EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

The Role of Mothers' and Adolescents' Perceptions of Ethnic-racial Socialization in Shaping Ethnic-racial Identity Among Early Adolescent Boys and Girls

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Abstract The current study examined relationships between adolescents' and mothers' reports of ethnic-racial socialization and adolescents' ethnic-racial identity. The sample included 170 sixth graders (49% boys, 51% girls) and their mothers, all of whom identified as Black, Puerto Rican, Dominican, or Chinese. Two dimensions of ethnic-racial socialization (cultural socialization and preparation for bias) were evaluated alongside three dimensions of ethnic-racial identity (exploration, affirmation and belonging, and behavioral engagement). Mothers' reports of their cultural socialization predicted adolescents' reports, but only adolescents' reports predicted adolescents' ethnic-racial identity processes. Mothers' reports of preparation for bias predicted boys' but not girls' reports of preparation for bias. Again, only adolescents' reports of preparation for bias predicted their ethnic-racial identity. Thus, several gender differences in relationships emerged, with mothers' and adolescents' perceptions of cultural socialization, in particular, playing a more important role in girls' than in boys' identity processes. We discuss the implications of these findings for future research.

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Introduction

Scholarly interest in ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity as central constructs for understanding the social and psychological experiences of today's youth has increased rapidly over the past decade, due to corollary increases in the ethnic diversity of the US population. Ethnic-racial socialization messages that youth receive from their parents are thought to play a critical role in enabling ethnic minority youth to successfully navigate social relationships across the various settings they enter (Boykin and Toms 1985; Hughes and Chen 1999). The development of a strong and positive ethnic-racial identity is likewise thought to be critical to the development of ethnic minority youths' positive self-perceptions (French et al. 2006; Pahl and Way 2006; Phinney 1990), especially in light of challenges presented by negative societal stereotypes and experiences of discrimination. Numerous studies have documented that ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity are both important in shaping a range of youth outcomes, including self-esteem, academic motivation and achievement, and behavioral outcomes (see, Fuligni et al. 2009).

Ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity are also themselves intimately linked. That is, messages children receive from parents (and others) about how they should position themselves vis-à-vis their ethnic-racial group and about the meaning of their ethnicity and race play a critical role in shaping youths' ethnic-racial identity processes. Empirical relationships between ethnic-racial

socialization and ethnic-racial identity have been documented in studies of African American, Latino, Asian, biracial, and cross-racially adopted youth and across multiple developmental stages including middle childhood, adolescence, and emerging adulthood (e.g., Hughes et al. 2006b). Thus, the notion that socialization from parents shapes youths' ethnic-racial identity processes is well established in the literature.

Despite a relatively robust pattern of findings in this regard, there are several limitations of existing literature that we attempt to address in the present study. First, most studies of relationships between parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices and varied youth outcomes, including ethnic-racial identity, use either parents' reports (e.g., Hughes and Johnson 2001; Johnston et al. 2007; McHale et al. 2006) or youths' reports (Harris-Britt et al. 2007; Robbins et al. 2007; Supple et al. 2006; Wills et al. 2007), but rarely both. Because parents' and adolescents' perceptions of ethnic-racial socialization may differ, it seems important to investigate the relative contributions of each to youths' ethnic-racial identities. Second, with few exceptions (e.g., Umaña-Taylor et al. 2006; Supple et al. 2006), most studies use composite measures of ethnic-racial identity or ethnic-racial socialization, limiting empirically based knowledge about the ways in which specific types of messages to children influence specific components of ethnic-racial identity. For instance, messages regarding ethnic pride and heritage may have different consequences for youths' views of their group than do messages regarding discrimination. Likewise, particular types of ethnic-racial socialization messages may have different consequences for different identity constructs, such as exploration versus affirmation and belonging. And finally, although studies have documented differences for boys versus girls in the socialization messages they receive from their parents (Coard et al. 2004; Thomas and Speight 1999) and in ethnic-racial identity processes (Martinez and Dukes 1997; Plummer 1995; Romero and Roberts 1998), to our knowledge scholars have not yet investigated the possibility that parents' messages to boys versus girls may differentially influence their respective ethnic-racial identities. In light of the gendered nature of experiences associated with ethnicity and race in the US (Stevenson 2003; Way and Chu 2004), it is important that empirical studies continue to elaborate the ways in which boys' and girls' identity processes, and factors influencing them, may differ.

In the present study, using data from a sample of Black, Latino, and Chinese adolescents and their parents, our overarching goal was to examine relationships between multiple components of ethnic-racial socialization (cultural socialization and preparation for bias) and multiple aspects of ethnic-racial identity (exploration, affirmation and belonging, and behavioral engagement). In this regard, we had several specific objectives. First, we sought to describe variation by gender and ethnicity-race in dimensions of ethnic-racial identity and ethnic-racial socialization. Second, we examined the extent to which mothers' reports of their socialization behaviors predicted early adolescents' reports of socialization messages they received from them, and the extent to which such relationships were similar for girls and boys. Finally, we sought to understand the relative importance of cultural socialization versus preparation for bias, according to mothers' and adolescents' reports, in predicting varied dimensions of ethnic-racial identity, and potential differences in these relationships for boys versus girls.

Ethnic-racial Socialization

Ethnic-racial socialization has been defined as the process through which parents transmit information about ethnicity and race to their children (Hughes and Chen 1999; Hughes et al. 2006b). Specifically, cultural socialization consists of practices that promote children's knowledge about their history and heritage and that emphasize group pride. Preparation for bias consists of parents' efforts to promote their children's understanding of and skills for coping with ethnic-racial prejudice and discrimination. Although scholars have discussed other dimensions of ethnic-racial socialization as well (Brown and Krishnakumar 2007; Hughes and Chen 1999; Stevenson 1994), cultural socialization and preparation for bias have been especially central in theoretical writings and empirical work (Bowman and Howard 1985; Davis and Stevenson 2006).

In recent years, scholars have emphasized that ethnic-racial socialization is a dynamic and complex process that encompasses verbal and non-verbal messages, messages that parents intend and deliberately communicate, and unintended messages that parents transmit inadvertently (Hughes and Chen 1999; Hughes et al. 2006a; Stevenson 1995). Consequently, communications about ethnicity and race are imperfect, and children can miss, misperceive, ignore, or reject the socialization messages that their parents believe they are transmitting, as has been documented in other literatures concerning parent-child communication (e.g., Pelegrina et al. 2003; Guilamo-Ramos et al. 2007). In light of this possibility, it seems important to distinguish empirically between messages parents believe they are transmitting and messages youth believe they are receiving, as represented by parents' and youths' independent reports of ethnic-racial socialization processes.

In this regard, empirical knowledge regarding the correspondence between parents' and youths' perceptions of ethnic-racial socialization processes, or about the relative importance of each in influencing youth outcomes, is quite

limited. Only a few prior studies have used reports from parents and their children regarding parents' ethnic-racial socialization, and these studies suggest moderate to weak correspondence between the two. For instance, in a study of 8- to 10-year-old children and their mothers, about 40–45% of parent–child pairs gave similar responses on items assessing cultural socialization and preparation for bias (Hughes et al. 2006a). In dyads in which parents and children reported different levels of socialization, parents reported significantly more cultural socialization messages and significantly fewer preparation for bias messages than children reported having received. Thomas and King (2007) reported non-significant correlations between mothers' and their teenage daughters' mean values on measures of cultural pride reinforcement and alertness to discrimination. Qualitative interviews with mothers and adolescents in the current sample about how ethnic-racial socialization transpired in their families also suggested that mothers and their adolescents held somewhat different views. Adolescents often detailed messages parents did not report having communicated, and adolescents often failed to mention messages that mothers had described in detail (Hughes et al. 2008).

These findings suggest a need for researchers to further investigate relationships between parents' and youths' perceptions of ethnic-racial socialization, especially during early adolescence when youth play a more active role in constructing their world. Moreover, empirically based information is needed on the relative importance of parents' reported practices versus children's received messages in shaping varying ethnic-racial identity processes among youth. Both may be important in shaping youths' identities, albeit in conceptually distinct ways.

Ethnic-racial Identity

An important component of social identity development during adolescence involves coming to an understanding of one's position vis-à-vis their racial and ethnic group. Although young children are aware of ethnicity and race, can categorize themselves as group members, and often participate in their groups' practices and traditions, the process of actively exploring one's ethnicity and race and of determining their meaning in one's life becomes far more complex during adolescence (Fuligni et al. 2009; Ruble et al. 2004; McKown and Weinstein 2003). Due to the emergence of abstract reasoning and dialectical thinking skills, adolescents are able to take a more active role in reflecting on their own and their others views about their group, in deciding how important group membership is to their sense of self and in making choices about participating in group relevant activities and settings. Each of these tasks are integral to the process of developing an ethnic and racial identity, which is generally conceived as the development of positive (or negative) views of one's group, knowledge about its history and traditions, feelings of group attachment and belongingness, and participation in practices or settings that reflect group membership (Phinney 1990).

