

OBSERVED ETHNIC-RACIAL SOCIALIZATION AND
EARLY ADOLESCENT ADJUSTMENT

by

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This dissertation examined how cultural influences transmitted within the familial context impact the psychological adjustment of ethnic minority youth through the development of an observational measure of ethnic-racial socialization. Specifically, a behavioral observational paradigm and companion coding system were developed to examine ethnic-racial socialization processes among 140 American Indian, African American and European American adolescents and their families. Despite its interactional nature, to date there are no observational measures of ethnic-racial socialization, highlighting the important contributions of this study.

This study was conducted in a series of phases. Phase I consisted of measurement development through use of qualitative data. Qualitative information from cultural informants was incorporated to develop two observational paradigms (observed family discussions on Family Culture and Coping with Discrimination) and an accompanying

coding system. Phase II examined the underlying factor structure of this observational measure through confirmatory and exploratory factor analytic techniques. The Discrimination Paradigm derived the ethnic-racial socialization dimensions: a) Proactive Preparation, b) Racial Awareness, c) Promotion of Mistrust, and d) Other Group Orientation. The Family Culture paradigm derived: a) Cultural Socialization, b) Ethnic Heritage Exploration, c) Family Centeredness, and d) Spiritual Involvement. In Phase III correlational analyses supported convergent and ecological validity of the observed dimensions for American Indian and African American youth, but not European American youth. Phase IV examined the mediational effects of the observed measures, suggesting that among American Indian and African American youth, observed ethnic-racial socialization is central to the relationships between family context, discrimination, ethnic identity and youth adjustment. In Phase V, moderation effects indicated that only for American Indian youth, observed ethnic-racial socialization significantly reduced the impact of discrimination on youth adjustment. Last, Phase VI analyses revealed that observed dimensions uniquely contributed to adolescent problem behavior above and beyond the effect of discrimination and familial contextual factors among American Indian and African American youth. In sum, these findings support the reliability and validity of the observed ethnic-racial socialization measures, and suggest its promising capability to efficiently capture important, observable, transactional familial processes of ethnic-racial socialization that are integral to the development of cultural resilience.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The ecological context of the ethnic minority child includes many challenges associated with ethnic minority status and being part of a culture that differs from the mainstream. Societal stressors such as restricted opportunities in employment, housing, services, discrimination, and cultural misunderstandings place ethnic minority families at a greater risk compared to mainstream families (Brooks-Gunn, Guo, & Furstenberg, 1993; Bursik & Grasmick, 1996; Sampson & Groves, 1989). In particular, ethnic minority youth and families experience acts of racism and discrimination ranging from subtle to violent, sometimes individually or as minority groups as a whole. These experiences have been associated with increased psychological dysfunction in communities, and especially in ethnic minority youth (Prelow, Danoff-Burg, Swenson, & Pulgiano, 2004; Rosenbloom, & Way, 2004).

In response to the long standing focus in the developmental literature on “deficits” or “risks” related to ethnic minority youth and family functioning, emerging evidence has suggested cultural variation in what is considered “optimal” parenting practices when comparing the developmental trajectories of ethnic minority to mainstream European American children (Garcia-Coll, Lamberty, Jenkins, McAdoo, Crnic, & Wasik, 1996). Recent findings on ethnic minority parenting indicates that ethnic minority families may have a set of set of adaptive parenting styles that somewhat differ from those practiced by

mainstream European American families. Ogbu (1981) suggests that childrearing attitudes and practices can be heavily influenced by the ethnic and cultural backgrounds of their parents, extended family and neighborhood. Cultural variability in parenting practices, family values and childrearing attitudes are often the product of the methods developed by culture which promotes and fosters a child's competence and adaptability in that particular culture (Garcia Coll, 1990).

Ethnic minority families bring to their family context internal and external cultural elements such as cultural beliefs, attitudes, values, family roles, cultural expectations, and coping with issues of discrimination that are central in the development of ethnic minority children. Both external (e.g. experiences of discrimination) and internal cultural influences (e.g. ethnic identity, cultural pride) affect parenting processes and family functioning of ethnic minority families in ways that deviate from processes reported in mainstream American families.

Recently, Hughes and colleagues (2006) have coined ethnic-racial socialization as an example of culturally embedded familial socialization processes that are unique to, and promote healthy adjustment particularly among youth of color. Ethnic-racial socialization is a construct that encompasses socialization processes surrounding issues of race (racial socialization) and ethnicity (ethnic socialization), in particular, the socialization of culture and the minority experience. Historically, racial socialization and ethnic socialization have originated from separate literatures. Specifically, racial socialization has emanated from research examining African American parents' efforts to prepare their children to understand and cope with existing racial barriers that are

reflective of the stratification of society by race (Boykins & Toms, 1985; Peters, 1985). On the other hand, ethnic socialization has emerged from literature focusing on the experiences of immigrant populations, (e.g. Latino and Asian American groups) which includes socialization processes surrounding cultural retention, ethnic identity achievement and affiliation towards one's ethnic group in the face of mainstream pressures to assimilate (Knight, Bernal, Cota, Garza, & Ocampo, 1993; Ou & McAdoo, 1993). However, current literature on racial socialization and ethnic socialization suggest considerable overlap (Hughes et al, 2006), in which scholars have incorporated within the definition of racial socialization, the transmission of cultural practices and ethnic/racial pride, whereas the term ethnic socialization is frequently applied to cultural socialization processes among multiple ethnic groups including African Americans. Thus, both racial socialization and ethnic socialization processes are considered applicable across ethnic or racial groups since most parents from ethnic and racial backgrounds share messages on cultural heritage and ethnic/racial group status (i.e. discussions on discrimination). Regardless, the distinction of whether racial or ethnic socialization is the most applicable term to describe these socialization processes is complex, since across both ethnic and racial groups, discussions may pertain to issues of ethnicity (e.g. socialization of culture) as well as race (e.g. discussions on racial discrimination). Thus, here we will use the term "ethnic-racial socialization" to refer to overarching processes of racial and ethnic socialization, while applying specified terms "Cultural Socialization" for the transmission of culture (Hughes et al, 2006), and "Status Differentiation Awareness" to refer to discussions on issues pertaining to racial or ethnic group status. Derived from

Matsumoto's (2007) definition of status differentiation "the degree to which cultures differentiate their behaviors toward others on the basis of the status differences that exist between them and their interactants", we applied the term "Status Differentiation Awareness" to encompass Hughes and colleagues' (2006) dimensions of Preparation for Bias, Promotion of Mistrust and Silence About Race.

Current Gaps in the Literature on Ethnic-Racial Socialization

Current literature highlights that ethnic-racial socialization is a critical aspect of ethnic minority parenting that focuses on protecting and teaching their children how to navigate a society where ethnic, racial, and cultural features may lead to discrimination and racism, which in turn can be detrimental for the positive adjustment of ethnic minority youth (Stevenson, Reed, Bodison, & Bishop, 1997). The protective influence of ethnic-racial socialization has been documented, for example, socialization messages on family culture and coping with discrimination has been associated with ethnic identity achievement (Demo & Hughes, 1990), better socioemotional adjustment and academic achievement (Caughey, O'Campo, Randolph & Nickerson, 2002). However, in regards to Status Differentiation Awareness (i.e. discussions on issues of race, ethnicity and discrimination), empirical findings have reported both favorable (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Stevenson, et al, 1997) as well as unfavorable (Marshall, 1995; Ogbu, 1988) outcomes for ethnic minority youth. Moreover, the discrepancies in findings appear to vary across studies, based on type of assessment (self report, interview methods) as well as reporting agent (Hughes, 2003).

These findings suggest that it is still unclear as to whether ethnic-racial

socialization messages are promotive or adverse for ethnic minority youth adjustment. Further, because it is conceptually understood as largely an ethnic minority phenomenon, little is known whether ethnic-racial socialization applies, if at all, to mainstream European American youth. Literature is sparse in regards to specifying the varying influences different ethnic-racial socialization messages (e.g. Status Differentiation Awareness, Cultural Socialization) may have on the development of youth of various ethnicities. Moreover, current research on ethnic-racial socialization has largely utilized self report or participant interviews that are often constrained to the definitions specific to that individual. Very little research has utilized observational methods that capture the lucid family transactions and behaviors which occur during ethnic-racial socialization processes - information that is often hard to obtain through self-report, interviews, and other sources. In response to these limitations, this exploratory study aims to examine differential influences of specific ethnic-racial socialization messages through a newly developed behavioral observational measure of ethnic-racial socialization among American Indian, African American and European American youth and their families.

Impact of Racial Discrimination on Ethnic Minority Youth Functioning

On top of the normative stressors related to adolescent development and socialization, ethnic minority youth and families encounter as part of their daily lives the negative experiences of discrimination. Ethnic or racial discrimination may occur in various contexts of their lives, such as among peers, school, neighborhood and community (Rosenbloom & Way, 2004). For example, Broman, Mavaddat, and Hsu (2000) reported that 77% of African American youth reported experiencing racial

discrimination, with African American males experiencing the most discrimination by police and in finding jobs. Among American Indians, perceived discrimination is associated with depression, substance use and externalizing problems (Whitbeck, Hoyt, McMorris, Chen, & Stubben, 2001; Whitbeck, McMorris, Hoyt, Stubben, & LaFromboise, 2002).

Several studies have documented negative mental health outcomes associated with experiencing acts of discrimination. Among ethnic minority youth, a positive association between perceived discrimination and an adolescent's engagement in problem behavior has been reported. For example, Wong and colleagues (2003) found in their sample of 629 African American adolescents, perceived discrimination by peers and teachers was associated with increases in problem behaviors such as shoplifting, skipping class, lying to parents, cheating, stealing cars and bringing drugs or alcohol to school. Nyborg and Curry (2003) found that adolescent report of their experiences of racism were related to both adolescent and parent report of child externalizing symptoms. Similarly, Prelow, Danoff-Burg, Swenson, and Pulgiano (2004) reported that perceived discrimination exacerbated ecological risk for African American youth, resulting in higher engagement in delinquent behaviors, whereas no association was found for European American youth.

The psychological toll of racial discrimination is also reported to be associated with internalizing problems such as depression, somatic symptoms and anxiety. In a study by Simons and colleagues (2002), individual experiences of racial discrimination among African American children predicted child depressive symptoms. Schmader, Major and

Gramzow (2001) found that beliefs about ethnic injustice were associated with greater devaluing of one's academic success and distrust in academic feedback among African American students. Rumbaut (1994) found in a multiethnic sample of 1st and 2nd generation immigrant adolescents, that perceived discrimination was significantly associated with depressive symptoms and low self-esteem. Among American Indians, perceived discrimination was strongly associated with higher depressive symptoms (Whitbeck, et al, 2002). These results reflect the negative psychological impact discrimination can have on ethnic minority youth development – a common theme experienced by many ethnic minority groups.

The stressors related with racial discrimination also indicate system level influences, in particular, the family context. The Mundane Extreme Environmental Stress model (MEES; Peters & Massey, 1983) describes the living conditions of ethnic minority families as an environment where there is “constant threat and actual periodic occurrences of intimidation, discrimination, or denial because of race. The stresses which families face - sometimes subtle, sometimes overt-are pervasive, continuous and debilitating.” (p.196). Daily encounters with overt and covert racial discrimination can exacerbate the effects of contextual stressors on family functioning and relationships. Gibbons, Gerrard, Cleveland, Wills and Brody (2004) found that parental experiences of racial discrimination were directly associated with parental distress and substance use. As such, for ethnic minority families, encounters with chronic, unpredictable acts of racial discrimination not only impact the individual, but also the family system and relationships within that system (Peters & Massey, 1983).

Overall, empirical evidence highlights the deleterious consequences of exposure to discrimination and socioeconomic and political barriers for the healthy development of ethnic minority youth. Thus, research is critical in examining the constructive ways in which families of color develop culturally grounded coping mechanisms to overcome the adversities they face on a daily basis.

The Protective Effects of Ethnic-Racial Socialization

Despite the daily encounters with discrimination, ethnic minority youth and families exhibit resilience. According to Peters and Massey (1983), ethnic minority families develop culturally based practices, behaviors and attitudes that are embedded in the culture's value and belief system and that serve as psychological and social support required by the youth and families. These culturally specific coping mechanisms buffer ethnic minority families from the multiple stressors associated with racism, poverty, minority status, and acculturation. Several researchers have examined coping strategies of ethnic minority youth and families, suggesting the importance of ethnic and racial socialization in promoting youth's socioemotional competence and secure sense of self (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Stevenson, Cameron, Taylor & Davis, 2002). In particular, racial socialization has been highlighted as a protective factor for minority children who grow up in a context of racial discrimination and oppression (Stevenson et al, 2002). Racial socialization is defined as "the task Black parents share with all parents- providing for and raising children...but they include the responsibility of raising physically and emotionally healthy children who are Black in a society in which Black has negative connotations" (Peters, 1985). According to Stevenson and colleagues (2002), racial and

cultural socialization processes are essential aspects of ethnic minority family functioning because they provide explanation and support for: 1) “appreciating the spiritual and metaphysical buffers to being an ethnic minority in a racist world, 2) appreciating the cultural uniqueness of being and behaving ethnic in a racist world, and 3) appreciating and internalizing the meaning-making experiences of being ethnic in this world” (p.85-6). Ethnic socialization, on the other hand, represents the transmission of family culture, and is defined as the socialization of “children about their ethnic culture, practicing cultural traditions at home and teaching their children about the traditions, culture, history, and holidays that are associated with their ethnic background (Gonzales, Umana-Taylor, & Bamaca, 2006).

Evidence supports the centrality of ethnic-racial socialization for ethnic minority families. However, the content of cultural messages and ways in which these messages are transmitted appears to vary across and within ethnic groups. Current literature suggests that various cultural messages are included in ethnic-racial socialization, ranging from transmission of cultural practices and values (Cultural Socialization) to discussions concerning racial discrimination (Status Differentiation Awareness). According to Boykin and Toms (1985), ethnic-racial socialization consists of: 1) cultural experience (i.e. styles, motifs, and patterns of behavior unique to ethnic group), 2) minority experience (i.e. social, economic, and political influences on minorities), and 3) mainstream experience (i.e. influences of white middle-class culture). Thornton and colleagues (1990) suggest that racial socialization encompasses areas of racial pride, racial history, achievement, racism, equality, religion, self-image, moral values, and peaceful coexistence. According

to Peters (1985), parents believed that compared to instilling a strong sense of racial identity, it is more important to learn how to cope and survive prejudice and discrimination and understand that equality is not always present in minority-mainstream relationships.

These various models of ethnic and racial socialization indicate overarching cultural themes within these processes. Two major dimensions of ethnic-racial socialization have been identified in the current literature: 1) Cultural Socialization, which refers to the transmission of cultural pride, history, heritage, traditions and customs (Hughes et al, 2006; O'Connor, Brooks-Gunn, & Graber, 2000) and 2) Status Differentiation Awareness, which reflects the socialization of children to the challenges due to racial and ethnic status discrepancies such as experiences of discrimination. Messages regarding the transmission of culture has been identified in similar constructs such as cultural pride reinforcement, cultural legacy appreciation (Stevenson, Herrero-Taylor, Cameron, & Davis, 2002), and integrative/assertive socialization (Demo & Hughes, 1990). Messages surrounding racial discrimination include concepts such as cautious/defensive socialization (Demo & Hughes, 1990), racism awareness training (Stevenson, et al, 2002), and racial barrier awareness (Bowman & Howard, 1985).

Cultural Socialization

Hughes and colleagues (2006) have coined Cultural Socialization as the term that encompasses both explicit and implicit parental practices associated with the transmission of culture – e.g. teaching children about their ethnic or racial heritage and history, fostering the development of ethnic or racial identity and pride, and promoting

involvement in cultural practices, customs and traditions (Boykin & Toms 1985; Hughes & Chen, 1999; Stevenson, et al, 2002; Umana-Taylor & Fine, 2004). Parenting practices such as celebrating or participating in cultural holidays or traditions, talking in their ethnic or cultural language, discussing the historical experiences of cultural and family members, eating ethnic foods, and displaying cultural elements such as cultural books, artifacts, and music, are all aspects of cultural socialization identified among ethnic minority families. Across various ethnic groups, literature indicates that cultural socialization is a core element of child rearing, for example, studies suggest that a large percentage of ethnic minority parents discuss cultural socialization messages with their children - 66% of Japanese American parents, over 85% of Latino parents (Phinney & Chavira, 1995) and more than 80% of African American parents (Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002; Hughes & Chen, 1997, Phinney & Chavira, 1995).

Various studies examining the content of cultural socialization messages have found that among African American, Mexican, Chinese, and Japanese samples, the majority of parents attempt to foster the transmission of cultural values, history, and practices, as well as the cultural pride of their children (Knight, Bernal, Garza, Cota, & O'Campo, 1993; Ou & McAdoo, 1993; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). Immigrant Latino and Asian American parents also reported emphasizing the socialization of traditions and values of the culture of origin (Buriel & DeMent, 1997; Garcia-Coll & Magnuson, 1997). Caughy et al (2002) found in their observations of African American families; that over 95% of the homes displayed multiple cultural artifacts.

Socializing children with messages of cultural knowledge, ethnic pride, and

cultural traditions is often perceived as central to the development of a healthy identity and a secure sense of belonging to their ethnic or cultural group. Several theories on ethnic-racial socialization have reported an association with positive identity development, equity, racial barriers, and egalitarian perspectives (Thornton, Chatters, Taylor, & Allen, 1990). Among Mexican American adolescents, higher levels of parental ethnic socialization were associated with ethnic identity achievement (Quintana, Castaneda-English, & Ybarra, 1999). Similarly, in the African – centered model by Nobles (1973) and Semaj (1985) racial or ethnic identity is seen as first shaped by the messages and interactions that the African American child experiences in their immediate social context, the family, and then later is either reinforced or disconfirmed when interacting with external agents such as peers, teacher, schools, and the general society (Burke, 1980). Particularly among African American families, messages surrounding cultural or ethnic pride have been reported as a central tenant of cultural socialization (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Sanders Thompson, 1994). For American Indian youth, the learning of native culture through cultural socialization has been highlighted as an important resilience factor (Zimmerman, Ramirez, Washienko, Walter & Dyer, 1998). Beauvais (2000) indicates that incorporating traditional values and fostering of ethnic pride sets a foundation for American Indian youth as they maneuver between more than two cultural worlds. According to LaFromboise and Medoff (2004), providing guidance and instilling cultural values is a task that is taken on not only by family members but also the neighborhood and community, which in turn fosters identity development, self worth, and environmental mastery.

Research indicates the protective effects of cultural socialization messages (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Knight, Cota, & Bernal, 1993; Stevenson, 1995). Cultural Socialization messages on cultural history and heritage have been associated with positive self concepts (Ou & McAdoo, 1993) and more positive in-group attitudes (Stevenson, 1995). Scott (2003) found that greater emphasis on socializing youth in cultural values is associated with more use of effective coping strategies in the face of discrimination. Stevenson and colleagues (1997) reported that boys who received cultural pride messages from their parents exhibited lower aggressive and situational anger; while among girls, cultural pride messages were associated with lower depressive symptoms. Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph and Nickerson (2002) found that among African American preschoolers, cultural pride socialization was associated with less externalizing behavioral problems as well as internalizing problems. Cultural socialization was associated with higher family self esteem, higher peer self esteem, and higher child academic achievement among African American adolescents (Constantine & Blackmon, 2002; Smith, Atkins & Connell, 2003). Similarly, Whitbeck and colleagues (2007) found that among American Indians in the Upper Midwest, engagement in traditional practices such as powwows, speaking the traditional language, and engaging in cultural activities served as a protective influence against the negative impact of discrimination on developing depressive symptoms.

Status Differentiation Awareness

In contrast to Cultural Socialization, Status Differentiation Awareness which encompasses messages related to discrimination, minority status or ethnic/racial status

(i.e. Preparation for Bias, Promotion of Mistrust), is reported to be less consistently discussed among ethnic minority families (Hughes et al, 2006). In the National Survey of Black Americans, only 8% of parents and 13% of youth reported discussing issues surrounding racial barriers with their family (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Thornton et al, 1990). Marshall (1995) found that 14% of African American parents and 3% of youth reported discussing coping with racial barriers when asked open ended questions on ethnic socialization. Other studies have reported higher rates of Status Differentiation Awareness messages; for example, Sanders-Thompson (1994) found that 48-58% of their African American participants recalled race-related discussions with a parent.

Preparation for Bias

Preparation for Bias, defined as a process that “prepares children for future encounters with racial discrimination and prejudice” (Hughes & Chen, 1997), represents Status Differentiation Awareness messages in which parents promote skills to proactively cope or manage the negative experiences of discrimination. As such, Preparation for Bias is identified as a socialization process that fosters resilience among youth who face daily challenges related to their racial, ethnic and minority status.

Current literature suggests the centrality of Preparation of Bias messages for youth of color. Among African American families, socialization messages on Preparation of Bias ranged from 48% to 90% (Caughy et al, 2002; Coard et al, 2004; Hughes & Chen, 1997). Among other ethnic minority families, Preparation of Bias messages is less apparent and appears to be more salient among African American families, compared to other ethnic minority groups (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Nagata & Cheng, 2003; Phinney &

Chavira, 1995). For example, Nagata and Cheng (2003) found that adult children of Japanese Americans interned during World War II reported little discussion with their parents in regards to their parents' internment experience.

Several theories report an association between Preparation for Bias messages and positive identity development, equity, racial barriers, and egalitarian perspectives (Thornton, et al, 1990). Cross' Nigrescence model (1991) describes that the development of racial identity is based on the individual's perception of their race and their attitudes towards race relations, especially regarding racism. Murray and Mandara (2001) found in their sample of 116 African American youth, ethnic pride and Preparation of Bias messages on strategies to deal with broader societal discrimination were necessary for racial identity development. Among Mexican American youth, parental teachings on coping with discrimination were positively associated with children's knowledge of Mexican traditions and preference for Mexican cultural behaviors (Quintana, & Vera, 1999). Stevenson (1995) found that African American adolescents who emphasized the importance of Preparation of Bias were more likely to be further along in their racial identity development. Similarly, Marshall (1995) found that African American parents who engaged in Preparation for Bias discussions with their youth were more likely to have children in the advanced encounter stage of racial identity development.

Numerous studies report positive psychosocial outcomes of socializing youth on ways to cope with discrimination. Bowman and Howard (1985) reported that adolescents who received Preparation for Bias messages concerning racial barriers and interracial relations had higher grades and a greater sense of personal efficacy. In their study of

African American adolescents, Constantine and Blackmon (2002) found that Preparation for Bias was associated with higher levels of positive feelings towards the family and self esteem. Thornton and colleagues (1990) found that African American youth who are socialized to be aware of racial barriers and are cautioned about interracial challenges, showed more positive behavioral and psychological outcomes than youth who are taught nothing about race or who receive negative in-group messages (Bowman & Howard, 1985). Fischer and Shaw (1999) found that higher levels of experiencing Preparation for Bias messages attenuated the relationship between racism experiences and poor mental health. Similarly, Stevenson and colleagues (2002) found that African American adolescent males who received coping with antagonism and cultural pride and cultural heritage messages reported lower engagement in fighting. Phinney and Chavira (1995) found that African American youth who received messages concerning racial or ethnic prejudice and discrimination were more likely to engage in proactive coping strategies (discussion, disapproving or self-affirmation) compared to passive or aggressive coping strategies when faced with discrimination.

Promotion of Mistrust

Promotion of Mistrust was proposed by Hughes and colleagues (1997, 2006) as a term that reflects the promotion of caution and wariness surrounding experiences of discrimination, racism and interracial/ethnic relations. A key component of Promotion of Mistrust is the communication of mistrust regarding attitudes, behaviors and interactions with other ethnic or racial groups as well as cautions about sociopolitical barriers to success. In particular, Promotion of Mistrust messages differs from those of Preparation

for Bias, in that socialization centers largely on the negative impact associated with racism, discrimination and minority status, however, with minimal advice or support on ways of coping or managing such challenges (Hughes & Chen, 1997).

Empirical evidence suggests that there is variability in the frequency in which parents transmit messages promoting intergroup mistrust and caution. Qualitative studies indicate that Promotion of Mistrust occur among a substantial proportion of ethnic minority families. For example, Hughes and DuMont (1993) reported that discussions emphasizing vigilance and defensiveness towards Whites as well as skepticism regarding interracial relationships occurred among all of their African American parent focus groups. Similarly, in the qualitative study by Coard and colleagues (2004) data from interviews with African American parents indicated that roughly a third of the parents reported engaging in discussions that promoted defensive racial protocols (i.e. social distancing and mistrust). In contrast, studies examining survey data reported that the proportion of parents reporting socializing their youth on messages which caution or promote mistrust of other ethnic or racial groups ranged from as low a 3% to 18% (Biafora et al, 1993, Hughes & Chen, 1997, Thornton et al, 1990). It maybe that parents who have mainly experienced negative racial interchanges may engage in avoidant approaches when dealing with racial discrimination and be mistrustful of other groups. Such parents may completely avoid discussing discrimination or they may openly express messages of mistrust and caution of other ethnic groups, thereby modeling and teaching maladaptive coping strategies to their children.

These findings highlight the lack of clarity regarding the degree to which ethnic

minority parents transmit Promotion of Mistrust messages, and further, how these messages differ from Preparation for Bias messages in their influence on youth adjustment. In particular, research is still limited in addressing how the transmission of cross-generational experiences of racial discrimination affect adolescent adjustment, specifically, whether these messages are protective or adverse socialization practices for ethnic minority youth.

