MORE THAN A SPONGE:

LATINX YOUTH'S ACTIVE ROLE IN DISCUSSIONS OF DISCRIMINATION

by

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(Under the Direction of ANNE SHAFFER)

ABSTRACT

Latinx youth are likely to experience racism and discrimination in various settings. Experiences of discrimination may, in turn, influence Latinx youth's socialization process. Latinx families may utilize ethnic-racial socialization (ERS) to help youth face discrimination. As ERS is typically understood to be a parenting process, children's active participation in ERS remains understudied. This study addresses this gap in the literature by examining how mothers respond to children *after* children have labeled a hypothetical event in a standardized vignette as discriminatory or biased. Transcription data from 26 Latinx mother-child dyads were micro-coded using a novel coding scheme that included aspects of ERS. Results from sequential analyses indicated that when children labeled a vignette event as discriminatory, mothers were most likely to respond by scaffolding the child's comment. These results highlight the active role of Latinx youth in familial discussions of race and ethnicity and how children elicit different responses from mothers.

INDEX WORDS: ETHNIC-RACIAL SOCIALIZATION, LATINX FAMILIES, ETHNIC-RACIAL IDENTITY, SEQUENTIAL ANALYSIS, DISCRIMINATION

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Experiences of discrimination can have a lasting adverse impact on youth and can be stressful for families to address and help youth learn how to navigate. Latinx families, in particular, face various forms of discrimination and racism, including discrimination against their race and ethnicity and even while speaking a native language in public spaces (Hugo Lopez et al., 2018). These instances of discrimination are not limited in their setting, with Latinx individuals reporting experiencing discrimination in school settings (Benner & Graham, 2011), interactions with authority figures such as police and teachers (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004), and even when out shopping (Bennett et al., 2015).

The ways in which Latinx families discuss and respond to these experiences of discrimination and racism can be studied within the broader context of ethnic-racial socialization. Ethnic-racial socialization is a dynamic and important process by which messages about identity, cultural history and pride, and experiences of racism and discrimination are communicated to children (Hughes et al., 2006; Stevenson, 1994). Ethnic-racial socialization is crucial in promoting and maintaining youth's cultural identity and understanding of history in historically minoritized communities (Ayón et al., 2020). The process of ethnic-racial socialization includes transmission of these messages from adults, peers, and broader society, but it is most frequently studied as a parent-driven process. Furthermore, the study of ethnic-racial socialization is primarily rooted in African American and Black families, with more recent research expanding the

study of this process into other groups such as Latinx families. The tenets of ethnic-racial socialization are especially relevant for the growing Latinx population in the United States, which includes newly immigrated and first-generation families who may especially want to preserve their cultural identities while navigating acculturation in the United States. In particular, ethnic-racial socialization serves to prepare youth for experiences of discrimination and bias that Latinx youth may face and provide coping strategies to respond to these experiences.

Literature on ethnic-racial socialization within Latinx families is still in its early stages. One of the goals of this study is to contribute to the developing research area of ethnic-racial socialization within Latinx families. The ethnic-racial socialization literature has demonstrated parents are key individuals in socializing their children and posits that the process is bidirectional, with both parent and child participating in the process (Hughes et al., 2006). However, the extant literature has primarily focused on parents' active roles in ethnic-racial socialization with youth portrayed as being more passive by listening and taking in the messages shared with them. We understand less about how children may actively participate in initiating conversations about ethnicity, race, and related topics. This study aims to expand our understanding of how children actively participate in discussions about discrimination in the context of ethnic-racial socialization conversations by examining conversations in which Latinx parent-child dyads discuss a hypothetical discriminatory event. Specifically, this study identifies instances in which youth initiate labeling an event as discriminatory or unjust and characterizes the most common types of responses mothers provide. This research also contributes to the emerging body of research examining the bidirectional aspect of ethnic-racial

socialization conversations. For instance, the recent work by Smith-Bynum and Baily (2020) focuses on typologies of parent-adolescent ethnic-racial socialization conversations and reported youth contribute to ethnic-racial socialization conversations by posing questions to their parents. Further, the present study will examine how Latinx youths' proactive labeling of an event as discriminatory or unjust may relate to youths' ethnic-racial identity status.

Experiences of Discrimination in Latinx Populations

Experiences of ethnic and racial discrimination consist of unfair treatment based on an individual's racial or ethnic identity (Neblett et al., 2011). Garcia Coll and colleagues' (1996) ecological integrative model of minority child development addresses how racial and ethnic discrimination shapes the development of children from historically marginalized groups, including Latinx youth. This integrative model posits that children from marginalized communities are more likely to experience racism, prejudice, discrimination, oppression, and segregation, and that these experiences will occur in the various environments they encounter (e.g., at school, out shopping). The integrative ecological model also posits that children's experiences with racial and ethnic discrimination will contribute to their own socialization processes. The current literature has established that experiences of ethnic and racial discrimination can have lasting adverse effects on mental (Carter et al., 2017; Lee & Ahn, 2012) and physical health (Benner et al., 2018; Trent et al., 2019). Recent findings indicate discrimination against the Latinx community is common, with 54% of Latinos reporting instances of discrimination, and this number continues to rise (Noe-Bustamante et al., 2021). Further, many Latinx youth face the unique factors of acculturation stress related to adapting to a

new culture as well as anti-immigration discrimination. Within samples of Latinx youth, experiences of discrimination are associated with higher levels of internalizing and externalizing symptoms (Roche et al., 2020), anxiety and depression (Burgos & Rivera, 2009; Potochnick et al., 2012), and problem behaviors such as substance use (Rogers et al., 2020).

School-based discrimination is another avenue through which Latinx youth experience discrimination. In schools, Latinx adolescents report more frequent instances of ethnic-racial discrimination in schools where teachers and staff are primarily White and non-Latinx, such as being unjustly disciplined or having their English proficiency assumed to be poor (Benner & Graham, 2011). School-based discrimination is also associated with increased school absences and poor academic outcomes for Latinx youth (i.e., grades and GPA; Alfaro et al., 2009; Benner et al., 2018; Benner & Graham, 2011; Hughes et al., 2016). For example, in a large sample of 11–16-year-old Latinx students, discrimination from adults at school (e.g., teachers, school administration) was positively associated with internalizing and externalizing symptoms (Bennett et al., 2020). Discrimination from adults in school is also associated with increased problematic behavior in schools in samples of Latinx adolescents (Meléndez Guevara et al., 2021). Further, discrimination operates through classroom policies that discourage Latinx youth from speaking their native language in the classroom (Palma, 2019).

Discrimination also occurs in open public spaces (e.g., while shopping, on the bus). For example, in a study by Bennett and colleagues (2015), discrimination experiences while shopping were similar across multiple racially marginalized groups (i.e., Asian, Black, and Latinx), and participants reported experiencing discrimination

from both salespeople and other customers. Latinx community members also report experiencing criticism for speaking Spanish in public, being called derogatory names, and being told to go back to their home countries (Hugo Lopez et al., 2018). In their qualitative study of Latinx parental perceptions of recent immigration reform, Roche and colleagues (2020) describe how Latinx parents report experiencing discrimination in daily occurrences, including being told to "speak English" when speaking their native language in public settings. Discrimination is inevitable for many Latinx youths, directly or indirectly. As Garcia Coll and colleagues propose in their integrative model these experiences will significantly impact youth and their families, including how families socialize youth around these experiences.