Although the work of racial and ethnic identity development occurs among all adolescents, it is especially salient and complex for ethnic minority adolescents, native born or immigrant. Ethnic minority and non-white immigrant adolescents must reconcile their group membership with knowledge that their group is stigmatized and devalued and with experiences of racism, discrimination, and stereotypes. Immigrant youth face additional challenges in negotiating potentially conflicting expectations across the worlds of their more traditional parents and those of mainstream peer and adult agents of socialization (Fuligni 1998; Lee and Liu 2001; Lee 2002; Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco 2001). Thus, studies find that ethnic minority and immigrant adolescents score significantly higher on measures of ethnic-racial identity than do their White counterparts (Phinney and Alipuria 1990; Phinney et al. 1994), view race and ethnicity as more central to their self concepts (Fuligni et al. 2005), and are more likely to view their experiences through a racial or ethnic lens (London et al. 2005). Studies also find that components of ethnic-racial identity are more strongly associated with psychological, social, and academic outcomes among ethnic minority as compared to White adolescents (Yasui et al. 2004). Indeed, scholars have suggested that resolving issues relevant to racial and ethnic identity is necessary for healthy psychological functioning among ethnic minority and immigrant youth (Phinney 1989; Umaña-Taylor 2004).

Two predominant frameworks within psychology underlie research on ethnic and racial identity—social identity frameworks (Tajfel 1978) and ego identity frameworks (Erikson 1968; Marcia 1966; Phinney 1989). Whereas social identity theorists have emphasized multiple components of ethnic-racial identity (e.g., centrality, private and public regard) and fluctuations in these dimensions across contexts and situations (Ashmore et al. 2004; Sellers et al. 1998; Yip 2005; Yip and Fuligni 2002), ego-identity theorists have focused on elaborating the processes through which individuals consolidate their ethnic-racial identities (French et al. 2006; Phinney 1989, 1990; Umaña-Taylor 2004). In the present study, we focus on understanding the influence of mothers' ethnic-racial socialization on constructs important within ego-identity frameworks, including exploration, affirmation and belonging, and behavioral engagement.

The idea that individuals attain an achieved ethnic-racial identity only after having explored its meaning has been of central interest within ego identity frameworks.

Exploration may involve talking to others, exposing oneself to cultural activities and events, and reading materials about one's ethnic-racial group (Phinney and Ong 2007). Although exploration is sometimes thought to be prompted by a significant ethnic- or race-related experience (e.g., Cross 1978; French et al. 2006), recent scholarship has also constructed exploration as a normative and routine aspect of ethnic-racial identity development, which occurs largely during adolescence (Phinney 1989, 1990). Stage models, such as those that Cross (1995) and Phinney (1989, 1990) (Phinney and Alipuria 1990) have proposed, suggest that exploration is a prerequisite for a deeper understanding and appreciation of the meaning of one's ethnicity and race.

A feeling of affirmation and belonging vis-a-vis one's ethnic-racial group is often, but not always, the culmination of identity exploration, according to ego identity theorists. That is, seeking information about the meaning of one's ethnicity or race often leads to pride, connectedness, and appreciation of one's group history and traditions. As the evaluative component of ethnic-racial identity, affirmation and belonging reflects one's positive or negative affect towards one's group identity, and is thought to be critical for one's overall self-evaluation (Ashmore et al. 2004; Crocker and Major 1989).

Behavioral engagement entails participation in actions and activities that implicate one's membership in an ethnic-racial group (e.g., listening to ethnic music, participation in ethnic organizations). It is closely intertwined with the affective components of identity but is conceptually distinct (Ashmore et al. 2004; Phinney and Ong 2007). Behavioral engagement is an expression of identity, and may instantiate and announce feelings of affiliation with the group (Phinney and Ong 2007).

Messages that youth receive from parents about their ethnicity and race play an important role in shaping these processes of identity development. Several studies have reported that ethnic-racial socialization is associated with exploration and resolution, but is unrelated to affirmation (Supple et al. 2006; Umaña-Taylor et al. 2004). Other studies have found that dimensions of ethnic-racial socialization differentially predict affirmation (Hughes et al. 2009) and behavioral engagement (O'Connor et al. 2000). Thus, there are studies that examine single dimensions of ethnic-racial socialization vis-à-vis multiple aspects of the identity process (Supple et al. 2006; Umaña-Taylor et al. 2004) and those that examine multiple aspects of socialization and a single aspect of the identity process (Hughes et al. 2009; O'Connor et al. 2000). In order to fully understand these relationships, studies need to simultaneously examine multiple dimensions of both.

There is also a dearth of information on the ways in which gender may moderate the relationship between ethnic-racial socialization messages and identity. Although studies have documented gender differences in each of these constructs (Bowman and Howard 1985; Thomas and Speight 1999; Way and Chu 2004), no studies have examined the extent to which relationships between them may vary for boys versus girls. Such information is critical for a more complete understanding of identity formation—and of the roles that parents play—especially during the formative stage of early adolescence.

Potential Gender Differences in Ethnic-racial Socialization and Ethnic-racial Identity Processes

An extensive literature documents subtle and overt differences in the nature of parental socialization, in general, and in parent–child communication specifically, for boys versus girls. Gender differences in socialization have been documented in terms of the attitudes and behaviors parents reinforce for girls versus boys (Bussey and Bandura 2004), socialization of expressiveness and emotion (Bronstein et al. 1996), messages about sexual intimacy and behavior (Jaccard et al. 2002), and academic and vocational socialization (Lips 2004). Such gender differences are quite powerful, but are often unintended and go unrecognized by parents and other agents of socialization (Martin and Ruble 2004), as they are also deeply embedded in larger macro-structural regularities and norms.

As with other aspects of socialization, ethnic-racial socialization messages likely differ for ethnic minority boys versus girls because parents anticipate their differential experiences across varying contexts within and outside of the family. Compared with girls, boys are more likely to be viewed by others as threatening (Sampson and Laub 1993; Stevenson et al. 2002) and, indeed, they report more discrimination (Fischer and Shaw 1999; Rivas-Drake et al. 2008). Girls, on the other hand, are more likely to be viewed as the future carriers of culture (Phinney 1990; González et al. 2006). Thus, to the extent that parents anticipate discrimination experiences more so for boys than for girls, and view cultural socialization as more relevant to the future roles of girls as compared to boys, they may differentially emphasize cultural socialization and preparation for bias messages in their childrearing. Indeed, where gender differences in ethnic-racial socialization have been found, they indicate that boys are more likely to report messages regarding racial barriers, whereas girls are more likely to report messages regarding racial pride (Bowman and Howard 1985; Thomas and Speight 1999).

Not only might parents differentially socialize boys versus girls about aspects of ethnicity and race, boys and girls may be differentially attuned to the ethnic-racial socialization messages that parents transmit. There are several reasons to expect that this would be the case. For instance, Kohlberg (1966) suggested that gender is a

fundamental lens through which children organize their ideas about the world. To the extent that boys perceive issues about discrimination to be especially relevant to them, due to their more frequent experiences with discrimination and to representations of these experiences from peers and through the media, they may be more attuned to parents' preparation for bias messages. Similarly, girls may be more attuned to messages regarding cultural pride to the extent that they view the transmission of such pride as integral to their future roles as women. Alternatively, because early adolescent girls precede early adolescent boys in their rate of maturity, they may simply be better able to accurately detect parents' ethnic-racial socialization messages. Thus, it is important to learn more about the dynamics of communication regarding ethnicity and race for boys versus girls.

Finally, it is possible that ethnic-racial socialization messages differentially influence identity outcomes among girls versus boys. Stevenson and colleagues' program of research on relationships between adolescent-reported ethnic-racial socialization and psychosocial outcomes reported gender differences in relationships to other sorts of developmental outcomes (Stevenson 1997; Stevenson et al. 1997). For instance, adolescents' beliefs in the importance of ethnic-racial socialization, assessed globally, were associated with enhanced self-esteem among girls and diminished self esteem among boys. In a separate study, boys with higher global ethnic-racial socialization scores reported more frequent sad mood and greater hopelessness than did their counterparts, whereas comparable girls reported less frequent sad mood and less hopelessness (Stevenson 1997; Stevenson et al. 1997). Although these studies suggest potential gender differences in the consequences of ethnic-racial socialization, more systematic attention to this issue seems warranted.

The Present Study

The overarching goal of the current study was to examine ethnic-racial socialization, ethnic-racial identity, and relationships between them in an ethnically diverse (e.g., Chinese, Latino, and African American) sample of early adolescent girls and boys. We focused on two dimensions of ethnic-racial socialization—cultural socialization and preparation for bias—and three aspects of youths' ethnic-racial identity processes—exploration, affirmation and belonging, and behavioral engagement. We first sought to describe socialization and identity constructs within this diverse sample. Then, we investigated relationships between mothers' and adolescents' reports of cultural socialization and preparation for bias. We expected small to moderate relationships between mothers' and adolescents' reports, in

light of prior findings that parents and adolescents often hold different views of parents' practices (Hughes et al. 2008). In addition, we expected convergent rather than cross-over relationships such that mothers' reports of cultural socialization and preparation for bias would primarily predict youths' respective reports of the same. Finally, we examined gender as a moderator of the relationship between mothers' and adolescents' reports of cultural socialization and preparation for bias. On the basis of prior findings in the ethnic-racial identity and ethnic-racial socialization literatures, we expected that girls would be more attuned to mothers' cultural socialization messages than would boys and that boys would be more attuned to mothers' preparation for bias messages than would girls.

