

Ethnic-racial socialization in Latino families: The influence of mothers' socialization practices on adolescent private regard, familism, and perceived ethnic-racial discrimination

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Abstract:

Objectives: Cultural value endorsement and ethnic–racial identity promote Latino/a adolescent positive adaptation and mitigate the negative impacts of perceived ethnic–racial discrimination. This study explored the intergenerational process of how adolescents develop these cultural characteristics in concert with their experiences of discrimination, focusing on the role of youth-reported maternal ethnic–racial socialization processes. **Method:** Participants included 175 Latino/a adolescent–mother dyads recruited from the 7th and 8th grades in an understudied emerging immigrant destination. We tested the effects of maternal cultural characteristics (i.e., familism, private regard, and perceived discrimination) on the same adolescent outcomes through youth-reported maternal ethnic–racial socialization practices (i.e., cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and familism socialization, a novel construct introduced in this study). **Results:** Three significant indirect pathways were identified. Higher maternal private regard was associated with both higher youth familism and higher youth private regard through greater youth-reported familism socialization, and higher maternal private regard was associated with more perceived youth discrimination through greater youth-reported preparation for bias. **Conclusion:** Our results highlight maternal private regard as particularly important for understanding how youth perceptions of socialization processes encourage the development of adolescent cultural characteristics and the benefit of using specific assessment tools, such as a familism socialization measure, to identify how ethnic–racial socialization processes serve as intergenerational links. Directions for future research and implications for intervention are discussed.

Keywords: ethnic-racial socialization | Latino families | private regard | familism | perceived ethnic-racial discrimination

Article:

Latino/a adolescents' perception of ethnic-racial discrimination, or discrimination because of one's ethnic or racial background, is associated with negative youth outcomes, such as poor mental and physical health (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Stein, Gonzalez, & Huq, 2012; Szalacha et al., 2003). However, the literature supports that cultural value endorsement and strong ethnic-racial identity (ERI) promote Latino/a youth adaptation (Calderón-Tena, Knight, & Carlo, 2011; Fuligni, Witkow, & Garcia, 2005; Gamble & Modry-Mandell, 2008; Morgan Consoli & Llamas, 2013) and mitigate risk processes (Berkel et al., 2010; Germán, Gonzales, & Dumka, 2009; Li, 2014; Ong, Phinney, & Dennis, 2006; Serrano-Villar & Calzada, 2016; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007), encouraging future research to investigate the familial processes that support these developmental competencies. Particularly, it is important to investigate how parents' own ERI and cultural values influence their socialization practices and, ultimately, youth outcomes (Hughes, Bachman, Ruble, & Fuligni, 2006). However, the literature lacks investigations integrating multiple maternal cultural characteristics to predict youth cultural characteristics through socialization practices. This study examined the intergenerational links between three cultural characteristics: private regard, endorsement of familism (a specific Latino cultural value), and perceptions of discrimination through four types of socialization processes—*cultural socialization*, *familism socialization*, *preparation for bias*, and *cultural mistrust*.

Ethnic–Racial Socialization

Ethnic–racial socialization is the process of transmitting information regarding ethnicity and race from adults to children (Hughes et al., 2006). This term incorporates multiple facets undertaken by ethnic minority parents to promote cultural adaptation and support the positive development of youth of color, including teaching about cultural values and practices and fostering positive ERI and self-esteem in the face of societal discrimination. Currently, the literature identifies three broad socialization processes, including cultural socialization—the transmission of information regarding ethnic or racial practices, customs, traditions, or promoting cultural or ethnic–racial pride; preparation for bias—the transmission of messages regarding the expectation of future discrimination and how to cope with these experiences; and promotion of mistrust—discouraging youth from trusting individuals from other ethnic or racial groups (Hughes et al., 2006).

Research on these socialization constructs has been building (see Hughes, Watford, & Del Toro, 2016; Priest et al., 2014 for reviews), and we hope to extend that work. Our study is grounded in Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model of child development, which identified socialization practices within the parent–child microsystem as also influenced by contextual factors, ultimately encouraging the child's acquisition of developmental competencies (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Hughes and colleagues (2016) further delineated that, to understand parents' teaching about race and ethnicity, researchers need to investigate the links between discrimination, identity, and socialization experiences in concert and in response to context to fully describe how families help foster ethnic minority youth adaptation. We propose that maternal cultural value endorsement and identity factors drive maternal socialization messages (Derlan, Umaña-Taylor, Updegraff, & Jahromi, 2016; Knight, Carlo, Mahrer, & Davis, 2016), and that contextual experiences of discrimination are key to messages about discrimination (Hughes et al., 2016). At the same time, as youth hear these messages, they influence their own

endorsement of values, identity, and perceptions of discrimination (Derlan et al., 2016; Hughes et al., 2016; Knight et al., 2016). In this study, we attempted to address this complexity by integrating these key variables across multiple reporters while also introducing and examining the role of a fourth type of cultural socialization, familism socialization, or teaching youth values about the centrality and importance of family, that we believe is key to understanding socialization practices in Latino families.