Fear of immigration policy impacts Latinx youth beyond feelings of discrimination. In a recent study of fifty Latinx parents of varying immigration status, Roche and colleagues (2020) found that parents report changing behaviors such as advising their Latinx adolescent children to change travel plans and to be extra cautious to avoid interactions with authorities. Further, these parents worried about their children, including those with citizenship status, fearing ethnic-racial profiling could potentially result in negative interactions with authorities (Roche et al., 2020). Latinx parents' promotion of mistrust of authority figures based on fear of immigration reform consequences and racial profiling can have adverse consequences. For instance, Latinx youth have reported avoiding medical care and afterschool programs out of fear of authority figures, or not applying for educational scholarships due to concerns that entering their families' information into a system could result in them being identified by immigration officials (Cardoso et al., 2021). The discrimination that Latinx families face

in multiple social contexts may shape processes of ethnic-racial socialization in Latinx families.

Ethnic-Racial Socialization

Ethnic-racial socialization integrates two unique processes of socialization: *racial socialization (RS)* and *ethnic socialization (ES)* (Hughes et al., 2006). Historically, RS and ES were examined separately, although both terms examine overlapping constructs. RS was rooted in how African American and Black parents socialize their children to prepare them to live in a society in which African Americans and other people of color are systematically disenfranchised. Further, RS aims to maintain and promote self-esteem in African American and Black children and maintain cultural and ethnic practices (Constantine & Blackmon, 2002; Hughes, Rodriguez, et al., 2006). Major components of RS identified by the literature include *racial pride*, which can help buffer against negative stereotypes, *racial barriers*, which aid in informing youth of the barriers they may face, *racial achievement*, which refers to valuing a strong work ethic, and *appreciation of extended family involvement and spirituality* messages, both of which help in coping with experiences of discrimination (Coard et al., 2004; Hughes, Rodriguez, et al., 2006; Stevenson et al., 1996; Stevenson, 1998). RS can often take the form of "The Talk," in which parents discuss and teach youth about the potential dangers youth may face (i.e., barrier messages) such as during police interactions (Anderson et al., 2021) or as a result of the hyper-sexualization of Black girls, to protect their youth from other potential harms that disproportionally affects African Americans (Malone Gonzalez, 2020).

ES is rooted in examining cultural values and identities among racially minoritized group members (Phinney & Rotheram, 1986) and has been studied in multiple ethnic group samples (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2013; Roopnarine et al., 2014; Park et al., 2021). Similar to RS, ES is applied to socializing youth around cultural and ethnic practices and keeping connections to their heritage alive (Rivas-Drake et al., 2009; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). Due to the overlap between both RS and ES, in Hughes et al.'s (2006) seminal review on racial and ethnic socialization, the combined term *ethnic-racial socialization (ERS)* emerged as a broad term for the process of sharing important information on racial discrimination, coping with discrimination, and racial-ethnic pride from adult to child. Further, Hughes and colleagues (2006) review posited four specific types of messages within the broader ethnic-racial socialization literature: (1) *Cultural Pride/Cultural Socialization*, (2) *Preparation for Bias*, (3) *Promotion of Mistrust*, and (4) *Egalitarianism*. Cultural pride and socialization, and preparation for bias are the most prevalent forms of ethnic-racial socialization (Ayón et al., 2020; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020).

Cultural Socialization

Cultural socialization refers to the provision of messages of cultural pride and connection to heritage, the practice of cultural traditions, and learning about your family's cultural background (Hughes et al., 2006). Among the four primary forms of ethnic-racial socialization, cultural socialization appears to be one of the most common forms, especially within Latinx families (Ayón et al., 2020). Latinx parents likely utilize cultural socialization more frequently to maintain a connection to ancestral roots that may be at risk of being lost due to enculturation to mainstream American cultural aspects, for

instance, learning about American customs and norms, and integrating these new "cultural elements" into their own lives (Weinreich, 2009). Further, due to the nature of cultural socialization spanning beyond verbal messages (e.g., family traditions, language, traditional foods, music, etc.), cultural socialization may be more commonly practiced in Latinx families. It is important also to acknowledge the common practice of intergenerational home life in Latinx communities; often having extended family in the same home (e.g., grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, etc.) creates more opportunities to practice cultural socialization (Ayón et al., 2018; Umaña-Taylor & Yazedjian, 2006). A qualitative study examining common forms of ethnic-racial socialization in Latinx families found that Latinx parents often shared stories of their country of origin to help youth feel connected to their heritage (Ayón et al., 2018). Sharing stories may help minimize the feeling of separation from an individual's country of origin, maintaining a sense of cultural identity.

Regarding youth outcomes, cultural socialization is predominantly associated with positive outcomes. Non-verbal cultural socialization, such as having cultural artifacts in the home, has been associated with improved cognitive outcomes in Black youth (Caughy et al., 2002, 2006). Messages of cultural socialization are consistently associated with fewer problematic behaviors in Black and Latinx youth spanning developmental stages from pre-school ages into adolescence (Caughy & Owen, 2015; Hughes, Witherspoon, et al., 2009; Wang et al., 2019). In a study of elementary school-aged children, parental message of cultural socialization emphasizing cultural pride predicted fewer child anxiety symptoms (Bannon et al., 2009). These effects are not limited to children. Cultural socialization, specifically cultural pride messages mitigated

the effect of racism on college students' stress (Bynum et al., 2007). Further, a recent meta-analysis indicated that cultural socialization messages are positively associated with youth interpersonal relationships and self-perceptions, and this finding spanned childhood into late adolescence as well as various ethnic-racial identities (i.e., Black, Latinx, Asian and Native American; Wang et al., 2019). The extant literature indicates cultural socialization messages not only buffer against problematic and externalizing behaviors but also attenuates adverse mental health outcomes in Black and Latinx youth.

Preparation for Bias

Preparation for bias refers to messages that teach children about the prevalence of discrimination and building coping strategies to utilize when confronted with discrimination (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). The above-mentioned "Talk" that many African American parents have with their children is one of the clearest examples of preparation for bias. Preparation for bias is crucial in cautioning youth around future endangerments. This form of racial socialization covers police brutality, structural and institutional racism, and teaching youth how to interact with specific systems of oppression they are likely to encounter (e.g., when pulled over by an officer, accused of shoplifting, etc.).

Preparation for bias has been heavily examined, albeit primarily in African American families, with findings showing mixed outcomes of positive and negative youth outcomes. For example, messages of preparation for bias are beneficial in lessening the adverse effects of racial discrimination as evinced by various studies (Harris-Britt et al., 2007; Neblett et al., 2008). Parental messages of preparation for bias have also been associated with youth's feelings of belonging to their racial group (Kyere & Huguley,

2020). Conversely, messages of preparation for bias may also contribute to lower self-esteem in Black youth (Hughes, Witherspoon, et al., 2009). According to Hughes and colleagues (2009), preparation for bias messages undermines youth self-esteem through the internalization of negative messages about their racial group.

Emerging literature on preparation for bias also suggests that the impact of preparation for bias messages appears to differ based on child age. For instance, in a longitudinal study with a sample of African American families, Osborne and colleagues (2020) found that preparation for bias messages from parents who reported high levels of experiences of discrimination were positively related to young children's sadness and anxiety. In another study, preparation for bias messages shared with preschool-aged children had no impact (Caughy et al., 2002). However, preparation for bias messages appear to positively impact early adolescent youth (Kyere & Huguley, 2020).

Parents' preparation for bias messages also seems to differ depending on the context of discrimination. Scott and colleagues (2020) examined preparation for bias coping strategies for specific discrimination contexts, including being followed by a store clerk, using self-report measures. The authors found that youth reported context-specific preparation for bias messages from parents. For example, in the context of being monitored by a store clerk, parents shared messages that promoted assertiveness and reflection on the experience, in the context of teachers expectations of Black students, parents shared messages that promoted disengaging and avoiding the teach in addition to assertive and reflection, and in the context of police harassment, parents shared messages that promoted defensively disengaging with the police as well as avoiding the police to avoid harassment (Scott et al., 2020). Preparation for bias messages also seem to vary

depending on parents' social class, as evinced by differences between working-class and middle-class parents' preparation for bias messages in African American families (Doucet et al., 2018).