We next examined the relative importance of mothers' versus adolescents' reports of cultural socialization and preparation for bias in predicting adolescents' ethnic-racial identity processes. We expected that adolescents' reports of ethnic-racial socialization practices would be more important in predicting their ethnic-racial identity outcomes than would mothers' reports. In addition, we examined the patterns of relationship between multiple dimensions of socialization and multiple dimensions of identity. Based on previous findings (Umaña-Taylor et al. 2004; Supple et al. 2006), we expected that youth who received more messages about ethnicity and race from their mothers—either cultural socialization or preparation for bias messages—would report more identity exploration because such messages, although they differ in content, each provide information on and stimuli for thinking about ethnicity and race. We expected that cultural socialization and preparation for bias would both be associated with behavioral engagement, as O'Connor et al. (2000) documented. Regarding affirmation/belonging, some studies have reported non-significant relationships between cultural socialization and affirmation (Supple et al. 2006; Umaña-Taylor et al. 2004) whereas others have reported that greater cultural socialization is associated with greater ethnic affirmation (Hughes et al. 2009). Thus, we left open the possibility that either could be the case in the present study. However, we expected that preparation for bias would be inversely associated with ethnic affirmation, in line with the notion that information that alerts early adolescents to information that their group is stigmatized and likely to experience discrimination may prompt them to view their group less positively (Hughes et al. 2009).

Finally, we examined the extent to which ethnic-racial socialization, particularly as reported by youth, differentially influenced ethnic-racial identity processes for boys versus girls. Although scholars have elaborated important differences in identity processes and challenges for ethnic minority boys versus girls (Isom 2007; Spencer et al. 1995; Way and Chu 2004), empirical information is needed on

the role that mothers' messages about ethnicity and race may play in this process. Thus, our current study served as an initial exploration of these issues and will provide an important starting point for future work in the area.

It is important to note that given our primary interest in the moderational role of gender, we had insufficient sample sizes to test the possibility that there are also ethnic-racial differences in the nature of these relationship. Moreover, we had no theoretical basis for predicting them. Issues of race, ethnicity, identity, and discrimination are salient for all ethnic minority youth (e.g., García Coll et al. 1996) and studies have established relationships between ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity across multiple ethnic groups (Hughes et al. 2006a, b). Thus, we pursued analyses that account for race-ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and immigrant status as control variables, enabling us to identify identity development processes that, on average, apply to diverse early adolescents net of their demographic characteristics.

Method

Sample

Data from this study are drawn from 170 mother–adolescent pairs who are part of a larger intensive mixed methods study concerning contextual influences on early adolescents' well-being and achievement during middle school. Although the full sample consists of 254 mother–adolescent pairs, we focus in this paper on youth who were of Black ($n = 62$), Latino ($n = 50$) and Chinese ($n = 58$) descent.[1] We excluded 76 families who were of European

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[1] We wish to acknowledge the complexity of coding ethnicity/race in an urban sample as diverse as the present sample. The main question used to categorize mother–adolescent pairs asked mothers about their primary ethnic-racial identity. However, open-ended questions asked to mothers and adolescents about their ethnic group membership underscore the fact that these sorts of questions oversimplify ethnic-racial group membership. Of the 62 mothers coded as Black, 19 mothers claimed a mixed ethnic heritage involving one or more other ethnic groups when asked, including Native American or Indian ($n = 6$), Dominican, Panamanian, Costa Rican, or Antiguan ($n = 9$), White ($n = 8$) and Asian ($n = 1$). Eight of these mothers mentioned 2 or more other ethnic groups. Among their adolescents, 7 claimed a mixed ethnic heritage. Of the 50 mothers coded as Latino, 9 claimed mixed heritage with a non-Latino group including White ($n = 4$) and African American ($n = 5$) whereas 6 claimed mixed heritage with a Latino group. None of these mothers mentioned more than one other ethnic group. Among their adolescents, 31 claimed an identity as Dominican, 6 as Puerto Rican, 7 as Hispanic, Spanish, or Latino, and 3 as a specific mixed-Latino heritage and 3 as a specific mixed-non-Latino heritage. Of the 58 mothers coded as Chinese, 7 claimed a mixed ethnic heritage including White ($n = 4$), Caribbean ($n = 1$), Burmese ($n = 1$) and Filipino ($n = 1$). All but 2 of the Chinese adolescents claimed a sole identity as Chinese. However, in t-test

descent from the analyses because sample sizes were not large enough for within-group analyses, and there is little basis in the literature for combining European American with ethnic minority youth, especially when exploring issues related to ethnicity and race. Also excluded were eight families in which the adolescent skipped survey questions pertaining to their ethnic-racial identity.

Of mothers who identified themselves as African American in the initial screening interviews, 8 were foreign born. Therefore, we use the term "Black" rather than "African American" to refer to these mothers. Of mothers identifying as Latina, 12 indicated their primary identity as Puerto Rican, 37 as Dominican, and 1 did not indicate her nationality; 10 of the Latina mothers were US born. All of the Asian families in the sample indicated a primary identity as Chinese and 2 were US born. Twenty-three percent of mothers had not completed high school; 33% had a high school degree or GED; 22% had completed some college; and 19% had completed college or beyond. Black (29%) and Latina (27%) mothers were more likely to have completed college than were their Chinese counterparts (5%), and Chinese mothers (39%) were more likely than Latina mothers (21%) or Black mothers (10%) to have less than a high school education. All youth in the sample were in 6th grade at time 1 of the study, the data point used in the current analysis. There were 87 girls (31 Black, 26 Latino; 30 Chinese) and 83 boys (31 Black, 24 Latino, 28 Chinese). Mothers ages ranged from 27 to 77 (6 mothers were over 55), with a mean of 41 (SD = 7.00) and no differences across ethnic groups.

Participants were recruited from six New York City middle schools (grades 6–8), which were selected purposively to achieve scholastic and ethnic-racial diversity in the sample. In selecting schools, we excluded those in the top or bottom quintile of the NYC distribution in terms of scores on city-wide math and language arts assessments. We additionally sought schools in which at least three of the target ethnic groups for the study constituted 20% or more of the school population, although only three of the five schools met this selection criterion. However, Black and Latino students in the sample were represented at all six schools; Chinese students were represented at three of the six schools.

Footnote 1 continued
comparing means for all of the major study variables (parent and adolescent reported ethnic-racial socialization; adolescent reported ethnic identity variables) of those claiming a mixed heritage compared to those claiming a single ethnic heritage, none of the means were significantly different at (or near) a p value of less than .10. Nevertheless, we re-estimated all equations omitting mixed-heritage mother–adolescent pairs, which did not change the patterns we report.

Procedure

The principal investigators of the study met with the district superintendent and school principal to gain entry into each school in which recruitment took place, and attended teacher meetings and parent teacher association (PTA) meetings to introduce the study and address any questions. We recruited two separate cohorts of 6th graders and their mothers in the 2004/2005 (cohort 1) and 2005/2006 (cohort 2) school years. In year 2 of the study, we also recruited mothers into the study whose children had participated in the 6th grade survey but who had not participated themselves (cohort 3). In this sample, 96 adolescents were in cohort 1, 61 were in cohort 2, and 13 were in cohort 3. All cohorts were recruited in the same way and completed the same measures.

For data collection, the research staff distributed packets of materials to students to bring home to their parents, which contained information on the respective student survey and intensive parent–adolescent studies, parental consent forms for adolescents' participation in the student survey, and forms for indicating interest in participating in parent surveys, parent interviews, and adolescent interviews. Field researchers visited classrooms multiple times for a 2–3 week period to collect consent and parent-interest forms and to answer questions regarding the study. We offered incentives to classrooms for reaching acceptable (90%) return rates for consent forms (regardless of whether permission was given or denied) and students received small gifts (e.g., a pencil or rubber bracelet) for returning their materials. Consent for student survey participation was 83% overall.

We administered adolescent surveys to students during regular school hours at a time selected by classroom teachers. Administration took place during two 45 min class periods on two consecutive days. Five to six fieldworkers administered surveys to those students with parental consent. Classroom teachers were present during the survey administration. Student participants received a $5.00 gift certificate.

Field researchers called mothers who had expressed interest in participating in the intensive parent–adolescent study. During these phone calls, field workers administered a brief screening interview to determine mothers' eligibility and recruited mothers who indicated that they were African American, Puerto Rican, Dominican, European American, or Chinese, the target groups of interest for the study, and scheduled the initial mother interview session. Each mother was assigned to a specific trained fieldworker, who had responsibility for maintaining relationships with the family and for completing mothers' surveys and interviews. Fieldworkers were either graduate students or qualified field researchers recruited through local newspapers and the internet. All field workers received a minimum of 20 h of training prior to their first contact, as well as ongoing 3 h weekly supervision. Mothers were matched to a female interviewer based on their ethnicity-race, which was self-reported by mothers on the initial demographic survey. Additionally, mothers who indicated Cantonese, Mandarin, or Spanish as their primary language were matched to a language-fluent interviewer so that surveys and interviews could be conducted in that language. Fieldworkers conducted standardized survey interviews (1.5–2 h in length) and in-depth semi-structured interviews (2–3 h in length) one-on-one in mothers' homes or another mutually agreed-upon location. The present study is based on mothers' survey data only. Prior to beginning the interview or survey, informed consent procedures were reviewed. In the event that a survey could not be completed in one session, an additional meeting time was arranged. Mothers received remuneration of $40 for their participation in the survey and $20 more if an additional meeting was required for completion.

