Self-Worth and Egalitarian factors. Model 3 attempted to improve Model 2 by using the modification indices and including within wave latent residual correlations. The modification indices strongly recommended removing the entire Self-Worth factor, item PRS01 from the Egalitarian factor, item PRS04 from the Racial Pride factor, and item PRS19 from the Behavioral Socialization factor. This drastic model modification improved the chi-square statistic, but none of the other fit indices. Also, this level of model trimming suggested by the modification indices was not conceptually grounded. Consequently, I suspected that I did not have configural invariance at this point and decided to use SPSS to conduct a principal component factor analysis. Results of the factor analysis are discussed in the following section of this chapter.

Model 4 tested a four-factor model and included the same model constraints as Model 1 (i.e., factor equivalency, equality of intercepts, autocorrelation of residuals). This model fit was poor like Model 1 and Model 2. It is typical in structural equation modeling that not accounting for relationships between items and factors in your model can negatively influence model fit. So, in addition to the constraints in Model 4, Model 5 also included the autoregression of latent

constructs, latent residual correlations, and cross-lag of latent constructs (comparing the strength of the relationship between the latent constructs in time one to establish causal conclusion of which latent variables at which time points cause each other). Even with these additions, model fit still did not improve.

Finally, Model 6 heeded modification indices suggestions to remove the Self-Worth factor. Similar to Model 3, this modification improved the chi-square statistic, but all the other fit indices failed to meet the required criteria to support longitudinal measurement invariance. Consequently, this analysis revealed that there was little to no measurement stability for my participants across the three years. Thus, I proceeded to complete my analyses from a cross-sectional perspective.

Factor Analyses

Given the previously discussed poor fitting longitudinal measurement invariance models, in addition to numerous items cross loading with different racial socialization latent variables, a exploratory factor analysis was conducted to clarify the appropriate factor structure for the data at seventh, eighth and ninth grades. A principal-component factor analysis with oblimin rotation and a Kaiser normalization using SPSS (Version 26) was conducted on 21 items representing caregiver racial socialization messages. This measure originally contained 26 items, but due to the amount of missing data revealed among the Negative Messages items from the coverage matrix in my measurement invariance model, I decided to remove these five items from the factor analysis.

This factor analysis showed a different factor structure for the RSQ-Parent measure than

what was originally reported by White-Johnson, Ford, and Sellers (2010). I determined how many factors to retain for each grade level based on a combination of the percentage of variance among variables explained by each factor and theoretical coherence. For the seventh grade data, five factors met the Kaiser retention criterion of eigenvalues greater than 1.00. These five factors accounted for 55% of the variance. However, one of the factors contained only two items, so these items were collapsed into the factor that was theoretically most appropriate. As shown in Table 6, the first factor in the seventh grade column includes two additional items (PRS01 and PRS14) with lower factor loadings than the other items in that factor. For both the eighth and ninth grade data, the sample four-factor structure met the Kaiser retention criterion of eigenvalues greater than 1.00, explaining 51% of the variance. The two aforementioned items collapsed into the first factor in the seventh grade have high factor loadings in the eighth and ninth grade. Item coefficients from the structure matrix were used to determine the factors given they are most appropriate for naming factors rather than pattern or component structure matrices (Kahn, 2006).

Naming the Racial Socialization Factors

Once the factor analysis confirmed the presence of four racial socialization factors rather than six, I renamed the factors to better reflect what they represented. Factor 1, *Navigation Capital Messages,* was a combination of the full original Egalitarian factor with the addition of two racial pride items and one self-worth item totaling seven items (see Table 6). Internal consistency reliability estimates for this factor were .79 (seventh grade), .78 (eighth grade), and .82 (ninth grade). The most challenging part of understanding this new factor was how egalitarian and racial pride messages are situated almost in opposition to each other in the racial

socialization literature. Racial Pride messages are meant to help youth develop an appreciation of, satisfaction with, and confidence in being a part of a racial/ethnic group. Egalitarian messages, on the other hand, deemphasize the importance of racial/ethnic differences with the intention of promoting equal treatment and respect to everyone. It was not surprising that a self-worth item factored with the egalitarian messages given that self-worth messages also do not emphasize the value of being a part of one racial/ethnic group. When these three messages are examined individually, it is unclear how they complement each other and encourage a complex understanding of race and relationships. Together, these messages might encourage youth to be self-confident enough to accept, learn from, and grow with people who are different from them.

When deciding how to label this new factor, I considered the potential benefit of being racially socialized in a way that combines egalitarian, racial pride, and self-worth messages and what skill caregivers might be hoping to impart to their children. McClain (2019) discusses the "psychological and cultural harm that so-called good schools" (p. 131) in middle class, suburban districts inflict on Black youth. She recounted a caregiver expressing her desire to teach her daughter how to navigate the "white liberal racism" she is exposed to daily in these "good schools". Although all Black children do not attend predominantly white middle schools, a benefit of this type of socialization might be to help youth learn how to work with people of different races as they grow and move through various spaces in life. Schools stand out as a prime socializing context because they are the first spaces where youth have to interact with people—outside of their immediate family—for long periods of time without their parents' guidance or protection (Delpit, 2006). Thinking about caregivers' perceptions of schools being a driving force for the emergence of this new joint racial socialization factor is particularly

relevant to my dissertation because I am examining caregivers' racial socialization patterns as their children transition from one school environment to another. Personally, this racial socialization approach resonates with how my parents taught me about race. My African American parents used their knowledge of racial dynamics to teach me how to navigate and function in the predominantly White schools I attended while maintaining a strong racial identity and positive self-perception.

Research indicates that racial pride socialization aids in youths' development of a strong sense of racial identity (Huguley et al., 2019), which can be protective of youths' psychological wellbeing if they have negative race-related experiences (Leath et al., 2019). However, a socialization practice that discusses the joint benefit of racial pride, egalitarian, and self-worth messages has not yet been discussed in the racial socialization literature. Nonetheless, this new joint type of racial socialization teaches a skill that is recognized as a valued type of cultural capital in education literature, specifically a type of community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005). Within the model of community cultural wealth, Yosso (2005) details six forms of cultural capital: aspirational capital, familial capital, social capital, linguistic capital, resistant capital, and navigational capital. Relatedly, Critical Race Theory (CRT) is used as a lens to center and validate the forms of cultural capital that communities of color utilized that traditional cultural capital theory (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990) does not recognize or value. Yosso defines *navigation capital* as "skills of maneuvering through social institutions; [having] the ability to maneuver through institutions not created with Communities of Color in mind (e.g., racially-hostile university campuses)" (p. 80). This definition captures what I believe to be the purpose of this new racial socialization factor, *Navigation Capital Messages*.

Factor 2, *Self-Worth Messages* factor (totaling four items) kept its original label even though one of the original items was replaced with a racial pride socialization item. Even with this addition, the Self-Worth Messages factor still represented messaging that promoted positive beliefs and confidence in oneself. Internal consistency reliability estimates for this factor were .72 (seventh grade), .79 (eighth grade), and .76 (ninth grade). Factor 3 was re-labeled "*Black Cultural Immersion*" to reflect how frequently caregivers immerse their children in Black cultural experiences. This factor was previously labeled "behavioral socialization messages" in the racial socialization literature.

I found the behavioral socialization messages label to be misleading. This label gives the impression that these socialization messages capture the types of behaviors caregivers encourage or discourage akin to the dimensions of expression described in the Triple Quandary Theory's cultural experiences agenda (Boykin & Toms, 1985). Instead, items previously labeled as behavioral socialization messages capture how often caregivers engage their children in cultural activities (e.g., plays, movies, organizational meetings) or purchase Black books or toys for their children. The Black Cultural Immersion factor includes six items, the original five "behavioral socialization" items and one original "racial pride" item that also captures their involvement in Black cultural activities. Internal consistency reliability estimates for this factor were .79 (seventh grade), .75 (eighth grade), and .79 (ninth grade). Factor 4, *Racial Barriers Messages*, items did not factor differently than the original measure; thus, this label was not changed. The four items in this factor still represented messages that warn children that they may experience differential treatment because of their race. Internal consistency reliability estimates for this factor were .81 (seventh grade), .79 (eighth grade), and .81 (ninth grade).

Preliminary Analyses

Preliminary analyses focused on zero-order correlations between the racial socialization subscales, demographic variables, racial identity, experiences of racial discrimination, and interracial contact. Table 5a presents the correlations between the racial socialization variables and other study variables before the variables were differentiated by grade level. The correlations for Table 5a did not take the interdependence of children into account. So, the correlations are most likely inflated, but this is less of a concern given that after this table with joint analyses, all other analyses are conducted separately by grade. Tables 5b, 5c, and 5d present these correlations across all three time points after they have been separated by grade. These tables are broken into three sections, delineate by a line of separation.

In each of these four tables, the first section shows correlations between the racial socialization factors. Across all four tables, correlations between the four racial socialization subscales were moderate and positive. The only exception was in the seventh grade (see Table 5b) where Self-Worth and Racial Barriers messages were not significantly correlated. In eighth and ninth grade, the relationship between Self-Worth and Racial Barriers messages was positive but weaker than the correlations with the other factors.

The second section shows correlations between demographic variables (e.g., gender, parent education) and the racial socialization factors. The number of significant correlations drastically decreased once the data were separated by grade. In Table 5a, before the grade separation, parent age, parent education, and household income shared small positive correlations with Self-Worth, Black Cultural Immersion (BCI), and Racial Barriers socialization

messages. Conversely adolescent age and grade were negatively correlated with Navigation Capital, Self-Worth, and BCI messages. Adolescent gender was slightly negatively correlated with Racial Barriers messages. Starting with the seventh grade data (see Table 5b), only parent education and adolescent age were significantly correlated with Navigation Capital and BCI messages. For the eighth grade data (see Table 5c), parent education was slightly positively correlated with BCI and both household income and adolescent age shared small negative correlations with Self-Worth messages. Finally, in the ninth grade (see Table 5d), parent age was positively correlated with racial barriers messages and parent education was positively correlated parent education.

The final section of the correlation table was the largest, detailing the correlations between the major study predictor variables (e.g., parent racial centrality, parent and adolescent reported quality of communication) and the racial socialization factors. In Table 5a, before variables were examined by grade level, parent racial centrality, parent reported quality of communication, and all five types of parental racial discriminatory experiences (i.e., Invisible, Criminal, Harassed, Unintelligent, Other) were slightly to moderately positively correlated with all four racial socialization messages. Adolescent-reported experiences of racial discrimination did not correlate with Navigation Capital, Self-Worth, or Black Cultural Immersion (BCI) socialization. Racial Barriers messages, however, shared small positive correlations with adolescent reports of experiences of being harassed (r=.09 , p <.05), treated like they were unintelligent (r=.09 , p <.05), or treated like a criminal (r=.09 , p <.05). Regarding the items assessing family interracial contact, the racial demographics of the family neighborhood and parent's work environment held slightly negative correlations with BCI and Racial Barriers

messages. Specifically, the fewer Black people living in the neighborhood or working at the parent's job, the more BCI and Racial Barriers messages caregivers reported. The more Black people attending their place of worship, the more caregivers provided Self-Worth and Racial Barriers messages. Adolescent reports of the racial demographics of the clubs and extracurricular activities they were involved in were negatively correlated with Self-Worth (r= -.12, p <.05), BCI (r= -.11, p <.05), and Racial Barriers messages (r= -.11, p <.05).

For caregivers with adolescents in the seventh grade, caregiver racial centrality was positively correlated with BCI in the seventh grade (r= .25, p < .01), Racial Barriers messages in the eighth grade (r= .19, p < .01), and all four socialization messages in the ninth grade; see Tables 5b, 5c, and 5d). Parent reported quality of communication between them and their child was positively correlated—in both the seventh and eighth grades—with Navigation Capital messages (7^{th}: r=.17, p < .05; 8^{th}: r=.14 , p < .05) and BCI (7^{th}: r=.16, p < .05; 8^{th}: r=.16, p < .05), and Navigation Capital (r=.20, p < .01), Self-Worth (r=.23, p < .01), and BCI (r=.21, p < .01) messages in the ninth grade. Adolescent reports of the quality of communication between them and their parent did not correlate with any socialization messages at any time point. Similarly, there were no statistically significant correlations found between the racial socialization messages and adolescent experiences of racial discrimination. For seventh, eighth, and ninth grade (Tables 5b, 5c, and 5d respectively), all parent-reported experiences of racial discrimination were moderately and positively correlated with BCI and Racial Barriers messages. In addition to this relationship, for caregivers with youth in the eighth grade, their experiences of being treated like a criminal was positively correlated with Navigation Capital messages (r= *.15*, p < .05). For caregivers with adolescents in the ninth grade, their reports of

criminal ($r = .14$, $p < .05$) and harassment ($r = .18$, $p < .01$) discriminatory experiences also positively correlated with Navigation Capital messages.

Interracial contact had the strongest correlations in the seventh grade compared to eighth and ninth grades. In 7th grade, the racial makeup of parent's job was negatively correlated with Self-Worth ($r = -.21$, $p < .05$) and BCI ($r = -.20$, $p < .05$) socialization; family place of worship was positively correlated with Racial Barriers messages ($r = .27$, $p < .01$) and adolescent's extracurricular clubs was negatively correlated with Self-Worth messages ($r = -.20$, $p < .05$). Only one interracial contact variable had a statistically significant correlation coefficient in the eighth grade: The racial makeup of the parent's job had a small negative correlation with Self-Worth messages ($r = -.18$, $p < .05$). Lastly, in the ninth grade, the racial makeup of the neighborhood negatively correlated with BCI socialization ($r = -.14$, $p < .05$), and the racial makeup of adolescent extracurricular clubs negatively correlated with Navigation messages ($r = -.21$, $p < .05$).

Identification of Racial Socialization Clusters

Latent class analysis using Mplus Version 8.0 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998) were utilized to identify separate racial socialization cluster among African American caregivers for each grade. Latent class models across all three grade levels revealed the self-worth factor to be problematic. Simply by examining cluster solution means (unstandardized and standardized), it was apparent that caregivers reported very high Self-Worth messages with small sample standard deviations (seventh grade self-worth [M = 1.96, SD = .13]; eighth grade self-worth [M = 1.93, SD = .17]; ninth grade self-worth [M = 1.94, SD = .13]), which suggested a ceiling effect. Unfortunately, what my data revealed appears to be a limitation of the items in this subscale (see Appendix B

for self-worth items). Overall, these items reflect positive simple messaging about inner worth and value. These items were measured on a three-point Likert scale from 0 (*the caregiver never said this message in the past year*) to 2 (*the caregiver said this message once or twice in the past year*). Given the low threshold for messages transmission in this scale (recalling at most two messages in the past year), perhaps caregivers who did not explicitly remember saying these messages to their children chose the highest score nonetheless. There was no variable in my model that would have predicted differentiation in caregiver self-worth reports because, on average, caregivers reported sharing messages corresponding to the highest value. Mplus modification indices also recommended that self-worth messages be removed from the model. For many cluster solutions, the Self-Worth factor had no estimate of standard error or variance. Furthermore, given that self-worth messages did not contribute to any meaningful differentiation between the clusters, it was removed from the model. Thus, each cluster was comprised of three factors of racial socialization (i.e., Navigation Capital, Black Cultural Immersion, Racial Barriers) rather than the four originally planned factors.

Naming Racial Socialization Clusters

I aimed to identify three to six distinctive racial socialization clusters at baseline (seventh grade). I expected this range of clusters based on findings from previous studies that used latent class/latent profile analysis (e.g., Cooper et al., 2015; Neblett et al., 2008; Neblett et al., 2009; Stevenson, 1998; White-Johnson et al., 2010). This expectation was supported, albeit clusters were comprised of three types of racial socialization messages (i.e., navigation capital messages, Black cultural immersion, racial barrier messages) rather than the six hypothesized messages (i.e., racial pride messages, racial barriers messages, self-worth messages, egalitarian messages,

negative messages, racial socialization behaviors). Results indicated that there were five racial socialization clusters in my sample of African American caregivers at each time point examined (seventh, eighth, and ninth grades). However, the cluster labels were not the same across all time points and were inconsistent with previous racial socialization literature.

Labels for the racial socialization clusters were inspired by both the standardized and unstandardized means, as well as cluster labels from other racial socialization studies. Even though Cooper et al. (2015), Neblett et al. (2008), and White-Johnson et al. (2010) used the same measure and six variables to estimate their racial socialization clusters, there is no overlap in cluster labels among these studies. Differences in cluster naming are notable given that clear similarities can be drawn across study findings. For instance, the cluster characterized with above sample means on racial pride, racial barriers, egalitarian, self-worth, and behavioral messages was labeled "positive race socializers" in Cooper et al. (2015), "high positive" in Neblett et al. (2008), and "multifaceted" in White-Johnson et al. (2010). While my clusters were only comprised of three racial socialization messages, I also labeled my cluster characterized by scores above sample means on all socialization variables *Multifaceted,* consistent with White-Johnson et al. I added the terms "high", "moderate", and "low" as modifiers of the multifaceted label (i.e., high multifaceted, moderate multifaceted, low multifaceted) to denote how these clusters differed in frequency, rather than how they were characterized (see Figures 1, 3, and 5). The first cluster labeled "*High Multifaceted"* is characterized by above sample standardized means on three socialization messages, while both the *Low Multifaceted* (cluster number three) and *Moderate Multifaceted* (cluster number five in the eighth and ninth grades) have below sample means on all three messages (see Figures 2, 4, and 6). However, the unstandardized

means were used to determine the appropriate modifier (i.e., high, moderate, low) for these clusters given that the clusters look similar in shape aside from their frequencies (see Figures 1, 3, and 5). I also labeled my *Infrequent Racial Socializers* cluster—characterized by scores below sample means on all three socialization messages—after Cooper et al.'s similarly characterized cluster. Infrequent Racial Socializers also objectively had the lowest means across all the clusters in seventh, eighth, and ninth grades. Due to the emergence of this new Navigation Capital Messages factor, none of the other cluster labels from the other studies appropriately described the remainder of my clusters.

In some cases, the unstandardized means were not helpful in differentiating the clusters. For example, in Figures 1, 3, and 5, the second cluster labeled "*Black Navigation Capital*" looks very similar to the Multifaceted cluster. However, in Figures 2, 4, and 6, which show the clusters graphed using their standardized values, it is apparent that the distinguishing characteristic across all three time points was that these clusters had values below sample mean for Racial Barriers Messages, average means for Black Cultural Immersion, and above sample mean for Navigation Capital Messages. In seventh grade, the fourth cluster was labeled *Egalitarian Navigation Capital* with the assistance of both the unstandardized and standardized means (see Figures 1 and 2). The defining characteristic of this cluster was that the unstandardized mean for Navigation Capital Messages was much higher than the other two message types. However, it is worth noting that naming this cluster in a way that was not misleading was challenging. The high frequency of Navigation Capital messages compared to BCI and Racial Barriers messages differentiates this cluster from the clusters in the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades, but this cluster does not represent the cluster with the overall highest Navigation Capital mean. In

seventh grade, the fifth cluster was labeled "*Barrier Immersion*" because the standardized means revealed that it was the only cluster across all grades to be above sample mean on both Black Cultural Immersion and Racial Barriers Messages and below sample mean on Navigation Capital Messages (see Figure 2).