Assessing Socialization Practices

Before we considered how specific ethnic–racial socialization practices relate to cultural characteristics, we thought it important to address the best methods for assessing ethnic–racial socialization practices. Existing literature has included examinations of parental ethnic–racial socialization practices predicting youth cultural characteristics, primarily using youth report (Grindal & Nieri, 2015; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2001; Umaña-Taylor, Alfaro, Bámaca, & Guimond, 2009). However, those studies that have investigated how parental cultural characteristics predict youth cultural characteristics *through* socialization practices used parent report (Derlan et al., 2016; Knight et al., 2016), which presents the question of whose report should be used. In this vein, researchers have identified possible discrepancies in adolescent and parent report regarding familial processes (De Los Reyes, Salas, Menzer, & Daruwala, 2013; Hughes et al., 2008; Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, & Foust, 2009). Because the current study focused on understanding youth development of cultural characteristics, we chose to use adolescent report of parental socialization. Although parents may believe that they are imparting important aspects of their culture to their children, if adolescents are not perceiving these messages, it proves difficult to understand if they are indeed impacting child development. Across the socialization literature we reviewed, researchers used varying reports of socialization practices; these are noted.

Ethnic–Racial Identity and Socialization

Ethnic–racial identity (ERI) is a multifaceted construct that includes self-identification with one’s ethnic and racial group, ethnic–racial behaviors and practices, a feeling of belonging to one’s ethnic–racial group, and attitudes toward one’s ethnic–racial group (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014). A recent literature review highlighted positive affect and sense of group membership as central aspects of ERI related to positive outcomes, including higher self-esteem, less-depressive symptoms, and more prosocial behavior (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014). A specific aspect of ERI related to this sense of membership is private regard, or the degree to which one feels positively toward other members of the same ethnic–racial group, as well as one’s feelings regarding one’s own group membership (Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997). Having higher private regard has been directly linked to positive self-esteem and positive interpersonal functioning (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014), which have themselves been suggested as protective factors against discrimination and its negative impact (Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007). As such, understanding how families foment the positive connection to adolescents’ own ethnic–racial group is essential.

A large portion of ethnic–racial socialization research has focused on how socialization practices predict youth ERI. Much of this work has revealed that greater youth-reported familial

ethnic socialization (a similar construct to cultural socialization) is positively related to increased ERI in Latino/a youth across multiple subscales, including exploration, resolution, and achievement (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2009; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2001). Similarly, familial ethnic socialization predicted ERI exploration and resolution 3.5 years later in a sample of 175 Mexican-origin adolescent girls, mediated by their best friends' cultural orientations (Kim, Bámaca-Colbert, Jian, & Gonzales-Backen, 2017), and familial cultural socialization, both adolescent and parent report, respectively, has been positively related to ERI development in both adolescent and college-aged Latino/as (Grindal & Nieri, 2015; Hernández, Conger, Robins, Bacher, & Widaman, 2014). Collectively, the broad construct of cultural socialization is an important process in supporting Latino/a youth ERI development.

Less research has examined the intergenerational link between maternal cultural characteristics, such as mothers' ERI, and youth cultural characteristics, such as youths' ERI. However, one recent longitudinal study indicated that Latina maternal ERI exploration, as well as familism endorsement, were positively related to mothers' own later report of ethnic-racial socialization, and that maternal ERI affirmation was positively related to later adolescent ERI (Derlan et al., 2016). This finding suggests that mothers' cultural characteristics influence youths' cultural characteristics and that mother-reported ethnic-racial socialization likely links the two as a direct method for mothers to instill important and relevant aspects of their culture to their children. The literature, however, remains sparse in identifying nuances of this intergenerational process.

Familism Values and Socialization

One of the most prominent Latino cultural values studied in the literature is familism (*familismo*; Stein et al., 2014). Familism is comprised of aspects such as family obligation, the importance of familial support, cognizance that one's actions reflect on the family, and strong respect for family (Knight et al., 2010). Youth endorsement of familism has been found to protect against negative outcomes and promote adjustment (Gamble & Modry-Mandell, 2008; Morgan Consoli, & Llamas, 2013). For example, familism has been linked to prosocial behavior in adolescents (Calderón-Tena et al., 2011), and protection against negative impacts of discrimination (Berkel et al., 2010) and deviant peers (Germán et al., 2009).

However, the literature on cultural value socialization remains general, without recognizing potential nuances in the socialization of individual cultural constructs (Hughes et al., 2006). For example, both Knight, Bernal, Garza, Cota, and Ocampo's (1993) and Umaña-Taylor and Fine's (2001) socialization measures include items relating to cultural practices, behaviors, values, and ERI, but they do not ask about the socialization of specific values (such as familism). Therefore, past literature has required the family to interpret what those values are. It is only recently that researchers have identified the importance of focusing on the socialization of specific cultural values, with Knight et al.'s (2016) findings that mothers' and fathers' cultural value endorsement, particularly familism, predicted their respective socialization practices, which then predicted greater youth ERI, and in turn, greater youth endorsement of cultural values (Knight et al., 2011, 2016).

In the current study, we took this work one step further by using a measure designed to precisely capture the practice of familism socialization, or the specific process of transmitting the

importance of familism from parents to youth. This is an important component of socialization in Latino families, given the centrality of familism for Latino populations (Stein et al., 2014). The new measure we designed was found to predict familism endorsement and enactment, above and beyond a broader cultural socialization measure, also demonstrating adequate convergent and discriminant validity (Kulish, Cavanaugh, & Stein, 2016). Having a more nuanced assessment of familism socialization will inform whether the socialization of these culturally relevant family values impacts adolescent outcomes uniquely compared with broader cultural socialization messages.

