

Ethnic-racial Socialization, Perceived Neighborhood Quality, and Psychosocial Adjustment among African American and Caribbean Black Adolescents

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Ethnic-racial socialization is employed by ethnic minority parents to support their children's psychosocial adjustment. These socialization messages may be associated differently with psychosocial adjustment for Black youth according to ethnicity and qualities of the neighborhood context. This research examined whether associations between ethnic-racial socialization messages and psychosocial adjustment vary by ethnicity and perceived neighborhood quality in a nationally representative sample of Black adolescents who participated in the National Survey of American Life Adolescent supplement study. The effects of promotion of mistrust messages varied by ethnicity, and the effects of egalitarianism messages varied depending on perceived neighborhood quality. These findings help clarify prior research which has yielded equivocal results for the effects of these messages for Black youth's psychosocial adjustment.

Ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) is recognized as a critical parenting strategy employed by ethnic minority parents to support their children's psychosocial adjustment and to prepare them to manage the reality of racial discrimination. Ecological theories suggest and empirical research confirms that characteristics of the neighborhood context have implications for parents' decisions about how to socialize their children about race and ethnicity (e.g., Barr & Neville, 2014; Hughes et al., 2016b; Witherspoon et al., 2019). In addition, whether ERS messages are linked with youth positive psychosocial adjustment may vary according to aspects of the neighborhood environment, as suggested by research demonstrating different effects of general parenting strategies depending on neighborhood characteristics (e.g., Roche & Leventhal, 2009). Associations between ERS messages and youth psychosocial adjustment also may vary within Black families, according to ethnicity, given ethnic differences in expectations about treatment due to race, the meaning attributed to racially discriminatory encounters, and the significance of racial

discrimination for youth well-being (Hunter, 2008). To date, however, few have considered differential effects of ERS messages according to neighborhood and ethnicity. Thus, this study examined if associations between ERS messages and adolescent psychosocial adjustment varied according to perceived neighborhood quality and ethnicity for African American and Caribbean Black youth, whom we collectively refer to as Black youth.

This research is guided by García Coll et al.'s (1996) integrative model of minority child development and Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) which highlight the importance of parental socialization for youth psychosocial adjustment and recognize the significance of multiple settings for their developmental outcomes. The integrative model proposes that the context of social stratification informs the settings in which ethnic minority youth participate, their parents' socialization practices, and these youth's developmental outcomes. According to the integrative model, ethnic minority youth's position within a socially stratified society places them in settings that may promote or inhibit their development given racism and systemic oppression. These promoting or inhibiting environments have implications for parents' ERS and youth outcomes. Thus, for Black parents, the macrosystem context of

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racism and oppression necessitates that socialization about race and ethnicity is part of their socialization efforts. While ecological models detailing ethnic minority youth development propose that parents' ERS efforts are informed in response to contextual demands, including those presented by the neighborhood environment (Barr & Neville, 2014; Hughes et al., 2016b), little is known about whether the effects of ERS messages depend on aspects of the neighborhood environment. This study explores this possibility. In addition, this research considers the role of ethnicity in understanding how parents' messages about race are associated with youth's psychosocial adjustment given the centrality of ethnicity in shaping young people's social position in a racially stratified society (Hughes et al., 2016b). In this study, we explore whether messages about race and ethnicity are associated differently with psychosocial adjustment for African American and Caribbean Black youth, including possible differences in the role of perceived neighborhood quality in these associations.

Several theoreticians emphasize that ERS messages help to promote youth's optimal developmental outcomes (e.g., Anderson & Stevenson, 2019; García Coll et al., 1996; Murry et al., 2018). Accordingly, we focus on aspects of psychosocial adjustment that are salient during adolescence for Black youth and reflect positive mental health adjustment as defined by the World Health Organization (2018): "a state of well-being in which the individual realizes his or her own abilities, can cope with the normal stresses of life, can work productively and fruitfully, and is able to make a contribution to his or her own community." This conceptualization highlights constructs such as self-concept, mastery, and coping and serves as the basis of our examination of positive aspects of psychosocial adjustment. Self-esteem and mastery are significant assets in a positive youth development framework (Benson et al., 2006), and key to the development of identity (Scales & Leffert, 2004), a critical process during adolescence (Erickson, 1968). Self-esteem refers to an individual's perception of their worth (Mruk, 2006), while mastery is related to an individual's perception of what they can control in their lives (Pearlin et al., 1981). Both are important to youth's ability to manage other developmental tasks and challenges during adolescence (e.g., Mruk, 2006; Prince-Embury, 2013). Similarly, coping is a vital adaptive process during adolescence (Gaylord-Harden et al., 2008). Black adolescents often are unduly exposed to stressful environs (e.g., discrimination, Seaton et al., 2008;

violence, Sheats et al., 2018). In response, they may apply active coping strategies (Tolan & Grant, 2009), such as John Henryism, a culturally relevant type of active coping embodying high effort and determination to succeed despite toxic and pervasive stressors (Haritatos et al., 2007). While John Henryism active coping (JHAC) may benefit individuals in the short term, with prolonged use, such high effort coping can have negative implications for physical and mental health (e.g., metabolic syndrome, Brody et al., 2018).

Ethnic-Racial Socialization

ERS is commonly defined as the verbal and non-verbal messages and behaviors transmitted from caregivers to youth regarding race and ethnicity. Because racially and ethnically diverse families, particularly those within the African diaspora, contend with chronic racial stressors in multiple contexts, ERS is an essential component of parenting required to prepare youth for encountering and managing racism (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). Hughes et al. (2006) describe four common ERS messages that families of color, including Black families, report conveying to their children and adolescents. Cultural socialization messages focus on instilling knowledge about and pride in one's group. Preparation for bias messages prepare youth for encountering and coping with racial bias. Promotion of mistrust messages caution youth to be wary in their interactions with other ethnic-racial groups. Finally, egalitarianism messages deemphasize racial group characteristics and are typically absent of discussion about race. While theoretical scholarship highlights the necessity of ERS to support youth's ability to achieve several developmental tasks and thrive in their social, emotional, and cognitive development (García Coll et al., 1996; Reynolds & Gonzales-Backen, 2017; Wang et al., 2019), empirical research has yielded varied results depending on the ERS message. A consistent finding for Black adolescents and young adults is that cultural socialization messages promote self-esteem (Constantine & Blackmon, 2002; Davis & Stevenson, 2006; Hughes et al., 2009) and resilience (Brown, 2008; Brown & Tylka, 2011), as well as protect against racial discrimination in promoting resilience (e.g., Brown & Tylka, 2011) and self-esteem (e.g., Harris-Britt et al., 2007). In contrast, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism messages have been studied less frequently than cultural socialization messages, and empirical research has yielded mixed evidence

of their utility for youth well-being (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). We focus on these three messages in the current research in order to examine conditions under which these messages may be advantageous for youth psychosocial adjustment.

