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CHRISTOPHE, NOAH KEITA N., M.A. Ethnic-Racial Socialization Messages Given to Multiracial Youth: A Person-Centered Analysis. (2019)
Directed by Dr. Gabriela L. Stein. 73 pp.

The multiracial population is the fastest growing racial group in the United States, and almost half of the multiracial population nationwide is under the age of 18. Despite the rapidly growing numbers of young multiracial individuals, little is understood about how these individuals are socialized around race and ethnicity, and how these socialization messages are related to ethnic-racial identity development. This study utilizes a person-centered framework with a diverse sample of 296 multiracial college students to examine the patterns of ethnic-racial socialization messages individuals received from their primary caregivers. Latent profile analyses of caregivers' messages produced a four-profile solution for both caregivers, with slightly different patterns (Caregiver 1: *Typical*, *Minority*, *High Mistrust*, and *Low Frequency Messages*; Caregiver 2 *Typical*, *Negative*, *Promotive*, and *Low Frequency Messages*). Overall, caregivers gave consistent socialization messages across both sides of participants ethnic-racial heritage. Similarly, about 60% of participants received consistent patterns of messages across caregivers. Finally, profile differences were evident with respect to ethnic-racial identity endorsement and multiracial identity integration. These findings add needed quantitative clarity to the patterns of socialization messages multiracial youth receive. Implications for parenting and future directions for research with multiracial populations are also discussed.

ETHNIC-RACIAL SOCIALIZATION MESSAGES GIVEN TO MULTIRACIAL YOUTH: A PERSON-CENTERED ANALYSIS

by

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A Thesis Submitted to
the Faculty of The Graduate School at
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

Greensboro
2019

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02/28/2019
Date of Acceptance by Committee

02/28/2019
Date of Final Oral Examination

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Gabriela L. Stein, thesis committee members Drs. Andrew Supple and Ethan Zell, and the members of the CAMINOS lab. Thank you all for your support and guidance on this project. I would also like to thank my family for always pushing me to pursue my goals and helping me at every step along the way.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Minority children and their families face many unique challenges in modern society, including structural inequalities, implicit and explicit biases, and other harmful forms of discrimination (Stevenson, 1995). In order to combat these challenges, parents provide ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) messages to their children to prepare them to survive in a discriminatory society (Hughes et al., 2006). Therefore, ethnic-racial socialization is an important process by which youth learn about racial-ethnic group membership, grow to appreciate their cultures' values, norms, and traditions, and learn to navigate and cope with implicit and explicit, personal and institutional racially-based discrimination (Priest et al., 2014). The term ethnic-racial encompasses both messages about one's racial group (i.e., being black) as well as one's ethnic group (i.e., being African American) as these messages are typically delivered simultaneously and are difficult to distinguish from one another (Hughes et al., 2006). ERS messages serve to foster the development of numerous positive psychosocial outcomes in minority youth, namely ethnic-racial identity (ERI; Hughes et al., 2016). For example, more frequent ethnic-racial socialization messages in black families have been associated with adolescents' ethnic-racial group preferences (Hughes, 2003), racial centrality (Neblett et al., 2009), and different stages of ERI (Stevenson, 1995). Additionally, ERS has also been shown to lead to greater identity exploration and resolution among Latino

adolescents (Supple et al., 2006; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). ERS is, therefore, an important process because teaching minority children about their race and ethnicity not only helps them contend with numerous social inequalities but has also been shown instill a stronger sense of ethnic-racial identity as well.

Although the predictors, correlates, and outcomes associated with ERS have been studied among monoracial minority populations for decades (Stevenson, 1995; Hughes et al., 2006), there have been few studies that have attempted to understand how ERS unfolds in multiracial families (Jackson, Wolven, & Crudup, 2017; Stone & Dolbin-MacNab, 2017). This is in spite of the fact that the number of interracial children born in the United States has soared in the last half a century (Pew Research Center, 2015). 10% of babies born in the U.S. in 2013 were identified as multiracial, up from only 1% in 1970 (Pew Research Center, 2015). Additionally, the U.S. Census Bureau reports that the number of people identifying themselves as multiracial has increased 32% between 2000 and 2010. Between 2014 and 2060 this growth is expected to be even more pronounced, as the multiracial population in the U.S. is projected to increase from 8 million to 26 million during this time, an estimated increase of 226% (Colby & Ortman, 2015). Multiracial people occupy a unique social position in society because of their membership in multiple racial groups, some of which may be more or less privileged than others in a stratified society. In order to better understand and serve this unique, rapidly expanding population, research needs to elucidate how ERS influence how multiracial youth understand themselves and their ethnic identities. Furthermore, it is crucial that scholarly work explores how factors such as parental race influence the ERS messages

multiracial youth receive. By better understanding the strategies parents use to socialize their multiracial children, researchers can inform culturally relevant treatment and intervention for multiracial youth.

Defining Multiracial

Historically, the terms race and ethnicity have included many cultural, contextual, environmental, and socio-political factors that have led to unclear, overlapping definitions and measurement difficulties (Hughes et al., 2016). Thus, although there are many ways to define the term multiracial (Pew Research Center, 2015), in this study I define a multiracial person as a person who belongs to two or more distinct racial groups (i.e. people who are white and Asian, Latino and black, or Middle Eastern and Native American). This particular definition stems from my interest in looking at ERS patterns in a racially-stratified society (Jackson et al., 2012). For ease of categorization and comparison, I also classify being Latino as a specific racial group, as many Latinos view themselves as a distinct racial group that has a specified position in the U.S.'s racially stratified society (Pew Research Center, 2015). It is important to note that, despite the definitions used in this study, all ethnic-racial groups are inherently multiracial to some degree. Finally, those who identify as multiethnic, or belonging to more than one ethnic group will not be the focus of this investigation because many multiethnic people belong to only one racial group - i.e. those who are German and French, or Chinese and Japanese (Jackson et al., 2012).

Ethnic-Racial Socialization

As outlined in Hughes and colleagues' seminal article (2006), ERS is defined as the transmission of messages regarding race and ethnicity from parents to children. These messages may be either implicit or intentional, but nonetheless focused on protecting children from the negative effects of ethnic-racial discrimination by providing youth with knowledge about ethnic-racial group membership, practices and traditions, inter and intragroup relationships, and ethnic-racial stratification (Priest et al., 2014). Although rates of ethnically or racially-based discrimination and rates of ERS are lower in white families, these families engage in ERS, often with the goal of promoting a tolerance of diversity in their children (Brown, Tanner-Smith, Lesane-Brown, & Ezell, 2007). ERS messages are therefore universal, as they are given across all racial and ethnic groups, even if the specific content of these messages may differ. ERS messages have typically been divided into four distinct subtypes, each with their own specific subject matter and subsequent goals. These four messages are: cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarian messages (Hughes et al., 2006).

Cultural socialization. Cultural socialization, or pride messages, are messages and practices that are meant to teach children about their racial and ethnic heritage and history (Hughes et al., 2006). These practices often involve parents exposing their children to art, music, literature, and movies about their ethnic-racial group, with the ultimate goal of fostering racial pride (Hughes et al., 2006). Cultural socialization messages tend to be the most common types of ERS message, with one study finding that over 90% of a large sample of African American, Dominican, and Puerto Rican parents

had reported giving cultural socialization messages to their children in the past year (Hughes, 2003). Although most families, regardless of race or ethnicity, report giving pride messages, a recent review of the literature concluded that Latino and Asian American children receive more cultural socialization messages than do African American children (Priest et al., 2014).

Egalitarianism and majority socialization. Egalitarian messages are messages that emphasize a 'color-blind' ideology or emphasize a commonality between humans while trying to minimize the importance of differences based on race and ethnicity (Hughes et al., 2006). In a sample of black, white, Latino, and Chinese parents, Hughes and colleagues (2008) found that parents rated egalitarian messages as significantly more important than preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust messages. White parents and non-white parents have been shown to promote egalitarianism by emphasizing the value of diversity, helping their children relate to people from diverse ethnic-racial backgrounds, and encouraging their children to disregard any race-related differences (Hughes et al., 2008). Silence about race, also known as mainstream or majority socialization, is a similar group of messages in which parents do not directly address race but instead emphasize skills and traits that allow one to fit in with the mainstream, white euro-centric culture (Hughes et al., 2006). Although it is not easy to think of silence surrounding race and preaching values like hard work and individual development as distinct types of ethic-racial socialization, failing to acknowledge racial issues and minimizing their importance in a clearly racialized, stratified society does indeed

communicate to children certain race-related perspectives (Hughes, Watford, & Del Toro., 2016; Priest et al., 2014).

Preparation for bias. Preparation for bias, also known as minority socialization, involve messages that inform youth about racial inequality and stratification, while also training youth on how to deal with discrimination (Neblett et al., 2016). Previous research has found that the frequency of preparation for bias messages varies by ethnic group, as African American parents typically report delivering more preparation for bias messages than do Latino parents (Hughes, 2003; Priest et al., 2014). These observed differences in frequency are likely due to differences in social standing between racial groups (Hughes et al., 2016). Blacks have historically been the most disadvantaged and discriminated against racial group in American society, thus black parents likely feel the need to emphasize adaptive strategies for dealing with this high amount discrimination.

Qualitative studies have consistently found that parents give their children preparation for bias messages but have also observed that parents are more likely to first mention instances of cultural socialization or egalitarianism when given open-ended interview prompts (Hughes et al., 2006). This finding may suggest that preparation for bias is a less salient aspect of parents' socialization practices compared to other types of messages. Alternatively, this may suggest that parents have difficulty talking to kids about potential discrimination, and this difficulty makes parents deliver preparation for bias messages more infrequently than other, easier to deliver socialization messages.

Promotion of mistrust. Promotion of mistrust messages are messages in which parents tell their children to be cautious of those in ethnic-racial out-groups because they

may potentially discriminate against you or construct barriers to prevent you from succeeding (Priest et al., 2014). Promotion of mistrust is a far less well-understood type of ERS, mainly because it is observed infrequently and only in a small minority of families (Hughes et al., 2006). This rarity may be due to the fact that mothers, regardless of race, tend to place significantly less importance on promotion of mistrust messages compared to other types of ERS messages (Hughes et al., 2008). Furthermore, promotion of mistrust messages have been observed to come up in fleeting, inadvertent, and infrequent comments, as opposed to being the focus of the conversation, as is often the case with other types of socialization messages (Hughes et al., 2008). This subtlety, along with the lack of intentionality and centrality behind promotion of mistrust comments likely contributes to their rarity.