Directions for Ethnic-Racial Socialization Research

Current findings on the protective effects of ethnic-racial socialization suggest that ethnic minority families transmit messages on a) Cultural Socialization and b) Status Differentiation Awareness (e.g. Preparation for Bias, Promotion of Mistrust). Empirical evidence suggests that Cultural Socialization messages regarding cultural traditions, history and pride are integral in fostering positive development among ethnically diverse children and adolescents (Caughy, et al, 2002; Hughes & Chen, 1997, Phinney & Chavira, 1995). On the contrary, research examining the protective effects of socialization processes surrounding issues of race and discrimination report mixed findings. Despite empirical support for the protective effects of socializing youth to experiences of discrimination, some studies have indicated that an overemphasis on racial barriers by parents may actually undermine the efficacy of their child and lead them to withdraw from opportunities and experiences that would enhance their competence (Biafora, et al, 1993; Marshall, 1995). Moreover, studies have indicated that despite the importance ethnic parents place on discussing issues with racial discrimination, few actually engage in the transmission of these messages. In fact, parents are more likely to

report messages about ethnic pride (Cultural Socialization messages) than messages on discrimination (Hughes & Chen, 1997, Phinney & Chavira, 1995). The minimal amount of discussion on this topic may be because parents find it inherently more difficult to introduce to children issues of bias than cultural discrimination. Ethnic minority parents may be particularly vigilant in introducing children to negative ethnic stereotypes because of the negative consequences related to the internalization of these stereotypes, and that these stereotypes may influence their understanding of race. Although evidence suggests that ethnic minority parents see the goal of ethnic-racial socialization as discussing minority experience by which they would prepare their children for an oppressive environment, it is not known whether the transmission of such messages actually influence the kind of coping strategies minority children utilize when faced with discriminatory experiences (Tatum, 1987). Such highlights the need for research to examine whether parental transmission of minority experiences is protective for ethnic minority youth who experience the negative consequences of racism in their daily lives.

Current Methodological Limitations in Assessment of Ethnic-Racial Socialization

Despite the extensive use of observational methods for examining family processes, little research has used direct observations to thoroughly examine and identify the patterns of cultural transmission that occur among ethnic minority families. Current measures of ethnic-racial socialization have largely used self reported data from youth and/or parents, and very few studies have utilized other methods of assessing cultural socialization (Hughes, et al, 2006). The interactional nature of ethnic-racial socialization processes lends itself to behavioral observation methods that allow the capturing of

transactions that occur among family members, that is often difficult to obtain through self-report, interviews, and other sources.

Observational measures have been used extensively in understanding the dynamics within families, peers, and marital dyads. A large part of this trend is due to the fact that direct observations provide a window on real behaviors of interest (e.g. shouts, hits, instructions, hugs, smiles), and also the dynamics of relationships. Observing family processes allows us to capture family interaction patterns that contribute to the etiology and also maintain dysfunctional attitudes and behaviors in the family (Dishion & Granic, 2004; Patterson, 1982). By examining the interchanges among family members, researchers can identify specific dynamics or transactional processes in which the cross-generational transmission of behavior occurs. Many studies utilize observational measures in order to understand causal processes and to predict child outcomes including child antisocial behavior, arrest and detention rates (Hops, Davis, & Longoria, 1995; Patterson & Forgatch, 1985).

The ability of observational methods to assess the interactional patterns of behavior that occur among family members is particularly important for examining different socialization strategies ethnic minority families use in promoting cultural knowledge, as well as preparing one's child for a world that may present numerous sociopolitical barriers. Thus, observational measures of ethnic-racial socialization processes may shed light on the range and effectiveness of the ways in which families socialize their youth on adaptive coping in the face of discrimination, as well as teach youth salient characteristics of their family culture (e.g. cultural heritage and pride) that

promote resilience among ethnic minority youth.

Research Aims and Questions

This exploratory study developed a new behavioral observation measure that examines variations of observed ethnic-racial socialization messages transmitted within the familial context, and further, how these messages impact the psychological adjustment of ethnic minority adolescents. The new behavioral observational measure of ethnic-racial socialization examined variability within socialization messages discussed by American Indian, African American and European American youths and their families. The primary research questions of this study were examined over the following five phases:

- 1) Phase I: Measurement Development. An observational paradigm and a companion coding measure of ethnic-racial socialization were developed through integration of qualitative methods. Specifically, qualitative information from cultural informants (focus groups) as well as experts on ethnic minority mental health was incorporated in the development of the observational paradigm and companion coding system. The observational paradigm assessed two theoretically informed dimensions of ethnic-racial socialization: a) messages on the transmission of family culture, and b) messages on coping with discrimination. The companion coding system captured variations in socialization messages portrayed in the observational paradigm.
- 2) Phase II: Determining Factor Structure. The factor structure of observed ethnic-racial socialization measure was examined across a multiethnic sample of 140

American Indian, African American and European American youth and families. Specifically, the underlying factor structure of the newly developed observational measure was determined using confirmatory and exploratory factor analyses. It is hypothesized that the observed ethnic-racial socialization measures will represent Hughes and colleagues' (2006) ethnic-racial socialization dimensions of Preparation for Bias, Cultural Socialization, and Promotion of Mistrust as well as Phinney's (1992) dimensions of Ethnic Exploration and Other-Group Orientation.

- 3) Phase III: Convergent and Ecological validity. Correlational analyses examined the convergent and ecological validity of observed ethnic-racial socialization.
 - a. Convergent validity: It is hypothesized that observed ethnic-racial socialization codes will significantly correlate with adolescent reported cultural experiences (e.g. ethnic identity achievement, experiences of discrimination) among American Indian and African American youth but not for European American youth.
 - b. Ecological validity: It is hypothesized that observed ethnic-racial socialization codes will be significantly correlated with a) family context variables, and b) adolescent externalizing and internalizing problems for American Indian and African American youth, but not for European American youth.
- 4) Phase IV: Mediational Analyses. Regression analyses examined mediational effects of ethnic-racial socialization dimensions. Specifically,
 - a. It is hypothesized that observed ethnic-racial socialization dimensions will

mediate the relationship between family contextual variables and ethnic identity achievement for American Indian and African American youth, but not for European American youth.

b. It is hypothesized that observed ethnic-racial socialization dimensions will mediate the relationship between perceived discrimination and adolescent adjustment for American Indian and African American youth, but not for European American youth.

c. It is hypothesized that observed ethnic-racial socialization dimensions will mediate the relationship between youth ethnic identity achievement and problem behavior for American Indian and African American youth, but not for European American youth.

5) Phase V: Moderation Analyses: Regression analyses examined whether observed ethnic-racial socialization moderates the negative impact of discrimination on adolescent adjustment.

a. It is hypothesized that observed ethnic-racial socialization will served as a moderator of the relationship between discrimination and adolescent adjustment among African American and Native American youth but not European American youth.

6) Phase VI: Unique Effects. Regression analyses examined the unique contributions of observed ethnic-racial socialization on adolescent adjustment above and beyond the effects of ethnic identity achievement and family contextual variables

a. It is hypothesized that observed ethnic-racial socialization dimensions of

Cultural Socialization and Preparation for Bias will have unique promotive effects on adolescent adjustment among American Indian and African American youth.

- b. It is hypothesized that observed ethnic-racial socialization dimensions of Promotion of Mistrust will have unique adverse effects on adolescent adjustment among American Indian and African American youth.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Overview

This current study was conducted in a series of phases. Phase I consisted of measurement development, specifically, the development of a behavioral observational paradigm that captures ethnic-racial socialization processes within the familial context through use of qualitative data. Phase II involved measurement validation via use of exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis across 140 urban European American, African adolescents and rural American Indian adolescents. Phase III examined the concurrent and ecological validity of the ethnic-racial socialization dimensions with sociocultural indicators of family functioning separately for each ethnic group (European American, African American and American Indian). Phase IV examined mediational effects of ethnic-racial socialization dimensions for adolescent psychological adjustment, separately by ethnicity. Phase V tested whether ethnic-racial socialization dimensions moderated the negative impact of discrimination on youth adjustment by ethnicity. Last, Phase VI examined the unique effects of observed ethnic-racial socialization above and beyond the effect of family variables and adolescent ethnic identity by ethnicity.

Phase I: Measurement Development

Current measures of ethnic-racial socialization have been largely based on self-report measures or interviews, and very few studies have applied behavioral observations as a method of capturing ethnic-racial socialization processes among ethnic minority families (Hughes et al, 2006). Due to its transactional nature, behavioral observations was identified as an important method of assessing ethnic-racial socialization in part, because it provides rich data on how parents socialize their children on ways of coping with ethnic, racial and cultural barriers (e.g. discrimination) via family discussions on discrimination, cultural traditions, pride and heritage. In comparison to self report or interview data, direct observations also provide a third-person perspective of the phenomenon of interest, in which interactive behaviors are defined consistently and reliably by the researcher, and further coded by multiple observers using a specific coding system.

Measurement development occurred across a series of stages. The first stage consisted of the identification of core constructs and concepts of ethnic-racial socialization through review of existing measures, previous studies, consultation with leading researchers in the field of ethnic minority research and child and family interventions, as well as through qualitative information gathered from focus groups consisting of youth and families from the communities which the current sample was drawn from. The second stage entailed the development of a behavioral observation task that captures two core ethnic-racial socialization processes: a) discussion of racial discrimination and b) discussion of family culture. Lastly, the final stage involved the

development of the coding system for each of the behavioral observation tasks.

Stage 1: Development and Selection of Ethnic-Racial Socialization Constructs

A search of the literature indicated two overarching dimensions of ethnic-racial socialization: a) socialization of cultural pride, history, heritage, traditions and customs (Hughes et al, 2006; O'Connor, et al, 2000; Phinney, 1992), and b) the socialization of children to the experiences of discrimination, and minority status (Hughes et al, 2006, Phinney, 1992). Literature indicates several empirically validated constructs related to these overarching dimensions. Specifically, cultural pride reinforcement, cultural legacy appreciation (Stevenson, et al, 2002), integrative/assertive socialization (Demo & Hughes, 1990), and ethnic identity development (Phinney, 1992) represent aspects of Cultural Socialization; whereas racism awareness training (Stevenson, 1995), cautious/defensive socialization (Demo & Hughes, 1990), and other-group orientation (Phinney, 1992) reflect components of Preparation for Bias and Promotion of Mistrust that encompass transmission of attitudes and behaviors of ethnic minority families facing experiences of discrimination or barriers due to minority status.

Drawing from these studies, and through consultation with experts in the field of ethnic minority research and child and family interventions, two behavioral observation paradigms were developed: 1) familial discussions on important aspects of family culture, and 2) familial discussions on coping with experiences of discrimination.

Stage 2: Development and Piloting of the Observational Paradigm: The Observational Paradigm for Ethnic-Racial Socialization (OPERS)

Behavioral observational interaction paradigms capturing familial messages regarding the transmission of culture and messages on discrimination were developed. Paradigm structure was based on the behavioral observational paradigms developed by Dishion and colleagues (2002) to assess family management dimensions critical for family centered interventions. Families were asked to participate in several videotaped interactions that involved 5 minute discussions on the following family management topics: school involvement, monitoring and supervision, family culture, discrimination, family problem solving, substance use norms, and a family celebration). Two of the seven paradigms, specifically, the discussion on family culture and discrimination were developed by the author as part of the intervention assessment package.

Stage 3: Recruitment and Conducting Focus Groups

Integrating focus groups was a critical step in developing the behavioral observation task and coding system on familial ethnic-racial socialization. Focus group members were recruited from the targeted communities using flyers or contacts with community members and stakeholders (i.e. through word of mouth). Focus group participants were selected based on the following two criteria: 1) families with a child between the ages of 10-14, and 2) residing in the targeted communities (Northeast Portland, OR; Klamath Falls, OR).

Focus group families interested in participating in the study were provided a brief description of their involvement in the development of the Observational Paradigm for

Ethnic-Racial Socialization (OPERS) and its companion coding system, the Observational Measure for Ethnic-Racial Socialization (OMERS). Specifically, families were informed that they will participate in two sessions: 1) the piloting of the observational paradigms that involved participation in each paradigm (family culture and discrimination), and 2) a session to share critical feedback and recommendations for paradigm and companion observational codes. Consenting focus group participants were asked to read and sign an informed consent form that described study aims, confidentiality of participant information, possible risks associated with focus group participation, and participant responsibility in maintaining confidentiality of the information disclosed in the pilot interactions.

A total of 6 families (2 European American, 2 African American, and 2 American Indian) were recruited as focus group participants. Focus group sessions were conducted separately for the purposes of: 1) allowing families to openly talk about their experiences of participating in the observational paradigms, 2) allowing families to provide their perceptions of the appropriateness of the tasks for members in their community, and 3) maintaining confidentiality of the personal discussions conducted during the behavioral observation tasks.

Consented focus group families first participated in the piloting of the observational tasks. Families were provided instructions for each family discussion, prior to the videotaping of the task. Second, at the completion of the family interaction tasks, focus group families were asked to join the research team to share their experiences of participating in the videotaped family interaction tasks as well as their perspectives on the

appropriateness and salience of discussing topics such as family culture and experiences of discrimination. Examples of the qualitative data from these focus group meetings are summarized in tables 1 and 2 below.

Table 1. Example Focus Group Responses on Family Culture Paradigm

Comments on pilot task	
American Indian	“ .. culture task was a good one, important.....it is good to talk about something we value ..” (parent)
African American	“...part of being Black is we get treated different.....even though we get the same education....it is good to have a chance to talk about it” (parent) “ its just what we do...I guess it is different from others...” (child)
European American	“...the family culture discussion was hard to talk about...we don’t really have a culture...just do the regular American holidays..”(parent)

Table 2. Example Focus Group Responses on Discrimination Paradigm

Comments on pilot task	
American Indian	“...we get discriminated a lot...don’t talk much about it...” (parent) “it is.. every day thing.....important to talk about it ...” (parent)
African American	“ the discussion was good even though its an important issue, we never talked about it.....this discussion opens talking about to my kids” (parent) “I’m glad we are talking about it. We don’t talk enough about it” (parent) “ it was cool to hear mom’s story.....didn’t know all she dealt with” (child)
European American	“topic on discrimination was interesting. ...probably good to talk about, since we are in a diverse city” (parent) “it was a bit difficult to talk about...we don’t experience it much” (parent) “didn’t really know what it is ...so hard to talk about it” (child)

Qualitative data gathered from the focus groups were reviewed by the research team and cultural experts in ethnic minority mental health. The qualitative information

was then integrated with theoretical and empirical evidence on potential dimensions of ethnic-racial socialization. The integrated information served as a basis from which the behavioral observation paradigm and companion coding system were revised. Examples of modifications made included a) tailoring the paradigm instructions to incorporate focus group family's suggestions, b) providing options for the location of the assessment (i.e. at home or at the research field office) and c) providing flexibility around who family members included in the assessment procedures (e.g. inclusion of extended family).

The finalized paradigm consisted of two five minute family interactions: a) a discussion on family culture, and b) a discussion on experiences of coping with discrimination. Instructions for the finalized paradigm consisted of the following:

1) Family Culture

(to the family) *"Please talk about your family's culture and what you think is important for parents to teach their children in your culture?"*

"Do you have any questions? I'll be back in 5 minutes"

2) Discrimination

(to the teen) *"Please discuss an experience of discrimination that you or someone around you has faced. Tell us how you coped or they have coped with the experience of discrimination".*

(to the parent) *"After (the child) talks, discuss what are the best ways to cope with discrimination that fit your cultural and family values".*

"Do you have any questions? I'll be back in 5 minutes".

Stage 4: Development and Refinement of the Companion Coding System:

The Observational Measure of Ethnic-Racial Socialization (OMERS)

Following the development of the observational paradigm, subsequent sessions with families from the focus groups were conducted to review the observational codes and accompanying coding manual for each paradigm (Family Culture, Experience of Discrimination). Focus group participants were asked select questions on discrimination as well as socializing their children to particular cultural or family values (see Table 3).

Table 3. Example Questions Asked of Focus Groups

Questions asked focus group participants	
Family Culture	<p>What do parents of your culture view as essential for children to know and to learn about when they are growing up?</p> <p>Do you think discussing family history is relevant to families of your culture?</p> <p>What values do you wish your child to have?</p>
Discrimination	<p>What examples do you have or know of where children have been discriminated against?</p> <p>What are the coping styles that people in your culture use when you encounter discrimination?</p> <p>How often do families talk about discrimination?</p>

This process was integral in not only gathering anecdotal information that represented a general theme, but it also allowed for the author to learn unexpected aspects of families' ethnic-racial socialization processes that may have not been apparent from the literature (e.g. conflict between American Indian community and the European American farmers

regarding water supplies). Feedback from the focus groups on the Observational Measure for Ethnic-Racial Socialization (OMERS) played a critical role in expanding the range and depth of codes that tapped into the cultural and social experiences, beliefs, values and perspectives related to ethnic-racial socialization processes among European American, African American and American Indian families. Qualitative data from these discussions with the focus groups were then compiled, and reviewed with cultural consultants. All sessions were conducted either in person or by phone depending on the availability of the families.

Once feedback was gathered from the focus groups, qualitative data was integrated within the theoretical and empirical literature. Specifically, common themes from the qualitative data were identified, and mapped onto the theoretical constructs identified in the literature. Similarly, using empirically validated measures of ethnic socialization and racial socialization, qualitative data from the focus groups were matched and categorized with the appropriate subscales and items. The integration of qualitative data with the ethnic-racial socialization domains are summarized in Tables 4 and 5.

Table 4. Common Aspects of Family Culture among American Indians, African Americans, and European Americans in the North West

	American Indians	African Americans	European Americans
Cultural values	Harmony No conflict Extended family is the social network Respect elders Honor elders	Communalism Emphasis on community and family Importance of kinship relations Cooperation Awareness of racial disparities	Independence Autonomy Working hard to achieve one's goals Focus on the immediate family unit
Cultural identity	Some affiliation to culture	Identifying as Black is seen as a source of pride	Diffused ethnic identity Some affiliate with European heritage
Spirituality	Spirituality is important Powwows Prayer	Spirituality is important Attending church Use of prayer	Depends on affiliation

Table 5. Common Experiences of Discrimination among American Indians, African Americans, and European Americans in the North West

	American Indians	African Americans	European Americans
Experiences of discrimination	Overt verbal discrimination Police harassment High tension between Whites and American Indians	Overt , subtle discrimination Get less opportunities Exclusion of resources	Discrimination is not a daily experience Witness some discrimination
Attitudes toward discrimination	Unacceptable Best not to retaliate Anger, mistrust of Whites	Unacceptable Should educated/be educated about it Defend your experiences	Discrimination is not socially acceptable
Perception of interethnic relations	Relations with Whites is strained and difficult	Important to talk to other groups Generally promotes relations with whites	Limited actual interethnic relations

Using the integrated qualitative data and literature as a basis, over a course of several meetings with cultural experts and the research team, the author developed the Observational Measure for Ethnic-Racial Socialization (OMERS) coding system, which consisted of observational codes and an accompanying coding manual for each paradigm described in Step 3. The OMERS uses macro rating, a method that requires observers to synthesize interactions and apply a global impression. Macro ratings were considered the optimal method of capturing ethnic-racial socialization processes because they capture summaries of patterns of interaction among family members thus, capture relevant outcomes to extended processes. The OMERS is a 41 item coding system that assesses the following domains: a) Cultural Socialization, b) Ethnic Identity Exploration, c)

Preparation for Bias, d) Promotion of Mistrust, e) Racial Awareness, f) Other Group Orientation, g) Family Centeredness, and h) Spiritual Involvement. All codes assess various ethnic-racial socialization processes using a 9 point scale, with codes for each informant (child, mother, and father). For the purposes of this study, due to the small sample size of fathers, only mother and child codes were examined. Reliability and validity of the codes were assessed in Phases II and III of this project.

Methods for Phases II-VI

Participants

Participants included a total of 140 European American, African American and American Indian adolescents between the ages of 10-14 and their families participating in two ongoing family centered preventive interventions targeting the development of problem behavior among early adolescents.

Specifically, this study examined a subset of data from two distinct samples: Sample 1 consisted of a subsample of 58 American Indian adolescents (26 male, 32 female) and their families participating in an ongoing family centered intervention trial (Family Prevention of Youth AOD in Indian Communities grant, PI: Alison Ball, #5RO1AA012702) targeting a total of 104 American Indian youth in a rural American Indian reservation in the Pacific Northwest. American Indian youth between the ages of 10-14 were selected. If there was more than one target child between the ages of 10-14 in one household, a computer generated random assignment procedure was used to select one child per household to eliminate any correlated errors due to sibling effects.

Sample 2 consisted of a subsample of 50 European American (29 male, 21

female), 32 African American adolescents (19 male, 13 female) among 386 youth and their families participating in an ongoing family centered intervention trial in a Northwest metropolitan area (The Family Intervention for Adolescent Problem Behavior grant, PI: Elizabeth Stormshak; #1RO1DA018374). Youths from Sample 1 and Sample 2 were matched on adolescent age.

Adolescents and their families were selected based on the following criteria: 1) completion of the observational assessment procedure at baseline, and 2) adolescents between the ages of 10-14. All youth and families for this study were those randomly selected into the intervention condition, since the home-based assessments of which the observational assessment was part of, was conducted only with intervention families. Interventions for the two samples are based on the Adolescent Transitions Program (ATP, Dishion et al, 2002), a family centered intervention targeting the development of externalizing behaviors among early adolescents. As a result, assessment and intervention procedures across the two interventions followed the procedures outlined in the ATP intervention model.

We drew the sample for this exploratory study from the two distinct samples for the following reasons. First, current literature on ethnic-racial socialization has largely focused on African American children and their families, and very few studies have examined both ethnic *and* racial socialization processes among other ethnic groups (Hughes et al, 2006). Second, ethnic-racial socialization processes have been rarely examined among American Indian youth and their families, despite historical documentation of discriminatory acts against this particular ethnic group. Third, similar

to African Americans, American Indians have a long history of generational trauma due to discrimination and racism that has passed down negative influences of these experiences to current generations (Kawamoto, 2000), thus examination of ethnic-racial socialization processes are central in understanding youth functioning.

Recruitment of Sample

American Indian adolescents and their families: Sample 1. Within each of the communities, a sample of 104 high risk youth between the ages of 9 and 16 and their families within an American Indian reservation in the Pacific Northwest were recruited. Families were targeted and recruited through tribal social service programs, local schools, tribal meetings, tribal community events, and advertised through local and tribal newspapers. In addition, intermediary staff persons within the reservation informed families about the research. A flyer and introductory letter informing potential subjects of the research project were mailed. All American Indian families residing within the community with a child between the ages of 8 and 16 were invited to participate in the Community Shadow Project.

The sequence of contacts for American Indian families involved an introductory letter, flyer, telephone call, and a home visit. The families were provided a choice of contact (whether they prefer to be contacted by research project staff via a home visit, by telephone, or dropping by the Family Resource Center). Research staff described the project and fully informed all the participants of the research protocol, their rights, and the consent process. Consented families were then contacted to participate in the Family Assessment. Details of recruitment procedures are reported in the Family Prevention of

Youth AOD in Indian Communities grant (PI: Alison Ball; #5 RO1AA012702).

European American and African American adolescents and their families:

Sample 2. Recruitment of 386 adolescents and their families was conducted over several stages. Families were recruited into the study in the fall of the 6th-grade year. During recruitment, families were informed about the ATP intervention program and were provided consent for student participation in the school-based assessment at the middle of 6th grade. All students in the 6th grade were eligible to participate in the assessment. During the student assessment phase, letters from the principal and consent forms were mailed out or sent home from school with the youth. Classroom incentives were provided for the return of forms, and follow-up phone calls were made to parents who do not complete the form. Youth and their families participating in the study provided consent and adolescent assent. All families were informed of confidentiality and potential research use of their data. After the school assessment, families were then recruited for the Family Assessment, the first phase of the intervention project. All students and families in the 6th-grade cohort eligible for participation in the ATP intervention were assigned randomly to either the intervention or control group. Details of the recruitment procedures for ATP intervention are reported in the Family Intervention for Adolescent Problem Behavior Grant (1RO1DA018374, PI: Elizabeth Stormshak).

Family Assessment: Procedures for Sample 1 and 2

The Family Assessment consisted of three sessions: (a) a rapport-building, initial interview with the parent(s); (b) a brief assessment packet to the parent, adolescent, and teacher, and a videotaped family interaction assessment; and (c) a feedback session,

where the results of the assessment and initial interview are discussed with the parent, with attention focused on the parent's readiness to change and the delineation of specific change options. All families in the intervention groups for Sample 1 and 2 received the Family Assessment.

Data for this current study was derived from the assessment measures, interview and behavioral observational family interaction assessment conducted in the first two sessions of the Family Assessment. Further details on the feedback session and intervention procedures are reported in grants # 5 RO1AA012702 and # 1 RO1DA018374.

Youth Report Measures

Ethnic identity. The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992) is a 14 item measure of ethnic identity. The measure has a reported reliability of .81 with high-school students. Two subcomponents of ethnic identity are also assessed: (a) affirmation and sense of belonging and (b) ethnic identity achievement based on exploration and commitment. This measure was successfully used in our Portland trial where we found that ethnic identity was significantly related to a variety of psychological adjustment measures, such as lower depression and externalizing behaviors (Yasui et al., 2005).

Spiritual involvement. Adolescent spiritual or religious involvement was measured using 6 items describing both adolescent and their families' affiliation and participation in religious activities. Items include "I think about religion or spirituality daily" "I find strength and comfort in religion, spirituality" "I pray, worship or meditate".