However, most of the foundational preparation for bias research has been conducted in African American families. A recent review of the ethnic-racial socialization literature in Latinx families examined preparation for bias as an ethnic-racial socialization strategy in Latinx families (Ayón et al., 2020). The conclusion of this review indicated mixed findings for preparation for bias messages, specifically that these messages can have some harmful effects on Latinx outcomes (i.e., lowered self-esteem; Huynh & Fuligni, 2010). In contrast, one study found that preparation for bias messages were also associated with greater exploration of Latinx youth ethnic-racial identity (Quintana & Vera, 1999), but many studies evince null findings concerning the effect of preparation for bias messages in Latinx youth. Though the examination of preparation for bias in Latinx families has significantly increased compared to a previous seminal review (Hughes et al., 2006), the results of the Ayón and colleagues' review indicate there is still little known about what preparation for bias messages may look like in conversation between Latinx adults and youth.

Promotion of Mistrust

Promotion of mistrust is another ethnic-racial socialization strategy. It refers specifically to mistrust of "interracial interactions" and racial barriers that will disproportionally limit access to opportunities for success (Hughes et al., 2006). An essential difference between preparation for bias and promotion of mistrust is the lack of coping strategies provided to youth in the latter (Hughes et al., 2006). Instead, promotion

of mistrust messages primarily teach youth to not trust individuals from dominant groups, such as White Americans, and to stay cautious of interactions with people from outside their racial group. Messages of mistrust appear to be one of the least utilized forms of ethnic-racial socialization. However, the existing literature suggests they are associated with adverse outcomes in youth. Promotion of mistrust is associated with maladaptive internalizing symptoms such as increased depression in older adolescent Black youth (Dunbar et al., 2015) and may actually amplify adverse effects of discrimination, such as feelings of depression in Latinx adolescents (Park et al., 2020). Another study found a significant positive association of promotion of mistrust with externalizing behaviors but not internalizing behaviors among Black children in early elementary school (Caughy et al., 2006). In Latinx youth, the promotion of mistrust has been associated with triggering depressive symptoms (Park et al., 2020) as well as negative views of youth's racial group (Else-Quest & Morse, 2015).

Egalitarianism

Egalitarianism refers to beliefs that all individuals should be treated equally regardless of race or ethnicity, emphasizing shared qualities among peers rather than a shared group racial identity (Hughes et al., 2006). Egalitarian messages regarding potential racial barriers may also include a belief that with hard work, anything is achievable, and a person's race-ethnicity should not influence the level of success a person achieves. Messages of egalitarianism appear to be heavily emphasized in bi/multi-racial families (Stokes et al., 2021). Parents also tend to employ egalitarian messages of ethnic-racial socialization with younger children as a way of developing a foundational

understanding that all people are equal and should be treated with kindness and respect (Doucet et al., 2018; Edwards & Few-Demo, 2016).

Research indicates that messages of egalitarianism are associated with positive youth outcomes. Egalitarian messages have been associated with a stronger sense of identity among multiracial individuals, promoting well-being and self-esteem (Villegas-Gold & Tran, 2018). Furthermore, egalitarian messages have been shown to serve as a buffer against experiences of discrimination in Black youth (Neblett et al., 2006) as well as greater well-being and less problematic behaviors (Neblett et al., 2008). However, a recent review focused on racial socialization messages within the last decade indicates that egalitarianism has primarily been examined in Black families. There is a dearth of knowledge on how messages of egalitarianism are shared among other ethnic-racial groups (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020). This is further supported by Ayón and colleagues' (2020) review on ethnic-racial socialization in Latinx families. The authors indicate that egalitarianism is one of the least examined constructs in Latinx families.

Bidirectional Processes of Ethnic-Racial Socialization

The ethnic-racial socialization literature broadly suggests ethnic-racial socialization is an essential process that can help racially and ethnically minoritized youth learn to understand and cope with experiences of discrimination. The Racial Encounter Coping Appraisal Socialization (RECAST) theory postulates ethnic-racial socialization can help mitigate the impact of discrimination and racism on youth (Anderson & Stevenson, 2019). A foundational piece of the RECAST theory is the importance of parents feeling confident and competent when transmitting ethnic-racial socialization messages to their children. However, RECAST also recognizes ethnic-racial socialization

can be a stressful task for some parents, and this stress can, in turn, impact parents' confidence and competence when communicating ethnic-racial socialization messages. For instance, recent work by Jones and colleagues (2022) examining different racial socialization competency parenting profiles found that parents who reported higher stress in discussing racial socialization with their children also reported feeling less competent about doing so. It may be helpful to understand how children participate in these conversations, potentially helping to reduce parents' stress.

Researchers posit racial socialization may be a bidirectional process both parents and children shape but also recognize that little research has been conducted examining how children participate in the process (Hughes et al., 2006). Garcia Coll's (1996) integrative model postulates children are not passive receivers of their experiences and environments and instead actively contribute to their surrounding ecologies. Though ethnic-racial socialization may be bidirectional, meaning children and parents influence one another, there is a paucity of understanding of how children actively participate or drive the ethnic-racial socialization process. Although an understanding of the active role of children in socialization processes harkens back to Bell's (1968) seminal paper, such a perspective is largely absent from research on ethnic-racial socialization.

Though little is known about how children may be active participants in ethnic-racial socialization, child contributions to other forms of socialization have been examined. Knafo and Galansky (2008) posit *active child influence* as a process of child influence on parents' values. Specifically, active child influence refers to children who actively communicate their own opinions and experiences to their parents, thereby influencing parents to change or adapt their own opinions and beliefs. A qualitative

analysis of 50 adults' (parents and teachers) perception of child influence on themselves revealed that parents and teachers felt children significantly influenced their values and beliefs through *informational influence,* described as children sharing new information that influenced adults (Dillon, 2002). These findings suggest when children actively communicate newly learned information and passion about new beliefs with their parents, their experiences may influence how parents think and address new topics with their children. Though there have been some advancements in understanding youth's role in certain forms of socialization (Davidov et al., 2015), there is still a relative lack of understanding regarding how children participate actively in specific areas of socialization (Davidov et al., 2015), such as ethnic-racial socialization.

Within the context of Latinx family dynamics, there may be various reasons to expect Latinx children play an important role in contributing to conversations around discrimination and the ethnic-racial socialization processes. For instance, it may be that within these Latinx families, youth take on a more prominent role in socializing their parents regarding majority culture. Latinx youth who are attending school and are actively engaged in social media may be exposed to ethnic/racial discrimination (directly or indirectly) may bring up these experiences with their parents, initiating conversations about race/ethnicity. A child may experience or witnesses racial discrimination outside of the home, thus inclining the child to bring up the topic for discussion with their parent. In some Latinx immigrant families in which youth are first-generation families, youth may serve as language brokers and help parents navigate the school system and medical settings, for instance (Guntzviller et al., 2017; V. Katz, 2014; Orellana, 2003). In these instances, Latinx youth are already positioning themselves as the socializer of their

parent. However, there is a lack of research examining *how* Latinx youth participate in the process of ethnic-racial socialization with their parents, even though foundational literature indicates the need to further understand children's roles in racial socialization.