Measures

Demographic/Control Variables

We used mothers' reports regarding their primary racial-ethnic identity on the demographic survey to code the *ethnicity-race* of mother–adolescent pairs. In all analyses, two dummy variables were used to represent ethnicity-race, with Blacks as the reference group. *Child's gender* was a binary variable (0 = girl; 1 = boy) and *mothers' education* was represented by a set of three dummy variables to represent four educational attainment categories: less than a high school education, high school degree or GED, some college but no 4-year degree, and 4-year college degree or more. Mothers who had completed high school with a diploma or GED were the reference group in all analyses. To represent *mothers' age*, three dummy variables compared mothers in the 25–35, 45–55, and over 55-year-old age categories to the reference group of mothers who were 35–45 years of age. We coded the ethnic diversity of the school as a binary variable distinguishing students attending ethnically diverse schools from students attending the two schools in which a single ethnic group constituted more than 80% of the population (one primarily Chinese, attended by 56% of the Chinese adolescents and 25% of all adolescents in the sample; one predominantly Dominican attended by 28% of the Latino adolescents and 9% of all adolescents in the sample). Two dummy variables comparing students from cohorts 1 and 3 to a reference group of students in cohort 2 were also included in all analyses.

Mothers' Reported Ethnic-racial Socialization

Eight items measuring mothers' cultural socialization (four items) and preparation for bias (four items) were included, based on items generated for prior studies of parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices among African American (Hughes 2003; Hughes and Chen 1997; Hughes and Johnson 2001) and Dominican and Puerto Rican (Hughes 2003) parents. Construct equivalence for measures of cultural socialization and preparation for bias was evaluated using multigroup confirmatory factor analysis within an SEM framework, which indicated that a two factor model in which item loadings were constrained to be equal across groups provided an acceptable fit to the data (RMSEA = .05 [.03; .08], CFI = .92, NNFI = .91). Moreover, in previous research, the measures have been associated in predicted ways with parents' ethnic identity and with various demographic factors (Hughes and Chen 1997; Hughes 2003). Items tapping *cultural socialization* assessed behaviors and activities such as promoting awareness of history and culture and emphasizing ethnic pride (e.g., Have you ever said or done things to encourage your child to be proud of his or her culture?). Items tapping *preparation for bias* focused on messages regarding unfair treatment and bias based on ethnicity or race (e.g., Have you ever told your child that others might treat him/her badly because he/she is [ethnic group]?). All items asked about behaviors toward the target adolescent and were worded so that they were applicable to multiple ethnic groups. Mothers reported whether or not they had ever engaged in the particular behavior with the target child (0 = no) and, if so, how often in the past year (1 = never; 5 = very often). Internal consistency/reliability for the four items assessing cultural socialization was .74 for the full sample and .78, .75, and .63 for Black, Latino, and Chinese mothers, respectively. Internal consistency/reliability for items assessing preparation for bias was .83 for the full sample and .75, .88, and .70 for Black, Latino, and Chinese mothers, respectively.

Adolescents' Reported Ethnic-racial Socialization

We asked adolescents to indicate the frequency with which their parents engaged in specific behaviors reflecting dimensions of ethnic-racial socialization, based on adolescent-report measures used in prior research (Hughes et al. 2006a, 2009). Adolescent-report items were intended to assess the two constructs assessed by mother-report items (cultural socialization and preparation for bias), but item wording and response scales were simplified to be accessible to early adolescents. Adolescents answered each item on a 3-point scale (1 = never; 3 = a lot of times). Three items tapping adolescents' perceptions of parents'

emphasis on ethnic knowledge and pride assessed *cultural socialization* (e.g., How often have your parents said you should be proud to be the race or ethnicity that you are?). Internal consistency/reliability was .73 overall and .74, .75, .71 for Black, Latino, and Chinese adolescents, respectively). *Preparation for bias* was assessed with five items regarding parents' discussions of discrimination and unfair treatment (e.g., "How often have your parents said some people may treat you badly or unfairly because of your race or ethnicity?"). Internal consistency/reliability was .79 overall and .80, .79, and .77 for Black, Latino, and Chinese youth, respectively. Construct equivalence for adolescents' reports of cultural socialization and preparation for bias was evaluated in the sample of early adolescents participating in the larger survey study (n = 854), using multigroup confirmatory factor analysis within an SEM framework. A two factor model in which item loadings were constrained to be equal across ethnic groups provided an acceptable fit to the data (RMSEA = .04 [.02; .05], CFI = .95, NNFI = .94). In a prior study of suburban African American and European American early adolescents, measures were associated in predicted ways with participants' ethnic identity and self-esteem, and with their academic and behavioral outcomes (Hughes et al. 2009). Zero-order correlations between mothers' and adolescents' reported ethnic-racial socialization, within ethnicity-race and gender groups, are shown in the "Appendix".

Adolescents' Ethnic-racial Identity

Ethnic-racial identity was assessed using items from the multigroup ethnic identity measure (MEIM; Phinney 1992), a widely used measure across multiple ethnic groups and a separate set of items tapping ethnic behaviors. Adolescents rated items on a 5-point scale (1 = strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree). *Affirmation and belonging* consisted of seven items assessing positive feelings and a sense of connectedness to one's ethnic group (e.g., I feel good about my cultural and ethnic background). Internal consistency/reliability for the measure was .90 overall and .91, .94, and .85 for Black, Latino, and Chinese youth, respectively. *Exploration* consisted of four items assessing the extent to which adolescents questioned or sought information about their ethnicity (e.g., I talk to other people about my ethnicity and what it means to me). Internal consistency/reliability for the measure was .77 overall and .66, .85, and .67 for Black, Latino, and Chinese youth, respectively. Construct equivalence for *affirmation/belonging* and *exploration* was evaluated in the sample of early adolescents participating in the larger survey study, using multigroup confirmatory factor analysis within an SEM framework. A two factor model in which item loadings were constrained to be equal across groups provided

an acceptable fit to the data (RMSEA = .05 [.04; .05], CFI = .93, NNFI = .93).

Items assessing *behavioral engagement* asked adolescents the extent to which they engage in practices such as eating ethnic food and participating in ethnic organizations that reflected their ethnic-racial background ("I listen to music of my ethnic/racial group"). Internal consistency/reliability for the measure was .85 overall and .83, .86, and .81 for Black, Latino, and Chinese youth, respectively. Construct equivalence for *behavioral engagement* was again evaluated in the sample of early adolescents participating in the larger survey study, using multigroup confirmatory factor analysis within an SEM framework. A one factor model in which item loadings were constrained to be equal across groups provided an acceptable fit to the data (RMSEA = .06 [.05; .08], CFI = .90, NNFI = .88).

Results

The results are organized into three sections. First, we describe mothers' and adolescents' reports of mothers' ethnic-racial socialization and adolescents' ethnic-racial identity. Second, using OLS regression procedures, we examine relationships between mothers' and adolescents' respective reports and test the extent to which there are gender differences in them. Third, we examine mothers' and adolescents' reports of ethnic-racial socialization in relationships to dimensions of ethnic-racial identity. Finally, we test the extent to which there are gender differences in the strength of relationships between them. We provide additional details regarding each analysis below.

Descriptive Results

For informational purposes, zero-order correlations between all study variables are shown in Table 1 but are not discussed. Means and standard deviations for each of the major study variables are shown in Table 2. In the table, all means are adjusted for mothers' immigration status, mothers' age, mothers' education, school diversity, and cohort. Using ANCOVAs, we tested the main effects of ethnicity-race (three levels) and gender (two levels) and the interaction between them. Student-Newman Kuels post hoc contrasts were used to test differences between groups. Due to the fact that none of the ethnicity-race × gender interactions was statistically significant, Table 2 shows means for each of the three ethnic groups, and for boys versus girls.

As shown in Table 2, mothers reported that they "occasionally" engaged in cultural socialization practices with their adolescents. Black mothers reported significantly more frequent cultural socialization than did Latina mothers. Adolescents reported that their parents "sometimes"

engaged in cultural socialization: Black, Chinese, and Latino adolescents, and boys versus girls, reported similar cultural socialization from their parents.

Mothers reported that they "never" to "rarely" engaged in preparation for bias, on average. However, Black mothers reported more frequent preparation for bias than did their Latino or Chinese counterparts, who in turn did not differ significantly from each other. Adolescents also reported infrequent preparation for bias from their parents. Black adolescents, like their mothers, reported significantly more preparation for bias than did Latino or Chinese adolescents and boys reported significantly more preparation for bias than did girls. Comparing different types of socialization, according to mothers' and adolescents' reports, paired sample *t*-test showed that mothers and adolescents each reported more cultural socialization compared to preparation for bias, $t_{\text{mothers}} = 11.34$, $p < .01$; $t_{\text{adolescents}} = 16.25$, $p < .01$.

Finally, adolescents reported moderate identity exploration, with mean scores just above the scale midpoint, Black adolescents reported more exploration than did Chinese adolescents. Adolescents reported relatively high ethnic affirmation, overall, with mean scores in the top third of the possible distribution. Latino adolescents reported higher affirmation than did their Chinese counterparts, although Black adolescents did not differ significantly from either group. Girls reported higher ethnic affirmation than did boys. Finally, adolescents reported moderate levels of engagement in ethnic behaviors, with means just above the scale midpoint and no significant ethnic group differences. Girls reported more frequent engagement in ethnic behaviors than did boys.