Preparation for bias has been associated with Black adolescents' lower self-esteem in some studies (e.g., Hughes et al., 2009), but higher self-esteem in other studies (e.g., Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Murry et al., 2009). Messages emphasizing strategies for coping with antagonism, a form of preparation for bias, have been associated with greater resilience among African American young adults (e.g., Brown, 2008; Brown & Tylka, 2011). On the other hand, messages alerting youth about discrimination (e.g., teaching youth about racial challenges among Blacks and Whites and awareness of barriers due to racism), another form of preparation for bias, have been associated with more instrumental helplessness (Davis & Stevenson, 2006) for Black youth and less JHAC for Black college students (Blackmon et al., 2016). Research focused on promotion of mistrust messages generally has been more consistent, showing links with poor adjustment such as less optimism and greater pessimism (Liu & Lau, 2013) and more depressive symptoms among African American young adults (Dunbar et al., 2015; Liu & Lau, 2013). Research examining egalitarianism messages has produced disparate findings. For example, egalitarianism messages have been associated with African American adolescents' increased self-worth, academic curiosity, and academic persistence (Neblett et al., 2006). Also, among African American youth whose parents promoted mainstream values (e.g., cross-racial friendships), egalitarianism messages were linked with increased cognitive competence (Banerjee et al., 2011). Other research, however, links egalitarianism messages with problematic adjustment (e.g., Barr & Neville, 2014; Constantine & Blackmon, 2002). Relatedly, for adolescents who reported higher levels of color-blind racial beliefs, parental mainstream socialization was associated with negative mental health outcomes (Barr & Neville, 2014) and mainstream socialization was associated with lower school self-esteem in a sample of Black middle school adolescents (Constantine & Blackmon, 2002).

While the lack of consensus regarding preparation for bias and egalitarianism messages and the scarcity of research focused on promotion of mistrust messages for Black adolescents make it difficult to draw strong conclusions about whether

these messages benefit Black youth's psychosocial adjustment, there is growing consensus that the effects of these types of messages are context dependent (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). For example, prior research has shown that preparation for bias messages are linked with better psychosocial adjustment in the context of parent-adolescent relationships characterized by communication and trust (Lambert et al., 2015; Tang et al., 2016) and democratic-involved parenting (Smalls, 2009). Also, the protective effects of preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust messages are more evident when they are given in the context of cultural socialization messages (e.g., Neblett et al., 2008; Wang & Huguley, 2012). Our research extends this body of research to consider ethnicity and neighborhood as other contexts that may help clarify the conditions under which socialization messages focused on preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism are associated with Black youth's psychosocial adjustment.

The Role of Ethnicity in ERS Messages

A large majority of the literature on socialization about race in Black families has focused on African American families (e.g., Joseph & Hunter, 2011; Priest et al., 2014) or failed to distinguish ethnicity within Black samples or samples characterized as "Black/African American," making it difficult to understand the role of ethnicity in ERS messages; however, ethnic differences related to culture, ideology, and nationality (among others) inform ideas about race and its salience (Rong & Brown, 2002). For example, African American and Caribbean Black parents may think differently about in- and outgroup membership, perhaps with consequences for their socialization practices (e.g., Hine-St & Hilaire, 2006). Immigrant families from countries in which Blacks are the numerical majority may emphasize ethnic group membership over racial group membership (Coleman-King, 2014); in contrast, racial group membership and structural barriers related to race are emphasized among African American families (Sanchez et al., 2016). Consequently, there may be differences in how much race and racial discrimination are the focus of African American and Caribbean parents' socialization efforts. In fact, prior research has shown that compared to African American adults, Black Caribbean adult immigrants' socialization messages were more likely to focus on ethnicity than race (Rong & Brown, 2002), more likely to minimize racism

(Hunter, 2008), and less likely to perceive race as a barrier to social mobility (Bashi Bobb & Clarke, 2001; Coleman-King, 2014).

Differences in the types of messages that African American and Caribbean Black families communicate about race and ethnicity, racism, and structural barriers (e.g., Coleman-King, 2014) suggest that the meaning of these messages for youth's psychosocial adjustment might vary for African American and Caribbean Black youth. For example, messages promoting mistrust of other groups could indicate structural barriers to one's well-being, success, and advancement, or these messages might highlight the importance of maintaining close ties to one's cultural and ethnic group (Coleman-King, 2014); the former meaning might challenge positive psychosocial adjustment whereas the latter might promote psychosocial adjustment. While differences in the type and amount of ERS messages communicated to youth suggest that the meaning and implications of ERS messages may differ for African American and Caribbean Black youth, this proposition has not been explored directly. Seaton et al. (2008) found that the adverse effects of racial discrimination on depressive symptoms and self-esteem were stronger for Caribbean Black than African American adolescents, evidence that racial stressors have differential effects according to ethnicity. These group differences might suggest that the ERS messages Caribbean Black and African American youth receive have differential effects for their psychosocial adjustment, possibly due to differences in the degree to which these messages are emphasized by parents, and valued or internalized by youth. If so, ERS messages may be differentially associated with African American and Caribbean Black youth's adjustment. In addition, scholarship that has examined how Caribbean Black families discuss racism (e.g., minimizing racism [Hunter, 2008], less likely to perceive race as a barrier [Coleman-King, 2014]), suggests that ERS messages might have different meanings within Caribbean Black and African American families and possibly benefit youth in these families differently. This idea is a central question of this study—whether ethnic-racial socialization messages are associated differently with African American and Caribbean Black adolescents' psychosocial adjustment.

The Role of Neighborhood in ERS Messages

Prior research has shown differences in the types of ethnic-racial socialization messages parents

provide according to aspects of the neighborhood context (e.g., neighborhood racial composition, Caughy et al., 2006; perceived neighborhood cultural diversity, Stevenson et al., 2005; perceived neighborhood cohesion, Saleem et al., 2016). These findings are consistent with models detailing how neighborhood characteristics and qualities guide parents' expectations about racial discrimination experiences their children may face, and their choices about ethnic-racial socialization (e.g., Barr & Neville, 2014; Hughes et al., 2016b). However, little research has considered whether the effects of ethnic-racial socialization messages for youth psychosocial adjustment vary according to aspects of the neighborhood environment. A contextual relevance perspective posits that the effects of parenting on youth adjustment depend on characteristics of the neighborhood environment (Kotchick & Forehand, 2002). For example, the benefits of effective parenting for youth positive adjustment may be most apparent in advantaged or low-risk neighborhoods (amplified advantages model); the benefits of effective parenting for youth positive adjustment may be most apparent in disadvantaged or high-risk neighborhoods (family compensatory model); or the costs of ineffective parenting may be greatest in disadvantaged or high-risk neighborhoods (amplified disadvantages) (Roche & Leventhal, 2009). Likewise, parenting effects may vary with neighborhood social processes such as collective efficacy, characterized by residents' perception of neighborhood cohesion and trust, and the likelihood that neighbors will intervene on their behalf (Simons et al., 2005).