Ethnic Racial Identity

Youths' potential active roles in the ethnic-racial socialization process and conversations about discrimination could relate to other aspects of their ethnic-racial identity development. Specifically, might active participation in discussions of discrimination be associated with stronger sense of their ethnic-racial identity (ERI)? The extant literature indicates ethnic-racial socialization is a vital process for marginalized youth for various reasons, including its influence on youth's ERI formation (Ayón et al., 2020; Hughes et al., 2006). ERI refers to how an individual self-identifies and may feel a sense of belonging to an ethnic and racial group (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). The process of ERI formation is an essential part of development for youth from marginalized backgrounds, including Latinx youth (Yip et al., 2019). ERI formation develops over the lifespan, beginning early in infancy and continuing to evolve into adulthood (Williams et al., 2020). ERI is developmentally salient in adolescence, an age and stage at which youth develop labels to self-identify with, to understand how race and ethnicity may disproportionally impact specific groups, and to further explore their beliefs about race and ethnicity (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). The literature indicates that positive feelings towards an individual's ERI, as measured by feeling a sense of belonging to and ERI affirmation, serve as a buffer against various adverse outcomes such as anxiety (Williams et al., 2012), depression, and externalizing symptoms (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014) and is

often associated with positive psychosocial functioning in Latinx samples (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014).

Ethnic-racial socialization and ERI are closely related, with ethnic-racial socialization influencing ERI formation in youth. A study of Latinx parent-child dyads examining neighborhood characteristics impacts on ethnic-racial socialization practices found that cultural socialization messages were positively related to Latinx ERI, specifically private regard and centrality (Witherspoon et al., 2021). These findings indicate cultural socialization messages can help bolster how positively youth view their ethnic group (private regard) and how strongly they feel about their ethnic-racial group (centrality). Douglass & Umaña-Taylor (2015) also found higher levels of parental messages of ethnic-racial socialization were related to Latinx youth exploring their ethnic identities and feeling a sense of certainty in their ethnic-racial identities. In all, the current literature suggests that ethnic-racial socialization messages are related to and potentially influence ERI formation in Latinx youth (Grindal & Nieri, 2015; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004).

The Current Study

The current study aims to address a gap in the developing literature of ethnic-racial socialization in the context of Latinx families. Previous research speculates ethnic-racial socialization is bidirectional, with both parent and child participating in the process (Coll et al., 1996; Hughes et al., 2006). However, little is known about how children may be *active participants* in conversations about race and thus contribute to their ethnic-racial socialization, rather than parents playing the role of sole active participant and child as a passive recipient. To understand children's active role in conversations about

discrimination within the ethnic-racial socialization context, this study proposes the following research question: If a child takes the lead in proactively describing an event as discriminatory or racially unjust, how do parents respond? Parents may respond in various ways, utilizing different forms of ethnic-racial socialization messages as described in the literature (i.e., preparation for bias and cultural socialization), when children label an event as discriminatory or racially unjust. To date, little is known about the most frequent types of responses that parents provide in these situations.

To address this exploratory question, a sequential analysis framework was utilized to assess the probability of specific maternal responses to youth labeling an event as discriminatory (*child bias recognition*) in a novel coding scheme of a parent-child discussion of a hypothetical vignette (Smith-Bynum et al., 2016). If a child proactively labels or recognizes as event as discriminatory, parents may respond in various ways, including using ethnic-racial socialization messages to coach their children for potential future experiences of discrimination (preparation for bias) and by reinforcing cultural pride in the face of discrimination. Parents can also respond by agreeing or disagreeing with youths' statements, providing support, and scaffolding youths' thoughts and opinions. Past theory indicates scaffolding is a specific and common form of socializing children around cultural knowledge that helps children learn specific cultural skills (Gauvain, 2005). Therefore, I hypothesized mothers would most frequently respond to youth by responding with scaffolding youths' statements, encouraging their children to elaborate on their thoughts. as compared to other maternal responses such as agreement, cultural pride, or preparation for bias.

This study also explored correlations between youth labeling an event as discriminatory and exploration and commitment to their ethnic-racial identity via a self-report measure. This exploratory question was addressed by examining correlations between *child bias recognition* and their ethnic-racial identity will then be examined. I hypothesize there will be a positive correlation between children labeling an event as discriminatory or racially unjust and their self-reported ethnic-racial identity. Specifically, I posit that children with a stronger sense of their ethnic-racial identity may feel more comfortable labeling an event as discriminatory.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

Participants

This current study is based on secondary data analysis of a larger longitudinal study on child readiness for school and the development of self-regulation in low income African American and Latinx preschool aged children (N = 407) in a large urban population in the southwestern United States (Caughy & Owen, 2015). Recruitment consisted of a community-based approach, including distribution of research study information to local community organizations and centers and community-based pediatric clinics as well as Head Start programs. Participant eligibility included child age between 29 and 31 months old at the initial home visit, at least one parent self-identifying as African American/Black or Latinx/Hispanic, the child had not been hospitalized for more than seven days at birth, family income below 200% of the federal poverty level, and family intended to remain in the area for the next year. Data collection was conducted over eight waves: ages 2½, 3½, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, and 13.

In the larger longitudinal study, a planned missing data design was introduced at Wave 5. Essentially, starting at Wave 5, families were randomly assigned to one of three categories of data collection procedures that included (1) participating in a home visit (2) participating in a phone visit (3) not participating in data collection at that wave (Osborne, et al., 2022). Eligibility to participate in the study starting at Wave 5 was based on having completed at least 2 data collections during Waves 1 through 4. Of the larger

study, 224 Latinx families were enrolled and had completed at least two data points. Of those families, 5 children were excluded from follow-up because they had been diagnosed with a significant developmental disability, 9 families withdrew from the study, and 9 had not been seen since Wave 1 resulting in a sample of 201 Latinx families who were eligible for participation starting in Wave 5.

The current study utilized data collected at Wave 6 (age 11), when families were invited to complete the Racial Socialization Observation Task (RSOT, Smith-Bynum et al., 2016). During Wave 6, 143 Latinx families were assigned to data collection (either via home visit or phone interview), of which 83 (58%) were completed. Latinx families who completed data collection during Wave 6 did not differ from Latinx families who did not in terms of family income, and/or child gender.

Of the 83 Latinx families who completed Wave 6 data collection, 49 (59.04%) were invited to participate in the RSOT, and the RSOT was completed with 38 (73.47%). Families who completed the RSOT did not differ from Latinx families who did not in terms of family income, mother education, and/or child gender. Of the 38 families who completed the RSOT, only 26 had transcription data available. The remaining 12 could not be transcribed due to audio quality issues in the recording.

The characteristics of the resulting sample of 26 mother-child dyads are displayed in Table 1. The average age of child participants was 11.21 (*SD* = .25), with most child participants being male (57.9% male, 42.1% female), and children were identified as Latinx by their primary caregiver. Most parents in the study identified as being foreign born (65.8%) and had various educational levels (52.6% less than high school degree, 15.8% high school degree or GED, 26.3% more than a high school degree).

Procedure

All data collection procedures were approved by the University of Texas at Dallas and the University of Georgia. Data collection was completed during participant home visits by two bilingual and bicultural research assistants. One research assistant conducted the parent interview and assessment while the other research assistant completed the child interview and assessment. Informed consent was signed by parents, and children provided assent prior to data collection procedures. All study assessment measures were made available for participants who were not fluent in English or expressed preference for completing their study sessions in Spanish. Translation procedures included forward translation by a native Spanish speaker followed by independent back translation by two additional individuals. In addition, measures already available were examined to determine if the Spanish was consistent with local, idiomatic Spanish. Home visits lasted between approximately 1.5 and 2 hours. Primary caregivers were compensated with a $50 gift card for their time, and children received a $10 gift card for participating.