Overall, research has found egalitarian and cultural socialization messages to be the most common ERS messages, followed preparation for bias, silence about race/majority socialization, and promotion of mistrust messages, which tend to be less common across non-white groups (Hughes et al., 2008; Priest et al., 2014). Similarly, non-white parents identify cultural socialization as the most important type of socialization messages, followed by egalitarianism, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust (Hughes et al., 2008). The literature also indicates that age plays a large role in determining the messages the child receives. For example, while cultural socialization messages have been shown to be prominent throughout development, especially in early childhood, preparation for bias messages typically become more and more frequent throughout development until around age 14, where these messages remain at moderate,

stable levels (Priest et al., 2014). Taken together, ERS messages can vary widely by age and ethnic-racial group, but few studies have examined these messages in multiracial families.

Ethnic-Racial Identity

Broadly, ethnic-racial identity describes one's feelings of belonging and identification within an ethnic-racial group (Hughes et al., 2016). ERS messages have been shown to shape adolescent's ethnic-racial identities, as cross-sectional and longitudinal studies have shown parental socialization practices to be significant predictors of Latino adolescents' ERI beliefs (Supple et al., 2006; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). This large body of literature has shown that there is a clear bi-directional link between ERI and ERS (Hughes et al., 2016). Additionally, ERI has been theorized both as an important buffering factor that helps protect youth against discrimination, and as an important predictor of positive psychosocial adjustment (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014).

Ethnic-racial identity as a developmental process. ERI is a dynamic construct that may change throughout development based on individual's stage in development, cognitive and emotional capabilities, and social context (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Developmental models of ERI, therefore, are interested in the process by which ERI forms and changes over time (Hughes et al., 2016). In one of the most influential articles outlining how ERI forms throughout development, Phinney (1989) proposed three ERI statuses that differ based on whether one is or is not actively exploring his or her ERI, and whether or not the person has committed to a specific identity. If one is in the process of identity exploration, Phinney (1989) says that one may talk to family and friends about

ethnic issues, try to learn more about ethnicity, and think about how ethnicity affects their life now and may affect it in the future. Commitment means that one simply has chosen an ERI. In a study of 91 white, black, Asian and Latino 10th graders, Phinney (1989) looked at differences in exploration and commitment and found evidence for three distinct stages of ERI among the minority students: diffusion/foreclosure, moratorium, and achieved. Minority adolescents in the diffuse/foreclosed stage reported very little exploration of ethnicity, and either no thoughts about ethnicity or thoughts about ethnicity repeated from others with little critical analysis of these borrowed thoughts. Those in the moratorium stage showed an increase in exploration, as evidenced by a desire to understand the meaning of one's identity, as well as an understanding that ethnicity is important. Finally, those in the achieved stage demonstrated a commitment, or understanding and acceptance, of their ERI after having completed their exploration (Phinney 1989). This early, three-stage model of ERI has been important in outlining and emphasizing the process by which individuals develop their ethnic identities (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014).

Umaña-Taylor and colleagues (2004) expand upon prior work by Phinney (1989) and create a new developmental model of identity that exploration and resolution, but also identifies affirmation as an additional, important component in the development of ERI. Regardless of whether a person is in the diffuse, moratorium, or achieved stage of ERI, he or she may have positive or negative feelings they have about their ERI (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004). Measuring affirmation, or the feelings associated with one's ERI, allows the variability in ERI to be more clearly captured, a positive achieved identity may

be very different than a negative achieved identity, for example. Umaña-Taylor and colleagues (2004) also theorize that adding affirmation to this developmental view of ERI may also allow scholars to better predict psychosocial outcomes, such as self-esteem. In a recent meta-analysis, Rivas-Drake and colleagues (2014) assert that positive ethnic-racial affect, or feeling positively about one's ERI, is a prominent aspect of youths' ethnic identities, and found it to be positively related to positive adjustment. Using exploration, affirmation, and resolution to construct developmentally-informed stages of ERI, therefore, allows us to more fully understand what Umaña-Taylor and colleagues (2004) call "the multi-faceted nature of ethnic identity formation." Furthermore, this conception of how ERI develops may also allow us to better understand how the different stages of ERI are influenced by the ERS messages minority youth receive from their parents.

Identity formation in multiracial adolescents. Limited scholarship has begun to identify how ERS messages lead to the formation of ERI beliefs in multiracial youth. In a study of 507 Latino-white and Asian-white college students, Brittian and colleagues (2013) found that parent's ERS messages predicted youth's ERI exploration and resolution, but not affirmation. This finding, which is consistent with has been found among samples of Latino adolescents (Supple et al., 2006; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014), may mean that parent's messages about race may prompt children to explore and come to a decision on how race and ethnicity fits into their identities, but do not predict the positive, negative, or conflicting feelings they have about the group they are identifying with. In a qualitative study of 25 multiracial college students, Johnston-Guerrero and Pecero (2016) found that students high in factors like racial centrality were able to more

easily identity with specific ethnic-racial groups, but that those who did not find race to be an important aspect of their identity had more difficulty identifying with certain ethnic-racial groups. Additionally, the authors found that these identity beliefs tended to vary based on the amount of cultural socialization students reported receiving from parents, with more cultural socialization leading to higher race centrality and more feelings of belonging to different ethnic-racial groups (Johnston-Guerrero & Pecero, 2016). Overall, these studies imply that ERS messages impact multiracial adolescent's ERI beliefs in a manner similar to what has been found among monoracial populations.

Root's Ecological Framework

This study is framed by Maria Root's (2003) Ecological Framework for Understanding Multiracial Identity, a comprehensive theoretical framework that synthesizes the literatures on ERS and ERI, and explains specifically how ERS messages lead to ERI development in multiracial youth. Central to Root's ecological framework is the notion that important, bidirectional relationships exist between parents' ERS practices and multiracial youths' ethnic identities (2003). Root posits that the messages parents give to their children about race and ethnicity, along with parent's own identities and cultural practices, may directly shape how multiracial youth develop and integrate their ethnic identities into their self-concepts. Unique to this theory is the understanding that, unlike ERS in monoracial families, each caregiver is likely socializing their multiracial child based on very different racialized experiences as a function of different racial groups having unique values, traditions, histories, and lived experiences. Because multiracial youth have a degree of flexibility and when integrating potentially disparate

information in the formation of their ERI, Root (2003) asserts that parents need to acknowledge their own ethnic-racial heritages and be open to discussion of race and ethnicity in order to help their children form their ethnic identities. Root's ecological framework also acknowledges that, while parents may have a large role to play in impacting children's ERI, children also exert an influence on their parents and their communities as well (2003). This means that the messages parents give to their children about race and ethnicity have an impact on children's ethnic identities, but also that children themselves influence what types of messages parents may choose to give them.

Although ERS messages play a prominent role in Root's theory, few studies have explicitly examined the types of messages that multiracial youth receive and how these messages relate to their ethnic-racial identities. Of the few studies that have examined the types of messages parents give to their multiracial youth, a majority have been smaller, qualitative studies (Johnston-Guerrero & Pecero, 2016; Rauktis et al., 2016; Stone & Dolbin-MacNab, 2017). Nonetheless, the available literature provides support for Root's conception that parental ERS messages influence ERI development in multiracial youth. Because Root's theoretical framework (2003) places such an emphasis on the interplay between different salient aspects of the multiracial experience, it provides a strong theoretical basis from which to conduct much-needed quantitative work on ERS in multiracial families. This framework especially lends itself to a person-centered approach, specifically latent profile analysis, that may allow for a richer, more nuanced understanding of how different types of ethnic racial socialization messages and other factors in Root's model (i.e., parental race) cluster together within individuals.

Furthermore, in keeping with Root's (2003) model, I intend to examine how these socialization profiles relate to ERI, an important factor that theorized to be highly related to ERS messages. This study, therefore, aims to contribute to the literature by providing the first person-centered examination of ERS in multiracial individuals.

Ethnic-racial Socialization in Multiracial Families

Although the content and frequency of ERS messages are fairly well understood in monoracial families, especially African American families, very little research has explored how ERS looks in multiracial families, and most of this work has focused on families who have participated in cross-racial adoption (Chen et al., 2017; Leslie et al., 2013; Samuels & LaRossa, 2009). Yet, several studies have cautioned against assuming ERS processes operate in the same ways among monoracial and multiracial individuals, instead asserting that these processes may indeed be unique to multiracial youth (Csizmadia, Rollins, & Kaneakua, 2014; Nuru & Soliz, 2014; Rollins & Hunter, 2013).

Socialization messages in cross-racially adopted families. Multiracial family socialization messages have been examined in a small literature of cross-racially adopted children living in the United States. Given the dearth of work in multiracial populations, I will begin my review with this literature that tends to be equivocal, with some studies highlighting how parents are able overcome a lack of shared racial experience and effectively socialize their adopted children, and others finding that white adoptive parents seldom engage in ERS. In a study of 30 families with at least one adopted child from Korea before age one, Kim, Reichwald, & Lee (2013) found that the white adoptive parents utilized the full range of ERS messages, including cultural socialization,

egalitarianism, and preparation for bias. Specifically, the authors described these parents as using cultural socialization to teach their adopted children about their racial or ethnic group of origin as well as the parents own ethnic-racial group (Kim et al., 2013). These parents also employed preparation for bias messages to prepare their children for discrimination and comments about the racial disparity between themselves and their parents. These messages were juxtaposed with egalitarian messages, which were used to actively try and minimize the importance of race and the difference between parent and child (Kim et al., 2013). Similarly, in a study of 14 white parents and their 17 adopted Chinese adolescents, Chen and colleagues (2017) found that parents actively socialized their adoptive children to help them address and understand their Asian-American, Euro-American, and adoptive heritages. These few studies suggest that when parents deliver these socialization messages to their adoptive children, these messages seem to lead to positive psychosocial outcomes similar to what is seen in monoracial families, despite parent and child not sharing the same racial or ethnic status (Leslie et al., 2013). For example, in a study of 59 cross-racially adopted parent-child dyads with a white parent and a minority adolescent adopted before age three, Leslie and colleagues (2013) found that ERS messages moderated the relationship between exposure to discrimination and discrimination-related stress, meaning that socialization messages helped reduce stress related to discrimination in spite of children's frequent exposure to discrimination.