Cluster Solution Decision Process by Grade

To determine the best fitting model, several fit indices (e.g., Akaike Information Criterion [AIC], Bayesian Information Criterion [BIC], Entropy) were used. A bootstrap likelihood ratio test [BLRT] was also used to help confirm the appropriate number of clusters. Studies have shown that the bootstrap method may be a more reliable diagnostic, especially where smaller sample sizes are considered (Nylund et al., 2007). Even though there are many suggestions, there is no widespread agreement about which criteria are best in determining the number of classes in latent class modeling (Nylund et al., 2007). Thus, analyses from both SPSS and Mplus complemented each other and aided in the identification of five distinct clusters at seventh, eighth, and ninth grade. Table 8 shows the model fit statistics from latent class analyses of caregiver racial socialization clusters and the following sections detail my cluster decision making process using the table values.

Seventh Grade Cluster Solutions and Descriptions

Based on the BLRT values (-312.26, $p = .000$), the three-class solution was a better fit than the two-class solution (see Table 10). In addition, the four-class solution was deemed a better fit than the three-class solution (BLRT = -293.84, $p = .000$). As evidenced by the lower AIC (587.32) and BIC (656.31) values, and high entropy (0.79), the five-class solution was the

best fit to the data (BLRT = -280.96, $p = .000$). The six-class solution had a slightly higher entropy (0.82 vs. 0.79), a higher BIC (662.20) and statistically significant bootstrap test (BLRT = -271.66, $p = 0.013$). From these values, it would appear the six-class solution could have also fit the data. However, Mplus prefaced these results with a warning that the best loglikelihood value was not replicated and the solution may not be trustworthy due to local maxima. I did not receive this warning for the five-class solution. Thus, I decided that the five-class solution was the most appropriate fit to the data.

Five distinct classes were identified. The largest cluster Class 1, labeled *High Multifaceted*, included 58 caregivers (34% of the sample). Class 2, labeled *Black Navigation Capital*, was comprised of 51 caregivers (30%); Class 3, the smallest cluster, labeled *Low Multifaceted*, was composed of 15 caregivers (9%); Class 4, labeled *Egalitarian Navigation Capital*, included 26 caregivers (15%); and Class 5, labeled *Barrier Immersion*, was comprised of 20 caregivers (12%). Latent class probabilities for most likely latent class membership indicated probabilities of 88.5% (Class 1), 81.7% (Class 2), 94.5% (Class 3), 88.6% (Class 4), and 86.5% (Class 5).

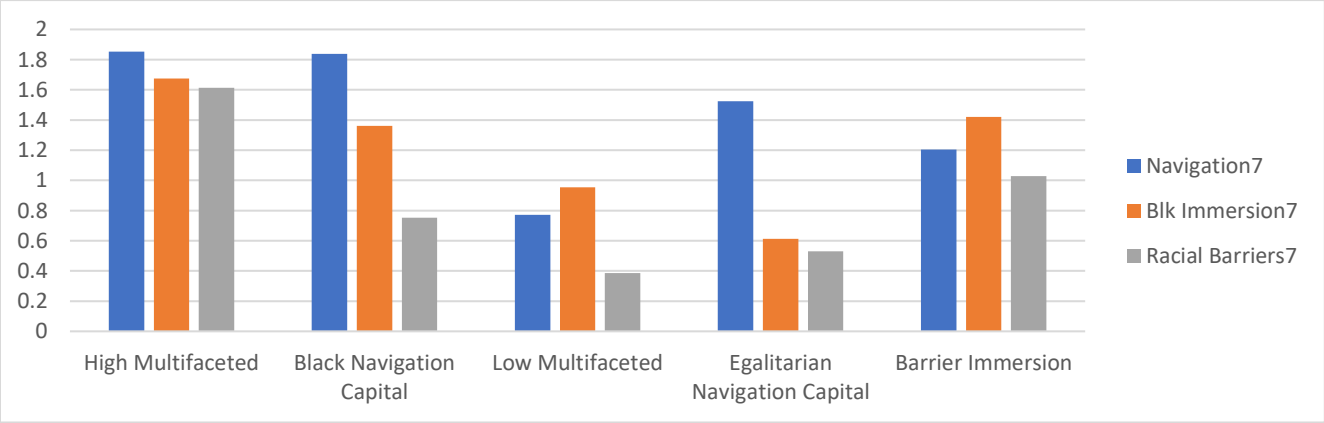

Figure 1: Summary of racial socialization clusters using unstandardized means for 7th grade.

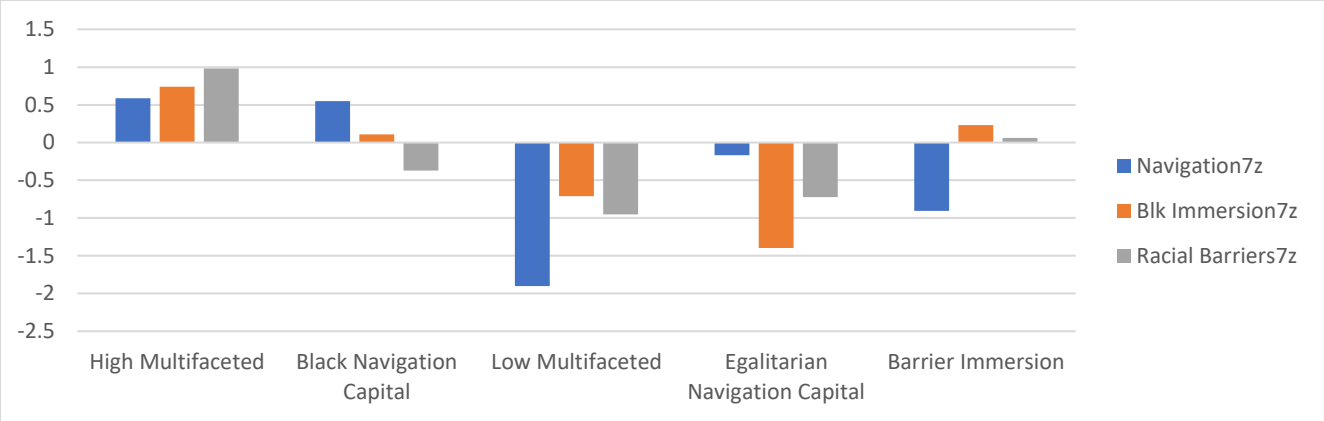

Figure 2: Summary of racial socialization clusters using standardized means for 7th grade.

Eighth Grade Cluster Solutions and Descriptions

Based on the BLRT values (-373.21, $p = .000$), the three-class solution was a better fit than the two-class solution (see Table 10). The four-class solution was deemed a better fit than the three-class solution (BLRT = -352.41, $p = .000$). In conjunction with the lower AIC (695.65) and BIC (769.91) values, and high entropy (0.91), the five-class solution (BLRT = -337.91, $p = .000$) was the best fit to the data. The six-class solution had a local maxima warning, lower entropy (0.79 vs. 0.91), a higher AIC (700.34), a higher BIC (788.09), and a nonsignificant bootstrap test (BLRT = -325.83, $p = 1.00$). Thus, I decided that the five-class solution was the most appropriate fit to the data.

Similar to the seventh-grade cluster solution, Class 1, labeled *High Multifaceted* and the largest class, included 112 caregivers (52%); Class 2, labeled *Black Navigation Capital*, was comprised of 50 caregivers (23%); and Class 3, labeled *Low Multifaceted*, was composed of 19 caregivers (9%). Where the eighth-grade cluster solutions differ were in the fourth and fifth clusters. Class 4, the smallest class and labeled *Infrequent*, included five caregivers (2.3%), and

Class 5, labeled *Moderate Multifaceted*, was comprised of 30 caregivers (14%). Latent class probabilities for most likely latent class membership indicated probabilities of 97.9% (Class 1), 88.8% (Class 2), 96.3% (Class 3), 96.9% (Class 4), and 96.9% (Class 5).

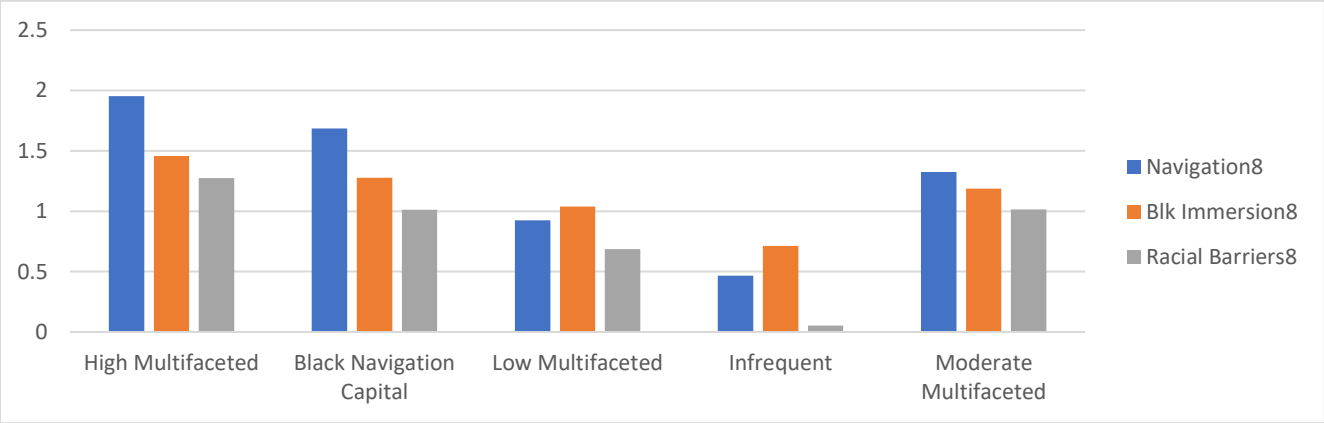

Figure 3: Summary of racial socialization clusters using unstandardized means for 8th grade.

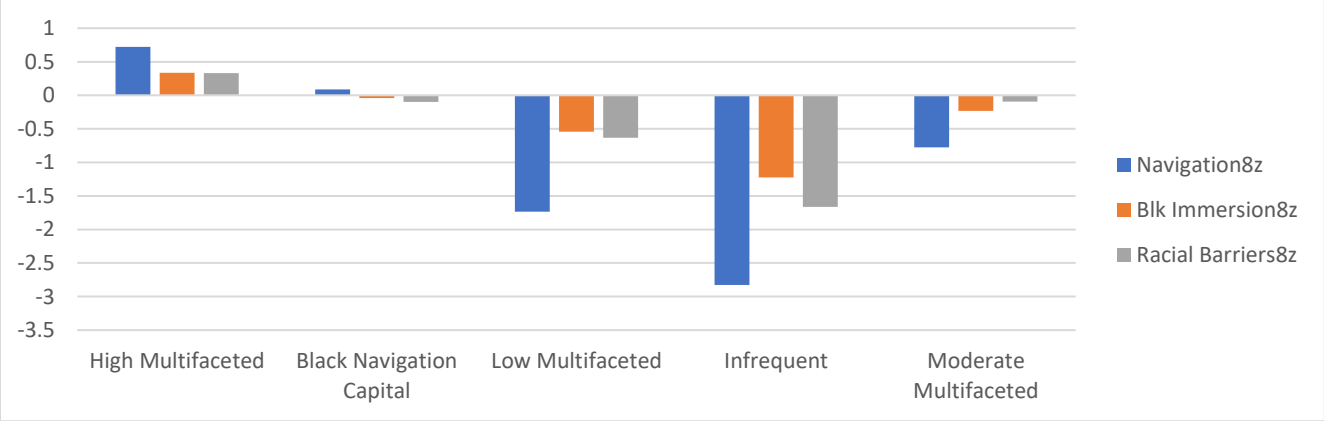

Figure 4: Summary of racial socialization clusters using standardized means for 8th grade.

Ninth Grade Cluster Solutions and Descriptions

Finally for the last year of data, BLRT values support that the three-class solution (-395.38, $p = .000$) was a better fit than the two-class solution (see Table 10). The four-class solution was a better fit than the three-class solution (BLRT = -354.40, $p = .000$). The five-class solution was determined to be the most appropriate fit for the data. However, this decision was

not as straightforward as the data for seventh and eighth grade. Cluster identification can be a subjective process informed by both fit indices and insight as to what conceptually makes sense for the data. So, in conjunction with lower AIC (699.45) and higher BIC (773.30) values, and lower entropy than the four-class solution (0.94 vs 0.83), the five-class solution (BLRT = -335.52, $p = .000$) still seemed to be the best fit to the data. Both the four-class and six-class solutions had local maxima warnings. In addition, the six-class solution had no members in the sixth class ($n = 0$), lower entropy (0.78 vs. 0.83), a higher AIC (707.45), a higher BIC (794.72), and a nonsignificant bootstrap test (BLRT = -327.73, $p = 1.00$).

The final five-class solution was the same as the eighth grade solution. Class 1 (the largest class named *High Multifaceted*) included 109 caregivers (51%), Class 2 (*Black Navigation Capital*) was comprised of 33 caregivers (16%), Class 3 (*Low Multifaceted*) was comprised of 12 caregivers (6%), Class 4 (*Infrequent*) included eight caregivers (4%), and Class 5 (*Moderate* Multifaceted) was comprised of 50 caregivers (24%). Latent class probabilities for most likely latent class membership indicated probabilities of 92.5% (Class 1), 66.2% (Class 2), 86.9% (Class 3), 99.9% (Class 4), and 97.4% (Class 5). Given that the membership probability for caregivers in Class 2 was moderate, these caregivers were also 27.4% likely to be in Class 5.

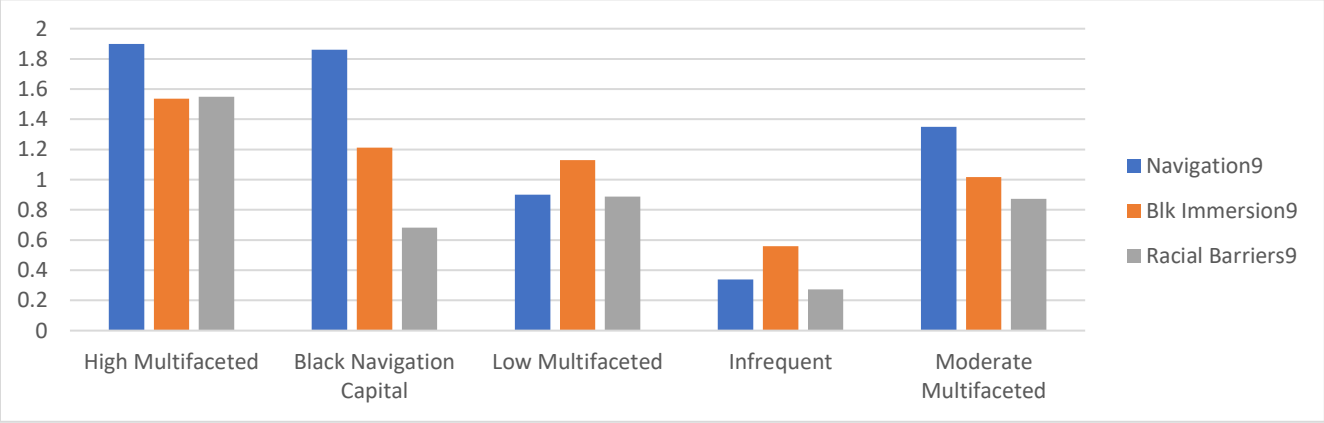

Figure 5: Summary of racial socialization clusters using unstandardized means for 9th grade.

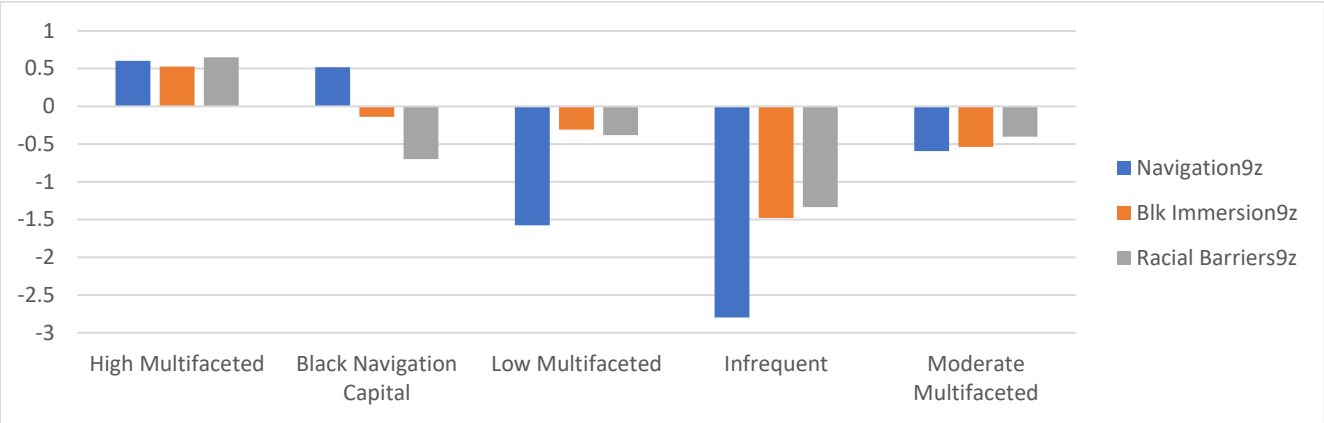

Figure 6: Summary of racial socialization clusters using standardized means for 9th grade.

Exploring Variation in Caregiver Racial Socialization Clusters

In this section, only significant results are discussed in detail. I have referenced relevant results tables by number (which can be found after the Appendices) throughout the remaining sections to provide further detail for my results. The results tables only report statistically significant and marginally significant findings. It is customary to show non-significant findings in the results tables but given the number of non-significant findings from the multiple analyses conducted (i.e., 23 predictor variables tested for difference across 5 clusters over 3 different time points), the results are much clearer with their omission. Tables that include non-significant findings can be provided upon request.

Cluster Differences in Racial Socialization Variables

First, I conducted a series of ANOVAs to investigate cluster differences in Navigation Capital, Black Cultural Immersion (BCI), and Racial Barriers racial socialization factors for caregivers with adolescents in the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades. To elaborate, each cluster is

comprised of three individual racial socialization messages whose frequencies may be similar between the clusters. Think of the High Multifaceted and Black Navigation Capital clusters in the seventh grade for example. Results from this analysis indicate whether there is a significant difference in the frequencies of the individual racial socialization messages across the clusters at each time point. So even though the frequencies of the individual messages may be different between these two clusters in the seventh grade, there might only be a significant difference between the BCI and Racial Barrier messages, but not the Navigation Capital messages for caregivers in the High Multifaceted and Low Barrier clusters.