Relationships Between Mothers' and Adolescents' Views of Ethnic-racial Socialization

To examine relationships between parents' and adolescents' reports of cultural socialization and preparation for bias, we estimated ordinary least squares regression equations, with each indicator of ethnic-racial socialization as the criterion in turn. Equations permitted an examination of relationships between mothers' and adolescents' reports of each dimension of ethnic-racial socialization, controlling for other demographic covariates which may be associated with both. In the equations, we entered demographic variables (mothers' education and immigrant status, child's gender, school diversity, and cohort), mothers' cultural socialization and preparation for bias, alongside product terms to test whether relationships between mother and adolescent reported ethnic-racial socialization were similar for boys and girls. Product terms, and the main effects involved in them, were centered at the sample mean to reduce issues of collinearity between main effects and their

Table 1 Zero-order correlations between major study variables

	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1 Chinese	-.46	-.55	-.39**	.11	.48**	-.01	.51**	-.01	-.06	-.31**	-.24**	.23**	.26**	-.21**	-.18*
2 Latino		-.49**	.08	-.19*	-.37**	-.17*	.24**	-.01	.25**	-.21**	.02	-.13	.15**	.01	.18
3 Black			.31**	-.07	-.12	.17*	-.73	.02	.30*	.51**	.23*	.34**	.11	.20*	.01
4 Mothers' education				-.07	.31**	.14	-.27**	.01	.15*	.30**	.24**	.18*	.21**	.14	.10
5 Mothers' age					.10	-.05	-.03	0–.01	.12	.05	-.14	-.01	-.16*	-.15	-.22**
6 Cohort						-.08	.11	.00	.05	-.06	-.22	-.07	-.19*	-.07	-.23**
7 School diversity							-.04	-.08	.02	.05	.12	.18*	.09	.11	.04
8 Mothers' immigration								-.12	-.20**	-.45**	-.16*	-.20*	-.08	.12	.01
9 Child's gender									.07	.11	-.06	.16*	-.16*	-.04	-.17*
10 CS (mother)										.50**	.22**	.17*	.06	.04	.07
11 PFB (mother)											.12	.33**	.09	.11	.02
12 CS (adolescent)												.38**	.42**	.40**	.30**
13 PFB (adolescent)													.27**	.44**	.21**
14 Affirm.-belonging														.55**	.71**
15 Exploration															.59**
16 Behavioral engagement															

Chinese, Latino, Black, 1 = yes; 0 = no; mothers' education, 1 = less than high school; 7 = graduate degree or more; mothers' age = continuous; school diversity, 1 = diverse; 0 = not diverse; mothers' immigration, 0 = non-immigrant; 1 = immigrant

CS cultural socialization, PFB preparation for bias

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

Table 2 Means and standard deviations by ethnicity and gender for major study variables

	Black (n = 62)	Latino (n = 50)	Chinese (n = 58)	Boy (n = 83)	Girl (n = 87)
CS (mothers)	3.62[a] (.95)	2.85[b] (1.06)	3.12[ab] (.71)	3.24 (.97)	3.15 (.94)
CS (adolescents)	2.29 (.51)	2.10 (.58)	2.05 (.49)	2.11 (.57)	2.19 (.52)
PFB (mothers)	2.67[a] (.95)	1.77[b] (1.17)	1.76[b] (.73)	2.16 (1.22)	1.98 (.98)
PFB (adolescents)	1.70[a] (.58)	1.33[b] (.44)	1.25[b] (.39)	1.50[a] (.56)	1.35[b] (.44)
Exploration	3.01[a] (.94)	2.72[ab] (.95)	2.37[b] (.81)	2.66 (.91)	2.72 (.94)
Affirmation/belonging	3.93[ac] (1.03)	3.96[a] (1.00)	3.50[c] (.74)	3.65[a] (.91)	3.94[b] (.99)
Behavioral engagement	3.25 (.97)	3.30 (.89)	2.96 (.78)	3.02[a] (.82)	3.32[b] (.94)

Means with different superscripts differ significantly at p < .05

Table 3 Ordinary least squares regression of adolescent-reported ethnic-racial socialization on demographic variables, mother-reported ethnic-racial socialization, and gender × socialization interaction terms

	Adolescent-reported cultural socialization			Adolescent-reported preparation for bias		
	b	se_b	B	b	se_b	B
Child's gender	−.08	.08	−.07	.17*	.07	.17
Mothers' ethnicity						
Latino	−.16	.13	−.13	−.29*	.13	−.26
Chinese	−.24	.15	−.21	−.39**	.14	−.36
Mothers' age						
25–35	.06	.10	.05	−.05	.09	−.04
46–55	−.06	.10	−.05	−.04	.09	−.03
Over 55	−.54*	.24	−.17	.07	.22	.02
Mothers' education						
No high school	.04	.11	.03	−.09	.10	−.07
Some college	−.19	.11	−.14	−.16	.11	−.13
College	.24*	.11	.24	.04	.11	.03
Immigrant status	−.07	.12	−.07	.15	.11	.14
School diversity	.06	.08	.06	.14***	.08	.14***
Mother-reported socialization						
CS	.14**	.05	.25	.01	.05	.02
PFB	−.07	.05	−.15	.06	.04	.14
Gender × CS	−.17***	.09	−.15	−.11	.09	−.10
Gender × PFB	.09	.08	.09	.21**	.08	.23

Child's gender, 0 = girl; 1 = boy; mothers' ethnicity, reference group = African American; mothers' age, reference group = 36–45; mothers' education, reference group = high school education or GED; immigrant status, 0 = mother is US born, 1 = mother is not US born; school diversity, 0 = <80% single ethnic group; 1 = >80% single ethnic group

All equations control for cohort (NS), which is not shown

CS cultural socialization, PFB preparation for bias

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .10

interactions. For product terms with probability values lower than .10, we estimated predicted means at ±1 SD of the distribution. Results of the equations are presented in Table 3.
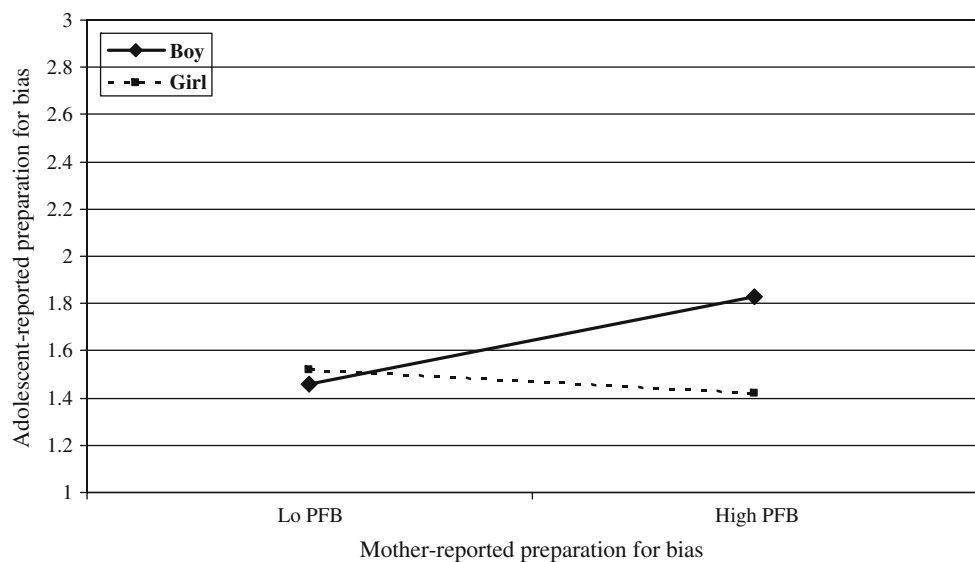
The first panel in Table 3 shows results for adolescents' received cultural socialization. Among the demographic variables, mothers' education was associated with adolescent-reported cultural socialization, as was maternal age. Net of other variables in the model, adolescents whose mothers had completed college reported significantly more

cultural socialization than did the reference group of adolescents whose mothers had only a high school degree or GED. Adolescents of mothers over age 55 reported less cultural socialization than did the reference group of adolescents whose mothers were 35–44. Not surprisingly, adolescents whose mothers reported more cultural socialization reported more cultural socialization themselves, whereas mothers' preparation for bias was not independently associated with adolescent-reported cultural socialization. Moreover, the coefficient representing the

Fig. 1 Relationships between mother-reported cultural socialization and adolescent-reported cultural socialization for early adolescent boys and girls (predicted means plotted at ±1 SD)
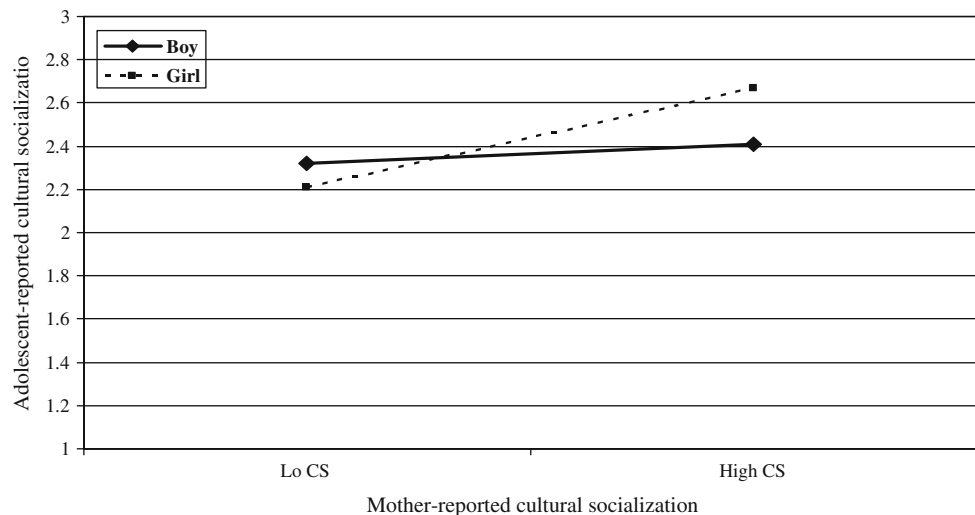
Fig. 2 Relationships between mother-reported preparation for bias and adolescent-reported preparation for bias for early adolescent boys and girls (predicted means plotted at ±1 SD)

gender difference in slopes for relationships between mothers' and adolescents' reported cultural socialization approached significance ($p < .07$), and we plotted predicted means for boys versus girls at ±1 SD, shown in Fig. 1. The figure indicates that mothers' reported cultural socialization was more strongly associated with adolescents' reported cultural socialization for girls than for boys.

