

Young Mothers' Perceived Discrimination Experiences and Ethnic-Racial  
Socialization Within and Across Race/Ethnicity

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### Abstract

The present study examined the extent to which young mothers' perceived discrimination and their ethnic-racial socialization practices are related within and across three particular racial/ethnic groups: non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic Black, and Hispanic. Results indicated Everyday Perceived Discrimination was endorsed more than Major Perceived Discrimination within all three groups. Similarly, Cultural Socialization was endorsed more than Preparation for Bias within all groups. Correlations revealed Everyday Perceived Discrimination and Cultural Socialization were positively significantly related in Black mothers while Everyday Perceived Discrimination and Preparation for Bias were positively significantly related for White, Black, and Hispanic mothers. Across group comparisons revealed White and Hispanic mothers differed in the PD-CS and PD-PB relationships. Some findings were consistent with the literature, but other results encourage further research with this novel population to gain a better understanding of how ethnic-racial socialization practices of young mothers compare to within and across racial/ethnic groups.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

Interests in understanding the development of ethnic minority children have intensified given the changing demographic of the United States population. In 2010, there were roughly 308.7 million people living in the U.S. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). Out of those 308.7 million, 72.4% of the population self-identified as White, showing a 5.7% increase from 2000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). Simultaneously, the population of racial minorities has increased even more so from 2000 to 2010. There was an increase of 12.3% among those who self-reported as Blacks or African Americans; American Indians and Alaska Natives increased by 18.4%, Asians by 43.3%, Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islanders by 35.4%, and those that selected 'Some other race' increased by 24.4% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). As the U.S. is becoming increasingly diversified, these increases stress the importance of understanding the multiple cultural communities that make up the population. It is projected that by 2050, those self-identifying as White will become a minority when the population of racial/ethnic groups as a whole surpasses them (Pew Research Center, 2019). However, attitudes and treatment towards racial and ethnic minorities have not progressed at the same rate as the demographic shifts.

It is true that great achievements were accomplished regarding racial equality following the Civil Rights movement, but inclusion in the law is not always reflective of public opinion. While some racial attitudes improved over a 25-year period, contemporary forms of racial prejudice (e.g. racial apathy) remained largely consistent over time (Forman & Lewis, 2015). It is suggested

that expressions of racial attitudes have evolved and may be unrecognized, leaving those to think of racism as an irrelevant issue today. This calls for greater attention to changes in discriminatory behaviors that may parallel subtle forms of prejudice, and the long-term consequences perceived discrimination places on an individual, particularly on youth who are in more susceptible periods of developmental transitions.

Perceived discrimination is an experience an individual believes is unfair treatment due to membership in a specific, often underprivileged group. Measures of perceived discrimination are rooted in examining racial discrimination but have expanded to study discrimination based on gender, socioeconomic status, age, and disability. Some instruments may measure perceived discrimination on a general level (Castle et al., 2011), by group membership (e.g., gender) (Levin et al., 2002), or in a specific context (e.g., workplace) (Chou & Choi, 2011). Most often the construct is differentiated in two categories: major event discrimination and everyday discrimination. Major event experiences do not occur on a regular basis but are assumed to have a lasting impact on the individual. Experiences that occur on a near daily basis are typically minor in intensity but over time, they can be more detrimental to well-being than a major event experience (Ayalon & Gum, 2011; Luo et al., 2012). Both types of discrimination prompt individuals to reflect on past perceptions of their racial group, other racial groups, and intergroup relations.

Discrimination is an unfortunate, normative part of development for ethnic minority youth due to living in a socially stratified society, where they must

develop “culturally defined coping mechanisms” to negotiate the multiple worlds they live in (Garcia Coll et al., 1996). As noted by Garcia-Coll and her colleagues, these coping mechanisms are often based on a cultural community’s history and traditions and used to adapt to the environment. For example, families may reside in ethnic enclaves upon immigration because they can create a support network of people who are from the same ethnic group and can teach them how to adapt to life in the U.S. Similarly, how groups respond to historical events such as colonialization has long term effects on an individual’s physical and mental state and can bring in-group members together in solidarity. In addition, parents from ethnic minority backgrounds must negotiate what values and practices, including parenting practices, of their cultural community or of their heritage they want to communicate to their children and what elements of the values and norms of mainstream society is crucial for survival. Parenting behaviors are often reflective of their own personal lived experiences and in the context of negative events, parents will directly or indirectly teach their child adaptive strategies for them to effectively respond to similar situations in the future. As this study will seek to examine, to what extent does a young mother’s perceived discrimination experiences influence the adaptive strategies she teaches her own children?

Ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) is the process through which parents convey messages about cultural heritage, history, values, practices, race and ethnicity, preparation for bias, and race relations (Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Johnson, 2001). One of the purposes of ERS is to create an adaptive culture in which the child is equipped with tools to navigate their ethnic culture and the

dominant culture. Parents achieve this through implicit and explicit methods such as through the display of pictures around the home, reading books, or discussions about differences in physical features. ERS occurs in all families but is of particular importance in ethnic minority families because social stratification places additional challenges on children's development which the parents must address (Hughes, 2003). While parents are tasked with communicating messages about race and culture, children also carry the responsibility of internalizing the messages and determining the extent to which they adopt cultural norms.

Research on ERS has primarily focused on the experiences of adolescents. Scholars addressed the role of ERS in ethnic-racial identity (ERI) exploration since identity formation is a crucial period in adolescence (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004; Umaña-Taylor & Guimond, 2010). Similarly, some studies explored how ERS moderated or mediated the relationship between perceived discrimination and ERI because discrimination experiences provide adolescents an impression of how others perceive their ethnic group (Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Stevenson & Arrington, 2009). In turn, this can cause adolescents to reevaluate their own group membership. Typically, in ERS research, ERI is the main focus variable in the studies and not ERS.

However, early childhood should not be overlooked since this is a period when children are building initial relationships with peers and learning social norms of the larger societal settings within which development occurs. Children as young as four years old are able to develop racial awareness and attitudes, including racial prejudice, before they are able to classify racial categories and



physical features of races (Quintana, 1998). Examining the nature of ERS parents engage in with their children during the early childhood years is an appropriate way to understand the dynamic process of child development. Children are developing schemas to make sense of behavioral patterns and forms of thought, and it would be informative to study the context in which they are receiving messages about race. During this time, parents are a child's primary socializing agents (Garcia Coll, 1990; Zayas & Solari, 1994) and therefore, calls for attention to their ERS behaviors are particularly important.

This study examined a novel sample of young mothers, a population that was unseen in ERS research until Contreras's (2015) dissertation study – a study that was conducted with the same sample as this thesis. Contreras (2015) challenged the practice of viewing young mothers' parenting from a deficit perspective by addressing if participation in ERS may be an adaptive parenting strategy for young mothers in the same manner it is for older parents. Young mothers are tasked with the same parenting demands as older parents but young mothers face additional challenges such as forming their identity during adolescence or balancing parenting and education (DeVito, 2010). It is important to consider if and how young mothers participate in ERS differently than older parents, given the number of parenting concerns they face and their developmental capabilities to make-meaning of their experiences.

The terms race and ethnicity are continuously used throughout this paper and thus, it is important to clarify the definitions. The concept of *race* refers to broader categories that group people based on biological, genetic, or physical

traits (Garcia Coll et al., 1996; Hughes, Watford, & Del Toro, 2016). It is largely socially construed and membership to a certain racial category is connected to an individual's social position within the dominant culture. *Ethnicity* refers to distinct groups that are linked through shared values, traditions, and languages (Garcia Coll et al., 1996; Hughes et al., 2016). It is a fluid concept in which the ways people express their ethnic identity is subjected to change over the process of acculturation or assimilation. The term *ethnic-racial socialization* is purposely used as a broader term within literature with the use of more specific terms, such as cultural socialization and preparation for bias, to refer to the different types of messages parents convey to their children (Hughes et al., 2016).

For my thesis, I conducted secondary data analysis using data from the second phase of the Massachusetts Healthy Families Evaluation-2 (MHFE-2). MHFE-2 was a comprehensive longitudinal study on Healthy Families Massachusetts (HFM), a home visiting program for first-time adolescent mothers. The program provides mothers support and information through home visits, phone calls, referral services, and support groups. MHFE-2 utilized a randomized control trial (RCT) design where one group of mothers received home visiting services from HF and the other group received referral services only. Data on the impacts of HFM 2 years after enrollment were collected but the Massachusetts Healthy Families Evaluation Phase 2: Early Childhood (MHFE-2EC) continued to follow the original cohort for an additional two time points (60 months and 75 months post-enrollment). Children of the participants were preschool and elementary school age by this time and so they were assessed as well. Extensive

data were collected on a range of outcomes including but not limited to parenting, infant/child health, education, and parental wellness. My thesis examined two measures: Perceived Discrimination and Cultural Socialization-Home.

The purpose of the study was to examine the extent to which young mothers' perceived discrimination and their ethnic-racial socialization practices are related within and across particular racial/ethnic groups. This was analyzed through correlations and multiple linear regressions to examine relationships within and across groups respectively. Prior to answering the main research questions, descriptive analyses were conducted to determine what type (i.e., Cultural Socialization vs. Preparation for Bias) of perceived discrimination and ethnic-racial socialization events/practices are frequently reported by participants.

## **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

The following chapter focuses on perceived discrimination and ethnic-racial socialization, with ERS as the core construct of interest. For ethnic minority children, ERS is particularly relevant and important since it is traditionally studied as an adaptive strategy to the ecological demands they encounter. ERS in young children is discussed while introducing a novel sample of young mothers. To understand ERS in the context of this thesis, a conceptual model was drawn from broader models that proposed ways to understand development in ethnic minority youth. The conceptual model for this thesis focuses on perceived discrimination as a predictor for ERS and is inclusive to all mothers in the sample. Because the purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between PD and ERS in different racial/ethnic groups, subsequent sections are organized to discuss literature on the relationship within and across groups. Finally, an overview of the thesis is presented.

### **Ecological Demands on Ethnic Minority Children in the U.S.**

Ethnic minority children encounter various ecological demands and challenges from being in a socially stratified society that is rooted in a long history of oppression, discrimination, and exploitation (Garcia Coll et al., 1996; Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan, & Buriel, 1990; Hughes et al., 2006). The oppression of African Americans was rooted in their enslavement and after emancipation, segregation. Due to colonization, Hispanics were displaced from their homes. Past laws placed quotas on the number of Asians who could immigrate. For Japanese specifically, their oppression was being forced into

internment camps during World War II due to suspicion that they were spies. Because each group has its unique history of oppression, discrimination, and exploitation, the way they responded and adapted to their environment differs as well. For example, Puerto Ricans have a pattern of internal (e.g. ethnic identity) and external ways (e.g. kinship groups) through which they express their mixed culture heritage of being Taino, Spanish, and African, as well as their status as an American citizen (Garcia Coll et al., 1996).

Ethnic minority youth continue to encounter similar challenges of oppression, prejudice, and discrimination today as their ancestors. While *de jure* segregation was declared unconstitutional, *de facto* segregation remains pervasive in current society and is seen in residential areas and schools. Socioeconomic status directly affects child development because low-income families have limited access to quality resources such as food and healthcare. Challenges such as these have led to gaps in areas of housing, healthcare, social wellbeing, and more, showing that the development of ethnic minority youth is complicated by challenges within multiple ecological systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1994; Harrison et al., 1990). For example, Blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans lag behind White and Asian Americans on measures of educational achievement and attainment (Kao & Thompson, 2003). And in 2018, 32% of Black youth and 26% of Hispanic or Latino youth were living in poverty compared to 11% of non-Hispanic White children (Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2019). It is important that scholars distinguish the unique experiences of minority youth to understand how children and their families respond to ecological demands.