Across all times points, all three racial socialization factors differed significantly across the clusters. The following are the ANOVA Omnibus *F* test results across all time points: (a) the seventh grade Navigation Capital, $F(4, 165) = 177.77$, $p < .001$; BCI, $F(4, 165) = 76.61$, $p < .001$; and Racial Barriers, $F(4, 164) = 64.36$, $p < .001$, factors; (b) the eighth grade Navigation Capital, $F(4, 211) = 1169.05$, $p < .001$; BCI, $F(4, 211) = 8.19$, $p < .001$; and Racial Barriers, $F(4, 211) = 9.45$, $p < .001$, factors; and (c) the ninth grade Navigation Capital, $F(4, 207) = 512.70$, $p < .001$; BCI, $F(4, 207) = 28.46$, $p < .001$; and Racial Barriers, $F(4, 207) = 54.12$, $p < .001$, factors. Tables 9, 10, and 11 present unstandardized means, standardized means, and standard deviations of the racial socialization factors. Mostly, the differences between clusters were between those with the highest factor means (e.g., High Multifaceted and Low Barrier clusters) and the lowest factor means (e.g., Low Multifaceted and Infrequent clusters). In comparison to the differences found in the seventh grade and ninth-grade clusters, the eighth-grade caregiver clusters exhibited the fewest significant differences in BCI and Racial Barriers means across clusters.

Cluster Differences in Demographic Variables

Next, I explored cluster differences in caregiver educational attainment, caregiver marital status, family income, caregiver gender, type of caregiver relationship with the adolescent, and adolescent gender.

Caregiver Education Attainment

An omnibus *F* test indicated a difference in caregiver educational attainment between the clusters (seventh grade, $F[4, 164] = 5.21$, $p < .001$; ninth grade $F[4, 207] = 2.92$) (see Table 12a). Caregivers in the Low Multifaceted clusters in seventh grade ($M = 6.33$, $SD = 2.06$) and ninth grade ($M = 6.50$, $SD = 2.11$) reported the highest levels of education on average (between a "bachelor's degree" and "some graduate school") than caregivers in the other clusters (see Table 12b). Further exploration of these results for the seventh grade indicated that caregivers in both the High Multifaceted ($M = 5.50$, $SD = 1.88$) and Barrier Immersion ($M = 6.00$, $SD = 1.89$) clusters reported higher levels of education than caregivers in the Egalitarian Navigation Capital cluster ($M = 4.31$, $SD = 1.38$) (See Table 12b). Caregivers in the Egalitarian Navigation Capital cluster reported higher levels of education than caregivers in the Low Multifaceted cluster. Lastly, caregivers in the Low Multifaceted cluster reported higher levels of education than caregivers in the Black Navigation Capital cluster (M = 4.88, SD = 1.51). There were no significant differences in caregiver education for the eighth grade. For ninth grade, results indicate that caregivers in the Low Multifaceted (M = 6.50, SD = 2.11) cluster reported higher educational levels than caregivers in both the High Multifaceted (M = 5.05, SD = 1.67) and Moderate Multifaceted (M = 4.70, SD = 1.67) clusters (see Table 14b).

Caregiver Relationship

No differences were found for caregiver relationship in the seventh grade, eighth grade, or ninth grade.

Unrelated to Cluster Membership (Not Shown in Any Tables)

Omnibus *F* test did not indicate any cluster differences in caregiver marital status (seventh grade, $F[4, 163] = 1.72$, *ns*; eighth grade, $F[4, 211] = 0.96$, *ns*; ninth grade, $F[4, 207] = 0.71$, *ns*), family income (seventh grade, $F[4, 112] = 0.36$, *ns*; eighth grade, $F[4, 151] = 1.10$, *ns*; ninth grade, $F[4, 149] = 1.76$, *ns*), caregiver gender (seventh grade, $F[4, 163] = 0.99$, *ns*; eighth grade, $F[4, 209] = 1.70$, *ns*; ninth grade, $F[4, 207] = 0.86$, *ns*), or adolescent gender (seventh grade, $F[4, 165] = 0.40$, *ns*; eighth grade, $F[4, 211] = 0.26$, *ns*; ninth grade, $F[4, 207] = 1.10$, *ns*).

Cluster Differences in Racial Identity, Racial Discrimination Experiences, Interracial Contact, and Quality of Caregiver and Adolescent Communication

The last set of ANOVA analyses examined whether identified clusters differed in (a) caregiver racial identity, (b) caregiver and adolescent reports of five different types of racial discrimination experiences (i.e., invisible/outsider, criminal, harassment, unintelligent, other), (c) four different items representing interracial contact (i.e., the racial characteristics of the family neighborhood, the parent work environment, family place of worship, adolescent extracurricular/club activities), and (d) the quality of communication between caregiver and adolescent in association with caregivers' racial socialization cluster membership. Omnibus and Tukey HSD results are reported and discussed by grade. Given that most of the 17 predictor variables assessed at this stage of the ANOVA model did not show significant differences between caregiver cluster membership, only statistically significant and marginally statistically significant statistics will be provided in section descriptions.

Caregiver Racial Identity (Centrality)

For caregivers with adolescents in the seventh grade, the omnibus *F* test indicated cluster differences in caregiver racial centrality, $F(4, 147) = 2.68$, $p < .05$ (see Table 12a). Further exploration of these results revealed that caregivers in the High Multifaceted cluster (M = 6.00, SD = .82) had significantly higher racial centrality than caregivers in the Egalitarian Navigation Capital cluster (M = 5.27, SD = .93) (see Table 12b). These two clusters represent the highest and the lowest values of caregiver racial centrality among all study clusters in the seventh grade.

Racial centrality was not predictive of caregiver cluster membership in the eighth grade.

For caregivers with adolescents in the ninth grade, omnibus *F* test results showed that racial centrality was predictive of cluster membership $F(4, 190) = 2.90$, $p < .05$ (see Table 14a). However, further exploration only found a marginally significant difference between caregivers in the High Multifaceted ($M = 5.94$, $SD = .92$) and caregivers in the Moderate Multifaceted ($M = 5.46$, $SD = 1.06$) clusters (see Table 14b). This finding denotes the difference between the clusters with the highest and the second lowest levels of racial centrality. There is a statistical explanation for why the significant difference is not with the cluster with the lowest reported racial centrality. Caregivers in the Infrequent cluster reported the lowest racial centrality ($M = 5.06$, $SD = 1.41$), but this is also the smallest cluster with only eight caregivers (see Table 14b). For ANOVAs done with small sample sizes, it is common to have significant main effects and non-significant or marginally significant post hoc results because the analysis lacks the statistical power to detect significant differences (Sawyer, 2009). Cooper et al. (2015) also reported marginal significance in racial centrality between their largest cluster (Positive Socializers, n = 64) and smallest cluster (Infrequent Race Socializers, n = 13).

Caregiver and Adolescent Reported Quality of Communication

Seventh grade results indicated marginal significance for caregiver reported quality of communication between them and their child, $F[4, 164] = 2.14$, $p = .078$ (see Table 12a), but there was no specific differentiation between caregiver clusters (see Table 12b).

For the eighth grade, omnibus F test indicated cluster differences in caregiver reported quality of communication $F[4, 210] = 3.52$, $p < .01$ (see Table 13a). Further exploration revealed that caregivers in the High Multifaceted ($M = 3.15$, $SD = .51$) reported higher perceptions of the quality of their communication with their child than caregivers in the Black Navigation Capital cluster ($M = 2.89$, $SD = .59$) (see Table 13b).

There were no significant differences between caregiver reports of the quality of communication between themselves and their child for caregivers of adolescents in the ninth grade.

Experiences of Racial Discrimination

For caregivers with adolescents in the seventh grade, there were differences between clusters by caregiver's racial discrimination experiences of being treated like a criminal, $F[4, 163] = 2.69$, $p < .05$ (see Table 12a). Further exploration showed that caregivers in the High Multifaceted ($M = 1.30$, $SD = .85$) cluster reported significantly more experiences of being treated like a criminal than caregivers in the Egalitarian Navigation Capital cluster ($M = .60$, $SD = .89$) (see Table 12b).

In the eighth grade, caregiver experiences of racial discrimination (i.e., criminal) were marginally predictive of cluster membership, $F[4, 210] = 2.15$, $p = .076$ (see Table 13a). However, there were no specific difference between clusters. Adolescent experiences of being

harassed significantly predicted caregiver cluster membership, $F[4, 161] = 2.94$, $p < .05$ (see Table 13a), such that adolescent reports of harassment were higher for those with caregivers in the Infrequent cluster ($M = 3.44$, $SD = 2.41$) than those with caregivers in the Moderate Multifaceted cluster ($M = 1.07$, $SD = 1.16$) (see Table 13b).

In the ninth grade, Omnibus F test indicated difference in profiles by caregiver's experiences of racial discrimination; including criminal, $F[4, 206] = 6.48$, $p < .001$, harassment, $F[4, 206] = 3.78$, $p < .01$, unintelligent, $F[4, 206] = 3.14$, $p < .05$, and other, $F[4, 206] = 4.820$, $p < .001$ (see Table 14a). Caregivers reported significantly more experiences of being harassed ($M = 1.25$, $SD = .88$) and treated like a criminal ($M = 1.34$, $SD = 1.29$) in the High Multifaceted cluster than caregivers in the Moderate Multifaceted (harassed; $M = .82$, $SD = .87$; criminal, $M = .70$, $SD = .81$) (see Table 14b). In addition, in comparison to caregivers in the Black Navigation Capital cluster, caregivers in the High Multifaceted cluster also reported more experiences of being harassed, treated as criminal, unintelligent, and an the "Other" category of discrimination that vaguely captured mistaken identity and a couple items that did not fit well within the Harassed or Invisible/Outsider racial discrimination categories (see Table 14b).

Interracial Contact

Family place of worship significantly predicted caregiver cluster membership, $F[4, 150] = 2.44$, $p < .05$, for caregivers of adolescents in the seventh grade (see Table 12a). However, when this difference was probed there was only a marginal difference between caregivers in the High Multifaceted ($M = 4.48$, $SD = .67$) and Egalitarian Navigation Capital clusters ($M = 3.83$, $SD = 1.34$) (see Table 12b). This represents the difference between the cluster with caregivers reporting the highest number of African American people at their church versus the cluster with

caregivers attending a church with about the same number of black people as people of other races.

Interracial contact was not a significant predicator of caregiver cluster membership in the eighth or ninth grades.

CHAPTER 4: Discussion

The primary aim of this dissertation was to examine how African American caregivers' racial socialization messages change as their children transition from middle to high school (seventh to ninth grade). I accomplished this by, first, determining what type of racial socialization patterns caregivers' exhibit via latent class analysis. Then, I examined how adolescent gender, caregiver racial identity, family interracial contact, caregiver and adolescent reports of racial discrimination, and caregiver- and adolescent-reported quality of communication related to patterns of racial socialization as well as changes in those patterns over time.

Overall, study findings align with my conceptual framing that African American caregivers engage in complex multi-message socialization practices that are motivated by their personal characteristics and experiences. Across five different racial socialization clusters identified across seventh, eighth, and ninth grade, most caregivers were members of the High Multifaceted Cluster (characterized by above sample frequencies on all three socialization messages). Out of the many demographic and caregiver-adolescent-related factors explored in this dissertation, caregiver-reported racial centrality, educational attainment, experiences of racial discrimination were most predictive of caregiver cluster membership for caregivers with adolescents in the seventh and ninth grades. Lastly, even though I could not longitudinally examine caregivers' transitions to other racial socialization clusters,

due to statistical limitations, my results suggest that a) caregivers' move towards race salience racial socialization patterns (i.e., High Multifaceted Cluster) and away from patterns in which racial barrier messages are minimized (i.e., Black Navigation Capital Cluster) over time and b) substantial shifts in racial socialization patterns may happen before the transition to high school.

The following sections of this chapter examine how demographic characteristics, caregiver racial identity, experiences of racial discrimination, interracial contact, and caregiver/adolescent perceptions of the quality of their communication may influence caregiver cluster membership and further help understand variation in caregiver's socialization practices. When unpacking these findings, I often reflected on which individual racial socialization message or messages drove caregiver cluster membership. However, interpreting changes in individual racial socialization messages within the clusters is misaligned with and ignores the benefit of the cluster perspective. For instance, caregivers in the Low Multifaceted cluster report engaging in Black Cultural Immersion (BCI) socialization at a higher frequency than Navigation Capital and Racial Barrier socialization. Not only was caregiver education a significant predictor of Low Multifaceted cluster membership in seventh and ninth grade, but these caregivers also reported the highest levels of educational attainment out of all the clusters. An individual-level interpretation would consider the relationship between BCI and caregiver education. However, an interpretation through a cluster lens would reveal that these caregivers are not only engaging in BCI, but their overall approach to racial socialization includes BCI and moderate levels of Navigation Capital and Racial Barrier messages. Furthermore, as a reminder, Self-Worth messages were

removed from the clusters for statistical reasons (caregiver responses were so high there was no variance in some clusters), but they are an important component of all caregiver's racial socialization clusters. The advantage of cluster analyses lies in the ability to explore how my predictor variables shape caregivers' complex reports of how they racially socialize their children, and this complexity is often marked by more than just one type of socialization message. Thus, my interpretations of the significant relationships between caregiver clusters and study predictors are discussed at the cluster level.

Gender, Racial Identity, Discrimination, Interracial Contact, and Quality of Communication Associations with Racial Socialization messages

The primary goal of this dissertation was to examine how parental racial socialization may change as a function of children's age. However, understanding the ways caregivers change how they choose to racially socialize their children requires exploring a broader context than just the racial socialization messages themselves. My conceptual frameworks relate the presence of and change in racial socialization messages to caregivers' and adolescents' racialized life experiences, their interpersonal relationships with each other, and their interactions with others. The amalgamation of these contextual factors shapes caregivers' racial attitudes, racial identity, racialized world views, and ultimately their racial socialization practices (Garcia Coll et al., 1996; Hughes et al., 2016).

Study findings reveal that for caregivers with adolescents in the seventh grade, racial centrality, racially discriminatory experiences of being treated like a

criminal, and interracial contact in the church significantly predicted cluster membership. Quality of communication between the caregiver and adolescent; and adolescent reports of being racially harassed was only predictive of cluster membership in the eighth grade. Finally, caregiver racial centrality and racially discriminatory experiences of being harassed and treated unintelligent or like a criminal were predictive of cluster membership for caregivers with adolescents in the ninth grade. The following sections elaborate these significant findings as well as some surprising non-significant findings.

Adolescent Gender and Racial Socialization

There were no statistically significant differences in caregiver cluster membership by adolescent or caregiver gender. In fact, neither adolescent gender nor caregiver gender were correlated with any racial socialization messages. There is inconsistent empirical evidence about whether caregivers' perceptions of their children's gendered experiences relate to their racial socialization practices. The lack of gender differences in caregiver's racial socialization practices could be explained from a sociopolitical and methodological perspective.

After jurors acquitted George Zimmerman for killing Trayvon Martin—an unarmed Black teenager— in 2013 and police officers killed another unarmed Black teenager—Michael Brown—in 2014, the sociopolitical *Black Lives Matter* movement launched (Updegrove et al., 2020). #BlackLivesMatter has become a globally recognized social movement calling for justice, accountability, and the verbal acknowledgment (e.g., #saytheirnames, #sayhername) of the unarmed Black male and female victims of violence by police officers (M. Brown et al., 2017;

Lebron, 2017). Although the data used in this dissertation was collected between 2010 to 2014, there have been well-documented incidents of racial injustice and police brutality occurring for generations in the Black community. The recent media attention given to the sociopolitical reality in which African American caregivers raise their families make it clear why caregivers might decide that their daughters need to be as equally aware of racial barriers as their sons.

From a methodological perspective, most studies that report significant gender differences have tested for differences in individual racial socialization messages (e.g., Bowman & Howard, 1985; Thomas & Speight, 1999). Very few have explored gendered differences in racial socialization clusters. Some discussions (e.g., Neblett et al., 2008) have postulated that gendered differences in racial socialization might be easier to discern when analyzing individual racial socialization messages as opposed to when they are in clusters. For example, previous studies have found that African American parents strive to convey more Racial Barrier Messages to their boys to prepare them for physical danger or harsh punishment (Hughes et al., 2006; Leath et al., 2019), which suggests that Racial Barrier Messages in particular appear to drive this narrative of differences in caregivers' racial socialization practices. However, my study findings are not consistent with this analysis. Between forty to sixty percent of caregivers report having daughters and upwards of seventy-five percent of the caregivers across the three time points are members of the two clusters characterized by the highest frequencies of Racial Barrier messages.

Caregiver Racial Centrality

In alignment with the framing that caregivers' racial socialization practices are partially motivated by their racialized experiences and perceptions of the importance of race in their lives, racial centrality was explored as a predictor of caregiver cluster membership. The present study found that racial centrality was related to cluster membership for caregivers with adolescents in the seventh and ninth grades: Caregivers with the highest reports of racial centrality were members of the High Multifaceted cluster (i.e., above average score in Navigation Capital, BCI, and Racial Barrier messages). An important caveat is that the racial socialization categories defining my clusters skewed towards positive and race-salient socialization patterns. Furthermore, unless caregivers were members of the Infrequent or Low Multifaceted clusters, they were inherently in clusters with positive or race-salient socialization patterns as hypothesized. Also, caregivers in my sample reported relatively high racial centrality (Range = 5.27–6.00 on a 7-point scale), which makes it more interesting that racial centrality did not predict caregiver cluster membership in the eighth grade. The range of mean levels of racial centrality for eighth grade caregivers across the five clusters (Range = 5.34 – 5.78 on a 7-point scale) do not appear very different from the means for caregivers in the seventh grade (Range = 5.06 – 5.94) or ninth grades (Range = 5.27 – 6.00). Additionally, eighth and ninth grade caregivers share the same cluster solutions. So, if racial centrality contributed to how caregiver racial socialization patterns change in the transition from middle school to high school, racial centrality should have also been a significant predictor of cluster membership at the transition, between the eighth and ninth grades.

It is also interesting that clusters with the lowest reported racial centrality were not also the clusters characterized by the lowest frequency of racial socialization overall or the lowest frequency of racial barrier messages. Within the racial socialization literature (e.g., Cooper et al., 2015; Hughes, 2003; Thomas & Speight, 1999), researchers' earlier discussions about the relationship between socialization and racial centrality have been couched in terms of the degree to which racial identity matters to the caregiver at one time point. Perhaps there is a hidden complexity between centrality and socialization when the interactive relationship between caregiver and adolescent is considered overtime. Further racial socialization research with a developmental emphasis is needed to explore how varying levels of caregiver racial centrality at different stages of youth identity development and exploration shape caregiver's overall racial socialization patterns (cluster membership).