Most research examining the implications of parenting-neighborhood interactions for Black youth adjustment has not considered ERS. As an exception, the association between alertness to discrimination and Black youth's instrumental helplessness was greater in low-resource neighborhoods than in high-resource neighborhoods (Davis & Stevenson, 2006), providing evidence that effects of preparation for bias messages vary with the neighborhood context. Likewise, research focused on racial discrimination suggests that ERS effects vary according to neighborhood social processes. For example, neighborhood cohesion can mitigate the effects of racial discrimination on depressive symptoms (Saleem et al., 2018) and externalizing behavior (Riina et al., 2013) for African American adolescents. Moreover, neighborhood collective efficacy protected against adverse effects of race-related stress among African American adolescents (Driscoll et al., 2015). This research suggests that

neighborhood social processes may provide contextual information, just as the family context, that can help to clarify inconsistencies in the research examining whether ERS messages benefit youth. In particular, neighborhood qualities such as social cohesion and trust may provide a context in which preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism messages are associated with better psychosocial adjustment for youth, but in the absence of these neighborhood qualities, these messages may not promote youth adaptive psychosocial adjustment. Similarly, Saleem et al. (2018) suggest that in the context of neighborhood cohesion and collective efficacy, others in the neighborhood may reinforce or bolster parents' efforts to safeguard their children against the effects of racism.

The importance of the neighborhood context for how parenting strategies impact adolescent psychosocial adjustment may differ for African American and Caribbean youth, possibly with implications for how ethnic-racial socialization messages are associated with their psychosocial adjustment. In prior research, neighborhood social processes were associated differently with African American and Caribbean Black adults' mental health adjustment (Erving & Hills, 2019), suggesting that the meaning and importance of social aspects of the neighborhood may differ for these groups. Likewise, perceived neighborhood qualities may modify ERS-youth psychosocial adjustment links differently for African American and Caribbean Black youth. This has yet to be explored.

Current Study

Prior theory and research suggest that parents' ERS strategies differ according to ethnicity and perceived qualities of the neighborhood environment, including neighborhood support and cohesion (e.g., Saleem et al., 2016). However, few have examined how associations between ERS and youth psychosocial adjustment may vary according to ethnicity and neighborhood qualities. To address this gap, the current research examined whether associations between preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism messages and adolescent psychosocial adjustment varied by ethnicity and perceived neighborhood quality for African American and Caribbean Black youth (see Figure 1). Our hypotheses are informed by prior research examining the effects of ERS messages for African American youth, and research describing the types of ERS messages Caribbean Black families communicate to their children.

In light of prior research showing mixed or context dependent findings for preparation for bias messages (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020), we did not have a priori hypotheses about how these messages would be associated with psychosocial adjustment absent information about the neighborhood context. We hypothesized that promotion of mistrust messages would be associated with lower self-esteem for African American and Caribbean Black youth (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). However, we expected that promotion of mistrust messages

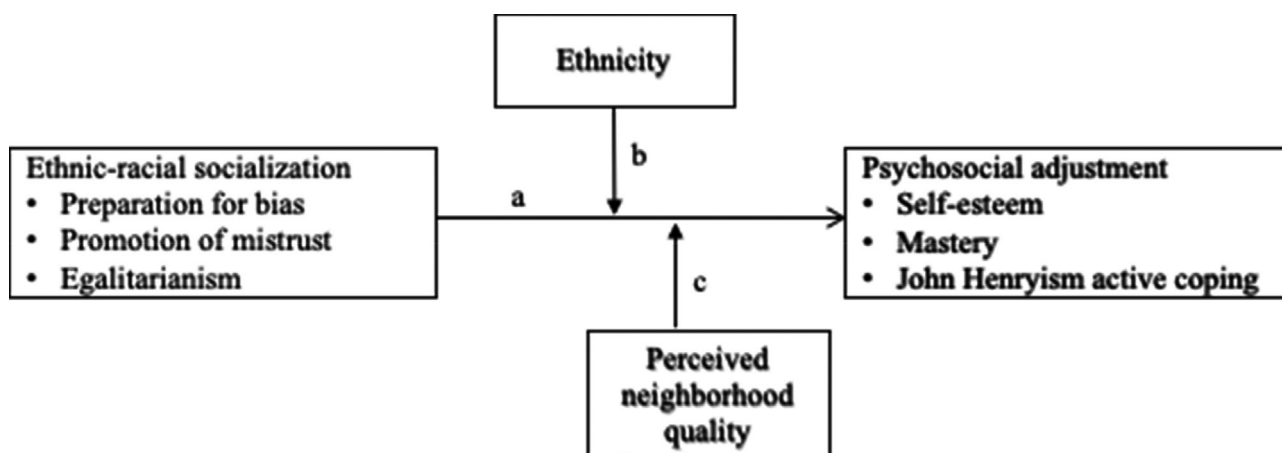


FIGURE 1 Conceptual model of the moderating role of ethnicity and perceived neighborhood quality on the association between ethnic-racial socialization and psychosocial adjustment. *Note.* Path a illustrates the association between each aspect of ethnic-racial socialization and Black adolescents' psychosocial adjustment. Path b shows the hypothesized moderation effect of ethnicity on the association between each aspect of ethnic-racial socialization and Black adolescents' psychosocial adjustment. Path c illustrates the hypothesized moderation effect of perceived neighborhood quality on the association between each aspect of ethnic-racial socialization and Black adolescents' psychosocial adjustment

would be associated with more mastery and JHAC for Caribbean Black youth given prior research suggesting that Caribbean Black families, particularly first-generation families, may emphasize these messages as important for achievement and overcoming barriers (Coleman-King, 2014). Following prior research (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020), we hypothesized that egalitarianism messages would be associated with more self-esteem, mastery, and JHAC for African American adolescents and Caribbean Black adolescents, but more strongly for Caribbean Black adolescents given the salience of messages minimizing race among Caribbean Black families (Hunter, 2008).

We hypothesized that the effect of preparation for bias and egalitarianism messages would vary according to perceived neighborhood quality. Given evidence that preparation for bias messages are linked with better psychosocial adjustment in the context of advantageous family contexts (e.g., communication and trust [Lambert et al., 2015], democratic-involved parenting [Smalls, 2009]), we hypothesized that in the context of high perceived neighborhood quality, preparation for bias messages would be associated with better psychosocial adjustment. Similarly, we hypothesized that the benefit of egalitarianism messages for youth self-esteem, mastery, and JHAC would be greater in the context of higher perceived neighborhood quality given propositions that youth receive and respond to messages about egalitarianism differently, in part due to their community context (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). We did not have a priori hypotheses regarding whether neighborhood quality would qualify the effect of promotion of mistrust messages on youths' psychosocial adjustment as most prior research finds these messages generally do not promote psychosocial adjustment (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). Given prior research that has documented different effects of perceived neighborhood qualities for African American and Caribbean Blacks (Erving & Hills, 2019), we explored whether the moderating role of perceived neighborhood quality varied by ethnicity.

METHOD

Design and Sample

The current study is a secondary analysis of the National Survey of American Life – Adolescent Supplement (NSAL-A; Jackson et al., 2004), conducted by researchers at the Program for Research on Black Americans (PRBA) through the University

of Michigan's Institute for Social Research (2001-2003). The NSAL is an IRB-approved nationally representative household survey, providing extensive data on mental disorders and the mental health of Black Americans. It utilized a stratified and clustered sample design to generate a nationally representative sample of 3,570 African American (AA), 1,006 non-Hispanic whites, and 1,621 blacks of Caribbean descent (CB) aged 18 years and older (Jackson et al., 2004). AA and CB households included in the NSAL were screened for an eligible adolescent living in the household, and adolescents were selected using a randomized procedure to produce the NSAL-A. If more than one adolescent in the household was eligible, up to two adolescents were selected for the study, and if possible, the second adolescent was of a different gender (see Joe et al., 2009 for more information on the NSAL-A). The NSAL-A was weighted to adjust for variation in probabilities of selection within households, and nonresponse rates for adolescents and households. The weighted data were poststratified to approximate the national population distributions for gender (male and female subjects) and age (13-17 years old) subgroups among Black youth (Joe et al., 2009). This process allows accurate inferences to be made about the national population of Black youth. The sample design and weight characteristics classify the NSAL-A as a complex sample survey.