Turning next to results for adolescent-reported preparation for bias, Table 3 shows that among the set of demographic variables, the coefficients for ethnicity-race and child's gender were statistically significant at $p < .05$. Net of other variables in the model, Chinese and Latino adolescents each reported less preparation for bias from their parents than did Black adolescents; boys reported more preparation for bias than did girls. Neither of the coefficients representing the main effects of cultural socialization or preparation for bias was significant. However, the product term representing gender differences in

the slopes was statistically significant and, as shown in Fig. 2, indicated that mothers' reported preparation for bias was more strongly associated with boys reported preparation for bias than with girls reported preparation for bias.

Relationships Between Mothers' and Adolescents' Ethnic-racial Socialization and Adolescents' Ethnic-racial Identity

To examine relationships between mothers' and adolescents' reported ethnic-racial socialization and adolescents' ethnic identity, we estimated ordinary least squares regression equations with each dimension of ethnic-racial identity as the criterion, in turn. We entered the set of child and mother demographic variables in model 1, alongside mothers' reports of cultural socialization and preparation for bias, and the gender × socialization interaction terms associated with them. Adolescent-reported socialization

and the gender × socialization interaction terms associated with them were entered for model 2. Results of these equations are presented in Table 4. The ΔR^2 and F in the bottom rows of the table represent the increment in variance explained by each set of variables upon entry.

Results for affirmation and belonging are presented in the first panel of Table 4. Among the set of demographic/control variables, only the coefficient comparing adolescents of mothers with less than a high school education to those whose mothers had completed high school was significant, with adolescents of less well educated mothers reporting lower affirmation and belonging. The coefficient for gender was also significant, indicating that boys reported lower affirmation and belonging compared to girls. In this first model, neither dimension of mother-reported ethnic-racial socialization, nor the corollary gender × socialization product terms, was significant. In model 2, upon entry of adolescent-reported socialization measures, the coefficient for education was reduced to marginal significance but the significant coefficient comparing boys to girls remained. In addition, there was a significant main effect for adolescent-reported cultural socialization, as well as a significant gender × cultural socialization interaction. On average, adolescents who reported that their parents engaged in more frequent cultural socialization reported a greater sense of affirmation/belonging. As shown in Fig. 3, however, adolescent-reported cultural socialization was more strongly associated with affirmation/belonging among girls as compared to boys.

Results for ethnic exploration are presented in the second panel of Table 4. Of the demographic factors in model 1, only the coefficient comparing Chinese adolescents to the reference group of Black adolescents was significant, with Chinese students reporting significantly less exploration. None of the coefficients representing mother-reported socialization were statistically significant. In model 2, there were significant main effects for adolescents' reports of both cultural socialization and preparation for bias, such that adolescents who reported more of these types of socialization also reported more ethnic exploration. Moreover, the coefficient for the product term representing gender differences in the slope for this relationship was statistically significant, and, as shown in Fig. 4, and indicated that cultural socialization was more strongly associated with ethnic exploration among girls than among boys.

Finally, the last panel of the table shows results for the regression of behavioral engagement on the set of demographic/control variables and ethnic-racial socialization variables. In model 1, of the demographic variables we considered, mothers' education, and child's gender were each significant predictors. Adolescents of mothers with less than a high school education and adolescents of mothers with a college degree each reported less frequent behavioral engagement than did the reference group of adolescents whose mothers had completed high school. Boys reported less frequent behavioral engagement than did girls. Moreover, adolescents whose mothers reported more frequent cultural socialization reported higher behavioral engagement than did adolescents whose mothers reported less. In model 2, upon entry of adolescent-reported socialization variables, the demographic predictors remained significant but the coefficient for mother-reported cultural socialization was reduced to non-significance. However, adolescents who reported more cultural socialization and preparation for bias from their parents also reported more frequent engagement in ethnic behaviors. None of the gender × socialization interaction terms was significant in this equation.

Discussion

Ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity have increasingly become areas of interest among scholars who study adolescent development. To contribute to the literature on these topics, our primary goals were (a) to describe the nature of ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity among ethnically diverse early adolescents and among boys versus girls; (b) to explore relationships between mothers' and adolescents' reports of ethnic-racial socialization and their relative importance in predicting adolescents' ethnic-racial identity processes and; (c) to examine the extent to which gender moderates these relationships. Overall, our findings indicated interesting ethnic-racial and gender differences in these constructs. In addition, we found that mothers' and adolescents' reports of cultural socialization and preparation for bias were only moderately correlated, and that adolescents' reports were, not surprisingly, most important in predicting varying dimensions of their ethnic identity. However, we found important differences in the strength of these relationships for boys versus girls, with processes related to cultural socialization being more pronounced for girls. Below, we review our findings in more detail and discuss considerations for future research.

Describing Ethnic-racial Identity and Ethnic-racial Socialization Among Diverse Adolescents

Our first goal was to describe ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity processes among this diverse group of early adolescents and their mothers. To our knowledge, few studies have sought to descriptively examine these constructs in an early adolescent sample that is as ethnically diverse as the one included in the present

Table 4 Ordinary least squares regression of adolescents' ethnic identity on demographic variables, mother-reported ethnic-racial socialization, adolescent-reported ethnic-racial socialization, and gender × socialization interaction terms

	Ethnic affirmation						Ethnic exploration					
	Model 1			Model 2			Model 1			Model 2		
	b	se_b	B	b	se_b	B	b	se_b	B	b	se_b	B
Child's gender	−.30*	.15	−.15	−.29*	.14	−.15	−.05	.15	−.03	−.11	.13	−.06
Mothers' ethnicity												
Latino	.04	.25	.02	.21	.24	.10	−.26	.25	−.13	−.01	.23	−.01
Chinese	−.41	.29	−.20	−.16	.27	−.08	−.64*	.28	−.33	−.29	.26	−.15
Mothers' age												
25–35	.08	.19	.03	.06	.17	.03	.04	.08	−.01	−.01	.16	−.01
46–55	.15	.20	.03	.21	.18	.07	−.07	.19	−.07	−.07	.17	−.03
Over 55	−.60	.44	−.11	−.17	.43	−.03	−.67***	.43	−.14	−.38	.41	−.07
Mothers' education												
No high school	−.45*	.21	−.20	−.44*	.19	−.19	−.22	.21	−.10	−.18	.18	−.08
Some college	−.28	.21	−.12	−.11	.20	−.05	−.24	.21	−.11	−.04	.19	−.02
College	−.14	.22	−.06	−.31	.20	−.13	−.07	.21	−.03	−.23	.19	−.10
Immigrant status	.03	.23	.02				.10	.22	.05	.04	.20	.02
School diversity	.06	.16	.03	−.06	.15	−.03	.16	.16	.09	.01	.14	.01
Socialization (MR)												
CS	.07	.09	.07	−.05	.09	−.05	−.02	.09	−.02	−.12	.08	−.12
PFB	−.04	.09	−.04	−.02	.08	−.02	−.00	.09	.00	−.01	.08	−.02
Gender × CS	−.14	.18	−.07	.06	.17	.03	.01	.18	.03	.06	.17	.03
Gender × PFB	.17	.16	.10	.03	.15	.02	.10	.16	.06	.03	.15	.02
Socialization (AR)												
CS				.63**	.15	.36				.53**	.15	.31
PFB				.29***	.16	.15				.61**	.15	.34
Gender × CS				−.64*	.29	−.18				−.56*	.28	−.17
Gender × PFB				.30	.32	.08				.30	.31	.08
ΔR^2, F upon entry												
Demographic variables	.17, $F(13, 156) = 2.38$, $p < .01$						.10, $F(13, 156) = 1.30$, NS					
Socialization (MR)	.01, $F(4, 152) = .41$, NS						.01, $F(4, 152) = .14$, NS					
Socialization (AR)	.15, $F(4, 148) = 7.93$, $p < .01$						.22, $F(4, 148) = 12.02$, $p < .001$					

	Behavioral engagement					
	Model 1			Model 2		
	b	se_b	B	b	se_b	B
Child's gender	−.30*	.13	−.17	−.33*	.13	−.19
Mothers' ethnicity						
Latino	.14	.23	.07	.29	.23	.15
Chinese	−.22	.26	−.12	−.02	.26	−.01
Mothers' age						
25–35	−.02	.17	−.01	−.03	.17	−.01
46–55	−.13	.18	−.06	−.11	.18	−.05
Over 55	−.80***	.41	−.15	−.62	.41	−.12
Mothers' education						
No high school	−.46*	.19	−.22	−.44*	.18	−.21
Some college	−.36***	.19	−.17	−.24	.19	−.11
College	−.47*	.20	−.22	−.58**	.19	−.26

Table 4 continued

	Behavioral engagement					
	Model 1			Model 2		
	b	se_b	B	b	se_b	B
Immigrant status	.07	.21	.04	.04	.20	.02
School diversity	.00	.14	.00	−.08	.14	−.05
Socialization (MR)						
CS	.16*	.08	.21	.06	.08	.07
PFB	−.04	.08	−.05	−.04	.08	−.05
Gender × CS	−.00	.17	−.00	.11	.16	.06
Gender × PFB	.06	.15	.04	−.07	.15	−.04
Socialization (AR)						
CS				.33*	.15	.20
PFB				.37*	.15	.21
Gender × CS				−.20	.28	−.06
Gender × PFB				.18	.31	.05
ΔR^2, F upon entry						
Demographic variables	.18, $F(13, 156) = 2.67$, $p < .01$					
Socialization (MR)	.01, $F(4, 152) = .54$, NS					
Socialization (AR)	.09, $F(4, 148) = 4.36$, $p < .01$					