Although ERS has been shown to lead to positive psychosocial outcomes amongst cross racially adoptive youth, many studies find that white parents do not always engage in adaptive ERS practices (Kim et al., 2013; Samuels & LaRossa, 2009). For example,

Kim and colleagues (2013) reported that white parents who did not engage in cultural socialization, egalitarianism, and preparation for bias messages often tended to reject differences between themselves and their adoptive Korean children, opting for a color-blind approach to race and ethnicity. Samuels & LaRossa (2009) found similar patterns of ERS among a sample of 25 black-white biracial individuals who were cross-racially adopted and raised by white parents. Of the 25 multiracial individuals included in this study, only four described their white, adoptive parents as actively engaging in ERS. In this sample, parents were also reported as espousing color-blind ideologies and failing to actively address with their children the stigma and discrimination that may result from cross-racial adoption (Samuels & LaRossa, 2009). Thus, instead of finding that socialization practices are similar among cross-racially adopted families and monoracial families, these limited studies actually suggest that white adoptive parents are more likely to hold color-blind ideologies and give more white majority socialization than cultural socialization, egalitarianism and prep for bias messages (Kim et al., 2013; Samuels & LaRossa, 2009). These generally mixed findings suggest that, although some aspects of socialization may, at times, be similar, ERS among mixed-race families is generally very different than the socialization patterns and processes observed amongst monoracial families (Chen, Lamborn, & Lu, 2017; Kim, Reichwald, & Lee, 2013).

Messages in multiracial families. Similar to what has been found in the cross-racial adoption literature, literature on ERS practices in multiracial families have been mixed, with some studies finding that parents effectively delivered all types of messages,

others finding that parents focused heavily on egalitarian messages, and some studies finding that parents often remain silent about race.

The small body of literature on ERS in multiracial youth suggests that while egalitarian messages, messages about white racial identification, and an absence of socialization messages are more common, some multiracial families also give important patterns of ERS focusing on cultural socialization and preparation for bias messages as well (Nuru & Soliz, 2014; Rauktis et al., 2016; Snyder; 2012). For example, in their study looking at 73 mothers' ERS practices towards their multiracial youth, Rollins and Hunter (2013) found that 64% of mothers engaged in ERS, with messages falling into the cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and egalitarian subtypes. Although mothers reported delivering these traditional ERS messages, the authors found 'self-development messages' to be the most common type of ERS, at around 49%. Rollins and Hunter define self-development messages as messages that emphasize American individualistic ideals over group membership, which the authors suggest stems from the parents' desire to "highlight the transcendent nature of their child's biracial heritage" (p. 143). These messages may also, however, be conceptualized as instances of majority socialization, or parents remaining silent about race. In a retrospective study of 10 biracial women of African descent, subjects who were raised with a black parent described hearing a wide range of ERS messages, but those with only white parents in the home reported their parents frequently downplaying the importance of race and giving few to no ERS messages (Snyder, 2012). Similarly, Nuru & Soliz (2014) retrospectively identified egalitarian messages and silence about race as two common practices that significantly

impacted the ethnic identities of 111 multiracial adults. By not giving multiracial children any messages about their race or ethnicity, parents may be downplaying the importance of race in a racialized society, and thus not preparing their children for potential challenges they may face.

Majority socialization messages have also been found in a sample of multiracial Mexican-origin families as well (Jackson et al., 2017). Jackson and colleagues delved deeper into the content of these white majority socialization messages, finding them to center around emphases on being an American above being a minority group member, showing a preference towards lighter skin tones, subscribing to a white, euro-centric idea of beauty, and expressing a desire for children to interact with and be romantically involved with whites. Although these were the least frequent types of socialization messages, participants described these types of messages as impactful and confusing; participants described feeling as if they could never truly achieve 'whiteness' because of their membership in one or more minority groups (Jackson et al., 2017). Although these specific examples are more explicitly pro-white than typical majority socialization messages, they nonetheless still emphasize the importance of the individual, whilst neglecting to acknowledge the importance of race and ethnicity and the presence of racial inequalities. These messages also highlight the notion that society is may be treating multiracial youth with prejudice as minority group members, despite of the fact that these same youths were socialized to towards 'whiteness' (Rauktis et al., 2016). Limited qualitative work, thus, suggests that an over-reliance on egalitarian, majority-focused, color-blind practices do not give children the tools to face discrimination in the same

ways that cultural socialization and preparation for bias do (Rauktis et al., 2016; Snyder, 2012).

Jackson and colleagues' (2017) study of socialization practices among multiracial Latino adolescents is the only study, to my knowledge, where parents most commonly delivered preparation for bias messages. In their sample of 24 multiracial individuals with one Mexican-origin parent and one non-Latino parent, children recalled their parents telling stories about their own experiences of racial discrimination, witnessing their parents' actions during instances of discrimination, and being told strategies to either fight back when discriminated against or to be the bigger person and walk away (Jackson et al., 2017). One important finding in this study was that preparation for bias messages came almost exclusively from minority fathers and minority mothers; in total, minority parents gave a total of 14 prep for bias messages while white fathers gave one, and white mothers gave zero (Jackson et al., 2017). It is notable that, similar to what has been found in the cross-racial adoption literature (Samuels & LaRossa, 2009), Jackson and colleagues (2017) found that white parents do not seem deliver preparation for bias messages to their multiracial children, even though theory asserts that preparation for bias messages may ultimately help children prepare for and cope with ethnic-racial discrimination (Hughes et al., 2006). Overall, the small amount of literature available on this topic remains mixed on which types messages of messages parents give to their multiracial children. These messages, however, are important to clearly identify and quantify, as they may directly impact how multiracial children's ERI formation.

Multiracial Identity Integration

One aspect that may distinguish multiracial identity formation from monoracial identity formation is the concept of identity integration. Broadly, identity integration is the degree to which a person perceives that their different social identities conflict or are compatible with each other (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005). Because multiracial people have multiple different racial heritages, they have multiple different ways they can choose to integrate these racial/ethnic identities into their self-concepts (Lou et al., 2011). Benet-Martinez and Haritatos (2005) theorized that those who are high in identity integration are able to see themselves as a healthy blend of both identities, or even as part of a third distinct identity, but those that are low in identity integration may perceive that their identities conflict with each other, or may feel forced to choose between identities. Cheng and Lee (2009) built upon this prior work, theorizing that multiracial identity integration is made up of two main factors; racial distance, or whether one's racial identities are perceived as similar or separate, and racial conflict, or the degree to which one's identities clash with each other. It is important to take multiracial identity integration into account when studying multiracial individuals because higher multiracial identity integration has been shown to predict lower levels of negative affect and buffer the negative effect of racial discrimination on psychological adjustment (Jackson et al., 2012). Similarly, Sanchez and colleagues (2009) have shown that negative and fluctuating views about multiracial adults' racial identities have been associated with poorer psychological wellbeing. The need for a strong understanding of the links between discrimination, identity integration and psychological well-being is even more important

given social psychological research showing that multiracial individuals are often assigned by others into the group with the lowest social status, meaning that they are seen more as minorities and can be implicitly denied white privilege (Kawakami, Amodio, & Hugenberg, 2017). This phenomenon, called the rule of hypodescent, may subject multiracial individuals to a number of negative implicit biases privileged individuals hold about minority group members. Given the positive benefits of high identity integration, it is important for future scholarship to examine whether ERS messages can positively impact multiracial identity integration, and whether this association may be protective against discrimination originating from implicit biases.

Root's Ecological Framework for Understanding Racial Identity (2003) posits that multiracial people's identity beliefs are heavily impacted by parents' ERS practices. To my knowledge, however, no quantitative studies to date have specifically examined the link between ERS and multiracial identity integration. Nuru and Soliz (2014), however, did explore this link qualitatively in a large, retrospective study of 113 multiracial adults. These adults recalled messages that tended to fall within one of three themes: egalitarian messages encouraging exploration of both identities, parental messages expressing a preference for one identity over another, and a lack of messages about race or identity (Nuru & Soliz, 2014). Ultimately, participants identified egalitarian messages as helping facilitate a multiracial identity, where individuals felt strong connections to both of their parent's racial/ethnic groups, and silence or messages of preference as leading to negative feelings about having a "mixed heritage" (Nuru & Soliz, 2014). This sole study suggests that egalitarian messages may help facilitate

identity integration among multiracial adolescents, whereas socialization messages that express a preference for one group over another, or a lack of messages, may lead to poor identity integration. This qualitative study highlights the need for future research to attempt to quantitatively measure how certain types of ERS messages may be linked to various degrees of multiracial identity integration.

How messages fit together. Because multiracial youth do not share the same lived racial experience as their monoracial parents, it is important to consider how the messages parents give fit, or don't fit together and impact their multiracial children. Because monoracial parents of different races likely have different places within the U.S.'s stratified racial-ethnic hierarchy, these different positions may cause parents' attitudes towards race and racialized experiences to differ both form each other and from their children (Csizmadia et al., 2014). This may lead to differences in ERS between parents, who are each likely to pass on messages based on their own cultural values, traditions, practices, and personal experiences (Rollins & Hunter, 2013). Snyder (2012), for example, found that multiracial families with at least one black parent were more likely to give cultural socialization and preparation for bias messages than were multiracial families without a black parent. Additionally, multiracial youth do not occupy a distinct 'multiracial group,' but instead occupy a social space situated "between hierarchically organized social groups," (Rollins & Hunter, 2013, p. 141) meaning that socialization messages must be adapted and take into account this unique position between marginalized and privileged racial-ethnic groups.

The limited qualitative research on ERS in multiracial families have thus far found mixed results, with different studies telling very different stories about how parents socialize their multiracial children. Some studies, for example, have found that parents of black-white (Stone & Dolbin-MacNab, 2017) and Latino-any other race (Jackson et al., 2017) adolescents often respond to the challenge of not sharing the same racial experiences by teaching their children about the values of both groups, emphasizing one group over the other, intentionally helping their children construct a distinct biracial identity, or by choosing to not emphasize race at all. By contrast, Johnston-Guererro and Pecero (2016) generally found that parents primarily used cultural socialization messages to teach their children about one particular race or remained largely silent about the meaning of race. Participants described these messages as helping them claim various levels of membership within monoracial social groups, but that this group membership often highlighted the dissonance between how students identified themselves and others' expectations of them based on race (Johnston-Guererro & Pecero, 2016). Thus, while some studies have found evidence that parents were able to deliver messages that emphasized both groups and helped individuals form distinct multiracial identities (Jackson et al., 2017; Stone & Dolbin-MacNab, 2017), others found that parents gave only monoracial socialization messages, and did not find much evidence that parents facilitated the creation of a multiracial identity regardless of parent race (Johnston-Guererro & Pecero, 2016). The literature has, therefore, not yet been able to clearly conceptualize how parents' messages coalesce and lead to these different identity options. My study adds to the literature by attempting to quantify what ERS messages each parent

gives, examine how these messages may differ by parental race, specifically white versus non-white minority status, and understand how varying levels of messages from each parent may impact adolescents' ERI development.