Informed consent and assent were obtained from the adolescent's legal guardian and adolescent, respectively, prior to the interview. Most interviews were conducted in the adolescent's homes by trained interviewers using a computer-assisted instrument. In addition, about 18% were conducted either in part or fully by telephone. Respondents were paid \$50 for their participation in the study; the overall response rate was 80.6% (80.4% for AAs and 83.5% for CBs). The original AA and CB adolescent sample comprised 1,193 cases; however, 23 were dropped from analyses as they were 18 or older. The final sample included 1,170 AA ($n = 810$) and CB ($n = 360$) youths ranging in age from 13 to 17 years old (Joe et al., 2009).

Measures

Ethnic-racial socialization. The Content scale of the Comprehensive Race Socialization Inventory (Lesane-Brown et al., 2005) was administered to assess youth's exposure to messages about race or racism. This scale includes 10 specific messages

about race or racism. For each item, youth respond “yes” or “no” to indicate whether or not they remember being told the message. An exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was conducted on the 10 items to determine the ERS dimensions in the scale. Maximum-likelihood estimation was used, with an oblique rotation. The best fitting solution was informed by examination of the scree plot, initial eigenvalues greater than 1, and factor loadings of .35 or higher, as well as consideration of ERS theory (see Table S1). Using these criteria, the EFA yielded three factors that accounted for 46.57% of the variance and align with common ethnic-racial socialization messages within the literature (e.g., Hughes et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006). Three items (e.g., “Ever told whites think they are above blacks”; “Ever told you will experience racism”; “Ever told need to act white to get ahead”) reflected preparation for bias. Two items (e.g., “Ever told not to trust whites”; “Ever told not to trust Asians”) reflected promotion of mistrust. Two items (e.g., “Ever told hard work achieved anything”; “Ever told race does not matter”) reflected egalitarianism. A sum was calculated for each message type; scores ranged from 0 to 2 for promotion of mistrust and egalitarianism and from 0 to 3 for preparation for bias. As an indicator of reliability, given the short scales, inter-item correlations were calculated (Eisinga et al., 2013). Inter-item correlations ranged from $r = .26$ to $r = .28$ for preparation for bias; the inter-item correlation was $r = .30$ for promotion of mistrust and $r = .33$ for egalitarianism. Reliability for these subscales was similar to that of other short ERS scales (e.g., French et al., 2013).

Perceived neighborhood quality. Six items assessed participants’ perceptions about neighborhood safety, perceptions that neighbors would intervene or help and perceptions that they can trust their neighbors (e.g., “People in my neighborhood look out for each other.”). Items were rated on a 4-point Likert scale (1 = very; 4 = not at all). A mean score was calculated; higher scores indicate lower perceived neighborhood quality ($\alpha = .78$).

JHAC. The 12-item John Henryism scale (James, 1996) was used to assess JHAC, with items such as “Hard work has really helped me to get ahead in life.” Responses were measured on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (completely true) to 4 (completely false). Each item was reverse-coded and summed. Higher scores represent higher levels of JHAC ($\alpha = .71$).

Self-esteem. The 10-item Rosenberg Self-Esteem scale (Rosenberg, 1965) was used to assess global self-esteem with items such as, “On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.” A 4-point response set was used ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 4 (strongly disagree). Positively worded items were reverse-scored. Higher scores reflect better self-esteem ($\alpha = .72$).

Mastery. The 7-item Pearlin’s Mastery scale assesses individuals’ sense of control over their own life chances (Pearlin & Schooler, 1978). A sample item from the scale is, “I can do just about anything I set my mind to.” A 4-point response set was used ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 4 (strongly disagree). Positively worded items were reversed-scored. Higher mean scores indicate greater mastery ($\alpha = .68$).

Demographic information. Adolescent age, gender (male = 0; female = 1), family income (0-17,999, 18,000-31,999, 32,000-54,999, 55,000 and over), and ethnicity (AA = 0; CB = 1) were assessed given the relevance of each for parents’ ERS messages (Hughes et al., 2006). Adolescent ethnicity was based on the adult household from which the youth were sampled. For the NSAL, AAs self-identified as Black but did not identify ancestral ties to the Caribbean. CBs self-identified as Black and endorsed Caribbean ancestral ties through identifying a) they were of Caribbean or West Indian descent; b) their parents or grandparents were born in a Caribbean country; or c) the Caribbean country they came from based on an interviewer provided list (e.g., Jackson et al., 2004; Seaton et al., 2008).

Analytic Strategy

Multivariate analyses were conducted using *Mplus* 7 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998–2012) using full information maximum-likelihood (FIML) estimation which provides estimates using all available data (Enders, 2001). Maximum-likelihood estimation with robust standard errors was used to estimate models using missing data theory that incorporates all available data. *Mplus* also accounts for the complex survey design of the data by correcting the standard errors and chi-square tests of model fit based on stratification, unequal probability of selection, and nonindependence of observations (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2012).

A series of multiple regression analyses was conducted in order to examine 1) whether

associations between ERS messages and psychosocial adjustment varied by ethnicity; 2) whether perceived neighborhood quality moderated associations between ERS messages and psychosocial adjustment; and 3) whether the moderating effects of perceived neighborhood quality varied by ethnicity. Mean-deviated product terms were used to test interactions between ERS messages and perceived neighborhood quality, and significant interaction terms were evaluated using procedures detailed by Aiken et al. (1991). Multiple group analyses were conducted in order to test whether regression paths varied by ethnicity. For these analyses, we compared the fit of models in which regression paths for AA and CB youth were forced to be equal to the fit of models in which regression paths for these two groups were estimated freely. Model comparisons commenced with a model in which all paths were constrained to be equal for AA and CB youth. The Wald chi-square statistic was used to compare this fully constrained model to models with a single path freely estimated. A significant improvement in model fit for a freed model compared to the constrained model indicated that the path freely estimated was significantly different across groups. Best fitting models included constrained and free paths informed by the Wald chi-square tests.

Analyses were conducted in two phases. First, self-esteem, mastery, and JHAC were regressed on the three ERS messages (i.e., egalitarianism, promotion of mistrust, preparation for bias) using a multiple group framework to determine whether the associations varied by ethnicity. Next, perceived neighborhood quality and the two-way interactions between the ERS messages and perceived neighborhood quality were added to determine whether perceived neighborhood quality moderated associations between ERS messages and psychosocial adjustment and if that moderation varied by ethnicity. Self-esteem, mastery, and coping were examined in separate models, and age, income, and gender were controlled in each model.

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

Sample characteristics are presented in Table S2. Approximately half of the sample was female and the mean age was 14.98 (SD = 1.48). There was a significant ethnic group difference by age ($\chi^2 = 3.50, p = .04$); more CB adolescents (28.3%) were in the 15-year-old age-group compared to AA

adolescents (20.0%). In contrast, more AA adolescents (20.8%) were in the 13-year-old age-group than CB adolescents (10.6%).