Child's gender, 0 = girl; 1 = boy; mothers' ethnicity, reference group = African American; mothers' age, reference group = 36–45; mothers' education, reference group = high school education or GED; immigrant status, 0 = mother is US born, 1 = mother is not US born; school diversity, 0 = <80% single ethnic group; 1 = >80% single ethnic group

MR, mother-reported socialization; *AR*, adolescent reported socialization; *CS*, cultural socialization; *PFB*, preparation for bias

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .10$

Fig. 3 Relationships between adolescent-reported cultural socialization and adolescent-reported ethnic exportation for early adolescent boys and girls (predicted means plotted at ±1 SD)
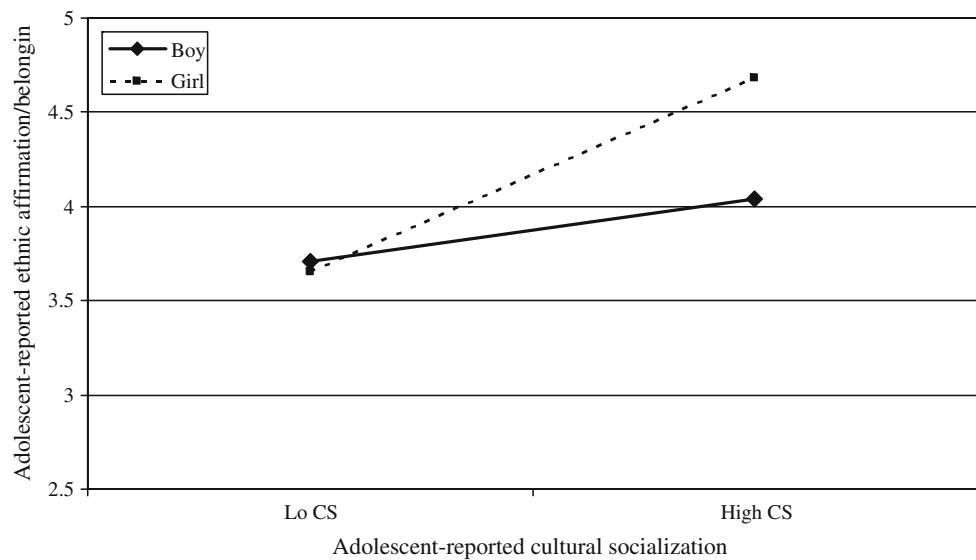
study. Although our sample was purposively selected, in that we targeted a small number of ethnically and academically diverse schools for student recruitment, we believe that descriptive information from the present sample can provide important insights into the construction of ethnicity and race across groups during early adolescence. Several patterns seem especially noteworthy.

First, mothers and adolescents each reported more cultural socialization than preparation for bias. This pattern held for mothers and adolescents from all ethnic backgrounds and for boys as well as girls, and is consistent with findings reported in prior studies (Hughes and Chen 1997; McHale et al. 2006; Phinney and Chavira 1995). It is of interest both because it indicates fundamental similarities

Fig. 4 Relationships between adolescent-reported cultural socialization and adolescent-reported ethnic exportation for early adolescent boys and girls (predicted means plotted at ±1 SD)
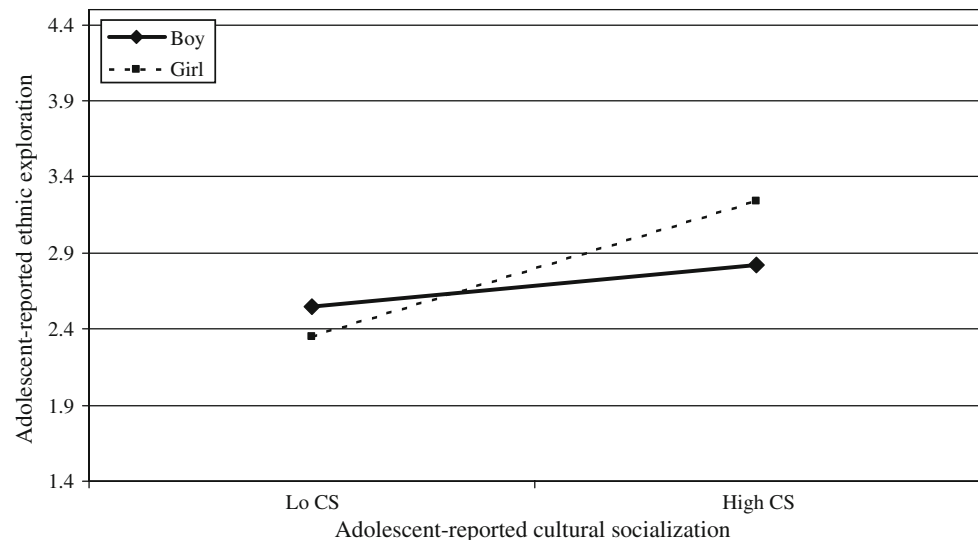
in patterns of socialization across groups and because it indicates that in transmitting messages about ethnicity and race to adolescents, mothers are more likely to emphasize positive aspects of their heritage and appreciation of their ethnic background than they are to emphasize issues of racial stratification and discrimination. This may be the case for several reasons. First, encouraging ethnic knowledge and pride may be a more salient socialization goal for mothers compared to alerting youth to discrimination. Second, discussions about discrimination may be difficult and challenging for mothers compared to others sorts of discussions, because it requires a delicate balance between arming youth with tools for coping with it versus undermining youths' sense of possibility. Parents and adolescents may also underreport preparation for bias practices so that they do not appear prejudiced or racist for engaging in such practices.

Although mothers and adolescents reported preparation for bias infrequently, Black mothers in this sample—90% of whom were African American—discussed issues of discrimination with their adolescents more often than did mothers from other ethnic minority groups, according to both mothers' and adolescents' reports. A greater frequency of preparation for bias among African American mothers as compared to mothers from other ethnic minority groups has been documented in several studies (Biafora et al. 1993; Hughes 2003; Phinney and Chavira 1995). That preparation for bias appears to be a more integral component of ethnic-racial socialization among African American mothers compared to other ethnic minority groups may be due to a complex array of factors. For example, Black mothers may be more inclined to discuss discrimination and racial barriers because they themselves experience and/or perceive it more frequently or more intensely than do Chinese or Latino mothers. Indeed, higher perceived

discrimination among African Americans as compared to other ethnic minority groups has been documented in several studies of adolescents and adults (Greene et al. 2006; Hughes 2003; Rivas-Drake et al. 2008). A second contributing factor may be that African American mothers are simply more comfortable discussing the possibility of racial bias with their children than are mothers from other ethnic groups. As Ward (1991) observed, preparation for bias among African American families may be part of a set of indigenous inter-generationally transmitted child-rearing strategies that emanate from shared knowledge regarding historical experiences of oppression. Such strategies may be less well established in the cultural scripts of other ethnic minority groups, although other groups also encounter stereotypes and discrimination. For instance, Nagata argued that cultural values emphasizing suppression of emotion, self restraint, and maintenance of harmony resulted in silence around experiences of discrimination among Asian-origin groups (Nagata 1990; Nagata and Cheng 2003). Others have suggested that immigrant groups may overlook discrimination and de-emphasize it in their childrearing due to a belief that hard work and education will ultimately result in children's success (Rodriguez 1991; Urciuoli 1996). It is also possible that Latino and Chinese parents perceive and emphasize non-ethnic-racial sources of disadvantage, such as language or cultural difference, that were not included in the measures of ethnic-racial socialization we used.

Regarding ethnic-racial identity, our findings indicated that the modal early adolescent in this sample reported positive feelings about their ethnic group (high affirmation) and that most reported engaging in ethnic behaviors having to do with music, television shows, and decorating with ethnic artifacts, with a few statistically significant ethnic-racial and gender differences in these constructs.

For instance, girls reported higher affirmation and behavioral engagement compared to boys, and Chinese adolescents reported significantly lower affirmation and behavioral engagement compared to Latino adolescents. The greater pride, sense of connectedness, and behavioral engagement among girls may be a function of women's traditional roles as cultural bearers. Girls are likely to be more connected to home, family, community and traditional values whereas boys are more likely to venture beyond their home-base and (through sports participation and other activities) have a more ethnically diverse peer group (Way and Chen 2000). The lower affirmation and behavioral engagement among Chinese as compared to Latino youth may result from several factors, some of which may be unique to the context in which youth in the present study were operating. For example, based on qualitative research with urban high school students, Way et al. (2008) found that Puerto Rican and Dominican students' ethnic identities were supported by visible activities (e.g., Puerto Rican and Dominican day parades) in ways that those of Chinese students were not. Moreover, Chinese students tended to de-emphasize their identities as Chinese in favor of accommodation to the American mainstream. Chinese students in the present study were also more likely than other students to be in homogenous school contexts, which may have contributed to their lower scores on identity process variables.