Person-centered Approaches to ERS

Although qualitative work has provided a much-needed foundation of what ERS looks like in multiracial families, mixed methodological and quantitative work is needed in order to keep building up this body of literature. Person-centered approaches, or statistical approaches that identify groups of individuals categorized by similar attribute or relationships between specific variables (Laursen & Hoff, 2006), may be particularly useful when examining ERS in multiracial families. Person-centered approaches have been identified as promising ways to examine how combinations of related variables nestle themselves within individuals, and may be able to help scholars better understand the interplay between multiple complex identities, race-related factors, and mental health outcomes in adolescents (Jones & Neblett, 2016). When applied to ERS, person-centered approaches have the ability to identify clusters of individuals who differ from each other based on the type and frequency of messages received, based on who gave the specific types of messages, and based on the ethnic-racial composition of each respective parent. Neblett and colleagues (2016) further endorse using person centered approaches for this purpose, saying these analyses can "account for the complexity of multidimensional constructs such as ERI and racial socialization and their impact on development" (p. 48).

Six studies to date have used person-centered analyses to specifically look at ERS, all in monoracial, African American families (Neblett et al., 2016). In one of the

earliest person-centered ERS studies, Neblett and colleagues (2009) performed a latent class analyses (LCA) to identify patterns of adolescent-reported socialization, using these patterns to predict various aspects of ERI. Analyses of both parent's socialization practices measured together yielded three distinct socialization profiles: high positive, moderate positive, and low frequency groups. Analyses found the moderate positive group, whose reported frequencies for all types of ERS were near the mean, to be the most common at 40.8%. This was followed by the high positive group, who had high frequencies on all socialization measures and low in negative messages, which were defined messages perceived as disparaging toward black people and are thought to be representative as internalized negative stereotypes. Last was the low frequency group, who reported low frequencies across the types of socialization messages except for negative messages, where they were near the sample mean. When using these profiles to predict identity, the authors found that the high positive group had higher scores on race centrality, while the low frequency group did not think of race as a central component of their self-concept (Neblett et al., 2009).

Subsequent studies have used similar person-centered methodologies to construct parent profiles of ERS, with mostly similar results. Although terminology varies between studies, these studies utilized parent-constructed profiles that generally yielded three groups: a group that delivered a high amount of all types of socialization message except for negative messages, a group that emphasized giving egalitarian or self-worth messages, and a group that either gave messages with very low frequency or only gave negative messages with a moderate frequency (Cooper et al., 2014; Dunbar et al., 2014;

White-Johnson et al., 2010). Recent studies have also found further support for the notion that parents who give more ERS messages display higher race centrality than those that give fewer messages (Cooper et al., 2015, White-Johnson et al., 2010).

Although, to the best of our knowledge, no purely person-centered work has been conducted looking at ERS using a multiracial sample, Rollins and Hunter (2013) employed qualitative analyses when looking at mother's approaches to ERS, producing results similar to a person-centered analysis. In this sample of 73 mothers of multiracial children, Rollins & Hunter (2013) identify 27% of the mother's in their sample as employing a "protective" approach when giving ERS messages to their multiracial children, meaning that mothers engaged in cultural socialization and attempted to instill racial pride into their multiracial children, but that this racial pride was overshadowed by a plethora of preparation for bias messages. This group of mothers stood in contrast to "promotive" mothers, who made up 37% of the sample and highly emphasized giving cultural socialization and egalitarian messages (Rollins & Hunter, 2013). Finally, Rollins and Hunter (2013) identified a group of "passive" mothers, who delivered very few ERS messages to their children and constituted 36% of the sample. These promotive mothers, along with the "passive" ethnic-racial socializers who were largely silent about matters of race, demonstrated that, although mothers of multiracial youth do utilize all subtypes of ERS, mothers tend to give egalitarian and majority socialization messages, or remain silent about race, with the greatest overall frequency (Rollins & Hunter, 2013). Overall, this study suggests that mothers give different patterns of messages to their multiracial

children, and warrants a quantitative, person-centered analysis of these patterns in adolescents.

The small body of literature on profiles ethnic-racial socialization among monoracial minority populations effectively demonstrates that person-centered approaches can provide an informative and descriptive picture of the types of ethnic-racial socialization messages parents or caregivers give to their multiracial children. This study, therefore, attempts to utilize a person-centered methodology in answering the question “What kinds of ethnic-racial socialization messages do multiracial youth receive?” This study also aims to fill in gaps in the literature suggested by Rollins & Hunter (2013), among others, by looking at the influence of multiple parents as agents of socialization, and by examining how parents’ minority or white status may influence the ERS messages he or she receives. In addition to using latent profile analysis (LPA) to construct ethnic-racial socialization profiles, this study will examine whether these profiles to predict ERI processes. Because of the unique demographics of this population, I will use latent profiles to predict ERI exploration, resolution, and affirmation, as well as racial conflict and distance, measures of multiracial identity integration.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: At least 3 distinct socialization profiles will exist within the data - one profile that is relatively high in all socialization messages, one that is low across all messages, and one profile that is high just in egalitarian messages. Furthermore, I predict that similar profiles will exist across both primary caregivers.

Hypothesis 2: Based primarily on findings from the cross-racial adoption literature (Kim et al., 2013; Samuels & LaRossa, 2009) and the limited multiracial socialization literature (Nuru & Soliz, 2014; Rollins & Hunter, 2013), I expect the low socialization and high egalitarian profiles to comprise the greatest number of individuals.

Hypothesis 3: Consistent with work done in monoracial populations (Supple et al., 2006; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014), I hypothesize that mean levels of ERI and multiracial identity integration, measured as racial distance and racial conflict, will differ by socialization profile. Specifically, I predict that mean-level differences will exist between profiles in identity exploration and resolution, but not identity affirmation. Because of the exploratory nature of this study, I have no specific hypotheses surrounding the relation between ethnic-racial socialization and multiracial identity integration.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Participants

Participants were 296 multiracial college students (74.7% female) recruited from the University of North Carolina at Greensboro (M_{age} = 19.03). Participants were recruited from the general psychology pool between the spring and the fall of 2018. Once participants began the study and indicated that they were multiracial, here defined as having biological parents of different racial groups, participants were asked to identify all the applicable racial groups to which they and each biological parent belonged. In this sample of 296 multiracial college students, 58.8% reported having white heritage, and 58.1% reported have Black or African American heritage. When asked about the racial makeup of their biological parents, 43.2% of participants reported having a biological mother of white or European origin, while 34.1% of biological fathers were reported to be of white or European origin (see Table 1 for full participant and parent gender and racial demographics).

Procedure

Participants completed all study questionnaires through Qualtrics. In a brief demographic form, participants identified a primary caregiver or socialization agent, defined as "the person who had the most influence while raising you." Of the primary socialization agents identified as 'Caregiver 1', 92.9% were maternal caregivers

(biological mother, grandmother, stepmother, etc..) and 7.1% were paternal caregivers (biological fathers, stepfathers, and grandfathers). Participants were also asked to select a second socialization agent or other primary caregiver. Of the secondary socialization agents identified as 'Caregiver 2', 77% were paternal caregivers (biological fathers, adoptive fathers, stepfathers, and grandfathers) and 13.8% were other maternal caregivers. 8.9% of participants were missing data for Caregiver 2 or reported only having one primary caregiver. After completing the demographic questionnaire, participants completed scales measuring their primary caregivers' ethnic-racial socialization practices, as well as student's ERI and multiracial identity integration.

Measures

Ethnic-racial socialization. Parental ethnic-racial socialization messages were assessed using an adapted version of the Parental Racial Socialization Scale (Hughes & Chen., 1997; Hughes, 2003). The Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization scale is a 13-item scale that was used to measure how frequently parents delivered cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and promotion of mistrust messages. Items are rated on a 5-point Likert scale asking children how many times their parent engaged in that specific socializing behavior (1 = Never, 5 = Six or more times). Items have been adapted and given so that youth could answer questions about socialization messages they received from parents about both their biological mother's and biological father's racial groups. Questions are worded to not assume that an adolescent's primary caregivers were his or her biological parents. For example, sample items were changed from "how many times in the past year have your parents told you that people might try to limit you because of

your ethnicity?" to how many times in the past year has caregiver 1 (previously identified by the participant) told you that people might try to limit you because of your biological mother's ethnic-racial group(s)?" This scale has been adapted for use across many cultural groups, including African Americans and Latinos, and has demonstrated adequate reliability, with Cronbach Alphas ranging from .74 to .87 across subscales (Hughes, 2003). Thus, this resulted in 6 scales per caregiver both types of messages for each parental ethnic-racial group (cultural socialization – mother's group, cultural socialization – father's group, preparation for bias – mother's group, preparation for bias – father's group, promotion of mistrust – mother's group, promotion of mistrust – father's group). Reliabilities were good for all types of messages and both caregivers (ranges from .86 - .91 for Caregiver 1 and .87 - .93 for Caregiver 2).

Parental egalitarian messages were measured using the promotion of equality and cultural pluralism subscales of the Asian American Parental Racial Socialization Scale (Juang et al., 2016). Each question of this 7-item scale is rated on a 5-point scale asking participants to indicate how frequently their parents engaged in a certain behavior (1 = Never, 5 = Very Often). These subscales have shown good reliability among a sample of 575 Asian college students, with Cronbach Alphas of .85 for each individual subscale (Juang et al., 2016). In this sample reliabilities ranged from .78 to .83 for promotion of equality and from .89 to .9 for cultural pluralism. Again, questions were adapted so as to not assume that an adolescent's primary caregivers were his or her biological parents. Sample items include "how frequently has caregiver 1 (previously identified by the participant) told you that race or ethnicity is not important in choosing friends" and "how

frequently has Caregiver 1 (previously identified by the participant) showed you that you should open-minded about other people's opinions, regardless of racial or ethnic background?" Because of the general nature of these egalitarian messages, participants completed the subscales once for each socialization agent. This resulted in 2 scales for each caregiver (cultural pluralism – Caregiver 1, cultural pluralism – Caregiver 2, promotion of equality – Caregiver 1, promotion of equality – Caregiver 2).

The eight ERS subscale scores (cultural socialization – mother's group, cultural socialization – father's group, preparation for bias – mother's group, preparation for bias – father's group, promotion of mistrust – mother's group, promotion of mistrust – father's group, cultural pluralism, & promotion of equality) were used as latent variables in each latent profile analysis, one LPA for Caregiver 1's messages and 1 LPA for Caregiver 2's messages. All indicators entered into each LPA are seen in Table 2.