Bivariate associations among study variables are presented in Table S3. Egalitarianism messages were associated positively with self-esteem and mastery for AA adolescents. For CB adolescents, promotion of mistrust was associated positively with mastery and JHAC. Perceived neighborhood quality was associated with better self-esteem and mastery for AA and CB adolescents and with more JHAC for AA adolescents.

Associations between ERS, Perceived Neighborhood Quality, and Psychosocial Adjustment

Self-esteem, mastery, and JHAC were examined in separate regression models within a multiple group framework. Wald chi-square tests were used to test whether paths varied by ethnicity. For each outcome, the final regression model included constrained paths and freed paths indicated by Wald chi-square tests comparing a fully constrained model to models with a single path freed. Final regression models are presented in Table 1.

Self-esteem. For the regression of self-esteem on preparation for bias, egalitarianism, promotion of mistrust, Wald chi-square tests indicated that the fit of the constrained model did not improve by freeing any of the paths. Thus, the final model included paths constrained to be equal for AA and CB youth. In the final model, income was associated positively with self-esteem such that higher income was associated with better self-esteem ($b = .03, z = 3.08, p < .01$). More preparation for bias was associated with poorer self-esteem ($b = -.04, z = -2.02, p < .05$) and more egalitarianism was associated with higher self-esteem ($b = .05, z = 2.18, p < .05$).

With the addition of perceived neighborhood quality and the two-way interactions, Wald chi-square tests indicated that freeing the path for the interaction between promotion of mistrust and perceived neighborhood quality significantly improved model fit over the constrained model (Wald $\chi^2(1) = 4.01, p < .05$), but freeing the other paths did not. Thus, this path was freely estimated in the final model, and the other paths were constrained to be equal. In the final model, as above, higher income was associated with better self-esteem ($b = .03, z = 2.46, p < .05$). In this model, more preparation for bias was associated marginally

TABLE 1

Regression of Self-esteem, Mastery, and John Henryism Active Coping on Ethnic-Racial Socialization Messages and Perceived Neighborhood Quality

	<i>Self-esteem</i>				<i>Mastery</i>				<i>John Henryism Active Coping</i>			
	AA	CB	AA	CB	AA	CB	AA	CB	AA	CB	AA	CB
Intercept	3.25***	3.24***	3.28***	3.28***	2.93***	2.79***	2.95***	2.83***	37.47***	46.22***	37.82***	46.62***
Age	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01	.20 ⁺	-.39**	.18	-.42**
Income	.03**	.03**	.03*	.03*	.06***	.06***	.05**	.05**	-.08	-.08	-.10	-.10
Gender	.04	.04	.06 ⁺	.06 ⁺	-.06	.19**	-.03	.19***	.96 ⁺	.96 ⁺	.98 ⁺	.98 ⁺
PFB	-.04*	-.04*	-.03 ⁺	-.03 ⁺	-.06*	-.06*	-.06 ⁺	-.06 ⁺	-.52*	-.52*	-.52*	-.52*
POM	.02	.02	.03	.03	-.04	.30***	-.03	.30***	.67*	1.72***	.71*	1.70***
EGAL	.05*	.05*	.04 ⁺	.04 ⁺	.12**	.12**	.11**	.11**	.13	.13	.20	.20
NQ			.11***	.11***			.13***	.13***			.82**	.07
PFB X NQ			-.00	-.00			.00	.00			-.18	-.18
POM X NQ			.00	.11*			.04	.04			.29	.29
EGAL X NQ			.09**	.09**			.13***	.13***			.94*	.94*
R ²	.02*	.03 ⁺	.05*	.06**	.04**	.11***	.07***	.13***	.03	.07**	.04 ⁺	.08**

Note.. AA = African American. CB = Caribbean Black. PFB = Preparation for Bias. POM = Promotion of Mistrust. EGAL = Egalitarianism. NQ = Neighborhood Quality. ⁺ $p < .10$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

with poorer self-esteem ($b = -.03$, $z = -1.83$, $p = .07$). In addition, perceived neighborhood quality was associated with higher self-esteem ($b = .11$, $z = 5.31$, $p < .001$). There was a significant interaction between egalitarianism and perceived neighborhood quality ($b = .09$, $z = 3.30$, $p < .01$; see Figure 2). Examination of simple slopes at 1 standard deviation above and below the mean of perceived neighborhood quality indicated that more egalitarianism was associated with better self-esteem when perceived neighborhood quality was high ($b = .10$, $z = 3.66$, $p < .001$), but there was no association between egalitarianism and self-esteem when perceived neighborhood quality was low ($b = -.01$, $z = -.49$, *ns*). In addition, the interaction between promotion of mistrust and perceived neighborhood quality was significant for CB but not AA adolescents ($b = .11$, $z = 2.05$, $p < .05$; see Figure 2). Examination of simple slopes showed that for CB adolescents, more promotion of mistrust was associated marginally with higher self-esteem when perceived neighborhood quality was high ($b = .10$, $z = 1.77$, $p = .08$) but there was no association between promotion of mistrust and self-esteem when perceived neighborhood quality was low ($b = -.05$, $z = 1.55$, *ns*).

Mastery. For the regression of mastery on preparation for bias, egalitarianism, promotion of mistrust, Wald chi-square tests indicated that freeing the path from gender to mastery (Wald $\chi^2(1) = 19.94$, $p < .001$) and the path from promotion of

mistrust to mastery (Wald $\chi^2(1) = 9.92$, $p < .01$) significantly improved model fit over the constrained model. Thus, these paths were freely estimated in the final model, and the other paths were constrained to be equal. In the final model, higher income was associated with more mastery ($b = .06$, $z = 3.84$, $p < .001$). More preparation for bias was associated with less mastery ($b = -.06$, $z = -2.08$, $p < .05$), whereas more egalitarianism was associated with more mastery ($b = .12$, $z = 3.08$, $p < .01$). For CB youth, female adolescents reported more mastery than male adolescents ($b = .19$, $z = 2.99$, $p < .01$). More promotion of mistrust was associated with greater mastery ($b = .30$, $z = 4.03$, $p < .001$) for CB ($b = -.04$, $z = -.73$, *ns*).