On average, early adolescents in this study reported only moderate exploration of the meaning of their ethnicity, which we suspect may be a function of the fact that the adolescents were relatively young (11- to 12-year-old, on average) and just beginning middle school. Developmental theorists have pinpointed late adolescence as the period during which exploration is most intensified (Phinney 1990; Pahl and Way 2006). For instance, in French et al. (2006) study of urban adolescents, increases in exploration were documented among adolescents transitioning to high school but not among those transitioning to junior high school. Thus, it is possible that the stage of extensive exploration proposed by Phinney (1990) and other ego-identity theorists occurs primarily at later stages of development (see, Fuligni et al. 2009).

Relationships Between Parents' and Adolescents' Reports of Ethnic-racial Socialization

A second goal of our study was to examine the nature of relationships between mothers' reports of the ethnic-racial socialization messages they transmit, adolescents' reports of the ethnic-racial socialization messages they receive, and the extent to which there are gender differences in these relationships. The two most noteworthy findings in this regard concern (1) the modest size of the overall relationships between mothers' and adolescents' reports and (2) gender differences in the pattern of these relationships. We had expected associations between mothers' and adolescents' reports to be modest for several reasons. For example, conversations and interactions that are memorable to a parent may not be memorable to an adolescent, or vice versa. Likewise, adolescents can miss or misunderstand the messages mothers are trying to transmit and mothers may not be inclined to make their socialization goals explicit. Thus, imperfect synchronization in mothers' and children's communications about ethnicity and race could plausibly account for the modest relationships documented in the present study. However, several methodological issues may have contributed to this pattern as well. For one, we only collected information from mothers, not fathers, about the messages they transmit whereas we asked adolescents about messages they had received from their "parents". However, because mothers are most often involved in the ethnic-racial socialization of their children (McHale et al. 2006), question wording is unlikely to fully explain the absence of stronger relationships. In addition, mothers' and adolescents' surveys were administered independently using different formats (e.g., classroom administered vs. one-on-one surveys), by different interviewers, with different items and scale anchor points to assess the same underlying construct. Thus, for instance, the restricted 3-point scale for the adolescent measures may have resulted in a lower correlation coefficient than we may have found had the adolescent measure been assessed on a 6-point scale, as was the measure for mothers.

Although methodological issues may have attenuated relationships between mothers' and adolescents' reports overall, relationships were stronger among some groups (e.g., girls) than others, suggesting that mother- and adolescent-report measures were assessing similar phenomenon to some extent. Indeed, in light of differences in measurement discussed above, the finding that mothers' reports of cultural socialization predicted adolescents' reports of cultural socialization among girls more so than among boys, whereas mothers' reports of preparation for bias predicted adolescents' reports of preparation for bias among boys more so than among girls is especially striking. These patterns suggest to us that boys and girls are differentially attuned to messages according to aspects of their developmental context that are most salient to them. We unfortunately did not have adequate statistical power to fully examine potential ethnic-racial group differences in these relationships. For example, although the zero-order correlations shown in "Appendix" between mothers' and adolescents' reports appear to be stronger for Black and Latino than for Chinese adolescents, they were not reliably different.

Ethnic-racial Socialization and Ethnic-racial Identity

In examining the extent to which cultural socialization and preparation for bias were associated with varying components of adolescents' ethnic-racial identities, we sought to contribute to existing literature in two ways. First, we thought it important to investigate the relative importance of adolescents' and mothers' respective reports in predicting adolescents' ethnic-racial identity processes. Second, we thought it useful to examine whether there was specificity in relationships between distinct socialization messages and distinct aspects of adolescents' identity processes. With few exceptions (Rivas-Drake et al. 2009) studies have not examined multiple dimensions of ethnic-racial socialization vis-a-vis multiple aspects of youths' ethnic-racial identity processes.

Regarding the relative importance of mothers' versus adolescents' perspectives, our overall expectation was that mothers' and adolescents' reports of ethnic-racial socialization practices would each predict indicators of adolescents' ethnic-racial identity but that messages adolescents received would be most important in this regard. As a general rule, however, mothers' reports of socialization frequency were not associated with youths' identity outcomes. Only one statistically significant relationship between mother-reported socialization and adolescent-reported ethnic identity emerged in the initial equations: Adolescents whose mothers' reported more frequent cultural socialization reported more frequent behavioral engagement. Even here, however, the relationship was nonsignificant once adolescents' perceptions were accounted for. By contrast, adolescents' reports of the extent of ethnic-racial socialization yielded statistically significant regression coefficients for all three indicators of ethnic-racial identity. It seems possible that the absence of relationships is due to the fact that identity processes are not yet in full swing by early adolescents and thus were not sensitive to maternal messages. Were this the case, one would expect to find stronger relationships as adolescents get older. Our future longitudinal data will permit us to examine this possibility. It may also be that mothers' socialization messages only matter to the extent that youth receive them, and thus relationships are solely indirect by way of adolescents' perceptions. Were this the case, the data suggest the importance of early adolescents' perceptions and interpretations of communications from mothers in influencing their identity processes, underscoring the fact that adolescents are an integral component of the ethnic-racial socialization process and are key constructors of their own ethnic-racial identities.

In distinguishing the potential consequences for youths' ethnic-racial identity of cultural socialization versus preparation for bias messages, the only ethnic-racial identity construct for which there was specificity in relationships was

ethnic affirmation. Here, we expected that cultural socialization would enhance ethnic affirmation and that preparation for bias would attenuate it, but our data only supported the first of these hypotheses: Adolescents' reports of preparation for bias were not significantly associated with their affirmation/belonging. Moreover, the finding that adolescents who reported that their mothers more often communicated to them about ethnic pride, history, and heritage also reported more favorable views of their ethnic-racial group was more pronounced among girls than among boys. These findings further support our interpretation of our findings as suggesting that girls are more sensitive to cultural socialization messages overall. That is, girls are not only more attuned to the cultural socialization messages their mothers report but, once received, such messages are more strongly associated with their feelings of affirmation and belonging than they are for boys.

It is not surprising that received cultural socialization and preparation for bias each predicted ethnic exploration and behavioral engagement (Knight et al. 1993; O'Connor et al. 2000). Notably, the relationship between cultural socialization and exploration was especially pronounced for girls, despite the fact that there were no gender differences according to mothers' or adolescents reports' in either cultural socialization or ethnic-racial exploration. Again, this finding points to the greater sensitivity of girls to processes in which they perceive an emphasis on their cultural history and heritage. Adolescent-reported preparation for bias was similarly related to ethnic exploration for girls and boys. Although girls reported more behavioral engagement than did boys, such engagement was similarly predicted by their received cultural socialization and preparation for bias messages.

Issues for Consideration and Future Directions

Findings of the present study need to be considered within the context of several important limitations. First, the study is cross-sectional such that we are unable to determine the direction of relationships between variables. For instance, mothers of adolescents' who appear to be more interested in ethnicity and race may be more likely to report ethnic-racial socialization, such that adolescents' interest in socialization may shape mothers' reported socialization rather than the reverse. Similarly, adolescents with more well developed ethnic-racial identities may be more likely to perceive socialization messages from their mothers. Finally, an unmeasured third variable, such as the salience of ethnicity and race in the family, may predict mothers' and adolescents' reports of socialization and adolescents' identity processes. Longitudinal data are needed to resolve these issues.

A second important limitation is that, although our sample was ethnically diverse, the modest sample sizes for

each participating ethnic group, including groups (Dominican and Puerto Rican; African American and immigrant Black) that were combined into pan-ethnic (Latino, Black) groups, precluded true within-group analyses. Such within-group analyses are needed for knowledge to develop about how ethnic-racial socialization processes operate within specific ethnic-racial groups. Additionally, larger ethnic-racial groups may have also allowed us to consider within-group differences according to immigration status, which was not considered in the present study. Research with Mexican and Puerto-Rican families suggests that the amount of time spent in the United States influences socialization practices (Umaña-Taylor and Fine 2004; Umaña-Taylor and Yazedjian 2006; Quintana and Vera 1999).

A final limitation of the present study is the use of differing ethnic-racial socialization measures for mothers and adolescents. Although measures appeared to tap the same underlying constructs, the items within the measures were not identical and were answered using different anchor points and scales. Consistency across measures and scales would allow for a direct and more nuanced comparison between mothers' and adolescents' reports of mothers' behaviors, and as a result, a more holistic understanding of ethnic-racial socialization process.

Despite these limitations, this study provides important insight into the ways in which socialization from mothers about ethnicity and race help to shape ethnically diverse adolescents' ethnic-racial identity processes—processes that are a critical component of development among ethnic minority youth. Feelings of affirmation, exploration of the meaning of one's ethnicity, and engagement in ethnic behaviors each are associated with messages from mothers regarding culture, history, and heritage and regarding discrimination processes. Importantly, the socialization messages adolescents report having received—more so than those mothers report having transmitted—appear to be most important in this regard. Moreover, girls and boys appear to be differentially attuned to mothers' messages, with girls being more sensitive to messages about culture, history and heritage and boys being more sensitive to messages about discrimination. Thus, our study underscores the complexity of linkages between ethnic-racial socialization and ethnic-racial identity processes, and suggests that future studies need to pay close attention to issues such as whether participants are boys versus girls and whether mothers or adolescents are serving as informants for understanding these important processes.

Appendix

See Table 5.

Table 5 Zero-order correlation coefficients for the relationship between mothers' and adolescents' reports of cultural socialization and preparation for bias

	Black		Latino		Chinese	
	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl
Mothers' and adolescents' reports of cultural socialization	−.19	.56**	.22	.42*	−.01	.11
Mothers' and adolescents' reports of preparation for bias	.35*	.06	.39*	−.18	.09	.02

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

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