The spiritual involvement scale had a reliability of .85 to .95 across Sample 1 and 2.

Unfair treatment/Experiences of discrimination. Experiences of unfair treatment/discrimination was determined using 7 items assessing the extent to which the adolescent received unfair treatment from multiple sources (e.g. teacher, police, peers) based on their race or skin color. Examples of items include “I was bothered by unfair treatment by police because of my race or skin color” “I was bothered by being called racist names” “I was bothered by being followed in a store because of my race or skin color”. The 7 item measure has a reliability of .85 with Sample 1, and .84 with Sample 2.

Antisocial behavior. The adolescent antisocial behavior measure included eight items on the frequency of antisocial behavior that was derived from a self-report measure (Metzler, Biglan, Ary, & Li, 1998). Examples of items include carried or handled a weapon, intentionally hit or threatened to hit someone at school, stole or tried to steal things worth \$5.00 or more. The antisocial measure had reliability of .83 for Sample 1 and .80 for Sample 2.

Deviant peer association. Deviant peer association was measured using four items that assessed peer associations ($\alpha = .79$). The four items include “spent time last week with friends who get in trouble”, “spent time last week with friends who fight a lot”, “spent time last week with friends who take things that are not theirs”, and “spent time last week with friends who smoke cigarettes or chew tobacco”. The 4 item measure has a reliability of .83 with Sample 1, and .79 with Sample 2.

Depression. Adolescent depressive symptoms were measured using fourteen items. Examples of items include “in the last month I felt depressed or sad” “bothered by

loss of appetite” “felt hopeless” “felt worthless”. Reliability for Sample 1 was .81, and Sample 2, .84.

Family conflict. Family conflict was measured using five items. The five items include “In the last week how many times did you get angry at your parent/s?”, “In the last week how many times did you argue at the dinner table?”, “In the last week how many times did you get in a big argument about a little thing?”, “In the last week how many times did you get so mad that you hit the other person?”, and “In the last week how many times did you get your way by getting angry?”. The family conflict scale had a reliability of .78 to .81 across the two samples.

Positive family relations. The positive family relations scale was measured using 7 items describing positive family involvement, high relationship quality and family support. Example items include “My parents and I get along well with each other” “Family members back each other up” “parents trust my judgment”. The scale indicated reliability of .87 (Sample 1) and .83 (Sample 2).

Parental monitoring. Parental monitoring was assessed using 9 items measuring the degree to which parents supervise and monitor their adolescent’s time out of school, monitors the adolescent’s peers and activities, and adolescent’s involvement in school activities. Reliability for the scale ranged from .91 to .93 across Sample 1 and 2.

Observational Paradigms: Parent-child Interactions

The family completed a series of seven 5 minute parent-child interactions that was part of the home visit. This current study will focus on two of the seven paradigms completed by the family, namely, a) a family discussion on the transmission of family

culture, and b) a family discussion on coping with experiences of discrimination. At the beginning of each paradigm, a research assistant provided the family with instructions for the discussion which is provided in Phase I.

Paradigm 1: Cultural transmission within the family. The observation procedure consisted of a discussion of what family values and aspects of their culture that they believed would be important in teaching their children, as well as for others outside their culture to know about. Parents and the youth were asked to participate in the 5 minute discussion.

Paradigm 2: Cultural transmission of coping with discrimination. The family observation on coping with discrimination consisted of a parent-child interaction in which the adolescent described his or her experience of discrimination. After describing the event, the child was asked to talk about how he or she coped/would cope with the event. After the child has finished describing the event, the parent is asked to describe their view on coping with racial discrimination. The discussion takes approximately 5 minutes.

Observational Coding Procedures

Direct observations of cultural transmission were coded using macroanalytic coding. Coding integrated information gathered from two dimensions: content and interpersonal dimensions. Content dimensions included the following: cultural values, cultural history, minority experience, cultural norms, family history, family expectations, peer group norms, and expectations. Interpersonal dimensions were coded on dimensions of encouragement, agreement, support, listening, approval, criticism, hostility,

reciprocity, and match of affect.

Coder recruitment. Recruitment of ten multiethnic coders was conducted at the University of Oregon. Ethnic backgrounds of the coders included European American, African American, American Indian, Asian American and Latino. Four of the ten coders were male. Coders ranged between the ages of 19 and 31. All coders were undergraduate students enrolled at the University of Oregon. The majors of the coders included psychology, linguistics, human physiology, and education.

Coder training. The training of coders was directed by the author. Training included two stages. The first stage consisted of an initial training of coders on culture and ethnic minority youth and families. This initial training included guided readings, viewing various media central to issues of discrimination and culture, and observing numerous videotaped family interactions of families of varying ethnicities. The guided readings included reading and discussing literature on a) sociopolitical and cultural influences that impact ethnic minority groups (e.g. discrimination, prejudice, acculturation), and b) culturally specific processes within the familial context (e.g. culturally specific parenting practices, cultural beliefs, values, attitudes and behaviors). Training using media related to the topics of discrimination and culture consisted of viewing, then discussing what each coder observed in the documentaries, educational resources and clips from movies that represented ethnic minority individual's experiences with discrimination, prejudice, and oppression. Third, after coders acquired a basic knowledge of the cultural and sociopolitical influences on ethnic minority youth and families via readings and media, the coding team reviewed roughly 12 videotaped family

interactions of families of varying ethnicity (e.g. African American, European American, Latino, American Indian, Asian American and mixed ethnicities). The team discussed what they observed in the family interactions, specifically whether they identified interactions that reflected the transmission of culture or messages related to coping with discrimination. The joint observation of the videotapes in conjunction with open discussion of coders' observations was critical in helping coders develop an understanding of what ethnic-racial socialization processes within the familial context looked like. This initial training consisted of roughly 3 weeks of two 3 hour training sessions per week.

The second stage of training consisted of the following steps: a) reading the coding manual and memorizing observational codes, b) viewing training tapes and discussing ratings of the codes, c) coders individually rating the same family interaction for consensus meetings, d) checking coder reliabilities in consensus meetings, e) discussing difficult to rate codes and practice rating these particular codes with additional training tapes. First, reading and learning the observational codes involved meetings in which the coding team reviewed, discussed and learned the observational codes and their definitions until each coder had a clear understanding of what each code represented. Second, the coding team viewed roughly 30 training tapes to which they discussed as a group how each code be applied according to their definitions in the manual. Third, once coders as a group showed a general understanding of how to apply the codes to particular behaviors observed in the tapes, team meetings shifted to having coders individually code a training tape, then as a team, review ratings of each coder to identify discrepancies.

When discrepancies were found, each coder provided a rationale as to why they gave a certain rating for a particular interaction, and these explanations were then discussed in light of the definitions in the coding manual. Fourth, as coders progressed in their individual ratings during training consensus meetings, reliability checks were made to determine interrater reliability. Interrater reliability was assessed using percentage agreement. Coder ratings were considered reliable if they had over 85 percent agreement with the calibrator, who was the author. Fifth, codes that were particularly difficult for coders to reach reliability were reviewed. Using the definitions provided in the manual, codes were discussed so that coders can come to a consensus on the behaviors and interactions pertaining to the code. Then, the team practiced coding these specific codes using additional training tapes. Practice coding of the specific codes were conducted until coders reached reliability of above 85 percent agreement. Training coders on all these steps was conducted during two 3-hour meetings per week. The training period lasted roughly 8 months, of which the last month mainly involved checking coder reliability for preventing coder drift.

Training coders to code two 5 minute interactions using global rating lasted longer than expected. One major reason for the extended training period was due to the fact that the two observational tasks (family culture and coping with discrimination) were topics that coders of differing backgrounds initially had differing opinions on. It was critical for coders to spend a long time discussing their observations and rationale for rating behaviors in a certain way and as a group come to a consensus on how to rate the interactions observed during training sessions. The process by which the group came to

consensus on ratings was particularly critical, which included each coder providing their views on why a particular code was coded in a certain way, and then comparing those views to the definitions in the manual, as well as the knowledge the group had accumulated on culture and ethnic minority youth and families. Having a multiethnic group of coders was very important to this process, because in addition to the information from focus groups, the literature and media, the team was able to draw from perspectives of coders who represented the ethnic and cultural group of the families the coding team observed during training. For example, two of the coders who were American Indian provided the coding team a clearer understanding of acts of discrimination that occurred in the community from which the American Indian sample was collected, which initially was captured by some but not all coders. Integrating the perspectives of the coders was thus, integral in consensus building. In addition, the inclusion of a multiethnic team of coders was also critical for the purpose of restricting potential coder bias. In the author's previous research, coder bias was found to be present among European American coders' ratings of observed family interactions of African American families (Yasui & Dishion, in press). Since our current sample utilized a diverse group of youth and families (African American, European American, and American Indian), and further, some coders had limited knowledge, in particular of American Indian culture, it was crucial for the team to learn from the perspectives of other coders in order to come to a group understanding and consensus on how to rate particular codes, which in turn helped reduce any coder bias that may have been initially present.

Once training was complete, coders were assigned to code the 140 videotaped

family interactions of the European American, African American, and American Indian youth and their families. Coders were assigned approximately 4-5 tapes per week for coding. For purposes of conducting reliability checks, 40 percent of the tapes were double coded. A larger percentage of tapes were double coded to veer on the side of parsimony in checking coder drift and maintaining reliability. When coder drift occurred, the coders tentatively stopped coding the tapes and went through additional training sessions with the author until the coder again reached reliability.

The Observational Measure for Ethnic-Racial Socialization (OMERS)

The Observational Measure for Ethnic-Racial Socialization (OMERS) developed in Phase I was used to measure dimensions of ethnic-racial socialization among 140 African American, European American, and American Indian youth and their families. The OMERS codes for the Family Culture Paradigm were designed to capture Cultural Socialization as defined by Hughes and colleagues (2006) and Ethnic Identity Achievement derived from Phinney's ethnic identity measure (1992). Specifically, the codes captured messages surrounding the family's promotion/involvement in cultural traditions, beliefs and customs; messages on promoting knowing cultural/ethnic history and heritage, messages on family centeredness, and messages on spiritual involvement. OMERS codes for the Discrimination Paradigm were based on Hughes and colleagues' (2006) dimensions of Preparation for Bias and Mistrust, and Phinney's (1992) construct, Other-Group Orientation. Specifically, codes tapped messages on proactive methods of coping with discrimination, messages that captured family's awareness of racism and discrimination, messages related to defensive racial protocols, as well as messages

regarding interethnic relations.

The OMERS is a 41 item coding system that measures the following aspects of ethnic-racial socialization: for the Family Culture Paradigm, the domains of a) Cultural Socialization, b) Ethnic Identity Exploration, c) Family Centeredness, and d) Spiritual Involvement; and for the Discrimination Paradigm, the domains of e) Preparation for Bias, f) Promotion of Mistrust, g) Racial Awareness, and h) Other Group Orientation. All codes use a 9 point scale. Separate codes are derived for each informant (child, mother, and father). Due to the small sample sizes of fathers, for the purposes of this study, we only examined mother and child codes. Internal consistency of the codes are indicated in the Phase II results section of this project.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS (PHASES II-VI)

Phase II: Determining Factor Structure

In order to determine the underlying factor structure of the Observational Measure for Ethnic-Racial Socialization (OMERS), exploratory factor analyses and confirmatory factor analyses were conducted. Confirmatory factor analyses were first conducted to examine whether the observational data represented the theoretical constructs determined by Hughes et al (2006) and Phinney (1992). Confirmatory factor analysis allows for specifying which variables will be correlated with which factors and which factors are correlated, which is based on theoretical models. For the purposes of this current study, empirical as well as theoretical dimensions of ethnic-racial socialization identified by several researchers (Hughes et al, 2006; Hughes & Chen, 1997; Stevenson, 2002) have served as the model by which we tested the fit of the observational measures. Confirmatory factor analysis was used to examine the optimal match between the observed and theoretical factor structures for the data in order to determine the "goodness of fit" of the predetermined factor models. Based on the literature, the Discrimination Paradigm was expected to derive three main constructs: Preparation of Bias, Promotion of Mistrust and Other Group Orientation. The Family Culture Paradigm was hypothesized to derive three constructs: Cultural Socialization, Spiritual Involvement and Collectivism.

Confirmatory Factor Analyses: Three Factor Model

Confirmatory factor analyses were conducted in Mplus (Muthe'n & Muthe'n, 2004). Results indicated that the three factor model for the Discrimination Paradigm demonstrated a poor fit, Parent Codes $\chi^2 = 823.30$, $df=206$, CFI = .67, RMSEA = .11; and Child Codes, $\chi^2 = 722.38$, $df=206$, CFI = .83, RMSEA = .11. Similarly, a three factor model for the Family Culture Paradigm indicated poor fit, Parent Codes $\chi^2 = 1002.41$, $df=146$, CFI = .74, RMSEA = .16; and Child Codes, $\chi^2 = 555.25$, $df=146$, CFI = .85.

Due to the fact that confirmatory factor analyses indicated that the model did not fit the data well, we decided to identify the underlying factor structure using exploratory factor analyses. Exploratory factor analyses were conducted to investigate the possibility that particular items were driving the poor fits of the two overall models. Thus, exploratory factor analyses were conducted on codes for the discrimination paradigm and codes for the family culture paradigm to weed out items that had factor loadings of less than .40, and factors that had less than three items with loadings of .40 and above.

Exploratory Factor Analyses

Exploratory factor analyses using varimax rotation was conducted on the codes from the discrimination and family culture paradigm. Missing values were deleted on a pairwise basis for these factor analyses. However, analyses using listwise deletion yielded virtually identical results. Comparison of the listwise and pairwise deletion samples did not reveal any significant differences in demographic characteristics. Sample sizes for the analyses included a total of 140 African American, European American and American Indian youth and their parents. Each code was measured separately for the target child

and the primary caregiver (mothers for all 140 families). We selected factors for extraction guided by evaluation of eigenvalues and scree plots and conducted all analyses by source and theorized subscale. All final factor solutions had eigenvalues above 1.00. Specifically, for the discrimination paradigm: range was 3.13 to 3.67 for analyses of child codes, 2.10 to 6.76 for analyses of parent codes; and for the family culture paradigm, the range was 2.43 to 4.67 for analyses of child codes, 1.90 to 3.34 for analyses of parent codes. On the basis of these solutions, we identified scales that were consistent across both child and parent codes.

For the discrimination paradigm, we expected up to three theoretical factors for parent and child codes, representing the socialization constructs: Preparation for Bias, Promotion of Mistrust, and Other-Group Orientation. Factor analysis, however, supported a four factor solution, in which eight items that initially were expected to load on Preparation for Bias, loaded on a separate factor, which was labeled “Racial Awareness”. Additionally, we relabeled the factor with items that loaded onto Preparation for Bias, as “Proactive Preparation” as the items reflected a proactive coping strategy for discrimination. The items and item loadings, are listed by source in Table 6. Cross-source scores for the total sample correlated significantly: Proactive Preparation, ($r = .54, p < .01$), Racial Awareness ($r = .46, p < .01$), Promotion of Mistrust ($r = .57, p < .01$), and Other-Group Orientation ($r = .39, p < .01$).

Table 6. Ethnic-Racial Socialization Dimensions Derived from the Discrimination Paradigm: Retained Items and Factor Loadings by Source

Item	Parent	Child
<i><u>Proactive Preparation</u></i>		
Promotes educating others, talking to others about discrimination	.82	.56
Engages/promotes non-aggressive verbal confrontation	.64	.55
Engages/promotes using social support to cope with discrimination	.64	.62
Engages/promotes problem solving to cope with discrimination	.65	.65
<i><u>Racial Awareness</u></i>		
Shows that discrimination is a serious issue	.74	.77
Actively engaged in discussion on discrimination	.97	.95
Directive in discrimination discussion	.86	.91
Participates in discussion on discrimination	.81	.88
Seriously responds to discrimination discussion	.42	.68
Lack of interest in discrimination discussion (reverse coded)	.46	.80
Perspective on discrimination is that it is unacceptable	.40	.63
% Family members discuss issues about discrimination	.61	.61
<i><u>Promotion of Mistrust</u></i>		
Promotes engaging in the hatred, getting back at perpetrator	.83	.98
Responds with defensive attitudes to discrimination	.51	.84
Engages/promotes physically confronting perpetrator	.42	.81
Engage/promotes aggressive verbal confrontation with perpetrator	.75	.82
Responds with anger to discrimination	.40	.41
Promotes internalization/taking act of discrimination personally	.40	.54
<i><u>Other-Group Orientation</u></i>		
Emphasizes the importance of relationship with mainstream	.91	.82
Emphasizes the importance of relationships with minority group	.80	.96
Emphasizes social involvement with other ethnic groups	.61	.65
Promotes the attitude of embracing diversity	.51	.40

Table 7. Ethnic-Racial Socialization Dimensions Derived from the Family Culture Paradigm: Retained Items and Factor Loadings by Source

Item	Parent	Child
<i><u>Cultural Socialization</u></i>		
Family appears to value their membership in a cultural group	.95	.88
Has knowledge about their cultural/ethnic traditions and customs	.75	.84
Participates, values cultural traditions, customs, practices	.71	.76
Family promotes being proud/emphasizes one's heritage	.91	.87
Family appears to be content in their membership to their culture	.70	.64
Emphasizes passing down cultural family values	.48	.50
<i><u>Family Centeredness</u></i>		
Family emphasizes that harmony is important	.67	.74
Family emphasizes supporting others is important	.74	.64
Family emphasizes honoring their elders, extended family	.48	.63
Family emphasizes respecting to parents, extended family	.46	.67
Family emphasizes that connectedness is important	.60	.65
<i><u>Spiritual Involvement</u></i>		
Family reports that spirituality is important	.97	.92
Family emphasizes involvement in spiritual activities	.72	.85
Spirituality/ religion is an important part of life	.99	.98
Family encourages relying or depending on spirituality'	.90	.89
<i><u>Ethnic Heritage Exploration</u></i>		
Emphasizes knowing history of ethnic/cultural group	.93	.93
Family discusses cultural history	.85	.74
Family emphasizes the importance of learning about their heritage	.55	.73
Family discusses their ethnic group's history	.58	.76

For the family culture paradigm, we again expected up to three theoretical factors for parent and child codes, reflecting the three constructs: Cultural Socialization, Spirituality, and Collectivism. Factor analysis instead, supported a four factor structure in which four items that were expected to load on the Cultural Socialization factor represented a separate factor, which was labeled "Ethnic Heritage Exploration". The

items, item loadings, and internal consistency coefficients are listed by source in Tables 7.

Cross-source scores for following scales correlated significantly, for Cultural Socialization ($r = .53, p < .001$), Family Centeredness ($r = .42, p < .001$), Spiritual Involvement ($r = .37, p < .001$), and Ethnic Heritage Exploration ($r = .35, p < .001$).

Confirmatory Factor Analyses: Four Factor Model

In order to determine whether the four factor solutions fit the models well, confirmatory factor analyses were conducted. For the discrimination paradigm, we assessed a four-factor solution to examine whether the dimensions of a) Proactive Preparation, b) Racism Awareness, c) Promotion of Mistrust, and d) Other Group Orientation fit the sample data. As shown in Figures 1 and 2, this model fit the data relatively well, Parent Codes $\chi^2 = 376.5, df=190, CFI = .91, RMSEA = .06$; and Child Codes, $\chi^2 = 380.6, df=192, CFI = .94, RMSEA = .06$.

For the family culture paradigm, a four factor solution examined the fit of the dimensions: a) Cultural Socialization, b) Family Centeredness, c) Spiritual Involvement, and d) Ethnic Heritage Exploration. The models fit relatively well, for Parent Codes, $\chi^2 = 446.1, df=212, CFI = .94, RMSEA = .06$; and for Child Codes, $\chi^2 = 471.1, df=217, CFI = .92, RMSEA = .07$ (see Figures 3 and 4).