For the RSOT task specifically, mother-child dyads were asked to listen to three racially charged audio vignettes and discuss for approximately 5 minutes how they would handle the situation if it happened to them. Participants who agreed to complete the audio vignette task were compensated with an additional $20 gift card and children with an additional $10 gift card.

Measures

Demographic Information

Participants completed a demographic form that included questions on primary caregiver's place of birth, race/ethnicity, and education. Additionally, primary caregivers reported on child demographics including child gender, grade, and child race/ethnicity. See Table 1 for detailed participant demographic information.

Racial Socialization Communication

The Racial Socialization Observational Task (RSOT; Smith-Bynum et al., 2016a) was developed to assess the process of racial socialization between parents and children when discussing a racially charged vignette. The RSOT was originally developed with Black American adolescents between 15-16 years old and was adapted for the present study to accommodate the younger child age and the inclusion of Latinx participants. Research assistants played an audio recorded vignette about a child who was faced with an instance of racial discrimination in a public setting. The audio recording concluded with asking the child participant to describe what they would do in response to the discrimination the child in the audio tape faced if they were in the same situation. The goal of this audio vignette was to elicit a discussion of racial socialization. The RSOT includes three distinct vignettes about discrimination (1) *The School Counselor*, (2) *The Police*, and (3) *The Store*. For the purpose of this study, only the store vignette was examined. For Latinx participants, the store vignette described an instance in which a child and mother are shopping at a store. The mother speaks Spanish and knows a few words and phrases in English, whereas the child speaks both English and Spanish. While the mother and child are speaking Spanish in the checkout line, the child hears the cashier

say, “illegals are taking advantage of this country and don’t even bother to learn English.” The child in the vignette can tell their mother understands the comment was rude but isn’t sure their mother knows exactly what was said. The vignette ends by asking the parent-child dyad that is listening to the vignette what would they do if this happened to them.

The dyad is instructed to discuss freely and their conversation is video recorded. The store vignette was selected specifically because it included an event that occurs in a public social situation in which the child would have to decide quickly if and how they might respond. All vignette audiotapes were available in both Spanish and English, and the dyad selected which language version they preferred to listen to.

All parent-child conversations about the vignette occurred in Spanish and were video recorded and then transcribed by native Spanish speaking research assistants. First, the transcripts were divided evenly between the two research assistants. Neither research assistant had participated in the data collection or had previous contact with participants. All transcriptions were annotated to remove any identifying information (e.g., participant names, specific locations). After each research assistant completed their first round of transcription, they completed a quality check of their own work. The quality check included reviewing difficult audio segments, highlighting portions of the transcripts that deserved further checking, and noting any meaningful differences in the conversations. Next, the research assistants performed quality checks on each other’s work to ensure any difficult segments were addressed.

Coding Scheme. The present study involved the creation of a coding scheme adapted from the RSOT coding system developed by Smith-Bynum and collegues (2016).

The original RSOT coding system was designed to examine various aspects of maternal racial socialization including (1) mothers' suggestions about addressing discrimination and racism, (2) how mothers advocated for their child, and (3) how supportive mothers were of their child's response concerning the discriminatory event (Smith-Bynum et al., 2016a). An updated version of the RSOT coding system (Smith-Bynum et al., 2019) was based on the same principals as the original RSOT coding system but also included observational codes for both parent and child reactions to the events and coping strategies regarding racial discrimination. For both the original and adapted RSOT coding system, global codes were used, with a single value for each rating item assigned to the entire vignette.

For this study, the coding scheme was adapted to focus on parent-child turn taking in their conversation about the vignette and was designed specifically for the use of transcription data. The coding scheme was comprised of a total of 6 codes, (see Table 2), three of which are rooted in the racial socialization literature; *Recognition or Preparation for Bias*, *Scaffolding/Elaboration*, and *Cultural Socialization and Pride/Affirmation*.

Coding Procedure & Reliability. A total of three native Spanish speaking observers participated in the coding process, a research project manager and two undergraduate students, in addition to the primary researcher. The three trained observers were blind to the study's hypotheses. Observers coded all transcripts, and coding was mutually exclusive and exhaustive.

Observers were first trained using a similar Spanish language vignette of the same sample to familiarize themselves with the coding process. The point-by-point agreement method of reliability was used to assess reliability during the training prior to observers

coding data for the study. This method has been established as a more rigorous form of reliability check in comparison to other methods (i.e., summary agreements) (Bakeman & Quera, 2011). The 26 transcripts were divided among the three trained observers, with each observer completing a total of nine randomly assigned transcripts. The master coder completed 25% of the corpus (three randomly selected transcripts from each coder's assignments).

The coding unit for this study was a *thought unit*. A natural unit of communication interactions, thought units consist of stretches of speech with a coherent theme (Hatfield & Weider-Hatfield, 1978). Thought units can consist of multiple thoughts by an individual and are specific to that individual. A shift between thought units is indicated by the dyadic partner speaking next. The use of thought units permits raters to logically divide conversation interactions and to include multiple codes within a thought unit (Hatfield & Weider-Hatfield, 1978). This coding format is more naturalistic for coding real-life conversations. Individuals' conversations have distinct topics within a coherent theme (i.e., a thought unit consisting of agreeing with a dyadic partner, helping partner cope, and reaffirming with cultural pride). This particular definition of coding units has been previously utilized in dyadic conversation analysis (Gottman et al., 1977).

Inter-rater reliability was established using Cohen's Kappa, a statistical score which establishes the agreement between two individual raters; Kappa statistics can range from -1 to +1, with a higher statistic indicating better inter-rater agreement (Bakeman & Quera, 2011; Cohen, 1960). To determine inter-rater reliability via Cohen's Kappa, the selected transcripts were coded using a nominal scale, as presented in Table 3, which

demonstrated excellent inter-rater reliability. The kappa statistic ranged from .82 - .90 across the raters in the study.

Ethnic/Racial Identity

To assess child ethnic-racial identity, the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) was used (Phinney, 1992; Roberts et al., 1999). The MEIM consists of 14 items with response options on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from *Strongly Agree* to *Strongly Disagree.* The MEIM includes a total score and two subscales that assess specific aspects of ethnic identity including (1) ethnic identity search and (2) affirmation, belonging and commitment to an individual's ethnic-racial identity. The scoring of the MEIM consists of reversing scoring negatively worded items, finding the sum of the items and then calculating a mean score. Scoring higher on the MEIM indicates a stronger sense of ethnic identity. Internal reliability of the MEIM indicated good reliability for the total score $\alpha = .82$ and the affirmation, belonging and commitment subscale $\alpha = .87$. However, the ethnic-identity search subscale demonstrated poor internal reliability $\alpha = .45$. To address the exploratory research question, the total score and both subscales were included in the correlation analysis.

Data Analytic Plan

Preliminary Analysis

Descriptive statistics including means, standard deviations, and ranges were computed for each code, *neutral, agreement, disagreement, recognition or preparation for bias, scaffolding/elaboration, and cultural socialization/pride affirmation*, for both mother and child participants, respectively. To assess and determine potential missing data for MEIM variables, Little's test for Missing Completely at Random (MCAR) was

completed. Little's MCAR test was not significant, x^2 (14) = 9.81, p =.78, indicating that missing data were completely random.

Primary Analysis

New variables were computed from the coded transcription data. Specifically, the *total child* variables were calculated by summing the times a code occurred within a dyad's transcript; *total maternal* variables were calculated the same way. Total scores were computed for each code for both mother and child (e.g., total child neutral, total maternal neutral, etc.). *Average child* and *maternal* variables were computed by averaging each code for mother and child across the length of each dyad's transcript, respectively.