Experiences of Racial Discrimination

My study findings identified several cluster differences by racial discrimination experiences, partially supporting my hypothesis. Most differences were between caregivers in the clusters reporting the highest versus lowest levels of racial discrimination (i.e., High Multifaceted to Black Navigation Capital clusters) or between the highest versus moderate levels of racial discrimination (i.e., High Multifaceted to Moderate Multifaceted clusters). It is important to note that even though reports of racial discrimination in this sample are not particularly high (Range = 0.42-1.34 of a 5-point scale), these experiences still shape caregivers' overall racial socialization patterns.

Several studies have investigated the relationship between racial socialization and experiences of racial discrimination (e.g., Bynum et al., 2007; Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Neblett et al., 2008), but little attention has been given to how different types of racial discrimination may shape caregivers' racial socialization practices. So, an important contribution of this dissertation is the exploration of how different types of racial discrimination experiences (i.e., Invisible/Outsider, Criminal, Harassment, Unintelligent, Other) could explain caregiver cluster membership. Even though all experiences of racial discrimination are psychologically detrimental, it appears that experiences of being treated like a criminal are particularly important. Being treated like a criminal was the only type of racial discrimination predictive of cluster membership for caregivers with adolescents at all three time points. Additionally, experiences of harassment were predictive for caregivers in the ninth grade.). In comparison to being excluded and treated as invisible or unintelligent, there is a fear of physical safety that accompanies experiences of being harassed and criminalized.

Many African American caregivers discuss being motivated to have race related conversations with their children due to their concerns about their physical and psychological safety (e.g., McClain, 2019; Thomas & Blackmon, 2015). Every night on the news or even within a few moments of scrolling through social media, caregivers are subjected to insensitive reports of Black bodies being brutalized, reminding them of the deadly consequences of rampant racial discrimination. So, it is not surprising that racial socialization practices stemming from caregivers' concerns for their children's safety were predictive at all three times points. Even still, caregivers' responses to their concerns about possible physical harm that could

accompany discrimination are not limited to racial socialization practices that center discussions of racial barriers (e.g., Neblett et al., 2008). My study findings parallel those of Cooper and colleagues (2015) and White-Johnson and colleagues (2010) in that caregivers who experienced the highest levels of racial discrimination reported a racial socialization pattern that is high in a variety of racial socialization messages. Namely, caregivers in the High Multifaceted cluster adopted a well-rounded approach to racial socialization covering all categories with high frequency.

On the opposite end of the spectrum, it is to be expected that there will always be a proportion of caregivers who rarely talk about race. Caregivers in the Infrequent cluster reported below sample average means on all the socialization messages. This was also the smallest cluster in the eighth grade (n = 5) and the ninth grade (n = 8). What is distinctive about this cluster is that even with its small sample size, adolescents of caregivers in the eighth grade Infrequent cluster reported the highest experiences of harassment compared to seventh and ninth grades. As a caveat, this significant finding was driven by three adolescents whose reports could represent outliers in my data. However, I examined demographic information (e.g., parent education, family income, parent marriage status, gender) in addition to the other study variables, and these youth and their caregivers do not appear to be significantly different from the other youth and caregivers.

I hypothesized that caregivers with adolescents who reported more racial discrimination would be more likely to exhibit race-salient socialization patterns than caregivers with adolescents who reported experiencing less racial discrimination. However, the dissertation findings did not support this hypothesis. These youth in the eighth grade are reporting a high frequency of racial harassment

and their caregivers' racial socialization style does not reflect that they are relaying racial related messages to their children. It is a limitation of this dissertation that interactions between reports of racial discrimination and quality of communication were not examined. The hypothesized relationship between adolescent reports of racial discrimination and caregivers' cluster membership was predicated on the assumption that if adolescents were experiencing racial discrimination, they would disclose their experiences of discrimination to their caregivers. Although both caregiver and adolescent reports of quality of their communication were unrelated to caregiver cluster membership, their reported qualities were moderately high (parent-reported $M = 3.03$, $SD = 0.45$; youth-reported $M = 2.62$, $SD = 0.72$). So, even though youth are reporting high-quality communication with their caregivers, the findings suggest that they might not be seeking support from their caregivers about how to cope or process their experiences of racial discrimination. Given the importance of peers for adolescents at this developmental stage of their lives (Smetana et al., 2006), youth may be especially likely to process discriminatory experiences that happen in the moment with their friends or during social interactions if the incident occurred at school. Unfortunately, information was not available about the settings where youth recounted their experiences of racial discrimination (e.g., at school, in transit to and from school, their neighborhood, or out with their friends).

By exploring both caregiver and adolescent experiences of racial discrimination these study findings contribute to understanding how negative interactions with other people in their proximal settings shape caregivers' socialization messages overtime and indirectly provide insight into the

communicative dynamic of the family unit. Future research about how experiences of racial discrimination influences change in caregiver's racial socialization practices overtime needs to consider a) that caregivers might exhibit different patterns of socialization in response to different sources of discrimination (e.g., same race or different race peers or adults) and b) how both caregivers' and youths' approaches to coping with or discussing discrimination might be captured by dimensions of racial socialization not accessed in this dissertation, such as spirituality and prayer (Caughy et al., 2002; Mattis & Jagers, 2001; Stevenson et al., 1997) or self-development messages (Bowman & Howard, 1985).

Caregiver and Adolescent Reported Quality of Communication

Caregiver reported quality of communication (i.e., Involved-vigilant parenting) was only predictive of cluster membership for caregivers of adolescents in the eighth grade High Multifaceted and Black Navigation Capital clusters. These are the only two clusters (from the five eighth grade clusters) with standardized means indicating above sample average racial socialization frequencies among the three socialization categories (See Figures 3 & 4). The simplest explanation for this finding could be that caregivers in the High Multifaceted cluster just have more frequent communication with their children. However, High Multifaceted caregivers always have the highest frequency of racial socialization messages. So, if it were this straightforward an explanation, I would have expected to see this same significant relationship between caregiver reported Involved-Vigilant parenting and the High Multifaceted and Low Barrier clusters in the seventh and ninth grades as well because. This leads me to believe that the measurement of quality of

communication between caregiver and adolescent might not fully capture the type of communication I had hypothesized.

I hypothesized that caregivers with higher reported levels of involved-vigilant parenting would be more responsive to their adolescents' experiences of racial discrimination. Although adolescent reports of racial discrimination are significant in the eighth grade, those findings refer to caregivers and youth in the Infrequent cluster. Given that adolescent racial discrimination and caregiver reported quality of communication were not significant for the same clusters, this further supports that adolescents might not be talking about or seeking to process their experiences of racial discrimination with their caregivers. However, this does not indicate a lack of communication between caregivers and adolescents. In fact, averages for caregiver and adolescent reports of the quality of communication were very similar and moderately high. Sometimes youth reported higher levels of involved-vigilant parenting than their caregivers.

The six items from the involved-vigilant parenting measure (Brody et al., 2005), which were used to gauge quality of communication inquire about caregivers' and adolescents' abilities to problem solve and discuss rationales for family related decisions (See Appendix E). This type of involved-vigilant parenting is important during the transition between middle and high school. In this transition between the eighth and ninth grades (13 to 14 years old), families may be faced with many decisions that would benefit from open communication between the caregiver and adolescent. For instance, there might be options for school choice, and while adolescents might want to attend the same high school their friends are attending or planning to attend, many caregivers' might weigh other factors when deciding what

school to send their child (e.g., school reputation, teacher quality, proximity to home, school safety). In the eighth grade, caregivers might also encourage their children to think about what classes they would like to take (e.g., advanced placement or elective courses) and what extracurricular clubs or sport teams they would like to join. In addition, non-school related conversations regarding age-appropriate autonomy (e.g., curfew changes, attending parties, sexual safety) may also increase. All these topics of communication are developmentally relevant. Smalls' (2010) findings indicate that parenting practices characterized by communication, quality time, and relationship satisfaction are important to the overall development of adolescents. So, for caregivers in the High Multifaceted cluster who are already relaying multiple types of messages about race and how to interact with others to their children, involving their children in their decision-making processes might be beneficial in reinforcing some of the race-related messages they share. These caregivers might combine conversations about racial barriers or racial mistrust with conversations about general safety, police presence, and unsupervised time with their peers.

Interracial Contact

Interracial contact did not play as significant a role as I hypothesized. In the eighth grade, the racial demographics of caregivers' place of worship was marginally predictive of cluster membership for caregivers in the High Multifaceted cluster (those attending a church with the highest proportion of Black people) in comparison to those in the Egalitarian Navigation Capital cluster (those attending church with the lowest proportion of Black people). There are very few studies that

investigate the relationship between racial socialization and the church environment. Church settings are very intimate and provide opportunities for people to build relationships rooted in trust, vulnerability, and faith. For caregivers in the Egalitarian Navigation Capital cluster, attending a more racially diverse church could possibly reinforce their Navigation Capital focused racial socialization style by providing their children with more opportunities to practice learning how to work with and learn from racially different people while developing a strong sense of self in a safe space.

From a developmental perspective, it is unclear why this relationship with church would be significant for caregivers with adolescents in the seventh grade but not for caregivers with adolescents in the eighth and ninth grades. In the future, it will be important to measure interracial contact on a deeper level than just the racial demographics of the spaces African American families occupy. I recommend using items that ask explicitly about the interactions they have with others inside and outside their race in spaces of various importance to the family. Drawing from Garcia Coll and colleagues (1996) cultural ecological model, it is very important to note the physicality of spaces (e.g., what spaces look like, who families interact with), but it is equally if not more crucial to also understand the emotional investment African American families have with spaces (e.g., how influential are these spaces, do they have positive interactions). Families may spend a lot of time in certain spaces, but the experiences they have there may not influence how they decide to socialize their children about race.

Non-Hypothesized Associations with Racial Socialization Messages

Cluster differences were also tested based on caregiver demographic factors, such as educational attainment, family income, caregiver age, marital status, and how caregivers defined their caregiving relationship to the adolescent. Overall, I found statistically significant differences between cluster membership by caregiver educational attainment and their relationship to the adolescent (e.g., mother, father, aunt).

Caregiver Educational Attainment and Racial Socialization

Numerous studies have found that caregivers with higher educational attainment report conveying higher frequencies of positive verbal racial socialization messages (e.g., Bowman & Howard, 1985; Thornton et al., 1990; White-Johnson et al., 2010). Given this pattern, the present findings are surprising because caregivers with the highest education are members of the Barrier Immersion and Low Multifaceted clusters which are characterized by fewer verbal messages and more non-verbal Black Cultural Immersion socialization practices. Technically, Black Cultural Immersion, previously labeled Behavioral Socialization Messages, are considered positive messages, but Racial Pride, Self-Worth, and Egalitarian Messages are discussed more often in the socialization literature than Behavioral Messages. Figures 7 and 8 depict the distribution of educational attainment for caregivers across all the clusters in the seventh and ninth grades, respectively. It is surprising that all clusters have caregivers with varying educational attainment from “some high school” to a “master’s degree.” I expected the Barrier Immersion and Low Multifaceted clusters to have distinct groupings of

educational attainment (e.g., all the caregivers with master's degrees in one or two clusters). With a clear delineated threshold of educational attainment between these clusters, it would be easier to discern what about education drives this significance. More research is needed to provide insight into this issue.

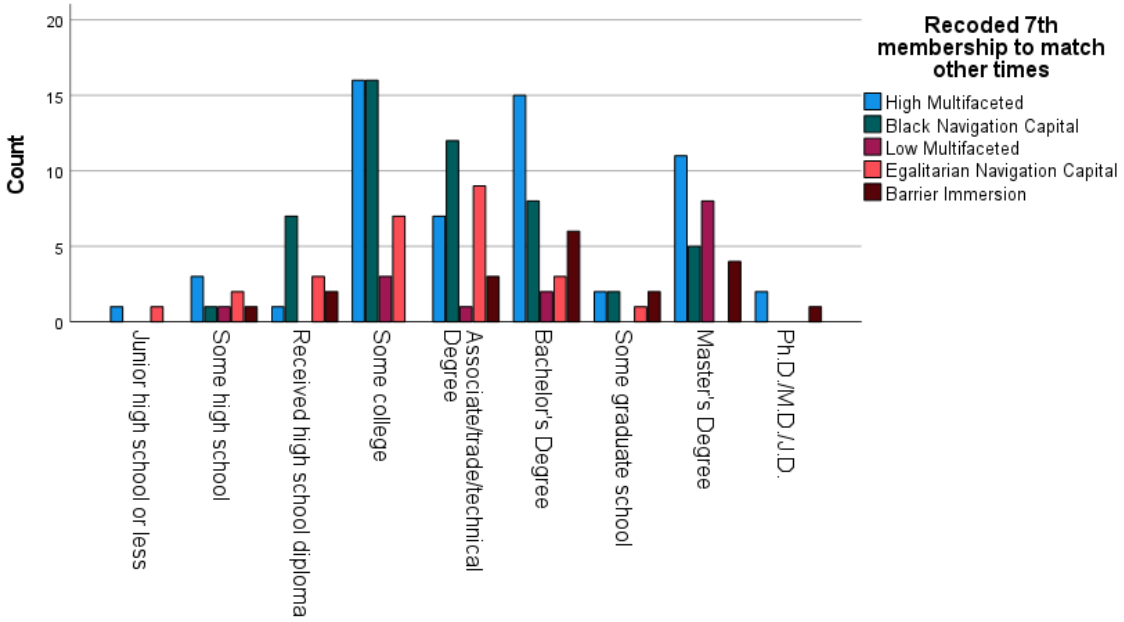

Figure 7: Frequency bar chart of caregiver educational attainment by cluster membership for 7th grade

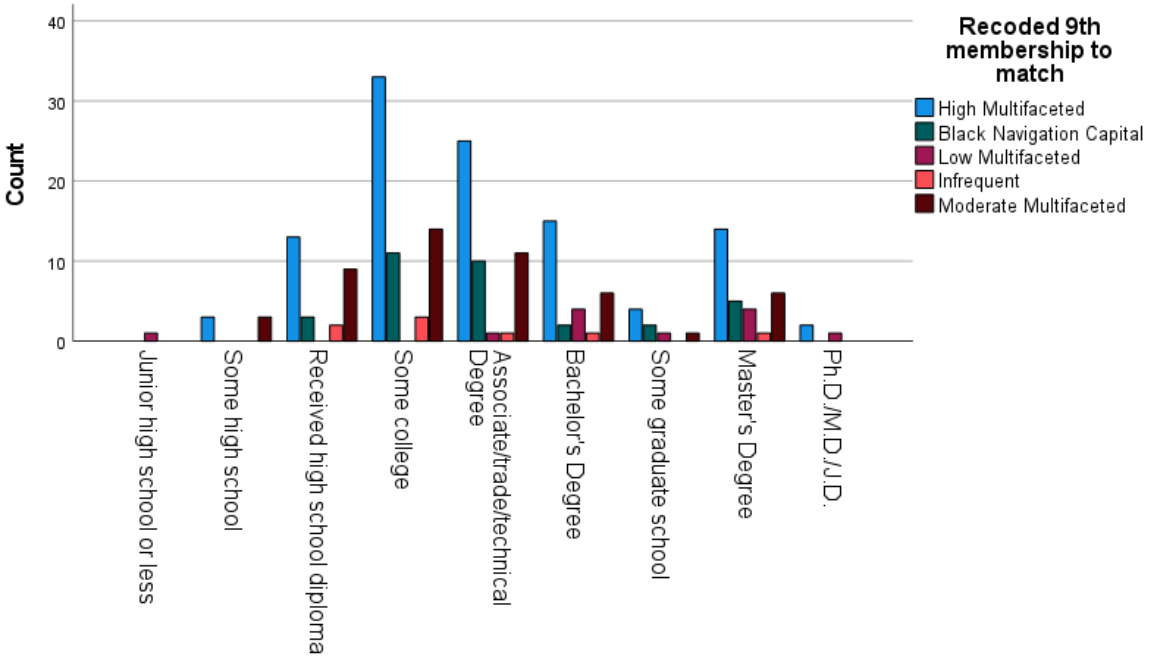

Figure 8: Frequency bar chart of caregiver educational attainment by cluster membership for 9th grade

Education usually functions as a proxy for SES. However, in discussions of *how* education relates to racial socialization practices, SES also seems to capture a deeper class-based stratification of life experiences and access related to the process of post-secondary and higher education. Researchers have speculated that parental education attainment might be related to racial socialization by way of its influence on parents' social and cultural capital (Liu et al., 2004; White-Johnson et al., 2010). Hughes and colleagues (2006) noted that the influence on parents' social and cultural capital can include increasing parents' awareness of certain culturally relevant resources and cultural activities. The experiences African American caregivers might acquire during the educational process, such as increased opportunities to engage in formal intellectual discourse about race and exposure to knowledge about African American history, may lead them to engage in racial socialization practices that have a greater emphasis on race (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes et al., 2006; White-Johnson et al., 2010).

Relating back to my conceptual frameworks, it is important to root the influence of education and SES in an ecological perspective (Garcia Coll et al., 1996). The Integrative Model proposes that American society is stratified based on social position factors like race, ethnicity, social class, and gender. This framework supports the idea that the content of racial socialization messages is derived from parents' perceptions of their social position and SES. Garcia Coll and colleagues posit that social position creates ecological demands related to privilege, capital, and resources in these environments in which children of color and their families live.

Increases in caregiver education may lead caregivers to socialize their children around race more, but future racial socialization research should consider a qualitative analysis of how caregivers believe their education has influenced their understanding of race, racialized experiences, and decisions regarding what messages they communicate with their children about race.

Caregiver Relationship to the Adolescent and Racial Socialization

A novel aspect of this dissertation is the inclusion of multiple classifications of caregivers. This was done to recognize multigenerational family structures present in African American communities and to acknowledge that both fictive- and biological-extended family often fulfill the roles of primary caregiver for African American youth (Cross, 2018). The type of relationship between caregiver and adolescent (e.g., mother, father, grandmother) was not hypothesized to be predictive of caregiver cluster membership. However, in the seventh grade, it appears that the caregivers who did not identify as mothers are driving the marginal statistical significance in the Low Multifaceted cluster. Perhaps these caregivers felt less comfortable conveying more explicit racial socialization messages (i.e., Navigation Capital and Racial Barrier Messages) and decided to engage in more non-verbal practices instead. Ultimately, understanding the nuances within family structures here would be very insightful, such as how long adults have been the primary caregiver and what circumstances led to their guardianship. The implications of being raised by aunts, uncles, older cousins, or grandparents on the practice of racially socializing youth have not yet been studied (Smetana et al., 2006). Future

racial socialization research should ask caregivers about kinship networks to explore if and how caregiver diversity relates to racial socialization practices.

Possible Developmental Differences in Racial Socialization Messages

An important contribution of this dissertation is its exploration of possible developmental changes in caregivers' racial socialization practices. I hypothesized that over the transition from middle to high school caregivers would move into more explicit race-related types of clusters. Even though I was unable to distinguish between individual caregivers who moved to different clusters and those who stayed in the same cluster, changes in cluster membership sizes at each grade level as well as the types of clusters present at each grade level provided insight as to what caregiver transitions may have looked like. Overall, there is evidence supporting my hypothesis that caregiver's racial socialization practices are developmentally motivated. This section highlights many changes in clusters and caregiver cluster membership between the seventh and eighth grades, rather than in the transition to high school. It also delineates steps that should be taken to further understand developmental changes in caregivers' racial socialization practices.