With the addition of perceived neighborhood quality and the two-way interactions, as above, freeing the path from gender to mastery (Wald $\chi^2(1) = 18.22$, $p < .001$) and the path from promotion of mistrust to mastery (Wald $\chi^2(1) = 14.59$, $p < .001$) significantly improved model fit over the constrained model. Thus, these paths were freely estimated in the final model, and the other paths were constrained to be equal. In the final model, higher income was associated with more mastery ($b = .05$, $z = 3.35$, $p < .01$), and more preparation for bias was associated marginally with less mastery ($b = -.06$, $z = -1.96$, $p = .05$). Higher perceived neighborhood quality was associated with more mastery ($b = .13$, $z = 4.47$, $p < .001$). For CB youth, more promotion of mistrust was associated with more mastery ($b = .30$, $z = 4.89$, $p < .001$), but promotion

Interactions between Ethnic-racial Socialization Messages and Perceived Neighborhood Quality

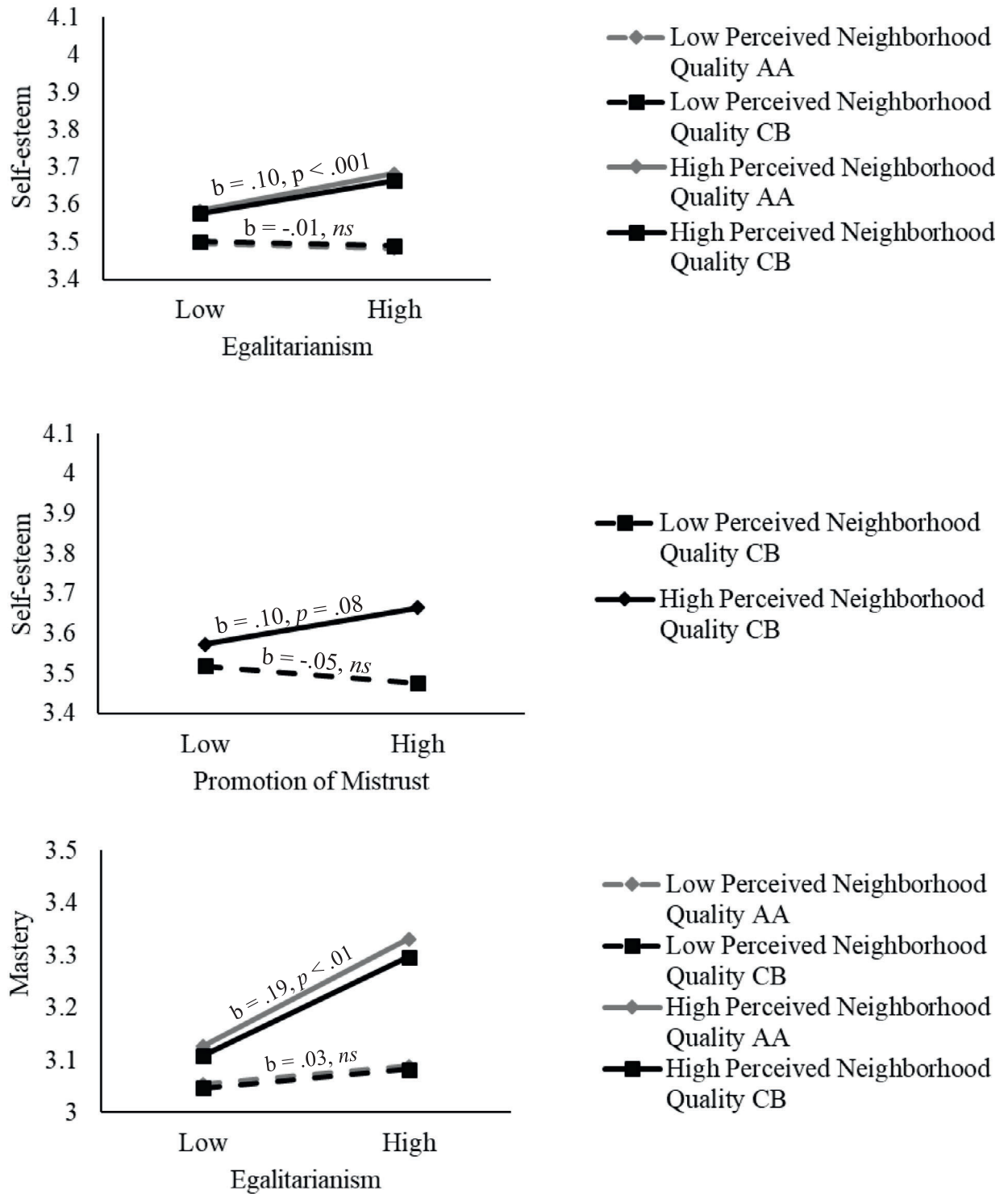


FIGURE 2 Interactions between ethnic-racial socialization messages and perceived neighborhood quality. Note. AA = African American. CB = Caribbean Black

of mistrust was not associated with mastery for AA youth ($b = -.03$, $z = -.55$, *ns*). Among CB youth, female adolescents reported more mastery than male adolescents ($b = .19$, $z = 3.69$, $p < .001$). The main effect of egalitarianism was qualified by a significant interaction between egalitarianism and perceived neighborhood quality ($b = .13$, $z = 2.27$, $p < .05$; see Figure 2). Examination of simple slopes at 1 standard deviation above and below the mean of perceived neighborhood quality indicated that more egalitarianism was associated with better mastery when perceived neighborhood quality was high ($b = .19$, $z = 3.00$, $p < .01$), but there was no association between egalitarianism and mastery when perceived neighborhood quality was low ($b = .03$, $z = .77$, *ns*).

JHAC. For the regression of JHAC on preparation for bias, egalitarianism, promotion of mistrust, Wald chi-square tests indicated that the that freeing the path from age to JHAC (Wald $\chi^2(1) = 12.19$, $p < .001$) and the path from promotion of mistrust to JHAC (Wald $\chi^2(1) = 4.99$, $p < .05$) significantly improved model fit over the constrained model. Thus, these paths were freely estimated in the final model. In this model, more preparation for bias was associated with less JHAC ($b = -.52$, $z = -2.35$, $p < .05$). For AA and CB youth, more promotion of mistrust was associated with more JHAC, but this association was stronger for CB youth ($b = 1.72$, $z = 6.86$, $p < .001$) than for AA youth ($b = .67$, $z = 2.23$, $p < .05$). In addition, for CB youth, older adolescents reported less JHAC ($b = -.39$, $z = -2.92$, $p < .01$).

With the addition of perceived neighborhood quality and the two-way interactions, freeing the paths from age to JHAC (Wald $\chi^2(1) = 11.43$, $p < .001$), promotion of mistrust to JHAC (Wald $\chi^2(1) = 7.35$, $p < .01$), and perceived neighborhood quality to JHAC (Wald $\chi^2(1) = 4.67$, $p < .05$) significantly improved model fit over the constrained model. Thus, these paths were freely estimated in the final model, and the other paths were constrained to be equal. In the final model, more preparation for bias was associated with less JHAC ($b = -.52$, $z = -2.46$, $p < .05$). As above, the association between promotion of mistrust and JHAC was stronger for CB adolescents ($b = 1.70$, $z = 7.22$, $p < .001$) than for AA adolescents ($b = .71$, $z = 2.50$, $p < .05$). Higher perceived neighborhood quality was associated with more JHAC for AA adolescents ($b = .82$, $z = 2.98$, $p < .01$) but not for CB adolescents ($b = .07$, $z = .16$, *ns*). The interaction between egalitarianism and perceived neighborhood quality was significant ($b = .94$,

$z = 2.52$, $p < .05$), but the simple slopes were not significantly different from zero.

DISCUSSION

The importance of ERS for the positive adaptation of Black youth in a society stratified by race and ethnicity has been well documented. However, it has been difficult to draw strong conclusions about how preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism messages are linked with Black youth's psychosocial adjustment given less attention and mixed findings among the research that has examined these messages (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). In recognition that context informs not only the socialization strategies parents select but also the effectiveness of those strategies (Cuellar et al., 2015; Roche & Leventhal, 2009), this research explored whether associations between preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism messages and Black adolescents' self-esteem, mastery, and JHAC varied according to ethnicity and perceived neighborhood quality.