Figure 1. Confirmatory Factor Analysis: Discrimination Paradigm – Parent Codes

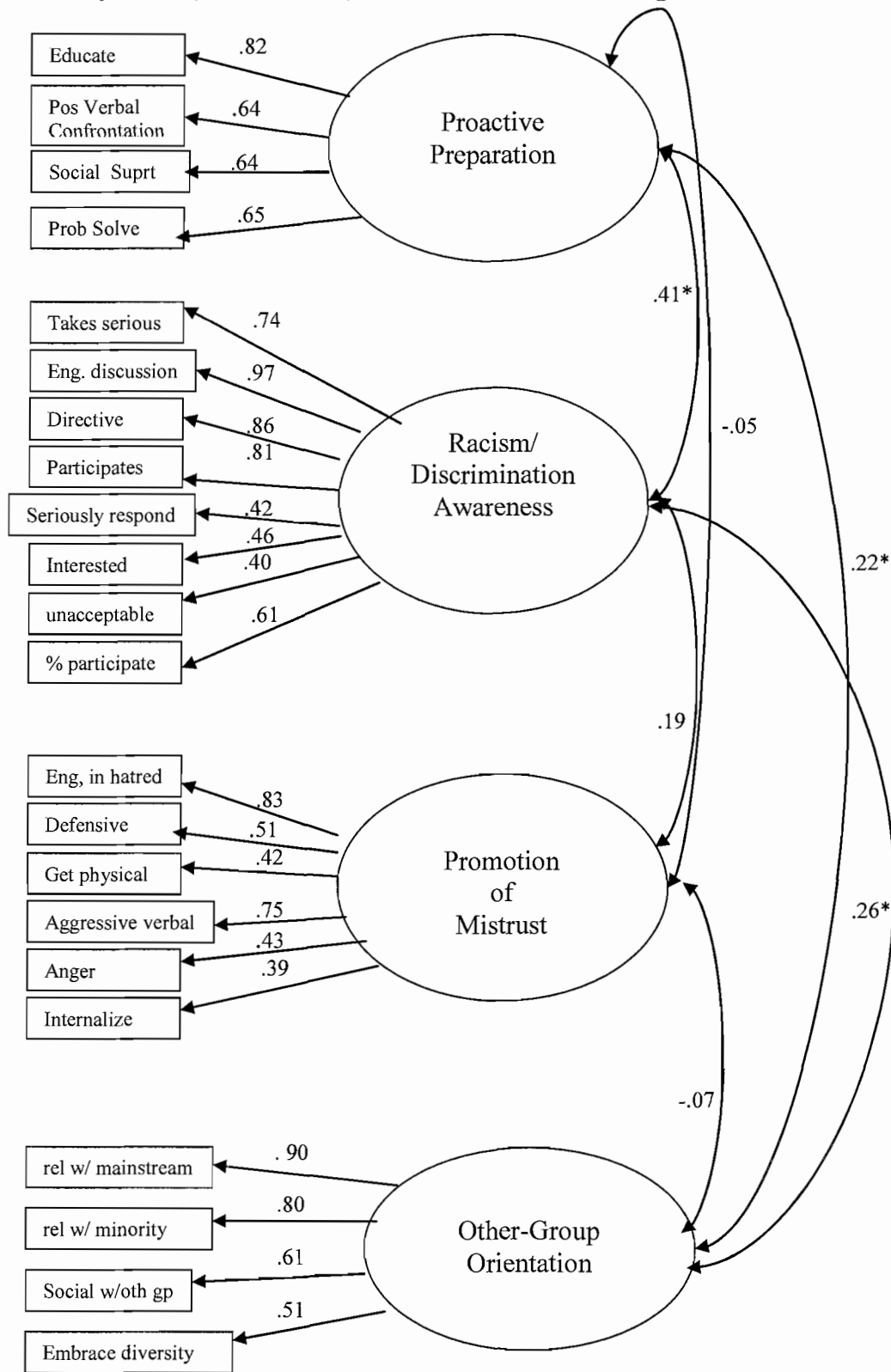


Figure 2. Confirmatory Factor Analysis: Discrimination Paradigm – Child Codes

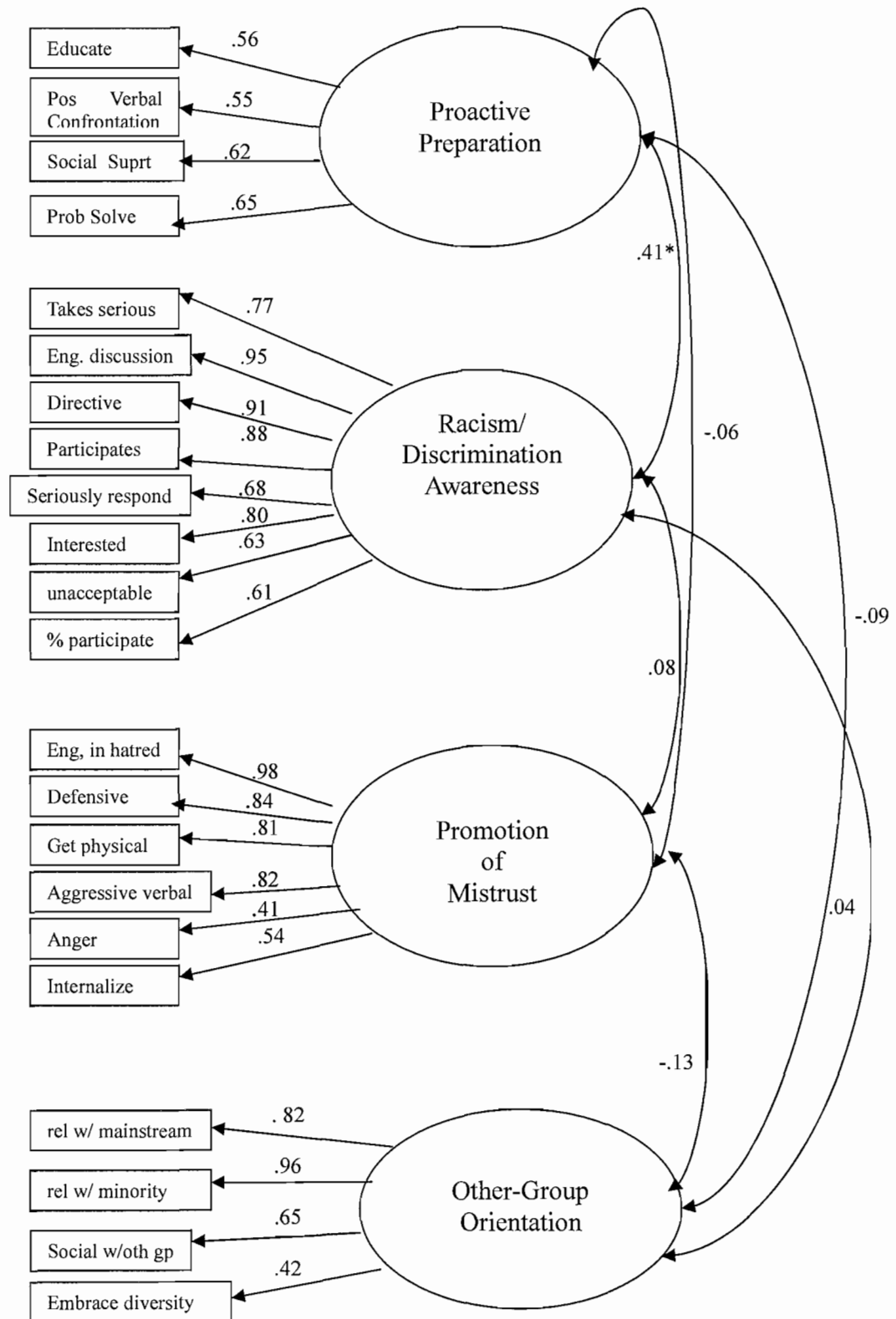


Figure 3. Confirmatory Factor Analysis: Family Culture Paradigm- Parent Codes

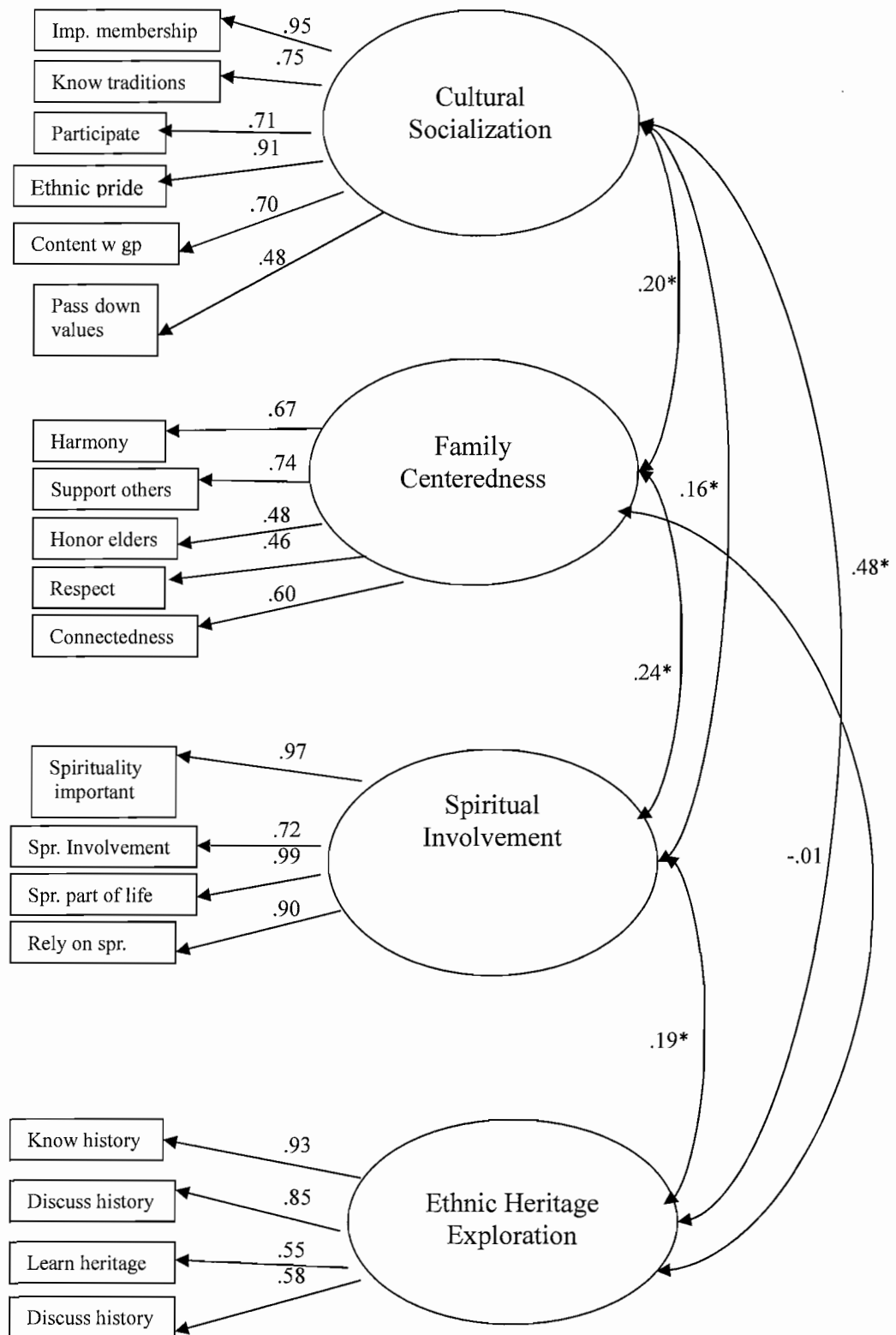
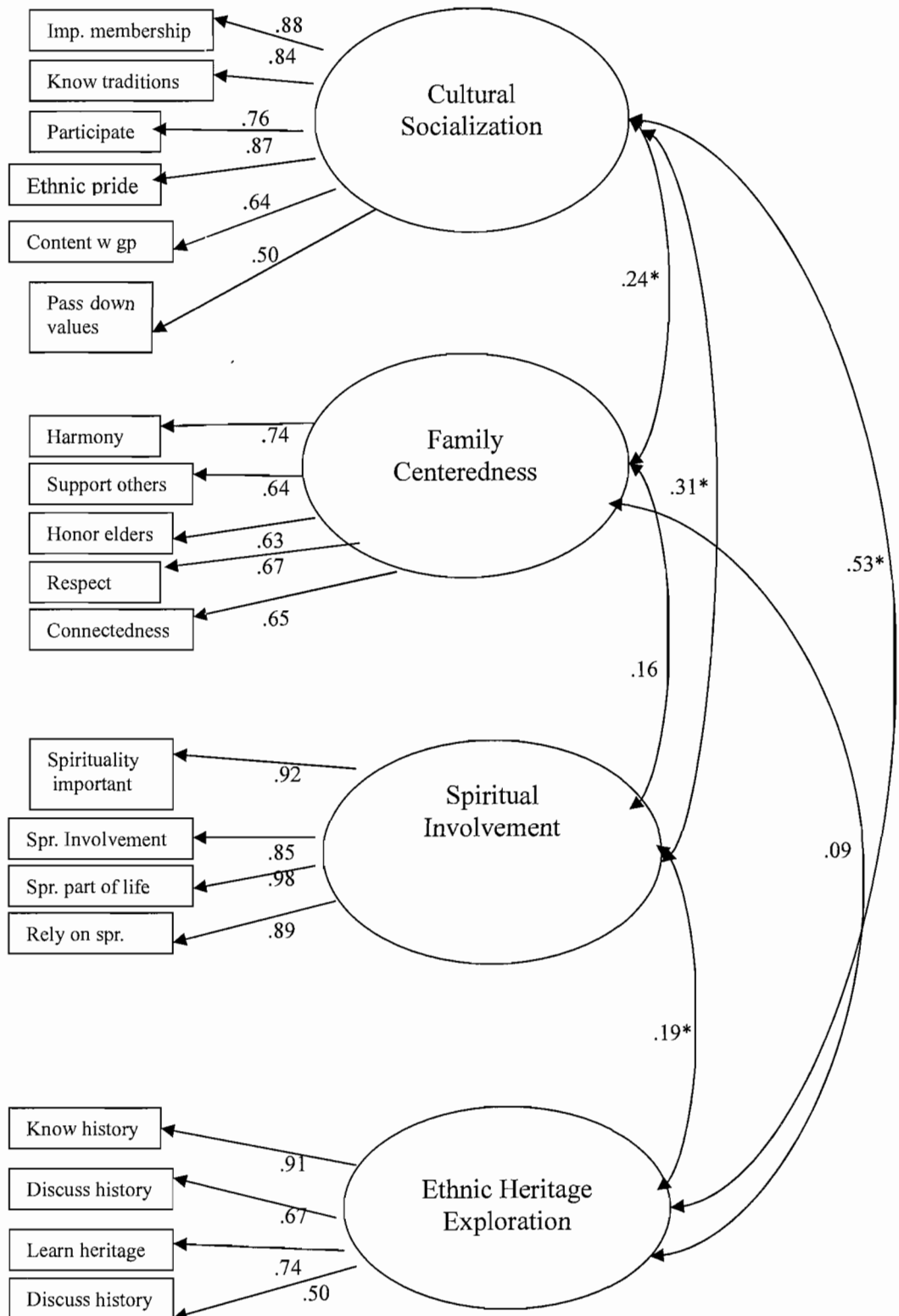


Figure 4. Confirmatory Factor Analysis: Family Culture Paradigm- Child Codes



Across the Discrimination and Family Culture Paradigms, the four factor solution indicated improved fit to the data compared to the three factor model (see Table 8).

Table 8. Confirmatory Factor Analyses: Overall Fit of Models

Scale and fitted model	χ^2	df	RMSEA	CFI
<i><u>Discrimination Paradigm</u></i>				
<i>Child Codes</i>				
Three Factor Model	722.38	206	.12	.83
Four Factor Model	380.60	205	.06	.94
<i>Parent Codes</i>				
Three Factor Model	823.30	206	.11	.67
Four Factor Model	376.51	205	.06	.94
<i><u>Family Culture Paradigm</u></i>				
<i>Child Codes</i>				
Three Factor Model	555.25	146	.12	.85
Four Factor Model	284.84	145	.06	.95
<i>Parent Codes</i>				
Three Factor Model	1002.41	146	.16	.74
Four Factor Model	291.20	145	.06	.95

RMSEA = Root mean squared error of approximation; CFI= comparative fit index.

Internal Consistency of Ethnic-Racial Socialization Codes

Internal consistency of the scales derived from the factor analyses were next examined separately for each ethnic group. Reliability analyses indicated that all scales reported internal consistency coefficient of above .80 across European American, African American and American Indian youth and parent codes.

Phase III: Examining Convergent and Ecological Validity: Comparisons by Ethnicity

Descriptive Statistics

Preliminary analyses examined ethnic differences in observational codes across African American, European American and American Indian adolescents and their families. Univariate ANOVAs in which simple comparisons using European American youth as the reference group were conducted. The Bonferroni correction for the number of significant differences at the .05 level was used, which suggested $p < .031$ as the significance level. Means, standard deviations and ANOVA simple comparisons are indicated in Table 9.

Table 9. Means and Standard Deviations of Observational Codes by Ethnicity

	American Indian	African American	European American	Contrasts
Racial Awareness (child)	4.70 (1.19)	5.27 (.79)	4.39 (.88)	AA>EA
Racial Awareness (parent)	4.83 (.67)	4.75 (.61)	4.46 (.44)	AI>EA
Promotion of Mistrust (child)	2.81 (1.46)	3.04 (1.79)	1.89 (1.51)	AA, AI>EA
Promotion of Mistrust (parent)	2.06 (1.24)	1.97 (1.26)	1.17 (.30)	AA, AI>EA
Other-Group Orientation (child)	1.15 (.46)	2.15 (1.35)	1.77 (1.35)	AA>EA
Other-Group Orientation (parent)	1.10 (.28)	2.08 (1.35)	1.77 (1.34)	AA>EA
Proactive Preparation (child)	2.62 (1.70)	2.63 (1.65)	1.98 (.100)	AA, AI>EA
Proactive Preparation (parent)	3.03 (1.99)	3.00 (1.96)	2.33 (1.23)	AA, AI>EA
Cultural Affiliation (child)	3.28 (1.00)	3.56 (1.66)	2.92 (.78)	AA>EA
Cultural Affiliation (parent)	3.60 (1.34)	3.91 (1.66)	3.37 (1.05)	---
Family Centeredness (parent)	4.02 (1.49)	4.20 (1.12)	3.88 (.81)	---
Family Centeredness (child)	4.61 (1.55)	4.62 (1.25)	4.39 (.76)	---
Ethnic Heritage Exploration (child)	1.50 (.94)	2.48 (1.70)	1.64 (1.12)	AA, AI>EA
Ethnic Heritage Exploration (parent)	1.92 (.99)	2.58 (1.66)	1.34 (1.01)	AA>EA
Spiritual Involvement (child)	1.82 (.93)	1.89 (1.33)	1.74 (1.26)	---
Spiritual Involvement (parent)	2.30 (1.44)	2.31 (1.97)	2.25 (1.79)	---

* α set at .003 for Bonferroni corrections

Means and standard deviations of the codes indicated a trend in which American Indian and African American youth and parents tended to score higher on the ethnic-racial socialization codes compared to European American families, with the exception of the Other-Group Orientation construct. Pairwise contrasts in ANOVA revealed that Promotion of Mistrust (parent and child codes), Proactive Preparation (parent and child codes) and Ethnic Heritage Exploration (child code) indicated significant differences in levels of endorsement of these messages between European American versus African American and American Indian families. In general, pairwise contrasts revealed that African American families scored significantly higher than European American families in the majority of the observational codes, except for Cultural Socialization (parent code), Spiritual Involvement and Family Centeredness.

Descriptive analyses were also conducted for adolescent self reported data. Domains of Cultural Experience (ethnic identity and experiences of discrimination), Family Context (parental monitoring, positive family relations, family conflict) and Adolescent Adjustment (Antisocial Behavior, Deviant Peer Association, and Depression) were examined. Means and standard deviations are provided in Table 10.

Table 10. Means and Standard Deviations of Adolescent Survey Data by Ethnicity

	American Indian	African American	European American
<i><u>Culture Based Variables</u></i>			
Discrimination	1.38 (.58)	1.17 (.29)	1.10 (.26)
Ethnic Identity	3.54 (.43)	3.15 (.84)	2.69 (.85)
<i><u>Adolescent Outcome Variables</u></i>			
Antisocial Behavior	1.29 (.33)	1.34 (.41)	1.09 (.24)
Deviant Peer Association	1.42 (1.43)	1.08 (1.22)	.31 (.60)
Depression	1.95 (.72)	1.94 (.85)	1.83 (.95)
<i><u>Family Context Variables</u></i>			
Positive Family Relation	4.00 (.70)	3.61 (1.10)	3.96 (.91)
Parental Monitoring	3.97 (.80)	4.03 (1.09)	4.50 (.62)
Family Conflict	3.32 (1.45)	2.89 (1.50)	2.43 (1.26)

Correlational Analyses

Correlations were conducted to examine the association between the observational measures of ethnic-racial socialization and adolescent and parent reported measures. Specifically, correlations were conducted among observed ethnic-racial socialization measures and a) adolescent outcome measures, b) adolescent cultural experiences, and c) adolescent family experiences. Correlations were conducted between adolescent as well as parent observational codes and adolescent self report.

Adolescent Cultural Experiences

Correlations between observational ethnic-racial socialization codes and adolescent self reported ethnic identity, perceived discrimination and spiritual involvement were conducted. Results indicated significant correlations among the behavioral observation constructs and self reported ethnic identity, spiritual involvement

and perceived discrimination for African American and American Indian youth, but not for European American youth (see Table 11).

Adolescent Family Experiences

Correlations between observational ethnic-racial socialization codes and adolescent self reported positive family relations, parental monitoring, parental rule making and family conflict were conducted. Results indicated correlations were significant between behavioral observation constructs and self reported Positive Family Relations and Family Conflict for African American and American Indian youth, but not for European American youth (see Table 12).

Adolescent Outcomes

Correlations between observational ethnic-racial socialization codes and adolescent self reported antisocial behavior, deviant peer association and depression were conducted. Results indicated significant correlations among the behavioral observation constructs and self reported ethnic identity, spiritual involvement and experiences of discrimination for African American and American Indian youth, but not for European American youth (see Table 13).

Table 11. Correlations among Behavior Observation Ethnic-Racial Socialization Dimensions and Cultural Experience Variables

	<i>Behavioral Observation Dimensions of Ethnic-Racial Socialization</i>						
	Ethnic Exploration	Cultural Socialization	Family Centeredness	Other Group Orientation	Promotion of Mistrust	Proactive Preparation	Racial Awareness
<i>Self report: EA youth</i>							
Ethnic identity	.16	-.07	-.21	-.15	-.15	.01	-.08
Spirituality	.12	.02	-.21	.05	-.08	.16	-.02
Discrimination	.11	.02	.07	-.21	.23	-.13	-.19
<i>Self report: AA youth</i>							
Ethnic identity	.06	.54**	.18	.27	.17	.65**	-.37*
Spirituality	-.19	.39*	.05	.09	-.03	.24	.15
Discrimination	-.17	-.01	-.07	-.12	.39*	.03	.17
<i>Self report: AI youth</i>							
Ethnic identity	-.01	.43**	.28*	.21	-.10	.43**	.13
Spirituality	.26*	.24	.31*	.02	.18	.14	.33*
Discrimination	-.10	-.12	-.03	.10	.40*	-.10	-.03

Note. † $p < .06$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Table 12. Correlations among Behavior Observation Ethnic-Racial Socialization Dimensions and Family Context Variables

	<i>Behavioral Observation Dimensions of Ethnic-Racial Socialization</i>					
	Ethnic Exploration	Cultural Socialization	Family Centeredness	Promotion of Mistrust	Proactive Preparation	Racial Awareness
<i>Self report: EA youth</i>						
Parental Monitoring	.19	.12	.15	-.44*	.34*	.15
Family Conflict	-.13	-.04	-.09	.22	.20	-.24
Positive Family Relation	.11	.12	.18	-.11	.34**	.22
<i>Self report: AA youth</i>						
Parental Monitoring	-.07	.44*	-.33†	-.46*	.32†	-.46*
Family Conflict	-.02	-.25	-.33†	-.01	.10	-.05
Positive Family Relation	-.01	-.47**	.41**	-.34*	.38**	.13
<i>Self report: AI youth</i>						
Parental Monitoring	.16	.28*	-.15	-.10	.23	.10
Family Conflict	-.16	-.31*	-.32*	.52*	-.22	.16
Positive Family Relation	.22	.53**	.25†	-.26*	.33**	.18

Note. † $p < .06$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Table 13. Correlations among Behavior Observation Ethnic-Racial Socialization Dimensions and Adolescent Outcomes

	<i>Behavioral Observation Dimensions of Ethnic-Racial Socialization</i>						
	Ethnic Exploration	Cultural Socialization	Family Centeredness	Other Group Orientation	Promotion of Mistrust	Proactive Preparation	Racial Awareness
<i>Self report: EA youth</i>							
Antisocial Behavior	-.02	-.07	-.02	-.12	-.12	-.26†	-.13
Depression	.25†	.19	.02	-.24†	.22	-.04	-.14
Deviant Peer Assn.	.28†	.08	.08	-.10	.23	-.23	-.15
<i>Self report: AA youth</i>							
Antisocial Behavior	.07	-.48**	-.40**	-.27	.52**	-.15	.03
Depression	-.16	-.34*	-.31†	.04	.25	-.18	.15
Deviant Peer Assn.	-.11	-.24	-.31†	-.11	.59**	.02	.17
<i>Self report: AI youth</i>							
Antisocial Behavior	-.24†	.35*	-.22	.06	.55**	-.20	.12
Depression	-.17	-.05	-.11	.02	.60**	-.13	.13
Deviant Peer Assn.	-.07	-.45*	-.30**	.08	.31**	-.27*	.08

Note. † $p < .06$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Phase IV: Mediational Effects of Observed Ethnic-Racial Socialization

To investigate the possible mediational role of observed ethnic-racial socialization dimensions in a) the relationship between perceived discrimination and adolescent adjustment, and b) family factors and ethnic identity development, the analyses outlined by Baron and Kenny (1986) were conducted (see Figure 5). First the mediator variable is regressed on the independent variable. Second, the dependent variable is regressed on the independent variable. Last, the dependent variable is regressed on both the mediator and independent variables. A mediational relationship is present if a) the first two equations are significant, b) the mediator is related to the dependent variable in the third equation, and c) the effect of the independent variable is less in the third equation than it was in the second equation. Mediation effects were examined for significance using the Sobel test (Sobel, 1982) which determines the significance of the indirect effect of the mediator by testing the hypothesis of no difference between the total effect (path c) and the direct effect (path c'). The indirect effect of the mediator is the product of path a*b which is equal to (c - c'). The Sobel test is a stringent method of calculating the indirect effect of mediator is significantly different from zero. The test of the indirect effect is calculated by dividing a*b by the square root of the variance in the equation below and treating the ratio as a Z test (i.e., larger than 1.96 in absolute value is significant at the .05 level).

The Sobel equation is:

$$\text{Sobel test equation z value} = \frac{(a * b)}{\sqrt{(b^2sa^2 + a^2sb^2)}}$$

where a is the first equation

b is the second equation

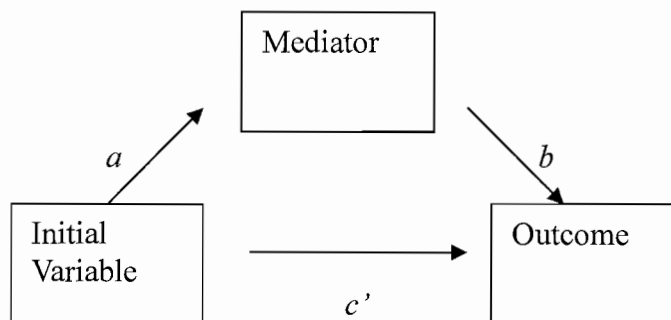
c is the total effect

c' is the direct path

sa is the standard error of path a

sb is the standard error of path b

Figure 5. Model of Mediation



Mediated Effect = ab

Mediational Effects of Ethnic-Racial Socialization Codes on Ethnic Identity Development

Mediational analyses were conducted to examine whether ethnic-racial socialization accounted for the relationship between family contextual variables and adolescent ethnic identity achievement. Mediational effects were examined only for the

relationship between adolescent reported positive family relations and ethnic identity achievement since associations due to non significant effects between either of the pathways between parental monitoring or family conflict (initial variable) and ethnic identity (outcome) and the ethnic-socialization codes (mediator).

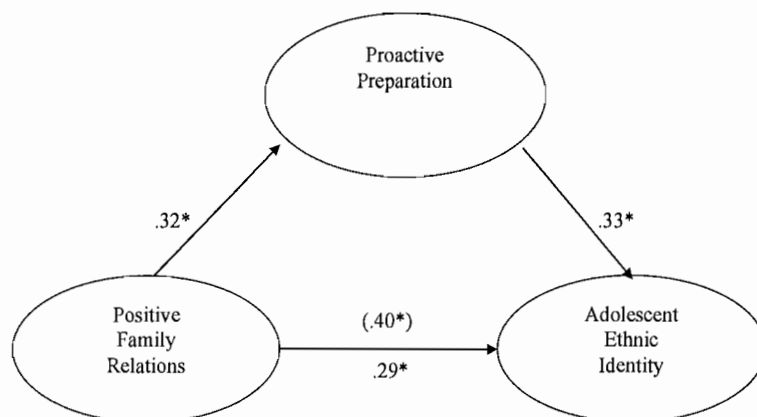
A parent-child combined observation score for the dimensions of Proactive Preparation, Promotion of Mistrust, and Cultural Socialization were developed for the purposes of the mediational analyses. Pearson correlations between the parent and child codes ranged from .39 to .87 for European American families, .37 to .88 for African American families, and .36 to .83 for American Indian families.

Mediators of Positive Family Relations and Ethnic Identity Achievement

Analyses whether Cultural Socialization and Proactive Preparation accounted for the variance between the relationship between adolescent reported Positive Family Relations and adolescent Ethnic Identity separately by ethnicity.

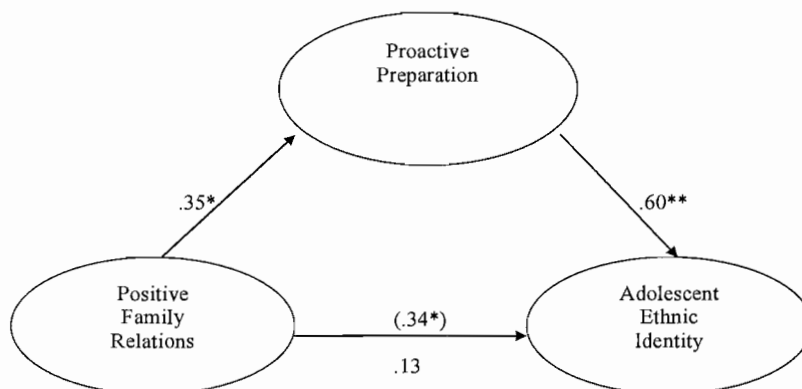
Analyses for American Indian adolescents showed that Positive Family Relations was significantly associated with Proactive Preparation, $\beta = .32$, $t=2.52$, $p<.05$, and Ethnic Identity, $\beta = .40$, $t=3.26$ $p<.01$. Proactive Preparation partially accounted for the relationship between Positive Family Relations and youth Ethnic Identity, $\beta = .33$, $t=2.65$, $p<.001$, $z=2.38$, $p<.05$ (see Figure 6).