The Importance of the 7th to 8th Grade Transition

The changes in caregiver clusters between seventh and eighth grades draws attention to middle school overall being an important period of adjustment for adolescents and their caregivers. Just as much as seventh grade is in preparation for leaving middle school and heading to high school, it is also still an adjustment period from elementary school. Middle school holds its own unique challenges for

youth, including adjusting to changes in school structure such as moving from a single teacher structure to multiple teachers (Barber & Olsen, 2004). Barber and Olsen (2004) explored the extent to which perceived school environment changes between the fifth and eighth grades related to adolescents' psychological and social functioning. In a sample of 933 majority White middle-income Mormon families with adolescent children, they found youth reported that the sixth to seventh grade transition was substantially worse than the other school transitions (Barber & Olsen, 2004). In this transition, youth reported several negative changes, including lower support and respect from teachers, lower self-esteem and higher loneliness and depression, and higher antisocial and problem behavior. Burchinal and colleagues (2008) also found evidence that the transition to middle school is more socially and academically challenging for youth than the transition to high school. With their sample of 74 African American children between the fourth and sixth grades, they found that children were at risk of more externalizing problem behaviors, fewer prosocial skills, and lower academic achievement during this transition period. In addition, African American youth's anticipation of experiencing racial discrimination from their teachers and peers exacerbated these risks. Fortunately, higher levels of parental warmth protected them from these risks. Together, these two findings provide a broader understanding of the risks youth may face transitioning into middle school and why caregivers' racial socialization patterns may change during this earlier transition rather than the later transition to high school.

Transitioning out of the Low Barrier Cluster into the Moderate Multifaceted Cluster

I examined changes in sample size among the clusters with the highest caregiver membership over the three time points. I was surprised, that over time, a substantial number of caregivers remained in the Black Navigation Capital cluster. I had hypothesized that in the transition from middle to high school, caregivers who did not convey Racial Barrier Messages often would transition to another cluster with a higher Racial Barrier frequency. Although Black Navigation Capital remained a large stable cluster at all three time points, there is evidence to support this hypothesis of movement.

In ninth grade, the Black Navigation Capital cluster decreased by 17 caregivers and the Moderate Multifaceted cluster increased by 20 caregivers (see Table 11). There was no statistically significant difference between BCI means in these two clusters (i.e., Low Barrier and Moderate Multifaceted), but there were statistically significant differences in Navigation Capital Messages and Racial Barrier Messages. It appears the slight increase in Racial Barrier Messages between these clusters (Black Navigation Capital $M = 0.682$ < Moderate Multifaceted $M = 0.872$) in the ninth grade might have supported my hypothesis of caregivers moving to clusters that were more explicit in talking about race (such as the "race salient" cluster in Cooper et al., 2015).

Changes in the Cluster Names between 7th and 8th Grade

In addition to examining the size and means of clusters to find evidence supporting possible developmental difference, I also interpreted the types of clusters

that were present at each time point. There was a change in the types of clusters that emerged between seventh and eighth grade that could inform a developmental change in caregiver's racial socialization practices. Apart from the three stable clusters, between seventh and eighth grade there are two pairs of addition clusters: Egalitarian Navigation Capital and Barrier Immersion clusters in the seventh grade and Infrequent and Moderate Multifaceted clusters in the eighth grade. Egalitarian Navigation Capital and Infrequent clusters stood out more than the other two clusters (i.e., Barrier Immersion, Moderate Multifaceted) in part because of the novel socialization patterns they represented (novel in comparison to the other cluster solutions not necessarily in the broader racial socialization literature).

Navigation Capital Messages were defined as those intended to help youth develop the ability to learn how to work with people of different races as they grow and move through various spaces in life, especially social institutions with a history of racial exclusion and bias, such as schools (Yosso, 2005). From this meaning, one would assume that this type of messaging would be complemented by Racial Barrier Messaging. However, caregivers in the Egalitarian Navigation Capital cluster did not convey Racial Barrier Messages often. Developmentally, the benefit of engaging in an Egalitarian Navigation Capital socialization pattern might be to simply help youth learn how to get along with others while maintaining a positive image of themselves.

On the other hand, even though I hypothesized that as adolescents aged caregiver socialization would increase, the emergence of the Infrequent clusters in the eighth and ninth grades support the opposite pattern of caregiver engagement. It is unclear from the data whether these caregivers lack of socialization is reflective

of a consistent pattern that they have always exhibited or if over time they feel it unnecessary to racially socialize their children any further than they had in the past. In the future, it would be beneficial to measure if and how caregivers perceive their racial socialization practices to have changed over time and whether they believe their racial socialization practices are influenced by the age of their children.

Changes in Individual Racial Socialization Messages Between 7th and 8th Grade

As a preliminary analysis, relationships between the racial socialization variables and other study variables before they were restructured to represent their values at each grade level were explored. For example, I examined difference between one variable representing the total sample mean of Caregiver Racial Centrality (CRC) and three separate variables representing the means of CRC for caregivers with adolescents in seventh grade (CRC7), eighth grade (CRC8), and ninth grade (CRC9). The associations found between the pre-restructured racial socialization messages and the other study variables (see Table 5a) showed patterns that were not as evident after the data was restructured/separated by grade (see Tables 5b, 5c, and 5d). For instance, examining a broader range of caregiver age revealed that as caregivers got older, they reported conveying more Racial Barrier Messages and engaging in more Black Cultural Immersion (BCI) socialization practices. Also, caregivers with higher reported educational attainment also reported providing more Self-Worth, BCI, and Racial Barrier Messages to their children, albeit not to their daughters, to whom they reported providing fewer Racial Barrier Messages. All five types of caregiver reported experiences of racial discrimination (i.e., Invisible/Outsider, Criminal, Harassed, Unintelligent, Other) were related to

caregivers conveying more of all four racial socialization messages. CRC was relatively high for the study sample (M = 5.67, SD = 1.10, Min = 0 to Max = 7) and as centrality increased so did reports of providing all four socialization messages. In addition, as caregivers reported higher quality of communication between themselves and their child, their reports of all four messages also increased. The most thought-provoking relationship was between adolescent age and the racial socialization messages they received. As adolescent age increased, caregivers reported providing fewer Navigation Capital Messages, Self-Worth Messages, and BCI. Both adolescent age and grade, which was used as a proxy for age, reflected this relationship.

Holden's framework on the dynamic interactive process between parent and child could provide insight into this relationship among caregiver age, adolescent age, and racial socialization practices. Study findings suggest that as both caregivers and youth get older, some caregivers are having more conversations about the reality of racial discrimination and are intentional about the representation of Black culture in their child's environment. At the same time, some caregivers also feel less of a need to impart messages about self-worth and provide explicit strategies related to navigating the spaces they occupy on the daily. Regarding the decrease in BCI with adolescent age, the way BCI was measured captures different types of activities in which caregivers might engage less frequently as their children age, such as buying them Black toys or games (see Table 6 for BCI items). Thinking bidirectionally, this change in messaging with age could be related to how the caregiver interprets their child's needs based on caregiver-child conversations. As caregiver reports of the quality of communication between themselves and their

child increases, they reported conveying more of all four racial socialization messages. However, it did not appear that the cluster results of this study support this relationship given the very high Self-Worth Messaging means across all time points and most caregivers being in clusters with high Navigation Capital message means. Perhaps there was a subtle change that was less noticeable once study variables were restructured by grade level.

Conclusion

This dissertation makes several valuable contributions to the racial socialization literature. First, it provides support for a four-factor racial socialization structure particularly when the primary goal of the study is to understand changes overtime or the synergistic nature of racial socialization through profiling. The ways researchers analyze patterns of racial socialization for nuance and specificity may be more contrived than how caregivers would describe their racial socialization practices. The emergence of Navigation Capital messages from this data is strong evidence that racial socialization messages about self-worth, racial pride, and egalitarianism might not function as separately as literature would suggest. I wonder if there is a simpler (higher order) structure to racial socialization that captures different goals that entwine with each other. Perhaps, messages that either help youth develop positive internal racial attitudes and beliefs; and those that help them manage and cope with various experiences interacting with other people. These messages can be delivered verbally, through intentional actions, or unconsciously through modeling, but ultimately their delivery is fluid and incorporated with other non-race related parenting practices.

Overall, my study findings supported the majority of my hypotheses. However, the cluster solutions as well as the predictive relationships found between them also illuminate a simple relationship about the expression of racial socialization messages. These study findings mostly highlight differences between caregivers that talk a lot about race in many ways and those that engage in racial socialization in any other way; or caregivers that physically engage in more race-related actions more than they verbally discuss with their children. For example, most predictor variables explored in this dissertation found significant differences between caregivers in the High Multifaceted cluster and any other cluster. When significance was found between clusters that did not represent the highest and the lowest ranges of a particular variable being explored (e.g., caregivers with the highest racial centrality vs those with the lowest), that is when it became more challenging to unpack what exactly drove the significance.

Understanding why African American caregivers socialize their children in particular ways is rooted in knowing the caregiver's overall goals for raising their children, which also involves understanding how the family experiences their surroundings (their ecology perspective) and the affective dynamic between the caregiver and child. Just as the Triple Quandary theory suggests, caregivers' broader socialization agendas (not necessarily centering race) are rooted in how they choose to negotiate and process the tension between bolstering their children's sense of individually and cultural pride with imparting knowledge about the racialized reality of society and its social and economic constraints. Some caregivers choose to convey multifaceted messages about race while others may not feel that messages about race are important. Additionally, when racial socialization is explored

overtime, it is also important to recognize that caregivers may not feel the need share messages about or discuss a lesson they feel they already taught their child. This realization is particularly important to consider when conducting surveys which are usually bounded by a time range (e.g., in the last year how often have you said this message).

Appendices

Appendix A

Demographic Measures

What is your age? _____

What is your relationship to the <u>Target Child</u>?

- ❍ Mother **(1)**
- ❍ Father **(2)**
- ❍ Step-mother **(3)**
- ❍ Step-father **(4)**
- ❍ Grandmother **(5)**
- ❍ Grandfather **(6)**
- ❍ Foster Mother (please specify how long you have been a foster parent for the Target Child) **(7)** _____
- ❍ Foster Father (please specify how long you have been a foster parent for the Target Child) **(8)** _____
- ❍ Other (please specify) **(9)** _____

What is your race or ethnicity? (please check one)

- ❍ African American/Black (1)
- ❍ Arabic (2)
- ❍ Asian/Pacific Islander (3)
- ❍ Chaldean (4)
- ❍ Hispanic/Latino (5)
- ❍ Multi Racial/ (please specify) (6)

  _____
- ❍ Native American (7)
- ❍ White/Caucasian/European (8)
- ❍ Other Race/Ethnicity (please specify)

  _____

What is your highest level of education achieved?

- ❍ Junior high school or less **(1)**
- ❍ Some high school **(2)**
- ❍ Received high school diploma **(3)**
- ❍ Some college **(4)**

- Associate/trade/technical Degree **(5)**
- Bachelor's Degree **(6)**
- Some graduate school **(7)**
- Master's Degree **(8)**
- Ph.D./M.D./J.D. **(9)**

Child's Grade

- 6th grade **(6)**
- 7th grade **(7)**
- 8th grade **(8)**
- 9th grade **(9)**
- 10th grade **(10)**
- 11th grade **(11)**
- 12th grade **(12)**

Appendix B

Parental Racial Socialization

Participants were asked to respond to how often they said each of the items to their child the past year on a 3-point Likert-type rating scale (0=Never, 1=Once or Twice, 2=More than twice)

Egalitarian Subscale

Told the ***Target Child*** that Blacks and Whites should try to understand each other so they can get along.
Told the ***Target Child*** that because of opportunities today, hardworking Blacks have the same chance to succeed as anyone else.
Told the ***Target Child*** that he/she should try to have friends of all different races.
Told the ***Target Child*** that he/she can learn things from people of different races.

Racial Barriers Subscale

Told the ***Target Child*** that some people try to keep Black people from being successful.

Told the ***Target Child*** that some people think they are better than him/her because of their race.
Told the ***Target Child*** that Blacks have to work twice as hard as Whites to get ahead**.**
Told the ***Target Child*** that some people may dislike him/her because of the color of his/ her skin.

Racial Pride Subscale

Been involved in activities that focus on things important to Black people.
Talked to the ***Target Child*** about Black history.
Told the ***Target Child*** that he/she should be proud to be Black.
Told the ***Target Child*** never to be ashamed of his/her Black features (i.e. hair texture, skin color, lip shape, etc.).

Self-Worth Subscale

Told the ***Target Child*** that he/she is somebody special, no matter what anyone says.
Told the ***Target Child*** to be proud of who he/she is.
Told the ***Target Child*** that skin color does not define who he/she is.
Told the ***Target Child***, You can be whatever you want to be.

Behaviors Subscale

Bought the ***Target Child*** Black toys or games.
Gone with the ***Target Child*** to Black cultural events (i.e. plays, movies, concerts, museums).
Gone with the ***Target Child*** to cultural events involving other races and cultures (i.e. plays, movies, concerts, museums).
Gone with the ***Target Child*** to organizational meetings that dealt with Black issues.
Bought the ***Target Child*** books about Black people.

Negative Subscale

Told the ***Target Child*** that learning about Black history is not that important.
Told the ***Target Child*** it is best to act like Whites.
Told the ***Target Child*** that being Black is nothing to be proud of.
Told the ***Target Child*** White businesses are more reliable than Black businesses.
Told the ***Target Child*** Blacks are not as smart as people of other races.

Appendix C

Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI - Short)

Caregivers were asked using a 7-point likert scale to respond regarding the extent to which they strongly disagree (1), disagree (2), somewhat disagree (3), neutral (4), somewhat agree (5), agree (6), or strongly agree (7) with the items.

Racial Centrality

1. In general, being Black is an important part of my self-image.
2. I have a strong sense of belonging to Black people.
3. I have a strong attachment to other Black people.
4. Being Black is an important reflection of who I am.

Appendix D

Racism and Life Experiences Scale (RaLes) (Child and Parent Data)

These 18 items were measured on a 6-point likert scale with 0= (Never), 1=(Once), 2= (A few times), 3= (About once a month), 4= (A few times a month), and 5= (Once a week or more)

Invisible/Outsider

1. Being ignored, overlooked, or not given service (in a restaurant, store, etc.)
12. Being left out of conversations or activities
16. Being stared at by strangers

Criminal

3. Being accused of something or treated suspiciously
4. Others reacting to you as if they were afraid or intimidated
5. Being observed or followed while in public places

Harassed

2. Being treated rudely or disrespectfully
9. Being insulted, called a name, or harassed
17. Being laughed at, made fun of, or taunted

Unintelligent

6. Being treated as if you were "stupid", being "talked down to"
7. Your ideas or opinions being minimized, ignored or devalued
10. Others expecting your work to be inferior
11. Not being taken seriously

Other

8. Overhearing or being told an offensive joke or comment
13. Being treated in an "overly" friendly or superficial way
14. Other people avoiding you
15. Being mistaken for someone who serves others (i.e., janitor)
18. Being mistaken for someone else of your same race

Appendix E

Involved-Vigilant Parenting

For these six items, participants were asked to choose the response that indicates how often each statement was true for them on a 4-point scale from 1= (never), 2= (sometimes), 3= (often), or 4= (always).

Caregiver Data

1. When you and the Target Child have a problem, how often can the two of you figure out how to deal with it?
2. How often does the Target Child talk to you about things that bother the Target Child?
3. How often do you ask the Target Child what the Target Child thinks before deciding on family matters that involve the Target Child?
4. How often do you give reasons to the Target Child for your decisions?
5. How often do you ask the Target Child what the Target Child thinks before making decisions that affect the Target Child?
6. When the Target Child doesn't know why you makes certain rules, how often do you explain the reason?

Child Data

1. When you and your caregiver have a problem, how often can the two of you figure out how to deal with it?
2. How often do you talk to your caregiver about things that bother you?
3. How often does your caregiver ask you what you think, before deciding on family matters that involve you?
4. How often does your caregiver give reasons to you for his/her decisions?
5. How often does your caregiver ask you what you think, before making decisions that affect you?
6. When you don’t know why your caregiver makes certain rules, how often does she/he explain the reason?

Appendix F

Interracial Contact

How many people in your current neighborhood are Black?

- ❍ Almost all Black people **(1)**
- ❍ More Black than people of other races **(2)**
- ❍ Same number of Black people and people of other races **(3)**
- ❍ Less Black people than people of other races **(4)**
- ❍ Almost all people of other races **(5)**

How many people on your job are Black?

- ❍ Almost all Black people **(1)**
- ❍ More Black than people of other races **(2)**
- ❍ Same number of Black people and people of other races **(3)**
- ❍ Less Black people than people of other races **(4)**
- ❍ Almost all people of other races **(5)**
- ❍ I am not employed at this time **(6)**

How many people in your place of worship are Black?

- ❍ Almost all Black people **(1)**
- ❍ More Black than people of other races **(2)**
- ❍ Same number of Black people and people of other races **(3)**
- ❍ Less Black people than people of other races **(4)**
- ❍ Almost all people of other races **(5)**
- ❍ I do not have a place of worship **(6)**

Which of the following best describes the racial make-up of the people in most of the clubs, teams, or other organizations you are currently involved in?

- ❍ Almost all Black people **(1)**
- ❍ More Black than people of other races **(2)**
- ❍ Same number of Black people and people of other races **(3)**
- ❍ Less Black people than people of other races **(4)**
- ❍ Almost all people of other races **(5)**

Sample Descriptive and Results Tables

Table 1. Sample size estimates by cohort, year of data collection, wave, and adolescent grade

	Year 1	**Year 2**	**Year 3**	**Year 4**
Cohort 1	**Wave 1** Grade 7, *n* = 39 Grade 8, *n* = 50 Grade 9, *n* = 50	**Wave 2** Grade 8, *n* = 12 Grade 9, *n* = 15 Grade 10, *n* =10	**Wave 3** Grade 9, *n* = 10 Grade 10, *n* =19	**Wave 4** Grade 10, *n* = 10
Cohort 2	Not applicable	**Wave 1** Grade 7, *n* = 29 Grade 8, *n* = 15 Grade 9, *n* = 26 Grade 10, *n* =12	**Wave 2** Grade 8, *n* = 28 Grade 9, *n* = 12 Grade 10, *n* = 14	**Wave 3** Grade 9, *n* =23 Grade 10, *n* = 6
Cohort 3	Not applicable	Not applicable	**Wave 1** Grade 7, *n* = 39 Grade 8, *n* = 17 Grade 9, *n* = 17 Grade 10, *n* = 5	**Wave 2** Grade 7, *n* = 5 Grade 8, *n* = 36 Grade 9, *n* =12 Grade 10, *n* = 12
Cohort 4	Not applicable	Not applicable	Not applicable	**Wave 1** Grade 7, *n* = 30 Grade 8, *n* = 26 Grade 9, *n* =19 Grade 10, *n* = 10

Note. Data from grades not examined in the current study (e.g., 6th & 11th grade) and years in which data were not collected are considered "Not applicable" data.