Perceived Ethnic–Racial Discrimination and Socialization

Although much of the literature on ethnic–racial socialization in Latino/a youth has focused on supporting a strong sense of connection to one’s group and increasing cultural value endorsement, fewer studies have considered these processes in concert with how families experience discrimination, as suggested by Hughes, Watford, and Del Toro, (2016). Because of the noted negative impacts of experiencing and perceiving this discrimination (Stein, Gonzalez, & Huq, 2012; Stone & Han, 2005; Szalacha et al., 2003), and its prevalence across ethnic–racial minority groups, it is relevant to understand the familial processes that may impact youth reports of discrimination.

For example, specific cultural socialization messages could either exacerbate discrimination’s negative effects or offer some resiliency. Indeed, youth-reported cultural socialization has been found to moderate associations between parental report of discrimination and adolescent report of self-esteem (Espinoza, Gonzales, & Fuligni, 2016). Yet, despite recent findings incorporating both parental discrimination and ethnic–racial socialization practices, few studies have examined these processes in Latino/a youth, and even fewer have centered on emerging Latino immigrant communities. Because youth experience discrimination, notably in rural emerging immigrant communities (Potochnick, Perreira, & Fuligni, 2012), it is important to understand how parental experiences in these contexts might map onto adolescents’ experiences, and how parental messages about the topic of discrimination may impact youths’ perception of discrimination.

Current Study

The present study contributes to the current literature on ethnic–racial socialization in four novel ways. First, ours is one of few studies that has explored the intergenerational links between ERI, familism, and discrimination experiences. Second, we used a model that incorporates socialization practices as a mediator to explain these intergenerational links. Third, ours was the first study to examine socialization of a specific cultural value (familism). Fourth, we examined these processes in an emerging immigrant community, understudied in the literature.

Given our literature review, we made five hypotheses about indirect relationships from maternal cultural characteristics to youth cultural characteristics through youth-reported socialization experiences: (1) Maternal familism endorsement predicts youth familism endorsement through familism socialization (Knight et al., 2011); (2) maternal private regard predicts youth familism endorsement and youth private regard through

familism socialization (Derlan, Umaña-Taylor, Updegraff, & Jahromi, 2016); (3) maternal private regard predicts youth familism endorsement and youth private regard through cultural socialization (Derlan et al., 2016); (4) maternal perceived discrimination predicts youth perceived discrimination through preparation for bias (Espinoza et al., 2016); and (5) maternal perceived discrimination predicts youth perceived discrimination through promotion of mistrust (Espinoza et al., 2016). See Figure 1 for a graphical depiction of the hypothesized model. Moreover, given that this was the first study to examine these questions incorporating perceived ethnic–racial discrimination, we also explored all possible paths from maternal cultural characteristics to youth cultural characteristics through socialization practices.

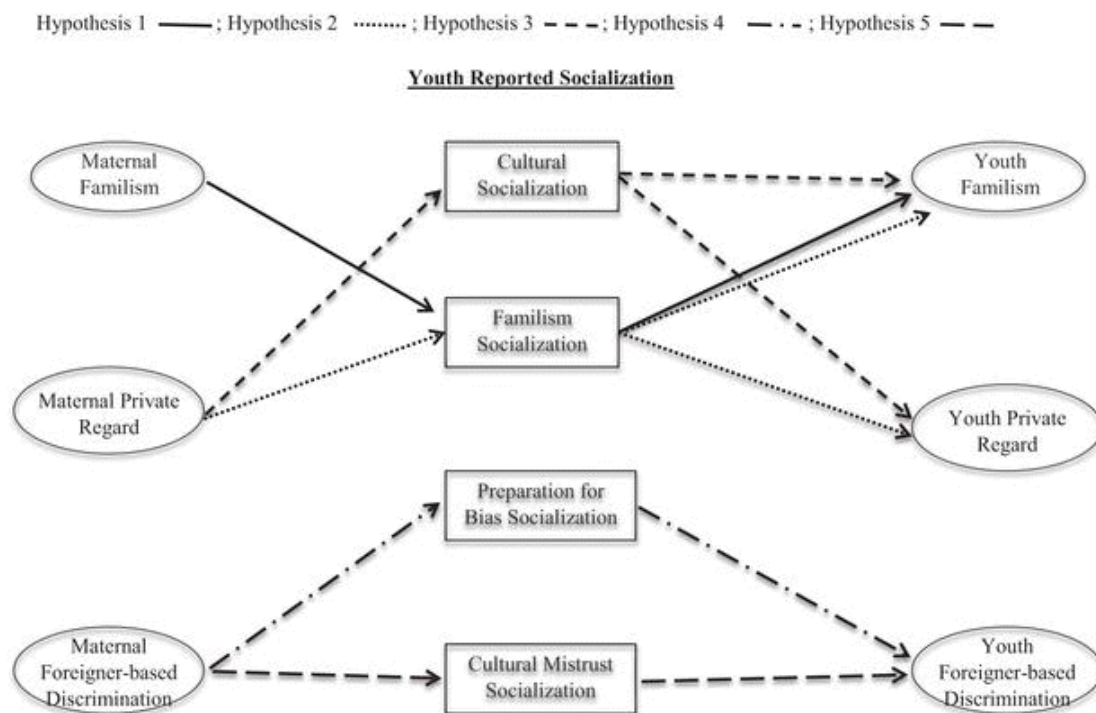


Figure 1. Hypothesized model.