Ethnic-racial identity. Adolescent ERI was assessed using an adapted version of the Ethnic Identity Scale – Brief (EIS-B; Douglass & Umaña-Taylor, 2015). The EIS-B is a 9-item scale used to measure adolescents' feelings of ERI affirmation, exploration, and resolution for each parental ethnic-racial group (exploration – mother's group, exploration – father's group, resolution – mother's group, resolution – father's group, affirmation – mother's group, affirmation – father's group). Participants are tasked with answering how well each item describes them (1 = Does not describe me at all, 4 = Describes me very well). Sample items include "I am clear about what my biological mother's ethnic-racial group(s) means to me" and "I have participated in activities that have exposed me to my biological father's ethnic-racial group(s)." Because of the high

correlations between identity subscales (e.g. exploration – mother's group and exploration – father's group), with correlations ranging from .61 to .66, identity beliefs were averaged, resulting in overall measures of individual's identity exploration, resolution, and affirmation. Reliabilities for were good, ranging from .86 to .89 across subscales.

Multiracial identity integration. Multiracial identity integration was measured using the Multiracial Identity Integration scale (MII; Cheng & Lee, 2009) an 8-item scale measuring the degree to which multiracial people perceive distance and conflict between each of their different ethnic identities. The MII is divided into two 4-item subscales: the identity distance subscale (i.e. "I keep everything about my different racial identities separate"), and the identity conflict subscale (i.e. I feel conflicted between my different racial identities). Items are rated on a 5-point scale from 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree), with higher scores indicating less identity integration. Items within each subscale will be averaged, along with a total average of multiracial identity integration. Internal reliability tests have previously produced alphas of .65 for the conflict subscale, and .81 for the distance subscale) among a sample of 263 multiracial adults (Jackson et al., 2012). In our sample, reliabilities were .65 for conflict and .52 for distance. Reliabilities not improve when removing individual items, therefore, all items were retained in the racial distance and racial conflict subscales.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Caregiver Means

Before conducting the latent profile analyses, sample means were computed showing the frequency of Caregiver 1 and Caregiver 2's socialization messages (see Table 3). Overall, these means indicate that caregivers engage in fairly frequent ERS, especially types of socialization focused on delivering types of egalitarian messages. On a scale of 1 'Never' to 5 '6 or more times', the means for Caregiver 1's egalitarian messages were 4.06 for promotion of equality and 3.84 for cultural pluralism. Similarly, the means for Caregiver 2 were 3.85 for promotion of equality and 3.65 for cultural pluralism. Next in relative frequency were cultural socialization messages which ranged between 2.73 and 3.07 for Caregiver 1 and 2.74 to 2.82 for Caregiver 2, respectively. These messages were closely followed in frequency by preparation for bias messages. Across the entire sample, promotion of mistrust messages were the least common types of messages, with means under 2 for both Caregiver 1 and Caregiver 2.

Identifying Profiles

The first step in the latent profile analyses was to identify which number of profiles best fit the data for both Caregiver 1 and Caregiver 2 LPA's using Mplus version 8.1 (Muthén & Muthén, 2018). This is done by comparing fit indices of models specifying between 2 and 5 profiles, or groups with underlying shared characteristics

with respect to different socialization messages. Missing data was addressed using Full Information Maximum Likelihood (FIML). In identifying profiles, I relied on the Akaike information criteria (AIC), Bayesian information criteria (BIC), and Sample Size Adjusted Bayesian Information Criteria (SSABIC), where lower values indicate better model fit. I also relied on model entropy, a measure of classification quality where values above .8 indicate that individuals are being effectively classified into different profiles. Finally, I looked for a *p*-value of less than .05 on the Lo-Mendell Rubin Likelihood Ratio test, which tests whether a model with *k* classes fits the data better than a model with *k*-1 classes. Model fit indices for the LPA's of Caregiver 1's messages and Caregiver 2's messages can be seen in Table 4. Using all of these fit indices, a 4-profile solution fit the data best for both LPA's.

Caregiver 1 profiles. In order to effectively compare the frequency of socialization messages received from Caregiver 1 about both their mother's and father's racial groups, ERS variables were standardized and plotted along with the proportions of mothers and fathers in each profile identified as partly or fully white (see Figure 1). The largest Caregiver 1 ERS message profile was the *Typical Messages* profile (38.17% of the total sample). Individuals in this profile received all ERS messages within .5 standard deviations above or below the sample mean, meaning they gave very frequent egalitarian messages, fairly frequent cultural socialization and prep for bias, and infrequent mistrust messages. About 47% of the biological mothers and 41% of biological fathers in this profile where reported to be of white European heritage. The next largest profile was the *Minority Messages* profile (22.63% of the sample). Individuals in this profile typically

received an average number of socialization messages, specifically, within ½ of a standard deviation above or below the mean but received a high number of cultural socialization and preparation for bias messages about their fathers' racial groups. Only 18.9% of individuals in this group had a father with white heritage, meaning that Caregiver 1 was primarily giving messages to these youth about their minority group membership. The 3rd largest profile (21.62% of the sample) was the *High Mistrust Messages* profile. This group was within about ½ a standard deviation above or below the mean on cultural socialization, prep for bias, and egalitarian messages, but was between 1 to over 1.5 standard deviations above the mean in promotion of mistrust messages. In this profile, 29% of mothers and 39% of fathers were classified having white heritage. The last and smallest profile (17.56% of the sample) was the *Low Frequency Messages* profile. This group was close to 1 standard deviation below the mean in cultural socialization, prep for bias, and both egalitarian messages. 43% of individuals in this profile had mothers with white heritage, while 34% reported having fathers with white heritage. With the exception of the *Minority Messages* profile, messages frequency was consistent across both parents' racial groups. Unstandardized means, standard errors, and the proportion of biological mothers and fathers identified as white for every profile in of the Caregiver 1 LPA are presented in Table 5.

Caregiver 2 profiles. Identical to what was done with the Caregiver 1 LPA, proportions of white parents and standardized ERS message frequency for each Caregiver 2 profile is plotted in Figure 2. Similar to what was seen in the first LPA, the largest profile was for *Typical Messages* (46.62% of the sample) where individuals received

ERS messages with close to average frequency as noted above. Individuals in this profile had the highest proportion of white mothers (51.8%) and fathers (40.7%). The next largest profile is the *Negative Messages* group (27.02% of the sample), where individuals reported receiving high numbers of both promotion of mistrust messages and prep for bias messages, particularly about their mother's racial groups. Only 33.6% and 31.1% of individuals in this group had white mothers and fathers, respectively. The next largest profile identified was the *Promotive Messages* profile (15.2% of the sample). Individuals in this profile received cultural socialization and prep for bias messages with high frequency but received mistrust messages with low to average frequency and egalitarian messages with moderate frequency. Similar to the Caregiver 1 LPA, the smallest profile consisted of individuals who received ERS messages with *Low Frequency* from Caregiver 2. While below the mean across all types of ERS messages, individuals in the *Low Frequency Messages* profile received a particularly low number of egalitarian messages, about 1.5 standard deviations, or 2 points on a 5-point scale, below the mean on average. Almost 46% of this group reported having mothers with white heritage, while only about 27% reported having fathers with white heritage. In the Caregiver 2 profile message frequency was consistent across both parents' racial groups. Unstandardized means, standard errors, and the proportion of biological mothers and fathers identified as white for every profile in of the Caregiver 2 LPA are presented in Table 6.

Mean-level Differences in Identity Outcomes

After identifying the correct number of profiles for each LPA and examining the association between Caregiver 1 and Caregiver 2 profiles, I tested for mean-level

differences in our proposed ERI outcomes: exploration, resolution, affirmation, multiracial identity conflict, and multiracial identity distance.

Caregiver 1 mean-level differences. Caregiver 1 socialization profiles were significantly different across all identity outcomes. Means, significant differences tested by chi-squared difference tests, and p-values for Caregiver 1 profile identity outcomes are presented in Table 7. Overall, a pattern emerged where individuals in the *Minority Messages* profile endorsed the greatest levels of identity exploration, resolution, and affirmation. Those in the *Low Frequency Messages* profile endorsed the lowest levels of both identity exploration and resolution. Multiracial individuals in the *High Mistrust Messages* profile reported the lowest levels of identity affirmation, or positive feelings about one's racial identities, and endorsed the highest levels of conflict and distance between their multiple monoracial identities.

Caregiver 2 mean-level differences. Interestingly, patterns of identity endorsement across Caregiver 2 socialization profiles differed from patterns seen among Caregiver 1 profiles (see Table 8). Among Caregiver 2 profiles, individuals receiving *Promotive Messages* reported the highest levels of identity exploration, resolution, and affirmation. Again, individuals in the *Low Frequency Messages* profile reported the lowest levels of identity exploration and resolution. Individuals in the *Negative Messages* profile reported the lowest levels of identity affirmation and the highest levels of identity conflict between monoracial identities. While not significantly different from either the *Typical Messages* or *Low Frequency Messages* profiles, those receiving *Negative*

Messages reported greater levels of identity distance than those in the *Promotive Message* profile.

Post-Hoc Analyses

Associations between LPA's. After identifying the profiles in each LPA, individuals most likely profile membership for the Caregiver 2 LPA was examined as a categorical outcome variable differing across Caregiver 1 profile membership in order to examine the association between the patterns of messages different caregivers are giving about their multiracial children's different racial groups. Statistically, this procedure produced an individual's probabilities of being in certain Caregiver 2 profiles given their Caregiver 1 profile membership, and chi-square difference tests that indicated whether these probabilities differed across Caregiver 1 profiles. All chi-square difference tests were significant (all p's < .000), meaning that every Caregiver 1 profile differed from each other in their associations with Caregiver 2 classes. Probability of Caregiver 2 profile membership given Caregiver 1 membership is shown in Table 9. Overall, 89% of those in the *Typical Messages* Caregiver 1 profile were in the *Typical Messages* Caregiver 2 profile. Fifty-two percent of those that received *Minority Messages* from Caregiver 1 reported receiving *Promotive Messages* from Caregiver 2, while another 24% received *Typical Messages* from Caregiver 2. Almost 86% of those in the *High Mistrust* profile for the Caregiver 1 LPA were also in the *Negative Messages* profile. Finally, almost 60% of those who received *Low Frequency Messages* from Caregiver 1 were also in the Caregiver 2 *Low Frequency Messages* profile. Looking at the sample more broadly, almost 60% of participants, or those in the Caregiver 1 *Typical Messages* and

High Mistrust Messages profile, received very consistent messages across caregivers, while 40% did not receive as consistent of messages across caregivers.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

In order to better understand one of the critical factors that influences identity development in the rapidly growing multiracial population, this study used a person-centered analyses to answer the question "What kinds of ethnic-racial socialization messages do multiracial youth receive?" Overall, these results suggest that multiracial individuals receive a wide range of ERS messages, but within that wide range, different patterns of socialization exist that are associated with differing levels of ERI endorsement and perceived conflict and distance between one's monoracial identity groups. Although the small body of literature on ERS in multiracial families suggests that most multiracial individuals receive infrequent ERS, our results indicate that only a small proportion of caregivers fall into the *Low Frequency Message* profiles, meaning that a majority of multiracial individuals are receiving fairly frequent and diverse ERS messages. Results also indicated that all caregivers, not just one sub-group of caregivers, deliver egalitarian messages with the highest frequency. Across caregivers, the LPA identified four fairly similar profiles with differences primarily in the cultural socialization and preparation for bias and mistrust subscales. Caregivers are mostly delivering consistent messages across an individual's ethnic-racial groups and that a majority of individuals are receiving consistent messages across caregivers. Finally, profile differences emerged with respect

to all types of ERI and multiracial identity integration highlighting the impact of these messages on the development of ERI in multiracial youth.