Table 2. Caregiver and adolescent demographics

	7th Grade (n= 170)	8th Grade (n= 216)	9th Grade (n= 212)	10th Grade (n=122)
Caregiver Age	40.8 (s.d. = 9.4)	42 (s.d. = 8.9)	41.3 (s.d. = 7.7)	42.2 (s.d. = 8.9)
Adolescent Age	12.4 (s.d. = .57)	13.7 (s.d. = .52)	14.4 (s.d. = .56)	15.2 (s.d. = .56)
Family Income Mean	$45,000 - $64,000	$45,000 - $64,000	$45,000 - $54,999	$55,000 - $74,999
Caregiver Gender	84% female	88.8% female	84% female	87.7% female
Caregiver Marital Status	26.6% Single 42.6% Married 17.8% Divorced	25.5% Single 45.8% Married 18.5% Divorced	29.2% Single 42.5% Married 19.8% Divorced	22.8% Single 48.8% Married 18.7% Divorced
Neighborhood Racial Demographics	46.8% Mostly Black 18.1% Even 35.1% Mostly Non-Black	42.8% Mostly Black 22.8% Even 34.4% Mostly Non-Black	45.7% Mostly Black 17.6% Even 36.7% Mostly Non-Black	36.6% Mostly Black 20.3% Even 43.1% Mostly Non-Black
Adolescent Gender	49% female	52% female	60% female	59% female

Table 3. Caregiver Classification Percentages by adolescent grade

	7th Grade (n= 170)	8th Grade (n= 216)	9th Grade (n= 212)	10th Grade (n= 122)
Mother	86.6%	87%	85%	81.9%
Father	7.0%	8.6%	9.4%	11.7%
Stepmother	2.1%	.5%	1.7%	0%
Stepfather	.7%	0%	0%	0%
Grandmother	2.8%	2.7%	1.1%	2.1%
Grandfather	0%	.5%	0%	0%
Other	.7%	.5%	1.2%	4.3%

Note. For the "Other" category participants wrote in responses (i.e., Aunt, Cousin, Legal Guardian, Foster-Mother/Father)

Table 4. Caregiver Educational Attainment Percentage

	7th Grade (n= 170)	8th Grade (n= 216)	9th Grade (n= 212)	10th Grade (n= 122)
Junior High School or Less	0.7%	3.8%	1.1%	0%
Some High School	6.4%	2.2%	3.3%	4.3%
Received High School Diploma	8.5%	9.7%	13.3%	7.4%
Some College	24.8%	26.9%	28.7%	22.3%
AA/Trade/Technical Degree	19.1%	16.7%	22.7%	20.2%
Bachelor's Degree	18.4%	15.6%	11%	18.1%
Some Graduate School	3.5%	5.9%	3.9%	5.3%
Master's Degree	16.3%	16.1%	14.9%	20.2%
Ph.D/M.D./J.D.	2.1%	3.2%	1.1%	2.1%

Note. Caregiver education is not presumed to change over time, but educational attainment is shown for each time point to account for the data collection design of new caregivers included in the analysis at different points.

Table 5a. Zero-Order Correlations Between Racial Socialization Variables and Other Study Variables (Before variables were differentiated by grade level) (N=856; Listwise N=121)

Variable	Navigation Capital	Self-Worth	Blk C. Im.	R. Barriers	M (S.d.)
Navigation Capital	--				1.60 (.47)
Self-Worth	.580**	--			1.88 (.29)
Black Cultural Immersion	.547**	.482**	--		1.27 (.51)
Racial Barriers	.455**	.296**	.461**	--	1.07 (.63)
Parent Age	.042	.052	.090**	.170**	43.05 (7.39)
Parent Gender	.045	.019	.008	-.061	1.86 (.35)
Parent Education	.012	.098**	.192**	.141**	5.23 (1.82)
Household Income	-.049	-.004	.098*	.116**	6.85 (4.19)
Adolescent Age	-.099**	-.188**	-.114**	.021	14.17 (1.48)
Adolescent Grade	-.096**	-.198**	-.080**	.043	8.78 (1.39)
Adolescent Gender	-.009	.013	.031	-.081*	1.55 (.50)
Parent Racial Centrality	.290**	.311**	.334**	.282**	5.65 (1.10)
Quality of Communication(P)	.197**	.138**	.177**	.069**	2.98 (.55)
Quality of Communication(A)	.056	.039	.054	-.003	2.66 (.72)
(P) R. Discrim. (Invisible)	.120**	.070**	.212**	.273**	.90 (.82)
(P) R. Discrim. (Criminal)	.170**	.074*	.208**	.288**	1.02 (1.03)
(P) R. Discrim. (Harassed)	.152**	.083*	.213**	.221**	1.05 (.89)
(P) R. Discrim. (Unintelligent)	.132**	.097**	.195**	.283**	1.04 (1.02)
(P) R. Discrim. (Other)	.141**	.077*	.239**	.309**	.92 (.85)
(A) R. Discrim. (Invisible)	.034	-.032	.025	.058	1.02 (1.19)
(A) R. Discrim. (Criminal)	.063	-.013	.040	.087*	1.26 (1.33)
(A) R. Discrim. (Harassed)	.034	.011	.046	.093*	1.36 (1.33)
(A) R. Discrim. (Unintelligent)	.050	-.006	.057	.087*	1.18 (1.31)
(A) R. Discrim. (Other)	.034	-.013	.042	.047	1.14 (1.23)
Neighborhood Race	-.006	-.007	-.073*	-.090**	3.23 (1.26)
Parent Job Race	-.014	-.067	-.074*	-.115**	2.83 (1.21)
Place of Worship Race	.004	.072*	.040	.107**	4.22 (1.09)
Adolescent Clubs Race	-.092	-.122*	-.109*	-.112*	3.43 (1.29)

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed) and * at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 5b. Zero-Order Correlations Between 7th Grade Racial Socialization Variables and Other Study Variables

Variable	Navigation Capital	Self-Worth	Blk C. Im.	R. Barriers	M (S.d.)
Navigation Capital	--				1.63 (.39)
Self-Worth	.217**	--			1.96 (.13)
Black Cultural Immersion	.347**	.330**	--		1.33 (.48)
Racial Barriers	.346**	.088	.443**	--	1.01 (.63)
Parent Age	-.009	.062	.062	.113	41.74 (7.17)
Parent Gender	.086	-.021	.014	.017	1.84 (.37)
Parent Education	-.173*	.004	.230**	.105	5.26 (1.80)
Household Income	-.047	.030	.133	-.033	6.67 (4.20)
Adolescent Age	-.018	-.108	-.217**	-.043	12.41 (.56)
Adolescent Gender	-.068	-.008	.051	-.026	1.47 (.50)
Parent Racial Centrality	.148	.107	.248**	.078	5.69 (1.01)
Quality of Communication(P)	.174*	-.050	.160*	.149	3.04 (.52)
Quality of Communication(A)	-.020	.033	.127	.110	2.77 (.71)
(P) R. Discrim. (Invisible)	.036	-.048	.213**	.235**	.85 (.76)
(P) R. Discrim. (Criminal)	.151	-.018	.214**	.236**	1.04 (.97)
(P) R. Discrim. (Harassed)	.100	-.087	.169*	.161*	1.01 (.91)
(P) R. Discrim. (Unintelligent)	.004	-.050	.170*	.202**	1.07 (1.07)
(P) R. Discrim. (Other)	.037	-.061	.215**	.193*	.92 (.81)
(A) R. Discrim. (Invisible)	.014	-.028	-.034	-.007	1.01 (1.20)
(A) R. Discrim. (Criminal)	.061	-.033	-.045	-.011	1.15 (1.19)
(A) R. Discrim. (Harassed)	-.001	.024	-.037	-.022	1.34 (1.30)
(A) R. Discrim. (Unintelligent)	.058	.017	-.032	.066	1.11 (1.28)
(A) R. Discrim. (Other)	-.026	-.035	-.063	-.061	1.10 (1.17)
Neighborhood Race	.060	-.075	-.085	.011	3.26 (1.29)
Parent Job Race	.037	-.211*	-.201*	-.125	3.34 (1.59)
Place of Worship Race	.052	.018	.082	.271**	4.83 (1.55)
Adolescent Clubs Race	.010	-.200*	-.142	-.120	3.31 (1.30)

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed) and * at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 5c. Zero-Order Correlations Between 8th Grade Racial Socialization Variables and Other Study Variables

Variable	Navigation Capital	Self-Worth	Blk C. Im.	R. Barriers	M (S.d.)
Navigation Capital	--				1.67 (.39)
Self-Worth	.495**	--			1.93 (.17)
Black Cultural Immersion	.357**	.350**	--		1.32 (.46)
Racial Barriers	.372**	.213**	.349**	--	1.09 (.61)
Parent Age	-.027	-.003	-.017	.106	43.13 (7.58)
Parent Gender	.062	-.022	.011	-.111	1.88 (.32)
Parent Education	-.102	-.065	.145*	.038	5.29 (1.88)
Household Income	-.145	-.163*	.097	.052	6.57 (4.06)
Adolescent Age	-.107	-.167*	-.073	-.068	13.39 (.52)
Adolescent Gender	.044	-.031	.021	-.100	1.54 (.50)
Parent Racial Centrality	.120	.070	.098	.185**	5.67 (1.01)
Quality of Communication(P)	.141*	.065	.164*	.012	3.03 (.55)
Quality of Communication(A)	.081	.043	.085	-.066	2.62 (.73)
(P) R. Discrim. (Invisible)	.072	.028	.187**	.229**	.97 (.75)
(P) R. Discrim. (Criminal)	.151*	.071	.176**	.279**	1.07 (1.01)
(P) R. Discrim. (Harassed)	.095	.037	.147*	.135*	1.13 (.86)
(P) R. Discrim. (Unintelligent)	.094	.056	.121	.228**	1.08 (.96)
(P) R. Discrim. (Other)	.122	.034	.204**	.256**	.94 (.79)
(A) R. Discrim. (Invisible)	.036	-.048	-.025	.061	1.18 (1.32)
(A) R. Discrim. (Criminal)	.091	.039	.033	.109	1.29 (1.35)
(A) R. Discrim. (Harassed)	-.046	-.023	-.004	.066	1.50 (1.40)
(A) R. Discrim. (Unintelligent)	.034	-.009	.036	.056	1.17 (1.32)
(A) R. Discrim. (Other)	.004	.000	.014	.056	1.25 (1.30)
Neighborhood Race	.092	.010	-.023	-.026	3.24 (1.22)
Parent Job Race	.021	-.177*	.049	-.010	3.36 (1.60)
Place of Worship Race	-.012	-.020	.038	.135	4.99 (1.49)
Adolescent Clubs Race	-.020	-.095	.080	-.097	3.49 (1.26)

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed) and * at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 5d. Zero-Order Correlations Between 9th Grade Racial Socialization Variables and Other Study Variables

Variable	Navigation Capital	Self-Worth	Blk C. Im.	R. Barriers	M (S.d.)
Navigation Capital	--				1.65 (.42)
Self-Worth	.386**	--			1.94 (.13)
Black Cultural Immersion	.473**	.394**	--		1.30 (.47)
Racial Barriers	.396**	.166*	.370**	--	1.15 (.63)
Parent Age	.046	.087	.129	.241**	43.17 (7.23)
Parent Gender	.000	.008	-.006	-.107	1.84 (.37)
Parent Education	-.027	.066	.189**	.023	5.04 (1.71)
Household Income	-.129	-.048	.056	.008	6.43 (3.91)
Adolescent Age	-.049	-.022	-.084	.013	14.40 (.55)
Adolescent Gender	-.035	.114	-.020	-.125	1.60 (.49)
Parent Racial Centrality	.198**	.227**	.361**	.244**	5.75 (1.01)
Quality of Communication(P)	.201**	.229**	.212**	.127	2.97 (.55)
Quality of Communication(A)	.100	.028	.012	-.001	2.66 (.71)
(P) R. Discrim. (Invisible)	.059	.074	.204**	.237**	.85 (.84)
(P) R. Discrim. (Criminal)	.143*	.059	.210**	.246**	.99 (1.12)
(P) R. Discrim. (Harassed)	.179**	.102	.286**	.214**	1.02 (.88)
(P) R. Discrim. (Unintelligent)	.083	.097	.204**	.269**	1.04 (1.05)
(P) R. Discrim. (Other)	.104	.082	.275**	.280**	.93 (.90)
(A) R. Discrim. (Invisible)	.047	.000	.030	.023	.93 (1.08)
(A) R. Discrim. (Criminal)	.094	.096	.036	.056	1.22 (1.33)
(A) R. Discrim. (Harassed)	.082	.017	.039	.070	1.29 (1.28)
(A) R. Discrim. (Unintelligent)	.048	-.040	.050	.041	1.16 (1.27)
(A) R. Discrim. (Other)	.046	.029	.013	.024	1.05 (1.16)
Neighborhood Race	-.012	-.069	-.141*	-.081	3.23 (1.30)
Parent Job Race	.030	.000	-.047	-.096	3.39 (1.53)
Place of Worship Race	-.018	.009	.032	.087	4.87 (1.63)
Adolescent Clubs Race	-.213*	-.052	-.138	-.110	3.58 (1.28)

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed) and * at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Table 6. Principle Component Factor Analysis for 7th, 8th, and 9th grade

Racial Socialization Items (New and Original Factor Labels)	Factor Loading & Cronbach's Alpha		
	7th Grade	8th Grade	9th Grade
Navigation Capital Socialization	α =.79	α =.78	α =.82
PRS20: Racial Pride: Told the Target Child that he/ she should be proud to be Black.	0.822	0.691	0.749
PRS21: Egalitarian Messages: Told the Target Child that he/ she can learn things from people of different races.	0.625	0.686	0.711
PRS11: Egalitarian Messages: Told the Target Child that he/ she should try to have friends of all different races.	0.567	0.660	0.758
PRS01: Egalitarian Messages: Told the Target Child that Blacks and Whites should try to understand each other so they can get along.	0.248	0.655	0.570
PRS25: Racial Pride: Told the Target Child never to be ashamed of his/her Black features (i.e. hair texture, skin color, lip shape, etc.).	0.717	0.622	0.774
PRS14: Self-Worth: Told the Target Child that skin color does not define who he/ she is.	0.413	0.620	0.744
PRS09: Egalitarian Messages: Told the Target Child that because of opportunities today, hardworking Blacks have the same chance to succeed as anyone else.	0.611	0.614	0.561
Self-Worth Socialization	α =.72	α =.79	α =.76
PRS13: Self-Worth: Told the Target Child to be proud of who he/ she is.	0.878	-0.889	0.810
PRS18: Self-Worth: Told the Target Child, "You can be whatever you want to be."	0.842	-0.870	0.869
PRS10: Self-Worth: Told the Target Child that he/ she is somebody special, no matter what anybody says.	0.436	-0.814	0.845
PRS17: Racial Pride: Talked to the Target Child about Black history.	0.437	-0.530	0.550
Black Cultural Immersion	α =.79	α =.75	α =.79
PRS08: Behavioral Messages: Gone with the Target Child to Black cultural events (i.e. plays, movies, concerts, museums).	-0.878	-0.808	0.814
PRS15: Behavioral Messages: Gone with the Target Child to cultural events involving other races and cultures (i.e. plays, movies, concerts, museums).	-0.804	-0.713	0.775
PRS04: Racial Pride: Been involved in activities that focus on things important to Black people.	-0.554	-0.682	0.548
PRS26: Behavioral Messages: Bought the Target Child books about Black people.	-0.690	-0.659	0.669
PRS05: Behavioral Messages: Bought the Target Child Black toys or games.	-0.614	-0.569	0.658
PRS19: Behavioral Messages: Went with the Target Child to organizational meetings that dealt with Black issues.	-0.516	-0.543	0.634

Racial Barriers Socialization	α =.81	α =.79	α =.81
PRS06: Racial Barriers: Told the Target Child that some people think they are better than him/ her because of their race.	0.839	0.839	0.867
PRS03: Racial Barriers: Told the Target Child that some people try to keep Black people from being successful.	0.813	0.809	0.822
PRS23: Racial Barriers: Told the Target Child that some people may dislike him/ her because of the color of his/ her skin.	0.793	0.781	0.796
PRS12: Racial Barriers: Told the Target Child that Blacks have to work twice as hard as Whites to get ahead.	0.728	0.687	0.654

Table 7. Values of Selected Fit Statistics for Measurement Invariance Hypothesis for a Five-Factor & Four-Factor Model of Caregiver Racial Socialization

Invariance Model	Retained Model?	χ^2	df	RMSEA (90% CI)	CFI	SRMR
Model 1	No	6205.95*	1837	0.071 [.069, .073]	0.493	0.142
Model 2	No	6463.79*	1912	0.071 [.069, .073]	0.472	0.139
Model 3	No	2731.48*	826	0.070 [.067, .073]	0.596	0.121
Model 4	No	6336.79*	1925	0.070 [.068, .072]	0.488	0.140
Model 5	No	6269.34*	1874	0.070 [.069, .072]	0.490	0.130
Model 6	No	4647.65*	1381	0.071 [.069, .073]	0.494	0.122

Note. CI, confidence interval. All results were computed by Mplus.*$p < .001$

Table 8. Model Fit Statistics from Latent Class Analyses of Caregiver Racial Socialization Clusters

Grade	Model	AIC	BIC	Entropy	BLRT (Ho, p)	n
7th	3-profile	615.68	659.58	0.831	-312.26, .0000	170
	4-profile	605.10	661.55	0.748	-293.84, .0000	170
	5-profile	587.32	656.31	0.790	-280.96, .0000	170
	6-profile	580.67	662.20	0.819	-271.66, .0128	170
8th	3-profile	732.83	780.08	0.895	-373.21, .0000	216
	4-profile	711.82	772.57	0.911	-352.41, .0000	216
	5-profile	695.65	769.91	0.910	-337.91, .0000	216
	6-profile	700.34	788.09	0.797	-325.83, 1.0000	216
9th	3-profile	736.80	783.79	0.931	-395.38, .0000	212
	4-profile	707.04	767.46	0.944	-354.40, .0000	212
	5-profile	699.45	773.30	0.826	-335.52, .0000	212
	6-profile	707.45	794.72	0.778	-327.73, 1.0000	212

Note. AIC = Akaike Information Criterion, BIC = Bayesian Information Criterion, VLMR = Vuong-Lo-Mendell-Rubin test (p-value reported), BLRT = Bootstrap likelihood ratio test

Table 9. Unstandardized and Standardized Means of Racial Socialization Subscales in 7th grade by Racial Socialization Clusters (n=170)