Method

Participants

Participants were 175 seventh- and eighth-grade Latino/a adolescent–mother dyads recruited from two middle schools in an emerging immigrant community in North Carolina. The sample included 51.4% adolescent girls, and the participants were either born in the United States to immigrant parents (88%) or were 1.5-generation immigrants who immigrated before the age of 5. Mothers were all first-generation immigrants, living in the United States an average of 15.67 years. Mothers were principally of Mexican origin (88%), 1.7% were born in mainland United States, and the remaining were born in a Latin American country or territory of the United States (2.3% El Salvador, 1.7% Guatemala, 1.1% Nicaragua, 1.1% Dominican Republic, 1.1% Honduras, 0.6% Colombia, 0.6% Ecuador, 0.6% Puerto Rico). Within the sample, 80.8% of the mothers reported an average annual household income of \$30,000 or less. Inclusion criteria

required that the adolescent's biological parents be of Latino background, the mother be the biological mother or maternal guardian living in the home with the adolescent, and only one adolescent from each family could participate. All maternal participants were biological mothers, except one significantly older biological sister who was the adolescent's maternal guardian because the biological mother no longer resided in the country.

Procedure

Recruitment involved contacting Latino/a adolescents from a contact list ($n = 597$) provided by schools and using a three-attempt door-to-door procedure for those families with wrong or disconnected numbers. In total, 364 families were contacted, and 176 participated in the study (48.4%). Of the 176, one was excluded because the adolescent was a twin sibling of another participant and thus did not meet inclusion criteria, bringing the final sample size for analyses to 175 dyads (48.1% of those contacted).

For the 1.5- to 2-hr in-home interview, adolescents completed questionnaires on a laptop while mothers completed questionnaires through structured interviewing with a bilingual research assistant in a separate room. The questionnaires were counterbalanced. Mothers and adolescents were given the option of completing the questionnaires in English or Spanish. All mothers chose to complete the questionnaires in Spanish, and all but two adolescents chose to complete the questionnaires in English. Some scales were available in Spanish, and for those that were not, the items were translated and back-translated by bilingual research assistants (Behling & Law, 2000) and discrepancies were resolved by discussion. Mothers were compensated with a \$20 gift card and adolescents with a \$10 gift card.

Measures

Ethnic-racial socialization

The current study used the Ethnic-Racial Socialization Scale (Hughes & Chen, 1997) to assess Cultural Socialization, Preparation for Bias, and Promotion of Mistrust, with each subscale used individually in analyses. Each subscale asks adolescents to rate the frequency in the past year of having had specific socialization experiences with parents on a scale of 1 (*Never*) to 5 (*Six or more times*). The Cultural Socialization subscale assessed the adolescent's perceptions of the mother's general cultural socialization practices related to ERI, such as teaching about the history of their ethnic-racial group and instilling ethnic-racial pride. The six-item Preparation for Bias subscale assessed the adolescent's perception of the mother's socialization regarding discrimination. The two-item Promotion of Mistrust subscale assessed conversations about keeping a distance from other groups. High scores across subscales indicate greater frequency of having had these experiences with parents. All scales have demonstrated adequate reliability in Latino/a samples (Hughes, 2003), and internal consistency for the subscales was adequate ($\alpha = .78-.82$).

Familism socialization

The current study used a new measure designed to assess adolescent perception of maternal socialization of familism. The 12-item scale was developed by modifying Umaña-Taylor and Fine's (2001) ethnic socialization measure to include prompts specific to familism values and practices. Both convergent and discriminant validity had been established (Kulish et al., 2016). Specifically, the scale demonstrated a significant moderate correlation with Hughes and Chen's (1997) Cultural Socialization subscale ($r = .39$), as well as significant correlations with both adolescent reported attitudinal familism values ($r = .45$; Knight et al., 2010) and behavioral familism values ($r = .34$; measure adapted from Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam, 1999). The scale asks adolescents to report how often they have had familism experiences on a scale of 1 (*Never*) to 5 (*Almost every day*). High scores indicate greater frequency of having had those experiences with parents that promote the importance of family. Internal consistency for the scale was good ($\alpha = .90$).

Private regard

The current study used a modification of the Private Regard subscale of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity–Short (MIBI-S; Yip, Seaton, & Sellers, 2006). This scale has been adapted for use with Latino/a populations and has demonstrated satisfactory psychometric properties for use with Latino/as (Kiang, Yip, Gonzales-Backen, Witkow, & Fuligni, 2006). This measure was translated by the research team for maternal report using the procedure described above. This subscale consists of four items that assess both adolescent and mother reports of their feelings about their own ethnic–racial group that are rated on a 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly agree*) scale. High scores indicate greater identity with one's ethnic group. Because of low internal consistency in the maternal report, one item was removed from both the adolescent and mother reports of this subscale; the low reliability was likely a result of poor translation of the scale for use with the maternal participants. The removed item was “I feel that my ethnic group has made valuable contributions to this society.” After the removal of the item, internal consistency was adequate for both mother and adolescent report ($\alpha s = .77$ and $.83$, respectively).

Familism values

A composite of four subscales of the Mexican American Cultural Values Scale (MACVS; Knight et al., 2010) assessed both mother and adolescent familism endorsement—Familism-Support, Familism-Obligation, Familism-Referent, and Respect. Across these subscales, adolescents and mothers rate the degree to which they believe in a total of 16 items about the importance of the family on a Likert scale of 1 (*Not at all*) to 5 (*Completely*). Each of the subscales consists of between five and six items. High scores indicate a stronger endorsement of the importance of family. The MACVS has demonstrated adequate psychometric properties when administered to both first and second-generation immigrants in rural to urban settings for both adolescents and mothers (Knight et al., 2010). Internal consistency for both mother and adolescent report of the four subscales combined was strong ($\alpha s = .86$ and $.93$, respectively).