**Ethnic-Racial Socialization**

A major role of families within the child's ecological system is to promote adaptive strategies for survival through a flexible approach that requires some adoption of the dominant culture's norms (Garcia Coll et al., 1996; Harrison et al., 1990). One of the ways ethnic minority parents promote adaptive strategies is through ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) starting from an early point in the child's life. As defined earlier, ERS is the process in which parents communicate messages about their race and other races. ERS can be divided into multiple types including "(a) teaching about one's own group's culture, history, and heritage (termed *Cultural Socialization*); (b) emphasizing diversity and awareness of other groups (termed *Pluralism*); (c) preparing children for racial bias (termed *Preparation for Bias*); and (d) issuing cautions or warning about interactions with other groups (termed *Promotion of Mistrust*)" (Hughes & Johnson, 2001, p. 983).

When measuring the frequency of cultural socialization and preparation for bias, cultural socialization was repeatedly found to be the most common type of socialization practice (Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Johnson, 2001). Preparation for bias was less frequent than cultural socialization but still more frequent than promotion of mistrust (Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Johnson, 2001).

**Parenting Context for Young Mothers**

The responsibility of teaching ERS to children primarily lies with the parents and raising a child carries many demands that drastically changes the daily lives of parents. Mothers spent more time in childcare and housework and

less time at their jobs, which led to a disrupted sleep schedule and an increase of depression symptoms (Gjerdingen & Center, 2005; Wolfson et al., 2003). In addition to the typical demands of motherhood, young mothers carry additional challenges related to adolescent development. Adolescent mothers are typically in the middle of their schooling and must balance parenting and education. Most mothers agree that getting an education is needed to provide a better future for their child (DeVito, 2010). However, low educational attainment is common in adolescent mothers because in the struggle between parenting and education, parenting may be prioritized over education (DeVito, 2010; Letourneau et al., 2004). Similarly, they may prioritize work over education to financially care for their child. Adolescent mothers are also at an age where peer relationships are increasingly important to them and may struggle to maintain a social life (DeVito, 2010). In addition, adolescent mothers are at a heightened risk for substance use, having a low income, having poorer health outcomes, and not fulfilling their child's emotional needs (Baranowski et al., 1990; Letourneau et al., 2004). Ethnic minority adolescent mothers are at a greater risk for negative postpartum outcomes and their children are also at risk for adverse development (Huang et al., 2014).

The developmental and parenting context of young mothers is well understood in existing literature, but research has not examined how young mothers engage in ERS until Contreras's (2015) dissertation. Prior research has found ERS practices were related to ethnic identity and experiences with discrimination in older parents (further explained in later sections). Simply due to

age, younger parents may not have many experiences with discrimination and are still solidifying their ethnic identity. However, young parents may follow similar patterns found in older parents with young children (i.e., 6 years old or younger), as was discovered to be true by Contreras (2015). Like Contreras (2015), my study focused on young mothers with children younger than 6 years of age and examined how young mothers' ERS practices compare to that of older parents.

### **Ethnic-Racial Socialization in Early Childhood**

Research on ethnic-racial socialization largely targeted adolescents with a focus on developmental outcomes since adolescence is a period of ERI exploration and navigating new social relations outside of parental interactions. Children aged 6 years and younger are a less studied group in ERS research since long-term outcomes are difficult to examine at this young age range. However, scholars utilizing a different perspective found ERS practices vary and evolve across development (Hughes, Watford, & Del Toro, 2016). As children get older, parents engage in more ERS practices and shift their strategies according to their child's competencies and experiences (Hughes et al., 2006). Parents typically do not initiate discussions about bias or intergroup relations with young children due to their immature understanding of race and ethnicity (Hughes et al., 2016; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Priest et al., 2014; Vittrup, 2018). Indeed, mothers endorsed cultural socialization more than preparation for bias in young children (Contreras, 2015). Nevertheless, preparation for bias is still taught to young children and more so when mother experienced discrimination (Contreras, 2015). Certain messages about cultural socialization may also be suspended until the



child is older, especially if the topic touches upon harsh realities. For example, African American mothers of children aged 3-6 expressed desire in teaching their children African American history, but most had not begun doing so because of heavy topics such as slavery or Jim Crow laws (Suizzo et al., 2008). Mothers tended to be selective in teaching African American history and focused on the accomplishments and positive aspects of their culture. In shaping ethnic pride, they read books about African American culture, by African American authors, or with African American main characters. They also discussed historical figures in the Black community, appreciation for one's physical appearance, cultural holidays, and so forth (Suizzo et al., 2008).

### **A Conceptual Model to Understand Ethnic-Racial Socialization**

The argument to understand ethnic-racial socialization in the context of this study primarily draws from the theoretical framework of García Coll and colleagues (1996). The authors propose an integrative theoretical model to understanding development in ethnic minority youth that addresses “constructs salient only to populations of color that contribute unique variance to their developmental processes” (Garcia Coll et al., 1996, p. 1895). The development of minority children differs from development of non-minority youth because of minority youth's social position in areas of race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, gender, and more. Social position does not directly impact developmental outcomes itself but the process of social stratification that is linked to social position creates unique challenges for minority youth. García Coll and colleagues call this an “inhibiting environment” which involves experiences with racism,

prejudice, discrimination, and oppression. To overcome an inhibiting environment, families create an adaptive culture that would allow their children to navigate the dominant culture and their racial/ethnic culture.

García Coll and colleagues (1996) introduced the idea of racial socialization as a key process in creating an adaptive culture for ethnic minority children. Even when children prefer to be members of the dominant society, parents hold the responsibility of ensuring their children can navigate between the dominant realm and ethnic realm. Parents want their children to view their racial/ethnic group positively in a society that devalues their culture (García Coll et al., 1996). Family values, beliefs, and goals are described separately from racial socialization by the authors but are also rooted in culture with a purpose to create an adaptive culture and develop ethnic pride. Since then, the term racial socialization has evolved to ERS through research on African Americans adolescents. Although research emerged from the circumstances of African Americans, variation has been found among ethnic minority populations. As defined earlier, ERS encompasses both the teaching of cultural heritage (cultural socialization) and race relations (preparation for bias).

Guided by the work of García Coll and colleagues (1996), amongst other scholars, Mistry and Wu (2010) presented a sociocultural model for the development of expertise in navigating across cultures. Rather than viewing social address variables as static individual characteristics imposing on development, the authors argue individuals and families are “situated within” socially defined constructs. This goes beyond having clear directional relationships between

constructs as constructs are embodied within each other. As individuals participate in multiple, dynamic contexts, they make meaning of their experiences to negotiate their identity and relationships based on their social position. Broadly relating to this thesis, meaning-making of experience with discrimination at the individual level can lead to a negotiation of practices at the family level. More specifically, a mother's interpretation of her experience with discrimination may lead to participation in ERS as an adaptive family process.

While the frameworks by García Coll and colleagues (1996) and Mistry and Wu (2010) discuss development in ethnic minority youth, the conceptual model for the thesis also attempts to understand ERS development in White youth by broadening the construct of discrimination. Traditionally, ERS is posited as an adaptive strategy following discrimination, or more precisely, race based discrimination as measured in ERS research with ethnic minority populations. The conceptual model for the thesis incorporates non-race based discrimination and variables (e.g., social class, age, being a 'teen parent') but it may be illogical to engage in ERS to counteract non-race based discrimination. At this point, it is important to focus on the components of ERS (preparation for bias and cultural socialization) separately to understand how and why different R/E groups participate in ERS. This is particularly important to this study considering a third of the sample reported to be White. Because White families still engage in ERS even when they are not expected to experience racial discrimination, they may have different purposes for ERS that have yet to be explored (Hamm, 2001; Hughes et al., 2016; Peshkin, 1991; Pahlke et al., 2012). I argue White families

primarily engage in ERS for the purpose of cultural socialization rather than preparation for bias. Because their daily experiences lie within mainstream culture, White parents are able to positively make-meaning of their experiences and would feel encouraged to pass down their family traditions and cultural legacies.

As noted earlier, much of the research on ethnic-racial socialization has focused on the extent to which ERS received by adolescents has served to buffer them from the negative impact of discrimination on academic outcomes and psychosocial adjustment. While research has also examined the extent to which cultural socialization is influenced by parents' experiences with discrimination, results have been mixed with some studies finding a predictive relationship (Contreras, 2015; Hughes & Johnson, 2001) and others not finding a relationship (Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Chen, 1997). Since the sample for this study consists of adolescents or young mothers, the focus is on examining how the young mothers' own experience of discrimination is related to the ERS they practice in parenting their own young children. Therefore, the purpose of this conceptual model is to theorize how and why parents come to engage in ERS. More specifically, the focus is on the role that parents' own experiences of discrimination might play in influencing their parenting practices. And while the participants in the study are older adolescents and young adults, they are first and foremost mothers. They are tasked with the demands of motherhood which includes teaching about their cultural heritage, values, practices, as well as interactions with other R/E groups.

Figure 1 illustrates the conceptual model for this thesis. Social Position Variables as in the framework by García Coll and colleagues (1996) and Community Level Contexts from Mistry and Wu (2010) set the background at the individual and community levels. Both constructs come together to lead into Meaning-making Processes and result in either Family Traditions & Cultural Legacies (a term drawn from García Coll and colleagues) and/or Adaptive Family Processes. Preparation for Bias is considered an Adaptive Family Process, while Cultural Socialization is considered an example of both.

### **Unfair Treatment and Discrimination**

Unfair treatment and discrimination are two similar constructs with a slight difference. Unfair treatment is defined as an experience that is perceived to be unfair but not necessarily attributed to a specific personal or social characteristic as a basis (Chae et al., 2008). In contrast, discrimination is a form of unfair treatment that is perceived to be unfair on the basis of group membership (e.g., race or gender) (Chae et al., 2008; Chou & Choi, 2011; Hughes et al., 2016). Studies about unfair treatment or discrimination have typically used or adapted a measure developed by Williams, Yu, Jackson, and Anderson (1997). While Williams and colleagues designed the scale to measure perceived discrimination, questions in the adapted version of the scale used for the sample in this study were framed in the context of unfairness without reference to discrimination or any basis for the treatment. Occasionally, other scholars have added supplemental questions to measure the basis of the unfair treatment (Chae et al., 2008; Soto et al., 2011).

Research has mainly studied racial discrimination in ethnic minority groups but poor outcomes as a result of race and non-race based discrimination were consistently found across all racial/ethnic groups. Perceived discrimination is associated with poor mental health including depression, psychological distress, anxiety, and well-being (Soto et al., 2011; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007; Williams & Mohammed, 2009). In physical health outcomes, high blood pressure, substance use, and hypertension have been found (Fuller-Rowell et al., 2012; Williams & Mohammed, 2009). Because of these poor outcomes, it is critical to understand common challenges experienced by groups as a precursor to examining how they respond to such experiences.

### **The Relationship Between Perceived Discrimination and Ethnic-Racial Socialization**

Much of the empirical research on perceived discrimination and ethnic-racial socialization found that adolescents who received ERS are less likely to experience fewer negative outcomes of PD. ERS has been shown to act as a buffer to the effects of PD and lead to higher private regard and ethnic centrality in adolescents (Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Neblett et al., 2006; Stevenson & Arrington, 2009). In these studies, adolescents reported the type and frequency of ERS practices they received from their parents and their PD experiences. ERS is examined as a predictor for the extent to which it mitigates the negative outcomes of PD.