7th Grade Racial Socialization Variables	**High Multifaceted** (n = 58)	**Black Navigation Capital** (n = 51)	**Low Multifaceted** (n = 15)	**Egalitarian Navigation Capital** (n = 26)	**Barrier Immersion** (n = 20)
Navigation *(M, SE)*	1.853 (.025)	1.837 (.029)	0.771 (.071)	1.525 (.094)	1.204 (.042)
Black Cultural Immersion *(M, SE)*	1.674 (.048)	1.362 (.083)	0.954 (.133)	0.613 (.097)	1.421 (.069)
Racial Barriers *(M, SE)*	1.614 (.068)	0.753 (.078)	0.386 (.076)	0.530 (.148)	1.029 (.270)
Standardized Means (Z)					
Navigation	0.588	0.551	-1.903	-0.166	-0.907
Black Cultural Immersion	0.740	0.110	-0.712	-1.399	0.230
Racial Barriers	0.983	-0.371	-0.950	-0.723	0.063

Note: Tukey HSD Post Hoc Test $p < .05$*

Table 10. Unstandardized and Standardized Means of Racial Socialization Subscales in 8th grade by Racial Socialization Clusters (n=216)

8th Grade Racial Socialization Variables	**High Multifaceted** (N=112)	**Black Navigation Capital** (N=50)	**Low Multifaceted** (N=19)	**Infrequent** (N=5)	**Moderate Multifaceted** (N=30)
Navigation *(M, SE)*	1.952 (.009)	1.686 (.018)	0.924 (.046)	0.466 (.071)	1.325 (.030)
Black Cultural Immersion	1.458 (.040)	1.278 (.074)	1.039 (.103)	0.714 (.179)	1.188 (.084)
Racial Barriers	1.276 (.051)	1.012 (.094)	0.686 (.154)	0.054 (.043)	1.014 (.143)
Standardized Means (Z)					
Navigation	0.724	0.088	-1.734	-2.829	-0.775
Black Cultural Immersion	0.337	-0.041	-0.543	-1.224	-0.231
Racial Barriers	0.331	-0.099	-0.631	-1.661	-0.095

Table 11. Unstandardized and Standardized Means of Racial Socialization Subscales in 9th grade by Racial Socialization Clusters (n=212)

9th Grade Racial Socialization Variables	**High Multifaceted** N=109	**Black Navigation Capital** N=33	**Low Multifaceted** N=12	**Infrequent** N=8	**Moderate Multifaceted** N=50
Navigation Capital *(M, SE)*	1.898 (.014)	1.860 (.040)	0.900 (.082)	0.339 (.057)	1.350 (.044)
Black Cultural Immersion	1.537 (.047)	1.212 (.093)	1.130 (.124)	0.559 (.193)	1.017 (.067)
Racial Barriers	1.550 (.062)	0.682 (.165)	0.887 (.256)	0.272 (.098)	0.872 (.096)
Standardized Means (Z)					
Navigation Capital	0.603	0.519	-1.574	-2.797	-0.592
Black Cultural Immersion	0.527	-0.139	-0.307	-1.477	-0.538
Racial Barriers	0.651	-0.698	-0.380	-1.336	-0.403

Table 12a. Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) between Racial Socialization Profiles and Significant Other Study Variables Only (7th Grade)

Predictor Variables		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	*p*
Caregiver Education	Between Groups	61.878	4	15.470	5.213	.001
	Within Groups	486.666	164	2.967		
	Total	548.544	168			
Caregiver Relationship	Between Groups	15.811	4	3.953	2.288†	.062
	Within Groups	283.361	164	1.728		
	Total	299.172	168			
Caregiver Racial Centrality	Between Groups	10.501	4	2.625	2.680	.034
	Within Groups	144.023	147	.980		
	Total	154.525	151			
Quality of Communication (Caregiver Report)	Between Groups	2.236	4	.559	2.137†	.078
	Within Groups	42.893	164	.262		
	Total	45.129	168			
Caregiver Racial Discrimination (Criminal)	Between Groups	9.712	4	2.428	2.687	.033
	Within Groups	147.301	163	.904		
	Total	157.013	167			
Church Racial Demographic	Between Groups	10.851	4	2.713	2.441	.049
	Within Groups	166.723	150	1.111		
	Total	177.574	154			

Table 12b. Descriptives of Significant Predictor Variables by Cluster Members (7th Grade)

Clusters	Education		Caregiver Relationship		Racial Centrality		C. R. Discrimination (Criminal)		Church Racial Demographic	
	N	M (s.d.)	N	M (s.d)	N	M (s.d.)	N	M (s.d.)	N	M (s.d.)
High Multifaceted	58	5.50 (1.88)[a]	58	1.28 (.97)[a]	53	6.00 (.82)[a]	56	1.30 (.85)[a]	54	4.48 (.67) †
Black Navigation Capital	51	4.88 (1.51)[b]	51	1.51 (1.46)	45	5.61 (1.14)	51	1.07 (1.03)	48	4.00 (1.15)
Low Multifaceted	15	6.33 (2.06)[b,c]	14	2.36 (2.87)[a]	11	5.80 (1.04)	15	.84 (.52)	14	4.00 (1.66)
Egalitarian Navigation Capital	26	4.31 (1.38)[a,c,d]	26	1.23 (.71)	24	5.27 (.93)[a]	26	.60 (.89)[a]	23	3.83 (1.34) †
Barrier Immersion	19	6.00 (1.89)[d]	20	1.20 (.41)	19	5.51 (1.08)	20	.95 (1.28)	16	4.44 (.63)
N=170	169		169		152		168		155	

Note. Profiles with the same letter superscripts represent significant cluster differences by the predictor variable at $p < .05$

Table 13a. Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) between Racial Socialization Profiles and Significant Other Study Variables Only (8th Grade)

Predictor Variables		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	*p*
Quality of Communication (Caregiver Report)	Between Groups	4.056	4	1.014	3.518	.008
	Within Groups	60.531	210	.288		
	Total	64.587	214			
Caregiver Racial Discrimination (Criminal)	Between Groups	8.508	4	2.127	2.146†	.076
	Within Groups	208.163	210	.991		
	Total	216.671	214			
Adolescent Racial Discrimination (Harassed)	Between Groups	22.098	4	5.525	2.943	.022
	Within Groups	302.207	161	1.877		
	Total	324.305	165			

Table 13b. Descriptives of Significant Predictor Variables by Cluster Members (8th Grade)

Clusters	Quality of Communication (Parent Report)		Adolescent Racial Discrimination (Harassed)	
	N	M (s.d.)	N	M (s.d)
High Multifaceted	111	3.15 (.51)[a,b]	87	1.39 (1.33)
Black Navigation Capital	50	2.89 (.59)[a]	41	1.86 (1.48)
Low Multifaceted	19	3.04 (.45)	11	1.45 (1.41)
Infrequent	5	3.03 (.62)	3	3.44 (2.41)[a]
Moderate Multifaceted	30	2.81 (.58)[b]	24	1.07 (1.16)[a]

N = 216	215	166

Note. Profiles with the same letter superscripts represent significant cluster differences by the predictor variable at $p < .05$

Table 14a. Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) between Racial Socialization Profiles and Significant Other Study Variables Only (9th Grade)

Predictor Variables		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	*p*
Caregiver Education	Between Groups	32.957	4	8.239	2.922	.022
	Within Groups	583.661	207	2.820		
	Total	616.618	211			
Caregiver Racial Centrality	Between Groups	11.281	4	2.820	2.898	.023
	Within Groups	184.874	190	.973		
	Total	196.155	194			
Quality of Communication (Caregiver Report)	Between Groups	2.745	4	.686	2.317†	.058
	Within Groups	60.996	206	.296		
	Total	63.741	210			
Caregiver Racial Discrimination (Criminal)	Between Groups	29.487	4	7.372	6.477	.000
	Within Groups	234.439	206	1.138		
	Total	263.925	210			
Caregiver Racial Discrimination (Harassed)	Between Groups	11.233	4	2.808	3.783	.005
	Within Groups	152.921	206	.742		
	Total	164.154	210			
Caregiver Racial Discrimination (Unintelligent)	Between Groups	13.318	4	3.330	3.143	.016
	Within Groups	218.243	206	1.059		
	Total	231.561	210			
Caregiver Racial Discrimination (Other)	Between Groups	14.426	4	3.607	4.820	.001
	Within Groups	154.151	206	.748		
	Total	168.578	210			

Table 14b. Descriptives of Significant Predictor Variables by Cluster Members (9th Grade)

Clusters	Education		Racial Centrality		C. R. D. (Criminal)		C. R. D. (Harassed)		C. R. D (Unintelligent)		C. R. D (Other)	
	N	M (s.d.)	N	M (s.d)	N	M (s.d.)	N	M (s.d.)	N	M (s.d.)	N	M (s.d.)
High Multifaceted	109	5.05 (1.67)[a]	103	5.94 (.92)[a]	108	1.34 (1.29)[a,b]	108	1.25 (.88)[a,b]	108	1.26 (1.07)[a]	108	1.17 (.95)[a]
Black Navigation Capital	33	5.12 (1.56)	28	5.71 (.98)	33	.42 (.65)[a]	33	.77 (.82)[a]	33	.59 (.75)[a]	33	.48 (.74)[a]
Low Multifaceted	12	6.50 (2.11)[a,b]	12	5.65 (.94)	12	.75 (.67)	12	.72 (.53)	12	.92 (.87)	12	.82 (.73)
Infrequent	8	4.63 (1.69)	8	5.06 (1.41)	8	.79 (1.04)	8	.75 (1.14)	8	.78 (1.01)	8	.73 (.92)
Moderate Multifaceted	50	4.70 (1.67)[b]	44	5.46 (1.06)[a]	50	.70 (.81)[b]	50	.82 (.87)[a]	50	.93 (1.12)	50	.78 (.78)
N = 212	212		195		211		211		211		211	

Note. Profiles with the same letter superscripts represent significant cluster differences by the predictor variable at $p < .05$

Table 15. Self-Worth means and standard deviations by grade level

Variable	N	M (s.d)
Self-Worth 7th grade	170	1.96 (.13)
Self-Worth 8th grade	213	1.93 (.17)
Self-Worth 9th grade	212	1.94 (.13)

References

Abdullah, M. (2017). Black lives matter: Past, present and future. In H. H. Fairchild (Ed.), *Black lives matter: Lifespan perspectives* (pp. xxiii–xxxi). Indo American Books.

Appert, C. M. (2018). *In hip hop time: Music, memory, and social change in urban senegal*. Oxford University Press.

Banerjee, M., & Eccles, J. S. (2019). Perceived racial discrimination as a context for parenting in African American and European American youth. In H. E. Fitzgerald, D. J. Johnson, D. B. Qin, F. A. Villarruel, & J. Norder (Eds.), *Handbook of children and prejudice: Integrating research, practice, and policy* (pp. 233–247). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-12228-7_13

Banks-Wallace, J., & Parks, L. (2001). "So that our souls don't get damaged": The impact of racism on maternal thinking and practice related to the protection of daughters. *Issues in Mental Health Nursing*, *22*(1), 77–98. https://doi.org/10.1080/mhn.22.1.77.98

Barber, B. K., & Olsen, J. A. (2004). Assessing the transitions to middle and high school. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, *19*(1), 3–30. https://doi.org/10.1177/0743558403258113

Barr, S. C., & Neville, H. A. (2008). Examination of the link between parental racial socialization messages and racial ideology among Black college students. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *34*(2), 131–155. https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798408314138

Bentley-Edwards, K. L., & Stevenson, H. C. (2016). The multidimensionality of racial/ethnic socialization: Scale construction for the cultural and racial experiences of socialization (CARES). *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, *25*(1), 96–108. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-015-0214-7

Bhargava, S., & Witherspoon, D. P. (2015). Parental involvement across middle and high school: Exploring contributions of individual and neighborhood characteristics. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *44*(9), 1702–1719. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-015-0334-9

Bonilla-Silva, E. (2006). *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in the United States.* Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J. C. (1990). *Reproduction in education, society, and culture* (1990 ed). Sage in association with Theory, Culture & Society, Dept. of Administrative and Social Studies, Teesside Polytechnic.

Bowman, P. J., & Howard, C. (1985). Race-related socialization, motivation, and academic achievement: A study of Black youths in three-generation families. *Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry*, *24*(2), 134–141. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0002-7138(09)60438-6

Boykin, A. W., & Toms, F. D. (1985). Black child socialization: A conceptual framework. In *Black children: Social, educational, and parental environments* (pp. 33–51). Sage Publications, Inc.

Brega, A., & Coleman, L. (1999). Effects of religiosity and racial socialization on subjective stigmatization in African American adolescents. *Journal of Adolescence*, *22*, 223–242. https://doi.org/10.1006/jado.1999.0213

Brody, G. H., Murry, V. M., Kim, S., & Brown, A. C. (2002). Longitudinal Pathways to Competence and Psychological Adjustment among African American Children Living in Rural Single–Parent Households. *Child Development*, *73*(5), 1505–1516. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8624.00486

Brody, G. H., Murry, V. M., McNair, L., Chen, Y.-F., Gibbons, F. X., Gerrard, M., & Wills, T. A. (2005). Linking changes in parenting to parent–child relationship quality and youth self-control: The strong African American families program. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *15*(1), 47–69. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-7795.2005.00086.x

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1986). Ecology of the family as a context for human development: Research perspectives. *Developmental Psychology*, *22*(6), 723–742.

Brown, C. S., & Bigler, R. S. (2005). Children's perceptions of discrimination: A developmental model. *Child Development*, *76*(3), 533–553. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2005.00862.x

Brown, M., Ray, R., Summers, E., & Fraistat, N. (2017). #SayHerName: A case study of intersectional social media activism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *40*(11), 1831–1846. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2017.1334934

Brown, T. L., Linver, M. R., Evans, M., & DeGennaro, D. (2009). African–American Parents' Racial and Ethnic Socialization and Adolescent Academic Grades: Teasing Out the Role of Gender. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *38*(2), 214–227. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-008-9362-z

Bynum, M. S., Burton, E. T., & Best, C. (2007). Racism experiences and psychological functioning in African American college freshmen: Is racial socialization a buffer? *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *13*(1), 64–71. https://doi.org/10.1037/1099-9809.13.1.64

Carter, R. T., & Forsyth, J. (2010). Reactions to racial discrimination: Emotional stress and help-seeking behaviors. *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy*, *2*(3), 183–191. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0020102

Caughy, M. O., Nettles, S. M., O'Campo, P. J., & Lohrfink, K. F. (2006). Neighborhood matters: Racial socialization of African American children. *Child Development, 77*(5), 1220–1236. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2006.00930.x

Caughy, M. O., Randolph, S. M., & O'Campo, P. J. (2002). The africentric home environment inventory: An observational measure of the racial socialization features of the home environment for African American preschool children. *Journal of Black Psychology, 28*(1), 37–52. https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798402028001003

Chambers, T. V. (2009). The "Receivement Gap": School tracking policies and the fallacy of the "Achievement Gap." *The Journal of Negro Education, 78*(4), 417–431.

Chatters, L. M., Taylor, R. J., & Jayakody, R. (1994). Fictive kinship relations In Black extended families. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies; Calgary, Alta., 25*(3), 297–312.

Chavous, T. M., Rivas-Drake, D., Smalls, C., Griffin, T., & Cogburn, C. (2008). Gender matters, too: The influences of school racial discrimination and racial identity on academic engagement outcomes among African American adolescents. *Developmental Psychology, 44*(3), 637–654. https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.44.3.637

Coard, S. I., Wallace, S. A., Stevenson, Jr., H. C., & Brotman, L. M. (2004). Towards culturally relevant preventive interventions: The consideration of racial socialization in parent training with African American families. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 13*(3), 277–293. https://doi.org/10.1023/B:JCFS.0000022035.07171.f8

Constantine, M. G., & Blackmon, S. M. (2002). Black adolescents' racial socialization experiences: Their relations to home, school, and peer self-esteem. *Journal of Black Studies, 32*(3), 322–335. https://doi.org/10.1177/002193470203200303

Cooper, S. M., & McLoyd, V. C. (2011). Racial barrier socialization and the well-being of African American adolescents: The moderating role of mother–adolescent relationship quality. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 21*(4), 895–903. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-7795.2011.00749.x

Cooper, S. M., Smalls-Glover, C., Metzger, I., & Griffin, C. (2015). African American fathers' racial socialization patterns: Associations with racial identity beliefs and discrimination experiences. *Family Relations, 64*(2), 278–290. https://doi.org/10.1111/fare.12115

Cross, C. J. (2018). Extended family households among children in the United States: Differences by race/ethnicity and socio-economic status. *Population Studies, 72*(2), 235–251. https://doi.org/10.1080/00324728.2018.1468476

Delpit, L. D. (2006). *Other people's children: Cultural conflict in the classroom*. The New Press.

Demo, D. H., & Hughes, M. (1990). Socialization and Racial Identity Among Black Americans. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *53*(4), 364–374. JSTOR. https://doi.org/10.2307/2786741

DiAquoi, R. (2017). Symbols in the strange fruit seeds: What "the talk" Black parents have with their sons tells us about racism. *Harvard Educational Review; Cambridge*, *87*(4), 512–537.