Discrimination

We used the Brief Discrimination Scale (Pituc, Jung, & Lee, 2009) to assess both adolescent and mother perceived discrimination of being objectified as a foreigner. This measure was translated by the research team for maternal report using the procedure described above. Individuals identified the number of times that they had experienced four types of foreigner-based discrimination on a scale of 1 (*Never*) to 4 (*Five or more times*). High scores indicate greater frequency of having had experiences of discrimination. This scale has demonstrated adequate psychometric properties for use with Latino/a populations (Armenta et al., 2013). Internal consistency was satisfactory for both mother and adolescent reports (α s = .79 and .71, respectively).

Data-Analytic Plan

For our analyses, we used structural equation modeling (*SEM*) in Mplus 7.3 (L. K. Muthén & B. O. Muthén, 1998–2012) (1) to test indirect effects to understand the mechanisms by which maternal ethnic–racial socialization influences Latino/a youth cultural characteristics, (2) to address nonindependence (as necessary) by correlating observations of common variables among adolescents and mothers, and (3) to test our research questions with a strong measurement design of latent and manifest constructs and indirect effects using both maternal and youth report (Gonzalez & Griffin, 2012). Latent variables were constructed for predictor (mother report) and outcome factors (youth report). Familism measures were indicated by Familism-Referent, Familism-Obligation, Familism-Support, and Respect. Measures of discrimination were indicated by four items, whereas Private Regard included three-item indicators. Good model fit was evaluated using a nonsignificant χ^2 statistic, comparative fit indices ($CFI > .95$), the root-mean-squared error of approximation ($RMSEA < .05$), and the standardized root-mean-squared residual ($SRMR < .08$; Browne & Cudeck, 1992; Hu & Bentler, 1999).

To assess significance of indirect effects, bias-corrected bootstrapping CIs were estimated using the recommended 5,000 iterations, as this approach has been shown to provide greater power and more precise CIs than percentile bootstrapped CIs (Hancock & Liu, 2014; Preacher, Rucker, & Hayes, 2007). When the CI does not include zero, the indirect effect is significant. Missing data were addressed using full-information maximum-likelihood estimation methods (FIML), which allows for estimation of the models using all available data. Before examining indirect effects, we conducted a power analysis in Mplus using the Monte Carlo simulation program. We used estimates of “true” parameter values to estimate factor loadings for the estimated models (see Figure 2) and then estimated values that would result in small and medium indirect effects (small indirect effects are roughly .01 and medium are roughly .09; Kenny, 2018). Based on the sample size for this study, power was adequate ($>.80$) to detect medium-sized indirect effects, but inadequate ($<.80$) to detect small effects as statistically significant. As such, we presumed to have adequate power to test for indirect associations, but not enough to find any effects smaller than a medium effect size.