Past research examined adolescents as having experienced discrimination and received ERS but in this proposed study, adolescent mothers are the agents of

ERS while also having experienced discrimination. Therefore, PD is the predictor and ERS is the outcome. Because I am interested in their role as a mother, I will be examining how their perceived discrimination experiences influence their ERS practices when raising their child. Literature from this perspective is quite limited but some patterns of ERS practices were found.

With the same sample of young mothers as this study, Contreras (2015) found perceived discrimination and ethnic minority status each predicted preparation for bias and cultural socialization. While our studies focused on the same sample and variables, Contreras's (2015) study differs by its main focus on child outcomes, particularly children's school readiness. ERS was examined as a predictor for children's school readiness whereas this study treated PD as a predictor and ERS as the outcome. Because this study's primary focus is on ERS, it expands on Contreras's (2015) initial findings by investigating ERS practices within specific racial/ethnic groups to provide a deeper understanding of the process in relation to differing cultural backgrounds and experiences.

### **Ethnic-Racial Socialization in Black Families**

ERS research has grown from initially studying African Americans because of their long history of being subjected to institutionalized discrimination within the U.S. A common finding is that African American parents report more frequent cultural socialization than preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Hughes & Johnson, 2001). Preparation for bias was also endorsed more than promotion of mistrust.

While cultural socialization occurred more frequently than preparation for bias within African American families, they also reported more endorsement of preparation for bias than parents of many other ethnic group including Dominicans, Puerto Ricans, Japanese Americans, Haitians, Caribbean, and Mexican/Mexican Americans (Hughes, 2003; Hughes et al., 2006). This is also perhaps due to the long history of institutionalized racism and oppression faced by African Americans that is not seen to the same extent in other ethnic groups. Perceived discrimination was a stronger predictor for preparation for bias practices for African American and Dominican parents and less so for Puerto Rican parents (Hughes, 2003). An explanation for this finding within Dominican parents could be that although Dominican parents reported less experiences with discrimination, they understand others may label their child as African American due to their skin color and will relay messages about ERS to their child accordingly.

Much of parents' ERS practices are influenced by their values and experiences but the child's own experiences with discrimination or unfair treatment reciprocally affects parental ethnic-racial socialization behaviors. Parents were more likely to endorse mistrust of other groups when their child has faced discrimination (Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Stevenson et al., 2002). One study found that African American girls who experienced discrimination received more racial socialization messages but the same result was not found among boys (Stevenson et al., 2002). Rather, boys received more preparation for bias messages perhaps because African American males have to cope with being often



perceived as threats to society (Stevenson et al., 2002). While this study will not be examining perceived discrimination from the child's perspective, it is nevertheless important to keep in mind that ERS is not a unidirectional relationship. It is a dynamic process in which children's PD experiences can also influence parental ERS practices.

### **Ethnic-Racial Socialization in Hispanic Families**

Although ERS research emerged from the circumstances of African Americans, there has been research showing variation among ethnic minority groups. ERS research in Hispanic families has commonly involved Mexican American families and studied ERS in relation to ethnic identity formation and developmental outcomes. Knight and colleagues (1993), who pioneered research in ethnic identity development in Mexican American children, found that mothers who scored high in "Mexicanism" and mothers who scored low in "Americanism" taught more about Mexican culture, ethnic pride, and discrimination to their 6- to 10- year old children. Children who received more messages about Mexican culture presented more ethnic behaviors (Knight et al., 1993). Those who were taught more about ethnic pride and discrimination more often correctly sorted others by their ethnicity. In a group of older children in grades 2 to 6, ethnic knowledge and ethnic behavior were related to understanding of ethnic prejudice (Quintana & Vera, 1999). And contrary to their hypothesis, there was no significant relationship between parental socialization related to discrimination and children's level of understanding of prejudice (Quintana & Vera, 1999). At a time when ethnic or cultural socialization was quite new, it was

discovered that a mother's ethnic identity is related to their socialization practices, which can influence their children's ethnic identity, ethnic knowledge, and ethnic behaviors (Knight et al., 1993; Quintana & Vera, 1999).

Some research on patterns of ERS practices among Hispanic parents have been conducted and supported by other studies to some extent. When comparing "socialization styles" (Achievement style, Social Problems style, Combined style, or Neither), most Mexican American parents had either a Social Problems style, which focused on addressing prejudice and discrimination, or a Combined style (Phinney and Chavira, 1995). In addition, parents consistently emphasized cultural pride. Cultural Socialization messages were found to be more frequent than Preparation for Bias messages and parents' ethnic identity was a strong predictor for Cultural Socialization (Hughes, 2003). Adolescent coping styles in response to discrimination were also measured by Phinney and Chavira (1995) but no significant relationship between socialization style and coping style was found. Finally, it was shown that Hispanic parents engage in discussions about ethnic-racial socialization several times a month or several times a year (Lesane-Brown et al., 2010). The frequency of discussions is similar in Black, Asian, Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, and multiracial families as well. Although these studies examined ERS in various methodological approaches, results showed that Hispanic parents tend to stress their cultural heritage and ethnic identity when participating in ERS.

**Ethnic-Racial Socialization in White Families**

Research on ethnic-racial socialization in White families is also limited because ERS is often discussed as a method to prepare minority children to effectively navigate their ethnic culture and the dominant culture. However, White parents do teach their children about their heritage, traditions, values, and rules of social interaction just like ethnic minority parents (Hughes et al., 2016). Their approaches to cultural socialization are also similar to ethnic minority families, such as through modeling, reinforcement, and identification (Hughes et al., 2016). The differences in ERS practices lie in that White parents typically do not have to prepare children for racial bias since it is not expected for them to experience discrimination as privileged members of the dominant racial group. Likewise, it is not a priority for White parents to have goals about acculturation or assimilation (Hamm, 2001).

Ethnic-racial socialization about diversity and interactions with other racial groups tend to vary among White families depending on the racial makeup of their community (Peshkin, 1991). Living in predominantly White communities may cause parents to overlook cross-ethnic peer relations since such interactions are less common. Many parents were indifferent towards their child's relationships with minority peers (Hamm, 2001; Peshkin, 1991). While they saw value in having cross-ethnic friends, they would not always convey such messages to their child. With few exceptions, parents tended to avoid direct responsibility and attributed lack of contact to children's avoidant behavior,

socioeconomic status, and lack of understanding of other racial/ethnic cultures (Hamm, 2001).

A common theme found in research on White parents was participation in color blind or color mute discourse (Hamm, 2001; Pahlke et al., 2012a; Vittrup, 2018). Hamm (2001) noted that White parents were more comfortable discussing their children's avoidant behavior in socializing with minority peers in terms of SES than ethnic group membership. Pahlke and colleagues (2012) found that mothers avoided conversations about race and those who engaged in such conversations, did not effectively relay positive messages about race or challenge any negative views their child had.

The extent to which these findings are accurate is difficult to discern considering more research on ethnic-racial socialization with this population is needed. These studies also examined patterns in ERS practices rather than the purposes to participating in ERS in White families. Traditionally, the practice of ERS has been studied as a response to perceived discrimination. Studying White families would allow scholars to understand the varied goals and strategies in ERS that may differ from the commonly recognized purpose of ERS as an adaptive strategy for ethnic minority children. With cultural socialization as a component of ERS, it is possible that White parents attribute their goals of ERS to cultural socialization rather than preparation for bias.

### **Ethnic-Racial Socialization in Other Ethnic Minority Groups**

While research mainly focused on African Americans, some comparisons across different ethnic groups have been established. American Indian parents of

kindergarteners were most likely to engage in cultural socialization, followed by Asians, Hispanics, Blacks, Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islanders, multi-racial families, and Whites (Lesane-Brown et al., 2010). The authors suggest two reasons for this finding. First, oral tradition is an integral part of American Indian culture and storytelling may be frequently used in teaching heritage. Second, “homogeneity created by reserve life” may make ERS more central as cultural experiences are intensified and families are rejecting assimilation (Lesane-Brown et al., 2010, p. 461).

Discussed earlier were the socialization styles and coping styles of Mexican American parents and adolescents (Phinney & Chavira, 1995). The study also included Japanese Americans and African Americans and each group had different socialization styles. Japanese American parents were split fairly equally across all four styles but when comparing between groups, they were more likely to use Achievement style, which focused on education and a strong work ethic, or Neither. Within and across groups, African American parents were most likely to use a Both style. Although literature on other ethnic groups is limited and usually in comparison with other groups, there is evidence that ERS practices differ by R/E group which may be rooted in their cultural history, practices, and values.

### **The Present Study**

The overarching purpose of the thesis was to examine the relationships between perceived discrimination experiences and ethnic-racial socialization practices among young mothers. The first research question asked (a) what types of Perceived Discrimination and ethnic-racial socialization are frequently reported

by young mothers within the three racial/ethnic groups (non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic Black, and Hispanic)? Within the Perceived Discrimination scale, I hypothesized there would be more reports of experiencing Everyday Perceived Discrimination than Major Perceived Discrimination for all three R/E groups. Within the ethnic-racial socialization measure, I hypothesized mothers would endorse more Cultural Socialization items than Preparation for Bias in all R/E groups as well. To compare across groups, I hypothesized non-Hispanic Blacks would endorse Preparation for Bias the most, followed by Hispanics, Other, and White. I also hypothesized White mothers would communicate the least amount of messages about Cultural Socialization in addition to Preparation for Bias.

The second research question asked (b) to what extent is Perceived Discrimination related to Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias within each of the three racial/ethnic groups? I hypothesized Perceived Discrimination would be significantly correlated to both Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias in Black and Hispanic mothers but not in White mothers.

The third research question asked (c) does the Perceived Discrimination and ethnic-racial socialization relationship differ across groups? I hypothesized there would be no significant group differences in Cultural Socialization, but there would be significant differences in Preparation for Bias. I hypothesized Black and Hispanic mothers would significantly differ from White mothers when predicting Preparation for Bias.

Data analysis included descriptive analyses, correlations, and multiple linear regressions for the first, second, and third research questions respectively.

### **Chapter 3: Method**

The original evaluation on which this thesis was based is described in detail before segueing to the current study. The measures of each construct are explained as well as the history and psychometrics of the measures. Because the measures were designed for older populations, the validation for using Perceived Discrimination and Cultural Socialization – Home with the sample of this study, young mothers, was explained. Lastly, the analytic plan for each research question is explained.

#### **Massachusetts Healthy Families Evaluation – 2 (MHFE-2)**

The proposed study utilized data from the second phase of the Massachusetts Healthy Families Evaluation-2 (MHFE-2). MHFE-2 was a longitudinal study on Healthy Families Massachusetts (HFM), a home visiting program that provides first-time adolescent mothers support, information, and services that begin prenatally until their child is 3 years old. In addition to home visits, services include goal setting, classes, group-based activities, and referrals to other resources. The program's goals are to (a) prevent child abuse and neglect by supporting positive, effective parenting; (b) achieve optimal health, growth, and development in infancy and early childhood; (c) encourage educational attainment, job, and life skills among young parents; (d) prevent repeat pregnancies during the teenage years; and (e) promote parental health and well-being (TIER, 2015).

The Massachusetts Healthy Families Evaluation Phase 2: Early Childhood (MHFE-2EC) is a 2-year longitudinal follow-up evaluation of HFM. The second

phase continued to follow the original cohort from MHFE-2 for an additional two time points. The fourth wave of data was collected approximately 60 months post-enrollment when children were preschool age and the fifth wave was 72 months post-enrollment when children were entering elementary school. 490 and 450 participants enrolled in T4 and T5 respectively, which were 70% and 65% of the original sample. MHFE-2EC utilized a mixed-methods approach similar to the first phase with the addition of child assessments.