ERS Profiles and Messages

On the whole, caregivers provided balanced messages incorporating cultural socialization and prep for bias with very frequent egalitarian messages. Specifically, the mean socialization levels across the samples indicated that egalitarian messages were extremely prevalent and far more common than the second most frequent messages, cultural socialization messages. Cultural socialization messages were very closely followed by preparation for bias messages in terms of frequency, and promotion of mistrust messages were overall very infrequent across our sample. Thus, among our sample, to give "typical" or give messages at the mean level means giving very frequent egalitarian messages (around 3.7 – 4.1 out of 5), relatively frequent cultural socialization (2.7 – 3.1 out of 5) and prep for bias messages (around 2.5 – 2.8 out of 5), and infrequent promotion of mistrust messages (around 1.6 – 1.8 out of 5). Egalitarian messages were indeed so frequent among almost all caregivers that, contrary to hypothesis 2, there was no evidence for one large profile particularly high in egalitarian messages. This finding, however, is in line with past work finding that multiracial youth receive egalitarian and 'self-development' messages more frequently than race-specific socialization messages such as prep for bias (Nuru & Soliz, 2014; Rollins & Hunter, 2013).

Although the *Minority* and *Promotive Messages* profiles followed the same general pattern in terms of message frequency as the rest of our sample, these profiles show some key differences. Caregivers in the *Minority Messages* profile, for instance,

endorse very high levels of cultural socialization and prep for bias messages, especially for messages pertaining to the racial groups of the participants' biological fathers. This is noteworthy because this profile has a very high percentage of minority fathers (81%) relative to other profiles, meaning that these participants were socialized around a monoracial minority group as opposed to being socialized around multiple different racial groups. Although participants in the *Promotive Messages* profile does not endorse this large discrepancy between messages around different parents' groups, they do, similar to the *Minority Messages* profile, report very high levels of cultural socialization and prep for bias messages relative to other profiles. Despite these differences relative to the rest of the sample, however, participants in these profiles still report a great number egalitarian messages. Overall, these profiles provide evidence that a sizeable subset of the multiracial population do, contrary to some of the multiracial ERS literature, receive very frequent, 'promotive' types of socialization messages such as cultural socialization and prep for bias.

In the two LPA's, the *High Mistrust* and *Negative Messages* profiles were unique and did not follow the traditional pattern of ERS message frequency. On the contrary, participants in these profiles endorsed a very high number of mistrust messages relative to other profiles showing that, although general patterns of socialization messages may be present across caregivers, there is a subset of individuals who receive fairly frequent messages warning participants to not trust racial out-group members. The current findings, thus, add to a growing body of research that has not definitively determined whether or not multiracial youth receive frequent and diverse types of ERS messages and

suggest that parents do deliver a diverse set of messages While some work has demonstrated that parents of multiracial children rely on egalitarian messages or remain silent about race (Nuru & Soliz, 2014; Synder, 2012), other studies have found that parents engage in the full range of socialization messages from egalitarian messages to cultural socialization and prep for bias (Jackson et al., 2017; Stone & Dolbin-MacNab, 2017). Our findings do indeed show that most multiracial youth are receiving ERS messages frequently, particularly 'adaptive' ERS messages such as cultural pride and egalitarian messages.

Also contrary to Hypotheses 2, the *Low Frequency Messages* profiles were the smallest profiles for both the Caregiver 1 and Caregiver 2 LPA's. These profiles also deliver egalitarian messages with extremely low frequency relative to other profiles. Interestingly, these findings are in line with person-centered ERS work looking at monoracial black populations (Cooper et al., 2015; Neblett et al., 2009). In their sample of 358 black adolescents, Neblett and colleagues found that the *Low Frequency* profile, where individuals were 1 standard deviation below the mean on 5 of 6 types of ERS messages, comprised the fewest number of individuals. Similarly, in a sample of 166 black adolescents and their fathers, Cooper and colleagues (2015) found that only 8% of fathers could be classified as *Infrequent* socializers, here defined as having low scores on pride, bias, behavioral, and egalitarian ERS messages. These similarities support the notion that, while the content of socialization messages may differ between families with monoracial children and families with multiracial children, caregivers are still frequently giving ERS messages.

ERS messages across racial groups. Our findings add to the literature by examining specific typologies, or patterns of messages that caregivers give to their multiracial children. Novel to our study is the focus on the ERS messages surrounding both the participants racial group(s) on their mother's side and racial group(s) on their father's side. Specifically, the findings show that, across both Caregiver 1 and Caregiver 2 LPA's, caregivers are generally delivering ERS messages about all of the participants' racial groups with similar frequency. Although this is, to my knowledge, the first quantitative study to examine caregivers' socialization practices around both sides of their multiracial children's heritages, these results align with prior qualitative work showing that monoracial parents, particularly white parents, and parents who have adopted children of different races may deliver ERS messages both about their own group and ethnic-racial groups that only their children identify with (Chen et al., 2017; Kim et al., 2013; Stone & Dolbin-MacNab, 2017). These quantitative results and small body of qualitative findings refute theory positing that these types of parents would deliver ERS messages infrequently because of a presumed lack of knowledge, or a lack of true understanding the lived experiences of those in other minority groups (Samuels, 2009). Despite this potential lack of familiarity, results from this study indicate that caregivers are, nonetheless, trying to socialize and teach their multiracial children about both their biological mothers' racial group(s) and their father(s) racial groups.

One notable exception to this trend, however, is the pattern of messages reported by the participants in the Caregiver 1 *Minority Messages* profile. Participants in this profile received more messages from Caregiver 1, who are primarily mother or other

maternal caregivers, about their biological father's racial group(s) than their mother's group(s). Because close to 81% of participants in this profile had non-white fathers, these maternal caregivers, 47% of whom are white, are delivering ERS messages such as cultural pride and preparation for bias messages about groups with whom these maternal caregivers do not share heritage. Overall, future work should work to identify factors that influence who gives messages about races to which the caregiver does not have membership, and how these types of messages uniquely impact multiracial or cross-racially adopted youths' identity beliefs and psychological adjustment.

Patterns of ERS Across Caregivers

Although some person-centered studies using monoracial samples have examined profiles of father's ERS messages (Cooper et al., 2014; Cooper et al., 2015), and some qualitative studies have looked at both mothers' and fathers' delivery of ERS messages to multiracial children (Jackson et al., 2017), this study is unique in its concurrent examination and comparison of primary and secondary caregivers' patterns of ERS message delivery. Overall, our post-hoc comparison between Caregiver 1 and Caregiver 2 profiles indicates that the patterns of messages multiracial individuals receive are moderately consistent across caregiver. This is evidenced by the very large proportions of participants that are categorized into a similar profile across Caregiver 1 and Caregiver 2 LPA's. For example, 89% of those classified into the Caregiver 1 *Typical Messages* profile were also in the Caregiver 2 *Typical Messages* profile. Similarly, almost 86% of individuals in the Caregiver 1 *High Mistrust Messages* profile, which is characterized by primary caregivers delivering promotion of mistrust messages with a frequency 1.5

standard deviations above the mean, were also in the Caregiver 2 *Negative Messages* profile, which was characterized by bias and mistrust messages being delivered with high frequency relative to other profiles.

Consistency between caregivers' ERS messages was less consistent when looking at those in the Caregiver 1 *Minority* and the *Low Frequency Messages* profiles. For example, although close to 60% of individuals in the Caregiver 1 *Low Frequency Messages* profile are in the same Caregiver 2 profile, there 29% of those individuals are in the Caregiver 2 *Typical Messages* profile, meaning that the very few messages they receive from Caregiver 1 are partly supplemented by fairly frequent messages from Caregiver 2. Similarly, individuals in the *Minority Messages* profile are distributed across various Caregiver 2 profiles, with 24% belonging to the *Typical Messages* profile, 20% belonging to the *Negative Messages* profile, and 53% belonging to the *Promotive Messages* profile.

Therefore, while close to 60% of participants, or those in the Caregiver 1 *Typical* and *High Mistrust Messages* profile, received consistent ERS messages across parents, 40% of the sample received different patterns of messages based on caregiver. These results offer a preliminary description of how different patterns of ERS message delivery are associated with one another across multiple caregivers. This descriptive work, therefore, may inform future research interested in examining how partners interact and influence the ERS messages they separately deliver to their children. Although this type of work is starting to be done in monoracial families, as in the case of Jones' and Neblett's (2018) study using Actor-Partner Independence Modeling (APIM) to examine

how Black couples approach ERS, future work should use similar methodologies to understand how this dyadic dialogue surrounding ERS influences the patterns of messages multiracial youth receive.

Identity Differences by Profile

Finally, this study aimed to examine how caregivers' different patterns of ERS messages were associated with ERI and multiracial identity integration for multiracial youth. For the Caregiver 1 LPA, we found that the *Minority Messages* profile, the profile over 1 standard deviation above the mean in cultural socialization and prep for bias messages about father's racial group(s), endorsed the highest mean levels of identity exploration, resolution, and affirmation relative to other profiles. Interestingly, in the Caregiver 2 LPA, a similar pattern emerged where the *Promotive messages* profile, which is characterized by high cultural socialization and prep for bias and moderately low levels of mistrust messages, was also highest in mean levels of exploration, resolution and affirmation. This means that these youth who were mainly given ERS messages about their minority group membership and those that received high cultural socialization and bias messages did the greatest amount of exploration of their ERI, had the greatest understanding of what their ERI means to them, and generally had the most positive feelings about their multiple monoracial identities.