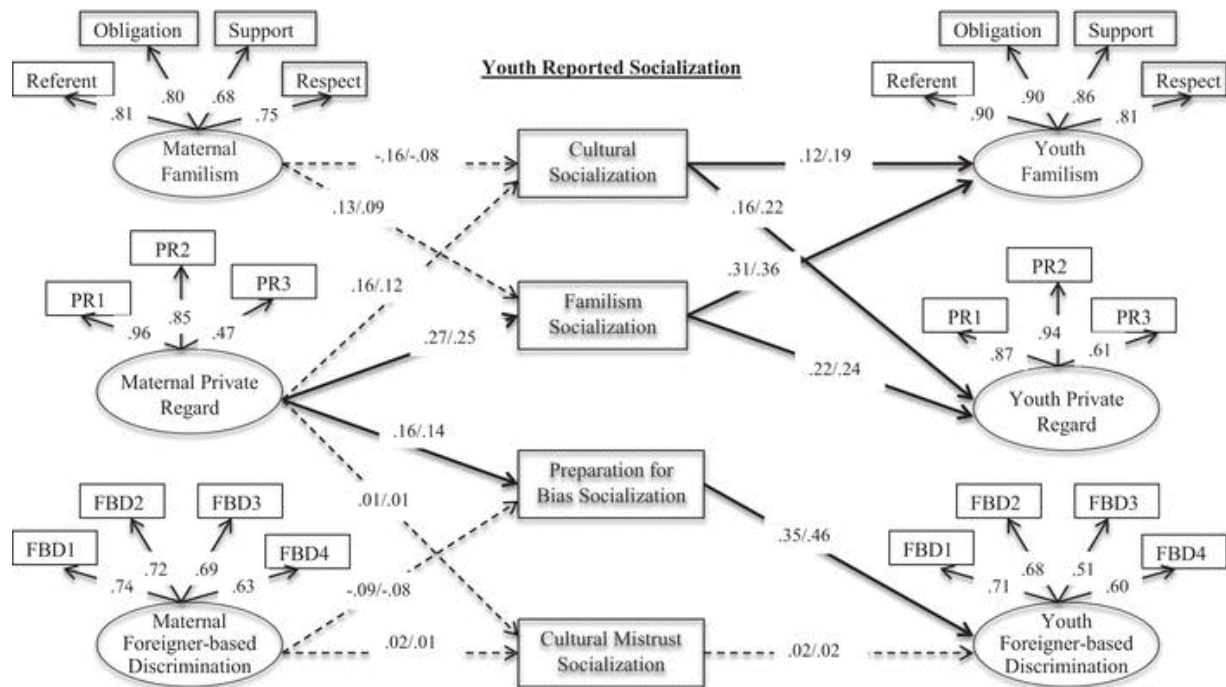


Figure 2. Indirect-effect model examining ethnic-racial socialization messages as the mechanisms by which maternal familism, identity, and discrimination experiences influence youth's own familism, identity, and reports of discrimination. Boldface paths indicate significant effects at $p < .05$; significant indirect effects are described in the text; direct effects were tested but were nonsignificant; correlated errors among endogenous variables were included in the model, but not displayed to simplify presentation; unstandardized/standardized coefficients are presented.

Results

Preliminary Results

Table 1 displays correlations and descriptive statistics of the socialization variables. Youth-reported Cultural Socialization and Familism Socialization were significantly correlated, $r = .35$, $p < .01$, but represented distinct constructs as indicated by the low to moderate association.

Table 1. Bivariate Correlations Among Socialization Variables With Means and Standard Deviations

Constructs	1	2	3	4
Youth-Reported socialization:				
1. Cultural socialization	—			
2. Familism socialization	.35**	—		
3. Preparation for bias socialization	.49**	.14	—	
4. Cultural mistrust socialization	.24**	.02	.42**	—
Means (SD)	2.47 (0.94)	3.93 (0.70)	1.70 (0.73)	1.45 (0.81)

The baseline model provided a poor fit to these data, ($\chi^2(322) = 519.44$, $p = .00$; CFI = .91; RMSEA = .06; SRMR = .07). As previously mentioned, one item from the modified Private Regard subscale of the MIBI-S (Yip, Seaton, & Sellers, 2006) was removed from both the

maternal and adolescent measure to keep the measures consistent due to a low loading (.26). The removal of this item resulted in a significant improvement in model fit, $\Delta\chi^2(\Delta df = 51) = 151.92, p < .05$.

Primary Results

The final model provided a good fit to these data, ($\chi^2(271) = 369.33, p = .00$; CFI = .95; RMSEA = .05; SRMR = .06). Regarding direct effects, none of the maternal predictor variables (Maternal Familism, Private Regard, or Perceived Discrimination) was significantly associated with youth outcomes (Youth Familism, Private Regard, or Perceived Discrimination). Hypothesis 1 was not supported, as there was no direct or indirect link between Maternal Familism and Youth Familism endorsement through youth-reported Familism Socialization. Regarding indirect effects, there were three significant pathways, each initiating with maternal Private Regard, and two of which supported Hypothesis 2 about the relevance of youth-reported Familism Socialization.

Specifically, maternal Private Regard was associated with higher youth-reported Familism Socialization ($b = .27, p < .05$), which in turn was associated with higher youth-reported Familism endorsement ($b = .31, p < .001$). The specific indirect effect from maternal Private Regard \rightarrow youth-reported Familism Socialization \rightarrow youth Familism endorsement was significant ($b = .08, 95\% \text{ CI } [.009-.182]$), and accounted for 81% of the total indirect-effect pathway and 60% of the total effect from maternal Private Regard to youth Familism. Also, youth-reported Familism Socialization was associated with higher youth Private Regard ($b = .22, p < .05$). The specific indirect effect from maternal Private Regard \rightarrow youth-reported Familism Socialization \rightarrow youth Private Regard was significant ($b = .06, 95\% \text{ CI } [.004-.167]$), and accounted for 67% of the total indirect-effect pathway and 43% of the total effect from maternal Private Regard to youth Private Regard. Hypothesis 3 was not supported, as youth-reported Cultural Socialization was not a significant mediator.

Hypotheses 4 and 5 were also not supported, as maternal experiences of Discrimination did not predict youth-reported Socialization or outcomes. However, the third significant indirect pathway that was not hypothesized predicted youth reports of Discrimination. Specifically, maternal Private Regard was associated with higher levels of youth-reported Preparation for Bias ($b = .16, p < .05$), which in turn was associated with higher youth-reported Perceived Discrimination ($b = .35, p < .01$). This indirect effect from maternal Private Regard \rightarrow youth-reported Preparation for Bias \rightarrow youth Perceived Discrimination was significant ($b = .05, \text{ CI } 95\% = .006-.149$), and accounted for 100% of the total indirect-effect pathway and 100% of the total effect from maternal Private Regard to youth-reported Discrimination.¹

In relation to main effects, youth-reported Cultural Socialization significantly predicted higher youth Familism ($b = .12, p < .01$) and youth Private Regard ($b = .16, p < .01$). See Figure 2 for graphical depiction of results.

Discussion

¹ A mediational model of maternal cultural characteristics predicting youth characteristics through maternal report of socialization practices was performed, but did not yield any significant direct or indirect effects on youth outcomes.