### ***Study Design***

MHFE-2 was framed using Jacob's Five-Tiered Approach to evaluation in which earlier tiers are process-oriented and latter tiers are outcome focused (TIER, 2015). The study was a Tier Five evaluation with research at all levels except Tier One. Data from Tier Two provided a full description of HFM clients, their schools, and communities, as well as a description of the HFM programs in which they enrolled. Program operations, which included program-level fidelity, were documented at Tier Three. Short and long-term outcomes were assessed at Tiers Four and Five, and it is at Tier Five where a rigorous randomized control trial (RCT) design was conducted. Mothers were randomly assigned to receive HFM services (HVS) or to receive service referral and parenting information only (RIO). From 2008 to 2014, the study utilized a mixed-methods approach that collected data from phone interviews, in-depth in-person interviews, public agency administrative data, HFM participant data, and Census data.



***Recruitment***

Participants were recruited through HFM who referred the participants to the study. While HFM was available to every first-time parent under 21 years of age in Massachusetts, the eligibility criteria for the study was limited to first-time mothers between the ages of 16-20, had not been enrolled in HFM prior, and could speak English or Spanish. Participants were randomly assigned to either the treatment group or the control group. The treatment group received home visiting services (HVS) and the control group received referral and information only (RIO). Whether in HVS or RIO, mothers who provided at least one source of data (via the phone interview or agency data release) were included in the Impact Study sample, which was the sample used to establish causal effectiveness. 837 mothers were recruited for the study and of these, 704 enrolled in the Impact Study sample.

Impact Study participants had the option to participate in a 2-2.5 hour in-person interview and these participants constituted the Integrative Study subsample. Those who participated in phone interviews only made up the Impact Only subsample. Interviews occurred at three time points from 2008 to 2012: one month after enrollment (T1), one year after enrollment (T2), and 2 years after enrollment (T3).

**Data Collection**

As noted, data were collected through various means including phone interviews, in-depth in-person interviews, public agency administrative data, HFM management information system, and population-level data (e.g. 2010

Census). Data from semi-structured phone interviews provided information that characterized the participants and their contexts. Information on demographics, family resources, involvement of baby's father, residential and financial circumstances, maternal well-being, and use of other public and social services were collected. Quantitative and qualitative measures were used in semi-structured in-person interviews used quantitative and qualitative methods to collect in-depth information about program services, social relationships and support networks, mothers' history of childhood care and victimization, and more recent history of intimate partner violence, educational history, personal functioning/well-being, and parenting cognitions (e.g., ideas about what it means to be a good parent, parenting role models). Other sources of data provided additional background information about participants including pregnancy and birth information, enrollment in HFM, child and mother assessment reports, and their community.

MHFE- 2 and MHFE-2EC were comprehensive evaluations that collected data on a wide range of constructs using a mixed-methods approach. Because the focus of this thesis is on the relationship between perceived discrimination and ethnic-racial socialization, Perceived Discrimination and Cultural Socialization – Home were the two primary measures of this study and detailed information on these measures is provided as follows.

## Measures

### *Perceived Discrimination*

The Perceived Discrimination scale measured experiences participants considered to be unfair treatment whether major, minor, or chronic. The measure contained 16 items split between two subtests, Major Perceived Discrimination (MPD) and Everyday Perceived Discrimination (EPD). MPD contained six items and participants answered on a 6-point scale (0 = *Never*, 1 = *Once*, 2 = *Twice*, 3 = *Three times*, 4 = *Four or more times*, 7 = *Not in the past year*). EPD contained ten items and participants answered on a 5-point scale for the EPD (0 = *Never*, 1 = *Rarely*, 2 = *Sometimes*, 3 = *Fairly Often*, 4 = *Very Often*). If participants reported having experienced the unfair treatment, they proceeded to attribute whether their perceived discrimination occurred due to being a young mother, race/ethnicity, class/income level, religion, or something else.

For descriptive analyses, the original item-level questions for MPD and EPD were recoded to include fewer categories after observing how some categories had frequencies that were low and similar. The new codes for MPD and EPD are 0 = *Never* and 1 = *Once or More*. In regression analyses, EPD with its original coding was used whereas MPD was excluded. Literature has supported the use of everyday/daily discrimination measures independently when exploring the effects of discrimination (Contreras, 2015; Fuller-Rowell et al., 2012; Mossakowski, 2003; Williams & Mohammed, 2009). Moreover, results from the first research question indicated the majority of mothers did not experience a

major discriminatory event, which would possibly skew regression results because of its floor effect and lack of variance.

The PD scale was based on the Race-Related Stress/Perceived Discrimination scale by Williams and colleagues (1997). The original study examined the extent to which racial differences in SES, social class, and acute and chronic indicators of perceived discrimination resulted in differences in physical and mental health. The original scale was validated in various adult samples. Internal reliabilities for the original EPD subscale were found at .80 and .88 (Taylor et al., 2004). Taylor et al. (2004) also provided evidence of convergent validity with other scales of perceived stress, depression, and negative affect. An adapted version of the EPD was tailored by Hughes and Johnson (2001) for parents who report race/ethnicity as the cause of the unfair treatment, and the authors found an internal validity of .90.

#### ***Cultural Socialization – Home***

The Cultural Socialization – Home (CSH) measured parenting behaviors on communicating messages about their cultural heritage, history, values, and intergroup relations. Two subscales within this measure are of interest: Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias. Cultural Socialization contained six items and Preparation for Bias contained nine items. Participants first answered the questions on a Yes/No basis and if answered yes, they proceeded to report their level of frequency within the past year on a 5-point scale (1 = *Never*, 2 = *Rarely*, 3 = *Sometimes*, 4 = *Fairly Often*, and 5 = *Very Often*).

The CSH measure was adapted from the work of Hughes and colleagues. The measure was first introduced in 1997 when Hughes and Chen examined child, parent, and ecological predictors of African American ERS practices. Hughes and colleagues continued to administer the scale to various ethnic groups throughout subsequent studies. In 2003, the scale was introduced to Dominican and Puerto Rican Parents, and in 2006, it was introduced to White parents. Strong reliability was found across studies. The Cronbach's alphas for the Cultural Socialization subscale ranged from .72 (Caughy & Owen, 2015) to .87 (Hughes, 2003). The Cronbach's alphas for the Preparation for Bias subscale across studies ranged from .83 (Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009) to .91 (Hughes & Chen, 1999). The MHFE-2 version of the scale was mostly adapted from Hughes & Chen's (1997) Race Socialization measure and has a Cronbach's alpha of .72 for CS and .78 for PB at T4 for the full sample.

Support for the use of ERS measures across various racial/ethnic groups has been provided but it was novel to administer the measure to adolescent mothers. Therefore, CSH needed to be validated for the MHFE-2EC sample. A confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was conducted in the full MHFE-2EC sample to assess how behaviors endorsed would compare to patterns found in past studies (Contreras, 2015). Endorsement rates in the MHFE-2EC sample were comparable to studies of older parents, although the rates were low overall. Nevertheless, cultural socialization and preparation for bias were validated in a latent framework as factors within the full sample, showing support for the use of ERS measures with young mothers.

## Sample

The sample for this study consisted of 316 young mothers who completed the CSH and PD at T4. Participants were all from the Integrative Study subsample as the measures being examined were only administered during the second phase of the evaluation, MHFE-2EC. The MFHE-2 coding for race/ethnicity contained four groups: non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic Black, Hispanic, and Other. However, given that the Other group encompassed a wide variation of racial/ethnic backgrounds and had a small group size ( $n = 25$ ), the decision was made to omit this category from the study. Table 1 presents demographic statistics for the sample. An ethnic/racial breakdown for the final set of participants show that 40.2% of mothers reported to be non-Hispanic White ( $n = 127$ ), 23.1% reported to be non-Hispanic Black ( $n = 73$ ), and 36.7% reported to be Hispanic ( $n = 116$ ). Eighty-two percent of mothers were born in the U.S., 11.4% were born outside of the U.S., and 6.3% were born in a U.S. territory. At T4, mothers were at average age of 23.7 years and 84.8% held a high school diploma or GED equivalent.

The children of the mothers in the sample had an average age of 4.9 years at T4 and were about evenly split between males and females. The children comprised of 50.8% males and 49.2% females. The race/ethnicity of the children as reported by mothers revealed the following distribution: 23.8% non-Hispanic White, 15.1% non-Hispanic Black, 47.0% Hispanic, and 14.1% Other/Multi-racial/Multi-ethnic.

## Data Analysis

Preliminary analyses were conducted to justify the use of multiple linear regression in this study. Descriptive analyses on the basis to which mothers attributed their perceived discrimination experiences were also conducted. The question that asked respondents to identify the basis of unfair treatment comprised of six choices: being a young mother, race/ethnicity, class/income, religion, and something else. Frequencies were calculated for the overall sample and for each R/E group.

The first research question, *what types of perceived discrimination and ethnic-racial socialization are frequently reported by young mothers in each racial/ethnic group (non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic Black, and Hispanic)*, was answered using descriptive analyses. Frequency tables were examined to compare the number of *Never* and *Once or More* responses in PD and *Yes* and *No* in CSH. Percentages were used to compare endorsements across subscales. Endorsement was defined as having reported *Once or More* to at least one PD or *Yes* to at least one CSH item.

For the second research question, *to what extent is perceived discrimination related to cultural socialization and preparation for bias within each of the three racial/ethnic groups*, correlations were conducted. Correlations between EPD and CS and EPD and PB were conducted for each group, resulting in a total of eight correlations.

The third research question, *does the perceived discrimination and ethnic-racial socialization relationship differ across groups*, was analyzed using

hierarchical regressions. Two parallel series of multiple linear regression were estimated: one series tested Cultural Socialization as the dependent variable, and the other tested Preparation for Bias as the dependent variable. The R/E variable was dummy coded into the following groups: (1) not non-Hispanic White vs. non-Hispanic White, (2) not non-Hispanic Black vs. non-Hispanic Black, and (3) not Hispanic vs. Hispanic. Each group was used, in turn, as the reference group in order to examine every pairwise comparison. In addition, this research question was one of moderation which required a series of EPD x R/E group interaction terms to be added to the regression analysis. Because the data available for Perceived Discrimination and Cultural Socialization – Home were at the item-level, composite scores were created for all subscales. Only the EPD was used for analyses while CS and PB were both assessed given the main focus on ERS practices. Mean scores were used for the three variables.



## Chapter 4: Results

The following chapter presents the findings for the preliminary analyses, the three research questions, and post-screening analyses.

### Preliminary Analyses

#### *Pre-Screening Analysis for Correlation and Linear Regression*

Pre-screening analysis was conducted to check the assumptions and appropriateness of using correlations and linear regression to answer research questions two and three. Because correlation and linear regression are similar statistical tests, assumptions for the two are the same with the addition of multicollinearity for regression. Mean scores of Everyday Perceived Discrimination, Cultural Socialization, and Preparation for Bias were used for the analyses and the descriptive statistics for these variables are presented in Table 2. In the overall sample, EPD had a mean score of .58 ( $SD = .57$ ); CS had a mean of 1.70 ( $SD = 1.09$ ); and PB had a mean of .90 ( $SD = .88$ ). Bivariate descriptive information for each R/E group within CS revealed White mothers had a mean CS score of 1.36 ( $SD = .96$ ); Black mothers had a mean of 1.90 ( $SD = 1.14$ ); and Hispanic mothers had a mean of 1.94 ( $SD = 1.10$ ). Within PB, White mothers had a mean PB score of .68 ( $SD = .66$ ); Black mothers had a mean of .96 ( $SD = .87$ ); and Hispanic mothers had a mean of 1.11 ( $SD = 1.02$ ).