ERS Messages and Psychosocial Adjustment—Moderation by Ethnicity

Messages preparing youth for bias were associated with less self-esteem, mastery, and JHAC, consistent with other research showing that these messages are associated with problematic youth outcomes (e.g., Davis & Stevenson, 2006; Hughes et al., 2009). Greater awareness about racism and messages about how to cope with it when it occurs may heighten sensitivity, worry, and concerns about discrimination, undermining self-esteem (e.g., Scott & House, 2005). While prior research focused on preparation for bias has not examined mastery directly, messages communicating the inevitability of discrimination may engender feelings of low control (Davis & Stevenson, 2006). That preparation for bias messages were associated with less JHAC is in line with Blackmon et al.'s (2016) finding that socialization messages focused on awareness of racial barriers and coping with racism were associated with less JHAC among Black college students. While some research has demonstrated positive associations between ERS and approach coping (Scott, 2003) and Africultural coping (Blackmon et al., 2016), JHAC is distinct from other types of active coping in that it does not directly address the stressor (Blackmon et al., 2016). In contrast, Africultural coping includes a range of strategies for coping with discrimination

(e.g., spiritual-centered coping, collective coping [Utsey et al., 2000]) such as those suggested in preparation for bias messages. Further, Blackmon et al. (2016) propose that without socialization messages that offer youth a range of strategies to cope with racism, they may be more likely to internalize racism and rely on high effort coping. It is possible that the lack of ethnic group differences in the effects of preparation for bias reflects the ubiquity of messages from multiple socializing agents (e.g., parents, peers, schools, social media) about Black individuals' experiences with racism. Our findings suggest that these realities challenge psychosocial adjustment similarly for African American and Caribbean Black youth.

Promotion of mistrust messages were associated differently with mastery and JHAC according to youth's ethnicity, consistent with our hypothesis. That promotion of mistrust messages were associated with mastery and JHAC for Caribbean Black adolescents but not African American adolescents is in line with research suggesting that promotion of mistrust may have different meanings for Caribbean Black and African American families (Coleman-King, 2014). Among African American adolescents, promotion of mistrust has been linked with lower expectations about academic outcomes (Irving & Hudley, 2005) and lower expectations for occupational success (e.g., expectations for low paying careers [Terrell et al., 1993]). In a related literature, Smith et al. (2003) found that African American children's perceptions of ethnic and racial mistrust were lower in neighborhoods with higher proportions of college-educated residents. Lower outcome expectancies can be accompanied by lower striving and lower perceptions of mastery in domains in which individuals perceive barriers. The lack of association between promotion of mistrust and mastery and JHAC for African American youth in this sample could reflect a belief that given structural racism, they do not have control or mastery over outcomes such as success in achievement and occupational domains (Irving & Hudley, 2005); if so, messages promoting mistrust would not promote feelings of mastery or encourage JHAC. On the other hand, Caribbean Black youth in this sample may have held different expectations about the outcomes of their efforts, with their families more likely to expect that hard work yields positive outcomes and more likely to minimize structural barriers (Coleman-King, 2014). However, it is important to acknowledge the many circumstances under which this generalization about ethnic differences might not hold; specifically,

expectations about the utility of hard work and outcomes, and perceived mastery vary according to gender, immigration status, and socioeconomic status among many others (e.g., Hudley, 2016).

In line with our expectation, our findings suggest that egalitarianism messages are associated with adolescents' self-esteem and mastery; likewise, prior research has demonstrated that egalitarianism messages are linked with positive youth adjustment (e.g., Neblett et al., 2006). Contrary to our expectations, however, there were no differences in the strength of these associations according to ethnicity. Positive associations between egalitarianism and youth self-esteem and mastery may occur because these messages parallel ideas emphasizing that race is less important than hard work. By avoiding a focus on racism and the racial hierarchy Black individuals encounter, these messages do not challenge youth's sense of worth and may promote a more positive self-perception and perceived control (Hughes et al., 2016a). Thus, reception of these types of messages may not depend on youth's ethnic heritage. Additionally, messages emphasizing hard work and equality may be a part of the narrative expressed through multiple socializing agents across contexts that Black youth of all ethnicities encounter, including schools and neighborhoods (Hughes et al., 2016b; Priest et al., 2014). While egalitarianism messages are commonly given to youth (Hughes et al., 2006), they have received less attention in ERS research relative to other ERS messages (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020); future research is needed to further examine associations between egalitarianism and positive youth adjustment.

ERS Messages and Psychosocial Adjustment—Moderation by Neighborhood

Prior research has shown that whether preparation for bias messages are linked with positive youth adjustment depends upon the context in which they are given (Davis & Stevenson, 2006; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). However, contrary to our expectations, perceived neighborhood quality did not moderate associations between preparation for bias and youth psychosocial adjustment. Most prior research demonstrating context-dependent effects for preparation for bias has focused on family processes that signal a supportive emotional family climate (e.g., communication and trust [Lambert et al., 2015; Tang et al., 2016], involved parenting [Smalls, 2009]). In such contexts, parents might be better able to support youth in understanding and

processing these messages. While neighborhood qualities such as cohesion and support have been linked with positive youth adjustment for Black youth (e.g., DiClemente et al., 2018) and inform the types of communications about race and ethnicity provided to youth (e.g., Saleem et al., 2016), these qualities of the neighborhood do not necessarily impact the manner in which preparation for bias messages are delivered or ensure that youth are supported in managing the messages. Perceptions about neighborhood diversity and shared experiences around race and ethnicity might be more likely to complement messages about preparation for and coping with racism in ways that benefit youth's positive adjustment. Given evidence that preparation for bias messages are more detrimental to Black youth adjustment in low resource neighborhoods (Davis & Stevenson, 2006), there is a need for additional research to clarify aspects of the neighborhood environment that have relevance for how youth receive and respond to these messages. Also, understanding factors associated with higher perceived neighborhood quality can inform neighborhood change efforts in ways that support youth adjustment.

For Caribbean Black youth, promotion of mistrust messages were associated marginally with more self-esteem when perceived neighborhood quality was higher. It has been suggested that one consequence of promotion of mistrust messages may be youth isolation (Atkin et al., 2019) which is detrimental for youth self-esteem. Perceived neighborhood closeness and support may offset the potential isolating effect of mistrust of other groups and benefit self-esteem. Although not measured in this study, research with Caribbean immigrant families documents that in the United States, Caribbean immigrants tend to form ethnic enclaves, geographic areas with high ethnic group concentration, even within Black neighborhoods (Hall, 2013). This pattern of "residential niching" likely has implications for parenting and youth's psychosocial adjustment. For example, ethnic minority concentration can be protective for mental health (Georgiades et al., 2007). In such settings, perceptions of neighborhood closeness and support may be higher. However, future research is needed to examine how neighborhood ethnic composition and perceptions of neighborhood quality align and inform how ERS messages may differentially impact Black youth. White et al. (2018) propose that a benefit of residence in a neighborhood with a higher ethnic and racial concentration of residents is the greater presence of culturally salient

resources and supports in these neighborhoods. In the context of culturally relevant neighborhood resources and supports, promotion of mistrust may promote self-esteem, as in research showing that promotion of mistrust messages promote youth adjustment if given in the context of messages promoting cultural socialization (Reynolds & Gonzales-Backen, 2017).