Research has indicated that Latino/a adolescent cultural value endorsement and ERI help youth adapt to challenges faced while living within two cultures, such as experiences of discrimination, depressive symptoms, and academic success, among others (Berkel et al., 2010; Li, 2014; Rivas-Drake et al., 2014; Umaña-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007). It is therefore important to understand the familial and cultural processes that support the development of a positive ERI, foster the internalization of Latino cultural values, and mitigate experiences of discrimination. Although previous research has revealed a link between ethnic–racial socialization practices and youth outcomes (Grindal & Nieri, 2015; Rivas-Drake, 2011; Tsai, Telzer, Gonzales, & Fuligni, 2015), few studies have investigated the role that maternal cultural characteristics have on influencing socialization practices and adolescent outcomes (see Derlan et al., 2016; Knight et al., 2011, 2016 for exceptions). The current study therefore examined maternal cultural characteristics that influence four distinct youth-reported ethnic–racial socialization processes in Latino families, and how the experience of these socialization processes impact adolescent cultural characteristics. We hypothesized that there would be multiple significant indirect pathways from maternal cultural characteristics to adolescent cultural characteristics through adolescent-reported socialization processes. These expectations were partially supported, and taken together, our results suggest that maternal private regard influences many of the youth-reported socialization processes involved, which then results in youth’s development of positive private regard, greater internalization of familism, and greater awareness of discrimination.

Maternal Cultural Processes

Although we predicted that maternal cultural characteristics (i.e., private regard, familism endorsement, perceived discrimination) would each significantly predict the respective socialization practices of each cultural characteristic; in our sample, only maternal private regard predicted youth cultural characteristics indirectly through two youth-reported socialization practices—familism socialization and preparation for bias. Our results contribute to the growing literature documenting the key role maternal ERI plays in the ethnic–racial socialization in Latino families (i.e., Derlan et al., 2016). Yet work has revealed that it is both cultural value endorsement and ERI that predict ethnic–racial socialization (Knight et al., 2016). In our sample, a mother’s own familism endorsement did not significantly predict youth-reported socialization of those values, contrary to findings by Knight et al. (2011) and Knight et al. (2016). Our results may differ as a result of methodology, samples, or context. In the Derlan et al. (2016) and Knight et al. (2011) studies, maternal socialization practices were measured through maternal report, which may be more closely linked to maternal cultural value endorsement because of shared methodology. Similarly, there may be a disconnect between adolescents’ perception of socialization and their mothers’ reports of these practices. Mothers who would agree with the importance of cultural values may not necessarily practice those values in ways that the adolescent readily perceives them. It is conceivable that mothers may struggle to put their values into practice by teaching them to their children because of the need to adapt to the demands that come with having immigrated to the United States, or may believe they are communicating these messages, but they may not be received by youth. Indeed, studies have documented that youth and parent report of socialization are not highly correlated (i.e., Hughes, Bachman, Ruble, & Fuligni, 2006, 2008; 2009; Thomas & King, 2007). Thus, further works needs to identify how and when parents and youth agree on reports of socialization practices, and under which

conditions these messages are best received (i.e., when there are high levels of family cohesion or maternal warmth; Frabutt, Walker, & MacKinnon-Lewis, 2002; McHale et al., 2006).

Nevertheless, our findings suggest that maternal private regard indeed predicts youth-reported socialization practices (e.g., familism socialization, preparation for bias), highlighting a complex relationship in the intergenerational links between maternal ERI and adolescent outcomes, and are consistent with Hughes et al. (2016) about the interconnection with ethnic–racial socialization more broadly. Past work has focused on the role of ERI predicting youth value endorsement (Knight et al., 2011), but less work has focused on maternal processes of identity and values in adults, specifically the socialization of cultural values. Our study suggests that how mothers feel affectively about their ethnic–racial group influences youth perception of the types of familism-socialization messages they are communicating to youth. Direct and covert messages about familism may be couched in messages about familism being unique to their Latino identity, as mothers may view these as inextricably linked. More work examining the relationship between ERI and cultural value socialization and endorsement at the familial level can further disentangle the key developmental processes about how and when these develop over time (see Stein et al., 2014; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014 for conceptual review papers that consider the development of familism and ERI).

From Bronfenbrenner and Morris's (2006) bioecological perspective, it may also be that the larger cultural context at the community level also influences these processes. In emerging immigrant communities, in which more families share high levels of familism, it may be private regard that distinguishes between families and predicts youth-reported socialization practices. Families in emerging immigrant communities have reported more experiences of discrimination than those in well-established Latino destinations (Potochnick et al., 2012), perhaps because these communities lack resources and culturally relevant services that provide infrastructure for immigrants (Villalba, Brunelli, Lewis, & Wachter, 2007). For example, Latino/as in emerging immigrant communities often have limited English-language proficiency and cannot count on previously arrived immigrants as a source of advice and advocacy. For families living in this context, perceived socialization practices may be influenced by the different racial composition of the community, a greater reliance on family, and lack of experience in coping with racism and discrimination (Stein, Gonzales, Coll, & Prandoni, 2016), highlighting Hughes et al.'s (2016) proposition that context strongly influences perceived-socialization messages. However, our emerging immigrant-community sample had low mean reports of discrimination, possibly because this particular community has a larger Latino/a population than the rest of North Carolina. Therefore, future researchers should examine our question in other contexts, i.e., those in which there is more variability in reports of discrimination, to determine how perceived maternal messages may differ.

Youth Cultural Processes

Generally consistent with the literature, adolescent-perceived maternal ethnic–racial socialization messages (i.e., cultural socialization, familism socialization, preparation for bias) predicted youth's private regard, endorsement of familism, and perceptions of discrimination (Derlan et al., 2016; Grindal & Nieri, 2015; Knight et al., 2016; Umaña-Taylor, Alfaro, Bámaca, & Guimond, 2009; Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2001). Cultural and familism socialization predicted both greater

adolescent familism endorsement and private regard, while preparation for bias predicted greater adolescent perceived discrimination. These results contribute to the growing literature on cultural familial processes in Latino families in several critical ways.