Normality of variables were assessed through a visual check using histograms and descriptive statistics provided the skewness and kurtosis values of each distribution. Results revealed CS had an approximate normal distribution with a skewness of .470 ( $SE = .137$ ) and kurtosis of -.288 ( $SE = .273$ ). PB, on the

other hand, had a high positive skewness of 1.219 ( $SE = .137$ ) and high kurtosis of 1.440 ( $SE = .273$ ). EPD was also highly positively skewed with a value of 1.356 ( $SE = .137$ ) and highly kurtotic with a value of 1.712 ( $SE = .273$ ). Given the non-normal, heavily skewed distributions of PB and EPD, it brought concern to the distribution of residuals which is related to the assumption of homoscedasticity (Field, 2009). With the possibility of heteroscedasticity between the variables, post-screening analysis was carefully assessed.

Univariate and multivariate outliers were examined using boxplots and Mahalanobis distance respectively. Results from the boxplots showed PB and EPD each had multiple outliers and at least one extreme outlier. Mahalanobis distances revealed 12 multivariate outliers. The decision was made to include the outliers in the analysis because the number of outliers was not deemed to be excessive in proportion to the sample size of 316. Roughly 10% of the sample were outliers. In addition, univariate outliers may have been detected due to the non-normal distributions of PB and EPD rather than the actual presence of outliers. Nevertheless, results should be interpreted with caution given the many outliers and their ability to disproportionately affect results.

Scatterplots were also used to assess the relationship between the independent variable and dependent variables, and multicollinearity between the independent variables. EPD and CS did not appear to have a linear relationship or any other type of relationship while EPD and PB appeared to have a very slight linear relationship.

Assumptions of normality, few or no outliers, and linearity were checked prior to conducting the correlation and regression analyses for research questions two and three. Assumptions were met with mixed certainty, particularly the distributions of EPD and PB and the presence of many outliers, indicating the need to interpret regression results with caution.

### *Attribution of Perceived Discrimination*

Frequencies on the basis to which mothers attributed their perceived discrimination experience were calculated for the overall sample and each R/E group. When mothers reported Once or More to a statement of discrimination, they indicated what they assumed was the basis of the discrimination (i.e., being a young mother, race/ethnicity, class/income, religion, or something else). Most mothers did not complete the basis questions but amongst those who did, the option of something else was the most frequent choice overall ( $n = 512$ ), followed by being a young mother ( $n = 491$ ), race/ethnicity ( $n = 383$ ), class/income ( $n = 375$ ), and religion ( $n = 35$ ) (see Table 3 for a breakdown across R/E groups).

Although ‘something else’ was the most frequent response in the overall sample, results by R/E group differed slightly. For White mothers, something else was the most frequent response ( $n = 211$ ) with ‘being a young mother’ closely behind ( $n = 203$ ). For Black mothers, race/ethnicity ( $n = 105$ ) and something else ( $n = 104$ ) were essentially equal in number of responses. Race/ethnicity ( $n = 175$ ) and something else ( $n = 166$ ) were the most reported by Hispanic mothers as well. In addition, Hispanic mothers also commonly chose being a young mother ( $n =$

154) and class income ( $n = 142$ ). Like in the overall sample, religion was the least frequent response within each of the R/E group.

**Research Question 1: What types of perceived discrimination and ethnic-racial socialization are frequently reported by young mothers in each racial/ethnic group?**

Tables 4 and 5 display the descriptive results for endorsement of specific items on perceived discrimination and ethnic-racial socialization scales in non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic Black, and Hispanic mothers. From first examining results within the overall sample, comparisons of *Never* to *Once or More* responses reveal on most items, mothers in all three groups reported never having experienced the unfair treatment described in the question. Out of 16 questions, only three questions from the EPD were frequently endorsed in multiple groups (i.e., had more *Once or More* than *Never* responses). In mothers' daily interactions, many reported "being treated with less courtesy or respect than others," "feeling that people act as if [they] are not smart," and "feeling that people act as if they are better than [them]."

Examination within R/E groups revealed mothers experienced everyday discrimination more often than a major discriminatory event and endorsements of at least one type of unfair treatment tended to be similar across groups (see Table 6. Endorsement of MPD for White mothers was 45% and endorsement of EPD was 79%. Rates were higher across minority groups. Fifty-three percent of Black mothers reported *Once or More* in MPD and 85% endorsed EPD. Hispanic

mothers showed similar results with endorsements of 52% and 83% in the MPD and EPD respectively.

Comparisons of *Yes* to *No* responses in the ERS measure once again showed that on most of the individual items, the majority of mothers reported never having endorsed the cultural socialization or preparation for bias practice described in the question (see Tables 7 and 8). Two CS items received more *Yes* than *No* responses (“said or done things to encourage my child to be proud of her/his cultural heritage” and “told my child stories or read my child story books involving characters who shared my child’s race/ethnicity or ‘looked like’ my child”). Only one PB item had more *Yes* than *No* responses (“talked to my child about racial/ethnic differences with her/his physical features or others’ physical features”).

Endorsement comparisons for ERS revealed CS was endorsed more than PB in all R/E groups. Most mothers reported at least one CS practice within the past year including 89% of White, 93% of Black, and 94% of Hispanic mothers. Endorsement of any PB practice within the past year were reported by 72% of White mothers, 81% of Black mothers, and 82% of Hispanic mothers.

**Research Question 2: To what extent is perceived discrimination related to cultural socialization and preparation for bias within each of the three racial/ethnic groups?**

Table 9 presents a summary of the correlation results. Beginning with White mothers, results indicated EPD was not correlated to CS but was weakly positively correlated to PB ( $r(125) = .20, p = .026$ ). Similarly, only EPD and PB

was weakly positively correlated for Hispanic mothers ( $r(114) = .25, p = .008$ ). Results for Black mothers revealed EPD was weakly positively correlated to CS ( $r(171) = .28, p = .018$ ) and moderately positively correlated to PB ( $r(71) = .44, p < .001$ ).

**Research Question 3: Does the perceived discrimination and ethnic-racial socialization relationship differ across groups?**

Multiple linear regressions were conducted to predict CS and PB based on PD and R/E group. Model 1 provided the base model to understand the nature of EPD as a predictor of CS and PB without additional predictors. Results revealed EPD was found to significantly predict CS ( $\beta = .15, p = .008$ ). For every one unit higher score in EPD, CS scores were .28 units higher. EPD was found to be a significant predictor of PB as well ( $\beta = .29, p < .001$ ). For every one unit higher score in EPD, PB scores were .44 units higher.

Results from model 2 of the CS and PB regressions were examined to assess group comparisons. Model 2 was determined to be the best fit models for both regressions because the interactions in model 3 were found to be non-significant and therefore, added noise to the regression. In the regression with CS as the dependent variable, it was found that White and Hispanic parents significantly differed when predicting CS ( $\beta = .25, p < .001$ ) (see Table 10). Hispanic mothers have .25 units higher score in CS compared to White mothers, holding EPD constant at 0. When predicting PB, a significant regression equation was found in model 2 between White and Hispanic mothers as well ( $\beta = .21, p$

< .001). Hispanic mothers have a .39 units higher score in CS compared to White mothers, holding EPD constant at 0 (see Table 11).

No significant differences were found between Black and White mothers and Black and Hispanic mothers. Marginal significance was found for the EPD x Black interaction term in the PB model ( $p = .06$ ). Despite the result not reaching significance, the effect size was comparable to the effect sizes of significant results. Given a one unit higher score on EPD, Black mothers have a .18 units higher score in PB compared to White mothers.

### **Post-Screening Analysis**

The highly skewed distributions of EPD and PB found in the pre-analysis screening brought concern to possible heteroscedasticity between the variables. Post-analysis screening using scatterplots showed the distribution of residuals appeared to meet the assumption of homoscedasticity. The distribution of the residuals was skewed (although not heavily skewed as EPD and PB were), but the residuals did not follow a cone-shaped pattern which would indicate heteroscedasticity (Field, 2013).

## **Chapter 5: Discussion**

In this chapter, I provide interpretations and explanations for the results described in the previous chapter. The discussion begins by explaining the diversity of the child sample and its complications in interpreting the findings in this study. The discussion proceeds to focus on the group differences among non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic Black, and Hispanic mothers in order to gain understanding of the nuances of ERS practices in different ethnic communities. I review the findings in relation to my hypotheses and also discuss additional key findings and offer potential explanations for the findings. Finally, I discuss the limitations and future directions for research before concluding the study.

### **Ethnic Diversity in the Child Sample**

Before delving into the interpretation of the results, it is essential to note the diversity in the child sample compared to mothers and the consequences the diversity has to interpretation of the findings. To review, 40% of mothers in the sample self-identified as non-Hispanic White compared to 23.8% of children whose mothers reported them to be non-Hispanic White. Twenty-three percent of mothers reported to be non-Hispanic Black compared to 15.1% of children; 36.7% of mothers reported to be Hispanic compared to 49.2% of children; and in addition, 14.1% of children were Other/Multi (i.e., from another race/ethnicity or were multi-ethnic). These numbers indicate many mothers are raising children who are not the same race/ethnicity as their own ethnicity. For example, White moms can be raising Hispanic children or Black mothers can be raising biracial children. Diversity in the child sample complicates interpretation of the results



given the study's interest in examining how parents' lived experiences affect their ERS behaviors. Greater attention must now be given to how parents' ERS practices are influenced by their child's characteristics or experiences (Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Stevenson et al., 2002). There was much more diversity within the child sample than was originally thought when planning and developing the study. With the racial/ethnic backgrounds of the child sample in mind, findings of the study lead to the need for more nuanced considerations and should be interpreted carefully.

### **Endorsement of Perceived Discrimination and Ethnic-Racial Socialization**

Frequencies at the item-level were initially explored to examine the extent of perceived discrimination and ethnic-racial socialization practices reported by the young mothers in the study sample. Contreras (2015) originally discovered reports of perceived discrimination, cultural socialization, and preparation for bias were low in the overall sample. Therefore, as expected, frequencies for PD experiences and ERS practices were low within all three R/E groups. As discussed, a primary purpose of ERS for ethnically diverse children is to teach adaptive strategies in navigating mainstream society. If mothers do not feel a strong need to provide adaptive strategies because of infrequent experience of discrimination, it is logical that frequencies of ERS behaviors would be low as well. In addition, literature has shown that ERS practices for young children (aged 6 or younger) are not as prevalent as with older children. Parents typically wait until the child is older and more cognitively developed before engaging in discussions about race and ethnicity (Hughes et al., 2016; Hughes & Chen, 1997;

Priest et al., 2014; Vittrup, 2018). The lack of engagement of multiple ERS practices were initially surprising but given the child's age and other potential purposes of ERS, the results are more understandable.

Overall, there was a lack of expected differences across groups when examining frequencies since most mothers from all three groups did not report experience with discrimination or engagement in ERS. Rather than examining frequencies, looking at endorsements of PD and ERS showed slightly more variation across groups. Endorsement is defined as reporting *Once or More* to at least one item in the PD measure or reporting *Yes* to at least one item in ERS measures. Engagement was calculated for the overall measure, as opposed to at the item-level with frequencies. Although endorsement results are not as detailed as frequencies, taking a step back to look at the bigger picture allowed for variations in group differences to come through.

A series of hypotheses were developed for the first research question that were for the most part supported by the results. Within the PD measure, I hypothesized there would be more endorsements of Everyday Perceived Discrimination than Major Perceived Discrimination within all three R/E groups, which was found to be true. Two studies comparing everyday discrimination and major discriminatory events both found that roughly 30% of older adults reported at least one major discriminatory event during their lifetime whereas reports of everyday discrimination ranged from 63-83% (Ayalon & Gum, 2011; Luo et al., 2012). Simply due to time, people are more likely to experience minor instances of unfair treatment on a regular basis than explicit scenarios of discrimination.