Primary analyses were conducted using the Sequential Data Interchange Standard (SDIS) and the Generalized Sequential Querier (GSEQ; Bakeman & Quera, 2011) to assess the transitional probability of a mother's responses to child labeling as recognition/preparation for bias. GSEQ, in particular, can pool all dyadic sequences and calculate simple statistics such as joint frequency and simple probabilities such as transitional probability for event-based sequences. This study focused on the lag of one conversational sequence given that a child labeled an event as discriminatory or biased (i.e., child bias recognition) was followed by a target mother's response to any of the maternal codes. There were a possible six distinct maternal responses including (1) neutral, (2) agreement, (3) disagreement, (4) preparation for bias, (5) scaffolding and elaboration, and (6) cultural pride affirmation. Transitional probabilities were calculated row-wise (Bakeman & Quera, 2011), meaning the *probability of maternal neutral response* was calculated in GSEQ by dividing the joint frequency by the sum of its row.

This same process was completed for the *probability of maternal agreement response, probability of maternal disagreement response, probability of maternal preparation for bias response, probability of maternal scaffolding response,* and the *probability of maternal cultural pride response*. Odds ratios were computed to assess the magnitude given child codes and the target of mother's responses.

Exploratory Analysis

To address the exploratory question of associations between child labeling as recognition/preparation for bias and ethnic-racial identity, bivariate correlations for average child preparation for bias and ethnic-racial identity variables were computed. Child bias recognition was calculated by averaging the total times a child initiated labeling *recognition or preparation for bias* in their transcript, regardless of maternal response.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

Preliminary Analysis

Preliminary analysis included non-contingent descriptive statistics for both parent and child codes (see Table 4). Noteworthy is that all mother-child dyads had at least one instance of child bias recognition, and most had instances of agreement with their dyadic partner and scaffolding. Recognition and preparation for bias was the most utilized code for children (M = .20, SD = 4.79), with a range of 0-23, and scaffolding was the most utilized code for mothers (M = .23, SD = 5.33) with a range of 0-24. Only approximately half of the transcripts had instances of disagreement with their dyadic partner, messages of cultural pride, and/or neutral thought units.

Sequential Analysis

Conditional probabilities (i.e., lag 1 transitional probabilities) were computed for which the given behavior was one of the six child codes, and the target behavior was one of the six codes mothers could potentially respond with. Data were pooled over the 26 dyads due to the low frequency for many of the codes. Though pooling data is not ideal as it does not allow for estimates of individual variability and the dyads contribute unequally to the statistics reported, it is the best practice given the current dataset (Bakeman, personal communication).

The dataset included codes for 1020 events for the 26 dyads. Specifically, there were 993 lag 1 sequences of codes. Of these sequences, 354 were child-mother, 58 were

child-child, 353 were mother-child, and 228 were mother-mother. Of the child-mother sequences, 185 began with child bias recognition, which is the sequence of primary interest.

The next step in the primary analysis was to assess the joint frequency of the given child codes code along with maternal responses. There were some transitions that never occurred (see Table 5). Joint frequency results for child bias recognition as the given indicated a joint frequency of 74 for child bias recognition/maternal scaffolding response, 54 for child bias recognition/maternal bias response, 35 for child bias recognition/maternal agreement response, 4 for child bias recognition/maternal pride response, 3 for child bias recognition/maternal neutral response, and 0 for child bias recognition/maternal disagreement response.

The sequential analysis resulted in transitional probability calculations for six distinct sequences. Transitional probabilities assess whether the given child bias recognition code increases the probability of mother's "target" response. The probability of maternal responses given child bias recognition were as follows: probability of maternal scaffolding response was 41%, probability of maternal preparation for bias response was 30%, probability of maternal agreement response was 20%, probability of maternal disagreement response was 5%, probability of maternal neutral response was 2%, and probability of maternal cultural pride response was 2%.

Odds ratios were computed to assess the magnitude of the transitional probability for each child code. Following Bakeman & Quera's (2011) recommendations, an odds ratio (OR) of 1.25-2 is considered weak, 2-3 as moderate, and over 3 as strong. Results of the odds ratio indicate that child neutral codes were strongly associated with mothers'

neutral responses (OR = 18.40). Child agreement codes were met with mothers' cultural pride affirmation moderately (OR = 2.83). Further, child disagreement was met with both mothers' disagreement (OR = 3.11) and mothers' neutral responses (OR = 5.40), both of which were strong effects. Regarding child bias recognition, mothers' agreement (OR = 2.04) was the most significant response with a moderate effect. Given child scaffolding, mothers' disagreement responses (OR = 2.67) had a moderate effect. Lastly, child cultural pride and affirmation was often responded by mothers' cultural pride and affirmation (OR = 7.62) or agreement (OR = 7.65), both strong effects (see Table 5).

Exploratory Analysis

Results of the bivariate correlations indicated no significant associations between averaged frequency scores of child-initiated recognition or preparation for bias and MEIM total score, r = .01, p =.97, MEIM ethnic identity search, r = -.03, p =.87, or MEIM affirmation belonging and commitment, r = .05, p = .81. See Table 6 for complete bivariate correlations.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

Latinx families may face discrimination and racism that can have damaging effects, including impacting youth. These deleterious experiences of discrimination can be stressful for Latinx parents as they navigate conversations about discrimination and racism with their children (Zhao & White, 2022). Ethnic-racial socialization can serve as a potential buffer against discrimination's harmful impact on youth (Anderson & Stevenson, 2019). Ethnic-racial socialization is a central process by which families of historically marginalized communities prepare youth to confront and cope with discrimination and build pride in their ethnic-racial identities (Hughes et al., 2006). Ethnic-racial socialization is particularly pertinent for Latinx families, preserving cultural identities and maintaining ancestral family roots (Ayón et al., 2020). Parents are critical figures in ethnic-racial socialization, instilling important messages of preparation for bias and cultural pride to youth (Hughes et al., 2006; Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020); however, little is known about how youth actively participate in conversations about discrimination and the ethnic-racial socialization process. This study aimed to investigate mothers' responses when Latinx youth initiate labeling an event as discriminatory, expanding on existing ethnic-racial socialization research by examining youth-driven contributions to this socialization process. Furthermore, sequential analyses were employed to better understand these socialization processes at a micro-level in conversations between youth and their mothers. Further, this study's exploratory aim to examine correlations between

youth's positive sense of their ERI and discrimination labeling expands on the ethnic-racial socialization literature in Latinx families.

Mother Responses Given Child Bias Recognition

In line with our hypothesis regarding maternal responses to children labeling an event as discriminatory, transitional probabilities indicated that the most common conversational pattern given child bias recognition was mothers responding with scaffolding and elaboration statements. However, odds ratios indicated that given child labeling an event as discriminatory, mother's agreement responses had a moderate effect compared to all other maternal responses (e.g., mothers' scaffolding). In our sample, mothers typically responded by asking children to clarify their understanding of their statement and were supportive of children's opinions regarding discrimination. These findings contribute to the existing ethnic-racial socialization literature by highlighting that when children label an event as discriminatory, mothers are generally supportive of children's comments and may scaffold their children by asking follow-up questions or confirming that their children understand the context of the conversation. Validating a child's thoughts and opinions when addressing a difficult conversation can help foster trust between parent and child (Katz et al., 2012). This may be especially important in ethnic-racial socialization, in which children are socialized to face negative experiences they are likely to continue facing into adulthood. Our findings support Garcia Coll et al.'s (1996) integrative model of minority child development which posits that children from racially marginalized communities will experience discrimination that influence how they contribute to their socialization processes. This study's findings suggest children are

contributing to important conversations surrounding discrimination and ethnic-racial socialization.