First, our study supports that familism-socialization messages predict adolescent outcomes, which were the only messages that indirectly linked maternal cultural characteristics to youth cultural characteristics. In fact, maternal private regard was indirectly related not only to youth private regard, but also to youth familism *through* the specific youth-reported socialization of familism. These results further support the notion raised above that identity processes and the socialization of familism mutually influence each other, not only within the individual, but also at the familial level, consistent with Bronfenbrenner and Morris's (2006) bioecological model focus. Familism socialization predicted both private regard and the endorsement of familism, suggesting that, for Latino families, familism may be closely tied to the positive affect associated with group membership. The current study further contributed to the literature by teasing apart the nuances in socialization practices, particularly between more general cultural socialization practices and familism socialization as they relate to maternal cultural characteristics. Clearly, there are complex factors to consider in the possible intergenerational links between mother-adolescent cultural processes. Our work highlights specific socialization messages as mechanisms to help understand such links and to gain insight into how adolescent outcomes emerge.

Second, maternal private regard was indirectly associated with adolescent reports of discrimination through youth-reported preparation-for-bias socialization, which suggests that it is not necessarily that mothers reactively provide preparation-for-bias messages based on their own experiences of discrimination. Instead, it may be, perhaps because of having fewer cultural resources to support their children, that mothers who feel connected to their group and reside in an emerging immigrant community proactively deliver these messages, which may be better perceived by youth. Within Bronfenbrenner and Morris's (2006) model, this suggests that maternal macrosystem experiences (i.e., experiences of discrimination) play less of a significant role than the potentially broader cultural context (i.e., an emerging immigrant community) and its intersection with maternal characteristics. These mothers may have a greater desire to protect their children from those who might harm or think poorly of their family's ethnic-racial group, thus influencing their desire to teach their children that there are those in the world who may discriminate against them (Coard, Wallace, Stevenson, & Brotman, 2004). Youth likely perceive this warning and become more aware of discrimination, indicating why they report more experiences of discrimination.

Limitations and Future Directions

Although this study captured important aspects of how Latino/a youth acquire cultural characteristics, there are other factors that likely influence the development of these components. For example, Latino/a youth live within an ecological context that includes not just their mothers, but also their fathers, extended family, siblings, peers, teachers at school, and the community, and these interacting factors are important for youth outcomes (Wang & Benner, 2016). These additional influences, such as peer socialization, may be particularly relevant for negative outcomes, such as substance use (Simons-Morton & Farhat, 2010). Future research is

needed to understand how peer, community, and school-socialization practices may interact with parent-socialization practices to influence the development of cultural characteristics in Latino/a adolescents, while considering the impact of these characteristics on additional negative outcomes. Other contextual factors are also important in predicting socialization practices, such as maternal generation status (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2009), however, because of the small sample size, we were not able this study to examine how contextual factors may moderate the relationships within the identified model, and future research should address the potential for contextual differences.

The current study was not a longitudinal study, and thus cannot address changes in socialization practices. A recent study found that socialization practices may influence different aspects of ERI development across time (Douglass & Umaña-Taylor, 2016), and thus future researchers should readdress our research questions using a longitudinal design. Another consideration is the bidirectional nature of socialization processes (Grusec & Davidov, 2010), which was not captured in our model, and although other work suggests that for immigrant families, ethnic-racial socialization primarily occurs from parents to children (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2009), this question warrants additional empirical support. Moreover, future researchers should investigate these questions in a sample with more diversity in acculturation characteristics to understand how acculturation may influence changes in socialization across time (e.g., nativity status, language preference).

We housed our research question in Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model of child development (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006), and our research findings support and advance that ethnic-racial socialization messages do indeed impact youth developmental competencies. Specifically, our work suggests that it is within the proximal processes of parent-adolescent daily interactions that youth perceive greater cultural socialization messages from mothers who have a strong private regard, and these perceived messages contribute to stronger familism-value endorsement and strong private regard. Such information has important implications for treatment with Latino/a youth and their families. Knowing that youth-perceived parental socialization of familism may aide in youth development of cultural characteristics to protect against negative outcomes and promote adaptation, therapists can involve Latino/a adolescents' parents in treatment and provide psychoeducation surrounding the importance of socialization practices. Therapists may explore the parental socialization that adolescents experience and employ cultural humility surrounding the parents' practices, encouraging the parents to continue in their efforts of socialization, as appropriate. With a greater focus on the development of cultural characteristics among Latino/a adolescents, they may become more resilient in the face of challenges.

With the present study, we have demonstrated the importance of examining maternal cultural characteristics and their effect on youth outcomes through socialization practices. We addressed the need for researchers to consider more nuanced approaches to studying socialization practices and highlighted the importance of understanding how these variables operate differently in emerging immigrant communities. Specifically, future researchers should consider the heightened risk that youth face in these communities, including experiences of racism, prejudice, and discrimination, and how this may, in turn, affect the messages mothers convey to their children. Future work should also include consideration of the emotional consequences

associated with these risks and their effects on socialization practices and youth outcomes. A risk-and-resilience approach is needed to clarify the processes through which Latino families in these communities socialize and how adolescents perceive these practices.

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