The prevalence for experiencing everyday discrimination in this study was on the higher end compared to the two studies, ranging from 80-85%. Rates for experiencing major discriminatory events were much higher compared to Ayalon and Gum, and Luo and colleagues however, with the lowest rate for experiencing a major discriminatory event in this study being 45% for White mothers.

In addition to finding support for the hypothesis that mothers in all groups endorsed EPD more than MPD, the findings revealed that endorsements of perceived discrimination were higher in the sample of young mothers than that documented in previous research. The high number of experiences with unfair treatment, whether everyday or major, is particularly concerning considering the negative long term effects of discrimination including poor mental and physical health (Williams & Mohammed, 2009). It is particularly notable that in this study, participants were asked to report on what they thought was the basis of unfair experiences, and 'being a young mother' was the most frequent basis reported by White mothers and young mothers overall. Whereas other studies have also examined attribution of perceived discrimination experiences, the reason of 'being a young mother' is unique to this study. Potentially explaining the high endorsements of discrimination, results suggest 'being a young mother' was just as or more salient to young mothers' experiences with unfair treatment or discrimination as how age, race/ethnicity, and gender are in studies with older samples (Ayalon & Gum, 2011; Luo et al., 2012). Similar to how older and younger parents share the same demands of motherhood, older and younger parents face related challenges if they are of the same race/ethnicity, gender, or

age. However, compared to older parents, younger mothers carry additional challenges in terms of motherhood and also carry the status of being a young mother. This may lead them to be more susceptible to discrimination as young mothers must combat stereotypes of being irresponsible, uneducated, or promiscuous in addition to stereotypes due to other social position variables (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2011).

Results indicated PD endorsements were similar across groups, particularly between Black mothers and Hispanic mothers. An explanation for similar PD endorsements may lie in the experiences of living in the U.S. as an immigrant or not. Hispanic mothers comprised the majority of the ethnic minority sample in this study and roughly half self-identified as Puerto Rican. It is known that Hispanics experience discrimination in the U.S. by being perceived outsiders, including Puerto Ricans who are U.S. citizens (Szalacha et al., 2003). The high number of reports from these mothers' may be a way of expressing their dissatisfaction with the treatment of their group within the U.S.

In contrast, over 63% of Black mothers were immigrants or came from immigrant family backgrounds. While ERS research has stemmed from African American populations, only 12.3% of mothers in this study self-identified as African American and 11.0% self-identified as American. The marginalization of Blacks in the U.S. is certainly not any less severe than that of Hispanics (Ryan et al., 2006), but given the high proportion of immigrant Black mothers in the sample, they may be downplaying experiences with discrimination to subscribe to the immigrant aspiration that if you work hard, you can overcome barriers

(Waters, 1994). Compared to U.S.-born Blacks (i.e., Black participants in the Boston area as like the mothers in this study), Black immigrants were nearly twice as likely to report having never experienced racial discrimination despite most had lived over half of their life in the U.S. (Krieger et al., 2011). In a group of second-generation Black immigrants, those who identified as American tended to see more racial discrimination and limited opportunities for Blacks within the U.S. (Waters, 1994). Those identified as ethnic West Indians saw more opportunities and rewards for individual effort and initiative.

Within the ERS measure, I hypothesized mothers in all R/E groups would endorse Cultural Socialization more than Preparation for Bias. The literature shows consistent support for this hypothesis (Hughes, 2003; Hughes et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown et al., 2010). Results revealed all three groups indeed endorsed CS more than PB but comparisons across groups provided interesting results. I hypothesized Black mothers would endorse PB the most, followed by Hispanic mothers and White mothers. Results revealed Black and Hispanic mothers had very similar scores with CS and PB rates being 1% higher each for Hispanic mothers than Black mothers. While unexpected, the results are not too surprising given how similar ERS patterns of Hispanic and Black parents were in past research, even if Black parents tended to have higher endorsement rates (Hughes, 2003; Lesane-Brown et al., 2010).

In addition to looking for differences between the mothers to explain findings, similarities in the child sample can also justify ERS endorsement rates. As described above, nearly half of the child sample were reported to be Hispanic,

implying many non-Hispanic mothers had Hispanic children. Because many Black and Hispanic mothers have children from the same racial/ethnic background, they may be socializing their child in similar manners based on their child's social position variables rather than their own. Examination of item-level frequencies of CS and PB revealed the results of Black and Hispanic mothers followed the same response pattern. If one group had more Yes responses to an item, the other group also had more Yes responses. This was true for all items and frequencies were similar across multiple items. For example, 90% of both groups "said or done things to encourage [their] child to be proud of [their] cultural heritage." However, because Hispanic mothers did have higher endorsements overall and at the item-level, it suggests differences in raising children from one racial/ethnic background and raising multi-ethnic racial children. Because Hispanic mothers with Hispanic children share the same cultural background, Hispanic mothers understand what elements of their culture, heritage, history, practices, and so forth to teach their children. Black mothers with Hispanic children, on the other hand, may not have that personal understanding of Hispanic culture. However, because their children are also Black, Black mothers may not be referencing Hispanic culture when completing the ERS measure. It leaves an open question of how all mothers navigate teaching their child about multiple cultures.

### **PD-ERS Relationships Within R/E Groups**

In the second research question, I hypothesized Perceived Discrimination would be significantly correlated to Cultural Socialization and Preparation for

Bias practices in Black and Hispanic mothers but not in White mothers.

Significant results were found for Black and Hispanic mothers as expected. To further explore the relationship between PD and PB, I examined the basis of discrimination as reported by Black and Hispanic mothers. Both groups primarily attributed race/ethnicity as the reason for discrimination, thus strengthening past findings that racial/ethnic discrimination is strongly tied to preparing children for future racial/ethnic bias (Hughes, 2003; Hughes & Johnson, 2001).

Surprisingly, the correlation between EPD and PB was significant for White mothers. As members of the majority racial group, it was thought that discrimination would not be relevant to White mothers and therefore, the need to prepare children for future bias would be unnecessary. Excluding “something else,” White mothers primarily attributed “being a young mother” to their experiences with discrimination, whereas race/ethnicity was the second least frequent. Discourse about discrimination and ERS typically center around racial discrimination but in this context of White mothers, racial discrimination was not a suitable argument for this result. Typically, the difference between the ERS behaviors of White mothers and ethnic minority mothers lies in assumption that White mothers’ lack personal experiences with racial discrimination (Ayalon & Gum, 2011; Williams et al., 1997). However, in this sample the finding that White mothers also engaged in PB may be explained by the fact that in many cases, their children are from mixed racial/ethnic backgrounds. This is seen in how the number of non-Hispanic White children is roughly half to that of White mothers. White mothers may be engaging in ERS more often than expected for the same

purpose as ethnic minority parents – to teach their child about their roots and/or prepare them for future bias.

In addition to the aforementioned explanation, other reasons might explain why PD significantly predicted PB in White mothers. It is possible that the White mothers in this sample differ from those in past studies by their active approach in teaching children about other races/ethnicities and cultures, instead of relying on non-family agents to do so. This might be the case because for many of their children are of mixed R/E backgrounds. Regardless, the young White mothers in this sample appear to be assuming responsibility of their child's cultural upbringing, a behavior that was not seen in past research (Hamm, 2001; Hughes et al., 2016; Peshkin, 1991; Pahlke et al., 2012). This explanation is quite interesting considering these young mothers are contending with a number of stressors in their lives. Yet, they manage to engage in PB more than studies with older parents who do not have the additional stressors of young mothers.

Another potential explanation is that White mother have greater awareness to discrimination than was initially expected. This could have been influenced by how White mothers' experiences with discrimination due to being a young mother may sensitize them to the issue of discrimination in general and prompt them to engage in PB to teach their child about bias of others based on race/ethnicity. While there is no extant research to support this speculation, studies have shown White young adults who interact with ethnic minorities more or have ethnic minority friends display greater awareness to institutional discrimination and blatant racial issues, and are less likely to define race by skin color (Dinh et al.,



2008; Martin et al., 2010). Whether due to White mothers' personal experiences with discrimination, relationships with ethnic minority peers, or a mixture of both, White mothers are making meaning of their experiences in a way that still result in engagement in ERS, particularly PB. There may be unexplored purposes of ERS such as wanting to raise racially-aware children.

A final explanation for the significant result concerns social desirability bias. Frequencies indicated White parents tended to endorse practices that taught about race relations at a broader level rather than preparing the child specifically for bias (which is understandable given that it is unanticipated White children experience racial/ethnic bias due to their skin color). Wanting to appear that they are accepting of ethnic minority groups and discouraging discrimination, mothers may be reporting they are engaging in the practices that communicate broad messages about interactions among different races/ethnicities. For example, 59% of White mothers reported they "talked to [their] child about racial/ethnic differences with [their] physical features or others' physical features".

While it was not expected that EPD and PB be significantly correlated for White mothers, the various ways they make meaning of their experiences or of their child's social position variables provides potentially valid reasons for the significant result. Understanding their experiences with discrimination for being a young mother may have widened White mothers' understanding of discrimination at large. Or perhaps having children from different racial/ethnic backgrounds prompted them to engage in ERS. Nevertheless, the results signify the ways

mothers come to engage in ERS are more complex than just their experiences with racial/ethnic discrimination being the main influencer.

### **Comparisons of the PD-ERS Relationship Across Groups**

The results from the third research question were quite unexpected since only the pairwise comparisons between White and Hispanic mothers were significant. However, understanding the results of the prior two research questions lends itself to understanding the findings in this section. Knowing parents from all races/ethnicities participate in CS at a high rate from past research, including White mothers, I hypothesized there would be no significant group differences when predicting CS. In terms of PB, because it was not expected that White mothers would report many experiences with unfair treatment, I hypothesized Black and Hispanic mothers would significantly differ from White mothers when predicting PB.

Hypotheses were supported only to some extent by the results of the thesis. Results from the hierarchical regression model revealed the EPD-CS and EPD-PB relationships between White and Hispanic mothers significantly differed. Taking into account the high number of PD reports by Hispanic mothers based on race/ethnicity, mothers' racial/ethnic status appears to be central in their lives. The focus on being discriminated due to their racial/ethnic affiliation may highlight the importance for mothers to endorse their culture heritage and have it be accepted by mainstream society. As discussed earlier, a large proportion of Hispanic mothers self-identified as Puerto Rican. This group possesses a unique culture of their own but may struggle to emphasize their culture with mainstream

American culture. The challenge to navigate what it means to be Puerto Rican and a U.S. citizen simultaneously could potentially lead mothers to place emphasis on CS to show that they can have both identities. This would potentially explain why the EPD-CS relationship is significantly different between Hispanic mothers and White mothers.

It was not hypothesized that Black and Hispanic mothers would differ when predicting PB so the lack of significant finding for this was expected. Much of this discussion has focused on the origins of Hispanic and Black mothers and how the groups differ from similar counterparts. Regardless of the nuances within the groups, the fact that they have similar endorsements of PD may lead to mothers to prepare their child for bias in a similar manner. Immigrant Black mothers would be treated similarly as African Americans because of their skin color and Puerto Ricans would be viewed as an outsider for not being from mainland U.S.