Dotterer, A. M., McHale, S. M., & Crouter, A. C. (2009). Sociocultural factors and school engagement among African American youth: The roles of racial discrimination, racial socialization, and ethnic identity. *Applied Developmental Science*, *13*(2), 61–73. https://doi.org/10.1080/10888690902801442

Dunbar, A. S., Leerkes, E. M., Coard, S. I., Supple, A. J., & Calkins, S. (2017). An integrative conceptual model of parental racial/ethnic and emotion socialization and links to children's social-emotional development among African American families. *Child Development Perspectives*, *11*(1), 16–22. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdep.12218

Durkee, M. I., & Williams, J. L. (2015). Accusations of acting White: Links to Black students' racial identity and mental health. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *41*(1), 26–48. https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798413505323

Edwards, A. L., & Few-Demo, A. L. (2016). African American maternal power and the racial socialization of preschool children. *Sex Roles*, *75*(1), 56–70. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-016-0633-y

Enders, C. K. (2013). Dealing with missing data in developmental research. *Child Development Perspectives*, *7*(1), 27–31. https://doi.org/10.1111/cdep.12008

Evans, A. B. (2011). *The relation of gender to racial discrimination experiences and achievement among Black college students* [Doctoral Dissertation, University of Michigan]. https://hdl.handle.net/2027.42/89778

Frabutt, J. M., Walker, A. M., & MacKinnon-Lewis, C. (2002). Racial socialization messages and the quality of mother/child interactions in African American families. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, *22*(2), 200–217. https://doi.org/10.1177/0272431602022002004

Garcia Coll, C., Crnic, K., Lamberty, G., Wasik, B. H., Jenkins, R., García, H. V., & McAdoo, H. P. (1996). An integrative model for the study of developmental competencies in minority children. *Child Development*, *67*(5), 1891–1914. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.1996.tb01834.x

Gillen-O'Neel, C., Huynh, V. W., Hazelbaker, T., & Harrison, A. (2021). From kindness and diversity to justice and action: White parents' ethnic–racial socialization goals. *Journal of Family Issues*, 0192513X2199639. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X21996392

Goff, P. A., Jackson, M. C., Di Leone, B. A. L., Culotta, C. M., & DiTomasso, N. A. (2014). The essence of innocence: Consequences of dehumanizing Black children. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 106*(4), 526–545. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0035663

Green, G. T. (2013). The unique culture of Gullah/Geechee families on the southern coast of the United States. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment, 23*(5), 573–578. https://doi.org/10.1080/10911359.2013.765822

Greene, M. L., Way, N., & Pahl, K. (2006). Trajectories of perceived adult and peer discrimination among Black, Latino, and Asian American adolescents: Patterns and psychological correlates. *Developmental Psychology, 42*(2), 218–236. https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.42.2.218

Greer, T. M., Laseter, A., & Asiamah, D. (2009). Gender as a moderator of the relation between race-related stress and mental health symptoms for African Americans. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 33*(3), 295–307. https://doi.org/10.1177/036168430903300305

Harrell, S. P., Merchant, M. A., & Young, S. A. (unpublished manuscript). *Psychometric properties of the racism and life experiences scales (RaLES).*

Harris-Britt, A., Valrie, C. R., Kurtz-Costes, B., & Rowley, S. J. (2007). Perceived racial discrimination and self-esteem in African American youth: Racial socialization as a protective factor. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 17*(4), 669–682. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-7795.2007.00540.x

Harrison, A., Banales, J., Hoffman, A. J., Banerjee, M., & Rowley, S. J. (in prep). *The developmental relation of adolescent private regard and parental ethnic-racial pride socialization among African American families*.

Harrison, A., Chavous, T. M., Rowley, S. J., & McLoyd, V. C. (manuscript in preparation). *Socioeconomic and demographic factors: Predictors of African American parents' racial socialization*.

Harrison, A. O., Wilson, M. N., Pine, C. J., Chan, S. Q., & Buriel, R. (1990). Family ecologies of ethnic minority children. *Child Development, 61*(2), 347–362. JSTOR. https://doi.org/10.2307/1131097

Hill, N. E. (1997). Does parenting differ based on social class?: African American women's perceived socialization for achievement. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 25*(5), 675–697. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1024639017985

Hoffman, A. J., Rivas-Drake, D., Settles, I. H., Brassel, S. T., & Pinetta, B. J. (2019). Ethnic and racial prejudice across the life span. In H. E. Fitzgerald, D. J. Johnson, D. B. Qin, F. A. Villarruel, & J. Norder (Eds.), *Handbook of Children and Prejudice: Integrating Research, Practice, and Policy* (pp. 23–41). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-12228-7_2

Holden, G. W. (2010). Childrearing and developmental trajectories: Positive pathways, off-ramps, and dynamic processes. *Child Development Perspectives*, *4*(3), 197–204. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1750-8606.2010.00148.x

Hughes, D. L. (2003). Correlates of African American and Latino parents' messages to children about ethnicity and race: A comparative study of racial socialization. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *31*(1–2), 15–33. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1023066418688

Hughes, D. L., & Chen, L. (1997). When and what parents tell children about race: An examination of race-related socialization among African American families. *Applied Developmental Science*, *1*(4), 200–214. https://doi.org/10.1207/s1532480xads0104_4

Hughes, D. L., Hagelskamp, C., Way, N., & Foust, M. D. (2009). The role of mothers' and adolescents' perceptions of ethnic-racial socialization in shaping ethnic-racial identity among early adolescent boys and girls. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *38*(5), 605–626. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-009-9399-7

Hughes, D. L., & Johnson, D. (2001). Correlates in children's experiences of parents' racial socialization behaviors. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *63*(4), 981–995. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2001.00981.x

Hughes, D. L., Rodriguez, J., Smith, E. P., Johnson, D. J., Stevenson, H. C., & Spicer, P. (2006). Parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices: A review of research and directions for future study. *Developmental Psychology*, *42*(5), 747–770. https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.42.5.747

Hughes, D. L., Watford, J. A., & Del Toro, J. (2016). Chapter One—A Transactional/Ecological Perspective on Ethnic–Racial Identity, Socialization, and Discrimination. In S. S. Horn, M. D. Ruck, & L. S. Liben (Eds.), *Advances in Child Development and Behavior* (Vol. 51, pp. 1–41). JAI. https://doi.org/10.1016/bs.acdb.2016.05.001

Huguley, J. P., Wang, M.-T., Vasquez, A. C., & Guo, J. (2019). Parental ethnic–racial socialization practices and the construction of children of color's ethnic–racial identity: A research synthesis and meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, *145*(5), 437–458. https://doi.org/10.1037/bul0000187

Hurd, N. M., Varner, F. A., & Rowley, S. J. (2013). Involved-vigilant parenting and socio-emotional well-being among Black youth: The moderating influence of natural mentoring relationships. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *42*(10), 1583–1595. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-012-9819-y

Ispa-Landa, S. (2013). Gender, race, and justifications for group exclusion: Urban Black students bussed to affluent suburban schools. *Sociology of Education*, *86*(3), 218–233. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038040712472912

Jones, S. C. T., & Neblett, E. W. (2019). Black parenting couples' discussions of the racial socialization process: Occurrence and effectiveness. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, *28*(1), 218–232. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-018-1248-4

Joseph, J., & Kuo, B. C. H. (2009). Black Canadians' coping responses to racial discrimination. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *35*(1), 78–101. https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798408323384

Joseph, N., & Hunter, C. D. (2011). Ethnic-racial socialization messages in the identity development of second-generation Haitians. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, *26*(3), 344–380. https://doi.org/10.1177/0743558410391258

Kahn, J. H. (2006). Factor analysis in counseling psychology research, training, and practice: Principles, advances, and applications. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *34*(5), 684–718. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000006286347

Kline, R. B. (2016). *Principles and practice of structural equation modeling* (Fourth Edition). Guilford Publications.

Lanza, S. T., & Collins, L. M. (2008). A new SAS procedure for latent transition analysis: Transitions in dating and sexual risk behavior. *Developmental Psychology*, *44*(2), 446–456. https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.44.2.446

Leath, S., Marchand, A., Harrison, A., Halawah, A., Davis, C., & Rowley, S. J. (in press). A qualitative exploration of Black mothers' gendered constructions of their children and their parental school involvement. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*.

Leath, S., Mathews, C., Harrison, A., & Chavous, T. (2019). Racial identity, racial discrimination, and classroom engagement outcomes among Black girls and boys in predominantly Black and predominantly White school districts. *American Educational Research Journal*, *56*(4), 1318–1352. https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831218816955

Lebron, C. J. (2017). *The making of Black Lives Matter: A brief history of an idea*. Oxford University Press.

Lee, S. T. H. (2018). Testing for measurement invariance: Does your measure mean the same thing for different participants? *APS Observer*, *31*(8). https://www.psychologicalscience.org/observer/testing-for-measurement-invariance

Lesane-Brown, C. L. (2006). A review of race socialization within Black families. *Developmental Review*, *26*(4), 400–426. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dr.2006.02.001

Lesane-Brown, C. L., Scottham, K. M., Nguyên, H. X., & Sellers, R. M. (2009). Child racial socialization scale: A new measure for use with African American adolescents. *Manuscript Submitted for Publication*.

Lichter, D. T., Parisi, D., & Taquino, M. C. (2015). Toward a new macro-segregation? Decomposing segregation within and between metropolitan cities and suburbs. *American Sociological Review*, *80*(4), 843–873. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122415588558

Love, B. (2019). *We want to do more than survive: Abolitionist teaching and the pursuit of educational freedom*. Beacon Press.

Mallett, R. K., Akimoto, S., & Oishi, S. (2016). Affect and understanding during everyday cross-race experiences. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *22*(2), 237–246. https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000032

Marshall, S. (1995). Ethnic socialization of African American children: Implications for parenting, identity development, and academic achievement. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *24*(4), 377–396. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01537187

Mattis, J. S., & Jagers, R. J. (2001). A relational framework for the study of religiosity and spirituality in the lives of African Americans. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *29*(5), 519–539. https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.1034

McAdoo, H. P. (2001). *Black children: Social, educational, and parental environments*. SAGE Publications.

McAdoo, H. P., & McAdoo, J. L. (1985). *Black children: Social, educational, and parental environments*. SAGE Publications.

McClain, D. (2019). *We live for the we: The political power of Black motherhood*. Bold Type Books.

McClure, E., Feinstein, L., Cordoba, E., Douglas, C., Emch, M., Robinson, W., Galea, S., & Aiello, A. E. (2019). The legacy of redlining in the effect of foreclosures on Detroit residents' self-rated health. *Health & Place*, *55*, 9–19. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2018.10.004

McHale, S. M., Crouter, A. C., Kim, J.-Y., Burton, L. M., Davis, K. D., Dotterer, A. M., & Swanson, D. P. (2006). Mothers' and fathers' racial socialization in African American families: Implications for youth. *Child Development*, *77*(5), 1387–1402. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2006.00942.x

McLoyd, V. C., Jayaratne, T. E., Ceballo, R., & Borquez, J. (1994). Unemployment and work interruption among African American single mothers: Effects on parenting and adolescent socioemotional functioning. *Child Development*, *65*(2), 562. https://doi.org/10.2307/1131402

Medina, M. A., Rivas-Drake, D., Jagers, R. J., & Rowley, S. J. (2019). Friends matter: Ethnic-racial identity and school adjustment among African American and Latino early adolescents. *Applied Developmental Science*, 1–16. https://doi.org/10.1080/10888691.2018.1524712

Muthén, L. K., & Muthén, B. O. (1998). *Mplus user's guide* (Eighth Edition). Muthén & Muthén.

Neblett, E. W., Rivas-Drake, D., & Umaña-Taylor, A. J. (2012). The promise of racial and ethnic protective factors in promoting ethnic minority youth development. *Child Development Perspectives*, *6*(3), 295–303. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1750-8606.2012.00239.x

Neblett, E. W., Smalls, C. P., Ford, K. R., Nguyên, H. X., & Sellers, R. M. (2009). Racial socialization and racial identity: African American parents' messages about race as precursors to identity. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *38*(2), 189–203. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-008-9359-7

Neblett, E. W., White, R. L., Ford, K. R., Philip, C. L., Nguyên, H. X., & Sellers, R. M. (2008). Patterns of racial socialization and psychological adjustment: Can parental communications about race reduce the impact of racial discrimination? *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *18*(3), 477–515. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-7795.2008.00568.x

Newman, B. M., Lohman, B. J., Newman, P. R., Myers, M. C., & Smith, V. L. (2000). Experiences of urban youth navigating the transition to ninth grade. *Youth & Society*, *31*(4), 387–416. https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X00031004001

Nylund, K. L., Asparouhov, T., & Muthén, B. O. (2007). Deciding on the number of classes in latent class analysis and growth mixture modeling: A Monte Carlo simulation study. *Structural Equation Modeling: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, *14*(4), 535–569. https://doi.org/10.1080/10705510701575396

Ogbu, J. U. (1981). Origins of human competence: A cultural-ecological perspective. *Child Development*, *52*(2), 413–429. JSTOR. https://doi.org/10.2307/1129158

Paasch-Anderson, J., & Lamborn, S. D. (2014). African American adolescents' perceptions of ethnic socialization and racial socialization as distinct processes. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, *29*(2), 159–185. https://doi.org/10.1177/0743558413510969

Peters, M. F. (1985). Racial socialization of young Black children. In H. P. McAdoo & J. L. McAdoo (Eds.), *Black children: Social, educational, and parental environments* (pp. 159–173). Sage Publications, Inc.

Peters, M. F., & Massey, G. (1983). Mundane extreme environmental stress in family stress theories: The case of Black families in White America. *Marriage & Family Review*, *6*(1–2), 193–218. https://doi.org/10.1300/J002v06n01_10

Priest, N., Walton, J., White, F., Kowal, E., Baker, A., & Paradies, Y. (2014). Understanding the complexities of ethnic-racial socialization processes for both minority and majority groups: A 30-year systematic review. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *43*, 139–155. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2014.08.003

Rodriguez, J., Umaña-Taylor, A., Smith, E., & Johnson, D. (2009). Cultural processes in parenting and youth outcomes: Examining a model of racial-ethnic socialization and identity in diverse populations. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *15*, 106–111. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0015510

Saleem, F. T., English, D., Busby, D. R., Lambert, S. F., Harrison, A., Stock, M. L., & Gibbons, F. X. (2016). The impact of African American parents' racial discrimination experiences and perceived neighborhood cohesion on their racial socialization practices. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *45*(7), 1338–1349. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-016-0499-x

Scott, L. D. (2004). Correlates of coping with perceived discriminatory experiences among African American adolescents. *Journal of Adolescence*, *27*(2), 123–137. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2003.11.005

Seaton, E. K., & Yip, T. (2009). School and neighborhood contexts, perceptions of racial discrimination, and psychological well-being among African American adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *38*(2), 153–163. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-008-9356-x

Seaton, E. K., Yip, T., & Sellers, R. M. (2009). A longitudinal examination of racial identity and racial discrimination among African American adolescents. *Child Development*, *80*(2), 406–417. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2009.01268.x

Sellers, R. M., Smith, M. A., Shelton, J. N., Rowley, S. A. J., & Chavous, T. M. (1998). Multidimensional model of racial identity: A reconceptualization of African American racial identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *2*(1), 18–39. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr0201_2

Smalls, C., & Cooper, S. M. (2012). Racial group regard, barrier socialization, and African American adolescents' engagement: Patterns and processes by gender. *Journal of Adolescence*, *35*(4), 887–897. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2011.12.007

Smetana, J. G., Campione-Barr, N., & Metzger, A. (2006). Adolescent development in interpersonal and societal contexts. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *57*(1), 255–284. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.57.102904.190124

Smith, S. M., Reynolds, J. E., Fincham, F. D., & Beach, S. R. H. (2016). *Parental Experiences of Racial Discrimination and Youth Racial Socialization in Two-parent African American Families*. *22*(2), 268–276. https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000064

Speight, S. L. (2007). Internalized racism: One more piece of the puzzle. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *35*(1), 126–134. https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000006295119

Spencer, M. B. (1983). Children's cultural values and parental child rearing strategies. *Developmental Review*, *3*(4), 351–370. https://doi.org/10.1016/0273-2297(83)90020-5

Stevenson, H. C. (1998). Managing anger: Protective, proactive, or adaptive racial socialization identity profiles and African-American manhood development. *Journal of Prevention & Intervention in the Community*, *16*(1–2), 35–61. https://doi.org/10.1300/J005v16n01_03

Stevenson, H. C., McNeil, J. D., Herrero-Taylor, T., & Davis, G. Y. (2005). Influence of perceived neighborhood diversity and racism experience on the racial socialization of Black youth. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *31*(3), 273–290. https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798405278453

Stevenson, H. C., Reed, J., Bodison, P., & Bishop, A. (1997). Racism stress management: Racial socialization beliefs and the experience of depression and anger in African American youth. *Youth & Society*, *29*(2), 197–222. https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X97029002003

Tang, S., McLoyd, V. C., & Hallman, S. K. (2016). Racial socialization, racial identity, and academic attitudes among African American adolescents: Examining the moderating influence of parent–adolescent communication. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *45*(6), 1141–1155. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-015-0351-8

Tatum, B. D. (1987). *Assimilation blues: Black families in a White community* (pp. ix, 112). Greenwood Press.

Thomas, A. J., & Blackmon, S. M. (2015). The influence of the Trayvon Martin shooting on racial socialization practices of African American parents. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *41*(1), 75–89. https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798414563610

Thomas, A. J., Hoxha, D., & Hacker, J. D. (2013). Contextual Influences on gendered racial identity development of African American young women. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *39*(1), 88–101. https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798412454679

Thomas, A. J., Speight, S. L., & Witherspoon, K. M. (2010). Racial socialization, racial identity, and race-related stress of African American parents. *The Family Journal*, *18*(4), 407–412. https://doi.org/10.1177/1066480710372913

Thornton, M. C., Chatters, L. M., Taylor, R. J., & Allen, W. R. (1990). Sociodemographic and environmental correlates of racial socialization by Black parents. *Child Development*, *61*(2), 401–409. JSTOR. https://doi.org/10.2307/1131101

Threlfall, J. M. (2018). Parenting in the shadow of Ferguson: Racial socialization practices in context. *Youth & Society*, *50*(2), 255–273. https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X16670280

Timberlake, J. M., & Estes, S. B. (2007). Do racial and ethnic stereotypes depend on the sex of target group membership? Evidence from a survey-based experiment. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 36.

Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Zeiders, K. H., & Updegraff, K. A. (2013). Family ethnic socialization and ethnic identity: A family-driven, youth-driven, or reciprocal process? *Journal of Family Psychology : JFP : Journal of the Division of Family Psychology of the American Psychological Association (Division 43)*, *27*(1), 137–146. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0031105

Updegrove, A. H., Cooper, M. N., Orrick, E. A., & Piquero, A. R. (2020). Red states and Black lives: Applying the racial threat hypothesis to the Black lives matter movement. *Justice Quarterly*, *37*(1), 85–108. https://doi.org/10.1080/07418825.2018.1516797

Van de Schoot, R., Lugtig, P., & Hox, J. (2012). A checklist for testing measurement invariance. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology*, *9*(4), 486–492. https://doi.org/10.1080/17405629.2012.686740

Varner, F. A., Hou, Y., Hodzic, T., Hurd, N. M., Butler-Barnes, S. T., & Rowley, S. J. (2018). Racial discrimination experiences and African American youth adjustment: The role of parenting profiles based on racial socialization and involved-vigilant parenting. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *24*(2), 173–186. https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000180

Vittrup, B. (2018). Color blind or color conscious? White American mothers' approaches to racial socialization. *Journal of Family Issues*, *39*(3), 668–692. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X16676858

White, K., & Lawrence, J. A. (2019). Racial/ethnic residential segregation and mental health outcomes. In M. M. Medlock, D. Shtasel, N.-H. T. Trinh, & D. R. Williams (Eds.), *Racism and psychiatry: Contemporary issues and interventions* (pp. 37–53). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-90197-8_3

White-Johnson, R. L., Ford, K. R., & Sellers, R. M. (2010). Parental racial socialization profiles: Association with demographic factors, racial discrimination, childhood socialization, and racial identity. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *16*(2), 237–247. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0016111

Wun, C. (2016). Unaccounted foundations: Black girls, anti-Black racism, and punishment in schools. *Critical Sociology*, *42*(4–5), 737–750. https://doi.org/10.1177/0896920514560444

Yosso, T. J. (2005). Whose culture has capital? A critical race theory discussion of community cultural wealth. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *8*(1), 69–91. https://doi.org/10.1080/1361332052000341006