These findings, along with the fact that both *Low Frequency Messages* profiles were lowest in both exploration and resolution, align with past work showing positive relationships between ERS frequency and identity exploration and resolution in multiracial populations (Brittian et al., 2013) as well as in Latino youth (Umaña-Taylor et

al., 2014). These findings, however, are also preliminary evidence of a previously undocumented relationship between ERS messages and identity affirmation in multiracial populations, as there were numerous significant mean-level differences across Caregiver 1 profiles and Caregiver 2 profiles. Future work should continue to probe for the potentially nuanced relationship between ERS frequency and identity affirmation in this population.

When looking at differences in multiracial identity integration, or the degree to which an individual's multiple monoracial identities may peacefully co-exist within an individual, mean-level profile differences should be interpreted with caution due to the low reliabilities for both the conflict and distance subscales. Overall, the Caregiver 1 *High Mistrust Messages* profile endorsed greater levels of distance between their identities relative to all other profiles and greater levels conflict between these monoracial identities than the *Typical Messages* and *Minority Messages* profiles, but not the *Low Frequency Messages* profile. This intuitive finding means that these individuals who received a great deal of messages telling them to be mistrustful of other races may have experienced conflict, as they claim partial membership in a racial out-group that is not to be trusted. This interpretation may also apply to the finding that the Caregiver 2 *Negative Messages* profile endorsed higher levels of identity conflict then all other profiles; when one receives a high number of negative messages about one's own groups, it may cause conflict between one's different monoracial identities. It is important to note that previous work examining multiracial identity integration found positive relationships between racial conflict, negative affect, and distress symptoms as well as positive

relationships between distance and negative affect (Jackson et al., 2012). Future work should, therefore, work to better understand the complex relationships between ERS messages, multiracial identity integration (distance and conflict), and psychological adjustment.

Limitations and Future Directions

Although this study constitutes a valuable, quantitative addition to our understanding of ERS and ERI as they relate to multiracial populations, it is not without its weaknesses. First, although there is empirical and theoretical evidence to suggest a longitudinal, bi-directional relationship between ERS and ERI development across time, this study assessed these factors both cross-sectionally and retrospectively using multiracial college students. This provides us with a novel view of the associations between different patterns of messages and levels of identity endorsement but does not help advance our understanding of the developmental mechanisms at play during multiracial individuals' identity development. Future work would benefit from assessing ERS and ERI longitudinally with a community sample of multiracial youth in order to test Root's (2003) model and understand the complex, bi-directional relationships between ERS and ERI. Secondly, although this study assessed exploration, resolution, and affirmation surrounding specific monoracial identities, this study did not assess endorsement of a specifically multiracial identity. Because a multiracial identity is not merely the sum of two or more monoracial identities, there may be differences in identity endorsement and unique relationships between ERS and a multiracial ERI that were not explored in this study. Future work would benefit from measuring each individual

monoracial identity and the separate multiracial identity in order to gain a more complete picture of the causes and correlates of ERI in multiracial youth. Thirdly, because we focused on the ERS messages caregivers, who may or may not be biological parents, give to their multiracial children, it is difficult to track the specific racial group each type of ERS messages refers to. Although it is important to look at the relative impact that a primary socialization agent, or primary caregiver has relative to a secondary caregiver, more restrictive sampling methods may be able to better uncover the specific influences of different parents' socialization messages within particular family compositions.

Similarly, this difficulty linking ERS messages and ERI endorsement to specific racial groups was further complicated by the high degree multiraciality in our sample, with 28% of participants' mothers and 23% of their father's being classified as multiracial as well. This study's measures of ERS and ERI assume monoraciality, or that messages or feelings about a participant's mother's racial group is about one monoracial group. With such a diverse sample and high percentage of multiracial parents, it is unclear whether these participants had a specific monoracial group in mind or was thinking of a multiracial group when answering ERS and ERI items. Therefore, while the inclusive focus on all manner of multiracial individuals helps illustrate more broadly the types of messages these youth receive, future work sampling for multiracial individuals with specific ethnic-racial makeups will be better able to determine how ERS messages are impacted by specific group memberships, and how that membership is linked to ERI development.

Ultimately, while our aim was to uncover the patterns of socialization messages a diverse sample of multiracial youth received from their primary caregivers, our focus on inclusion limits the depth with which we can understand any specific multiracial group. It is likely that socialization practices differ based on the specific racial composition of the individual. For example, although there are likely notable similarities, an Asian-Latino multiracial individual may likely be socialized differently than a white-black multiracial individual because of a number of historical and socio-political reasons. Because this is such an understudied population, it is important for future work to focus on both the macro-level experience of being multiracial and the micro-level nuances that exist within the lived experiences of different types of multiracial people.

Implications

This study has implications for our understanding of how to approach and parent the vastly growing multiracial population. Because there is so much variability in the multiracial population it is hugely important, first of all, to recognize that multiracial individuals may have widely different lived experiences despite falling under the same racial classification. This extends to the socialization practices used by parents. From the 6 unique profiles identified between the two LPA's, it is clear that there are many different approaches parents of multiracial children take to teaching them about race and ethnicity. To say any one of these approaches is objectively 'better' or 'worse' would be to ignore the fact that, for many reasons, the messages that may be adaptive for one individual to hear may maladaptive for another. Nonetheless, our findings to provide evidence that styles of socialization that are too heavily focused on negative messages

such as prep for bias and promotion of mistrust lead to high levels of conflict and distance between a multiracial individual's monoracial identities. Similarly, our findings suggest that rarely delivering ERS messages is associated with lower levels of identity exploration, resolution, and affirmation, or positive feelings about one's identities. Taken together, these findings would suggest that a balanced approach to ERS, where there is a frequent number of positive messages, balanced with egalitarian messages and preparation for bias messages, would lead to the greatest levels of identity endorsement and multiracial identity integration (e.g. the lowest levels of racial distance and conflict). Overall, this study provides the first person-centered examination of ERS messages delivered to multiracial youth and provides a much-needed insight into this rapidly-growing population. Future work should continue to quantitatively explore the ERS messages multiracial youth receive in the hopes of gaining a better understanding of how these important messages impact identity development and psychological adjustment in this understudied population.

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APPENDIX A

TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1. Participant Demographics.

Variable		Participant	Biological Mother	Biological Father
Age				
	Mean	19.03	-	-
	SD	2.18	-	-
	Range	18-35	-	-
Gender				
	Male	22.6%	-	-
	Female	74.7%	-	-
	Not-listed	2.7%	-	-
Race*				
	White	58.8%	44.9%	34.5%
	Black	58.1%	35.8%	42.2%
	Latinx	26%	16.2 %	15.5%
	Asian	19.6%	12.8%	9.8%
	Native American	23%	18.6%	15.2%
	Other/ Don't Know	6.8%	5.5%	9.1%
	Multiracial	100%	28.4%	23%

Note. * Participants were able to select multiple categories for their own race and their parents' races. Parents who were reported to belong to 2 or more racial groups were also included in the 'multiracial' percentages.

Table 2. Indicators for Caregiver 1 & 2 LPA's.

Caregiver 1 LPA indicators	Racial group the message is about
Caregiver 1 Cultural Socialization	Mother
Caregiver 1 Cultural Socialization	Father
Caregiver 1 Preparation for Bias	Mother
Caregiver 1 Preparation for Bias	Father
Caregiver 1 Promotion of Mistrust	Mother
Caregiver 1 Promotion of Mistrust	Father
Caregiver 1 Promotion of Equality	General Messages about any group
Caregiver 1 Cultural Pluralism	General Messages about any group
Caregiver 2 LPA indicators	
Caregiver 2 Cultural Socialization	Mother
Caregiver 2 Cultural Socialization	Father
Caregiver 2 Preparation for Bias	Mother
Caregiver 2 Preparation for Bias	Father
Caregiver 2 Promotion of Mistrust	Mother
Caregiver 2 Promotion of Mistrust	Father
Caregiver 2 Promotion of Equality	General Messages about any group
Caregiver 2 Cultural Pluralism	General Messages about any group

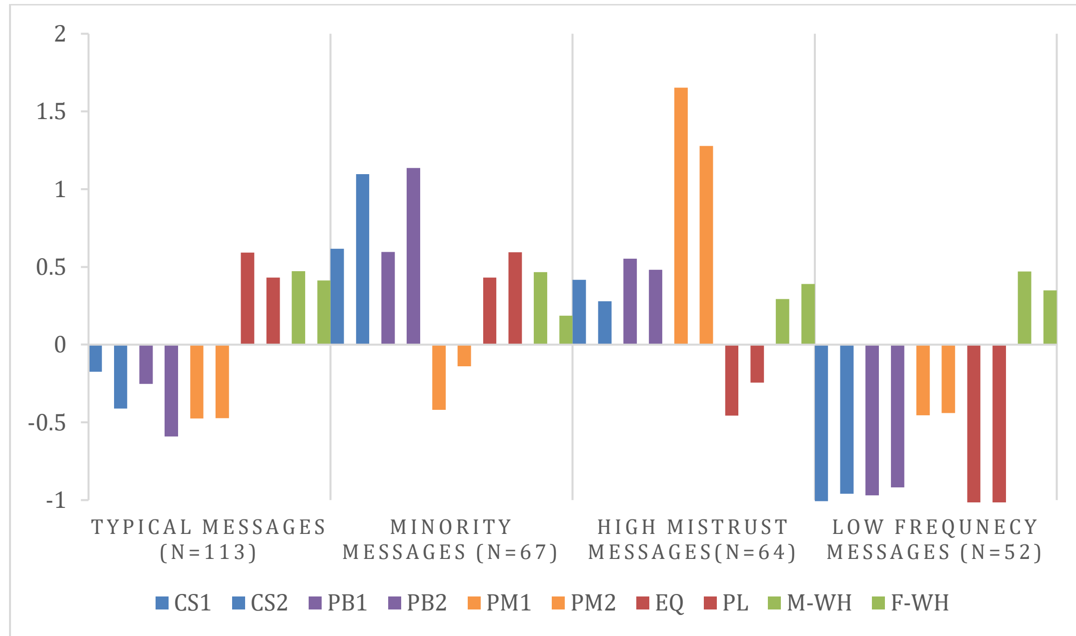
Table 3. Sample Means of Latent Profile Indicators by Caregiver (N=296)**.**

	Mean (SD)	
Variable	Caregiver 1	Caregiver 2
Cultural Socialization – Mother's groups	3.07 (1.21)	2.74 (1.26)
Cultural Socialization – Father's groups	2.73 (1.21)	2.82 (1.17)
Preparation for Bias – Mother's groups	2.77 (1.18)	2.50 (1.26)
Preparation for Bias – Father's groups	2.58 (1.26)	2.59 (1.27)
Promotion of Mistrust – Mother's groups	1.69 (1.07)	1.83 (1.17)
Promotion of Mistrust – Father's groups	1.63 (.97)	1.79 (1.08)
Promotion of Equality	4.06 (1.04)	3.85 (1.17)
Cultural Pluralism	3.84 (1.15)	3.65 (1.24)

Table 4. Model Fit Indices for LPA's of Caregiver 1 and Caregiver 2's ERS Messages.