On the other hand, the lack of significant finding between Black mothers and White mothers are surprising because of the consistent literature on differences across groups (Hughes, 2003; Lesane-Brown et al., 2010). This finding could be potentially explained by Black mothers not engaging in PB as much as expected. Because many Black mothers were immigrants or come from an immigrant family background, goals of assimilation to American culture could be at the forefront of their needs. They may downplay experiences with discrimination as suggested earlier to focus on building a successful life in the U.S. Alternatively, the lack of difference can be explained by White mothers

engaging in PB more than expected. The finding that White mothers have high endorsement of ERS, particularly PB, suggested their PB behaviors are comparable to Black mothers.

### **Limitations**

Stemming from time constraints, a limitation is related to missing descriptive analysis on how often young mothers engage in ERS practices. These data were originally not intended to be analyzed for the thesis but with adequate time, examining frequencies of practices (on a scale of *Never*, *Rarely*, *Sometimes*, *Often*, and *Very Often*) would give greater insight on the practices of young mothers. Endorsements were calculated by engagement in at least one CS or PB practice and revealed high endorsement rates in all three groups. Although endorsements were high, results on frequency of practices might reveal themselves to be low. Thus, this would bring into question how often mothers truly did teach their children about their cultural heritage and relationships with other racial/ethnic groups.

A second limitation concerns the sample of this study. Because the participants shared a specific defined and delimited set of circumstances, that is, young mothers with young children in a home-visiting program, the results cannot be generalized to a wider population. While most of the hypotheses were supported by the results, there were additional findings that differed from past literature. It may be the nuances of this specific sample that were driving the differences since this study did not take into account how being in a home-visiting program might influence mothers' endorsement of ERS behaviors. Do home

visitors encourage mothers to teach children about their cultural background early on? Nevertheless, research on this population is quite novel and contributes to the literature of ERS in less studied populations.

### **Conclusion**

The purpose of the study was to examine the extent to which perceived discrimination and ethnic-racial socialization were related in non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic Black, and Hispanic mothers. Much of the empirical research on perceived discrimination and ethnic-racial socialization has focused on how ERS has been shown to act as a protective factor to the effects of PD. However, this study examined ERS as a predictor rather than an outcome which is limited in existing research and has led to some mixed findings.

Results of this thesis were hypothesized for the most part with additional unexpected findings. Endorsements of PD and ERS followed past literature whereas the EPD-ERS relationships within and across groups differed for some groups. Mothers from all three groups endorsed everyday discrimination more than major discriminatory events. Mothers also endorsed cultural socialization more than preparation for bias. Other results indicated that EPD and CS had a significant positive linear relationship for only Black mothers and EPD and PB had a significant positive linear relationship for White, Black, and Hispanic mothers. Pairwise comparisons indicated group differences between White and Hispanic mothers in the PD-CS and PD-PB relationships.

Further information with PD as a predictor would help identify ERS patterns in different R/E groups and lend ideas for research on other predictors for

ERS. In addition, given the novel sample of young mothers, literature on ERS in this population is largely unexplored. The findings of the overall thesis suggest young mothers from three different R/E groups display some similarities as their older counterparts, but the differences encourage further research to identify the consistency of patterns in other samples.

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**Table 1*****Demographics of Mothers and Children***

Characteristic	<i>Mothers (n = 316)</i> %	<i>Children (n = 315)</i> %
<b>Race/Ethnicity</b>		
Non-Hispanic White	40.2	23.8
Non-Hispanic Black	23.1	15.1
Hispanic	36.7	47.0
Other/Multi	-	14.1
<b>Age</b>	23.7 years	4.9 years
<b>Place of Birth</b>		
U.S.	82.2	-
Outside of U.S.	11.4	-
U.S. Territory	6.3	-
<b>Education</b>		
High school/GED	84.8	-
<b>Sex</b>		
Male	-	50.8
Female	100	49.2

**Table 2*****Descriptive Statistics for Analysis Variables***

Variable	<i>Minimum</i>	<i>Maximum</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Standard Deviation</i>	<i>Skewness (SE)</i>	<i>Kurtosis (SE)</i>
Everyday Perceived Discrimination	0	2.80	.58	.57	1.356 (.137)	1.712 (.273)
Overall Cultural Socialization	0	5.00	1.70	1.09	.470 (.137)	-.288 (.273)
White	0	4.17	1.36	.96	-	-
Black	0	4.60	1.90	1.14	-	-
Hispanic	0	5.00	1.94	1.10	-	-
Overall Preparation for Bias	0	4.88	.90	.88	1.219 (.137)	1.440 (.273)
White	0	3.00	.68	.66	-	-
Black	0	3.33	.96	.87	-	-
Hispanic	0	4.88	1.11	1.02	-	-

**Table 3*****Attribution of Perceived Discrimination***

Basis	<i>White, n</i>	<i>Black, n</i>	<i>Hispanic, n</i>	<i>Total, n</i>
Being a young mother	203	76	154	433
Race/ethnicity	49	105	175	329
Class/income	125	61	142	328
Religion	14	4	13	31
Something else	211	104	166	481

**Table 4*****Perceived Discrimination: Major Perceived Discrimination Frequencies***

Item		<i>White, %</i>	<i>Black, %</i>	<i>Hispanic, %</i>
You have been unfairly fired or denied a promotion?	Never	83.1	77.5	78.4
	Once or more	16.9	22.5	21.6
You have ever not been hired for a job for an unfair reason?	Never	84.8	81.4	85.2
	Once or more	15.2	18.6	14.8
You have ever been unfairly stopped, searched, questioned, physically threatened or abused by the police?	Never	81.9	88.7	87.9
	Once or more	18.1	11.3	12.1
You have ever been unfairly discouraged by a teacher or advisor from continuing your education?	Never	90.5	83.1	79.3
	Once or more	9.5	16.9	20.7
You have ever been unfairly prevented from having access to a service or been treated unfairly by a service provider?	Never	91.1	91.7	87.0
	Once or more	8.9	8.3	13.0
Have you ever moved into a residence where your landlord or neighbors made life difficult for you or your family?	Never	83.3	76.4	76.3
	Once or more	16.7	23.6	23.7

**Table 5*****Perceived Discrimination: Everyday Perceived Discrimination Frequencies***

Item		White, %	Black, %	Hispanic, %
Being treated with less courtesy or respect than others	Never	50.0	52.1	44.1
	Once or more	50.0	47.9	55.9
Receiving poorer service than others from service providers	Never	79.0	58.3	63.2
	Once or more	21.0	41.7	36.8
Receiving poorer service than others in restaurants or stores	Never	81.5	64.8	71.4
	Once or more	18.5	35.2	28.6
Feeling that people act as if you are not smart	Never	52.8	55.6	43.5
	Once or more	47.2	44.4	56.5
Feeling that people act as if they are better than you	Never	37.8	31.5	31.9
	Once or more	62.2	68.5	68.1
Feeling that people act as if they are afraid of you	Never	83.3	77.8	75.7
	Once or more	16.7	22.2	24.3
Being threatened or harassed	Never	86.5	83.1	84.2
	Once or more	13.5	16.9	15.8
Feeling that people act as if they think you are dishonest	Never	78.6	77.8	71.1
	Once or more	21.4	22.2	28.9
Being called names or insulted	Never	68.8	69.9	65.8
	Once or more	31.2	30.1	34.2
Concerned that your child will be treated differently, unfairly, or discriminated against?	Never	70.1	75.3	67.3
	Once or more	29.9	24.7	32.7

**Table 6*****Endorsement of Perceived Discrimination and Ethnic-Racial Socialization***

Measure/Construct	<i>White, %</i>	<i>Black, %</i>	<i>Hispanic, %</i>
Perceived Discrimination			
Major Event Discrimination	45	53	52
Everyday Discrimination	79	85	83
Ethnic-Racial Socialization (past year)			
Cultural Socialization	89	93	94
Preparation for Bias	72	81	82

**Table 7*****Cultural Socialization – Home: Cultural Socialization Frequencies***

Item		<i>White, %</i>	<i>Black, %</i>	<i>Hispanic, %</i>
Said or done things to encourage my child to be proud of her/his cultural heritage?	No	24.6	6.8	9.2
	Yes	75.4	90.4	90.8
Told my child stories or read my child story books involving characters who shared my child's race/ethnicity or "looked like" my child?	No	38.7	39.7	27.0
	Yes	61.3	60.3	73.0
Taken my child to an event that celebrates or recognizes her/his cultural heritage?	No	68.9	46.6	31.6
	Yes	31.1	53.4	68.4
Purchased clothing for my child that was popular in her/his cultural group, or, taken my child to get a hairstyle popular in her/his cultural group?	No	75.2	62.9	70.3
	Yes	24.8	37.1	29.7
Told or read my child stories about the history of her/his racial/ethnic group?	No	73.4	53.2	61.6
	Yes	26.6	45.8	38.4
Done something to celebrate the history of my child's racial/ethnic group?	No	72.1	58.9	55.3
	Yes	27.9	37.7	44.7



**Table 8*****Cultural Socialization – Home: Preparation for Bias Frequencies***

Item		<i>White, %</i>	<i>Black, %</i>	<i>Hispanic, %</i>
Talked to my child about racial/ethnic differences with her/his	No	40.8	34.2	28.6
physical features or others' physical features?	Yes	59.2	65.8	71.4
Talked about race/ethnicity with someone else when my child	No	70.2	53.5	55.8
could hear me?	Yes	29.8	46.5	44.2
Explained to my child something s/he saw on TV that showed	No	60.5	61.1	48.2
poor treatment of people from her/his race/ethnicity?	Yes	39.5	38.9	51.8
Talked to my child about the fight for equality among people	No	86.7	70.4	65.5
of her/his race/ethnicity?	Yes	13.3	29.6	34.5
Indicated to my child that s/he has to behave better and do	No	99.2	94.4	89.3
better than White kids to get the same respect or rewards?	Yes	0.8	5.6	10.7

**Table 8** (continued).

Talked with my child about discrimination of people based on	No	60.2	62.0	53.4
skin color, accent, or traditional clothing?	Yes	39.8	38.0	46.6
Told my child that other people might treat her/him	No	97.6	85.7	90.4
differently or badly because of her/his race/ethnicity?	Yes	2.4	14.3	9.6
Told my child that other people might try to limit her/him	No	97.6	95.7	93.0
because of her/his race/ethnicity?	Yes	2.4	4.3	7.0
Talked to my child or corrected something s/he mis-learned in	No	95.0	84.3	79.8
school about her/his race/ethnicity?	Yes	5.0	15.7	20.2

**Table 9*****Correlations for Analysis Variables***

Variable	1	2	3
Overall			
1. EPD Mean Score	-		
2. CS Mean Score	.15**	-	
3. PB Mean Score	.29**	.55**	-
White			
1. EPD Mean Score	-		
2. CS Mean Score	.12	-	
3. PB Mean Score	.20*	.43**	-
Black			
1. EPD Mean Score	-		
2. CS Mean Score	.28*	-	
3. PB Mean Score	.44**	.57**	-
Hispanic			
1. EPD Mean Score	-		
2. CS Mean Score	.52	-	
3. PB Mean Score	.25**	.57**	-

*Note: \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$*

**Table 10*****Hierarchical Regression Analysis of Predictors of Cultural Socialization***

Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$
Intercept	1.54	0.09		1.23	0.11		1.25	0.13	
Everyday Perceived Discrimination	0.28	0.11	.15**	0.25	0.10	.13*	0.22	0.18	.12
Non-Hispanic Black				0.53	0.15	.20**	0.34	0.22	.13
Hispanic				0.55	0.14	.25**	0.63	0.19	.28**
EPD x Black							0.34	0.28	.11
EPD x Hispanic							-.11	0.24	-.05
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>		.02			.06			.08	
<i>F</i> for change in <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>		7.18**			9.30**			6.15**	