This study also revealed that given children labeling an event as discriminatory, the magnitude of the transitional probability of mothers responding with messages of preparation for bias was not significant. These findings are similar to those of Smith-Bynum and colleagues' (2016) study examining differences in mothers' racial socialization behaviors based on the type of vignette (discrimination from a school teacher vs. a rude salesperson). The authors found that in the "rude salesperson" vignette, which was very similar to the store vignette in the present study, mothers were less likely to share preparation for bias messages (Smith-Bynum et al., 2016). It may be that while interacting with a rude and potentially racist salesperson can be difficult for a child, mothers may believe the stakes are not very high in these interactions. Smith-Bynum and colleagues (2016) found that mothers provided more preparation for bias messages for vignettes that included a teacher versus a salesperson, likely due to children having regular interactions with a potentially racist teacher who could have a lasting impact. In addition to previous research, the findings from this study indicate there are nuances in ethnic-racial socialization based on different contexts and the degree to which parents perceive an event will impact their children.

The least commonly utilized maternal responses to child bias recognition were messages of disagreement, neutral and cultural pride responses. Relatively low frequency of disagreement from mothers can be interpreted as willingness to support and maintain conversations about discrimination with their children. It was not surprising to have a lack of neutral responses to children labeling an event as discriminatory. *Neutral*

responses were defined as stating something completely off-topic (e.g., given child bias recognition, a mother responding by asking how much time is left in the vignette), which may have been interpreted as potentially deflecting to avoid the topic at hand.

There was also a lack of cultural pride messages as maternal responses given child labeling an event as discriminatory. This is surprising given previous literature indicating cultural pride messages are the most utilized forms of ethnic-racial socialization practices in Latinx families (Ayón et al., 2020). However, it may be that the context of the vignette was not supportive of cultural pride messages from mothers. In particular, a unique facet of cultural socialization is how it expands past verbal messages and includes practicing and exposure to cultural traditions, imagery, language use and storytelling (Umaña-Taylor & Hill, 2020), parenting practices that were not assessed in the current study.

Mother Responses Given Other Child Codes

Although this study aimed specifically to examine mothers' responses given child labeling an event as discriminatory, other child codes and maternal responses are worthy of further investigation. Given child neutral codes, mothers typically responded with a neutral code. Typically, child neutral codes were due to children asking questions irrelevant to the context of the vignette (e.g., asking how much time is left or asking for a snack) and mothers responding accordingly. Given children's scaffolding codes, which typically consisted of children asking mothers questions about the vignette, mothers typically responded by disagreeing with their children. This finding can also be explained by reviewing the dataset and findings that disagreements were typically characterized by mothers not agreeing with how a child asked to handle the vignette. For instance, a child

might ask their mother if responding to the cashier with violence is appropriate, and the mother disagrees with that response. Additionally, given children's scaffolding, mothers also responded with cultural pride and affirmation messages. In one instance, a child asked their mother what they should tell the cashier, and their mother responded to state that yes, they are the child of immigrants and should be proud of this. Children's cultural pride and affirmation codes were frequently met by mothers agreeing with children's sentiments and with other messages of cultural pride and affirmation. These findings are not surprising considering that cultural pride messages are among the most common forms of ethnic-racial socialization messages in Latinx families (Ayón et al., 2020). Likely, mothers' cultural pride and affirmation messages are more suitable responses when children are also demonstrating a sense of cultural pride.

Relations to Youth Ethnic-Racial Identity

The goal of the exploratory analysis was to determine if ethnic-racial identity was related to a specific ethnic-racial socialization behavior of labeling an event as discriminatory. Results indicated there were no significant associations between child labeling an event as bias and child total ethnic-racial identity score, ethnic-racial identity search or ethnic-racial identity affirmation and belonging. It may be that due to the very small sample size, no associations were detected, in which case future research may be able to examine potential associations with a larger sample size. Another explanation for these results may be that the use of child labeling may not be an appropriate assessment of children's ethnic-racial socialization behaviors.

Limitations and Future Directions

Though this study expands on the current ethnic-racial socialization literature, it does come with methodological limitations. First, our sample only included early adolescent youth (mean age 11.21 years old), making these findings less generalizable to younger children and how they might participate or elicit responses from parents during conversations about discrimination and ethnic-racial socialization. Because this study only examines a single time point, we cannot assess the frequency and type of previous ethnic-racial socialization youth may have experienced that has gotten them to this point in their developmental trajectory. A potential future solution would be to assess ethnic-racial socialization longitudinally or potentially ask participants questions about their previous experiences of ethnic-racial socialization.

In addition, our sample size of 26 mother-child dyads is small, limiting the impact of our findings and limiting interesting potential analyses. For instance, due to the small sample size, comparing maternal responses based on child gender was not possible in this study. However, gender differences in ethnic-racial socialization have previously been found. For instance, girls often received more cultural socialization messages from their caregivers whereas boys receive more preparation for bias messages (Blanchard et al., 2019; Hughes, et al., 2009; Thomas & King, 2007). Further, research indicates that mothers engage in more ethnic-racial socialization than fathers (Brown et al., 2010). Likewise, our small sample size hindered our exploratory analysis on associations between youths' positive sense of ethnic-racial identity and labeling of a discriminatory event. Future work may replicate this study in a larger sample. Additionally, this study only examined mother-child dyads, though fathers are also important in ethnic-racial

socialization (Cooper et al., 2015; Cooper et al., 2015; McHale et al., 2006). It is also essential to consider the composition of Latinx family homes, including various parental figures that also socialize youth (e.g., grandparents, aunts, uncles, etc.) (Ayón et al., 2018; Cohn & Passel, 2018). Future work should consider multiple other socializers within Latinx family homes and how these members may contribute to youth's messages.

Another limitation of this study was the utilization of a single vignette concerning discrimination by a cashier at a store. This vignette was chosen specifically to reflect a common real-world scenario in which a child would have to decide how to respond to the interaction. However, it may be beneficial to examine at the micro-level how parent and child discuss discrimination in other contexts. When examining mothers' responses to either discrimination from a White school teacher versus a White salesperson, Smith-Bynum and collaegues (2016) found differences in how mothers socialized their children based on the vignette, advocating for their youth more in the school counselor scenario than the salesperson scenario. Therefore, future work may benefit from utilizing other vignettes that may elicit different responses from parent and child.

Though our sample primarily consisted of foreign-born mothers, which is a strength of our study, this does not mean our findings are generalizable to *all* newly immigrated families. Specific cultural contexts should be considered for newly immigrated families of different regions. Various factors may impact the types of ethnic-racial socialization messages parents share with their families. For instance, Afro/Black Latinx families may feel the need to emphasize messages about racial discrimination and how to interact with authority figures compared to White Latinx families who may face less racial discrimination (Araujo-Dawson, 2015).Additionally, mixed immigrant

status families may also socialize their youth differently, with more caution surrounding police and other authority figures than families with U.S. citizenship status. Another consideration for future directions is the family's generational status. Specifically, how might ethnic-racial socialization messages differ between first-generation Latinx families and second or third generation Latinx families? There may be significant differences in cultural pride messages as families assimilate to the majority culture and potentially adopt new traditions.

Conclusions

Despite the current study's limitations, these results still contribute by highlighting how youth elicit responses from their mothers after they label an event unjust when discussing discrimination. To our knowledge, this study is the first to examine parent-child ethnic-racial socialization conversations on a micro-level using sequential analyses to characterize types of maternal responses. This research dovetails with Smith-Bynum and Baily's (2020) developing work on parent-adolescent dyadic ethnic-racial socialization conversations which used observational coding to identify four distinct conversation types: (1) *parent dominant*, (2) *shared discussion*, (3) *mutual and mutual with adolescent inquiry*, and (4) *adolescent dominant*. The findings of this study are most parallel with Smith-Bynum and Baily's (2020) *mutual and mutual with adolescent inquiry* typology in which adolescents elicit maternal responses by posing questions on the topic. Smith-Bynum and Baily's work examines ethnic-racial socialization conversations at a macro level, examining overall conversations. However, our study differs in its novel examination of conversations about discrimination at the micro-level. These micro-level findings suggest nuances in these subtle yet complex

interactions between parents and their children. In tandem with the findings from this study, the evidence suggests that youth are active contributors to conversations about discrimination.