	AIC	BIC	Adjusted BIC	Entropy	LRT p-value
Profiles of Caregiver 1's messages					
2 profile model	7331.67	7438.69	7346.72	.807	.0002
3 profile model	7000.81	7148.43	7021.58	.879	.0059
4 profile model	6801.32	6989.53	6827.79	.866	.0183
5 profile model	6695.55	6924.35	6727.73	.881	.1519
Profiles of Caregiver 2's messages					
2 profile model	6764.81	6871.83	6779.86	.78	.0000
3 profile model	6460.01	6607.63	6480.77	.813	.0032
4 profile model	6251.53	6439.74	6278.00	.846	.002
5 profile model	6125.91	6354.71	6158.09	.847	.124

Figure 1. Standardized Scores for Caregiver 1's ERS Messages about Mother's and Father's Racial Groups.

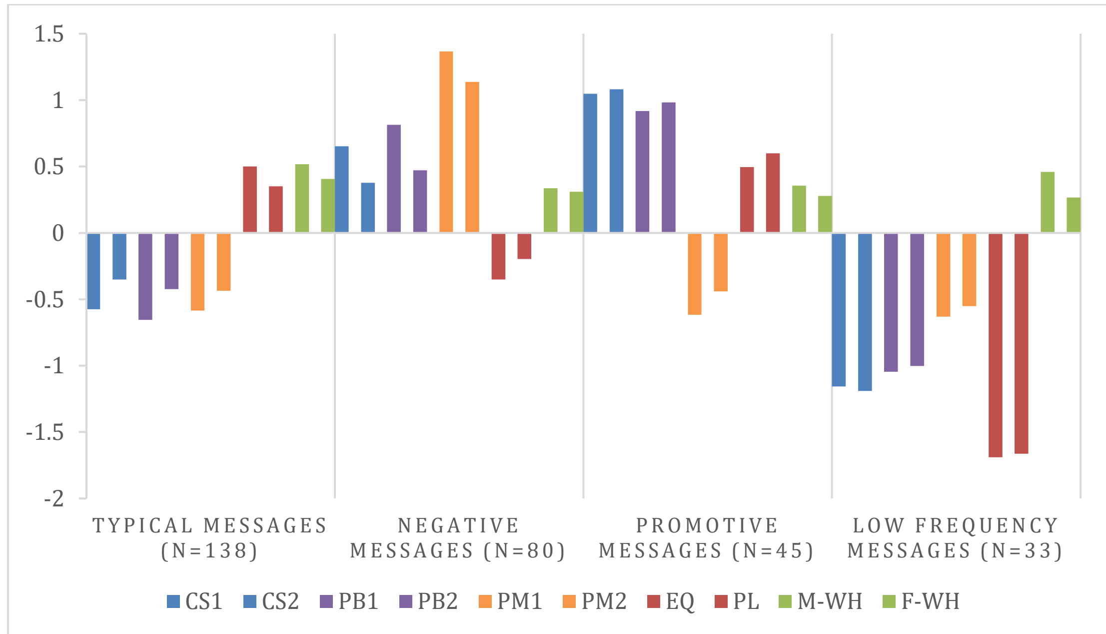


Note. CS = Cultural Socialization PB = Preparation for Bias PM = Promotion of Mistrust EQ = Promotion of Equality PL = Cultural Pluralism M-WH = proportion of white mothers F-WH = proportion of white fathers

Table 5. Unstandardized Means and Standard Errors of Caregiver 1's ERS Messages (N=296).

Variable	Profiles of Caregiver 1's messages – Mean (SE)				
	Typical Messages (N=113)	Minority Messages (N=67)	High Mistrust Messages (N=64)	Low Frequency Messages (N=52)	Mean (N=296)
Cultural Socialization – Mother's groups	2.85 (.18)	3.81 (.15)	3.57 (.13)	1.85 (.17)	3.07
Cultural Socialization – Father's groups	2.23 (.14)	4.07 (.14)	3.07 (.14)	1.57 (.13)	2.73
Preparation for Bias – Mother's groups	2.47 (.15)	3.48 (.15)	3.43 (.14)	1.63 (.14)	2.77
Preparation for Bias – Father's groups	1.83 (.10)	4.01 (.18)	3.18 (.14)	1.42 (.14)	2.58
Promotion of Mistrust – Mother's groups	1.18 (.05)	1.24 (.06)	3.47 (.14)	1.20 (.10)	1.69
Promotion of Mistrust – Father's groups	1.16 (.04)	1.49 (.14)	2.88 (.18)	1.20 (.10)	1.63
Promotion of Equality	4.67 (.08)	4.51 (.09)	3.58 (.14)	2.72 (.31)	4.06
Cultural Pluralism	4.33 (.15)	4.52 (.10)	3.55 (.14)	2.19 (.19)	3.84
Proportion of White Mothers	.47	.47	.29	.47	.43
Proportion of White Fathers	.41	.19	.39	.35	.34

Figure 2. Standardized Scores for Caregiver 2's ERS Messages about Mother's and Father's Racial Groups.



Note. CS = Cultural Socialization PB = Preparation for Bias PM = Promotion of Mistrust EQ = Promotion of Equality PL = Cultural Pluralism M-WH = proportion of white mothers F-WH = proportion of white fathers 1 = message about biological mother's racial groups 2 = message about father's racial groups

Table 6. Unstandardized Means and Standard Errors of Caregiver 2's ERS Messages (N=296).

Variable	Profiles of Caregiver 2's messages – Mean (SE)				
	Typical Messages (N=138)	Negative Messages (N=80)	Promotive Messages (N=45)	Low Frequency Messages (N=33)	Mean (N=296)
Cultural Socialization – Mother's groups	2.02 (.14)	3.57 (.09)	4.07 (.17)	1.28 (.13)	2.74
Cultural Socialization – Father's groups	2.41 (.12)	3.27 (.11)	4.10 (.21)	1.42 (.14)	2.82
Preparation for Bias – Mother's groups	1.67 (.10)	3.53 (.11)	3.66 (.29)	1.17 (.09)	2.50
Preparation for Bias – Father's groups	2.05 (.14)	3.19 (.12)	3.84 (.25)	1.31 (.11)	2.59
Promotion of Mistrust – Mother's groups	1.14 (.04)	3.44 (.11)	1.11 (.06)	1.09 (.06)	1.83
Promotion of Mistrust – Father's groups	1.31 (.07)	3.02 (.13)	1.31 (.11)	1.19 (.08)	1.79
Promotion of Equality	4.44 (.09)	3.44 (.12)	4.44 (.14)	1.86 (.20)	3.85
Cultural Pluralism	4.09 (.12)	3.41 (.13)	4.40 (.14)	1.58 (.15)	3.65
Proportion of White Mothers	.52	.34	.36	.46	.43
Proportion of White Fathers	.41	.31	.28	.27	.34

Table 7. Mean-level Profile Differences in Identity Outcomes for Caregiver 1 Profiles.

	Caregiver 1 Profiles – Mean (SE)					
	TM	MM	HMM	LFM	Significant differences	p-value
Exploration	2.46 (.08)	2.96 (.09)	2.63 (.11)	1.78 (.10)	MM > TM[a], HMM[b], LFM[a] HMM > TM[c], LFM[a] TM > LFM[a]	[a].000, [b].02, [c].019
Resolution	3.26 (.07)	3.38 (.08)	2.89 (.09)	2.46 (.10)	MM > TM[a], HMM[a], LFM[a] TM > HMM[b], LFM[a] HMM > LFM[b]	[a].000, [b].001
Affirmation	3.86 (.03)	3.89 (.03)	3.00 (.10)	3.70 (.07)	MM > HMM[a], LFM[b] TM > HMM[a], LFM[c] LFM > HMM[a]	[a].000, [b].014, [c].046
Conflict	2.38 (.08)	2.34 (.10)	2.82 (.12)	2.33 (.12)	HMM > TM[a], MM[a], LFM[b]	[a].002, [b].003,
Distance	2.60 (.08)	2.46 (.10)	2.97 (.10)	2.77 (.12)	HMM > TM[a], MM[b] LFM > MM[c]	[a].004, [b].000, [c].047

Note. Significant differences were determined using chi-square difference test. TM = Typical Messages MM = Minority Messages HMM = High Mistrust Messages LFM = Low Frequency Messages

Table 8. Mean-level Profile Differences in Identity Outcomes for Caregiver 2 Profiles.

	Caregiver 2 Profiles – Mean (SE)					
	TM	NM	PM	LFM	Significant differences	p-value
Exploration	2.34 (.07)	2.64 (.09)	3.18 (.11)	1.77 (.12)	PM > TM [a], NM [a], LFM [a] NM > TM [b], LFM [a] TM > LFM [a]	[a].000, [b].012
Resolution	3.13 (.06)	2.88 (.08)	3.53 (.08)	2.58 (.13)	PM > TM [a], NM [a], LFM [a] TM > NM [b], LFM [a] PM > LFM [a]	[a].000, [b].019
Affirmation	3.82 (.03)	3.17 (.09)	3.96 (.02)	3.72 (.08)	PM > TM [a], NM [a], LFM [b] TM > NM [a] LFM > NM [a]	[a].000, [b].006
Conflict	2.48 (.08)	2.73 (.10)	2.18 (.11)	2.10 (.13)	NM > TM [a], PM [b], LFM [a] TM > PM [c], LFM [d]	[a].047, [b].000, [c].027 [d].013
Distance	2.64 (.08)	2.83 (.09)	2.44 (.12)	2.79 (.14)	NM > PM [a]	[a].012

Note. Significant differences were determined using chi-square difference test. TM = Typical Messages NM = Negative Messages PM = Promotive Messages LFM = Low Frequency Messages

Table 9. Probability of Membership in Caregiver 2 Profiles Based on Caregiver 1 Profile Membership.

Caregiver 1 Profiles	Caregiver 2 Profiles			
	Typical Messages	Negative Messages	Promotive Messages	Low Frequency Messages
Typical Messages	.891	.06	.029	.02
Minority Messages	.24	.197	.525	.038
High Mistrust Messages	.124	.858	.018	0
Low Frequency Messages	.285	.121	0	.595

Note. Chi-Square difference tests indicate proportion of Caregiver 2 class membership is different between all Caregiver 1 profiles $p < .000$