*Note:* Reference group for R/E groups is White non-Hispanic

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$

**Table 11*****Hierarchical Regression Analysis of Predictors of Preparation for Bias***

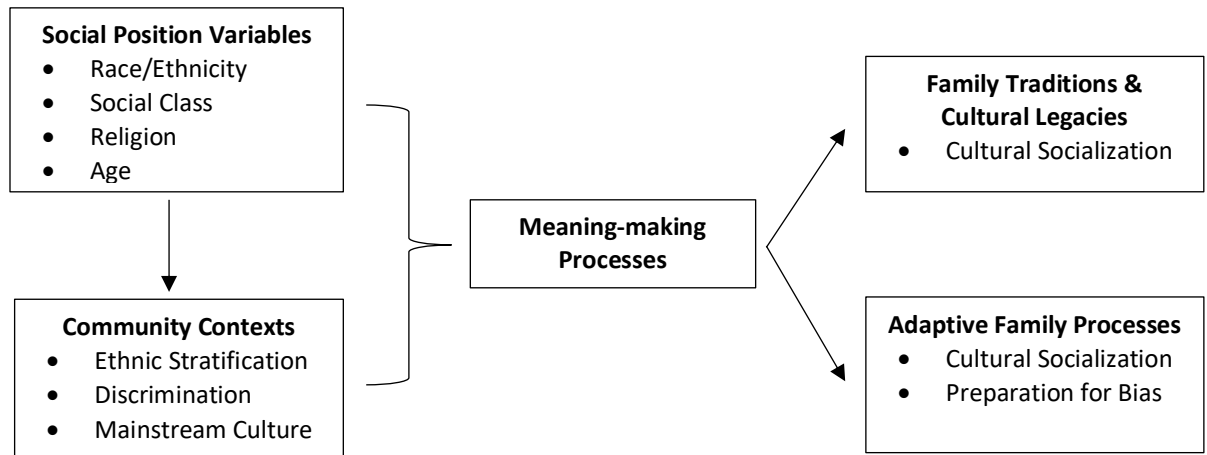
Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$
Intercept	0.64	0.07		0.46	0.09		0.54	0.10	
Everyday Perceived Discrimination	0.44	0.08	.29**	0.42	0.08	.27**	0.25	0.14	.16
Non-Hispanic Black				0.26	0.12	.12*	0.03	0.17	.01
Hispanic				0.39	0.11	.21**	0.30	0.15	.17*
EPD x Black							0.41	0.22	.18
EPD x Hispanic							0.16	0.19	.09
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>		.08			.12			.13	
<i>F</i> for change in <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>		28.45**			14.36**			9.38**	

*Note:* Reference group for R/E groups is White non-Hispanic

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$

**Figure 1**

***Conceptual Model for This Thesis***



Appendix A

Perceived Discrimination

Discrimination and bias are very common in our society and every person has a different history and experience with these unfair situations. For each item below please consider whether or not you have experienced the unfair situation *in the past year*.

Talking and thinking about discrimination can be difficult and some of these questions may be hard to answer because of your personal experiences. Please know there are no right or wrong answers—we just ask that you answer questions honestly and know that your answers are private. If you do not feel comfortable answering a question, you may always skip it and go on to the next question.

How often <i>in the past year</i> do you think...	Once	Twice	3 times	4 or more times	Not this year, but in the past	Never	If this happened <b>in the past year</b> , do you think it was due to your... [Check all that apply]
1. You have been unfairly fired or denied a promotion?	1	2	3	4+	7	0	<input type="checkbox"/> Being a “Young Mom” <input type="checkbox"/> Race/ Ethnicity <input type="checkbox"/> Class/ Income Level <input type="checkbox"/> Religion <input type="checkbox"/> Something else
2. You have ever not been hired for a job for an unfair reason?	1	2	3	4+	7	0	<input type="checkbox"/> Being a “Young Mom” <input type="checkbox"/> Race/ Ethnicity <input type="checkbox"/> Class/ Income Level <input type="checkbox"/> Religion <input type="checkbox"/> Something else
3. You have ever been unfairly stopped, searched, questioned, physically threatened or abused by the police?	1	2	3	4+	7	0	<input type="checkbox"/> Being a “Young Mom” <input type="checkbox"/> Race/ Ethnicity <input type="checkbox"/> Class/ Income Level <input type="checkbox"/> Religion <input type="checkbox"/> Something else
4. You have ever been unfairly discouraged by a teacher or advisor from continuing your education?	1	2	3	4+	7	0	<input type="checkbox"/> Being a “Young Mom” <input type="checkbox"/> Race/ Ethnicity <input type="checkbox"/> Class/ Income Level <input type="checkbox"/> Religion <input type="checkbox"/> Something else
5. You have ever been unfairly prevented from having access to a service or been treated	1	2	3	4+	7	0	<input type="checkbox"/> Being a “Young Mom” <input type="checkbox"/> Race/ Ethnicity <input type="checkbox"/> Class/ Income Level <input type="checkbox"/> Religion <input type="checkbox"/> Something else

unfairly by a service provider?							
6. Have you ever moved into a residence where your landlord or neighbors made life difficult for you or your family?	1	2	3	4+	7	0	<input type="checkbox"/> Being a "Young Mom" <input type="checkbox"/> Race/ Ethnicity <input type="checkbox"/> Class/ Income Level <input type="checkbox"/> Religion <input type="checkbox"/> Something else

Now think about your typical, everyday life and your interactions with others. How often would you say the following situations happen to you? *If the situation does happen to you*, (Rarely through Very Often) then please indicate whether it is due to the reasons listed in the last column.

In your daily social interactions, how often are you...	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often	If this happens to you, do you think it has been due to your... [Check <u>all</u> that apply]
7. Being treated with less courtesy or respect than others	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often	<input type="checkbox"/> Being a "Young Mom" <input type="checkbox"/> Race/ Ethnicity <input type="checkbox"/> Class/ Income Level <input type="checkbox"/> Religion <input type="checkbox"/> Something else
8. Receiving poorer service than others from service providers	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often	<input type="checkbox"/> Being a "Young Mom" <input type="checkbox"/> Race/ Ethnicity <input type="checkbox"/> Class/ Income Level <input type="checkbox"/> Religion <input type="checkbox"/> Something else
9. Receiving poorer service than others in restaurants or stores	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often	<input type="checkbox"/> Being a "Young Mom" <input type="checkbox"/> Race/ Ethnicity <input type="checkbox"/> Class/ Income Level <input type="checkbox"/> Religion <input type="checkbox"/> Something else
10. Feeling that people act as if you are not smart	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often	<input type="checkbox"/> Being a "Young Mom" <input type="checkbox"/> Race/ Ethnicity <input type="checkbox"/> Class/ Income Level <input type="checkbox"/> Religion <input type="checkbox"/> Something else
11. Feeling that people act as if they are better than you	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often	<input type="checkbox"/> Being a "Young Mom" <input type="checkbox"/> Race/ Ethnicity <input type="checkbox"/> Class/ Income Level <input type="checkbox"/> Religion <input type="checkbox"/> Something else



In your daily social interactions, how often are you...	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often	If this happens to you, do you think it has been due to your... [Check <u>all</u> that apply]
12. Feeling that people act as if they are afraid of you	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often	<input type="checkbox"/> Being a "Young Mom" <input type="checkbox"/> Race/ Ethnicity <input type="checkbox"/> Class/ Income Level <input type="checkbox"/> Religion <input type="checkbox"/> Something else
13. Being threatened or harassed	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often	<input type="checkbox"/> Being a "Young Mom" <input type="checkbox"/> Race/ Ethnicity <input type="checkbox"/> Class/ Income Level <input type="checkbox"/> Religion <input type="checkbox"/> Something else
14. Feeling that people act as if they think you are dishonest	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often	<input type="checkbox"/> Being a "Young Mom" <input type="checkbox"/> Race/ Ethnicity <input type="checkbox"/> Class/ Income Level <input type="checkbox"/> Religion <input type="checkbox"/> Something else
15. Being called names or insulted	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often	<input type="checkbox"/> Being a "Young Mom" <input type="checkbox"/> Race/ Ethnicity <input type="checkbox"/> Class/ Income Level <input type="checkbox"/> Religion <input type="checkbox"/> Something else
16. Concerned that your child will be treated differently, unfairly, or discriminated against?	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often	<input type="checkbox"/> Being a "Young Mom" <input type="checkbox"/> Child's Race/ Ethnicity <input type="checkbox"/> Family Class/ Income Level <input type="checkbox"/> Child's Religion <input type="checkbox"/> Something else

Thank you for filling out this survey, we really appreciate your willingness to think about a difficult topic.

Appendix B

Cultural Socialization at Home – Parent Report

We would like to ask you about the different activities you might do with your child in regards to your household, your family’s background, or to *your child’s* race/ethnicity.

We understand that some parents and children have the same race/ethnicity and some parents identify differently from their children: Here, please keep in mind questions below are about *your child’s* race/ethnicity unless stated otherwise.

For each item below please consider if you have *ever* engaged in the activity with your child to date. (Please do not report on your future intentions or plans- only what you have done up to today).

Have I ever...	Ever?		And if Yes, in the past year, I have done this with my child...				
	No	Yes	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often
1. Said or done things to encourage my child to be proud of her/his cultural heritage?	No	Yes	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often
2. Talked to my child about racial/ethnic differences with her/his physical features or others’ physical features?	No	Yes	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often
3. Talked about race/ethnicity with someone else when my child could hear me?	No	Yes	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often
4. Told my child stories or read my child story books involving characters who shared my child’s race/ethnicity or “looked like” my child?	No	Yes	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often
5. Explained to my child something s/he saw on TV that showed poor treatment of people from her/his race/ethnicity?	No	Yes	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often
6. Talked to my child about the fight for equality among people of her/his race/ethnicity?	No	Yes	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often
7. Told my child something like “it doesn’t matter what skin color a person has, what matters is what’s on the inside”?	No	Yes	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often

8. Indicated to my child that s/he has to behave better and do better than kids in wealthy families to get the same respect or rewards?	No	Yes	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often
9. Indicated to my child that s/he has to behave better and do better than White kids to get the same respect or rewards?	No	Yes	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often

Have I ever...	Ever?		And if Yes, in the past year, I have done this with my child...				
10. Talked with my child about discrimination of people based on things like skin color, accent, or traditional clothing?	No	Yes	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often
11. Told my child that all children are equal in this country?	No	Yes	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often
12. Taken my child to an event that celebrates or recognizes her/his cultural heritage?	No	Yes	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often
13. Displayed items, like artwork or figurines, in my home that are symbolic or specific to my child's cultural heritage?	No	Yes	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often
14. Told my child that other people might treat her/him differently or badly because of our family's income level?	No	Yes	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often
15. Told my child that other people might treat her/him differently or badly because of her/his race/ethnicity?	No	Yes	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often
16. Told my child that other people might try to limit her/him because of our family's income level?	No	Yes	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often
17. Told my child that other people might try to limit her/him because of her/his race/ethnicity?	No	Yes	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often
18. Talked to my child or corrected something s/he mis-learned in	No	Yes	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often

school about her/his race/ethnicity?							
19. Purchased clothing for my child that was popular in her/his cultural group, or, taken my child to get a hairstyle popular in her/his cultural group?	No	Yes	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often
20. Told or read my child stories about the history of her/his racial/ethnic group?	No	Yes	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often
21. Done something to celebrate the history of my child's racial/ethnic group?	No	Yes	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often
22. Made sure my child had a toy that represents her/his racial/ethnic group and/or a toy that "looks like" her/him?	No	Yes	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often
23. Displayed photographs of my child's extended family members in my home?	No	Yes	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often