Consistent with our hypothesis, the benefits of egalitarianism messages for self-esteem and mastery only were apparent when perceived neighborhood quality was high. This finding suggests that in addition to neighborhood characteristics that reflect neighborhood composition (e.g., proportion of residents with a college education [Smith et al., 2003]), perceived social aspects of the neighborhood also can have implications for beliefs about racism and structural barriers and youth's adjustment. Though not measured directly, in the context of perceived trust, cohesion, and safety, youth and parents may receive support from neighbors that promote youth's self-esteem and feelings of mastery. In addition, higher perceived neighborhood quality may be linked with youth's access to neighborhood socializing agents that offer support and socialization, including ERS messages (Belgrave & Allison, 2014), and this may reinforce messages focused on egalitarianism. Future research should explore these speculations directly to better understand how neighborhood social processes can enhance ERS messages youth receive.

Ethnic Differences in Neighborhood Moderation of ERS Messages

With one exception, the moderating effect of perceived neighborhood quality was similar for African American and Caribbean Black youth. The exception was with messages promoting mistrust. For Caribbean Black youth, more messages promoting mistrust were associated with more mastery and JHAC. But for these youth, more messages about mistrust were associated with higher self-esteem only when perceived neighborhood quality was high. We interpret this finding with caution because simple slopes analyses showed only a marginal association between promotion of mistrust and self-esteem at high perceived neighborhood quality ($p = .08$). Nonetheless, this difference for self-esteem as compared to mastery and JHAC suggests that messages promoting mistrust may have different implications for individual self-perceptions of worth as compared to other types of adjustment that may involve attempts to control or

manage external events. And, as suggested above, the meaning of promotion of mistrust messages may vary for Caribbean Black youth such that it does not challenge their self-perceptions.

Strengths, Limitations, Future Directions

A significant strength of this research was the exploration of ethnic differences in how ERS messages are linked with positive psychosocial adjustment within Black youth. Our findings extend prior research suggesting that the meaning and implications of ERS messages may differ among ethnically diverse Black adolescents. Moreover, that perceived neighborhood quality moderated associations between egalitarianism messages and self-esteem and mastery adds to the empirical literature specifying how family and neighborhood contexts together are linked with youth's positive psychosocial adjustment. These findings underscore the importance of considering variation within Black families, and attending to the neighborhood context. In particular, it is important that individuals involved in programming to support the optimal psychosocial development of Black youth are mindful that parenting priorities, expectations, and strategies may differ for African American and Caribbean Black families and depend upon perceived neighborhood quality. Finally, even though these study data were collected in 2001-2003, these data represent the only national probability sample of Black youth, to date, that includes a representative sample of Caribbean Black youth. Most prior ERS research has focused on African American youth or failed to assess and examine ethnic differences within Black youth.

These study strengths should be considered in the context of some limitations. First, the cross-sectional design limits our ability to draw conclusions about the direction of association between the constructs examined here. While we conceptualized ERS messages as predictors of adolescent psychosocial adjustment, parents likely select ERS messages that best suit their child's characteristics such as their child's temperament and experiences with racial stress (e.g., Dunbar et al., 2017; Hughes et al., 2016b). Moreover, these associations may change over time and in tandem with changes in youth and parents' experiences with and expectations about racial stressors (Hughes et al., 2016b). Longitudinal research is needed to explore the dynamic associations between ERS messages and youth's psychosocial adjustment, including broader contexts that may have relevance for each (Umaña-

Taylor & Hill, 2020). While we expect that ERS messages remain integral to the optimal psychosocial adjustment of Black youth, the types of messages prioritized by parents and their associations with youth self-esteem, mastery, and JHAC certainly vary with peer, neighborhood, and societal beliefs and sentiments about ethnic minority families and immigrant families (Hughes et al., 2016b). As such, the findings observed in this study might differ if the data were collected after the 2016 United States presidential election, after which there were increases in racial hostilities, hate crimes, and anti-immigrant rhetoric (e.g., Hoyt et al., 2018). For example, it is possible that preparation for bias and mistrust messages might be more prevalent and advantageous after the 2016 election with overt hostility and antagonism, and in the current era of well-publicized evidence of violence against people of color (e.g., Threlfall, 2018). In addition, youth are now plagued with frequent displays of racially charged images of Black youth and adults in the media across several platforms (e.g., Tynes et al., 2008), which likely influences parents' messages. Given these suppositions, there are some limits to the generalizability of these findings for Black adolescents in contemporary society. Further, though our findings are generalizable to other African American and Caribbean Black adolescents in the United States, they are not generalizable to other ethnic subgroups of Black youth (e.g., African youth).

In terms of measurement, this study relied on adolescent self-report and did not include some contextual information that might help to clarify the findings. Information about parents' perceptions of their neighborhood and administrative data about neighborhood racial composition, neighborhood economic conditions, and other neighborhood characteristics related to racism and structural barriers are needed to enhance our understanding of how neighborhood features are linked with ERS messages and youth psychosocial adjustment. Our focus on JHAC provides information about a specific type of coping. Future research should consider a broader range of coping alternatives available to Black youth to understand differential associations with ERS (e.g., Blackmon et al., 2016). In addition, because prolonged JHAC has been linked with adverse health outcomes, longitudinal research is essential to clarify the short- and long-term implications of ERS messages for JHAC and other types of coping. Finally, additional information about Caribbean Black families, such as length of time in the country and in their

neighborhood, would help to clarify our understanding of variation within these families, including their choices for particular ERS messages.

CONCLUSION

ERS messages are an essential component in the socialization of youth of color who contend with interpersonal and structural racism that challenges their optimal psychosocial adjustment. To advance our understanding of the types of ERS messages that promote youth's well-being, it is important to understand the conditions under which messages relating to preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism can be most efficacious, amidst research showing they can be linked with increased risk for adjustment problems. This research is an initial step in this area by showing that messages promoting mistrust are differentially associated with Black youth's adjustment according to ethnicity, such that they promote Caribbean Black youth's mastery and JHAC more so than for African American youth. In addition, the benefits of egalitarianism may be more evident across Black youth when one perceives the quality of the neighborhood is better. Clarifying conditions under which preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism messages promote positive youth adjustment extends prior research suggesting that these ERS messages are context dependent. Though prior research has found these types of messages less prevalent as compared to cultural socialization, in the advent of the 2016 presidential election and overt hostility expressed toward people of color, it is possible that the necessity and expression of these types of messages is greater than before. As such, continued examination of the ramifications of these messages for Black adolescents' adjustment is critical. An enhanced understanding of similarities and unique effects of ERS messages for African American and Caribbean Black youth psychosocial adjustment underscores the importance of ethnicity in the meaning of ERS for Black families.

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Supporting Information

Additional supporting information may be found online in the Supporting Information section at the end of the article.

Table S1. Factor Loadings for Comprehensive Race Socialization Index.

Table S2. Unweighted and Weighted Demographic Characteristics of the Sample by Ethnicity.

Table S3. Bivariate Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations among Study Variables, by Ethnicity.