Figure 6. Mediation Effects of Proactive Preparation for American Indian Youth



Mediation analyses examined the effect of Proactive Preparation on the relationship between Positive Family Relations and adolescent Ethnic Identity among African American youth. Positive Family Relations was significantly related with Proactive Preparation, $\beta = .35$, $t=1.98$, $p<.05$, and Ethnic Identity, $\beta = .31$, $t=3.43$ $p<.001$. Proactive Preparation fully accounted for the effect on youth ethnic identity, $\beta = .60$, $t=4.04$, $p<.01$, $z=3.64$, $p<.05$, (see Figure 7).

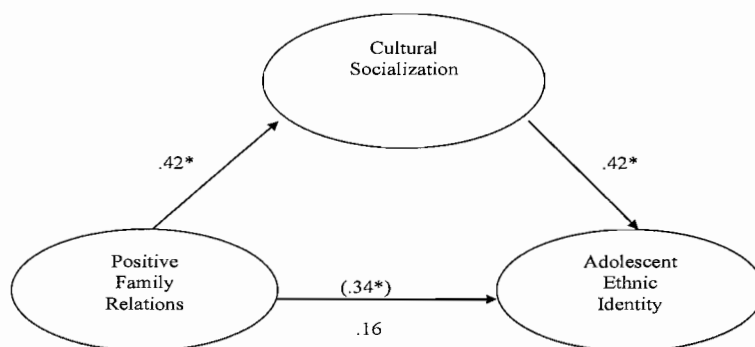
Figure 7. Mediation Effects of Proactive Preparation for African American Youth



For European American youth, Positive Family Relations was significantly associated with Proactive Preparation, $\beta = .31$, $t=2.26$, $p<.05$, and Ethnic Identity, $\beta = .29$, $t=4.25$, $p<.01$. Proactive Preparation did not account for any variance among Positive Family Relations and Ethnic Identity, $\beta = -.18$, $t=-1.17$, $p= ns$.

Next, analyses were conducted on the mediational effects of Cultural Socialization. For African American youth, Positive Family Relations were significantly associated with Cultural Socialization, $\beta = .42$, $t=2.54$, $p<.05$, and Ethnic Identity, $\beta = .31$, $t=3.44$, $p<.001$. Cultural Socialization fully accounted for the effect on Ethnic Identity, $\beta = .42$, $t=2.34$, $p<.05$, $z=2.33$, $p<.05$, (see Figure 8).

Figure 8. Mediational Effects of Cultural Socialization for African American Youth



Analyses for American Indian adolescents indicated that Positive Family Relations were significantly associated with Cultural Socialization, $\beta = .29$, $t=2.97$, $p<.01$, and Ethnic Identity, $\beta = .38$, $t=3.96$, $p<.001$. Cultural Socialization however, did not account for the association between Positive Family Relations and Ethnic Identity, $\beta = .11$, $t=1.12$, $p=ns$. For European American youth, Positive Family Relations was significantly correlated with Ethnic Identity, $\beta = .29$, $t=4.25$, $p<.001$, but not Cultural Socialization, $\beta = .11$, $t=.74$,

$p=ns$. As a result mediation effects could not be examined.

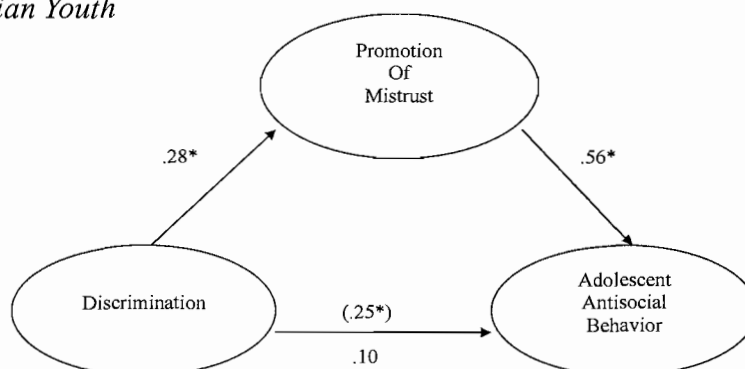
Mediational Effects on the Impact of Discrimination on Adolescent Adjustment

Analyses examining observed ethnic-racial socialization as a mediator of the impact of discrimination and adolescent adjustment were conducted. Specifically, mediational effects of ethnic-racial socialization dimensions Proactive Preparation, Promotion of Mistrust, and Cultural Socialization on the relationship between experiences of discrimination and adolescent antisocial behavior, deviant peer association and depression were examined separately for each ethnic group.

Mediational Effects of Promotion of Mistrust

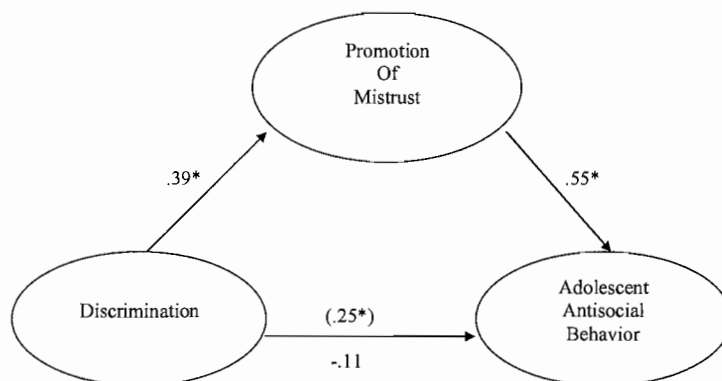
Analyses examined whether Promotion of Mistrust accounted for the relationship between experiences of discrimination and adolescent antisocial behavior separately by ethnic group. For American Indian adolescents, Discrimination was significantly associated with Promotion of Mistrust, $\beta = .28$, $t = 2.84$, $p < .01$, and adolescent Antisocial Behavior, $\beta = .25$, $t = 2.54$, $p < .05$. Promotion of Mistrust partially accounted for the relationship between Discrimination and adolescent Antisocial Behavior, $\beta = .56$, $t = 6.45$, $p < .001$, $z = 2.74$, $p < .05$, (see Figure 9).

Figure 9. Mediational Effects of Promotion of Mistrust on Antisocial Behavior for American Indian Youth



Analyses with African American youth indicated that Discrimination was significantly associated with Promotion of Mistrust, $\beta = .39$, $t = 2.30$, $p < .05$, and adolescent Antisocial Behavior, $\beta = .25$, $t = 2.40$, $p < .05$. Promotion of Mistrust fully accounted for the relationship between Discrimination and adolescent Antisocial Behavior, $\beta = .55$, $t = 3.48$, $p < .001$, $z = 15.73$, $p < .05$ (see Figure 10).

Figure 10. Mediation Effects of Promotion of Mistrust on Antisocial Behavior for African American Youth

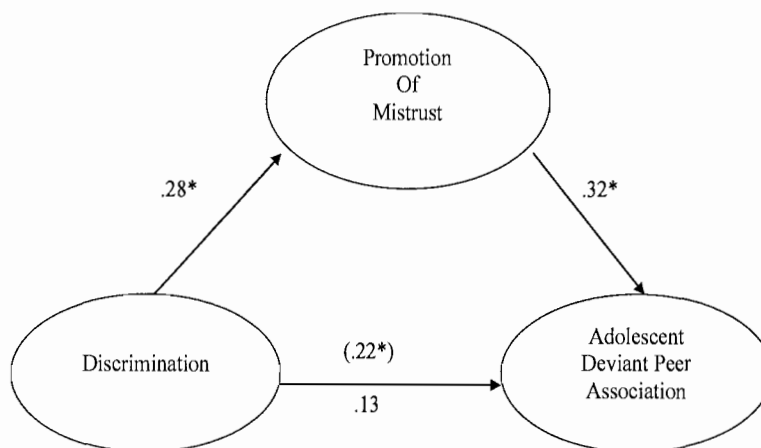


For European American adolescents, Discrimination was significantly associated with Promotion of Mistrust, $\beta = .30$, $t = 2.14$, $p < .05$, and adolescent Antisocial Behavior, $\beta = .62$, $t = 5.39$, $p < .001$. However, Promotion of Mistrust did not account for the relationship between Discrimination and Antisocial Behavior, $\beta = -.06$, $t = -.47$, $p = ns$.

Next, analyses examining the effects of Promotion of Mistrust on the relationship between Discrimination and adolescent Deviant Peer Association were conducted separately by ethnic group. Analyses for American Indian youth indicated that Discrimination was related to Promotion of Mistrust, $\beta = .28$, $t = 2.84$, $p < .01$, and Deviant

Peer Association, $\beta = .22$, $t = 2.19$, $p < .05$. Promotion of Mistrust fully accounted for the relationship between Discrimination and Deviant Peer Association, $\beta = .32$, $t = 3.19$, $p < .01$, $z = 2.60$, $p < .05$ (see Figure 11).

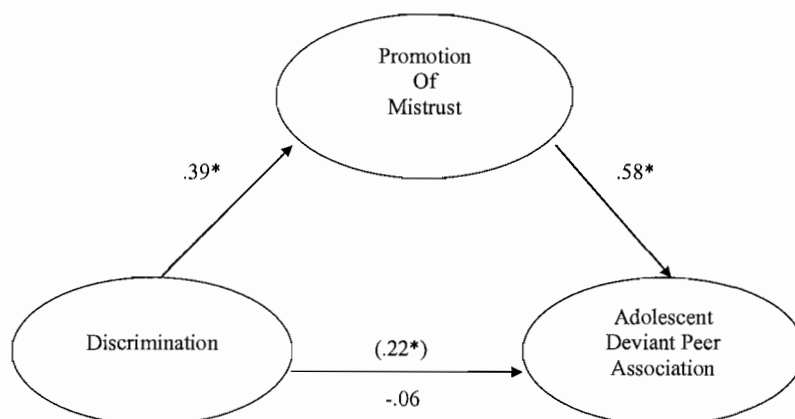
Figure 11. Mediational Effects of Promotion of Mistrust on Deviant Peer Association for American Indian Youth



Similarly, Among African American youth Perceived Discrimination was significantly correlated with Promotion of Mistrust, $\beta = .39$, $t = 2.29$, $p < .05$, and Deviant Peer Association, $\beta = .22$, $t = 2.40$, $p < .05$. Promotion of Mistrust fully accounted for the relationship between Discrimination and Deviant Peer Association, $\beta = .58$, $t = 3.48$, $p < .01$, $z = 1.96$, $p < .05$, (see Figure 12).

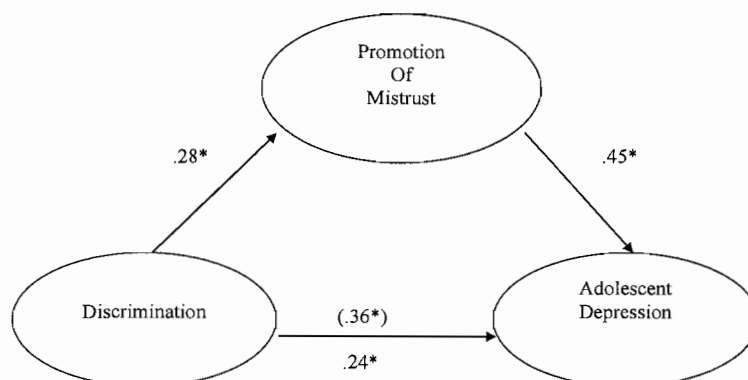
For European American adolescents, Discrimination was significantly related with Promotion of Mistrust, $\beta = .30$, $t = 2.14$, $p < .05$, and Deviant Peer Association, $\beta = .04$, $t = .40$, $p = ns$. Promotion of Mistrust did not significantly account for the relationship between Discrimination and Deviant Peer Association, $\beta = .04$, $t = .40$, $p = ns$.

Figure 12. Mediation Effects of Promotion of Mistrust on Deviant Peer Association for African American Youth



Lastly, analyses examined whether Promotion of Mistrust accounted for the impact of Discrimination on adolescent Depression were examined. For American Indian adolescents, Discrimination was related to Promotion of Mistrust, $\beta = .28$, $t = 2.84$, $p < .01$, and Depression, $\beta = .36$, $t = 3.78$, $p < .001$. Promotion of Mistrust fully accounted for the relationship between Discrimination and youth Depression, $\beta = .45$, $t = 5.05$, $p < .001$, $z = 2.13$, $p < .05$, (see Figure 13).

Figure 13. Mediation Effects of Promotion of Mistrust on Depression for American Indian Youth



Among African American youth, Discrimination was significantly correlated with Promotion of Mistrust, $\beta = .48$, $t=3.02$, $p<.05$, and Depression, $\beta = .24$, $t=2.69$, $p<.05$.

However, Promotion of Mistrust did not account for the relationship between Discrimination and Depression for African American youth, $\beta = .05$, $t=.22$, $p=ns$.

For European American adolescents, Discrimination was significantly related with Promotion of Mistrust, $\beta = .30$, $t=2.14$, $p<.05$, and Depression, $\beta = .66$, $t=6.05$, $p<.001$, but Promotion of Mistrust did not indicate a significantly account for the effect of Discrimination on Depression, $\beta = .08$, $t=.70$, $p=ns$.

Generally analyses examining the effect of Promotion of Mistrust indicated that among American Indian and African American youth, the negative effects of discrimination on adolescent adjustment (antisocial behavior, deviant peer association, depression) were accounted for by familial messages that promoted defensiveness and mistrust of mainstream society. In contrast, for European American youth, experiences of discrimination were associated with poor adolescent adjustment as well as promotion of familial messages cautioning against others, however these messages did not account for the relationship between discrimination and poor adjustment.

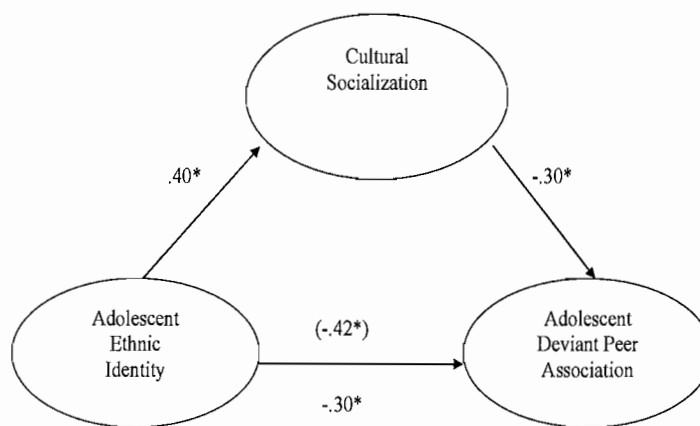
Mediational Effects of Cultural Socialization

Analyses examining the variance accounted for by Cultural Socialization were conducted for each ethnic group separately. For American Indian youth, adolescent Ethnic Identity was significantly associated with Cultural Socialization, $\beta = .40$, $t=3.01$, $p<.01$, and Deviant Peer Association, $\beta = -.42$, $t=-3.35$, $p<.01$. Cultural Socialization partially accounted for the association between adolescent Ethnic Identity and Deviant

Peer Association, $\beta = -.30$, $t=-2.23$ $p<.05$, $z= -1.97$, $p <.05$ (see Figure 14).

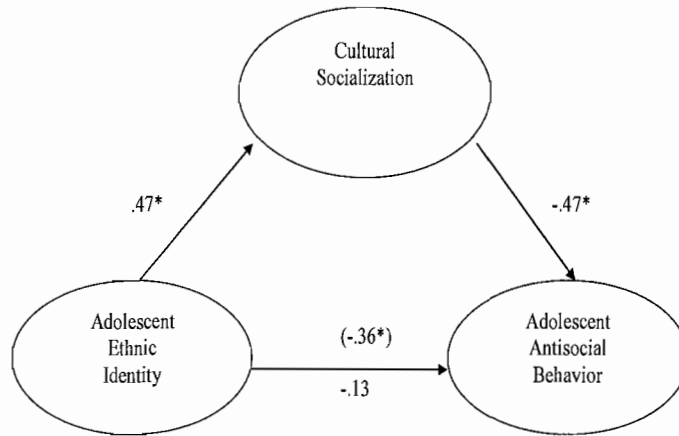
Analyses examining African American adolescents indicated that adolescent Ethnic Identity was significantly associated with Cultural Socialization, $\beta =.49$, $t=3.01$, $p<.01$, but not with Deviant Peer Association, $\beta =-.26$, $t=-1.47$, $p=ns$. For European American adolescents, there were no significant associations between adolescent Ethnic Identity, Cultural Socialization and Deviant Peer Association.

Figure 14. Mediation Effects of Cultural Socialization on Deviant Peer Association for American Indian Youth



Analyses were conducted examining the effect of Cultural Socialization on the association between adolescent Ethnic Identity and Antisocial Behavior. Analyses on African American youth indicated that adolescent Ethnic Identity was significantly related to Cultural Socialization, $\beta = .47$, $t=3.01$, $p<.05$, and adolescent Antisocial Behavior, $\beta = -.36$, $t=-2.23$ $p<.05$. Cultural Socialization fully accounted for the relationship between adolescent Ethnic Identity and Antisocial Behavior, $\beta = -.47$, $t=-2.60$, $p<.05$, $z=2.62$, $p<.05$, (see Figure 15).

Figure 15. Mediation Effects of Cultural Socialization on Antisocial Behavior for African American Youth



Analyses for American Indian youth showed that adolescent Ethnic Identity was significantly related to Cultural Socialization $\beta = .21$, $t=2.11$, $p<.05$, and negatively correlated with adolescent Antisocial Behavior, $\beta = -.23$, $t=-2.39$, $p<.05$. However, Cultural Socialization did not account for the association between adolescent Ethnic Identity and Antisocial Behavior, $\beta = -.08$, $t=-.80$, $p= ns$. For European American adolescents, there were no significant associations between adolescent Ethnic Identity, Cultural Socialization and Antisocial Behavior.

Overall, Cultural Socialization appeared to account for association between ethnic identity achievement on adolescent externalizing problems among ethnic minority youth, although the effects varied between African American and American Indian youth. However, for European American youth, Ethnic identity and Cultural Socialization were not significantly related to adolescent outcome.

Phase V: Testing the Moderation Effects of Ethnic-Racial Socialization

Moderation analyses examined whether the effect of discrimination on adolescent adjustment changed as a function of observed ethnic-racial socialization. Specifically, the effects of Promotion of Mistrust and Cultural Socialization were examined.

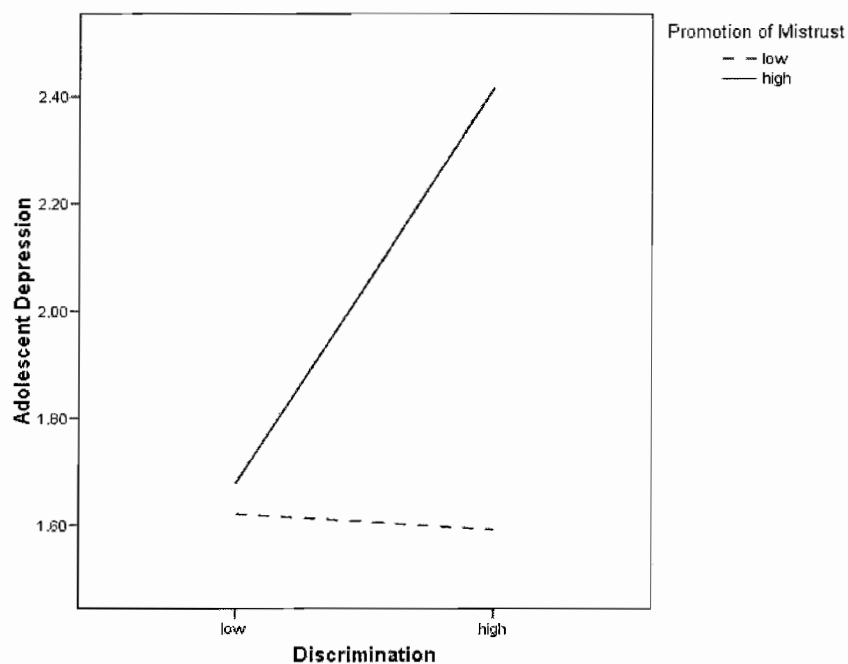
Regression analyses examined whether Promotion of Mistrust accounted for the impact of discrimination on depression for American Indian youth. Results indicated that the relationship between discrimination and youth depression marginally differed at different levels of socialization of Promotion of Mistrust messages (see Table 14, Figure 16). Specifically, discrimination may adversely affect depression more for American Indian youth receiving higher levels of Promotion of Mistrust messages within the family context compared to youth who receive less of these messages. No effects were found for youth outcomes of antisocial behavior or deviant peer association.

Table 14. Moderation Effects of Promotion of Mistrust on American Indian Youth Depression

Models	R ²	F	β	t
Step1 Discrimination	.37	32.38*	.61	2.04*
Step 2 Discrimination Promotion of Mistrust	.54	31.97*	.44 .45	.82 -1.96*
Step 3 Discrimination Promotion of Mistrust Discrimination X Promotion of Mistrust	.57	23.25*	.03 -.04 .76	2.06* -.11 -2.34*

Note. † $p < .07$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Figure 16. Plot of Discrimination X Promotion of Mistrust Interaction for American Indian Youth



Regression analyses examining the effects of Promotion of Mistrust among African American and European American youth indicated no significant results for all youth outcomes (antisocial behavior, deviant peer association, depression). Analyses examining whether Promotion of Mistrust accounted for the impact of discrimination on adolescent antisocial behavior for African American youth showed that the interaction term Discrimination X Promotion of Mistrust indicated a trend ($p=.09$), suggesting that with more power (i.e. larger sample size) an effect may be detected. As expected, no significant effects of ethnic-racial socialization dimensions were found for European American youth for analyses on all youth outcomes.

Next, regression analyses examined whether Cultural Socialization accounted for the impact of discrimination on youth outcome among American Indian, African

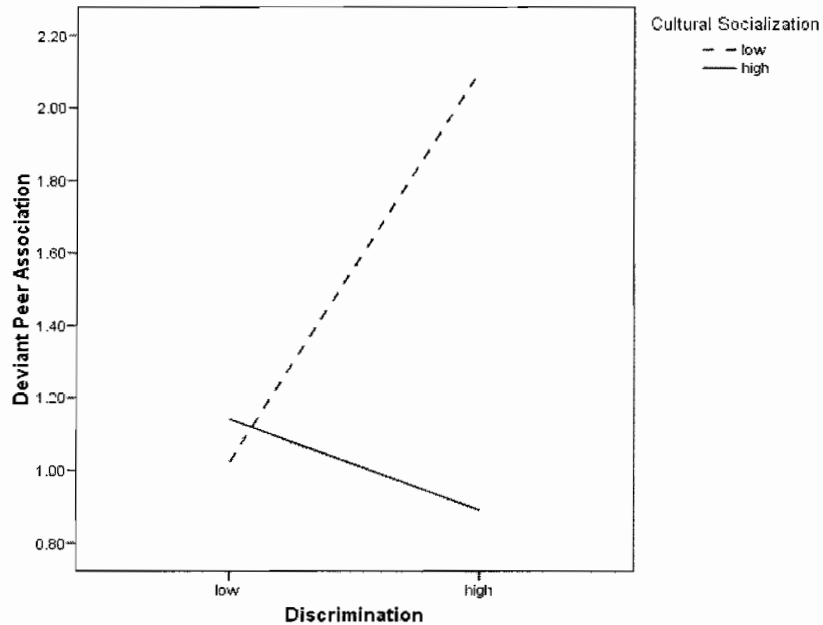
American and European American youth. Significant findings were found for regression analyses examining the effects of Cultural Socialization on the relationship between Experience of Discrimination and Deviant Peer Association among American Indian youth. Results suggested that the relationship between discrimination and youth deviant peer association significantly differed at different levels of receiving Cultural Socialization messages (see Table 15, Figure 17). Specifically, the negative impact of discrimination on youth deviant peer association is buffered by Cultural Socialization messages especially among American Indian adolescents who report experiencing higher levels of discrimination. No significant results were found for the relationship between discrimination and American Indian youth depression or antisocial behavior.

Table 15. Moderation Effects of Cultural Socialization on American Indian Youth Deviant Peer Association

Models	R ²	F	β	t
Step1 Discrimination	.07	4.15*	.27	2.04*
Step 2 Discrimination Cultural Socialization	.13	3.66*	.13 -.29	.82 -1.96*
Step 3 Discrimination Cultural Socialization Discrimination X Cultural Socialization	.19	3.96*	.27 -.02 -.49	2.06* -.11 -2.03*

Note. † $p < .06$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Figure 17. Plot of Discrimination X Cultural Socialization Interaction for American Indian Youth



Regression analyses examining moderation effects of Cultural Socialization for African American and European American youth indicated no significant effects across all three adolescent outcome measures, suggesting that for youth who experience discrimination, socialization of culture (e.g. traditions, values, history) does not necessarily buffer the negative effects of discrimination on youth adjustment. The absence of variance accounted by ethnic-racial socialization dimensions among African American youth was unexpected. However, from the previous analyses (see correlations, mediation analyses), it appears that Cultural Socialization has more significant associations with promotive cultural experiences such as ethnic identity achievement and spiritual involvement, rather than experiences of discrimination

Phase VI: Testing the Unique Effects of Ethnic-Racial Socialization

A final step in the analyses involved testing whether ethnic-racial socialization dimensions served had unique effects above and beyond those of family context variables on adolescent adjustment. Stepwise regressions were conducted to examine the additional effects of Cultural Socialization and Promotion of Mistrust.