A potential stressor for parents may be not knowing what their child perceives as discrimination in their surroundings. Recent research indicates that parents often feel uncertain about how to navigate difficult conversations surrounding discrimination (Anderson et al., 2022; Christophe, 2022). Having more information about how children perceive discrimination in their surroundings may help parents navigate these potentially challenging conversations, allowing children to lead conversations by asking questions and stating their own opinions on the subject. With the knowledge children are active participants in the ethnic-racial socialization process and have their own opinions about discrimination, parents may feel less stressed about having conversations with their child about discrimination by taking the guesswork out of what they imagine their children know.

The findings of this study suggest when children discuss ethnic racial discrimination and the injustices that result from it, mothers are prompted to validate children's comments as opposed to discouraging children. Considering how current research indicates that ethnic-racial socialization conversations can be taxing for parents (Anderson & Stevenson, 2019), these findings can help support parents, informing them of what their children may already know and encouraging youth to be active participants in their own ethnic-racial socialization.

Table 1

Demographic Characteristics of Mother-Child Dyads

Characteristic	Total Sample (n = 26)
Child Age	
Range	10 -11
Mean (SD)	11.21 *(.25)*
Child Gender (%)	
Female	42.1
Male	57.9
Child Ethnicity (%)	
Hispanic/Latinx	100
Maternal Education (%)	
Less than High School	52.6
High School or Equivalent	15.8
More than High School	26.3
Primary Care Giver Nativity (%)	
Foreign Born	65.8
U.S. Born	34.2
Family Income to Needs Ratio %	
< 50% federal poverty level	15.8
50-99% federal poverty level	44.7
100-149 % federal poverty level	31.6
> 150% federal poverty level	7.9

Table 2

Coding Scheme for Racial Socialization Observation Task - Transcript

Scheme	Code and definition
Neutral Code (1)	Identifies a thought unit in which what is being said does not pertain to the scene at all. Examples include: • "I'm hungry; I want to eat after this." • "How much time is left?"
Agreement with dyadic partner (2)	Agreeing with what the dyadic partner has just said. This can be in the shape of a verbal agreement or head nod. Examples include: • "Yeah, I think so too." • "Mm-hmm."
Disagreement with dyadic partner (3)	Disagreeing with what the dyadic partner has just said. This can be in the shape of a verbal disagreement or a head shake. Examples include: • "I don't see it that way." • "Uh uh."
Recognition or Preparation for Bias (4)	Identifies a dyadic partners thought unit as an instance of racism/discrimination/injustice or acknowledges a problem based in racism/discrimination, including understanding the consequences related to racism/discrimination. Further, this code identifies thought units of preparation for bias and how to cope when facing a discriminatory situation. Examples include: • "I think the cashier is racist."

	• "He thinks Hispanics don't speak English because some people think poorly about Hispanics." • "The cashier should be fired for what he said." • "I would call the manager for help."
Scaffolding/Elaboration (5)	Identifies when a dyadic partner helps the other dyadic partner, or scaffolds, their thoughts by asking probing questions or confirming for example. Elaboration can include (but not limited to) asking the dyadic partner to further explain or build on their statements or questions. Examples include: • Providing a follow up question • Asking for further elaboration from the parent/child • Asking if the parent/child understands the vignette
Cultural Socialization and Pride/Affirmation (6)	Identifies positive statements regarding ethnic-racial identity that may serve as a form of self-empowerment when discussing ethnic-racial pride, ethnic/racial backgrounds, and understanding and/or discussing historical contexts regarding race and discrimination. Examples include: • "I am proud to be Hispanic." • "My ancestors are native to this land." • "Maybe the cashiers' grandparents were immigrants too."

Table 3

Inter-Rater Reliability

	k	Asymptotic SE	*p*
Coder 1	.86	.04	<.001
Coder 2	.90	.03	<.001
Coder 3	.82	.04	<.001

Note. Reliability sample $N = 9$; k = Cohen's Kappa.

Table 4

Descriptive Statistics

Code	Mean	SD	Range
Child Neutral	.03	2.11	0 - 9
Child Agreement with Dyadic Partner	.07	2.27	0 - 10
Child Disagreement with Dyadic Partner	.02	1.32	0 - 6
Child Recognition or Preparation for Bias	.20	.08	0 - 7
Child Scaffolding/Elaboration	.07	.08	0 - 7
Child Cultural Socialization and Pride/Affirmation	.02	1.44	0 - 6
Adult Neutral	.02	1.63	0 - 6
Adult Agreement with Dyadic Partner	.07	2.01	0 - 7
Adult Disagreement with Dyadic Partner	.02	1.72	0 - 8
Adult Recognition or Preparation for Bias	.19	4.00	1 - 17
Adult Scaffolding/Elaboration	.24	5.29	0-24
Adult Cultural Socialization and Pride/Affirmation	.05	2.18	0 - 8
Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM)			
MEIM Total	2.98	0.41	1 - 4
MEIM Ethnic Identity Search	2.60	0.52	1 - 4
MEIM Affirmation Belonging and Commitment	3.25	0.48	1 - 4

Table 5

Frequencies, Transitional Probabilities and Odds Ratios for Pooled Data

Given = Child Behavior	Target = Mother Behavior						
	Neutral	Agree	Disagree	Bias	Scaffold	Pride	Total
				Frequencies			
Neutral	8	0	0	5	9	0	22
Agree	1	6	1	14	25	6	53
Disagree	3	0	2	6	4	0	15
Bias	3	38	9	54	77	4	185
Scaffold	3	2	6	15	29	4	59
Pride	0	11	0	3	1	5	20
Total	18	57	18	97	145	19	354
				Transitional Probabilities			
Neutral	.364	.000	.000	.227	.409	.000	1
Agree	.019	.113	.019	.264	.472	.113	1
Disagree	.200	.000	.133	.400	.267	.000	1
Bias	.016	.205	.049	.292	.416	.022	1
Scaffold	.051	.034	.102	.254	.492	.068	1
Pride	.000	.550	.000	.150	.050	.250	1
				Odds Ratios			
Neutral	18.40	0.00	0.00	0.77	1.00	0.00	
Agree	0.32	0.63	0.32	0.94	1.35	2.83	
Disagree	5.40	0.00	3.11	1.82	0.51	0.00	

Bias	0.17	2.04	0.91	1.21	1.06	0.23
Scaffold	1.00	0.15	2.67	0.89	1.49	1.36
Pride	0.00	7.65	0.00	0.45	0.07	7.62

Note. Agree = Agreement w/Dyadic Partner; Disagree = Disagreement w/Dyadic Partner; Bias = Recognition or Preparation for Bias; Scaffold = Scaffolding/Elaboration; Pride = Cultural Socialization and Pride/Affirmation; Odds Ratio of 1.25 – 2 = weak, 2-3 = moderate, >3 = strong.

Table 6

Bivariate Correlations for Ethnic-Racial Identity and Child Bias Recognition

	1	2	3	4
1= Child Bias Recognition				
2= MEIM Total Score	.01			
3= MEIM Ethnic-Identity Search	-.04	.78**		
4=MEIM Affirmation & Belonging	.05	.87**	.36*	

Note. MEIM = Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure.

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$

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