Unique Effects of Cultural Socialization

Stepwise regression analyses examined whether Cultural Socialization accounted for adolescent antisocial behavior above and beyond the effects of Ethnic Identity Achievement, Parental Monitoring and Positive Family Relations, separately by ethnicity. Results suggested that Cultural Socialization consistently predicted lower levels of adolescent antisocial behavior, above and beyond the effects of other variables among American African youth, but not for American Indian or European American adolescents (see Tables 16 & 17).

Table 16. Unique Effects of Cultural Socialization on African American Youth Antisocial Behavior above and beyond Effects of Ethnic Identity and Parental Monitoring

Models	R ²	F	β	t
Step1 Parental Monitoring	.14	4.71*	-.37	1.96*
Step 2 Parental Monitoring Ethnic Identity	.20	3.58*	-.29 -.31	-1.65 -1.94†
Step 3 Parental Monitoring Ethnic Identity Cultural Socialization	.32	4.29*	-.16 -.07 -.44	-.10 -.36 -2.18*

Note. † $p < .06$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Table 17. Unique Effects of Cultural Socialization on African American Youth Antisocial Behavior above and beyond Effects of Ethnic Identity and Positive Family Relations

Models	R ²	F	β	t
Step1 Positive Family Relations	.12	3.92*	-.37	-1.98*
Step 2 Positive Family Relations Ethnic Identity	.18	3.14†	-.29 -.31	-1.40 -1.49
Step 3 Positive Family Relations Ethnic Identity Cultural Socialization	.31	4.05*	-.16 -.07 -.44	-.57 -.37 -2.23*

Note. † $p < .06$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Adverse Effects of Promotion of Mistrust

Stepwise regressions examined the adverse effects of Promotion of Mistrust messages above and beyond the impact of discrimination and family conflict or positive familial relationships among American Indian, African American, and European American families. Regression analyses indicated that beyond the negative effects of family conflict on adolescent antisocial behavior, Promotion of Mistrust significantly contributed to development of antisocial behavior only among American Indian youth (see Table 18). No significant effects were found for African American or European American adolescents.

Table 18. Unique Effects of Promotion of Mistrust on American Indian Youth Antisocial Behavior above and beyond Effects of Discrimination and Family Conflict

Models	R ²	F	β	t
Step1 Discrimination	.06	3.34*	.25	1.96*
Step 2 Discrimination Family Conflict	.26	9.61**	.01 .51	.04 3.88**
Step 3 Discrimination Family Conflict Promotion of Mistrust	.35	9.55**	-.06 .36 .35	- .40 -2.60* 2.69*

Note. † p<.06, *p < .05, **p < .01.

Stepwise regression analyses also examined the negative effect of Promotion of Mistrust on adolescent deviant peer association among American Indian youth.

Promotion of Mistrust significantly accounted for adolescent Deviant Peer Association, above and beyond the negative effects of discrimination and family conflict (see Table 19).

Table 19. Unique Effects of Promotion of Mistrust on American Indian Youth Deviant Peer Association above and beyond Effects of Discrimination and Family Conflict

Models	R ²	F	β	t
Step1 Discrimination	.37	32.38*	.61	5.69*
Step 2 Discrimination Family Conflict	.43	20.35**	.48 .27	4.19** 2.37**
Step 3 Discrimination Family Conflict Promotion of Mistrust	.52	18.91**	.42 .12 .35	3.86** 1.02 3.09**

Note. † $p < .06$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

In summary, these analyses highlight the central role of the ethnic-racial socialization dimensions plays in ethnic minority youth adjustment. Among African American youth, Cultural Socialization messages indicated protective effects above and beyond positive parenting practices and family cohesion, suggesting the salience of the transmission of cultural messages that promote youth's sense of belonging and pride. In contrast, analyses with American Indian youth indicated that familial messages

promoting defensiveness or caution of others (Promotion of Mistrust) predicted risk for youth beyond the negative influences due to family conflict and discrimination. These findings are critical in understanding adverse effects related to distrustful messages on discrimination among American Indian youth and families.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

This study attempted to develop and validate a new behavioral observation measure of familial ethnic-racial socialization. The development of an observational measure of ethnic-racial socialization processes was considered critical to the current field, for a number of reasons. First, recent literature identifies ethnic-racial socialization as fundamental to the development of ethnic minority youth (Hughes, et al, 2006), specifically, as a protective factor in the context of tension and challenges of living at the crossroads of mainstream and minority cultures. Second, there are very few studies that document the influence of ethnic-racial socialization as a multivariate influence in the context of parenting practices. Third, research to date has largely utilized self report questionnaires or interviews, with very limited number of studies using observational methods as a way to capture socialization processes surrounding issues of race, ethnicity, culture, minority status and mainstream culture. Observational methods capture the dynamic nature of human interaction and behavior that is hard to obtain through self-report, interviews, and other sources which are often affected by systematic personal biases (Gardner, 2000). The current study advances this area of research by developing and validating a behavioral observational measure of ethnic-racial socialization within the familial context over a series of phases.

Measurement Development

The development of the Observational Paradigm for Ethnic-Racial Socialization (OPERS) and Observational Measure of Ethnic-Racial Socialization (OMERS) was conducted over several stages. First, a review of the literature on ethnic socialization, racial socialization, and ethnic minority youth development revealed several core constructs reflecting socialization processes surrounding issues of race, ethnicity, culture, minority status and biculturalism. Literature on empirically validated survey measures of ethnic socialization, racial socialization, ethnic identity achievement, and biculturalism served as a basis by which the observational paradigm and codes were developed.

Second, focus groups were recruited for purposes of a) piloting the Observational Paradigm for Ethnic-Racial Socialization (OPERS) and b) receiving feedback on the appropriateness of the observational paradigm and companion coding system. Piloting the observational paradigm with focus group participants provided a forum for the author and the research team to hear and learn the aspects of the paradigm that were potentially culturally incongruent, difficult to comprehend or awkward. For example, asking focus groups participants select questions regarding their experiences was critical in learning unexpected aspects of families' ethnic-racial socialization processes that may have not been apparent from the literature (e.g. conflict between American Indian community and the European American farmers regarding water supplies) and thus coded incorrectly or not at all without the cultural knowledge. As such, focus group feedback on the piloting procedure guided revisions of the observational paradigm (e.g. re-worded instructions for the paradigm).

Third, the integration of the qualitative information with theory, empirical findings and input from cultural experts was fundamental in developing an observational paradigm that captured ethnic-racial socialization processes in a naturalistic way, as well as a companion coding system that accurately quantified these interactions in a meaningful manner. While qualitative data provided culturally specific details (e.g. common theme of socialization practices), reference to cultural experts and the literature allowed for the qualitative information to be organized within a theoretical and empirically supported framework. The integration of different methodologies and the mixed methods approach enabled a clearer understanding of ethnic-racial socialization processes across European American, African American and American Indian youth and their families, in part, because it captured cultural and social nuances that largely vary across different ethnic groups.

Last, the training of coders was a key step in the development of a reliable measure of observed ethnic-racial socialization. Coder training for the Observational Measure of Ethnic-Racial Socialization (OMERS) included an initial training of coders on sociopolitical, historical, and cultural influences on American Indian and African American families including culturally specific parenting practices and beliefs. Specifically, the initial training ranged from reviewing and discussing guided readings, viewing various media central to issues of discrimination and culture, and observing numerous family interactions of American Indian and African American families. This training was central in anchoring the multiethnic team of coders' views of differential socialization processes that were culturally embedded; a process that was challenging

considering the fact that some coders had little to no exposure to certain ethnic groups and cultures, although most were of minority status.

In summary, the use of mixed methods, along with careful attention to integrating cultural diversity training for coders was central in developing a culturally grounded observational measure of ethnic-racial socialization.

Factor Structure

Findings from the exploratory factor analyses indicated that a four factor solution was derived from the codes for the Discrimination Paradigm, specifically, Proactive Preparation, Racial Awareness, Promotion of Mistrust and Other-Group Orientation. Our derived factors represent the theoretical constructs that are defined by Hughes and colleagues (2006), in which Proactive Preparation and Racial Awareness reflect definitions of Preparation for Bias, while Promotion of Mistrust as derived as an independent factor. Interestingly, Racial Awareness, which represents active acknowledgement and attention to issues of discrimination was identified as a separate factor from Proactive Preparation suggesting that it is not necessarily consonant with the promotion of proactive and positive methods of coping with discrimination. Other Group Orientation, which was derived from Phinney's ethnic identity construct, appeared as a separate factor which promotes coping with discrimination via emphasis on diversity and interethnic relations. Confirmatory factor analyses on the sample validated that the four factor model fit the observed data relatively well, indicating that the observational codes represented theoretical constructs Promotion of Mistrust and, Preparation for Bias (which was represented by Proactive Preparation and Racial Awareness).

Results for the exploratory factor analyses for the Family Culture Paradigm indicated a four factor solution, specifically, Cultural Socialization, Ethnic Heritage Exploration, Family Centeredness, and Spiritual Involvement. Factors from our data indicated that Cultural Socialization and Ethnic Heritage Exploration represented Hughes and colleagues (2006) dimension of Cultural Socialization. While the Hughes's construct encompasses the transmission of cultural heritage, observational codes indicated that familial messages on heritage were independent of messages on cultural pride, traditions, and customs. Spiritual Involvement, which represented the important role of spirituality and religion in families' culture, was derived as an independent factor, and parallels Stevenson's Spiritual and Religious Coping Scale from his Scale of Racial socialization Measure (Stevenson, 2002). Finally, Family Centeredness, which reflected collectivistic cultural values, was derived as an independent factor, suggesting that it is an aspect of ethnic-racial socialization that was central, yet different from messages related to cultural history, pride, traditions or spirituality. Confirmatory factor analyses verified that the four factor model fit the observational data well, indicating that the codes represented Collectivism, Spirituality, and Cultural Socialization which was represented by Ethnic Heritage Exploration and Cultural Socialization. In summary, results indicated the observational codes largely represented the theoretical constructs reported in the literature on ethnic-racial socialization.

Convergent and Ecological Validity: Comparisons by Ethnicity

Descriptive analyses revealed that African American and American Indian youth and their families tended to score higher on observed ethnic-racial socialization

dimensions compared to their European American counterparts. These results reflect the findings in the literature that suggests that race-related discussions within the family context are central socialization processes, especially for ethnic minority youth and families (Biafora et al, 1993; Hughes & Chen, 1997, 1999; Sanders Thompson, 1994). The evidence of socialization messages on discrimination among American Indian families was a particularly interesting finding, since limited literature has examined ethnic-racial socialization processes among American Indians. It maybe that for African American and American Indian families who face issues of discrimination on a regular basis, discussions surrounding race are a critical method of coping with the negative psychological impact such experiences have on youth and their families.

Convergent Validity

Convergent validity of the observational measures was examined by conducting correlational analyses with adolescent self report data on ethnic identity achievement, spiritual involvement and perceived discrimination. As hypothesized, correlations revealed that ethnic identity was strongly related to dimensions of Cultural Socialization and Proactive Preparation among African American and American Indian youth, suggesting that these dimensions are tapping into culturally salient processes surrounding ethnic pride, affiliation to ethnic group and involvement in ethnically related behaviors and activities (i.e. traditions and customs). Among European American youths, none of the observed ethnic-racial socialization dimensions were associated with ethnic identity achievement. These results indicate that messages emphasizing family connections, cultural traditions and customs are not integral in European American adolescents' sense

of belonging and identity to their ethnic group. It maybe that because issues around ethnicity and culture are less salient for European American youth (Phinney, 1992), conversations on surrounding family culture are not associated with a developed sense of belonging to a particular culture or ethnic group.

Spirituality was associated with varying components of observed ethnic-racial socialization among African American and American Indian youth. For American Indian youth, spiritual involvement was positively correlated with Ethnic Heritage Exploration, Family Centeredness and Racial Awareness. These findings reflect the ways in which spirituality coins the American Indian culture which emphasizes the belief that all of nature is interconnected and provides a foundation from which youth relate to their family and community (Garrett & Garrett, 1994). Correlations between spiritual involvement and Racial Awareness may suggest that the affiliation towards one's own culture through spirituality may heighten awareness of the ways in which American Indian youth and families experience discrimination and racism from other groups. Among African American youth, spirituality was associated with Cultural Socialization, suggesting that socialization in African American culture is closely related to the ways in which spirituality is a central aspect of African American youth's lives, which parallels findings in the literature (Brody, Stoneman & Flor, 1996; Woods & Jagers, 2003). Dimensions of observed ethnic-racial socialization were not associated with spirituality among European American youth. This suggests that rather than conceptualizing spirituality and culture as synonymous, spirituality or religion itself may be perceived as a separate value within the European American family context.

Surprisingly, correlations between experiences of discrimination were only related with Promotion of Mistrust for African American and American Indian youth, not European American youth. Defensive messages around discrimination are more likely to occur when families experience discrimination and thus, react to the harmful effects it may have on youth. The lack of association between experiences of discrimination and Racial Awareness and Proactive Preparation messages may reflect the fact that socialization of racial barriers or discrimination may not be a reaction to youth's discrimination experiences but rather a proactive parenting practice especially relevant to the transmission of ethnic identity for minority families. Supportive of this hypothesis are the strong correlations between youth ethnic identity achievement and Proactive Preparation. Among European American youth, experiences of discrimination were not significantly associated with observed ethnic-racial socialization dimensions, suggesting that discrimination are not interrelated to the role culture, race and ethnicity plays in their family life.

Ecological Validity: Associations with Youth Outcome

Correlations with Promotion of Mistrust and Proactive Preparation

Overall, correlational analyses indicated that among American Indian and African American youth, Promotion of Mistrust was highly correlated with poor adjustment. Specifically, Promotion of Mistrust was strongly associated with externalizing behavior problems among American Indian and African American youth, as well as depression for American Indian youth. As hypothesized, Promotion of Mistrust was not related to any psychological outcome for European American youth. These results suggest that

socialization of defensiveness, anger and cautioning of others may not promote positive adjustment among ethnic minority youth (Marshall, 1995).

Contrary to our hypotheses, Proactive Preparation was not consistently associated with adolescent psychological outcomes. Marginal associations between Proactive Preparation and youth antisocial behavior were found among African American youth, but not adolescent depression or deviant peer association. For American Indian youth, Proactive Preparation was negatively correlated with Deviant Peer Association but unrelated with antisocial behavior and depression. It maybe that discussions promoting proactive methods of dealing with experiences of discrimination are only prevalent among youth who are better adjusted but that they are conversations a wide range of youth and their parents participate in. As hypothesized, no significant associations were found for European American youth.

Correlations with Cultural Socialization and Family Centeredness

Correlations indicated significant associations between adolescent reported adjustment and observed Cultural Socialization and Family Centeredness for ethnic minority adolescents but not for European American youth. Among African American and American Indian youth, Cultural Socialization was strongly negatively related to youth problem behavior. For African American youth, Cultural Socialization was also negatively related to internalizing problems. As expected, Cultural Socialization was not associated with adolescent outcome for European American youth. This outcome suggests that messages surrounding cultural traditions, customs and values are more salient for ethnic minority youth compared to European American youth who may not

identify as strongly with their ethnic or cultural origin.

As hypothesized, Family Centeredness was negatively associated with adolescent externalizing and internalizing problems for African American youth. Although Family Centeredness was not an original construct identified in Hughes and colleagues' (2006) theoretical model of ethnic-racial socialization, the construct reflects collectivistic and communal values that are embedded within African American cultural values. A stronger cultural focus on the family will more likely be associated with positive parenting practices and family relationships which have been identified as promotive child rearing practices within the general literature (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). Among American Indian families, Family Centeredness was negatively related to adolescent deviant peer association, suggesting the salience of collectivistic values. As expected, no significant associations were found between adolescent outcome variables and Cultural Socialization or Family Centeredness for European American youth.

Ecological Validity: Associations with Family Context

Correlations with Parental Monitoring

Correlations were conducted to determine whether family context influences ethnic-racial socialization processes. For African American youth, parental monitoring was positively associated with the dimensions, Cultural Socialization, Family Centeredness and Proactive Preparation, but negatively associated with Promotion of Mistrust and Racial Awareness. These results suggest that positive parenting practices play an important role in conveying messages on culture or on proactively preparing youth for experiences of discrimination (i.e. parents equipped with positive parenting

skills strategies may be more likely to convey promotive messages surrounding culture and coping with discrimination).

Among American Indian youth, Cultural Socialization was the only dimension that was significantly related to parental monitoring. This association suggests that American Indian parents who are more able to directly supervise their youth may have more opportunities to share central aspects of their culture with their children. The lack of association between parental monitoring and messages related to experiences of discrimination may be because race-related discussions occur in a context in which exercising parental authority is not optimal in discussing sensitive issues of discrimination.

Correlations for European American families indicated that parental monitoring was positively correlated with Proactive Preparation and negatively associated with Promotion of Mistrust. One possible reason for these findings maybe that among European American families, discussions about race are less likely to be a daily or frequent occurrence; therefore, promotive discussions on discrimination may highlight parents' high skill level in fostering healthy and positive adjustment of their youth.

Correlations with Family Conflict

Significant associations between adolescent report of family conflict and observed ethnic-racial socialization were only present among American Indian families. Specifically, family conflict was negatively associated with Cultural Socialization and Family Centeredness, suggesting that discussions related to family connectedness, cultural traditions, customs, and values are less likely to occur in the context where

family members have strained relationships.

Interestingly, no associations were found between family conflict and observed ethnic-racial socialization dimensions for African American families. One possible reason is that for African American families, the presence of family conflict is not detrimental to families having productive, meaningful discussions, as maybe is for families of other ethnicities.

Correlations with Positive Family Relations

Correlational analyses indicated that among African American and American Indian families, strong associations were found between observed ethnic-racial socialization measures and adolescent reported positive family relations. Specifically, Cultural Socialization and Family Centeredness were strongly related to positive family relationships among American Indian and African American families; suggesting that the transmission of family culture is more likely to occur in an environment where there is high relationship quality and family support. Positive family relations was also associated with Proactive Preparation among African American and American Indian families, indicating that parental advice or support on coping with discrimination are most likely to occur when there are strong, supportive relationships among family members.

In contrast, as hypothesized, Promotion of Mistrust was negatively associated with youth reported Positive Family Relations for American Indian and African American youth. Messages that teach defensiveness and mistrust are less likely to be emphasized among supportive and positive family contexts.

For European American youth and their families, Positive Family Relations was

significantly associated with Proactive Preparation, suggesting that promotion of positive family relationships may translate to parents providing positive advice on diplomatic ways to deal with difficult discriminatory experiences. No other associations were found among other ethnic-racial socialization codes and youth reported positive family relations.

Summary: Convergent and Ecological Validity

Overall, correlational analyses revealed that observed ethnic-racial socialization measures are meaningful constructs that hold salience for the healthy adjustment of American Indian and African American youth. First, the positive associations between ethnic identity achievement and the ethnic-racial socialization dimensions indicate that observational codes are tapping into culturally salient processes; highlighting the observational measure's validity as well its promise for assessing future ethnic-racial socialization processes across various ethnic minority groups. Second, correlations between the observational codes and adolescent outcome suggests ethnic-racial socialization as a promotive factor among youth of color (Hughes, et al, 2006; Stevenson, et al, 2002). Last, the examination of family context variables and dimensions of ethnic-racial socialization indicate overlap in promotive culturally based socialization practices and positive parenting. The strong association between these dimensions highlights the need for further examination of whether ethnic-racial socialization buffers youth of color above and beyond promotive parenting practices.

Mediational Models

Analyses examined a) variance accounted by observed ethnic-racial socialization on the relationship of family contextual variables and ethnic identity achievement, and b) variance accounted by ethnic-racial socialization on the relationship between experience of discrimination and adolescent outcome.

Mediational Effects on Family Contextual Variables and Ethnic Identity

Analyses indicated varying outcomes for American Indian and African American youth. Among African American families, Cultural Socialization fully accounted for the relationship between Positive Family Relations and adolescent Ethnic Identity Achievement, suggesting that familial socialization of cultural traditions, history and values are a critical part of adolescents' ethnic identity achievement.

For American Indian youth, Proactive Preparation partially accounted for the relationship between Positive Family Relations and adolescent Ethnic Identity Achievement. Results indicate that messages promoting proactive methods of dealing with experiences of discrimination are an important part of developing a sense of belonging and identification as a member of the American Indian tribal culture.

These findings support empirical evidence that indicate the socialization of culture (i.e. Cultural Socialization) as well as messages that teach youth about coping with discrimination (Preparation for Bias) are strongly related to ethnic identity development (Demo & Hughes, 1990; Umana-Taylor & Fine, 2004) for ethnic minority youth. Overall the analyses highlight the promise of the OMERS as a valid measure of ethnic-racial socialization processes among American Indian and African American youth

and their families.

Mediational Effects on the Association between Discrimination and Youth Outcome

Analyses indicated that Promotion of Mistrust significantly accounted for the relationship between youth experiences of discrimination and adolescent adjustment. Promotion of Mistrust fully accounted for the association between adolescent experiences of discrimination and antisocial behavior as well as deviant peer association for American Indian and African American youth. Among American Indian youth, Promotion of Mistrust partially accounted for the impact of discrimination on adolescent depression. Results suggest that socialization of youth on messages reflecting caution and defensiveness in the face of discrimination exacerbates the negative influence discriminatory experiences may already have on the youth functioning, especially among ethnic minority adolescents. These findings highlight the fact that it is not merely the discussion of issues related to discrimination that is promotive, but the context and methods parents use in conveying messages on how to cope with discrimination that is important for youth adjustment.

An interesting non significant finding is the lack of association between Proactive Preparation and youth outcome or experiences of discrimination. Several reasons are postulated, first discussions of proactive ways of coping such as problem solving, talking to, or educating others may not easily translate as well in situations one actually encounters discrimination. Second, promotive messages captured by Proactive Preparation may foster different positive development such as ethnic identity or other prosocial attitudes or behaviors rather than serve as a buffer against the development of

externalizing or internalizing problems. Third, ethnic-racial socialization practices such as Cultural Socialization may serve as more salient methods of promoting resilience among ethnic minority youth as evidenced in our correlations; however, this association is unclear in the context of discrimination. It may be that for this current sample, because lower levels of discriminatory experiences were reported by youth, messages on proactive methods of coping with discrimination had less salience than for youth in other contexts who experience discrimination on a more frequent occurrence.

Mediational Effects of Cultural Socialization

Analyses indicated that Cultural Socialization played a central role in accounting for the protective influence of ethnic identity achievement on adolescent problem behavior for American Indian and African American youth. Cultural socialization accounted for the protective effect of ethnic identity achievement on youth deviant peer association for American Indian youth, suggesting that familial messages on cultural traditions, values and pride foster are a critical aspect of adolescent's ethnic identity which buffers youth engagement with deviant peers. For African American youth, protective influence of ethnic identity achievement on adolescent antisocial behavior was accounted by Cultural Socialization, highlighting the critical role socialization of family culture plays in fostering ethnic minority youth resilience.

Overall, the mediational analyses highlight the central role observed ethnic-racial socialization plays in promoting resilience such as ethnic identity achievement but also potentially adversely impacting youth adjustment via messages of mistrust and caution. Results provide insight into the unique effects the different types of ethnic-racial

socialization messages on youth's development (e.g. Promotion of Mistrust versus Proactive Preparation messages) suggesting the importance of examining the content as well as ways in which messages regarding culture, race and discrimination are conveyed to ethnic minority youth. In sum, the unique, additional effects accounted by the observed ethnic-racial socialization measures support the cultural validity of the Observational Measure for Ethnic-Racial Socialization (OMERS) and its ability to effectively measure components of ethnic-racial socialization processes central to ethnic minority youth and family functioning.

Moderation Effects of Ethnic-Racial Socialization

Moderation analyses examined whether observed ethnic-racial socialization dimensions influenced the negative impact of discrimination on youth adjustment. Specifically, for American Indian adolescents, Promotion of Mistrust marginally accounted for the relationship between discrimination and youth depression, suggesting that the adverse effect of discrimination on depression is exacerbated particularly for youth who receive messages that promote defensiveness and mistrust of other ethnic groups.

Cultural Socialization also accounted for the relationship between discrimination and deviant peer association for American Indian youth. Specifically, among American Indian youth who experienced higher levels of discrimination, messages on family culture (e.g. cultural pride, traditions, values), buffered youth engagement with deviant peers. This suggests that in the face of discrimination, the impact of discrimination is diminished when American Indian families teach and foster cultural pride among their

youth.

Contrary to our hypotheses, significant effects were not found for African American youth. However, analyses examining the variance accounted by Promotion of Mistrust indicated a trend, suggesting that with more power (i.e. larger sample size), such effects may be detected. As hypothesized, no significant effects were found for European American youth.

Unique Effects of Ethnic-Racial Socialization

A critical empirical investigation within the ethnic-racial socialization literature is the examination of its unique effects on the development of healthy adjustment among youth of color. Limited studies have examined whether these culturally based socialization processes have additional influences on youth well being beyond the impact of familial factors. Stepwise regression analyses showed that observed Cultural Socialization indicated promotive effects above and beyond the positive effects of parental monitoring, positive family relations and ethnic identity, suggesting that Cultural Socialization uniquely buffers these youth from the development of antisocial behaviors.

In contrast, examination of the unique effects of Promotion of Mistrust among American Indian youth suggested that messages that caution or promote defensiveness in the face of discrimination proved to have adverse effects on adolescent adjustment. The negative impact of Promotion of Mistrust on youth antisocial behavior was significant even when controlling for the influence of family conflict or discrimination. Similarly, Promotion of Mistrust indicated a significant effect of risk, suggesting that such messages enhanced youth's engagement with deviant peers beyond the negative impact family

conflict or discrimination. Thus, messages that teach distance and defensiveness maybe detrimental particularly for American Indian youth, whose cultural values emphasize cohesion, harmony and interdependence (LaFromboise, Berman, & Sohi, 1994).

Limitations

While this study provided substantial support for convergent, ecological and predictive validity of the Observational Paradigm for Ethnic-Racial Socialization (OPERS) and Observational Measure for Ethnic-Racial Socialization (OMERS), several limitations must be acknowledged. Due to practical limitations, the sample sizes for each ethnic group examined were small, reducing power. Because of small sample size, we were not able to examine the factor structure of the observed ethnic-racial socialization codes separately by ethnicity, and our investigation of ethnic differences in the appropriateness of the codes was restrained to examination of internal consistency of codes across ethnicity. It is critical that future research examine the underlying factor structure of the observed codes for separately for each ethnic group, to determine the applicability of the OMERS.

Second, this study was conducted with data derived from two separate samples (one urban, one rural) participating in an ongoing longitudinal family centered intervention based on Dishion and colleagues' ATP intervention (2002). Although matched on adolescent age, the samples are distinct from each other in that the first sample consists of American Indian youth and their families living in a rural American Indian reservation, whereas the second sample was derived from a metropolitan area that is diverse. Thus, the ecological influences that impact youth adjustment within each of

these communities may greatly differ since there is variability in regards to community demographics as well as available socioeconomic resources for families. Future research is required to test ethnic differences in the promotive or adverse impact of observed ethnic-racial socialization from youth of color residing in similar ecological contexts. It maybe that the differences between rural versus urban communities accounted for the differences reflected in the findings rather than the effects of ethnic-racial socialization.

Third, due to limited sample size, we were unable to examine gender differences in the relations of observed ethnic-racial socialization dimensions with adolescent adjustment and family contextual factors. Literature on parenting practices among African American families suggests that African American parents tend to socialize their youth differently due to gender (Halstead, Johnson and Cunningham, 1993; McAdoo, 1981). Research is necessary to examine gender differences in ethnic-racial socialization processes within ethnic groups.

Fourth, data used for this study are not longitudinal. Future research should examine whether observed ethnic-racial socialization dimensions are predictive of positive adolescent adjustment among youth of color.

Fifth, a major limitation in examining the convergent validity of the Observational Measure for Ethnic-Racial Socialization (OMERS) was the lack of the examination of the association between adolescent and parent reported survey data on ethnic-racial socialization practices and the derived observed ethnic-racial socialization codes. It is critical that we examine convergent validity of the observational measure with empirically validated measures of ethnic-racial socialization.

Sixth, the number of families involved in the focus groups was limited. Typically, qualitative research requires focus groups to consist of roughly 10 participants to ensure accurate representation of the population of interest. Practical issues limited us from recruiting enough families to conduct focus groups and thus, utilize extensive qualitative methods.

Last, across the total sample, the range of adolescent reported experiences of discrimination were generally restricted across ethnic groups, in which most youth reported low levels of encountering discrimination. This could be the fact that early adolescents may not recognize certain acts of unfair treatment as discrimination, in particular, if the behaviors are subtle instances. Interestingly, in our observations some youth reported that they did not understand the meaning of the term “discrimination” until the research assistant or parents described acts of discrimination using various examples. Such suggests that discussions around race and discrimination may be more salient among older adolescents who have an awareness of the consequences of both individual level and societal level acts of discrimination.

Conclusion and Future Directions

The current findings provide support for the reliability and validity of the Observational Paradigm for Ethnic-Racial Socialization (OPERS) and Observational Measure for Ethnic-Racial Socialization (OMERS) as an appropriate observational measure of ethnic-racial socialization processes among ethnic minority youth. Analyses suggest that the observational measure is robust and consistent across parents and youth, they evidence convergent and ecological validity, and are unique predictive of ethnic

minority youth adjustment.

The present study provides an advance in the current literature on ethnic-racial socialization by demonstrating the capability to efficiently capture important, observable, transactional familial processes of ethnic-racial socialization integral to the development of cultural resilience (e.g. ethnic identity achievement) and child adjustment (e.g. externalizing and internalizing problems). Understanding these socialization processes is a critical step towards the development of culturally grounded theories of adaptive child development for youth of color, as well as guiding interventions that target multiethnic populations. In particular, while there is support for traditional interventions with ethnic minority youth and families (Reid, Webster-Stratton, & Beauchaine, 2001), there is still paucity within the field of intervention research on the development and application of culturally adapted intervention programs that incorporate culturally based, developmental concerns central to ethnic minority youth development. Thus, given the centrality of culturally grounded constructs such as ethnic-racial socialization for youth of color, it is critical that intervention research consider the integral role these processes play in the development and implementation of child and family interventions targeting diverse youth and families.

APPENDIX A

CODING MANUAL FOR FAMILY CULTURE PARADIGM

Q1. How does the family define their family?

- Nuclear: immediate family (e.g. mom, dad and kids)
- Extended: includes family members outside immediate family (e.g. grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins, godparents, other members that are included as family but may not be necessarily biologically related)

Q2. Does the family report valuing extended family networks?

- Does the family spend time together
- Do they see/spend time with each other frequently
- Do family members speak fondly of extended family members (indication of closeness, respect)
- Do family members participate in events/activities that involve extended family members

1 (not at all)

Family does not report any involvement with extended family members

Family does not mention extended family members

Family speaks negatively of extended family

Family discourages or avoids involvement with extended family

5 (somewhat)

Family briefly suggests involvement with extended family members

Family speaks positively of extended family members but appears to not know them very well or have frequent involvement with them

Family occasionally participates in activities with extended family

9 (a lot)

Family reports involvement with extended family members, provides various examples of engagement with extended family

Family speaks positively of extended family members and appears to know them very well/have frequent involvement with them

Family frequently participates in activities with extended family

Q3. Does the family report family connectedness as important?

- Family reports examples or promotes being together/family togetherness
- Family appears to spend a lot of time each other
- Family promotes family involvement is an important family value
- Family shows indication of sharing with family (resources such as social support, financial support)
- Family knows about each other's lives well, appears to have close positive relationships

1 (not at all)

Family does appear to be close to family members

Family does not mention spending time with family members

Family speaks negatively of family or spending time with family

Family appears not comfortable with each other

Family discourages or avoids involvement with family

5 (somewhat)

Family appears to be somewhat close to family members

Family appears to spend some time with family members

Family appears to somewhat know about each other but not very well

Family appears somewhat comfortable with each other

9 (a lot)

Family reports various examples or promotes being together/family togetherness

Family reports spending a lot of time each other

Family encourages family involvement is an important family value

Family reports sharing with family (resources such as social support, financial support)

Family knows about each other's lives well, appears to have close positive relationships

Q4. Is showing respect/valuing other adult family members important for this family?

- Family reports valuing elders/adult relatives
- Family emphasizes listening to and obeying adult family members
- Family report listening to or learning from elders/adult relatives experiences
- Family place weight on elders/adult relatives as people to look to for advice, support, guidance
- Family reports examples of how elders/adult family members have been important to their lives

1 (not at all)

Family does not discuss other family members

Family does not appear to value other adult family members

Family talks negatively of other adult families

5 (somewhat)

Family reports some involvement of other family members

Family appears to somewhat value opinions/involvement of other family members

9 (a lot)

Family reports valuing elders/adult relatives

Family emphasizes listening to and obeying adult family members

Family report listening to or learning from elders/adult relatives experiences

Family place weight on elders/adult relatives as people to look to for advice, support, guidance

Family reports examples of how elders/adult family members have been important to their lives

Q5. Does the family promote being proud of one's heritage?

- Family talks about where one came from (blood line, heritage)
- Family discusses how important it is to know one's heritage
- Family discusses experiences of elders/family members and the importance of knowing their history
- Family discusses heritage in a positive manner (sense of pride when talking about their heritage)

1 (not at all)

Family has no knowledge of family heritage

Family does not value family members' experiences

5 (somewhat)

Family has some knowledge of their heritage

Family appears to somewhat value family members' experiences

9 (a lot)

Family talks about where one came from (blood line, heritage)

Family discusses how important it is to know one's heritage

Family discusses experiences of elders/family members and the importance of knowing their history

Family discusses heritage in a positive manner (sense of pride when talking about their heritage)

Q6. Does the family appear to value their membership to a cultural group?

- Family uses "we are -----" (e.g. we are black)
- Family reports the importance of being proud of their ethnic group (e.g. "You should be proud to be black")
- Family spends a large portion of floor time discussing their ethnic/cultural group
- Family talks positively about their cultural group

1 (not at all)

Family is not aware of their ethnic/cultural membership

Family has no indication of what is their cultural background (history, customs, practices)

Family shows no interest in ethnic/cultural membership

5 (somewhat)

Family is somewhat aware of ethnic/cultural membership

Family reports some knowledge of their cultural background

Family shows some interest in cultural membership

9 (a lot)

Family is very aware of ethnic/cultural membership

Family reports a lot of knowledge of their cultural background

Family shows a lot of interest in cultural membership

Q7. Does the family appear to have a lot of knowledge about their cultural or ethnic traditions and customs?

- Family reports knowledge of cultural
 - Food
 - Music
 - Traditions
 - Customs
 - Social events

1 (not at all)

Family does not know anything about cultural or ethnic traditions and customs- no report of culturally specific aspects of their cultural group

5 (somewhat)

Family appears to know some about cultural or ethnic traditions and customs

Family reports some examples of cultural customs/traditions

9 (a lot)

Family knows about cultural or ethnic traditions and customs – provides details about culture, gives various examples

Q8. Does the family appear to know about their ethnic group's history/heritage?

- Family provides details about cultural history
- Family appears to know their cultural history

1 (not at all)

Family does not know anything about cultural or ethnic group's history- no report of history or cultural experiences of their cultural group

5 (somewhat)

Family appears to know some about cultural or ethnic group's history- reports some history or cultural experiences of their cultural group

9 (a lot)

Family appears to know a lot about cultural or ethnic group's history- reports details or history or cultural experiences of their cultural group

Q9. Does the family appear to be content in their membership to their culture /culture is a central part of the family's identity?

- Family expresses an understanding of being a member of their cultural group (e.g. "your experience as a black girl is different than that of a white girl")
- Family shows positive affect when discussing their culture
- Family spends large amount of floor time discussing their cultural heritage

1 (not at all)

Family has no understanding of their membership (e.g. "I am not sure what my ethnic group is" "ethnic group does not mane much to us")

Family has little to say about their ethnic/cultural group

5 (somewhat)

Family has some understanding of their membership (e.g. "I am not sure what my ethnic group is" "ethnic group does not mane much to us")

Family reports some information about their ethnic/cultural group

Family spends some of discussion time on talking about their cultural group

9 (a lot)

Family has good understanding of their membership (e.g. "I am not sure what my ethnic group is" "ethnic group does not mane much to us")

Family reports of information about their ethnic/cultural group

Family spends majority of discussion time on talking about their cultural group

Q10. Is the family involved in activities or social events/ cultural tradition/custom/practices related to their cultural group?

- Family reports participation in social events related to their cultural group
- Family identifies various activities related to their culture
- Family shows acknowledgement/value of cultural activities
- Family talks of cultural traditions
- Family talks of cultural events as though they are a natural part of their lives

1 (not at all)

Family reports no knowledge of cultural activities

Family reports little value/importance to cultural activities

Family reports no involvement in cultural activities

5 (somewhat)

Family reports brief knowledge of cultural activities

Family reports brief valuing/importance to cultural activities

Family reports some involvement in cultural activities

9 (a lot)

Family reports a lot of knowledge of cultural activities

Family reports a lot of value/importance to cultural activities

Family reports involvement in cultural activities

Q11. Does the family discuss the importance of family members passing down cultural family values?

- Family talks of passing down culture to the other generations
- Family indicates importance of learning from elders about culture
- Family uses family/extended family experiences as examples to teach young

1 (not at all)

Family is not aware of learning from elder generations

Family does not appreciate or show much value for learning from elders or passing down cultural values through generations

5 (somewhat)

Family reports some awareness of learning from elder generations (suggest that it is important but do not go into detail)

Family shows some appreciation or shows valuing of learning from elders or passing down cultural values through generations

9 (a lot)

Family reports great awareness of learning from elder generations (indicates importance and go into detail)

Family shows appreciation or values learning from elders or passing down cultural values

Q12. Does the family discuss the importance of learning about heritage/cultural history?

- Family reports importance of learning about cultural history
- Family discusses cultural history/heritage
- Family reports learning from elders/ family members about cultural history (e.g. “grandma taught us everything about being Black”)
- Family reports knowledge of their cultural history/heritage

1 (not at all)

Family is not aware of cultural heritage or history

Family shows no interest in learning about cultural history/heritage

5 (somewhat)

Family appears to have some awareness of cultural heritage/history

Family suggests that learning cultural history/heritage is important but does not show much knowledge

9 (a lot)

Family have awareness of cultural heritage/history

Family emphasizes learning cultural history/heritage is important

Family is knowledgeable of cultural history/heritage

Family reports learning from family members about cultural history/heritage

Q13. How often does the family discuss cultural history/heritage (e.g. Black slavery)?

- Percentage of floor time family discusses cultural history/heritage

1 (not at all)

Family does not discuss cultural heritage or history

5 (somewhat)

Family spends at least 1-2 minutes talking about cultural heritage of history

9 (a lot)

Family spends at over 2 minutes talking about cultural heritage of history

Q14. Is harmony with others important for this family?

- Does the family value getting along with each other
- Does the family report that doing things together as a group (togetherness) is important
- Does the family emphasize supporting each other (financially, socially, emotionally)
- Does the family emphasize spending quality time together

1 (not at all)

Family does not encourage/value spending time together
 Family does not encourage doing things together or sharing things/resources
 Family is not supportive of each other
 Family relations appear distant

5 (somewhat)

Family reports some encouraging or valuing of spending time together
 Family briefly indicates that they support each other
 Family relations are generally positive

9 (a lot)

Family is encouraging or report valuing of spending time together
 Family provides examples or talk about supporting each other
 Family relations are positive
 Family enjoy spending time together

Q15. *Is supporting others an important aspect of family relationships?*

- Does family support each other emotionally (e.. talk to family when upset, rely on family for emotion reasons)
- Does family support each other financially (e.g. housing people, feeding people, saving money for family, helping out with money)
- Does the family support each other socially (e.g. caretaking of children or elders, helping out family members)
- Family encourages supporting each other
- Family expects family members to help/support them

1 (not at all)

Family does not show any indication of supporting or receiving support from family
 Family does not encourage supporting or receiving support from family
 Family relationships are not positive
 Family expects that individuals do not rely on family

5 (somewhat)

Family shows some indication of supporting or receiving support from family
 Family slightly encourages supporting or receiving support from family
 Family relationships are generally positive

9 (a lot)

Family shows indication of supporting or receiving support from family
 Family encourages supporting or receiving support from family
 Family relationships are positive
 Family has the expectation that they support/receive support from each other

Q16. Does the family show respect or honor to their elders and extended family members?

- Does the family talk highly of family members that indicate respect (e.g “your grandma is the matriarch of this family, she knows everything”)
- Does the family report respecting elders/extended family
- Does the family provide examples in which they show respect or honor to their family
- Do the children show respect to parents during discussion (not interrupting, listening and facing, giving undivided attention to parent)

1 (not at all)

Family does not appear to value elders/extended family

Children do not show respect to their parents (do not follow directions, interrupt)

5 (somewhat)

Family provide some talk of valuing family

Children show some respect to their parents (sometimes follow direction, sometimes interrupts)

9 (a lot)

Family talks highly of family members

Family reports respecting elders/extended family

Family provide various examples in they report respect

Q17. Is fulfilling family expectations an important family value?

- Family indicates family expectations clearly
- Children respond to parents’ expectations agreeably
- Children opt for future that meets the expectations of their parents or their culture

1 (not at all)

Family does not indicate any expectations

Children appear to choose the path that they want to pursue rather than choosing something that is expected or desired by family

5 (somewhat)

Family indicates some expectations

Children appear to understand parents’, family’s expectations for them

9 (a lot)

Family reports clear family expectations

Children appear to choose a path that is expected or desired by family

Q18. How important is spirituality for this family?

- Does the family talk about spirituality
- Does the family talk positively about being spiritual
- Does the family indicate involvement in spiritual activities

1 (not at all)

Family does not discuss spirituality

Family appears to have negative impressions or no interest in spirituality

5 (somewhat)

Family reports partial involvement in spirituality but that it is not central to their lives

9 (a lot)

Family reports spiritual involvement and importance of spirituality in their lives

Q19. Is the family involved in spiritual activities?

- Family reports involvement (e.g. going to church, praying, having spiritual items such as Bible, statues)

1 (not at all)

Family has no involvement at all with any spiritual activities

5 (somewhat)

Family may have brief involvement with spiritual activities

9 (a lot)

Family reports engagement in spiritual activities

Family reports details on involvement in spiritual activities

Q20. Does the family encourage relying/ depending on spirituality in challenging times?

- Family discuss the importance of religion/spirituality in life – can rely on spirituality
- Family emphasizes spirituality as important to know as part of their culture

1 (not at all)

Family is not involved in spirituality

Family does not believe in relying on spirituality

5 (somewhat)

Family reports some indication that spirituality is important but spirituality appears not to be central for their lives

9 (a lot)

Family reports importance and centrality of spirituality in their lives

Family provides examples of spirituality as a support

APPENDIX B

CODING MANUAL FOR DISCRIMINATION PARADIGM

Experience of DiscriminationQ1. *Has the family experienced discrimination*

- Recipient of direct behavioral and verbal discrimination, indirect behavioral and verbal discrimination

YES: family reports experiencing direct discrimination listed above

Q2. *How aware is the family of the effect of discrimination*

- Does the family appear to know the emotional toll of discrimination
- Does the family appear to acknowledge the barriers that are placed due to discrimination (e.g. lack of opportunities, differential treatment, minority versus mainstream status)
- Does the family discuss/provide examples of discriminatory events
- Does the family report awareness of the pervasiveness of discrimination
- Does the family acknowledge the presence of discrimination (do they know what it means?)
- Are family members able to identify certain events as experiences of discrimination
- Acknowledgement of the act as discrimination (highly aware)
- Confusion as to if the event was discrimination or disregarding event as discrimination (low awareness)

1 (not at all)

Family does not understand the concept of discrimination

Family uses limited time (less than 5%) during the task discussing issues of discrimination

5 (somewhat)

Family acknowledges what discrimination is and uses at least 50% of the discussion time on issues of discrimination

Family may talk about an event of discrimination but does not describe the event in detail, and does not provide emotional content

Family discusses the event without much emotional expression

9 (a lot)

Family shows thorough understanding of what discrimination is

Family reports/expresses strong emotional reaction to the discriminatory event/s

Family uses over 90% of discussion time talking about issues of discrimination

Family generates various ways to cope/deal with discrimination

Family emphasizes importance of understanding barriers due to discrimination

Coping against discrimination

Q3a: To what degree does the family USE or PROMOTE/PLAN the use of:

Disregard/ minimize/ Avoid (avoidant coping strategies)

- Minimizing the impact of event
- Brushing the event off as if it is not important
- Rationalizing that the event happens to everyone so it is not important to have to deal with it
- Showing no interest in dealing with the event
- Complete avoidance regarding event- includes any verbal participation in discussion of the topic,
- Hopeless approach to discrimination

1 (not at all)

Family reports no disregarding or avoiding dealing with the discriminatory event

5 (somewhat)

Family briefly brushes off discriminatory event but does continue to engage in discussing the event

Family may minimize the discriminatory event but also brainstorm other ways of coping with discrimination (e.g. "it happens to everyone but it should still be dealt with")

Family shows some tension in discussing discrimination

9 (a lot)

Family avoids discussing the discriminatory event

Family shows awkwardness in discussing the event

Family shows complete ignorance about discrimination

Family shows very little understanding that discrimination largely impacts the psychology of the victims

Q3b: To what degree does the family USE or PROMOTE the use of:

Physical confrontation (aggressive coping strategies)

- Reacting in physical manner to the discriminatory event (grabbling, pushing, shoving etc)
- Use of physical representations of derogatory terms (use of finger)
- Blocking the perpetrator physically

1 (not at all)

Family reports no use of physical confrontation in dealing with the discriminatory event

5 (somewhat)

Family suggests (not actual reporting of) using physical force as a way to cope with the discrimination (e.g. "I would fight anyone who calls me the n-word")

Family uses an example of someone they know using physical confrontation

9 (a lot)

Family reports use of physical confrontation as a common way of dealing with discrimination

Family reports several example of using physical force or confrontation

Family encourages using physical confrontation as an appropriate strategy in dealing with discrimination

Family all engages in promoting or encouraging the use of physical confrontation

Q3c: *To what degree does the family USE or PROMOTE/PLAN the use of:*
Aggressive verbal confrontation (aggressive coping strategies)

- Yelling, cursing in reaction to the event
- Responding using derogatory comments
- Direct discriminatory comments towards the victim

1 (not at all)

Family reports no use of aggressive verbal confrontation in dealing with the discriminatory event

5 (somewhat)

Family suggests (not actual reporting of) using verbal aggressive confrontation as a way to cope with the discrimination (e.g. "I would cuss or yell at anyone who calls me the n-word")

Family uses an example of someone they know using aggressive verbal confrontation

Family reports an event in which they used some aggressive verbal confrontation in dealing with a discriminatory event

9 (a lot)

Family reports use of verbal aggressive confrontation as a common way of dealing with discrimination

Family encourages using aggressive verbal confrontation as an appropriate strategy in dealing with discrimination

Family all engages in promoting or encouraging the use of aggressive verbal confrontation

Q3d: *To what degree does the family USE or PROMOTE/PLAN the use of:*
Non aggressive verbal confrontation (approach coping strategies)

- Asking the perpetrator to consider discussion regarding the event
- Openly telling the perpetrator that the discriminatory act was hurtful and difficult
- Suggesting resolution through participating in cultural activity
- Talking to individuals about the event or connecting with others on an individual basis

1 (not at all)

Family reports no use of non aggressive verbal confrontation in dealing with the discriminatory event

5 (somewhat)

Family suggests (not actual reporting of) using non aggressive verbal confrontation as a way to cope with the discrimination

Family uses an example of someone they know using non aggressive physical confrontation (e.g. "my grandma shared her story with her white neighbors")

Family reports an event in which they used some non aggressive verbal confrontation in dealing with a discriminatory event

9 (a lot)

Family reports use of non aggressive verbal confrontation as a way of dealing with discrimination

Family encourages using non aggressive verbal confrontation as an appropriate strategy in dealing with discrimination ("it is important to teach others about the experience of discrimination" "sharing our story with many people is a way to combat discrimination")

Family all engages in promoting or encouraging the use of non aggressive verbal confrontation

Q3e: To what degree does the family USE or PROMOTE/PLAN the use of:

Use of social support (approach coping strategies)

- Talking to family/friends about how victim felt, discussing the event with friends
- Asking for advice on how to cope with discriminatory act and the feelings that accompany being discriminated against
- Venting to family/friends about the event

1 (not at all)

Family reports no use of social support system in dealing with the discriminatory event

5 (somewhat)

Family suggests (not actual reporting of) talking to family/friends as a way to cope with the discrimination (e.g. "How about talking to your family about it")

Family uses an example of someone they know consulting their family/friends (e.g. "my grandma would talk to her friends/teachers/ about the discriminatory event")

9 (a lot)

Family reports use of friends as a common way of dealing with discrimination

Family reports several examples of using friends as a support system

Family encourages talking or relying on friends as an appropriate strategy in dealing with discrimination

Q3f *To what degree does the family USE or PROMOTE/PLAN the use of:*

Distraction Use pleasant activity to distract oneself from being occupied by thoughts and feelings that resulted from being discriminated against

- Physical activities (going for a walk, running, playing hoop etc)
- Individual activities (listen to music, reading, watching movie)
- Social activities (hanging out with friends, family)

1 (not at all)

Family reports no engagement in distracting oneself from the event by doing another activity

5 (somewhat)

Family suggests (not actual reporting of) distracting one's attention away from thinking about the event by engaging in an activity

Family uses an example of engaging in an activity so that they can distract themselves from thinking about or emotionally reacting to the event

Family reports an event in which they used distraction as a way to deal with a discriminatory event

9 (a lot)

Family reports common use of distraction as a way of dealing with discrimination

Family reports several examples of using distraction

Family encourages use of distraction as an appropriate strategy in dealing with discrimination

Family all engages in promoting or encouraging use of distraction

Q3g *To what degree does the family USE or PROMOTE/PLAN the use of:*

Cognitive reframe and problem solving (approach coping strategies)

- Using logical steps to figure out why the event happened and what is the best way to deal with such events
- Use of cognitive restructuring such as identifying that the discrimination was not an indication about the victim but more about the perpetrator
- Use of cognitive restructuring in ways so that the victim does not personalize the treatment but realize that it is a larger societal issue that is evident
- Asking family or friends about strategies on how to deal with the discriminatory event (asking advice, consulting)
- Problem solving involves use of rationale steps to figure out ways to deal with the incident

1 (not at all)

Family reports no engagement in use of problem solving

5 (somewhat)

Family suggests problem solving as a way to handle the discrimination

Family uses an example of problem solving (e.g. “when I was treated differently, I went to ask your dad his advice on how to cope with the event”)

Family reports an event in which they problem solved in dealing with a discriminatory event

9 (a lot)

Family reports common use of problem solving as a way of handling discrimination

Family reports several examples of using problem solving

Family encourages problem solving as an appropriate strategy in dealing with discrimination

Family all engages in promoting or encouraging use of problem solving

Q3h *To what degree does the family USE or PROMOTE/PLAN the use of:*

Accepting as part of life/Living with discrimination

- Accept that discrimination is part of the minority experience and that it cannot be avoided
- Acceptance that discrimination will occur but to not allow oneself to overcome with anger but to accept that it is part of life

1 (not at all)

Family reports not just accepting the event but taking action

5 (somewhat)

Family suggests (not actual reporting of) taking no action/accepting as a way to handle the discrimination

Family uses an example of taking no action/acceptance

Family reports an event in which they used ignoring or not taking actions against discrimination

9 (a lot)

Family reports common use of not taking action as a way of handling discrimination

Family reports several examples of not taking action and ignoring

Family all engages in promoting or encouraging accepting or not taking action

Q3j: *To what degree does the family USE or PROMOTE/PLAN the use of:*

Conforming

- Changing or adapting one’s behavior purposefully so that one will not be discriminated against
- Changing one’s appearance to avoid victimization

1 (not at all)

Family reports not changing their attitudes, behaviors to avoid discrimination

5 (somewhat)

Family suggests changing behaviors so that people will not treat them negatively

Family uses an example of changing their behaviors/attitudes etc

Family reports an event in which they changed their behaviors to cope with the discriminatory event

9 (a lot)

Family reports common use of changing one's behavior as a way of handling discrimination

Family encourages just changing one's behavior, appearance, attitudes as an appropriate strategy in dealing with discrimination

Family all engages in promoting or encouraging changing one's behavior, appearance or attitudes to cope with discrimination

Emotional response to discriminatory event

Q4a: *How does the family respond to the discrimination (during event & discussion):*

Anger (yelling, being physically aggressive, shouting, reporting anger, body is tense, body shows)

1 (not at all)

Family reports no reaction of frustration/anger in reacting to the discriminatory event

Family shows no frustration/anger in discussing the discriminatory event

Body language: body is calm, relaxed

5 (somewhat)

Family reports some reaction of frustration/anger in reacting to the discriminatory event

Family shows some frustration/anger in discussing the discriminatory event

Body language: body shows some tension when discussing the event (e.g. clenching of fist, use of some hand gesturing that follows along with discussing the discriminatory event

9 (a lot)

Family reports/shows some frustration/anger in discussing the discriminatory event

Body language: body shows a lot of tension when discussing the event (e.g. showing angry movements such as pounding the table with a clenched fist, use of large hand gesturing that follows along with discussing the discriminatory event

Voice: stern voice, loud voice, use of punctuating statements

Facial expression: brows down, crease in forehead, eyes narrowing

Q4b: *How does the family respond to the discrimination (during event & discussion):*
Hopelessness (no affect, report that there is no point in trying to deal with discrimination, a hopelessness that is not just acceptance)
Sadness (crying, sad affect, low mood because of treatment)

1 (not at all)

Family reports no sadness/hopelessness in reacting to the discriminatory event
 Family shows no sadness/hopelessness in discussing the discriminatory event
 Body language: body is calm, relaxed

5 (somewhat)

Family reports some sadness/hopelessness in reacting to the discriminatory event
 Body language: body shows some drooping of shoulders, curling inward, withdrawing
 Voice: some monotone, low, not loud, sighing
 Facial expression: some exhibition of eyes cast downward, mouth drooping down, flat affect, no expression, blank facial expression

9 (a lot)

Family shows a lot of sadness/hopelessness in reacting to the discriminatory event
 Body language: body shows a lot of drooping of shoulders, curling inward, withdrawing
 Voice: monotone, low, not loud, sighing
 Facial expression: eyes cast downward, mouth drooping down, flat affect, no expression, blank facial expression

Q4c: *How does the family respond to the discrimination (during event & discussion):*
Calm (acceptance of the event, ability to use effective coping strategies to cope)
Seriousness (child takes the event or topic in a serious manner, in depth discussion of topic, indication that the issue is important)

1 (not at all)

Family is very dysregulated in their emotions during the discussion
 Family shows a lot of fluctuation of affect in reacting to the discussion on discrimination
 Family reports lack of ability to regulate self (e.g. "I was freaking out about what to do")
 Body language: exaggerated moves of the body
 Facial expression: eyes opened, maybe face flushed, expressions continuously change
 Voice: elevated

5 (somewhat)

Family shows some dysregulation in their emotions during the discussion
 Family shows some fluctuation of affect in reacting to the discussion on discrimination
 Family reports some limitations in regulating themselves in lack of ability to regulate self
 Body language: some exaggerated moves of the body
 Facial expression: eyes opened, face somewhat flushed, expressions sometimes change
 Voice: elevated

9 (a lot)

Family reports dealing with the discriminatory event in a rationale and non reactive manner

Family shows little fluctuation in affect in reacting to the discussion on discrimination

Body language: body stable, body does not use large exaggerated moves, sitting comfortably in position

Voice: steady, not loud

Facial expression: eyes focused, eyes attending to those in discussion

Q4d: *How does the family respond to the discrimination (during event & discussion)*
Lack of interest (apathy to the event, disengagement)

1 (not at all)

Family shows high level of engagement in the discussion

Family pays a lot of attention to the discussion on discrimination

Family is involved in participation – provides opinions, responds to questions, comments

Family talks about discrimination 80-100% of the time of discussion

Body language: leaning or face toward each other, face turned to the individuals talking

Facial expression: for most of the discussion eyes focused on individual speaking, facial expression align with the content of the discussion

Voice: clear voices

5 (somewhat)

Family shows some involvement/participation in the discussion

Family pays some attention 50-60% time to the discussion

Family talks about discrimination 40-65% of the time of discussion

Body language: some leaning or face toward each other, face turned to the individuals talking

Facial expression: eyes generally focused on individual speaking, facial expression align with the content

Voice: clear voices

9 (a lot)

Family is disengaged in the discussion on discrimination

Family spends less than 10% of discussion time on the topic of discrimination

Family does not pay attention to the discussion, often conversation topic digresses and family ends up talking about other issues

Family reports that discrimination is not an important issue to them

Family reports that they do not understand discrimination and do not show the interest or enthusiasm to discuss the topic

Conversation is random- seems to get off track a lot during the task

Body language: goofing off and not paying attention, shrugging, not understanding what to talk about

Facial expression: eyes not always attending to those in discussion

Q4e: *How does the family respond to the discrimination (during event & discussion: **Shame/Embarrassment/Put down of Self** (reports feeling embarrassed, shamed because of victimization, reporting negative things about self as a reason for discrimination, tries to avoid discussing in detail, nonverbal cues of being shamed)*

1 (not at all)

Family shows confidence and a sense of security in knowing how to deal or cope with discrimination

Family is able to generate various ideas about how to deal with discrimination

Body language: leaning or face toward each other, face turned to the individuals talking

Facial expression: for most of the discussion eyes focused on individual speaking, facial expression align with the content of the discussion

Voice: clear voices

5 (somewhat)

Family shows some embarrassment or shame due to discrimination

Family reports that the discriminatory event was shameful for them

Family provides an example of trying to “hide” or “be invisible” in response to a discriminatory event

Body language: 40-60% of discussion looking down, shoulders drooping forward, head hung

Facial expression: for 40-60% of time, depressed affect, eyes looking down, no direct eye contact with the video or with other participating family members

9 (a lot)

Family shows a lot embarrassment or shame due to discrimination

Family reports that the discriminatory event was very shameful for them

Family provides several examples of trying to “hide” or “be invisible” in response to a discriminatory event

Body language: 80-100% of discussion looking down, shoulders drooping forward, head hung

Facial expression: for 80-100% of time, depressed affect, eyes looking down, no direct eye contact with the video or with other participating family members

Voice: majority of the time quiet, subdued

Q4f: *How does the family respond to the discrimination (during event & discussion):*
Fear (family reports being fearful or scared of the discrimination, family reports running away, hiding, family shows fear in facial expressions during discussion)

1 (not at all)

Family shows little fear in reaction to the discrimination

Family shows/or reports that they have the confidence and a sense of security in knowing how to deal or cope with discrimination

Body language: leaning or face toward each other, face turned to the individuals talking

Facial expression: for most of the discussion eyes focused on individual speaking, facial expression align with the content of the discussion

Voice: clear voices

5 (somewhat)

Family shows some fear in reaction to the discrimination

Family appears confused or not sure/not confident in knowing how to deal or cope with discrimination

Body language: some of the time when discussing the discrimination face looking down, shoulders hunched

Facial expression: some lack of eye contact when discussing the event

9 (a lot)

Family shows a lot of fear in reaction to the discrimination

Family appears very confused, unsure of their ability to deal with the event

Family reports freezing, running away, being taken at surprise with fear during the discriminatory event

Avoidance of discussing the discriminatory event

Body language: face looking down, shoulders hunched

Facial expression: lack of eye contact when discussing the event

Q4g: *How does the family respond to the discrimination (during event & discussion):*
Defensiveness (family appears to need to prove their strength or their power, family reacts with high emotionality in regards to the event)

1 (not at all)

Family shows/reports little need to prove their strength or their power (i.e. that being discriminated does not impact them at all)

Family shows/or reports that they have a lot of knowledge/methods in dealing with discrimination

Body language: leaning or face toward each other, face turned to the individuals talking

Facial expression: for most of the discussion eyes focused on individual speaking, facial expression align with the content of the discussion

Voice: clear voices

5 (somewhat)

Family shows some need to prove that they are strong and that discrimination does not affect them (e.g. "Yeah I was called nigger lover but whatever, they can't get at me")

Family shows/or reports that they have a bit of knowledge in dealing with discrimination

Body language: some of the time when discussing the topic body positioned so that they look more dominant (e.g. face upward, body forward)

Facial expression: some look of domination

9 (a lot)

Family shows strong need to prove that they are strong and that discrimination does not affect them (e.g. "They can't hurt me, they do not know who they are dealing with")

Body language: most of the discussion time body positioned so that they look more dominant (e.g. face upward, body forward)

Facial expression: look of domination

Stereotypes of ethnic groups

Q5. *Does the family use any negative stereotypes of ethnic groups in the conversation?*

European American	African American	Latino American	American Indian	Asian American
White trash	Lazy	Lazy	Lazy	Nerd/geeks
Trailer trash	Violent	Resist assimilation	Drunks	Submissive/quiet
Red neck	Not smart	Not smart	Violent	Takes other's jobs
Skin head	Promiscuous	Promiscuous	Unmotivated	Can't speak English
Racist	Poor	Poor	Poor	Obedient
Elitist	Rude	Can't speak English	Uncivilized	Like whites
	Loud	Uneducated	Uneducated	
	Uneducated	Gangs	Uneducated	
	Gangs			

Attitudes in coping with discrimination

Q6a *How often does the family emphasize/encourage the following attitudes/behaviors in dealing with discrimination:*

Not taking it personally

- Acknowledging that the act of discrimination is an indication of the perpetrator's inability to cope with different viewpoints or cultures
- Acknowledging that it is not personal characteristics of one but generalized stereotypical impressions of cultural groups that become the target of hatred or discomfort
- Realizing that discrimination occurs to many others and that it is a social issue
- Not internalizing the discrimination as due to deficits of self

1 (not at all)

Family identifies the discriminatory event as due to internal personal characteristics

Family reports reacts to the discriminatory event in a highly emotional way such as getting very angry at the perpetrator, or internalizing the event and being very depressed

Family cannot step away from the fact that discrimination reflects a societal problem and that it is not necessarily about them as individuals

5 (somewhat)

Family appears to somewhat understand that discrimination reflects the deficit of the perpetrator and not of themselves

Family is somewhat able to identify what is the source of discrimination (e.g. skin color, poverty, sexual orientation)

9 (a lot)

Family clearly understands that discrimination reflects the deficit of the perpetrator and not of themselves

Family acknowledges that discrimination occurs because people make generalized assumptions based on cultural stereotypes which are not always the best representation of the particular group or individuals

Family encourages sharing one's experience with others so that discrimination can be known and acknowledged as a continuous social issue

Q6b *How often does the family emphasize/encourage the following attitudes/behaviors in dealing with discrimination:*

Overcoming discrimination using prosocial, diplomatic ways

- Promoting use of prosocial methods of engaging individuals in discussing or talking about discrimination
- Emphasis on being multicultural, increasing multiethnic relations
- Use of prosocial, non violent and non aggressive strategies such as talking, listening, accepting of racial/ethnic differences
- Promoting understanding the experiences of victims of discrimination
- Promoting overcoming barriers in a non aggressive manner

1 (not at all)

Family reports that the best way to deal or cope with discrimination is to retaliate

Family reacts to the discriminatory event in a highly emotional way such as getting very angry at the perpetrator, or internalizing the event and being very depressed

Family reporting anger at the perpetrator and a need for revenge

Family reports using aggressive tactics to respond to the discriminatory act

Family reports experiences of reacting aggressively to discrimination

Family promotes separation of ethnic groups

5 (somewhat)

Family somewhat promotes the use of prosocial/diplomatic ways of engaging individuals in dealing with discrimination

Family somewhat emphasizes having multiethnic relations

Family somewhat promotes learning and understanding of the experiences of those experiencing discrimination

Family suggests reacting non-aggressively to acts of discrimination

9 (a lot)

Family promotes the use of prosocial methods of engaging individuals in discussing or talking about discrimination

Family emphasizes on being multicultural, increasing multiethnic relations

Family promotes use of prosocial, non violent and non aggressive strategies such as talking, listening, accepting of racial/ethnic differences

Family promotes understanding the experiences of victims of discrimination

Family promotes overcoming barriers in a non aggressive manner

Family discusses an experience of how they coped with discrimination in a non aggressive, diplomatic manner

Q6c: *How often does the family emphasize/encourage the following attitudes/behaviors in dealing with discrimination:*

Acceptance of diversity/ Promoting multiethnic relations

- Promoting interactions/communication with individuals from other ethnic groups
- Emphasis on being multicultural, increasing multiethnic relations
- Encouragement of learning about other cultures, other ethnic groups
- Encouragement of opening doors to break down barriers due to discrimination
- Family report of engagement in multiethnic relationships, cultures

1 (not at all)

Family reports no desire to be involved in crosscultural, multiethnic relations

Family reports no interest in understanding about other cultures

Family shows complete ignorance, lack of understanding of multiethnic relations/other cultures

5 (somewhat)

Family suggests interacting with individuals from other ethnic groups

Family somewhat emphasizes having multiethnic relations, being multiethnic

Family somewhat promotes learning and understanding of the experiences of those experiencing discrimination

Family somewhat suggests opening one's perspective and interacting with others as a way to cope with discrimination

9 (a lot)

Family promotes interactions/communication with individuals from other ethnic groups

Family emphasizes on being multicultural, increasing multiethnic relations

Family encourages learning about other cultures, other ethnic groups

Family encourages opening doors to break down barriers due to discrimination

Family reports engagement in multiethnic relationships, cultures

Family provides evidence that they are involved in multiethnic relations that are positive

Q6d: How often does the family emphasize/encourage the following attitudes/behaviors in dealing with discrimination:

Educating others(outside family) about discrimination

- Promoting the teaching to others about the effect discrimination has on the psychology of individuals
- Promoting the learning of the experiences of other cultures and ethnic groups
- Engagement in multicultural courses, cultural history related to discrimination
- Family shows understanding that discrimination is an issue that has not been solved and that being open to the experiences of others is a necessary step towards coping with discrimination

1 (not at all)

Family reports no understanding of discrimination (indication of lack of ability to educate others about discrimination)

Family does not value learning of the experiences of other cultures and ethnic groups

Family shows complete ignorance, lack of understanding of multiethnic relations/other cultures

Family promotes separation of ethnic groups/cultures

5 (somewhat)

Family somewhat promotes the teaching of the effect of discrimination

Family somewhat emphasizes having multiethnic relations, being multiethnic

Family appears to slightly value learning or sharing the experiences of other cultures and ethnic groups

Family appears promote integration of ethnic groups as a way to learn and overcome barriers due to discrimination

9 (a lot)

Family promotes the teaching of the effect of discrimination

Family emphasizes on being multicultural, increasing multiethnic relations

Family highly values learning or sharing the experiences of other cultures and ethnic groups

Family emphasizes integration of ethnic groups as a way to learn and overcome barriers due to discrimination

Family encourages opening doors to break down barriers due to discrimination

Family provides evidence that they are involved in multiethnic relations in which they share their experiences of their own cultures/discrimination

Q6e: *How often does the family emphasize/encourage the following attitudes/behaviors in dealing with discrimination:*

Avoiding discrimination/minimizing discrimination

- Family reports that discrimination is no longer a present issue and has been dealt with
- Family indicates that they have little contact with issues of discrimination and therefore is not an important issue
- Family does not appreciate learning about the experiences of others
- Family spends very little time talking about issues of discrimination (less than 10%)

1 (not at all)

Family highly values the understanding of the effect of discrimination

Family promotes sharing/learning about individual's experiences of discrimination

Family does not value learning of the experiences of other cultures and ethnic groups

Family encourages opening doors to break down barriers due to discrimination

Family provides evidence that they value the understanding of the effect of

Family understands what discrimination is and aware of ways to cope effectively

Family spends 80-100% of floor time discussing discrimination

5 (somewhat)

Family slightly minimizes the effect that discrimination has on individuals

Family slightly undermines the discriminatory experience of another

Family shows little appreciation of learning about others' experiences

Family appears to slightly avoid learning or sharing the experiences of other cultures and ethnic groups

9 (a lot)

Family reports that discrimination is no longer a present issue and has been dealt with

Family indicates that they have little contact with issues of discrimination and therefore is not an important issue

Family does not appreciate learning about the experiences of others

Family spends very little time talking about issues of discrimination (less than 10%)

Q6f: How often does the family emphasize/encourage the following attitudes/behaviors in dealing with discrimination:

Accepting as part of life/Living with discrimination

- Family encourages accepting discrimination as a part of life
- Family acknowledges that their people have fought the “system” and have not been able to change the pervasiveness of discrimination
- Family reports coping with the discrimination and not going against the power

1 (not at all)

Family highly emphasizes taking action and responding the discrimination

Family promotes fighting for one’s rights and teaching others the experiences of discrimination

Family highly values and encourages the learning of the experiences of other cultures and ethnic groups

Family encourages interacting with others and sharing/teaching experiences of discrimination

5 (somewhat)

Family is only slightly involved in taking action and responding the discrimination

Family suggests that going against discrimination is not something they can do

Family does not seem to promote confronting people about issues of discrimination

Family appears to slightly avoid learning or sharing the experiences of other cultures and ethnic groups

9 (a lot)

Family encourages accepting discrimination as a part of life

Family acknowledges that their people have fought the “system” and have not been able to change the pervasiveness of discrimination

Family reports coping with the discrimination and not going against the power

Family does believe that things can be changed by confronting discrimination issues

Perspective on discrimination

Q7. What is the family’s perspective on discrimination?

- Does the family think that discrimination is a pertinent issue that needs to be addressed?
- Does family provide evidence that they have discussed issues of discrimination?
- Does the family discuss the ”hurts” of individuals who have experienced discrimination

1 (unacceptable)

Family firmly believes that discrimination should not be ignored and that it should be dealt with

Family reports sharing their experiences with others as a way to educate/teach others about the issues of discrimination

Family fully understands the experiences of discrimination and is able to report/describe those experiences as valid and important

5 (somewhat)

Family believes that discrimination is somewhat an issue that should be addressed

Family understands that discrimination should be addressed but does not emphasize on how to deal with discrimination/overcome barriers

9 (acceptable)

Family firmly believes that discrimination is not important or is an issue that is present today

Family reports that discrimination is an issue of the past

Family does not show interest in sharing their experiences with others as a way to educate/teach others

Family minimizes the impact discrimination has on individuals

Q8. Does it appear that discrimination is an important issue that should be seriously considered?

- Family spends a large portion of floor time discussing discrimination
- Family engages/participates in discussion on discrimination
- Family provides coherent examples about discrimination
- Family is engaged in developing various ideas/suggestions/examples about how to deal/cope with discrimination

1 (not at all)

Family reports that discrimination is no longer a present issue and has been dealt with

Family indicates that they have little contact with issues of discrimination

Family does not appreciate learning about the experiences of others

Family spends very little time talking about issues of discrimination (less than 10%)

Family promotes separation of ethnic groups

5 (somewhat)

Family shows some understanding that discrimination is an important issue but does not engage in further discussion about experiences of others or ways to deal with discrimination

Family spends 40-60% of floor time discussing discrimination

Family somewhat engaged in the discussion on discrimination

9 (a lot)

Family spends a large portion of floor time discussing discrimination

Family is fully engaged/participates in discussion on discrimination

Family provides coherent examples about discrimination

Family is engaged in developing various ideas/suggestions/examples about how to deal/cope with discrimination talking about discrimination

Family shows serious attitudes in discussion

Q9. Is the family actively engaged in discussion on discrimination?

- Family is participates/involved in discussion
- Family provides various examples on how to cope with discrimination
- Family spends a large portion of floor time discussing discrimination
- Family is engaged in developing various ideas/suggestions/examples about how to deal/cope with discrimination
- Family is attentive during discussion on discrimination

1 (not at all)

Family is not engaged in discussion on discrimination

Family does not appear to be interested in the discussion

Family spends less than 10% of time involved in discussion on discrimination

Family digresses from topic often during discussion

5 (somewhat)

Family is somewhat engaged in discussion on discrimination

Family is somewhat appear to be interested in the discussion

Family spends 40-60% of time involved in discussion on discrimination

Family occasionally digresses from topic often during discussion

9 (a lot)

Family is participates/involved in discussion

Family provides various examples on how to cope with discrimination

Family spends 80-100% of floor time discussing discrimination

Family is engaged in developing various ideas/suggestions/examples about how to deal/cope with discrimination

Q10. Is family directive in discussion?

- Does the family take initiative to be involved in discussion
- Does the family provide examples about discrimination
- Does the family provide or generate ideas about ways to cope with discrimination
- Do family members set the tone or direct the flow of the conversation about discrimination

1 (not at all)

Family does not show initiative to participate in discussion

Family does not generate ideas about coping strategies against discrimination

Discussion on discrimination is not coherent, conversation digresses and is random

Family does not spend much time in discussion talking or generating conversation about discrimination

5 (somewhat)

Family shows some initiation in participation in discussion

Family generates a few ideas about coping against discrimination but the conversation does not take much of the floor time

Discussion on discrimination is present but conversation sometimes digresses

9 (a lot)

Family takes initiative to be involved in discussion

Family provides examples about discrimination

Family provides or generates ideas about ways to cope with discrimination

Family members set the tone or direct the flow of the conversation about discrimination

Family leads discussion during task

Q11a. What percentage of discussion time does family use to talk about discrimination?

- Time spent on discussing discrimination – of all 5 minutes what % spent on talking about discrimination

Q11b: How much does each family member participate in discussion?

1 (not at all)

Family spends less than 5% talking about discrimination

5 (somewhat)

Family spends 40-60% talking about discrimination

9 (a lot)

Family spends 80-100% talking about discrimination

Interethnic relations

Q12a. *How does the family perceive their relations with :*

Members from mainstream culture

- Family values relationships with members from mainstream culture
- Family has relationships with members in mainstream culture
- Family promotes relationships with members in mainstream culture

1 (not at all)

Family does not value relationships with members from mainstream culture

Family does not have or desire to have relationships with members in mainstream culture

Family discourages relationships with members in mainstream culture

5 (somewhat)

Family shows some appreciation of relationships with members from mainstream culture

Family somewhat promotes relationships with members in mainstream culture

9 (a lot)

Family values relationships with members from mainstream culture

Family has or desires to have relationships with members in mainstream culture

Family encourages relationships with members in mainstream culture

Q12b. *How does the family perceive their relations with :*

Members from ethnic minority cultures

- Family values relationships with members from ethnic minority cultures
- Family has relationships with members in ethnic minority cultures
- Family promotes relationships with members in ethnic minority cultures

1 (not at all)

Family does not value relationships with members from ethnic minority cultures

Family does not have or desire to have relationships with members in ethnic minority cultures

Family discourages relationships with members in ethnic minority cultures

5 (somewhat)

Family shows some appreciation of relationships with members from ethnic minority cultures

Family somewhat promotes relationships with members in ethnic minority cultures

9 (a lot)

Family values relationships with members from ethnic minority cultures

Family has or desires to have relationships with members in ethnic minority cultures

Family encourages relationships with members in ethnic minority cultures

Q13. *Is the family socially involved with members of other ethnic groups?*

- Family reports having friends of other ethnic groups
- Family reports participation in cultural events that involve interaction with other ethnic groups
- Family reports participation in multicultural groups, events, activities

1 (not at all)

Family reports no indication of having relations with those from other ethnic groups

5 (somewhat)

Family reports few involvement with those from other ethnic groups

9 (a lot)

Family reports having numerous multiethnic relations

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